Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X
DOI : 10.17406/GJHSS

Global Journal

of Human Social Sciences: F

Political Science



National Assembly of Nigeria

Legislative Politics and Balance

Highlights

Elite and State Creation

Nairobi Ministerial Conference

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 16 ISSUE 1 VERSION 1.0

© 2001-2016 by Global Journal of Human Social Sciences, USA

Volume 16 Issue 9 was originally issued as F1

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F
Political Science

Volume 16 Issue 9
Originally issued as F1

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F

Political Science

Volume 16 Issue 1 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

© Global Journal of Human Social Sciences. 2016.

All rights reserved.

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

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

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

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

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

Engage with the contents herein at your own risk.

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

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

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

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

Global Journals Inc.

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

Sponsors: Open Association of Research Society
Open Scientific Standards

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals® Headquarters
945th Concord Streets,
Framingham Massachusetts Pin: 01701,
United States of America
USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392
USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

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

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

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

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

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

eContacts

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

Pricing (Including by Air Parcel Charges):

For Authors:
22 USD (B/W) & 50 USD (Color)
Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional):
200 USD (B/W) & 250 USD (Color)

Integrated Editorial Board
(Computer Science, Engineering, Medical, Management, Natural Science, Social Science)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Fotini Labropulu
Mathematics - Luther College
University of ReginaPh.D., M.Sc. in Mathematics
B.A. (Honors) in Mathematics
University of Windso

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

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

Dr. Söhnke M. Bartram
Department of Accounting and Finance Lancaster University Management SchoolPh.D. (WHU Koblenz)
MBA/BBA (University of Saarbrücken)

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

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

Dr. Sanjay Dixit, M.D.
Director, EP Laboratories, Philadelphia VA Medical Center
Cardiovascular Medicine - Cardiac Arrhythmia
Univ of Penn School of Medicine

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. Aziz M. Barbar, Ph.D.
IEEE Senior Member
Chairperson, Department of Computer Science
AUST - American University of Science & Technology
Alfred Naccash Avenue – Ashrafieh

President Editor (HON.)

Dr. George Perry, (Neuroscientist)
Dean and Professor, College of Sciences
Denham Harman Research Award (American Aging Association)
ISI Highly Cited Researcher, Iberoamerican Molecular Biology Organization
AAAS Fellow, Correspondent Member of Spanish Royal Academy of Sciences
University of Texas at San Antonio
Postdoctoral Fellow (Department of Cell Biology)
Baylor College of Medicine
Houston, Texas, United States

Chief Author (HON.)

Dr. R.K. Dixit
M.Sc., Ph.D., FICCT
Chief Author, India
Email: authorind@computerresearch.org

Dean & Editor-in-Chief (HON.)

Vivek Dubey(HON.)
MS (Industrial Engineering),
MS (Mechanical Engineering)
University of Wisconsin, FICCT
Editor-in-Chief, USA
editorusa@computerresearch.org

Sangita Dixit
M.Sc., FICCT
Dean & Chancellor (Asia Pacific)
deanind@computerresearch.org

Suyash Dixit
(B.E., Computer Science Engineering), FICCTT
President, Web Administration and
Development , CEO at IOSRD
COO at GAOR & OSS

Er. Suyog Dixit
(M. Tech), BE (HONS. in CSE), FICCT
SAP Certified Consultant
CEO at IOSRD, GAOR & OSS
Technical Dean, Global Journals Inc. (US)
Website: www.suyogdixit.com
Email:suyog@suyogdixit.com

Pritesh Rajvaidya
(MS) Computer Science Department
California State University
BE (Computer Science), FICCT
Technical Dean, USA
Email: pritesh@computerresearch.org

Luis Galárraga
J!Research Project Leader
Saarbrücken, Germany

Contents of the Issue

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

1. Effects of Insecurity on the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Northern Nigeria: Prognosis and Diagnosis. *1-5*
2. Political Party Rebellion, Legislative Politics and Balance of Power in the 8th National Assembly of Nigeria. *7-21*
3. Electoral Violence and 2015 General Elections in Nigeria. *23-29*
4. Protest Movements against WTO's Ministerial Conferences: A Case Study of Nairobi Ministerial Conference. *31-35*
5. The Nigerian Elite and State Creation: The Creation of False Ethnic Dichotomies for Self Aggradizement. *37-41*

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

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Effects of Insecurity on the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Northern Nigeria: Prognosis and Diagnosis

By Abdulrahman Adamu & Zuwaira Haruna Rasheed
Federal University Gusau, Nigeria

Abstract- Northern Nigeria among other regions of the country has witnessed various degrees of insecurity with its resultant effect on the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), economic fortunes of the affected communities and overall standard of living of those living within the affected states. This has made security the major concern for Nigerian government and has invested huge resources to that effect. Insecurity in the north has not only prevented development of that region but also hinders foreign investment, disrupt social activities, peaceful coexistence and has become a great threat to the growth and development of the region in particular and Nigeria in general. This paper therefore, examined the insecurity situation in the Northern Nigeria and its effects on the IDPs.

Keywords: *security, insecurity, IDPs, effects.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 160699*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Abdulrahman Adamu & Zuwaira Haruna Rasheed. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Effects of Insecurity on the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Northern Nigeria: Prognosis and Diagnosis

Abdulrahman Adamu [α] & Zuwaira Haruna Rasheed [σ]

Abstract- Northern Nigeria among other regions of the country has witnessed various degrees of insecurity with its resultant effect on the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), economic fortunes of the affected communities and overall standard of living of those living within the affected states. This has made security the major concern for Nigerian government and has invested huge resources to that effect. Insecurity in the north has not only prevented development of that region but also hinders foreign investment, disrupt social activities, peaceful coexistence and has become a great threat to the growth and development of the region in particular and Nigeria in general. This paper therefore, examined the insecurity situation in the Northern Nigeria and its effects on the IDPs.

Keywords: *security, insecurity, IDPs, effects.*

I. Introduction

Security is a concept that is prior to the state and the state exists to promote that concept (Omoyibo and Akpomera, 2013 cited in Olabanji and Ese, 2014). Security is the prime responsibility of the state (Hobbes, 1996). The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria specifically states that "The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary concern of the government" (FRN, 1999). It is not an exaggeration to state that the constitutional responsibility of Nigerian government to provide security for her subjects has in one way or the other failed due to the inability of government to provide a secured and safe environment for lives and properties and even that of economic activities. The alarming rate of insecurity in Northern Nigeria has increased; the crime rate and terrorist attacks in different parts of the country leaving people in the north is an unpalatable situation by rendering them homelessness.

In order to reduce the crime rate, the Federal Government of Nigeria has passed the Anti-Terrorism ACT in 2011, Installation of Computer-Based Closed Circuit Television Cameras (CCTV), in some parts of the country, enhancement of Surveillance as well as investigation of criminal related offences, heightening of physical security measures around the country aimed at deterring potential attacks, strengthening of the security agencies through the provision of security facilities and the development and broadcast of security tips in mass media (Azazi, 2011). Despite these measures and efforts, the insecurity in the north and other parts of the country has however remained unchanged and unabated. It is on the above background that this paper seeks to evaluate the effects of insecurity in Northern part of the country on the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

II. Conceptual Clarification

a) Security

The term security according to Akin (2008), is the situation that exists as a result of establishment of measures for the protection of persons, information and property against hostile persons' influences and nations. It is the existence of condition within which people of the society can go about their normal activities without any threat to their lives and properties. Igbuzor (2011), it demands safety from chronic threats and protections from harmful disruption.

Security however, can be described as stability and continuity of livelihood, predictability of daily life (knowing what to expect), protection from crime (feeling safe), and freedom from psychological harm, safety or protection from emotional stress which results from the assurance of knowing that one is wanted, loved, accepted and protected in one's community or neighbourhood and by people around (Ibrahim and Azubuike, 2014).

The above definitions will ease our understanding when we will be discussing insecurity in Nigeria. Security is obviously a situation when someone is fully aware of his/her protection in a responsive and conducive environment.

b) Insecurity

Insecurity on the other hand is the antithesis of security. Belend (2015), defined insecurity as "the state of fear and anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection"; it refers to lack or inadequate freedom from danger.

Insecurity is also seemed as the state of being subject to all forms of dangers of both natural and artificial disasters with mostly resulting from human activities towards society or individuals. In the same way, Udoh (2015) sees insecurity as the state of being subject to danger or injury. The anxiety that is

Author α σ: Department of Political Science, Federal University Gusau, Nigeria. e-mail: abduladamu6@gmail.com

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

experience when one feels vulnerable, insecure and lack confidence (Ezemonye, 2011 cited in Udoh, 2015).

c) Internally Displaced Persons

These are people or groups who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflicts, situation of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border.

III. Insecurity and the IDPs in Northern Nigeria

No doubt, Nigeria is today faced with the challenge of insecurity across the country from North to the South, East and West, the magnitude of insecurity resulting from the consistent activities of the insurgency in the north is the one that has captured the attention of foreign and domestic authorities. In Nigeria, the incidence of internal displacement occurred solely because it has ethnic, religious and political undertones. Muhammed (2012) submits that the volume and spread of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Nigeria reveals that about 1.4million displaced persons are been hosted across the country, for example, Akwa-Ibom (200,000); Cross-River (115,000); Ebonyi (80,000); Bauchi (45,000); Kebbi (50,000); Jigawa (200,000); Plateau (250,000); Taraba (250,000); Benue (480,000); Gombe (100,000); Edo (250,000); and Borno States (16,000).

It is pertinent to note that the number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) between 2013 and 2015 has increased to about 5million within and outside Nigeria. Most of these Internally Displaced Persons are from the northern region of the country. Boko Haram insurgency in the north has most times, unleashed mayhem and terrorised almost all the states in the north east of Nigeria where schools and homes were set ablaze and razed down, markets and other public places were burnt, innocent people were maimed, many students were adopted, kidnapped and were taken to unknown destinations.

Northern Nigeria consists of 19 out of 36 states clustered into 3 geo-political zones of North-West, North-East and North-Central. The region characterised years by violent, ethno-religious and political conflicts, rising violent crimes and widespread corruption resulting into internal displacement of population largely due to bad governance, socio-economic imbalances, injustice and inequalities, as well as insensitivity to the plight of their citizens. In terms of absolute poverty line by geopolitical zone, the North-East has retained the title of the poorest zone in Nigeria since 1985, with the highest incidence of poverty (ranging between 54.9% and 72.2%) followed by the North-West and North-Central (Muhammed, 2012:4).

He captured the situation as follows:

> *Recently, the North-East is reported to be the home of state with highest unemployment rate in the federation, that is, Yobe State at 60.6%, as at the end of 2011. It is the zone with highest number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) totalling 11, 360 in the 1st quarter of 2012and in 2010-2011 with highest number of forced displaced persons of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) (about 22% or 82%, North-West with 31% or 116, 207 and North-Central with highest of 42% or 162, 281 out of 377,701) due to Identity-Based Conflicts such as ethno-religious and political conflicts and violent clashes between the religious militia/armed group (Boko Haram) and government forces. Hence, within this period of coverage, the North account for 95% of IDPs in paradox of Boko Haram, an armed group that promotes sectarian violence of a different dimension that has engulfed the entire zone in the history of Nigeria, that is neither inter or intra-religious but essentially against the western educated Muslim elite and government.*

It is a paradox that such a situation should emanate from the minds of those who believe that they are asserting their religious identity, reforming Islam and restoring it to its pristine purity by maiming and killing innocent residents, destroying property and rupturing peace.

IV. Causes of Insecurity in the North

Like every other society, the causes of insecurity in the northern Nigeria which has rendered many Nigerians homeless have been identified with a number of factors as follow:

a) Lack of Institutional Incapacity as a result failure of Government

Igbuzor (2011) observed that, the state of insecurity in the Northern Nigeria is a function of government failure or could be linked to governmental failure. This is true due to the inability of government to deliver public service and provide for basic needs of the masses. The lack of basic necessities by the people of Northern Nigeria has created a pool of frustrated people who are ignited easily by any event to be violent. The assertion indicate clearly that, groups of able people who are not engage in any meaningful activities are always available for any slight opportunity where their accumulated talents can recklessly be displayed.

b) Material Inequalities and Unfairness

Disparities in the way of life of the people is one major factor responsible for the insecurity in the Northern Nigeria which has created a negative perception about the region. The problem of inequality and unfairness on the side of their leaders has raised the anger of a large number of people in that region.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Government development policies and programmes in the region have become source of disaffection and resentment among the citizens. A large number of the Northern Nigerian population is frustrated and have lost hope, especially the youths and have emerged to express their dissatisfaction about the pervasive state of inequality (Onouha, 2011).

c) Political Violence

Nigeria is one of those countries in Africa with long history of politically-based violence. The collapse of the First Republic was precipitated by the dispute that exists among the political actors across the country. This type of violence has a greater influence on the national security with Nigeria as a ready example. The electoral politics in Nigeria right from 1960s till date have been characterised by violence ranging from political thuggery, assassinations, and arson. Politicians in Nigeria do not accommodate dialogue, negotiation and consensus. Political contest are always characterised by desperation and violent struggle for political power among politicians (Eme and Onyishi, 2011 cited in Olabanji and Ese, 2014). The misadventures have often been catastrophic leading to wanton destruction of properties, lives and other valuable resources. For instance, 2011 post election violence in the Northern part of the country rendered many Nigerians homeless across the 19 states of the zone. Security personnel were overpowered by the aggrieved groups, they took laws into their hands, innocent people were killed mercilessly and of course, insecurity became the story of the time.

d) Ethnic/Religious-Based Violence

The major cause of insecurity in the contemporary world is the ethnicity/religious violence. We have heard in some areas like Benue and Plateau States reprisal attacks by ethnic militia causing mayhem in these areas. While South-East and South-West have been compromised, the northern zone that has always shown propensity for violence conflicts did not disappoint the security watchers. Starting with the ethno-religious oriented conflicts to the Jos ethnic/ religious/political conflicts of 2008 till date, the northern region has shown that the security of persons and properties is still far from being realised (Udoh, 2015:4). The high level of insecurity in northern Nigeria today emanated from the long religious disputes between Christians and Muslims in that zone. The idea of religious supremacy among the two major religions in the country has been the source of violence in most parts of the northern Nigeria since independence.

e) Lack of Control Measures

Failure of the state to effectively control and prevent the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) and their possession by militant sectarian and ethnic militia groups, among others are some of the causes of insecurity in Northern Nigeria.

V. Effects of Insecurity on IDPs and Nigeria

Insecurity in any environment constitutes threat to lives and properties, hinders economic activities, and discourages local and foreign investors, and in turn, retards human and economic development of that nation. Nigeria is in a serious danger and looking at the position insecurity has put the giant country in Africa, a situation where over 350 teachers were killed and over 270 students were kidnapped and held captive in an unknown location for ever. Considering what Iduh (2011:128) emotionally wrote:

> *"Remembering the 1967-1970 civil war experience, no doubt again Nigeria is sitting on the keg of gun-powder, a time bomb waiting to explode. A major crisis in Nigeria will produce mass refugee across Africa. It would amount to great disaster and greater burden for the United Nation and the rest of international community considering the humanitarian and logistic challenges it would pose if Nigeria should breakdown. Now, Nigeria presence is felt all over Africa. In situation of civil war, where would Nigerians go? Liberia and Sierra Lone came out of war not long ago, 1994 Rwanda genocide is still fresh, Democratic Republic of Congo is still in trouble water, and the situation in Guinea remains alarming, Nigerians are not too friendly with Cameroonians because of the October 10, 2002 ruling by International Court. Niger Republic is too poor a desert; Central African Republic is passing through turbulence times. South Sudan just got independence and has to face internal adjustment, the Uganda forces and resistance army are still struggling for supremacy, Ghana may not want us and small Togo may be too tiny for Nigerians".*

Insecurity no doubt, has retarded development in all ramifications in Nigeria and investors are scared away. The primary function of any responsible government is to provide security for lives and property and welfare of their people are taking seriously. In Nigeria today many people have been forced into self-exile because the security of their lives is not guaranteed.

There are no limits to which the effects of insecurity can go. It affects every facet of human life, the states and the nation in general. It suffices to note that between 2009 and 2015, the Federal Government, States, Local Governments, Private Organisations and individuals have spent over 3trillion naira in the course of ameliorating the effects of insecurity on the IDPs, rehabilitations and reconstructions of those properties destroyed resulting from the insecurity in Nigeria especially in the north which includes but not limited to:

- ✓ Loss of lives and properties. For instance, the tit for tat in the Jos carnage 2009-2012 and Yobe, Borno,

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Kano Kaduna, Benue States between 2010 and 2012 (Muhammed, 2012).

- ✓ Social dislocation and displacement: it was obvious that in 2014, over 140,000 people were displaced from their homes, villages, communities and states in the north. In 2015, over 70,000 Nigerians were reported to have fled the country to other neighbouring countries like Cameroon, Niger, Benin Republic, Chad, etc. It is also evidence that within Nigeria, there are about 1000 IDPs camps across the 36 states of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory with most of the IDPs from the north.
- ✓ Social tension and new patterns of settlements: Muslims moving to Muslim dominated areas while Christians on the other hand migrating to Christian dominated areas. A good example is the situation in Jos North/South of Plateau States.
- ✓ Increased cost of Governance: The situation of insecurity in Nigeria especially in the North-East has forced the government of Nigeria to deploy high volume of the nation's resources to fight Boko Haram insurgency in that part of the country with little success been recorded. For instance, in 2014 National Budget, over one trillion naira was voted for security. The relocation of the Defence Command Centre from Abuja to Maiduguri by President Muhammadu Buhari on the 29th May, 2015 is a typical example of how insecurity has forced the federal government of Nigeria into extra budgetary spending.
- ✓ Disruption of Family and communal life. This is one of the most painful effects of insecurity in the northern Nigeria. Since the insurgency started unleashing their activities, maiming, killing and burning of houses in that part of the country, a lot of people have lost their loved ones and others were forced to separate from each other. This invariably bestowed hardship on the face of many while others are still undergoing emotional and psychological trauma resulting from the act of insurgency in the north.
- ✓ During the violent conflicts or natural disaster, which forced these Internally Displaced Persons to leave, most houses and properties were destroyed, looted or burnt down. Most IDPs in Nigeria flee to neighbouring countries that are safe usually taking refuge in temporary shelter such as schools, public building and places of worship among others having been deprived of their homes and sometimes, their lives and livelihoods.
- ✓ Despite the efforts of the Nigerian government, faith-based organisations and other NGOs to address some of the basic needs of these IDPs, their vulnerability tends to be increased by barriers to accessing healthcare services, education, employment, economic activities and information for participation in the decision making affecting their lives. Hence, the government spending and responsibilities equally increased.
- ✓ Deepening of hunger and starvation, poverty and criminality in the polity.
- ✓ Dehumanization of men, women and children especially in areas where rape, child abuse and neglect are used as instrument of war.

VI. Conclusion

It is evident from the beginning of this paper that insecurity situation in contemporary Nigeria has forced large number of Nigerians to be vulnerable and susceptible to all forms of exploitation, abuse, neglect and many rendered homeless in the northern part of the country. The current figure or number of the IDPs camps across the country shows that the federal, states, local governments and the host communities are all suffering from the effect of insecurity in the north.

If the level of insecurity in our country today is not scaled down or appropriate measures are not taking to avert the ugly trend of the menace of insecurity, the Nigeria's vision to become among the top 20 advanced countries in the world by 2020 may be an illusion. This paper argues that the government should change her attitudes of responses when the harm has already been done and crime committed to adopt proactive measures or approaches. Therefore, the government, civil society and individuals or business organisations alike must fight insecurity … as to create an enabling environment for all.

a) The Way Forward

- To overcome insecurity in Nigeria, there is need for intelligence gathering and surveillance so that law enforcement agents could be proactive and reasonably predict potential crime with near perfect accuracy rather than being reactive.
- Government should accelerate the pace of creating enabling environment with relevant social, economic, and physical infrastructure for business operations and industrial growth to provide gainful employment, high level of educational facilities and medical care for the people.
- Importantly, since most problems associated with Nigerian society from independent are politically and religious motivated, the government should ensure that emoluments of the political office holders are compulsorily reduced. Their powers and influences also should be discouraged and high academic standard should be taking seriously to those that seek to hold public offices politically.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

References Références Referencias

1. Afegbua, I. A. (2010), Conflicts and Political Instability in Nigeria: Causes, Consequences and Prospects. *Journal of Social Science and Public Policy, Vol. 2.*
2. Adeniyi O. (2006), British Citizens Leads MASSOB Protest in London. *This Day.*
3. Azazi, A. (2011). Responding to the Emerging Trend of Terrorism in Nigeria, *5th Policing Executive Forum Conference Proceedings* Organised by Cleen Foundation: Lagos.
4. Agengo C (2009), *Kenya: Peace and Security Imperative for Women*. http://allafrica.com/stories/-200911191107.html retrieved 09 04 2010.
5. Agi, S. P. I. (1996), *Holy Violence.* Editions Ehi, Markurdi.
6. Balogun, T.A. (2003), *Nigeria: Electoral Violence and National Security.* http://acceproject.org/ero-en/regions/africa/NG/electoral-violence-nigeria/view retrieved 27-09-2010.
7. Beland, D. (2015). The Political Construction of Collective Insecurity: From Moral Panic to Blame Avoidance and Organised Irresponsibility, *Center for European Studies* Working Paper Series 126. Lagos Nigeria.
8. Fasan, R. (2011), "Will there be Peace in our Time? *The Vanguard* Wednesday, September 28, p.38.
9. Fakanbi, K and Raji O. (2013), A Federation in Disarray: Interrogation of National Integration and Security Challenges of Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The African Symposium: *An online Journal of the African Educational Research Network. Vol. 13, No.2.*
10. Ibrahim A. M. and Azubuike A. S (2014), A Review on the Security Challenges in Northern Nigeria and its Implications for Business Survival and Sustainable Development. *Journal of Management and Corporate Governance*, Vol.6, No.2, 2014: Cenresin Publications.
11. Igbuzor O. (2011), Peace and Security Education: A Critical Factor for sustainable Peace and National Development. *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, Vol.2.
12. Iduh, S. (2011), The Key Challenges to Peace in Nigeria. *International Journal of Vocational and Technical Education, Vol. 3(8):121-134.* Available online at http://www.academicjournal.org/JVTE
13. Ighodalo, A. (n.d.), Election Crisis, Liberal Democracy and National Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: *European Scientific Journal,* Vol. 8. No. 26.
14. Iyayi, F. (2007), "Elections, INEC and The Problem of Electoral Mindsets in Nigeria". *The Electoral Journal* Vol. (1)1.
15. Ibrahim, J. & Igbuzor, O (2002), "Memorandum Submitted to the Presidential Committee on National Security in Nigeria.
16. Muhammed A. Y. (n.d.), *Youth Violence in Nigeria's Fourth Republic: Implications for Human Development in the 21st Century.*
17. Muhammed T. L. (2012), Impact of Insecurity in the North on Internally Displaced People and Migration Flows between Nigeria and Neighbouring Countries. A Paper Presentation at The Forum of European Union Working Group on Migration and Development Organised by the Delegation of European Union to Nigeria: EU Meeting Room 1, (Portakabin) 1st Crescent, Off Constitution Avenue, CBD, Abuja.
18. Onuoha, F. C. (2011). Nigeria's Vulnerability to Terrorism: The Imperative of a Counter Religious Extremism and Terrorism. Retrieved from htt://www.-monitor.upeace.org/innerp
19. Okpaga, A. Et'al (2012), Activities of Boko Haram and Insecurity Question in Nigeria. *Arabian Journal of Business and Management* Review (OMAN Chapter) Vol.1 No. 9.
20. Olaiya, T. A (2004), Youth and ethnic movement and their impacts on party politics in ECOWAS member States, *Sage Open 1-12.*
21. Olabanji O. E. and Ese U. (2014), Insecurity and Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies*, Vol.5, No.1, 2014, 40-63.
22. Precious, I. (2015), 10,000 Rendered Homeless in IJora. *The Nation* October 2, 2015:P48.
23. Tajudeen A. A. (2011). Implications of Election Tribunals for Electoral Violence Prevention in Nigeria: In Tajudeen A. Akanji, et'al (eds). *Challenges of Democratic Governance in Nigeria,* Dugbe, Ibadan: John Archers Publishing.
24. Umezinwa, C (2012), Ethnicity and Nigeria's underdevelopment: *A New Journal of African Studies, 9, 215-229.* http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/og.-v9i
25. Udoh, E.W (2015), Insecurity in Nigeria: Political, Religious and Cultural Implications. *Journal of Philosophy, Culture and Religion Vol.5*: An International Peer-reviewed Journal. Retrieved from www.iiste.org on 14/10/2015.
26. Ugiagbe T.B (2010), *Electoral Violence in Nigeria: Implications for Peace, Security and Development*. http://www.monotor.upeace.org/innerpg/.cfm_article =697 Final NDI reports on Nigeria's 2007 elections (2008) retrieved 09 10 2009.
27. Yusuf A. (2008) Nigeria has $50bn in Foreign Currency. Gold reserves (August 20)-*CIA Daily Independence.*

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Political Party Rebellion, Legislative Politics and Balance of Power in the 8th National Assembly of Nigeria

By Peter Mbah & Anthony Egobueze
University of Nigeria, Nigeria

Abstract- The issue of equitable power sharing in the All Progressives Congress (APC) controlled federal legislature has been very contentious in the 8th National Assembly of Nigeria. This paper analyses the legislative politics and politics of office distribution in Nigeria focusing on how elite struggles for power and influence shape the internal conflicts and implementation of zoning principles in the National Assembly. Legislatures evolve and develop internally in reaction to broader political environment. Zoning and rotation principle are part of a democratic culture used to address the problems inherent in a plural society of underdeveloped states. The zoning principle is structured to deliberately ensure some degree of diversity. This is indispensable to the maintenance of the Nigerian State due to its diversity in ethnicity, religion, language, education, etc. This article analyses the conflicts arising from an attempt to change the zoning principle and office distribution imbedded in the federal character principle in Nigeria. It focuses on how elite struggle for power and money shape the conception, implementation, and continuity of zoning of offices and positions in order to maintain ethnic balancing. The article adopts a methodology involving qualitative research based on a review of published literature.

Keywords: zoning, federal character, senate, internal conflict, national assembly.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Peter Mbah & Anthony Egobueze. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Political Party Rebellion, Legislative Politics and Balance of Power in the 8th National Assembly of Nigeria

Peter Mbah [α] & Anthony Egobueze [σ]

Abstract- The issue of equitable power sharing in the All Progressives Congress (APC) controlled federal legislature has been very contentious in the 8th National Assembly of Nigeria. This paper analyses the legislative politics and politics of office distribution in Nigeria focusing on how elite struggles for power and influence shape the internal conflicts and implementation of zoning principles in the National Assembly. Legislatures evolve and develop internally in reaction to broader political environment. Zoning and rotation principle are part of a democratic culture used to address the problems inherent in a plural society of underdeveloped states. The zoning principle is structured to deliberately ensure some degree of diversity. This is indispensable to the maintenance of the Nigerian State due to its diversity in ethnicity, religion, language, education, etc. This article analyses the conflicts arising from an attempt to change the zoning principle and office distribution imbedded in the federal character principle in Nigeria. It focuses on how elite struggle for power and money shape the conception, implementation, and continuity of zoning of offices and positions in order to maintain ethnic balancing. The article adopts a methodology involving qualitative research based on a review of published literature. The study recommended the reintroduction of zoning principle for maintaining zonal equilibrium as a modality for ethnic diversity balancing and management.

Keywords: zoning, federal character, senate, internal conflict, national assembly.

I. Introduction

Legislatures are the heart of any democratic government across the world and are not static institutions. It is the yardstick for measuring the views of the people in a democracy (Egobueze, 2013:2). They evolve and develop internally in reaction to broader political environment (Rotimi, 1988; Forgette, 1997). As political institution, it is seen as an important organ used to address the important question of unity and stability in any given society. However, this historic role played by the legislature has not attracted much attention, unlike the executive and the judiciary especially in the developing countries like Nigeria. This development according to Boyton and Kim (1975) 'may be attributed to the nature of legislative office that is neither the owner of the purse or the sword'. There seems to be little literature on legislature as an organ of government, legislative behavior and legislative conflicts within the legislature itself in Nigeria. Compared with the advanced Western democracies, literature on Nigerian legislature is not as rich as those of the western world. Many reasons accounted for this. First, most of the available historical accounts of the role of colonial legislatures were actual documentation of the British.

In spite of the strategic importance of the legislature, adequate and scientific explanations to the conflicts within the two chambers especially in the Senate have not been given considerable academic attention. Political analysts and academics rarely focus attention on scientific explanation of the conflicts between the Senate and the House of Representatives or within any one of them in Nigeria (Mbah, 2014:677).

When we speak of politics, we refer to all activities that are directly or indirectly associated with the emergence, consolidation and use or exercise of state power (Nnoli, 2003:12). The state is its centerpiece and it refers to what the politicians do. The 8th Legislative session of the National Assembly began in 9th of June, 2015. Legislators had arrived in Abuja for their inauguration session and were faced with how to elect the principal officers of the Assembly, maintaining zoning balance and myriad of other problems and issues relating to the Nigerian economy. The elections of Senator Bukola Saraki of All Progressives Congress (APC) the majority party in the Assembly, Senator Ike Ekweremadu and Senator David Mark of People's Democratic Party (PDP) as Senate President, Deputy Senate President and Senate Leader respectively means that a larger-than-usual deception is being carried out and also the elections of Rt. Hon. Yakubu Dogara and Hon. Lasun Yusuf (APC) as Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives respectively, is not an unusual event in the annals of Nigeria's political history. In other words, the politics inside the legislative house is not new. However, the emergence of the leadership of the 8th National Assembly has thrown up many issues which have generated conflicts and crisis within the APC and the Assembly. This has put into debate the merits and faults of majoritarian and party theories to explain legislative actions.

Mbah, (2014:678) argues that many scholars and social commentators see the prevalent explanations

Author α: PhD, Department of Political Science University of Nigeria, Nsukka. e-mail: peter.mbah@unn.edu.ng
Author σ: PhD, Rivers State House of Assembly, Moscow Road, Port Harcourt. e-mail: otonie@yahoo.com

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

of the conflicts in the National Assembly as part of unavoidable teething problems of a nascent democracy. Also, Haber, (citation needed) argues that in some African countries, the legislature remains young with stunt growth and fragility due to the devastating consequences of wars, conflict and dictatorship. Conflicts within the National Assembly are not merely the result of the learning process of the new democratic process. It is assumed that legislators will realize the co-ordinate characters within National Assembly and, therefore, the desideration of cooperative work. There are other reasons advanced that sound rhetoric favouring one chamber or the other and this has accumulated in both the popular press and the writings of political scientists. Much of this rhetoric revolves around the legitimacy of disagreement between the Senate and House of Representatives. In many publications by scholars, there are opinions that the platform of a party winning the majority in each Chamber usually breeds disagreement and conflict. Usually, if the same party wins a majority in legislature, output is often held to reflect the extent of disagreement between the members. It is expected that conflicts will be common between the two Chambers when different parties are in the majority in both Chambers. In this case, issues are usually seen from different views and perspectives (Mbah, 2014: 678). Increasingly this explanation is deemed to be an optimist's dream.

In this case, if issues are seen from different views and perspectives, no party will be willing to abandon its position. Consequently, conflicts and disagreements will be based on policy disagreements. The 2015 general elections made the All Progressives Congress (APC) pivotal in the National Assembly. The National Assembly is not divided by electoral results. Nigerians expected that acting upon their strengthened bargaining position in the National Assembly, that rancorous and conflictive relationships could be reduced to its barest minimum. It was assumed that a party with a majority in the two chambers of the legislature and controls the executive will then be able to carry out its platforms. This has not been the case.

However, in a country such as Nigeria where economic development is at the lowest level, the motivating factor has always been private and sectional interests as the driving force of politics and of the feuds within the chambers. Many legislators from the opposition party and some from the APC see the proverbial "hand of Esau and voice of Jacob" in these conflicts. Consequently, many allegations have been made. Accusing fingers have been pointed at the former Leader of the APC, Ahmed Tinubu for leading some legislators' against the election of Burkola Saraki as the Senate President to destabilize the National Assembly. Some see it as PDP plan to slight the APC government.

This paper, therefore, aims to critically evaluate how insistence of the maintenance of the zoning principle as a balance of power mechanism reinforces the conflictive and rancorous relationships within the APC controlled National Assembly, especially the Senate. This strand of analysis is central in framing our problematique for the conflict in the Senate Chamber. In reality, APC intra-legislative conflicts are not as a result of a different party controlling the two legislative arms, being in minority in the Assembly or in the Senate, learning process and on the issue of principle and dedication to good legislation by standing on both sides of public interest, but, however, reflect a great deal of party rebellion and insistence by some members in maintaining the zoning principle. The significance of this study is that first, it could serve as an experimental control for testing some assumptions underlying the study of legislative conflicts in Africa particularly those positing a link between quality of leadership and zoning. Second, studies of the legislature focus attention on inter-party legislative conflicts rather than intra-party legislative conflicts and this has not received much academic attention in the study of legislatures in Nigeria.

II. African Legislature: A Conceptual Reflection

A legislature is the embodiment of the doctrine of popular sovereignty, which recognizes that the people as are the source of all political power. Citizens choose by popular vote the legislators, or representatives, whom they want to serve them. The representatives are expected to be sensitive to the needs of their constituents and to represent their constituents' interests in the legislature (http://legal-dictionary.thefree-dictionary.com/constituents). Discussions about African democracies have generally focus on good governance, leadership, and transparency of the executive branches, with less attention on the pivotal role that legislatures have to play in further advancing the continent's democratic processes today (Sanders, 2014). The study of African politics has long focused on the role of the executive, or on the party, and less commonly on the role of parliament. Big men and a few women dominated national politics, either as autocrats or, infrequently, as democrats. They and their close associates were salient and largely determinative of political machinations and outcomes. Thus the executive branch was for many decades omnipotent in the majority of sub-Saharan African politics (Protberg, 2013).

Orji (2008: 125) argues that intense elite struggles for power are a striking feature of Nigerian politics. The key element of the struggle has been the tension between elites from the largely Moslem North and the Christian South. The underlying issues behind the political tension are the fears in Northern Nigeria that the more educated Southern elite would dominate state institutions as well as concerns in Southern Nigeria that the more populous North would have upper hand in

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

majoritarian electoral contest. The foregoing argument has dominated political science literature regarding conflicts in Nigeria before and after the Nigerian civil war. However, the internal conflict within the APC does not follow this fault line of Moslem North and Christian South divide, for both Saraki and Lawan including Dogara are from the North. Governing parties that are internally divided have greater difficulty in forming the legislative majorities necessary to pass laws quickly, especially if their preferences are further away from the opposition (Haber, 2015). Again, cultural considerations, historical experiences, and political realities affect the evolution and development of legislative bodies (Ornstein, 1992:3). In some countries, the legislature remains very weak despite the return to multiparty politics, the holding of presidential and legislative elections at regular intervals, and even the alternation of power between rival political parties (Barkan, 2009:3). In Nigeria, the reality lies somewhere in between-the legislature remains weak, but aspires to, and to a limited extent has achieved, a larger role (Barkan, 2009). Some of the setbacks of the development of legislatures in Africa and conflicts therein, according to Barkan (2009:4) is that the colonial legacies in Francophone and Lusophone Africa were not any more supportive of the development of a legislature that could perform the core functions.

In explaining what constitutes a strong legislature, Krishnan (2013:3) argues that a good starting point in answering such a complex question is to determine whether examples of effective legislatures can be identified. Developing a benchmark to measure against will allow the characteristics of strong, effective, and independent legislatures to be determined. These would allow different political systems to be analytically assessed and distinctions to be made between weak legislatures that rubber-stamp and stronger legislatures with the abilities to act with or without executive or party approval (Krishnan, 2013:4).Legislative ineffectiveness is part of larger issues of poor governance and weak state structures (Krishnan, 2013).

Recent studies of legislative organization have advanced competing distributive, informational, and partisan theories of legislative organization. Analyzed in light of principal-agent framework, each offers a distinct account of the reasons for and the conditions most conducive to different types of legislative rules reform. In particular, the principal-agent framework permits better understanding of the conditions promoting partisan reform of House rules under the Senate President or the Speaker (Forgette, 1997: 375). Recent positive theory based on United States Congressional studies argues for policy preference-based models to explain the choice of legislative institutions; an alternative theoretical approach holds that re-election goals shape preferences over institutional arrangements. Still other theorists emphasize "supply-side" explanations of partisanship and party leadership in enabling legislators to overcome collective action problems in policy and institutions (Remington, 1998:545). The problem remains, however, that these diverse approaches cannot be combined into a single comprehensive theory to explain internal conflicts within legislative houses, especially that of Nigerian legislature. In recent theorizing, Putnam (2007) contends that ethnic and racial diversity can dampen both out-group and in-group cohesion. In other words, theories of racial or power threat are a sub-set of theories of realistic group conflict (Wong and Drake, 2006:5). The central claim is that the presence of an out-group in sufficient numbers will generate competition for scarce resources and thus local hostility (Hopkins, 2010:41). Hopkins further contends that since the mechanisms are exclusively local, the effect should be a function of local population shares and vary over time to the extent that population shares do (Author omitted 2010:41). Threat might be especially acute in places of relative or increasing resource deprivation (Branton and Jones, 2005) or of rising out-group political power (Dancygier, 2007). To be sure, realistic group conflict is not the only way through which to view Nigeria's response to local crisis arising from political change. The kind of social conflict in the legislative assembly refers to the struggles over values and claims to status, power, and scarce resources.

It is in part of this underdevelopment that many (donor) initiatives were introduced in the period from the 1990s onwards to "build the capacity" of parliament in different parts of Africa. And without doubt, there were, indeed, technical capacities in need of being developed. But clearly, the issues arising from the weaknesses of the legislature are not simply or only technical in nature; in fact, they are mainly – and perhaps overwhelmingly political in nature (CODESRIA, 2006:1). These problems have manifested themselves in a variety of ways, including through the struggles for relative autonomy from the executive, tensions arising from the tendency towards presidentialism in Africa's new democracies, the instability and fragmentation of political parties, the poor structuring of the relationship between elected legislators and party bosses, the easy vulnerability of electoral systems to various kinds of manipulation, etc (CODESRIA, 2006:1). Thus, African legislatures are largely absent from comparative body of literature about parliaments and their members.

The ongoing leadership crisis about the elections of the Senate President and Speaker House of Representatives have been profoundly affected by the All Progressives Congress (APC) rejection of Senator Burkola Saraki and Yakubu Dogara who they argue were not the first choice of the party in 109 Senate and 360 House of Representatives dominated by the APC. Since the inauguration of the 8th National Assembly and the election of the leadership of both the Senate and the House of Representatives where Senator Burkola Saraki

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

and Hon. Yakubu Dogara emerged Senate President and Speaker of the House of Representatives respectively against the position of their party, the APC, the party which won the Presidential and National Assembly elections has been thrown into crisis. The elections of these two principal officers and the subsequent chaos that resulted therefron proved a bombshell for the party. This is because according to Easterbrook (1983:547-548) legislatures comprise many members; they do not have "intents" or "designs". It is not only impossible to reason from the one statute to another but also impossible to reason from one or more sections of a statute to a problem not resolve. The existence of agenda control within a legislature makes it impossible for a party-even one that knows each legislator's complete table of preferences-to say what the whole body would have done with a proposal it did not consider in fact. As a federal state, an acknowledgement of the diverse interests needs to be accommodated.

In fact, one cannot rule out the possibility that faced with electing principal officers in the National Assembly would follow party guidelines strictly without considering politics of region, religion and ethnicity in a heterogeneous country like Nigeria. Politics and appointments or even elections consider the foregoing factors as ingredients of national politics. The bone of contention was between the "Like Minds" loyal to Burkola Saraki and the "Senate Unity Forum" which was formed as Senator Ahmad Lawan's support base. The Lawan group has the support of the APC leader, Ahmed Tinubu while the Burkola Saraki's group is a radical group who believes in equity and zoning. The President comes from the North West while the Vice President comes from the South West. In their reasoning, it will be unfair to also have the Senate President from the North East in the person of Ahmed Lawan who comes from Yobe State and Speaker of the House, Femi Gbajabiamila who comes from Lagos State, the South West, and the same zone as the Vice President. If this is allowed to happened, the North Central will lose - out completely in the national scheme of things. The Chairman of the APC comes from the South -South in the person of John Oyegun. So, Saraki, from the North-Central had to act fast, of which he acted and got the Senate President against the spirit and guideline of his party. Arguably, the main character in Buhari's quest to victory was National leader of the APC, Ahmed Tinubu. He played important role in the election of the President by mobilizing the entire South West to vote for Buhari. But that is not to deny the unifying factor, the zoning formula. These two groups were the power contending forces in the Senate.

Therefore, the crisis and conflict in the Senate is induced by the struggle of like Minds, loyal to Burkola Saraki to reintroduce the zoning principle in the Senate which the PDP used in sharing important national offices when they controlled the Federal government from 1999 to 2015. This principle is driven by the Federal Character principle in the 1999 constitution. The introduction of the principle was due to claims of marginalization and demands for more equitable sharing of petroleum resources to all sections of the country, ethnic or states. Years of centralism by the military undercut ethnic-based politicians. Consequently, federal character was a negotiated balance between centripetal (military) and centrifugal (ethnic) instincts in the Nigerian political lexicon (Ibeanu, 2012: 19). Widely popular claims, especially in the South, state that military rule was a guise for domination by the North also meant that an ideology of balance between North and South, between Christians and Moslems and among States and geo-political zones should become a central principle of constitution making in Nigeria (Ibeanu, 2012). Section --- of the constitution of Nigeria 1999 outlaws discrimination on the basis of race, gender, or religion. Undoubtedly, one of the most discussed issues in Nigeria today is the issue of political zoning. Zoning, properly defined, is an arrangement in which political offices at the national, state and local government are distributed or rotated to ensure that no part of any political configuration is shortchanged. The concept seeks to formalize a pattern whereby the geo-ethnic origin or zone of the national leadership alternates or is accommodated in major political offices. It is an attempt to address the important question of unity in diversity and stability through consciational practices.

Accordingly, any practice by a political party that undermines the clarity, visibility, and purity of that choice goes against the grains and constitutes a violation of the constitution. This principle has become a major plank on which the Nigerian political class has framed the discourse of national unity and stability. This is what the Saraki group wants maintained that fueled the crisis in the Senate. The Part arguing otherwise that its first choice for the post of Senate President was Ahmad Lawan, while also recommending Femi Gbajabiamila for Speakership. However, members of the House of Representatives elected Yakubu Dogara, who represents Bogoro/ Tafawa Balewa Federal Constituency in Bauchi State, North East, as the Speaker of the 8th Assembly. Mr. Dogara defeated Femi Gbajabiamila, who represents Surulere federal constituency, Lagos state, South West, in a keenly contested election.

The plan to dictate to the National Assembly whom to elect as principal officers could have been possible under the parliamentary system where the party that wins the majority seats in the parliament determines the allocation and the direction of leadership. But Nigeria is practicing presidential system of government as is provided for in the Constitution of Nigeria, 1999 which does not recognize party supremacy after electioneering victory for the office of

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

the Senate President and the Deputy Senate President as well as the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives. However, the APC wanted to dictate how National Assembly officials should emerge which is a departure from the spirit and letters of the Constitution Section 50 of the constitution states that:

> There shall be:- (a) a President and a Deputy President of the Senate, who shall be elected by the members of that House from among themselves; and
>
> (b) a Speaker and a Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives, who shall be elected by the members of that House from among themselves (FGN,1999).

members of the National Assembly are free to elect their leaders without recourse to any party.

Positive political institution focuses on designing models that recognize that political decisions are not made in an institutional vacuum (Schwartz, Spiller and Urbitztondo, 1994). Legislatures have political parties, committees, caucuses, recognition and addenda rules all of which add to the predictability of policy decisions. Easterbrook (cited in Schwartz, Spiller, and Santiago, 1994:52) suggested that the presence agenda control makes it impossible to predict what would emerge from the legislative process. This is because politics is fraught with uncertainty. Office holders do not know with precision the preferences of other holders on every issue especially in the developing countries where state power and political positions mean money. One can never fully anticipate how the personnel of any branch of government will change in the near future. Changes in the political environment lead to changes in the saliency of various issues for political actors (Schwartz, Spiller, and Urbiztondo, 1994:52). Certainly, when the inauguration of the 8th National Assembly took place on the 9th of June, 2015, and some principal officers emerged, nerves were raised, protest from some members of the APC followed and rejection of the elected officers by the aggrieved party members who felt that what happened was an act of rebellion, refused to recognize their leadership in the National Assembly. In-fighting and intrigues on how to remove them led to the rowdy session on June 25, 2015 in which the Maze which is the symbol of authority was nearly snatched in order to achieve the removal of the Speaker of the House of Representatives. This forced the House to adjourn plenary till July 28, 2015.

a) The Politics of Zoning, Conflict and Balance of Power in the 8th National Assembly

The Nigerian Federation is an assembly of several nationalities striving to forge a more perfect union from peoples of diverse heritage. To further this objective, various forms of affirmative action have been proposed and taken to promote the feeling of belonging and inclusiveness by all segments of the country. The terms Federal Character, Zoning, Rotation, Uniform Development, National Character, etc, have been used to describe the various forms of affirmative action designed to engender feelings of belonging and national inclusiveness in appointments to positions of national leadership. The degree of acceptance of affirmative action in our national life is evidenced in an agency like the Federal Character Commission that is enshrined in the Constitution of the country (Ovienmhada, 2015:1).

The office sharing arrangements express the tendency of the Nigerian elite since the 1970s to manage ethnic diversity and promote a Nigerian state project by avoiding divisive politics and emphasizing 'unity in diversity'. This position shows the basis, contradictions and ambivalence that underline the principles of federal character and zoning as modalities for sharing power, positions and resources between the Nigerian elite, and on the other hand, as frameworks and processes through which the elite seek to realize their interests within nonviolent distributive politics (Orji,2008:125).

b) Zoning and Conflict in the 8th National Assembly

The zoning principle is based on the latitudinal or horizontal relations relating to nation building which deals with interactions among constituent social forces in the emergent nation-state. The central content of this set of relations is the nature of competition and cooperation among the various social forces-ethnic, racial, religious etc- either created or nurtured by colonialism as part of vertical relations of aggregation (Ibeanu, 2012:13). Zoning is an arrangement in which political offices at the national, states and local governments are distributed or rotated to ensure that no part of any political configuration is short-changed or marginalized. It is a form of socio-political contract (Akinola, 1996:18), which is used for purposes of rotating major offices. It is, therefore, opium for maintaining unity and political balance which is necessitated by the logic that the more politically-endowed zone does not dominate the politically disadvantaged zone with its economic advantage. In this kind of arrangement, we do not underrate the importance of political power in distribution of scarce resources where the ruling is unproductive and weak economically. However, over a decade of return to democracy, Nigeria's federal system has been resilient to some of the political tensions that would have otherwise torn it apart (Nkume-Okorie, 2014:15).

Nigeria's aspirations have been usually centred on how to develop a broad and universally accepted framework for crisis free and equitable transfer of power, sharing of offices, including political participation (Ojonugwa, 2015). Ojonnugwa further argues that in order to fashion out a new formula to create a basis for equitable distribution of political power through the electoral process, one of such suggestions was the proposal for the principle of zoning of political offices

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

among the six geo-political zones structure. This was first recommended by the 1995 Constituent Assembly organized by General Abacha's administration. Although the recommendation was never contained in the 1999 constitution, the six geo-political zones have come to be recognized as the basis for power sharing. It was on the strength of this that the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), through a consensus, adopted zoning of political offices for the 1999 general elections (Ojonugwa, 2015).

It was originally introduced into Nigeria's polity during the second republic (1979- 1983) in the Article 21 of the internal rules and regulations of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), which was the ruling party at that time. In the Fourth Republic, the PDP, which has been in power since 1999 till 2015, retained this practice internally. The practical operation of zoning demands that key positions, such as that of the office of the President of the Republic, the Vice-President, the Senate President and his vice, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and his deputy and the Secretary to the government of the federation, be occupied by people from different States and geopolitical zones (Ojonugwa, 2015: 4). In the Fourth Republic, the PDP, which was in power since 1999 till 2015, retained this practice internally to share appointments and offices. The practical operation of zoning demands that key positions, such as that of the office of the President of the Republic, the Vice-President, the Senate President and his vice, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and his deputy and the secretary to the government of the federation, be occupied by people from different states and geopolitical zones. The This principle has also been extended beyond the Federal level to both State and Local governments.

One of the factors that led to the principle of zoning is the fear of domination by one ethnic group or zone by another in elective positions and appointments. In other words, the problem of ensuring a reasonable degree of unity under conditions of diversity is central in the structuring and running of federal governments (Awa, 1973:99). The degree to which unity is achieved will determine whether the inclusive government will persist as a political system. Consequently, a political community exists in a society whose members' posses' mutual sympathy and loyalty with respect to their participation in a common political unit, regardless of differences in custom, religion, social economic status, nationality, etc. In other words, in a political community, there are among the people, a shared national identity. In every society it is the common political structure shared by the members that tends to create minimal affective bonds among them (Awa, 1973). The National Assembly is one. The commitment to values enables men to devise means for reconciling or adjusting conflicting interests and for turning coercive force into legitimate authority (Cohen, 1968:28). When people enter public life, they bring their backgrounds and experiences with them. Sometimes, these present ethical dilemmas in the form of conflicts of interest. In the legislature, conflicts typically arise when a legislator has the potential to receive a personal benefit based on his or her public position. States are aware that conflicts of interest must be addressed and most have done so either directly or indirectly through the federal character principle or zoning.

In Nigeria, zoning has been accepted as an important political reality, hence there is always a concerted effort to ensure its application in all issues or distribution of offices to reach a harmonious and stable polity. For example, the introduction of the Federal Character Commission in the Constitution is a deliberate provision to safeguard the interests of both the majority and minority ethnic nationalities. Today, the appointment of Federal Ministers is based strictly on the realization of the imperative of zoning. Constitutionally, each State of the federation is as a matter of Constitutional requirement to be represented in the Federal Cabinet (Osuji, 2014: 2). It was not envisaged that in a country of 36 States; six geopolitical zones and a population of over 180 million people with so many fault lines, will agree to the choice of a political party picking its candidates without considering zoning (Ayelabowo, 2015). Ideologically, zoning is an imperative for the resolution of ethnic conflict in Nigeria. This is because the notion that ideology will destroy ethnicity is political fallacy. Thus, in the contest between the two, ethnicity which has the greater energy due to its rooted nature will prevail (Akinola, 1996), and because it prevails, the zoning principle is adopted as an ideology for maintaining ethnic balance. Although Nigeria consists of no less than 250 ethnic and linguistic groups, the problem of integration goes beyond such heterogeneity (Akinola, 1996:22). Three ethnic groups, Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa/Fulani is greater than most other African national populations, and this suggests the need for greater ingenuity in the art of political engineering (Akinola, 1996). Each of the major groups is larger than most African countries. Riker (cited in Akinola, 1996:19) posits that Nigeria is one of ex-British Federalisms that does not display the unification of a number of separate colonies no one of which have been viable alone. Therefore, marked differences in language, religion, custom, and culture could not be obliterated by the mere fact of amalgamation (Odumosu, cited in Akinola, 1996: 19). It was an attempt to converge diverse interest of the various nationalities that the social construction of zoning as a model emerged. Her size and underdevelopment makes it imperative for its adoption. Nigerian politics relates to zoning of national leadership and who gets what, how, and when.

So its re-introduction in the 8th National Assembly has become a source of conflicts and rancour within the ruling APC. For a very long time, major political appointments have been based on party

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

guidelines and recommendations made by the party and these were followed for appointments into public positions but not always in the election of principal officers of the National Assembly. Although zoning is not necessarily constitutional, but the federal character principle is, and has helped in the inclusion of diverse groups and interests in the sharing of political power. The principle is a way to diffuse ethnic, religious and other sectional interests as the basis for sharing political offices (Okwenna, 2011:4). The Peoples Democratic Party employs this in order to rotate resources among the geo-political zones in Nigeria. Any issue unresolved in political parties may however have a reverberating effect on the political landscape of Nigeria. What was supposed to be an internal arrangement by the APC is actually impacting heavily on the political evolution of Nigeria. The Constitution of most parties recognizes Nigeria as having six (6) geo-political zones. These zones have been the basis of power sharing and political participation, especially since the 1995 Constitutional Conference. The six geopolitical zones are designed to ensure equal participation of all the segments of the country in its administration. Indeed section 14 (3) of the 1999 Nigeria constitution recognizes this affirmative principle in what it calls the "Federal Character", which is to foster equity, justice and fairness among Nigerians from the various zones of the country.

The 8th Senate of the National Assembly was inaugurated on June 9, 2015 amid controversies. The controversy started from a competition between Senator Bukola Saraki, APC member representing Kwara Central Senatorial District in the North Central Geo-Political zone and Senator Ahmad Lawan, another APC member representing Yobe North in the North East Geo-Political zone of Nigeria in the race to the office of President of the Senate. The Senate instantly became divided into two factions, the pro-Saraki and the pro-Lawan groups. This conflict was provoked by struggle over the choice of leadership of the Senate. Disagreement or conflict in the senate is not new. The previous conflicts in the Senate have always been traced to the meddlesomeness of the executive arm in the choice of who will occupy the two presiding offices, President and Deputy of the Senate and other principal officers of the National Assembly (Chukwu, 2015:12). In 1999, when the Fourth Republic was inaugurated, President Obasanjo took the advantage of his office to impose leaders on the Senate and House of Representatives in his desperate effort to install stooges who would be loyal to his interferences in the affairs of the legislature. The conflict was, however, worse in the Senate because the Senators then were more prone to Obasanjo's manipulative tendencies than their counterparts in the House of Representatives. This explained why the eight years of Obasanjo in office produced five Presidents of the Senate (Chukwu, 2015:12).

Currently, the pro-Saraki faction operates under the umbrella of the Like Minds Senators (LMS) while the pro-group operates under the aegis of the Senate Unity Forum (SUF). Before the Senate leadership election, these groups used all available means including blackmail, positive persuasive campaigns and pernicious propaganda to market their candidates to then Senators-elect. Within the APC, the party leadership was behind Senator Lawan and did everything within its powers including negotiation, persuasion and perhaps intimidation, to convince or cow Senator Saraki to relinquish his ambition to his rival but these could not deter Saraki, as he defied all pressures to go for the contest. This defiant attitude and perceived disregard for party supremacy by Saraki provoked the leadership of the party to draw a battle line between him and the party's power brokers such as the former Governor of Lagos State, Bola Tinubu, the National Chairman of the APC and President Muhammadu Buhari.

Saraki eventually emerged as the President of the Senate on June 9, 2015. The APC hierarchy expected that Saraki haven won the election might at least allow Lawan to be appointed or selected as the Senate Majority Leader and George Akume as the his Deputy as a compromise to the party . The APC through its National Chairman and the Peace Committee made several attempts to persuade Saraki to respect some of the decisions of its leadership However, this did not happen. Owing to this strong stance of the Saraki Group, the leadership of APC vowed to fight back. This explains why the Senate has not known peace in the last few months after its inaugurated.

The APC appears to have given its enemies a stick to beat the party. This is because the absence of APC Senators in the Chamber ensured the emergence of Senator Ike Ekweremadu of the PDP as the Deputy Senate President. For two weeks, the governing party was at war with itself over the election of Burkola Saraki and Yakubu Dogara as Senate President and Speaker of House of Representatives respectively. While the inauguration of the National Assembly was going on, the APC Senators were at the International Conference Centre for a meeting with the President, which gave the Saraki group and PDP the opportunity to have their way. This is because elected legislatures usually include a combination of perspectives that is very different from the perspectives of the people they are supposed to represent or even their party. They are wealthier, better educated, with fewer women, fewer working class people, and so on. They are not "representative" of the people who elected them in terms of their demographics and points of view. This is what the Hannah Pitkin calls "descriptive representation" (Pitkin, 1972). They are not only different in their perspectives compared to the people they represent, they are also largely diverse.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

There is overriding heterogeneity of perspectives in terms of party affiliation, ethnicity or state of origin among elected legislators in the National Assembly. Consequently, the National Assembly is used to balance ethnicity and region or zone. The Senate represents equality of State, while the House represents geographical spread. Building on theories of legislative decision-making and intra-party politics, we argue that the speed at which bills are passed and peace maintained is driven by the governing party's internal cohesiveness and its ideological distance to the opposition. Governing parties that are internally divided have greater difficulty in forming the legislative majorities necessary to pass laws quickly and maintain internal stability especially if their preferences are further away from the opposition (Haber, 2015). From the APC, especially Lawan and Femi Gbajabiamila groups, there is the argument that zoning was never a policy that could work with polarized and suspicious political elites like ours. They argue that zoning negates the vital principles of democracy because it shrinks the political space of choice. (authority missing)

In a multi-state, zone and multi-ethnic state, the distributive network of the dividends of democracy lacks clarity. This is because ethnicity has become such a complex subject in national debate in Nigeria. The competition that it generates tends to have its roots in delusion, economics, fear, ignorance, perception, religion and most of all politics among others. William (1978) (cited in Akinola, 2013:2) who also carried out a study of interaction among the nations and nationalities in the Nigerian State, observed that: "Harmony, co-operation and unity have manifestly not characterized social and political life in post-independent Nigeria. Whenever the Nigerian political system has most dramatically experienced breakdowns - constitutional crisis, political immobilism, coups d'état, civil war, etc. - this has always occurred within a context of inter-ethnic controversy. The accuracy of this observation is supported by the fact that almost all the major crisis that has fundamentally affected the security of the Nigerian State can be traced to her balance of power problems (Akinola, 2013:2).

This configuration of variables leads both politicians and citizens to define their political interests in terms of their ethnic and/or regional identities rather than in terms of different positions on issues that are shared by peoples of different regions and ethnic groups. Put differently, in plural and agrarian societies where most people are tied to the land and their local community, one's place of residence and the cultural and linguistic affinities one shares with one's neighbours often defines one's perspective of politics. This is especially true when political leaders and aspiring leaders mobilize the population on the basis of these identities during the run-up to an election or for other political objectives (Mozaffar, Scarritt, and Galaich 2003; Posner 2004, 2005). It is also a configuration of factors that encourages the formation of patron-client political organizations and retards the development and performance of the legislature.

The conflict in the National Assembly especially between the two groups can be explained by adopting the Hortala-Vallve (2008) approach by modeling the negotiation that leads to a vote trading agreement as a non-cooperative dynamic game. A negotiation is a process of joint decision making. It is communication direct or tacit, between individuals who are trying to forge an agreement for mutual benefit. Hortala-Vallve (2008:6) models it as a repeated game with an endogenous status quo: in each period any alternative can challenge the status quo; the majoritarian winner becomes the status quo for next period; and the process only ends when no legislator wishes to continue the process any further and thus, the status quo at the point when the process ends is the policy that is finally implemented. In this model, legislators are farsighted in the sense that they consider not only the benefits of voting in favour of a particular policy today, but also the benefits of alternatives that are likely to replace that policy in the future (Hortala-Vallve, 2008). Penn (2009) also considers farsighted legislators but looks at a situation where a policy is enacted every period and "decisions made today can greatly affect the types of decisions that are feasible tomorrow.

The transfer of power between fractions of the dominant classes in Nigeria is such a contested terrain. In the ensuing warlike struggles, different groups and individuals try to outdo one another in bending fragile rules and short-circuiting laid down processes. Winners and losers alike distrust the rules as well as themselves, thus further weakening the rules and procedures, and making it impossible for a stable regime of power transfer and winner to emerge. This lawlessness also explains why personalization of power and private concepts of public business are very rampant (Ibeanu and Mbah, 2014:46-47) and the struggle for positions within the APC controlled National Assembly is rife and cut throat in nature.

Since the State is all-powerful and there are few safeguards on how its tremendous power is to be used in a moderate and civil manner, groups and individuals take a great stock in controlling the power of the postcolonial State. Politics is everything and everything is politics, including life and death. In Nigeria, whoever wins in politics wins everything, and whoever loses, loses everything, including lives and livelihoods. The primacy of politics becomes even worse as economic resources contract or become more concentrated, usually as a result of the persistence of the colonial economic project that supports dependence, stagnation and underdevelopment. As this happens, the social base of the postcolonial State becomes even narrower, further intensifying the primacy of politics. Arbitrariness,

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

lack of moderating political institutions and the narrow social base of the postcolonial state lead to a general lack of faith in it by the people (Ibeanu and Mbah, 2014:43). Therefore, this state exhibits a very low level of legitimacy. Low legitimacy further denudes the confidence of disadvantaged groups in the capacity of the State to protect their interests. Nor are dominant groups less distrustful of the State. For dominant groups, lack of confidence in the State's impartiality strengthens their resolve not to relinquish or share power with political adversaries (Ibeanu and Mbah, 2014: 43) such as electing Senator Ike Ekweremadu from the PDP as the Deputy Senate President. The Nigerian state exists as prebends parcelled out to various sectional interests, in the Nigerian case, ethnic interests in particular. Thus, politics becomes fiercely prebendal as ethnic and other sectional interests engage themselves in a fatal contest for increasing, allocating and defending their share of the "powers" of the State (Joseph, 1987).

From the foregoing, we can deduce that the characteristics of the Nigerian State have heightened conflicts and the Nigerian politics is seen in the following general ways according to Ibeanu and Mbah (2014:48):

- Excessive premium on power converts politics into warfare rather than a process of bargaining, discussion and orderly transfer of power.
- There is a weak sense of a shared future, especially among the constituent ethnic groups. Consequently, the primacy of politics and premium on power persist. There is a dominance of exclusive rather than inclusive strategies of power.
- Absolutism and totalitarianism of the State are leading to widespread deradicalisation of politics through the so-called "politics of consensus". The antinomy of "politics of consensus" is that it is pursued in a context of deepening exclusivism and lack of a sense of a shared future.
- Related to the deradicalisation of politics is the use of dubious plebiscitary and acclamatory methods like rallies, popular drafts and nominations (rather than institutionalized party- or community-based competition) as means of selecting political officers and reaching decisions.
- There is an overwhelming inclination towards personalization of rule and sit-tight mentality (self-succession) among political leaders because of the limitless power and prestige conferred by the enormity of State power.
- Absence of effective institutional mechanisms for moderating political competition leads to conversion of political competition into warfare among ethnic groups, thereby elevating the military, the masters of warfare and antithesis of democracy, into a position of social pre-eminence (Ibeanu and Mbah, 2014: 48).

For the past fifteen years, beginning with Chief Olusegun Obasanjo's Civilian regime of 1999-2007 to the administration of Shehu Musa Yar' Adua and Acting President Goodluck Jonathan to 2015, the PDP had sustained the Presidential Zoning between Southern and Northern sections of the country. Although the zoning was breached with the death of Yar'Adua, in 2011 elections, advocates of Presidential Zoning often cite peace and stability in the polity as the main reason. The zoning formula was extended to the sharing of principal positions in the National Assembly to maintain peace and stability in the country.

Consequently, the politically powerful and strategic positions of the President and Vice President, the Senate President and Deputy Senate President, Speaker and Deputy Speaker, Majority Leader and principal officers of the National Assembly as well as other important national offices, by established federal character convention, always took into appropriate account the distribution and rotation of offices among the six geo-political zones. However, the military regims did not recognize this rule especially in zoning the office of the President or Head of State. In this respect, the North had produced six military Heads of State namely Gowon, Mohammed, Buhari, Babangida, Abacha and Abubakar. Part of the zoning system since 1999 within parties especially the PDP was informed by the need to better accommodate the interests of Nigeria's numerous ethnic groups, by rotational and zoning process to ensure fairer political distribution of key national offices.

However, the Senate leadership crisis in the Fourth Republic actually commenced when the need arose for the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) as was in the case with the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) in 1979, to come up with an acceptable zoning formula for the country. The PDP, therefore, decided to zone its elective positions between the six geo-political zones. In the zoning formula that was to emerge, the South-west took the presidency; the Vice Presidents' slot was zoned to the North-east and Senate Presidency to the South-east; the Speaker to the North-west, Deputy Speaker to the South-south zone. Thus as soon as it became apparent that the Senate Presidency had been zoned to the South-east, intense underground campaigns commenced within the Senators-elect and amongst political stakeholders from the zone (Banjo, 2013:3).

The tables below show the distribution of offices according to geo-political zones under the PDP government in the National Assembly from 1999-2015.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Table 1 : Principal Officers in the National Assembly, 1999 – 2003

S/N	PRESIDENT	DATE	NAME	PARTY	ZONE
1.	President	1999-2007	Olusegun Obasanjo	Peoples Democratic Party	South West
2	Vice President	1999-2007	Atiku Abubakar	Peoples Democratic Party	North East
3	Senate President	1999-1999	Evan Enwerem	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
	Senate President	1999-2000	Chuba Okadigbo	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
	Senate President	2000-2003	Anyim Pius Anyim	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
4	Deputy Senate President	2003-2007	Ibrahim Mantu	Peoples Democratic Party	North Central
5	Speaker	1999-2000	Salisu Buhari	Peoples Democratic Party	North West
	Speaker	2000 -2003	Ghali Umar Na'Abba	Peoples Democratic Party	North West
6	Deputy Speaker	1999-2003	Chibudom Nwuche	Peoples Democratic Party	South South
7	House Leader	1999-2003	Mohammed Wakil	Peoples Democratic Party	North East
8	Chief Whip	1999-2003	Bawa Bwari	Peoples Democratic Party	North Central
9	Deputy Leader	1999-2003	Mao Ohuabunwa	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
10	Deputy Whip	1999-2003	Samuel Sadiq Anwo	Peoples Democratic Party	South West

Source: Compiled by the authors

Table 11 : Principal Officers in the National Assembly, 2003 - 2007

S/N	POSITION	DATE	NAME	PARTY	ZONE
1.	President	1999-2007	Olusegun Obasanjo	Peoples Democratic Party	South West
2	Vice President	1999-2007	Atiku Abubakar	Peoples Democratic Party	North East
3	Senate President	2003-2005	Adolphus Wabara	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
	Senate President	2005-2007	Ken Nnamani	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
4	Deputy Senate President	2003-2007	Ibrahim Mantu	Peoples Democratic Party	North Central
5	Speaker	2003-2007	Aminu Bello Masari	Peoples Democratic Party	North West
6	Deputy Speaker	2003-2007	Austin Opara	Peoples Democratic Party	South South
7	House Leader	2003-2007	Abdul Ningi	Peoples Democratic Party	North East
8	Chief Whip	2003-2007	Bawa Bwari	Peoples Democratic Party	North Central
9	Deputy Whip	2003-2007	Patricia Ette	Peoples Democratic Party	South West
10	Deputy Leader	2003-2007	Gilbert Nnaji	Peoples Democratic Party	South East

Source: Compiled by the authors

Table 111 : Principal Officers in the National Assembly, 2007 – 2011

S/N	POSITION	DATE	NAME	PARTY	ZONE
1.	President	2007-2010	Umaru Musa Yaradua	Peoples Democratic Party	North West
2	Vice President	2007-2010	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan	Peoples Democratic Party	South South
3	Senate President	2007-2011	David Mark	Peoples Democratic Party	North Central
4	Deputy Senate President	2007-2011	Ike Ekwerenmadu	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
5	Speaker	2007-2007	Patricia Etteh	Peoples Democratic Party	South West
	Speaker	2007-2011	Oladimeji Bankole	Peoples Democratic Party	South West
6	Deputy Speaker		Usman Bayero Nafada	Peoples Democratic Party	North East
7	House Leader		Akogun Tunde	Peoples Democratic Party	South South
8	Chief Whip		Bethel Amadi and later Emeka Ihedioha	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
9	Deputy Leader		Baba Shehu Agaie	Peoples Democratic Party	North Central

Source: Compiled by the authors

Table IV : Principal Officers in the National Assembly, 2011-2015

S/N	PRESIDENT	DATE	NAME	PARTY	ZONE
1.	President	2011-2015	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan	Peoples Democratic Party	South South
2	Vice President	2011-2015	Namadi Sambo	Peoples Democratic Party	North West
3	Senate President	2011-2015	David Mark	Peoples Democratic Party	North Central

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

4	Deputy Senate President	2011-2015	Ike Ekwerenmadu	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
5	Speaker	2011-2015	Aminu W. Tanbuwal	Peoples Democratic Party	North West
6	Deputy Speaker	2011-2015	Chukwuemeka Ihedioha	Peoples Democratic Party	South East
7	House Leader	2011-2015	Hon. Mulikat Akande	Peoples Democratic Party	South West
8	Chief Whip	2011-2015	Hon. Isiaka Bawa	Peoples Democratic Party	North East
9	Deputy Whip	2011-2015	Muktar Mohammed	Peoples Democratic Party	North Central
10	Deputy Leader	2011-2015	Hon. Leo Ogor	Peoples Democratic Party	South South

Source: Compiled by the authors

The above tables are clear precedents and practices for majority leadership positions since 1999. These constitute precedents, practices and balance of power at both the Senate and the House of Representatives as enshrined in the Standing Orders of National Assembly. This is supported by the Federal Character which has very strong constitutional foundations. They are indeed mandatory provisions of the 1999 Nigerian constitution (Vanguard, 2015:43).

However, the APC wanted to have in both the Senate and the House of Representatives is Ahmed Lawn from the North East as Senate President, Femi Gbajabiamila from the South West as the Speaker, the same geo-political zone as the Vice President. The Saraki group kicked against this, arguing that the two key political positions cannot go to the South West, thus his groups' insisted on zoning according to the precedent set already by the immediate past PDP government.

c) *The Policy of the Federal Character and Balance of Power*

Since the 1978 Constituent Assembly that produced the 1979 constitution, the so-called principle of Federal Character has emerged as a central principle of constitution making in Nigeria (Ibeanu, 2012:21). This principle according to Ibeanu, has become a major plank on which Nigerian petty bourgeoisie has framed the discourse of national unity. However, section 14 of the 1999 constitution means much more than sharing of public offices according to federal character in order to maintain national unity. The section reads as follows:

- The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice
- It is hereby, accordingly, declared that:
  - sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this constitution derives all its powers and authority;
  - the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government; and
  - the participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.
- The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few state or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that Government or in any of its agencies.
- The composition of the Government of a State, a local government council, or any of the agencies of such government or council, and the conduct of the affairs of the Government or council or such agencies shall be carries out in such a manner as to recognize the diversity of the people within its area of authority and the need to promote a sense of belonging and loyalty among all the people of the Federation (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2011:35-36).

The subsection that insists that in reflecting federal character, only the best from various "States, ethnic or other sectional groups" must be considered is not out of place. Ibeanu (2012:23) explains that the absence of such a provision, federal character will only privilege the family, friends, praise singers and courtiers of people in government, who in turn got into government by being, family, friends, praise singers and courtiers of people who were in government, who in turn were family, friends, praise singers, and courtiers of people who preceded them in government, and so on and so forth. Therefore, federal character is an attempt to solve the daunting challenge of nation building by the social construction of zoning of political offices. With federal character, the constitution cedes to each section of the federation a sense of belonging by ensuring that a few states or a few ethnic or other sectional groups do not have dominance over others.

It will be very unfair to the spirit of the 1999 constitution, if the House for instance, should follow the APC guideline. It will lead to the following unjust result:

Speaker: North East

Deputy Speaker: South West

Chief Whip: North East

House Leader: South West

Deputy House Leader: North West

Deputy Chief Whip: South South (Vanguard, 2015: 42)

APC National Chairman: South South

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

In this arrangement, the North Central and South East are completely edged out of the power equation and this is what the Speaker of the House wants to avoid by insisting that all the six geo-political zones should be accommodated in sharing the principal positions. Thus as soon as it became apparent that the Senate Presidency had been zoned to the North-east, intense underground campaigns commenced within the Senators-elect, especially Senators from the North Central who feared that they will be excluded from the national scheme of things if they do not act fast. So, Burkola Saraki had take the lead, and campaigned for the Senate Presidency.

The table VII below shows the eventual zoning outcome after Saraki shunned the APC list.

Table VII : 2015 Senate Principal Positions

S/N	Position	Date	Name of Officer	Party	Zone
1.	Senate President	2015	Sen. Bukola Saraki	APC	North Central
2.	Deputy Sen. President	2015	Sen. Ike Ekweremadu	PDP	South East
3.	Majority Leader	2015	Sen. Ali Ndume	APC	North East
4.	Deputy Majority Leader	2015	Sen. Bala Na' Allah	APC	North West
5.	Chief Whip	2015	Sen. Olusola Adeyeye	APC	South West
6.	Deputy Chief Whip	2015	Sen. Francis Alimikhena	APC	South South
7.	Minority Leader	2015	Sen. Godswill Akpabio	PDP	South South
8.	Deputy Minority Leader	2015	Sen. Emmanuel Bwacha	PDP	North East
9.	Minority Chief Whip	2015	Sen. Philip Tanimu	PDP	North Central
10.	Deputy Minority Chief Whip	2015	Sen. Biodun Olujimi	PDP	South West

Source: Compiled by the author

Table VIII : 2015 House of Representatives Principal Positions

1.	Speaker	2015	Rt. Hon. Y. Dogara	APC	North East
2.	Deputy Speaker	2015	Hon. Yusuf Lasun	APC	South West
3.	Majority Leader	2015	Hon. F. Gbajabiamila	APC	South West
4.	Deputy. Majority Leader	2015	Hon. Alhassan Doguwa	APC	North West
5.	Chief Whip	2015	Hon. M.T Mongunu	APC	North East
6.	Deputy. Chief Whip	2015	Hon. Pally Iriase	APC	South South
7.	Minority Leader	2015	Hon. Leo Ogor	PDP	South South
8.	Deputy. Minority Leader	2015	Hon. Chukwuma Onyema	PDP	South East
9.	Minority Chief Whip	2015	Hon. Yakubu Barde	PDP	North West
10.	D. Minority Whip	2015	Hon. Binta Bello	PDP	North East

Source: Compiled by the author

Table VII above accommodates the six geo-political zones in the appointment of principal officers of the Senate while the House of Representatives on table VIII did not. This is because the Speaker followed the party list in its selection of principal officers. For instance, the North Central was not represented or accommodated in the appointment of principal officers of the House. What the rebellion in the National Assembly needed was equity, fairness and justice in the distribution of power, wealth, legitimacy and social justice in the legislature and Nigeria, since the issue of quality of representation is not in the first line of consideration for now.

Consequently, the critical defining factors are clan, ethnic group, state, region or religion. However, ethnic chauvinism remains the most politically potent factor in politics. Still, ethnic identity exists in complex relationships with other factors in defining politics in Nigeria. Sometimes, politics is defined along the lines of ethno-regional identity as in the case of the North, South and Middle Belt, at other times, it is defined in terms of ethno-religious groupings as in the Moslem North and Christian South (Ibeanu, 2012). Other defining factors include minority versus majority ethnic groups, and numerous sub-ethnic identities.

When nation-state building fails in the latitudinal dimension, it finds expression in:

- Renewal of primordial identities and solidarities;
- Communal competition among subject communities for access to central power, especially competition among communities that were antagonistic prior to their common subjugation to the centralizing power;
- Strategies for evading the state's demands and coercion vis-à-vis other groups;
- Alliances and projects for collective class empowerment;
- Cultivation by groups of new exclusivity identities and solidarities; and
- Manoeuvres for forms of exclusivity by which the elite of particular groups and communities attempt to disable potential competitors (Ake, 1997 cited in Ibeanu, 2012:13).

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

d) Zoning as Balance of Power

Balance of power is a widely used concept in international relations, one whose importance in the understanding of the political dynamics in multi-ethnic states has been undervalued due to the limitations in the interpretations of its meanings (Akinola, 2013:1). The basic theme of the balance of power theory is that the international system is anarchical in the absence of a common government and goals. The management of this anarchy is based on the power relations among states (Akinola, 2013:1). However, within the state system, especially in a multi-ethnic and underdeveloped states such as Nigeria, it is presumed to be more anarchical, the un-integrated and therefore managed by a strong consensus, hence the need to balance power through the policy of the federal character and zoning.

The underlining principle of the balance of power concept is that, the pursuit of power and zoning of power and offices is the common denominator to which all struggle for power and internal conflicts can be reduced, and the notion that any preponderant power struggle outside the gates of the federal character and zoning will always be a menace to the interest and security of other ethnic nationalities and zones. This is because Nigeria is a state of multi-ethnic nationalities but not a nation of individuals. In which case, balancing for survival within the state's internal system is as important as the balancing between states in the international system. The North-South divide and the creation of the six geo-political zones create a platform in which internal dynamics of crisis is reduced. Consequently, balance of power implies an objective arrangement in which there is relatively widespread satisfaction with the distribution of power, so that no one zone or a group of zones can hold others to ransom with impunity. As a policy guide, the federal character principle as provided by the 1999 constitution prescribes how to maintain this balance, but failed to provide how to reverse or deter any state or zone from seeking to enjoy over-balanced power. It was the need to balance power that led to the party rebellion in the 8th National Assembly and internal conflict there from. This is because the balance of power changed character, intensity and scope when the APC controlled National Assembly was about to be inaugurated in June 2015, thus the internal legislative politics and refusal to accept a consensus candidate in both chambers of the legislature.

However, ever since the Dutch political scientist Arend Lijphart "discovered" consociational democracy in the late 1960s as a model for maintaining democracy in plural societies, power-sharing and democracy have been viewed as closely linked. The two are not as incompatible as was often thought and claimed. Lijphart's argument demonstrated that democracy in divided societies was possible if elites cooperated, even when the masses remained divided. In a consociational democracy, elite cooperation takes the form of executive coalitions in which the leaders of all main social groups are represented; proportional allocation of offices and resources including autonomy for social groups in the legislature is important to them. For Lijphart, democracy in deeply divided societies is possible only when power is shared instead of monopolized *(https://www.researchgate.net/publication/26592571_Democracy_and_Power-Sharing_in_Multinational_States_Thematic_Introduction). Thus,* Power-sharing becomes synonymous with democracy in plural societies such as Nigeria. However, this power sharing is used as a balance of power mechanism for ensuring relative stability, peace and unity. The absence of this balance could increase the intensity, the stake and the resources for maintaining the balance of power.

However, at the local levels - nations, nationalities and tribes - where state power has become means of wealth accumulation, fear of domination has always been a major trust for zoning. The difference in attitude is caused by a lack of ownership of the centre, which is not the case at the local level. The resources at the centre have no legitimate owner, but the sub-systems do. There is competition at the local level with no intention to destroy existing resources; but there is conflict at the centre, giving rise to a destructive attitude and a lack of prudent management (Akinola, 2013).

Olaiya, Apeloko, Amanchukwu, and Shiyanbade, (2014: 12) shows the importance of zoning especially in the Federal Legislature in Nigeria using the sampling instrument (questionnaire) randomly distributed to 150 respondents. From the empirical study of the National Assembly, it was found that a majority of the members were overwhelmingly in favour of the entrenchment of the zoning of important national offices into the constitution. This was on the grounds, however, as suggested by 71.7% of the members that the extant mode of power sharing had all but lost salience with the political elite. In addition to this 73.7% of the legislators submitted that without the zoning principle the likelihood of the government apparatus being manipulated to the desires of an ethnic group was present. Thus, in conclusion, 85.1% of the legislators were of the view that given the ignoble role ethnic contentions had caused the country's democracy in the past, zoning principle had the wherewithal to lay it all to rest- once and forever.

III. Conclusion

The 8th Senate of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was no doubt born into crisis, given the historical circumstances of its birth. Therefore, the unfolding events that has taken hold of the political stage in Nigeria has made it difficult to predict clearly what future zoning and the process of distributing political offices have in Nigerian politics. The advocates of zoning see

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

it as a solution to the lingering fear of domination especially in an emerging democracy and multi-ethnic society such as Nigeria. We feel strongly that the issue of federal character in the election or appointment of principal officers of the Senate or House of Representatives is cardinal, legal, moral, and constitutional principle that should be respected.

Secondly, improving institutional strength and accountability of the legislature could be another sustainable way to address it. The National Assembly must truly be transparent and play a more significant role in how the future of the nation should be shaped. In other words, the Senate should be transformational and transactional innovators in promoting good governance through balance of power mechanism which will lead to sustainable development and equitable wealth distribution rather than conflictive struggle for political positions and wealth.

Our third contention is that the notion of governance requires a more expanded notion of conflict transformation not only in the Senate but in the entire national politics. This is needed in order to take into account the various phases and evaluations of the conflict process and determine where timely interventions can be made to resolve and prevent the outbreak of conflict especially in the National Assembly. A renewed effort by the legislature must finally address the issue of leadership crisis and develop frameworks and mechanisms for the resolution of their conflicts. There is considerable evidence from the behavioural irregularities which characterize the social, economic and political direction of events in the Nigerian state, that its unbalanced structure which the introduction of zoning is trying to balance and is the most critical factor to the country's inability to synthesize its enormous resources into effective economic, military and governmental mechanism to further its national interest.

References Références Referencias

1. Akinola, A.A. (1996), Rotational Presidency, Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
2. Akinola, T. (2013) Nigeria Has A Balance of Power Problem. http://segundawodu.com/akinola2.htm
3. Awa, E. (1973), Issues in Federalism, Benin-City: Ethiope Publishing Corporation.
4. Ayelabowo, F. (2015), Senate Presidency: Leadership Progression, Ranking and National Interest, http://pointblanknews.com/pbn/articles-opinions/-senate-presidency-leadership-progression-ranking-and-national-interest/
5. Banjo, A. (2013), Leadership Crisis in the Parliament of Nigeria: The Case of the Senate in the Fourth Republic, Journal of African Studies and Development, Vol. 5 No.6 Pp135-144.
6. Barkan, J. D. (2009), African Legislatures and Third Wave Democratization in J. D. Barkan (2009) (ed), Legislative Powers in Emerging African Democracies, Boulder: LYNNE RIENNER Publishers www.rienner.com
7. Bouricius, T. and Schecter, D. (2013), "An Idealized Design for the Legislative Branch of Government", *Systems Thinking World Journal*, *Volume 2. Issue 1. January 2013* http://stwj.systemswiki.org/?p=1407
8. Boyton, G. R. and Kim, C. L. (1975) Legislature Systems in Developing Countries, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
9. Branton, R. P. and Jones, B. S. (2005), "Re-examining Racial Attitudes: The Conditional Relationship between Diversity and Socioeconomic Environment" American Journal Political Science, Vol. 49, No. 2 pp.359-372.
10. CODESRIA (2006), The Legislature in Africa's Democratic Transition http://www.codesria.org/-spip.php?article62
11. Cohen, P. S. (1968), Modern Social Theory, London: Heinemann.
12. Chukwu, D. (2015), Haunted by his Past, Troubles with the Senate, New Telegraph, September 29, pp12-13.
13. Dancygier, R. (2007), "Immigration and Conflict" Ph.D Dissertation, Yale University.
14. Federal Republic of Nigeria (2011) 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (As Amended).
15. Egobueze, A. (2013). The Role of the Rivers State House of Assembly in Conflict Management, 1999 – 2011 Unpublished Ph.D Thesis presented in partial fulfilments for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
16. Forgette, R.U. (1997), "Reeds Rules and the Partisan Theory of Legislative Organization", Polity, Vol. 29, No. 3 pp.375-396 http://www.jstor.org/-stable/3235312
17. Haber, M. (2015), The Legislative Consequences of Internal Conflict and Inter-Party Divisions, http://rap.-sagepub.com/content/2/2/2053168015589216
18. Hopkins, D. J. (2010), "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition", American Political Science Review, Vol. 104, No. 1 pp 40-60.
19. Hortala-Vallve, R. (2008), Generous Legislators? A Descrption of Vote Trade Agreements (Theory and Experiment), Political Science and Political economy Working Paper, No. 2/2009.
20. Ibeanu O. and Mbah P. (2012), "The 2011 General Elections and Electoral Violence and Insecurity in Nigeria" Nigerian Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 38, No 2 (August) 17-43.
21. Ibeanu, O and Mbah, P. (2014), "The African Union and Democracy in Africa: Some Preliminary Observations", Social Science Research, The

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Faculty of Social Science, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Vol. 2, No. 2 Pp 30-54.

22. Ibeanu, O. (2012), From Native to Citizen to Indigene: Reflections on National Unity and Constitutional Review in Nigeria, Awka: Demercury Bright Printing and Publishing Co.
23. Joseph, R. (1987), *Democracy and Prebendal Politics in Nigeria: The Rise and Fall of the Second Republic*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
24. Krishnan, N. B. (2013), Do Legislatures Matter? Strengthening Governance in Africa, The North-South Institute Manuscript.
25. Mbah, P. (2014), "*Politics and the Adoption of the Policy of State Emergency in Nigeria: Explaining the 1962 and 2013 Experiences*" Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 5, No 15, (July) pp587-596 available at www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/-article/view/3267
26. Mbah, P. (2014). "Demystifying Intra-Legislative Conflicts in Nigeria: The Senate and House of Representatives, 2007-2011" Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 5 No 1 pp 677-689 available at http://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/-article/view/1948
27. Mozaffar, S., Scarritt, J. R. , and Galaich, G. (2003), Electoral Institutions, Ethnopolitical Cleavages, and Party Systems in Africa's Emerging Democracies, American Political Science Review, Vol. 97, Issue 03, Pp 379-390.
28. Nkume-Okorie, N.(2014), Rotation and zoning: Extra-constitutional frameworks for Nigeria's political stability, http://www.consultancyafrica.com/index.-php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1645:rotation-and-zoning-extra-constitutional-frameworks-for-nigerias-political-stability&catid=42:election-refle-reflection&Itemid=270
29. Nnoli, O. (1978). *Ethnic Politics in Nigeria*, Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
30. Nnoli, O. (1993), Nigeria: The Failure of the Neo-Colonial Society, in O. Nnoli (ed) *Dead-End to Nigeria Development: An Analysis of Political Economy of Nigeria, 1979 - 1989,* Senegal: CODESRIA.
31. Nnoli, O. (2003), *Introduction to Politics*, Enugu: SNAAP Press Ltd.
32. Olaiya, T. A., Apeloko, D. O., Amanchukwu, I. N., and Shiyanbade, B. W. (2014), Rethinking Zoning formula as Political Panacea for Ethnic Conflict and Governance Crisis in Nigeria, Research on Humanities and Social Sciences, Vol. 4, No. 26, Pp1-15.
33. Ojonugwa, F. U. (2015), Political Appointments in Nigeria: Between Zoning and Competence, http://leadership.ng/news/435702/political-appoint-ments-in-nigeria-between-zoning-and-competence
34. Okwenna, A. (2012). http://www.facebook.com/-notes/ifedi-andi-okwenna/zoning-rotation-and-the-power-struggle-in-nigeria/183207841708357
35. Orji, N. (2008), "'Eat and Give to your Brother': The Politics of Office Distribution in Nigeria", In-Spire Journal of Law, Politics and Society, Vol. 3 No. 2 pp125-139 www.in-spire.org
36. Ornstein, N. J. (1992), The Role of the Legislature in a Democracy, Freedom Papers, No. 3 Orn-http://www.4uth.gov.ua/usa/english/politics/freedom/freedom3.htmstein
37. Osuji, C. (2014), Political zoning: An imperative for equity and political stability, http://dailyindepen-dentnig.com/2014/09/political-zoning-imperative-equi-ty-political stability/
38. Ovienmhada, M. (2015), Zoning of Political Offices http://saharareporters.com/2015/05/21/zoning-politi-cal-offices-michael-ovienmhada
39. Penn, M. (2009), "A Model of Farsighted Voting", American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 53.
40. Pitkin, H. (1972). *The Concept of Representation,* Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
41. Posner, D. N. (2004), The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi, American Political Science Review, Vol. 98, Issue 04, pp 529-545.
42. Protberg, R. (2013), African Legislative Effecti-veness, https://robertrotberg.wordpress.com/2013/-10/16/african-legislative-effectiveness/
43. Putnam, R. D. (2007), "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the 21st Century: The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture" Scandinavian Political Studies, Vol. 30 No. 2 pp137-174.
44. Remington, T.F. (1998), "Theories of Legislative Institutions and Organization of the Russian Duma", American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 42, No 2 pp545-572 http://www.jstor.org/stable/2991770
45. Sanders, R.R. (2014), African Legislatures in African Democracies: The Need to be Both Transformative and Transactional http://www.huffingtonpost.com/-amb-robin-renee-sanders/post_7187_b_5032086.-html
46. Schwartz, E. P, Spiller, P. T. and Urbiztondo, S. (1994), "A positive Theory of Legislative Intent", Law and Contemporary Problems, Vol. 57, No 1.
47. Suberu, R. (1988), "Federalism and Nigeria's Political Future: A Comment" *African Affairs*, Vol. 87(No. 348), pp. 431-439.
48. Wong, C. and Drake, K. W. (2006), "Multiracial Identities in Multiracial Contexts: The Conditional Political Effects of Race, Identity, and Environment". Unpublished Munuscript.
49. Young, P. (1991), "Negotiation Analysis" Negotiation Analysis, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Electoral Violence and 2015 General Elections in Nigeria

By I S. Ladan-Baki

Nigerian Turkish Nile University Abuja, Nigeria

Abstract- The Nigerian state is not alien to electoral violence which can be traced as far back as the pre independence elections. Contestants in Nigeria can go to any length to rig and win elections even if it means to break the states monopoly of violence to deploy terror to win elections. At the just concluded 2015 general elections in Nigeria, the South South part of Nigeria witnessed different levels of mayhem and the destruction of lives and property. On the other hand the Northern and South Western states witnessed minimal electoral violence unlike previous years where violence was more in the North. To this end it is the aim of this paper to highlight how electoral violence was reduced during the 2015 general elections. This paper adopted the use of secondary data in the analysis of the research. However this paper concluded that the electorates in the Northern part of Nigeria and the South West aligned to the All Progressives Congress political party (APC) the opposition party which eased tensions but in the South South violence broke out as a result of an attempt by the opposition party to unseat the ruling party Peoples Democratic Party (PDP).

Keywords: *violence, nigeria, elections, electorate, opposition.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 160699p*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. I S. Ladan-Baki. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Electoral Violence and 2015 General Elections in Nigeria

I S. Ladan-Baki

Abstract- The Nigerian state is not alien to electoral violence which can be traced as far back as the pre independence elections. Contestants in Nigeria can go to any length to rig and win elections even if it means to break the states monopoly of violence to deploy terror to win elections. At the just concluded 2015 general elections in Nigeria, the South South part of Nigeria witnessed different levels of mayhem and the destruction of lives and property. On the other hand the Northern and South Western states witnessed minimal electoral violence unlike previous years where violence was more in the North. To this end it is the aim of this paper to highlight how electoral violence was reduced during the 2015 general elections. This paper adopted the use of secondary data in the analysis of the research. However this paper concluded that the electorates in the Northern part of Nigeria and the South West aligned to the All Progressives Congress political party (APC) the opposition party which eased tensions but in the South South violence broke out as a result of an attempt by the opposition party to unseat the ruling party Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). This paper recommends that continuous voter education should be increased in order to educate people on the ills of electoral violence. Also stiffer penalties should be handed down on the agents and accessories of electoral violence so as to deter others from deploying violence in future elections in Nigeria.

Keywords: violence, nigeria, elections, electorate, opposition.

I. Introduction

All over the world, the most acceptable means of changing of a government is through democratic elections. Even before the introduction of democracy in Africa, Africa had its own democracy already in existence in its pre-colonial systems of government having separation of powers and checks and balances (Molomo, 2006: 23). As OJo (2008) opines, the holistic idea of a democratic self-government is not compatible with electoral hostilities thus a free and fair election is a *condicosine qua non* for a political system to be termed democratic, but not every election fulfills these criteria. Elections all over the word is seen as a peaceful means of electing representatives into government so as to push the demands of the people to the highest level of policy making. This is done periodically in democratic regimes by conducting free and fair elections and the electorate are allowed to exercise their franchise by voting a candidate or a party whom the electorate see to be the best choice among other options. The candidates usually declare their interests after being a member of a political party then contest in the primary elections which leads to the secondary elections. However as simple as this may be the Nigerian case is unique because violence is not only demonstrated at the secondary elections but it begins at the point at which a candidate indicates his interests of contesting a particular position. Thugs and sometimes law enforcement agencies are used by the people in high places to unleash terror on party members and sometimes it can lead to the kidnapping of the family members of a particular candidate. Candidates in Nigeria break the Nigerian states monopoly of violence by deploying a high caliber of terror on members of other political parties especially a political party perceived to be a threat to the success or victory of the others at the polls. This paper will attempt to discuss the dynamics of electoral violence at the 2015 general elections. The paper consists of six parts. The introduction, evolution of electoral violence, theoretical framework, actors of political violence in Nigeria, conclusions and recommendations.

II. Evolution of Electoral Violence in Nigeria

Electoral violence was not introduced in Nigeria during the just concluded 2015 general elections, the phenomena can be traced as far back as 1922 when the Clifford constitution was introduced. The constitution came with the idea of electoral principle which gave room for voting in Lagos and Calabar and also paving way for politicking in the Nigerian polity. Nwolise (2007) posits that, from the 1959 general elections that ushered in the independence of 1960, the state began to experience a high level of electoral violence varying from all spheres which include physical, structural and psychological violence. According to Ugoh (2004), most of the political parties at that time lacked the ideological base and thus party membership, affiliations and formations were all based on ethnic or regional sentiments. Electoral violence during the 1959 elections was on a low scale and this was as a result of the presence of the colonial masters who were as at that time present to monitor the electoral events.

In 1964, another round of general elections was first conducted by the elite of the Nigerian state after the independence. Before the elections, the contested results of the national census and intense political

Author: Nigerian Turkish Nile University Abuja, Department of Political Science and International Relations. e-mail: miharbi4life@yahoo.com

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

campaign by the political parties had increased the tempo of the political stake and this affected the outcome of the elections which was severely marred by unethical practices. There was a high level of violence such as maiming, kidnapping, arson and murder. The electoral violence reached a climax by 1965-1966 during the Western Regional Elections which emanated from the tense electoral battle between the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) and the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) for the control of the government of the Western Region. There was a very high level of rigging and physical violence associated with that election and this was what made the Eastern part of the state to boycott the elections. On the 11th of October, 1965, the Western House of Assembly ended in chaos, extreme violence and disorder due to widespread and high level of rigging (Olaoye, cited by Omotosho, 2007:158). To Malu (2006) it was recorded that about a thousand lives were lost during that period and some are still missing. However this period is seen by Ochoche (1977) as the worst electoral crisis the Nigerian state has ever witnessed in its history. However the military led by Nzeogwu, had been keenly studying the events as they unfold and on the night of January 15th 1966 the First Republic collapsed in a bloody military coup and this was what ushered in military dictatorship in Nigeria (Nwolise, 2007; Ojo and Azeez, 2002).

In the Second Republic, one would think that electoral violence would have ended with the taking over of governance by the military but this time around, it was not also devoid of malpractices which ranged from victimization, intimidation by security agents, manipulation of results, bribing electoral officers and the use of thugs (Ugoh, 2004: 172). Similarly Olaoye (2004), postulated in the Second Republic, the norm of election rigging was even worse. According to Olaoye (2004), the level of rigging was beyond people's expectations and unimaginable proportions during the voting, vote counting and declaration of results. In the 1983 general elections, it was a similar rigging pattern under the electoral superintendent of the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) which was to serve as the umpire in the electoral processes actually connived with the Northern Party of Nigeria (NPN) which was the ruling party to rig and manipulate elections. However both Ugoh (2004) and Olaoye (2007) concur that the rigging pattern was beyond reasonable doubt heightened and maximized during this period to clinch victory by all means necessary even if it means to deploy violence. Numerous times accusing fingers had been pointed at FEDECO and have also been accused of electoral irregularities as opined by Ofonagoro (1981):

> *The FEDECO staff were variously accused of aiding and abetting the preparation of electoral fraud.*

Kurfi (1983: 222-223) submitted that FEDECO had been compromised and were working hand in hand with NPN with the aim of clinching victory at whatever cost. However, both Kurfi and Ofonagoro concur that FEDECO was breeched, biased and compromised and were out in ensuring smooth victory in favor of NPN.As demonstrated by Nwolise (2007) the elections had three stages of violence associated with it, pre-election violence, during the election and post-election. There was hardly any state where results were not contested and most of the time this led to violent protests and eventually riots. At the upper level, there was a battle was between Shehu Shagari and Chief Obafemi Awolowo. However Chief Obafemi Awolowo, contested the results announced by FEDECO at the electoral tribunal by challenging the return of Alhaji Shehu Shagari as president elect and after a long battle at the courts. The Supreme Court rested the case in favor of Alhaji Shehu Shagari's NPN on the 26th September 1979 (International IDEA, 2000: 343).

In 1993, under the superintendent of the military leader General Babangida, another election were being organized and it was eventually conducted and majority of observers both local and foreign recognized the elections as the most transparent of all times. The election was eventually annulled and a transitional government was set up and Babangida handed over power to Chief Ernest Shonekan. Eventually General Abacha took over power from him which he eventually died and General Abdulsalami Abubakar took over power and eventually gave the mantle of leadership to Obasanjo on the 29th of May 1999 who was released from prison and contested under the platform of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). Electoral violence was slim as that time because people were anxiously in need for change.

The 1999 elections one would see as a new era of elections free of rigging, but in reality, it was actually a continuation of previous electoral frauds in Nigeria. Elections were monitored by over 15,000 electoral observers from the US-based Carter Center concluded that the elections were marred by high level fraud and it was impossible to give an accurate judgment about the outcome of the presidential election (NDI, 1999:12).

The 2003 elections bear the same resemblance with the previous elections. It had been tagged by the HRW (2004) as an "abject failure." The elections were more pervasively and openly than the flawed 1999 elections. Elections for Nigeria's 774 local government councils were held in 2003 and followed much the same pattern of violence, intimidation and fraud that characterized the 2003 general elections. Nigeria's Transition Monitoring Group (TMG) observed those polls and concluded that "It is doubtful whether […the] elections can only be considered to be reflective of the will of the people" (quoted in HWR, 2004: 11, n.16). In the history of the Nigerian electoral process, April 2007 elections were the worst elections Nigeria had had. Elected officials, alongside with the government

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

agencies charged with ensuring the credibility of polls, reduced the elections to a violent and fraud-riddled farce. Despite the strategies designed to ensure credible polls, by consensus of all the monitors, on general elections both local and international, those elections fell, in the words of the European Union monitors 'far short of basic regulation and international standards for democratic elections' (The Guardian, April 30, 2007).

In the 2007 the same pattern followed suit as there was mass rigging, violence, arson, voters intimidation and complete anarchy predominantly in the northern part of the country where the two dominant candidates Umaru Musa Yar 'Adua of Peoples Democratic Party(PDP) and General Muhammadu Buhari of Congress for Progressive Change (CPC) hail from. Surprisingly both the former and the later are indigenes of Katsina State but rom different local government areas. When the results were finally announced the candidate of the PDP was returned president elect but he later admitted that the process which brought him into power was fraudulent in nature (Nigeria Village Square, 2007). Yar 'Adua later died and this led to the taking over of power by his vice president Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. As at the time of death of Yar 'Adua, he had spent only two years of his tenure and then after Goodluck completed the four year term, he contested for president and won the 2011 presidential elections under the platform of PDP. The 2011 elections was described as a do or die affair. Violence erupted in the northern states of Nigeria such as Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Bauchi etc. there was a high degree of rigging in the north because to win the presidential polls in Nigeria the 19 northern state and the states of the south west must be captured. This led to the imposition of dusk to dawn curfew in most northern states.

At the just concluded 2015 general elections, violence was recorded though it was mostly exhibited at the South South geopolitical zone of Nigeria in states like Rivers and Akwa Ibom. The ruling party the PDP and its agents were accused of deploying all means necessary including barbaric methods to clinch victory at the polls. In Akwa Ibom state prior to the elections, candidates were even murdered by unknown gun men and in some cases maimed. There has been a barrage of accusations and counter accusations by the All Progressives Congress claiming that the People's Democratic Party (PDP) used its hoodlums, security agencies and its thugs to truncate the elections in their favor. The opposition parties in the state claimed that there was no election held in that state and that the PDP rigged the elections (Vanguard News, April 2015). The state chairman of the APC Mr. Attai petitioned the then Independent National Electoral Chairman (INEC) Professor Attahiru Jega on the level of irregularities in the state which include connivance with INEC officials and police to rig elections, missing result sheets etc. Attai said:

> *"In areas where polling materials were received hordes of deadly armed thugs escorted by men in Nigeria Police Uniform stormed the polling units and made away with the election materials midway into accreditation. For instance in Ndiya 3 Unit 004 in Nsit Ubium which happens to be the polling unit of our governorship candidate, election materials were supplied but thugs invaded the place and took away all the election materials. Given the widespread failure of the INEC to supply election materials to most parts of the state, the rampant snatching of ballot boxes and the bloodletting by PDP thugs that characterized the conduct of the elections, we as a party hereby call for an outright cancellation of the elections. Their outcomes cannot be allowed to stand because they can never reflect the wishes of Akwa Ibom people."*(Vanguard News, April 2015).

From the above, it is clear that there was no election in Akwa Ibom state because there was chaos everywhere and people scampered for safety. Similarly a PDP member Obong Victor Attah agreed that there was widespread electoral violence with cases of ballot box snatching, Smart Card Reader (SCR) snatching among others. Attah concurs:

> *"I got to my unit a little before 10 am that fateful day with my PVC in my hand and I looked round and the whole place was empty. Except for the people who came out to vote I did not see any INEC staff. The story I got is not a matter of hijacking on the way to this unit but at the distribution center that people came with guns and machetes and shot in the air and carted away all of the materials and I said including even your card readers? And the answer was yes. "And this issue of shooting and attacking people and carting away materials including card readers, what does anybody want to do with card readers? They want to use it to accredit who? We used to understand that they take away ballot papers and thumb printing and so on but now you did not even allow accreditation to take place. "So my appeal which I have made to everybody that is prepared to listen is to accept the fact that truly there were no elections whatsoever in this state. I am not talking about my unit. I am talking about cancelling the election in Akwa Ibom and conducting a fresh one as soon as INEC finds it possible so that all eyes will be beamed on Akwa Ibom, and people will now be forced to do proper elections. It is now I am beginning to understand why Akwa Ibom was regarded as battle ground. But I didn't come to fight. I came to do an election"* (Vanguard News, April 2015).

However many scholars attributed the violence to the PDP in trying to retain power since the presidential candidate Dr. Goodluck Jonathan was from the South South political zone of Nigeria so they had to make sure they won by all necessary means in that state. When the results were eventually announced the PDP won with a landslide victory over the APC in the state. Soon after the polls, the Election Petitions Tribunals were opened and so far there has been overwhelming revelations

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

exposing how the PDP printed fake result sheets and snatched and filled in their party's favor result sheet Forms EC 8A, EC 8A (I), and EC 8A (II) for Presidential, Senatorial and the House of Representatives elections. Also Forms EC 8A and EC 8A (I) for Governorship and State Houses of Assembly elections, respectively (Sahara Reporters, 2015).

Again at the tribunals in Rivers state, INEC was asked to produce all the electoral materials used in the state for presidential, governorship and legislative election. But on producing the materials, it was discovered that they have been badly mutilated with liquid suspected to be water. However upon examination by a UK forensic expert hired by the APC, he noticed that the finger prints on most of the ballot papers were not from human beings (Vanguard News, August 2015). Similarly the tribunal asked INEC to produce the statistic of the accredited votes and voters in Rivers, Akwa Ibom and Delta states respectively. But when the data came to bare, it was recorded that in Rivers and Delta states, the total number of votes announced by the returning officers of the presidential, governorship and legislative elections did not tally with the number of accredited voters as captured by the SCR of INEC (Sun News, August 2015). In Delta state, the PDP candidate was returned governor elect but at the tribunal, INEC data showed the total number of votes casted during the elections supersedes the total number of accredited voters for the governorship elections. What this means is that ballots were being casted by jumping the accreditation stage as highlighted by the INEC electoral guidelines which is captured in Section 7 (a) and Section 8 (b) of the 2015 guidelines of the INEC electoral guidelines for the general elections.

Section 7 (a) reads as thus:

> *"No person shall be allowed to vote at any polling unit/voting point other than the one to which he/she is allotted and his/her name appears on the register of voters, and he/she presents his/her permanent voter's card, and has been verified by the Card Reader, or as otherwise determined by the Commission".*

Section 8 (b) reads as thus:

> "*The accreditation process shall comprise of verification of voters using the Card Reader; Checking of the Register of voters; and inking of the cuticle of the specified finger"* (INEC Guidelines, 2015).

However this has clearly shown how violence and irregularities surrounded the general elections in the South South all in an effort to retain the power of the PDP in that particular geopolitical zone. But on the other hand the people needed the desired change because of the 15 years of zero dividends of democracy under the stewardship of the PDP. But in the Northern part of the state. States like Kano, Kaduna, and Bauchi are usually the flashpoints of electoral violence. Scholars have recorded that violence usually erupts when the results are announced and riots break out as a result of the manipulation of results to favor the ruling party PDP to retain power like was seen in Zaria and Kaduna North Kaduna State where the government had to deploy the army to put the rioters under control (Sun News, 2011). This time around APC got its overwhelming support even from states who supported the PDP in the past such as Plateau and Benue states who voted enemas for the APC. Both in the Northern and Southern states like Lagos minimal violence was recorded and even the international observers applauded the northern zones to do better to shun electoral violence. But in reality for the past 15 years, the polls never went the way of the electorate which always resulted to riots to make their position known. This was evident when the chief electoral umpire of the state professor Jega returned Buhari of the APC as the president elect and this was met with jubilation from all over the nation and violence was not recorded when the result was released. From my own perspective in Nigeria, whenever elections in Nigeria turn violent it is as a result of the results not favoring majority of the electorate. The electorate know who they want as their representative but from out of the bloom, a new winner emerges which is never the reflection of the electorate. And this is why the people came together to form a coalition to defeat the PDP at the just concluded 2015 general elections in Nigeria.

III. Theoretical Framework

A theory is a set of statements or postulations used to explain a phenomena (McNabb, 2006.)Every study must have a theory to explain the research, therefore this study adopted the Frustration Aggression theory. This theory was propounded by John Dollard who postulated that violence occurs when the desire of people to achieve a particular objective is blocked which leads to frustration and finally leads aggression and to excessive demonstration of violence. However, Dollard recognizes the fact that frustration is triggered as a result of events or chain of events and then people eventually result to violent rage to show their frustration. Therefore in relation to electoral violence in Nigeria, Dollard explains that the political actors result to even violence to achieve their aims and when the results of the elections do not favor them violence erupts thus Dollard asserts:

> *It refers to circumstances in which a person experiences a strong initial provocation that precludes retaliation and then is exposed to a second triggering provocation. Dollard viewed such triggering events as serving an especially important role in augmenting displaced aggression (Miller et.al, 2003).*

However, the electorate and the candidates demonstrate violence when they fail in their bid to win elections or their candidates fail to win the elections therefore they hire thugs and sometimes use security personnel to unleash mayhem like was recorded in Akwa Ibom and Rivers state at the 2015 general

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

elections (Sahara Reporters, 2015). There was a proliferation of small arms and other dangerous weapons like machetes which were used as a tool in some cases to deter or scare people and in most cases used to inflict wounds on the electorate or opposite party members and sometimes even lead to death. The frustration aggression theory provides an explanation for electoral violence that has been occurring in Nigeria. Party actors hire thugs to show their anger by destroying lives and property especially in the Northern part of the country.

The just concluded 2015 elections recorded violence on a low level and this has shown that when the choice of Nigerians is reflected in the polls and the will of the people is recognized, then violence is likely not to occur but when the results of the elections are rigged or there is a delay in announcement of results then tensions become high and violence erupts. This happened when the returning officers of presidential elections were announcing the results at the International Conference Center Abuja, it was noticed that the returning officers of the South-South zone were either reading the results from a piece of paper or discrepancies were noticed and were asked to make corrections. However with the recoding of low-level of violence at the just concluded elections this paper is of the opinion that the 2019 elections will record a lower level of violence because the electorate and now more informed and the new government in place has a zero tolerance for corruption and it is believed that the backbone of the APC led government is transparency and does not tolerate violence and will ensure that the 2019 elections will be transparent and violent free even if the APC is not returned into power.

IV. Actors of Electoral Violence in Nigeria

> *The opposition party in Katsina state are cock-roaches, hence when you see a cockroach you should kill it because cockroaches live in the sewers. Any opposition party member who harms you, you must retaliate because we the PDP in this state will no longer tolerate the actions of the opposition party.*

- Barrister Ibrahim Shehu Shema the Former Governor of Katsina state

(Premium Times, 2014)

The blame of demonstrating electoral violence in Nigeria is not lopsided, but the blame is distributed among different actors of the menace. Therefore according to Akpoyibo (2011) there are four groups of actors of electoral violence.

- The security agencies
- The religious groups
- The political groups
- The criminal groups

Akpoyibo went further to highlight the fact that, the security agencies especially the Nigeria Police have become compromised and corrupt that their loyalty is to the politicians and not the common Nigerian. To buttress further, previous elections and even the just concluded 2015 elections had numerous reports of police men terrorizing and shooting the electorate and in some cases they accompanied thugs to snatch sensitive electoral materials. At the polls in Rivers state, eye witnesses who spoke to Vanguard News narrated their ordeals on how men of the Nigeria police escorted thugs to cause mayhem and snatch the INEC result sheets from polling units (Vanguard News, 2015). Similarly during the elections in Ekiti state, men and officers of the Nigerian Army worked in connivance with PDP thugs to manipulate the elections and attack the electorate in that state. Eye witnesses told reporters how PDP thugs shot sporadically in the air in the presence of soldiers. To back up this point, a leaked audio tape described how the Commander of the 32 Artillery Brigade General Momoh connived with PDP members to rig the elections in favor of the ruling party.

The religious groups are those who use religious indoctrination in places of worship to brainwash their followers to use violence to make their voices and opinions to be heard. Of course in both Islam and Christianity which are the two dominant religions in Nigeria, the use of violence to achieve aims is prohibited. Therefore this contravenes the teachings of both religious books. The political groups are the members and supporters of political parties. These people attack rival political party members and supporters in order to send a clear signal or warning to stay clear or in other cases to show the might and strength of the political party. Often a times there have been clashes between the ruling and opposition party members. Again utterances made by political figures spark off electoral associated violence. At political meetings, rallies and congregations, political actors make derogatory comments on other parties which when heard by the other political parties spark off violence.

The criminal groups are the ones who take advantage of the situation. They are opportunists and behave like the lappet faced vulture who waits for the slightest opportunity to take advantage of the situation. They rob banks, shops and business and in other cases rape women as a result of the breakdown of law and order.

V. Conclusion

Electoral violence does not just destroy the people but it also destroys the nation as a whole. The state becomes backward and affects even the economy. Investors have deserted the northern part of the country and have fled to neighboring states to set up

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

their businesses. A smooth transition to another government is essential because it adds to the democratic value of the state. Nigeria has been through a roller coaster of electoral violence right from the pre independence period and countless liters of human blood has been shed and can never be replaced. The 2015 general elections which recorded minimal violence gives the state a hope that sooner than expected electoral violence will be eradicated from the fabric of the Nigerian society. The electorate in the Northern part of Nigeria formed an alliance to oust the ruling party PDP through the ballot which met little resistance but in the South-South, hell broke loose and the ruling party PDP resisted and violence was high in that region.

VI. Recommendations

a) INEC and the civil society organizations should continue to educate voters on the ills and dangers of electoral violence. This campaign should start about two years to the general elections so as to sell the ideas of peaceful elections to the electorate before the day of election.

b) The government needs to hand down stiffer penalties to electoral violence offenders so as to deter others from demonstrating such acts in the future. This should include the candidates who are seen as accessories to the crime who sponsor the youth to cause mayhem.

c) The law enforcement agencies need to limit their actions to the legal framework of their organizations and not to be partisan and should remain unbiased in the discharge of their duties.

d) Government needs to properly motivate the law enforcement agencies well enough so that they cannot be bought or compromised by desperate politicians who use them as a tool or puppets to rig elections.

e) INEC should improve on the SCR so that its integrity will not be compromised and also begin to make moves to adopt the electronic voting system for the 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

References Références Referencias

1. Akpoyibo, U. O (2004) 'History of Elections in Nigeria' A paper presented at the 2004 Annual Conference of the National Political Science Association held at Abuja between June 27-30.
2. INEC Guidelines (2015).
3. International IDEA (2000). *Democracy in Nigeria: Continuing Dialogue(s) for Nation-Building*, Capacity-Building Series 10 Stockholm Sweden: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
4. Malu, N & Ogbu, N(2006) 'Settlement Of Election Civil Disputes and Political/Electoral Violence in Nigeria' in N Malu & Ogbu (eds) *Enforcement of Electoral Laws and Reduction of Electoral Violence in Nigeria*. Abeokuta: Panafstra-Nig & IDASA.
5. McNabb (2006), Qualitative Methods of Research, PHI Limited New Delhi.
6. Molomo M. G. (2006). 'Democracy and Botswana's Electoral System' *Journal of African Elections* 5(2).
7. N. Miller et.al (2003), Personality and Social Review, Vol.7, No. 1, 75-97.
8. NDI (1999). *Observing the 1998-1999 Nigeria-Elections: Final Report*, *Peace Review*, Journal of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution 1(1) April Atlanta/Washington: The Carter Center/National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, http: www.cartercenter.org/documents/1152.pdf.
9. Nigeria Village Square (2007) www.nigeria-villagesquare.com/Yar Adua-April-polls- fraudulent
10. Nwolise, O.B.C (2007). 'Electoral Violence and Nigeria's 2007 Elections' *Journal of African Elections Special Issue*: Nigeria's 2007 General Elections volume 6, Number 2, October.
11. Ochoche, S. A (1997) 'Electoral Violence and National Security in Nigeria' in Nigeria' *Africa Journal of International Affairs*.28 (1&2).
12. Ojo, E O& Azeez, A (2002). 'The Military and Democratic Consolidation in Nigeria'. *Nigeria* Ojo,E.O(2007). Elections: Exploration of Theoretical Postulations. *Journal of African Elections* special issue: Nigeria's 2007 General Elections volume 6, number2: October.
13. Olaoye, E.O. (2004). "Vote-Buying and Election Rigging in Nigerian Politics", in Femi Omotoso (Ed), Readings in Political Behaviour, Ibadan, John Home of Printers Ltd.
14. Premium Times (2014), *www.premiumtimes.com/-shemacalls/oppositioncockroachesin/katsi*
15. Sahara Reporters, (2015) *www.saharareporters.-com/majorviolence-in-rivers*
16. *Sun News, (2011) www.sunewsonline.com/post-election/riotbreaksout/in/northern/nigeria*
17. *Sun News, (2015) www.sunewsonline.com/inec/-testifies/at/delta/election/tribunal* The Guardian (2007).
18. Ugoh, S C (2004) Electoral Malpractice and Violence in The 2003 General Elections in Nigeria'. *Unilag Journal of Politics*. Volume 1, Number 1, December.
19. Ugoh,S C (2007) Electoral Violence and Rigging in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of 2003 and 2007 General Elections. Being a paper presented at the Conference on '*Contending Issues in Nigeria's Electoral Process: The 2007 General Elections*' Organized by the Department of Political Science University of Lagos on 26th-27th September.
20. *Vanguard News, (2015) www.vanguardngr.com/-2015/03/ss/elections/gosour*

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

21. *Vanguard News, (2015) www.vanguardngr.com/-2015/03/voters/cryfoul*
22. *Vanguard News, (2015) www.vanguardngr.com/-2015/electiontribunal/begins hearing*

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Protest Movements against WTO's Ministerial Conferences: A Case Study of Nairobi Ministerial Conference

By Mr. Sailen Das
Jadavpur University, India

Abstract- Developed countries have played a dominant role in the process of globalization. The terms of exchange and trade practices have remained skewed, with the developed states successfully rigging the rules despite the regime of open trade practices resulting from the establishment of the WTO regime. Developed countries are core members of international institutions (WTO, IMF and WB) and they have largely determined policies of these institutions till date. The provisions of the WTO are likely to produce a mixture of positive and negative consequences in the context of developing countries economy. There are some issues under the Agreement of Agriculture which are concern for developing countries. The repercussions of the WTO Agreement and the removal of Quantitative Restrictions on imports are quite alarming. The fall in the prices of agricultural goods and dumping of cheap agriculture commodities from other countries is causing harm to the welfare of developing countries farmers. Developed countries have imposed heavy tariffs to minimize imports, whereas in like India tariffs are low. The continuation of high domestic support to agriculture in developed countries is a cause of concern.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699

PROTESTMOVEMENTSAGAINSTWTOSMINISTERIALCONFERENCESACASESTUDYOFNAIROBIMINISTERIALCONFERENCE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Research | Diversity | Ethics

© 2016. Mr. Sailen Das. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Protest Movements against WTO's Ministerial Conferences: A Case Study of Nairobi Ministerial Conference

Mr. Sailen Das

Abstract- Developed countries have played a dominant role in the process of globalization. The terms of exchange and trade practices have remained skewed, with the developed states successfully rigging the rules despite the regime of open trade practices resulting from the establishment of the WTO regime. Developed countries are core members of international institutions (WTO, IMF and WB) and they have largely determined policies of these institutions till date. The provisions of the WTO are likely to produce a mixture of positive and negative consequences in the context of developing countries economy. There are some issues under the Agreement of Agriculture which are concern for developing countries. The repercussions of the WTO Agreement and the removal of Quantitative Restrictions on imports are quite alarming. The fall in the prices of agricultural goods and dumping of cheap agriculture commodities from other countries is causing harm to the welfare of developing countries farmers. Developed countries have imposed heavy tariffs to minimize imports, whereas in like India tariffs are low. The continuation of high domestic support to agriculture in developed countries is a cause of concern. At the same time the rich industrialized countries continue to subsidize farmers by giving them direct payments which are exempt from any reductions requirement.. in mid 1990s, various Associtations have formed larger alliances to protest against state Government on the issue of various WTO policy. In this process of opposition to WTO these movements in Developing countries have begun to raise a new discourse on democracy and invent political practices associations. On the above backdrop, this paper has tried to find out the reasons for the protest movement against the outcomes of various ministrial conference and particlualry the Nairobi conference.

"Globalization is a double-edged sword; a powerful vehicle that raises economic growth, spreads new technology and increases living standards in rich and poor countries alike, but also immensely controversial process that assaults national sovereignty, erodes local culture and tradition and threatens economic and social stability"------- Robert. J. Samuelson

I. Introduction

Thousands of students from various prestigious educational institutions, including JNU, DU, AMU, Jadhavpur University and Allahabad University gathered at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi under the banner of All India Students' Association. Democratic Teachers Federation and other organisations launched a campaign to 'Save Education' in order to exert pressure on the Union Government. Their agitation would continue in New Delhi from December 7 to 14. The intellectuals are protesting against the proposed negotiations at the ministerial conference in the capital of Kenya. Yes, I am talking about the 10th ministerial WTO meeting which was held in Nairobi, the capital of Keneya. Well-known social activists like Medha Patkar, Yogendra Yadav, Kavita Krishnan, Tanika Sarkar, Harbans Mukhia, etc. raised voice against the proposed WTO policy. Last week retired Chief Justice (Delhi High Court) Rajinder Sachar came out in support of the movement alleging that the government is moving towards opening room for private plunder at the hands of global capital. Justice Sachar heads the organising committee; a group of 64 organisations.[i]

The agitated civil society groups organised a whole day meeting at the Constitution Club on December 8, 2015; a few days before the Nairobi conference of the WTO. They received moral support for their cause from BJP leader and former Union Minister Murli Manohar Joshi and former BJP leader K.N. Govindacharya, who addressed the conference. Civil society groups and workers organizations such as Forum Against FTAs, National Working Group on Patent Laws and WTO, Madhyam, New Trade Union Initiative, National Confederation of Officers Association, Bharatiya Kisan Sangh and others participated in the national conference. Certain members from South Asian Dialogue on Ecological Democracy (SADED) Vijay Pratap, Marko Ulvila, Pawan Arora, Reeta Kumari and myself were participating the event. Marko Ulvila, a Green Socialist from Finland and Chairperson of Siemenpuu Foundation, supports the protest of students, teachers and social activists in India against WTO—General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) agreement in higher education.[ii]

a) Case study

14th December, 2015, a day before the official opening of the World Trade Organization's (WTO) 10th Ministerial Conference in Nairobi, global activists urged developing countries to stop expecting solutions from the WTO as negotiations face another impasse after the US, EU, Canada and Australia blocked any 'permanent solution' to reach a deal on public stockholding

Author: PhD, Research Scholar, Department of International Relations, Jadavpur University, Kolkata, India. e-mail: sailenjuir@gmail.com

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

programmes for food security. Members of civil society on 15th dec held a protest outside WTO ministerial conference demanding that new issues should not be included in the agenda before concluding the development mandate. "The civil society leaders demanded that no so called 'new issues' should be put on the agenda, particularly while the development mandate has not been concluded. They called for a binding LDC (least developed countries) package and that the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Ministerial Declaration affirms the development mandate. They also pressed for removal of WTO obstacles to food security through the conclusion of the permanent solution for public stockholding, as well as special safeguard mechanism, and disciplines on export competition.[iii] On the opening day of the 10th Ministerial Conference in Nairobi, global activists welcomed trade ministers from over 100 countries with a protest. Some 200 activists from 12 countries joined grassroots organizations in Nairobi, Kenya to protest 20 years of the WTO's broken development promises. Simultaneous actions were held in the Philippines, Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and other countries spearheaded by the Asian Peasant Coalition and the International League of Peoples Struggles. Gacheke Gachihi of Bunge La Mwananchi (Parliament of the People) said, "20 years of WTO have been 20 years of opening up the world to transnational corporate plunder while billions of people languish in poverty, hunger, unemployment, and environmental catastrophes." Wali Haider from the Asian Peasant Coalition said, "The WTO is not about free trade or development. It allows wealthy industrialized countries to heavily subsidize their agribusinesses and dump their produce in other countries according Hindu Newspaper report. Small farmers in poorer countries who are unable to compete are buried in debt and often end up dispossessed of their land and livelihoods. At the same time WTO rules prevent countries from adopting measures to guarantee food security and maintain decent family farmer incomes." Antonio Tujan from IBON International, a think tank working with social movements in developing countries, explained that WTO rules put the "rights" of corporations to profit over human and labor rights. "WTO rules open up countries to foreign investment and thereby making it easier for capital to go where the labor is cheapest and most easily exploited, and where social and environmental regulations are weakest. The WTO encourages a 'race to the bottom' in wages by pitting workers against each other rather than promoting internationally recognized labor standards." Leonida Odongo of Fahamu, a network of movements for social justice in Africa, warned that, "The 10th WTO Ministerial in Nairobi is set to perpetuate the same neoliberal free trade agenda, and more! Developed countries led by the US want to include 'new issues' in negotiations that include proposals to further open up public services and procurement to foreign investors, strengthen protections for foreign investments, tighten intellectual property rights of corporations while restricting the ability of governments to regulate corporate activity for the public interest." Protesters marched in front of the Kenyatta International Conference Centre as Ministers filed in for the opening of the MC10, chanting "20 years of the WTO is enough! No to WTO Expansion, No to new issues in the WTO!" They held banners calling for "Junk WTO.[iv] The students and teachers are of the view that if the government commits the higher education to WTO during this conference, education in India will become a tradable commodity. Sadly, this is one of the proposed issues of Nairobi conference.

An India's perspective, Chamarasa Mali Patil of Karnataka Rajya Ryata Sangh (KRRS) and K. Sellamuthu, president of Thamizhaqa Vivasayigal Sangam, peasant delegates from India shared how under WTO peasants have suffered. Indian peasant communities have been destroyed as a result of cheap imports of oilseeds and rice. Over 300,000 farmers committed suicides since the inception of WTO. When India opened up its agricultural markets, corporates such as Monsanto and other agrocorporates entered too selling toxic agrochemicals and GMOs. Many peasants took loans to buy these agrotoxins but failed to pay the lenders because of low agricultural prices which significantly lowered their incomes. This resulted in many peasant suicides. They were blocked all major roads in New Delhi with tractors to force government to listen to their demands. "We are planning a big demonstration in New Delhi soon if the India government compromises in Nairobi", says Sellamuthu, president of Thamizhaqa Vivasayigal Sangam.[v]

According to Ha WonOh and Kim SoonAe, the delegates from the Korean Peasant League and Korean Women Peasants Association South Korea, because of rice imports, Korean farmers are being destroyed as imports cause low prices resulting in low incomes; the countryside is being deserted too. The youth are leaving the farms in search for better pay in urban areas. Elderly folk left on the farms. The debt owed by these farmers has doubled. Corporations such as Cargill stand to benefit as more farmers are destroyed in future. For now Korea has surplus rice. Cheap rice imports means big foreign rice producers are being sustained while local producers are being destroyed. [vi]

As the wave of big Transnational Corporations (TNCs) sweeps across the global in search of new markets and dominance, small family farmers in the developed countries are being trampled. Agricultural markets are flooded by cheap imports from other developed countries. In this US has forced thousands of family farmers change land uses or sell to the government. The government agricultural policies support large farms most of which are part of TNCs value chains. Land concentration is promoted US and

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

EU through the biased farm support schemes. Farm support is tied to the size of the farmis given on perhectare or acre basis. This means large farms receive much more than small farms. According to Ben Burkett, president of National Family Farm Coalition, agricultural imports from New Zealand (lamb and powdered milk), Brazil (soy beans) and other countries are devastating the rural areas and also lower prices in US. Despite the US support to its farmers, those affected by imports have to prove their case before getting 'crop subsidy transition assistance'. Not all farmers are able to do so. Some end up selling their land to the government. This land is converted into conservation reserves The WTO, an organisation more powerful than national governments and UN institutions and a destroyer of agriculture has been promoting a globalisation for Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and big powers. Under this organisation, no farmer can be a winner. Winners are only TNCs that control world trade. For them production is not for consumption but for trade to make profits. Trade also is about exploiting the poor countries by rich countries. La Via Campesina together with other social movements have led and continue the struggle against this economic injustice. "To stop them", says Shushi Okazaki "the role of La Via Campesina is increasingly important. Japan Family Farmers movement, Nouminren, together with La Via Campesina "To stop them", says Shushi Okazaki "the role of La Via Campesina is increasingly important. Japan Family Farmers movement, Nouminren, together with La Via Campesina will build a fair and just society based on sovereignty by breaking down a trade system of multinationals: WTO, Trans Pacific Partnerships (TPP) and Free Trade Agreements (FTA)s. TPP is the worst ever treaty to completely destroy Japan's agriculture that has already suffered a lot under WTO. [vii]

b) Outcome

After analyzed the case study I sought to emphasize that the outcome of WTO's ministerial conference at Nairobi has a mixed message. One positive note, all members agreed for the first time to a legally bibding deal to a promote agricultural trade by removing subcidies for farm exports. However, the final text showed that the some members have given up on the Doha round agenda, a sign that recent regional trade deal have begun to weaken WTO. The Nairobi ministerial provided evidence of the way trade negotiations are likely to evolve. Three major stakeholder among developed countries, the US, EU, and Japan, have began to stitch together far reaching regional trade deals. Consequently, their need for WTO and the extent of concessions they are willing to offer is declining. This does not bode well for many developing countries such as India as WTO provides a better platforn to secure a fair trade deal. On on the other hand, developing countries like India's stake in subsequent Wto meeting remain high. For the movement, the prevailing system which supports India's PDS (public Distributon system) is insulted from legal challenges by others Countries. But tough negotiations lie ahed before India secures a permanent solutions. Also a safeguarg mechanism to protect Indian farmers from import surges or price falls needs to be fleshed out in subquent meetings.

Broadly speaking, Developed countries have played a dominant role in the process of globalization. The terms of exchange and trade practices have remained skewed, with the developed states successfully rigging the rules despite the regime of open trade practices resulting from the establishment of the World Trade Organization (WTO) regime. Heavy subsidization of developed nations' agriculture and the aggressive use of export subsidies by some developed nations to make their agricultural products more attractive on the international market are major causes of declines in the agricultural sectors of many developing nations. It is clear that only a few countries of the developed world utilize the globalization benefits and they continue to exploit developing countries. Developed countries are core members of international institutions (WTO, IMF and WB) and they have largely determined policies of these institutions till date. Hence, it appears that developing countries are the protesters and developed countries the protectors of WTO and other economic international institutions.[viii] Broadly speaking WTO as an agenda of globalization mainly focuses on expands of world market for considerations of corporate profit. Contemporary economic globalization, which is driven and regulated by WTO, has a direct impact on many civil society's activities. Such as many workers and labour unions claim that WTO agreements increase import competition and threaten their jobs, Environmentalists accuse the WTO of encouraging pollution and preventing governments from defending national environmental standards on the other hand, ant -capitalist protesters consider the WTO as a tool of big business.[ix]

The provisions of the WTO are likely to produce a mixture of positive and negative consequences in the context of developing countries economy. There are some issues under the AoA which are concern for developing countries especially on agriculture sector. The repercussions of the WTO Agreement and the removal of Quantitative Restrictions on imports are quite alarming. The fall in the prices of agricultural goods and dumping of cheap agriculture commodities from other countries is causing harm to the welfare of developing countries farmers. Developed countries have imposed heavy tariffs to minimize imports, whereas in; ike India tariffs are low. Due to this, various commodities are being dumped in India. The US is dumping five primary farm commodities in global markets in clear violation of WTO Agriculture rules. It is exporting corn, soybean,

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

wheat, rice and cotton at prices far below then their production cost in an effort to wipe out global competition. The continuation of high domestic support to agriculture in developed countries is a cause of concern as they encourage overproduction in these countries leading to low levels of international prices of agricultural products. At the same time the rich industrialized countries continue to subsidize farmers by giving them direct payments which are exempt from any reductions requirement and which essentially are cash handouts contingent on making adjustments in production. These payments are neither affordable nor helpful in a developing country. The result is that the industrialized countries continue to dominate world trade in agriculture while preventing India and other developing countries from achieving self-sufficiency in food production. Civil society organizations (church groups, national liberation factions, left-wing parties, environmentalists, peasant unionists, anti-racism groups, libertarian socialists, and others) were determined to be strong advocates in the fight against WTO policies associated with neo-liberal globalization. in mid 1990s, various Movements have aligned together and have formed larger alliances to protest against state Government on the issue of various WTO policies even as they get a direct confrontation with the institution of WTO representing the global economic and political power. In this process of opposition to WTO these movements in Developing countries have begun to raise a new discourse on democracy and invent political practices associations.[xi] In the streets of Seattle (1999), Doha (2001), Cancun (2003), Hong Kong (2005), Geneva (2009, 2011), Bali (2013) and Nairobi (2015) meeting are all still honouring the memory of Anti-WTO protest movement where many NGO and civil society organizations (church groups, national liberation factions, left-wing parties, environmentalists, peasant unionists, anti-racism groups, libertarian socialists, and others) were determined to be strong advocates in the fight against WTO policies associated with neo-liberal globalization. The highest decision making body of the WTO is the Ministerial Conference, which has Generally to meet at least every two years. The ministerial conference can take decisions on all matters under any of the multilateral trade agreement. [xii]

Based on case study of Nairobi ministerial meetings there are many critical issues such as export subsidy, food security, proverty, enviromental issue are highlighted by protester agaist WTO policy and provision. On the above backdrop, this paper has tried to find out the reasons for the protest movement against the outcomes of various ministrial conference and particlualry the Nairobi conference.

II. Conclusion

So, we can say, it is evident that the large majority of the so called anti-globalization movement is organized domestically or locally in response to global influences. The current conceptualization of the movement treats the anti-globalization movement as a homogenous global entity which is certainly not the case. This is not to say that the anti-WTO movement is not global but rather that the definition of global needs to be reinterpreted. In my paper I have tried to show that many critical issues such as poverty, inequality, disease, the environment and the abuse of human and worker's rights, and violations of labour standards are highlighted by antiglobalization movements, which appear to resonate broadly and, more importantly, does so because they reflect some very real, and very reasonable concerns of the population at large. It is very clear that existing institutions of global governance are not meaningful to most people, as they lack political legitimacy. Our dilemma is that a large and growing number of significant problems need to be dealt globally. To do so successfully will require a staggering effort to resolve the perils of globalization and set up a governance structure that is responsive to a wide range of needs and concerns and is consistent with the norms of effective participatory democracy.

This article shows that the anti-WT protest movements are not overtly violent. Threats, harassment and electoral politics were also common tactics. Moreover, the same organization was found using a range of strategies—propaganda, electoral politics, soliciting of external support, forcible demands for local support, etc. Based on case study my paper shows that not all anti-globalization protesters oppose the WTO institutions per say; most of them want the WTO regimes to evolve fair policies for all countries. It is very clear that existing institutions of global Governance are not meaningful to most people, they lack political legitimacy. Our dilemma is that a large and growing number of significant problems must be dealt with internationally. To do so successfully will require a Herculean effort to resolve the realities of globalization with a governance structure that is responsive to a wide range of needs and concerns and is consistent with the norms of effective participatory democracy.

Notes:

i. https://kaushalk.wordpress.com/tag/wto/ accessed on 20/12/2015
ii. http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/parliament-must-ratify-wto-deals-say-ngos/article7962726.ece
iii. The Hindu, Sataurday19, December 2015: Source: http://www.hindu.com/2015/12/19/stories/2015121906641200.htm
iv. http://iboninternational.org/article/2015/12/global-activists-welcome-wto-ministers-protests, accessed on 19/12/2015
v. http://viacampesina.org/en/ accessed on19/12/2015.
vi. Ibid.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

vii. http://www.viacampesina.org/en/index.php/actions-and-events-mainmenu-26/20-years-of-wto-is-enough-mainmenu;accessed on21/12/2015.

viii. Bhaumic, T. K, The WTO-A Discordant Orchestra, Sage publication, New Delhi, 2006, p.23.

ix. Ibid p24.

x. Bhaskar, G (eds), WTO, Globalization and Indian Agriculture, New century publication. New Delhi, 2011, p.43-46.

xi. Peter Van Aelst and Stefaan Walgrave, 'New media, new movements? The role of the internet in shaping the antiglobalization movement,' Information, Communication and Society, 5:4, 2002 465-493. Source: webhost.ua.ac.be/m2p/publications/12224-60371.pdf

xii. Source: www.wto.org › the wto › ministerial; accessed on 12/12/2015.

References Références Referencias

1. Stegar B. Manfred, *Globalization a Very Short Introduction,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003.
2. Bhagwati, Jagdish, *In Defense of Globalization,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004.
3. Held, David and McGrew, Anthony (eds.), *The Global Transformation rfk Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate,* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000.
4. Smith, Anthony, D, "Towards a Global Culture?" in Held, David and McGrew, Anthony (eds.), the *Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate,* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000.
5. Smith, Anthony, D, "Towards a Global Culture?", in Held, David and McGrew, Anthony (eds.), *the Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate,* Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000.
6. Held, David and McGrew, Anthony, "The Great Globalization Debate: An Introduction" in Held, David and McGrew, Anthony (eds.), The Global Transformation Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2000.
7. Khun, Eng Kuah, Pearce, *Social Movements in China and Hong Kong: The Expansion of Protest Space,* Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2009.
8. Walters Malcolm, *Globalization,* Rutledge press, London, 1995.
9. Hirst, Paul, "Globalization, nation state, political theory," in Sullivan, Noel O', *Political Theory in Transition,* Routledge, London and New York, 2000.
10. O'Brien, Robert, Goetz, M. Anne, Schollte A. Jan, Williams, Marc, *Contesting Global Governance,* Cambridge University Press, 2000.
11. *Jones, Kent, Globalization and who's afraid of the WTO? Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004.*
12. Veltmeyer, Henry, ed., *New perspective on Globalization and Anti globalization: Prospects for A New World Order,* Ashgate Publishing Ltd., UK, 2004.
13. Giddens, Anthony, *Nation-State and Violence,* University of California Press, Barkley, 1985.
14. James, Fredric and Yoshi, Mi. Masoa (eds.), *The Culture of Globalization,* Duke University, Press, U.S.A, 1998 globalization movement' *The Canadian Journal of police and Security Services,* Vol.3 Issue 4.
15. Sahai, Suman (1999) 'Agenda for Seattle', *'Economic Political Weakly* Journal' 20/11/1999. vol. XXXIV, 46 and 47, pp. 3263-3264.
16. Choossudovsky, Michel (1999), 'Seattle and beyond', *'Economic Political Weakly* Journal', 1/12/1999. vol. XXXIV, 50, pp. 3475-3476.
17. Mathran, Sheila (1999), 'Revolt of developing countries at Seattle'. *'Economic Political Weekly,* 18/12/1999, vol. XXXIV, 51, pp.3568-3569.
18. John, Whalley (1998), 'A future WTO Trade Round?' *International Studies,* 10-12/1998. vol.35, no. pp. 389-395.
19. Diddharthan, N S. (1999) "WTO and the globalization of enterprises" *'Economic Political Weakly'* (EPW), 22/5/1999, vol. XXXIV, 21, pp. 1287-1291.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 16 Issue 1 Version 1.0 Year 2016
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Nigerian Elite and State Creation: The Creation of False Ethnic Dichotomies for Self Aggradizement

By Dele Adetoye
Ekiti State University, Nigeria

Abstract- Nigeria has undergone a long process of restructuring in terms of the number of geopolitical administrative units that constitute the polity. The process is popularly referred to as "state creation" in federal systems, particularly in Nigeria. This study examines the various rationale posited for creation of states in the country, such as quest for balanced federation, integration and fostering a feeling of belonging among its disparate population, national development etc. and finds out that most states created so far in the country were a product of false ethnic dichotomies orchestrated by the ethnic elites through superficial ethnic affiliations. The study concludes that the state creation exercise in the country had benefitted the elite rather than the masses because of the patronages that accrue to theformer to the disadvantage of the latter.

Keywords: *elite, ethnicity, state creation, federalism, integration.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 360199*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2016. Dele Adetoye. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The Nigerian Elite and State Creation: The Creation of False Ethnic Dichotomies for Self Aggradizement

Dele Adetoye

Abstract- Nigeria has undergone a long process of restructuring in terms of the number of geopolitical administrative units that constitute the polity. The process is popularly referred to as "state creation" in federal systems, particularly in Nigeria. This study examines the various rationale posited for creation of states in the country, such as quest for balanced federation, integration and fostering a feeling of belonging among its disparate population, national development etc. and finds out that most states created so far in the country were a product of false ethnic dichotomies orchestrated by the ethnic elites through superficial ethnic affiliations. The study concludes that the state creation exercise in the country had benefitted the elite rather than the masses because of the patronages that accrue to the former to the disadvantage of the latter.

Keywords: elite, ethnicity, state creation, federalism, integration.

I. Introduction

This study analyses the interconnection among the various issues, such as ethno-territorial resource competition, class accumulation, quest for the use of state as agent of development, as they relate to state creation. Scholars in the field of the political economy of Nigeria have made propositions on the seemingly interminable agitation for further creation of states with the aim of clearing the conceptual undergrowth inherent in the exercise. For instance, Eteng (1998: 58) situates his observation in political economy framework with his observation that

> a class analysis of ethnic and related communal politics in Nigeria offers adequate explanation of the persisting national question.

We must note here that the problem of state creation in Nigeria is a derivative of the 'national question'. The use of ethnic, religious and other communal bases for political and economic competition and legitimization among status quo beneficiaries has become the strategy in the hands of the ethnic populations in Nigeria to etch themselves in critical positions in resource allocation process in the country. In this process, the elite manipulate regional, state and local government apparatus for class and communal competition and personal aggrandizement. This is referred to as the *manipulation thesis* in the literature.

Author: Department of Political Science, Ekiti State University, Ado Ekiti.
e-mail: deleadetoye@yahoo.com

The structural reorganizations of 1963 and 1967 were carried out to redress the structural imbalance that characterized the Nigerian federation, and to allay the fears of the dominated and marginalized ethnic minorities in the country. According to Bach (1997: 384) whereas during the 1960s demands for the creation of new states came exclusively from the minorities, elites everywhere now canvass for the division of their states ostensibly because the revenue formula and the federal character principle ensure elites' increased capacity for crude and primitive accretion and guarantee their representation at the federal level if new states are created.

Corroborating this assertion, Suberu (1995: 56) argues that

> the agitation for new states had transformed] from a political mechanism for assuaging ethnic minority fears into a generalized strategy in the competitive struggles among diverse constituencies for federal resources.

This struggle is usually championed by the various elites of these constituencies. The class character of this struggle was aptly captured by Gana's observation that

> given the character of the Nigerian political economy, in particular the central role of the state in the process of accumulation, it is not difficult to understand why the creation of states has served to expand the material base of the agitators in their aspiration to transform themselves into effective competitors (1987).

II. The Nigerian Elite and State Creation

The centrality of the state in the process of production and distribution of socioeconomic resources and opportunities and the multiethnic nature of the country had led to what Bach (1997: 385) referred to as 'politicization of ethnicity and ethnicization of politics'. For Suberu (1999: 277) this development is unavoidable

> because Nigeria is an ethnically plural society and because of the relative underdevelopment of socioeconomic processes and identities, public competition for resources of the state would take

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

> place, predominantly among ethnically defined constituencies.

and this has definitely resulted in a situation where

> ethnicity and the associated primordial paradigms of communalism, religion and regionalism… emerged as the primary organising principles for conceptualising, articulating, protecting or promoting collective *distributive interests in Nigeria* (Suberu, 1999: 277)

For Nnoli (1978:21), Ake (1985), and Ekekwe (1986: 132-133), the hidden hand of class contradiction and the opposing class interest of the country's dominant social forces lie behind virtually all the virulent and interminable communal agitation for the creation of more states and local government areas as well as for the establishment of an ethnic-based confederacy.

Bringing a broader dimension into the class analysis of the national question, Ayoade (1999: 106) sees state creation as a strategy of the northern oligarchy to ensure the perpetration of what he called 'Northern ascendancy' in the Nigerian federation, on the one hand and to divide and rule the East and the West whereby 'both of them would continue to be vassal states to the north".

Chronicling state creation exercises from the inception of the exercise in 1963, Ayoade (1999: 106) concludes that by the various state reorganization exercises in Nigeria

> a relationship, which stood at 50:50 in 1951, had by 1995 become 54:46 [ostensibly referring to north-south relationship]. Similarly, east-west relationship, which started in 1951 as 50:50, has by 1995 become 53:47. Consequently, the north has gained at the expense of the South, and the East at the expense of the West …If anything, the creation of states in the north has improved the northern argument for domination.

This dimension of class analysis of state creation in the country is very revealing. We observe that since independence and for the better part of its existence, a particular ethno-linguistic and religious group has ruled Nigeria. This particular group, whether through civil rule or military administration, carried out all the state reorganization exercises that had ever taken place in the country. The Hausa-Fulani Muslim of the northern Nigeria *de facto* has ruled this country than any other group, only choosing between either the East or West to secure a minimum winning coalition at any particular point in time. This group had used the advantage of office to manipulate state creation exercises to give it "greater liberty to solely determine the political fate of all Nigerians while ensuring east's victory over the west, yet keeping both as "political vassals of the north" (Ayoade, 1999: 107).

From the political economy point of view, it is generally believed that agitation for creation of states has become "a veritable source of socioeconomic opportunities and political patronage for sectional elites and communities" (Suberu, 1994: 67-82) and Gana (1987: 12-23) are of the view that behind most of the agitation for creation of additional states, "looms largely (sic) class interests of ethnic warlords who wish to transform into effective competitors" in order to expand their material base.

The struggle over creation of states in Nigeria can also be discussed and analyzed within the conceptual scaffold of Joseph's (1983: 3; 1987; 1997: 90). *Prebendal politics* According to him, *Prebendalism* refers to patterns of political behaviour which rationalizes the belief that the state institutions and offices are the structures to be competed for and subsequently captured used for personal benefits of the occupants and those of their communal groups. This notion re-echoed in Reno's (1998:67) comment that "corruption in Nigeria is widely linked to the close association of elite networks and official's use of office for private gain." Or how do we explain the stupendous wealth of public officials or political appointees who before their appointments were poor? Also, the communal group whose member exploited public office for personal gain is always ready to defend, protect, and support such member in the event that such person was caught and sanctioned. Two vivid examples are illustrative here. One is Chief Alamesiegha, the impeached and convicted governor of oil-rich Bayelsa state and the other, Chief James Onanefe Ibori, the erstwhile governor of Delta state. Both, members of Nigerian elite from the Niger-Delta region of the country enjoyed massive and high degree of support from their communal groups when they were to be arrested. This is conceptually captured in Ekeh's (1975, 91-122) seminal work, "Two Publics." To him, individuals in Africa and Nigeria in particular, function within two diametrically opposed publics namely *primordial and civil.* Operationalizing the concept, Ekeh ascribes societal morality and privacy to the primordial public while the civil public is characterized by amorality and does not operate within good behaviour or good conduct. To this extent, public offices are seen as a means of perpetrating egoistic graft and solidaristic consolidation.

The entire scenario we have been describing above is captured in Joseph's observation. To him, the grid of Nigerian political society is an intricate and ever expanding network of patron-client ties. Expatiating on this, he avers that the clientelistic networks link individuals at different levels while the exchange of various kinds of patronage, assistance, support and loyalty is crucial and central to the relationship. To this extent, clientelistic relations promote ethnic clustering as individuals provide the conduit for transmission of resources from their own patrons downwards while

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

ensuring in return, the support of a reliable base or constituency. While the state institutions have failed in their roles as impartial and nonpartisan arbiter in the process of authoritative allocation and distribution of state resources, competition for access to national resources in the country has always taken place predominantly between ethnically defined constituencies just as these institutions are hijacked by the elite for personal gains (Joseph, 1997).

a) States as Agent of Primitive Accumulation or Development?

The Nigerian political system has the reputation of throwing up corrupt leaders who presided over her politics and economy from independence up till now. A longitudinal survey and analysis of the political economy of the country would reveal a pattern, a pattern of elite struggle for state resources through the manipulation of state institutions for primitive accumulation and using same to protect such loots. Reno's observation is both illuminating and illustrative here. Commenting on the Babangida administration's ploy to widen distribution of national resources and patronage as a strategy for regime legitimacy and perpetuation through the state reorganization exercise of 1991, Reno (1998: 67) posits that;

> Babangida's creation of nine new states increases the number of entry points for elite desiring access to privatizations and government export promotion programs as well as traditional opportunities to provide contract services to state agencies…against official rhetoric…portraying state creation as an effort to make regional government more accessible to all Nigerians.

Consequent upon the above, it is doubtful if a strong, viable and sustainable private sector-driven economy can emerge in the country, outside the public sector, in the face of the preponderance of state institutions in its political economy. In essence, public offices in the country have been turned to factors and means of production. This class analysis has proven that "class of Nigerians has been the principal beneficiary of the proliferation of states (Reno, 1998: 67).

Viewed from a comparative perspective, Nigeria's state creation experiences have been quite dramatic. In the first place, unlike in most other federations where reorganizations of state boundaries have usually been followed by a period of fairly stable consensus on the state structure (Dean, 1986), Nigeria's state creation exercises have tended to be cyclical and self-perpetuating, with each reorganization merely provoking pressures for further reforms (Suberu, 1995).

Secondly, while new states in most of the classical federations have emerged largely from the incorporation of external units to an initial core (Daniel, 1989), the Nigerian states evolved through a strategy of internal fragmentation or deflation, rather than through a process of outward expansion or aggregation (Suberu, 1999: 57-58). Regrettably, however, the Nigeria situation is such a system without in-built mechanisms for redressing historic wrongs and ensuring fairness without recourse to organized divisions and deliberate bouts of pulling apart. Undoubtedly, it was elite selfishness, and not national interest, which has propelled the state creation movement till this decade (Suberu, 1999: 58). Nevertheless, as earlier enunciated, the initial historical rationale for the movement for new states in Nigeria involved the quest by ethnic minority groups for autonomy from the regional stranglehold of the majority ethnic formations. The minorities' quest for "statehood" status did not, however, receive a sympathetic consideration or endorsement from the Sir Henry Willink Commission established in 1957 to inquire into the alleged fears of minorities and the means of allaying them. Rather, the commission argued that the grievances of the minorities could be redressed through administrative changes, greater federal and regional attention to the needs of depressed areas and entrenched guarantees of fundamental human rights (Willink, 1957).

From independence, Nigeria had had to confront the problem the issue of state creation posed to its stability. The prevalent aura of developmental collapse and perennial requests for creation of additional states associated with several potentially combustible inter and/or intra-ethnic ethnic conflicts (Igalas vs Ebirra in Kogi state, Tiv vs Idoma in Benue state, Itsekiri vs Urhobo of Delta state etc.) confront the Nigerian government's bent on influencing the apparently unending pattern of state reorganizations. But what are the major rationales behind state creation in Nigeria? They can be addressed from different points of views. These views include those of scholars, politicians, the government (official view), and the agitators. For instance, According to Adejuyigbe, the notion of economic development is a two-prong concept. One, the view of the Federal Government that states have been created to ensure even development throughout Nigeria, and two, the view at the local level that new states would receive greater shares of federal resources and hence enable local elements to develop more rapidly (Adejuyigbe, 1982: 18-20).

One important rationale for state creation stems from the fear of the minority in the Nigerian federation of domination by the majority ethnic groups. Generally, feelings of mental anguish, cultural devaluation, economic sacrifice, political subjugation and inferiority as second class citizens remain central to the foundation of ethnic minority movement for state creation (Sowho, 1991). The complaints of the minorities are a function of the existing structures that relate to the dynamics of Nigerian political economy. The country's ruling classes have been drawn principally from the

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

three big ethnic groups who have dominated the centre since independence, while subjugating the minorities to the background in the process of distribution of national resources. Again, even within the minority ethnic formations, small cliques of elite dominate the masses, often monopolizing and appropriating funds meant for the development of the generality of their people. Thus, the 1963 and 1967 state reorganizations appear to have been done to assuage the frayed nerves of the minorities. Yet, agitation from "minorities" for creation of additional states continued unabated when, in actual fact, there may be in the real sense of the term, no more minorities. According to Otanez (1992:46), the core of minority fears of domination does not consist in ethnic antagonism but the imperialist-inspired, ethno-regional personality of Nigeria and the class action of minority-based to generate ethnic sentiments to help satisfy their lust for economic resources in the face of shrinking capital. More importantly, after the creation of a new state, new minorities emerged from within which starts a new movement for the demand of a separate state.

To Gana (1987: 12-23), creation of state helps state capitals put on a facade of development in the springing up of a fresh crop of *nouveaux riches* around commercial activities. According to him there are no advanced or backward areas but backward and advanced family groups. He concludes "to talk maliciously of an ethnic domination is to be naïve, malicious, mystifying and criminal to the core".

By this statement, one can infer that state creation has merely been used by and has indeed served the class interest of the Nigerian ruling class.

For instance, Nnoli (1978) in refuting the development thesis of state creation observes that by focusing on the distributive side of the production process to the neglect of the production aspect, the creation of states militate against the mobilization of creative energies of the population through the transformation of the productive forces. Development is inconceivable without growth in the productive forces of the society.

Berating the elites for disarticulating the developmental forces of their societies, Nnoli notes that, because they lack capacity to increase production owing to their remoteness from the directly productive functions, they (the elite) rely on the manipulation of the distributive forces for whatever benefits they derive from production process. Nnoli insisted that the elite have not been known to build any material civilization.

Nnoli's observation as enunciated above explains why there has been insignificant development save for distribution of socioeconomic amenities and opportunities from the centre in the new states after they are created. The socioeconomic resources and opportunities are usually the payoffs of the elites in the ethnic competitions in which they are principal actors and through which they strategize.

The manipulation of state creation for self-aggrandizement is not confined to the civilian category of the elite alone. It extends to the military. In the history of state creation in Nigeria, the exercise has been the exclusive preserve of military regimes. Ambitious military heads of states and other military elites are known to create new states to fulfill personal ambition of civilianizing through creation of clientele states to secure support from such population and to create a sphere of influence for themselves (Suberu and Agbaje, 1999: 343). Moreoer, the proliferation of states also leads to their incapacitation and the emergence of a very powerful centre. The military, by creating mushroom states, had imprinted its nature and organizational structure on Nigerian federalism. Since the Nigerian federation was administered by the "Northern military", the latter has used the balkanization of the south to help the North achieve its political ascendancy agenda in the country. Every military government in Nigeria headed by a northerner had always helped the "caliphate" actualize its agenda of northern hegemony.

III. Conclusion

This study reveals that a large proportion of the states so far created were a product of false ethnic dichotomies by the elite's superficial ethnic affiliations. States' creation in Nigeria has, therefore, elevated ethnicity to the status of national ideology. As a result, a vicious cycle has been created. Other groups who are yet to benefit from the state creation largesse are wont to start fresh agitations for their own states. Demands for states then become concentric and hence emphasize the level of the country's heterogeneity, on the one hand, and a manifestation of progressive differentiation and fragmentation of the country on the other. Nigeria is not likely to attain the desired national integration and unity which state creation was meant to achieve if this phenomenon persists (Adetoye, 2000).

References Références Referencias

1. Adejuyigbe, et al. ed. (1982). *Creation of states in Nigeria: A review of rationales, demands and problems up to 1980.* The Federal Government Printer.
2. Adetoye, D. 2000. "Bureaucracy and development in Ekiti State: The socio-cultural context" *Bureaucracy: The sociological insight.* W. Adesina & O. Olufayo. eds. Ado-Ekiti: Kaycee Publishers.
3. Ake, C. (1985). *A political economy of Nigeria.* London: Macmillan.
4. Ayoade, J.A.A. 1999. The federal character principle and the search for national integration *Federalism and political restructuring in Nigeria.* K. Amuwo et al. eds. Ibadan: Spectrum books and IFRA.
5. Bach, D. (1997). Indigineity, ethnicity and federalism. *Transition without end.* L. Diamond et al. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

6. Dean, E. M. (1986) Stability of the federal system in Nigeria; Elite attitude at the constituent Assembly towards creation of states". *The Journal of Federalism.*
7. Ekeh, P. (1975). Colonialism and the two republics in Africa: A theoretical statement. Comparative Studies in Society and History 17, No. 1.
8. Ekekwe, E. (1986). *Class and state in Nigeria.* Lagos: Longman Nig Ltd.
9. Eteng, A. I. (1997). Minority rights under Nigeria's federal structure. *Constitutions and federalism.* Friedrich Ebert Foundations.
10. FGN Report of The Panel of The creation of State Lagos; Cabinet Office 1976.
11. Gana, A. T. (1987). The politics and economics of state creation in Nigeria. *Nigerian Journal of Politics and Strategy.* Vol. 11 No. 1 Kuru: NIPSS.
12. Joseph, R. (1983). "Class, state and prebendal politics in Nigeria." *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics,* 21.
13. _____ (1987). *Democracy and prebendal politics in Nigeria: The rise and fall of the second republic.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
14. Nnoli, O. (1978). *Ethnic politics in Nigeria.* Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publisher.
15. Otanez, M. G. 1992. State creation in Nigeria; A political economy and class analytic approach. Thesis. Political science. Social sciences, University of Ibadan.
16. Sowho, E.J. (1981). A case for minority groupings and stability in Nigeria. Lagos, Daily Times, 19 July.
17. Suberu, R. T. (1991). The struggle for new states in Nigeria; 1976-1990. *African Affairs.*
18. _____ (1994). Recent demands for new states in Nigeria. The Nigerian *Journal of Federalism* Vol. 1.
19. _____ (1995). *The politics of state creation. The political economy of Nigeria under military rule 1984-1993.* S. Adejumobi & A. Momoh. eds. Harare: Supes Books.
20. _____ (1999). States creation and the political economy of Nigeria. *Federalism and Political restructuring in Nigeria.* K. Amuwo et al.eds. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.
21. Reno, W. (1998). "Old brigades, money bags, new breeds and the irony of reforms in Nigeria." *Canadian Journal of African Studies,* Spring. 67.
22. Willink Commission Report of 1958 on the fears of minority and the measures of solving them, London. Her Majesty's Stationary office.

© 2016 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journals Inc. (US) Guidelines Handbook 2016

www.GlobalJournals.org

FELLOWS

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

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



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

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

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

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

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





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

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

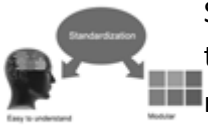


© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US) | Guidelines Handbook

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

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





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

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



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



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

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook



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

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



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

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



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

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

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



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

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



© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US) | Guidelines Handbook



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

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





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

It is mandatory to read all terms and conditions carefully.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

AUXILIARY MEMBERSHIPS

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

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



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

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

The Institute will be entitled to following benefits:

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

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

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





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

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



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

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US) | Guidelines Handbook

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



After nomination of your institution as "Institutional Fellow" and constantly functioning successfully for one year, we can consider giving recognition to your institute to function as Regional/Zonal office on our behalf.
The board can also take up the additional allied activities for betterment after our consultation.

The following entitlements are applicable to individual Fellows:



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

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



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

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

Other:

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

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

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

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

Note :

"

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

"

Process of submission of Research Paper

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

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

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

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

(II) Choose corresponding Journal.

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

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

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

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

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

Preferred Author Guidelines

MANUSCRIPT STYLE INSTRUCTION (Must be strictly followed)

Page Size: 8.27" X 11'"

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

You can use your own standard format also.
Author Guidelines:

1. General,

2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

1. GENERAL

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

Scope

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

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

2. ETHICAL GUIDELINES

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

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

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

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

1) Substantial contributions to conception and acquisition of data, analysis and interpretation of the findings.

2) Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.

3) Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

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

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

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

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

Please mention proper reference and appropriate acknowledgements wherever expected.

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

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

3. SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

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

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



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

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

4. MANUSCRIPT'S CATEGORY

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

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

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

Research articles: These are handled with small investigation and applications

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

5.STRUCTURE AND FORMAT OF MANUSCRIPT

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

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

(a)Title should be relevant and commensurate with the theme of the paper.

(b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.

(c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.

(d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.

(e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.

(f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;

(g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.

(h) Brief Acknowledgements.

(i) References in the proper form.

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

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

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

Format

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

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

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

Metric SI units are supposed to generally be used excluding where they conflict with current practice or are confusing. For illustration, 1.4 l rather than 1.4 × 10-3 m3, or 4 mm somewhat than 4 × 10-3 m. Chemical formula and solutions must identify the form used, e.g. anhydrous or hydrated, and the concentration must be in clearly defined units. Common species names should be followed by underlines at the first mention. For following use the generic name should be constricted to a single letter, if it is clear.

Structure

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

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

Abstract, used in Original Papers and Reviews:

Optimizing Abstract for Search Engines

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

Key Words

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.

References

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

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

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

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

Tables, Figures and Figure Legends

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

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

Preparation of Electronic Figures for Publication

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

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

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

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

6. AFTER ACCEPTANCE

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

6.1 Proof Corrections

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

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

(Free of charge) from the following website:

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

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

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

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

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

6.3 Author Services

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

6.4 Author Material Archive Policy

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

6.5 Offprint and Extra Copies

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



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

TECHNIQUES FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY RESEARCH PAPER:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final Points:

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

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

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

General style:

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

To make a paper clear

· Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

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

In every sections of your document

· Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)

· Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper

· Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)

· Align the primary line of each section

· Present your points in sound order

· Use present tense to report well accepted

· Use past tense to describe specific results

· Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives

· Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

Title Page:

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



© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

Abstract:

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (Methods and Materials):

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

What to keep away from

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

Results:

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

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



© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

Content

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

What to stay away from

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

Approach

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

Figures and tables

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

Discussion:

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

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

Approach:

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

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

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

- The **major constraint** is that you must independently make all content, tables, graphs, and facts that are offered in the paper. You must write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The Peer-reviewers need to identify your own perceptive of the concepts in your own terms. NEVER extract straight from any foundation, and never rephrase someone else's analysis.

- Do not give permission to anyone else to "PROOFREAD" your manuscript.

- Methods to avoid Plagiarism is applied by us on every paper, if found guilty, you will be blacklisted by all of our collaborated research groups, your institution will be informed for this and strict legal actions will be taken immediately.)
- To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use please do not permit anyone right to use to your paper and files.



© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals Inc. (US)

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

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
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
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

A

Ameliorating · 4

C

Combustible · 46

D

Dichotomies · 44, 47

E

Endemic · 36, 38, 41

F

Flee · 2, 4

P

Patronage · 45, 46

R

Repercussions · 30, 32
Rupturing · 2



save our planet



Global Journal of Human Social Science

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



ISSN 975587

© Global Journals