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X-Raying the Dynamics of Political Parties on Democratic Process in Nigeria

By Saheed Olasunkanmi Oduola, Lateefat Bukola Babarinde & Sawaneh Banna

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Abstract- In any given society, political parties are the sine qua non to the practice of modern democracy, because it involves people's participation in governance and this participation is attained through involvement in the activities of political parties. This paper examines the role the political parties have played in entrenching democratic values into the Nigeria political system. The paper assesses the process of democratization especially with regards to the political system. The paper uses qualitative research design as a method of gathering data from the secondary sources. The study concludes that there exist negative relationships between the research findings with the first assumption which states that political parties in Nigeria have effectively enhanced the democratization process. Finally, the study highlights the following recommendations: adoption of two-party systems in Nigeria to achieve democratization in order to avoid a political party identifying itself only with a particular ethnic group; massive mobilization and political education of the Nigerians for a societal re-orientation; and integration of the country as one that is devoid of ethnocentrism and particularism. Finally, the study contends that the implementation of these recommendations would assist in ensuring democratization in the political system in Nigeria..

Keywords: *democratization, party system, political parties, democracy.*

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X-Raying the Dynamics of Political Parties on Democratic Process in Nigeria

Saheed Olasunkanmi Oduola ^α, Lateefat Bukola Babarinde ^σ & Sawaneh Banna ^ρ

Abstract- In any given society, political parties are the sine qua non to the practice of modern democracy, because it involves people's participation in governance and this participation is attained through involvement in the activities of political parties. This paper examines the role the political parties have played in entrenching democratic values into the Nigeria political system. The paper assesses the process of democratization especially with regards to the political system. The paper uses qualitative research design as a method of gathering data from the secondary sources. The study concludes that there exist negative relationships between the research findings with the first assumption which states that political parties in Nigeria have effectively enhanced the democratization process. Finally, the study highlights the following recommendations: adoption of two-party systems in Nigeria to achieve democratization in order to avoid a political party identifying itself only with a particular ethnic group; massive mobilization and political education of the Nigerians for a societal re-orientation; and integration of the country as one that is devoid of ethnocentrism and particularism. Finally, the study contends that the implementation of these recommendations would assist in ensuring democratization in the political system in Nigeria.

Keywords: democratization, party system, political parties, democracy.

I. INTRODUCTION

In any given society, political parties are sine qua non to the practice of modern democracy, because it involves people's participation in governance, the attainment of which involves political parties in democratic activities. In the words of Akindele, Obiyan, and Owoeye (2000) political parties are indispensable features of democratic societies due to the conglomeration of people with similar ideologies under the same political aegis. Naturally, a human being has been described as a socio-political animal; in some cases, a bred-in-the-bone political animal. In any society where man finds himself, he accepts that there should be an appropriately constituted authority in a political system to maintain law and order. Man wants a political environment in which he is guaranteed freedom of movement, expression, beliefs (religious or whatever)

and freedom to realize his potentials to the fullest without let or hindrance as long as his pursuits are not in conflicts with the law of the land or a trespass on other people's rights (Olowu, 1996). Man wants to have a say in deciding who governs him and he wants his input taken into consideration in the governance process, just as the population definition of democracy as government of the people by the people and for the people.

The Nigerian society after independence in 1960, witnessed different political dispensation which has been abrupt, frequent and unstable. Thus, at the inception of democratic governance in May 1999, the Nigerian society was filled with aspiration for a better political system. This is because Nigerians believe the system of democracy is a befitting system of governance for the Nigerian society as many Nigerians believe that the problems that pervade the Nigerian society could possibly be attributable to the military rule and opine that those problems would go underground as soon as civilian democratic governance is enthroned (Oarhe & Ikelegbe, 2009).

The evolution of the Fourth Republic in Nigeria after the exit of the then military regime headed by General Abdulsalam Abubakar witnessed the registration of three political parties: Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance For Democracy (AD), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) among other numerous political parties that contested the election. The emergence of the fourth republic marked the beginning of a new democratization process in Nigeria polity. There is always a polarity between the political party's policy orientation or political farsightedness and that of other political parties. At the inception of Nigeria's Fourth Republic, all the political parties then: The People's Democratic Party (PDP), Alliance For Democracy (AD), All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP), etc. had different ideologies, regarding the governance in Nigeria. In the area of education and health policies AD, PDP, and ANPP were non-symbiotic while AD believed and embraced free healthcare delivery and free education at all levels, and implemented policies amidst financial stringency in the AD-Controlled states, the PDP believed otherwise (Alapiki, 2004).

Clearly, political parties are vital for maintaining democracy and governance. Agbaje (1999) noted that the extent to which political parties aggregate freely,

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articulate, represent and organize determine the level of accountability in public life including access to and use of power as well as political performance. In essence, therefore, political parties have become, in the majority of African countries, a critical linchpin for the institutionalization, nurturing, deepening and consolidation of democracy in the continent.

Merkl (1977:99) summarized the role of political parties in democracy as follows; (i) Generation of programmes and policies for government, (ii) Coordination and control of governmental organs, (iii) Recruitment and selection of leadership personnel for public offices, (iv) Regulatory policies (setting limits on flows of funds; transparency and accountability), (v) Emphasis on individual candidates, (vi) Creating a consistent and comprehensible range of choices for citizens.

This study intends to examine the effects of political parties on the democratization process in Nigeria during the Olusegun Obasanjo administration as regards socio-political and economic development prospect.

II. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The study aims to:

- i. Examine the roles the political parties have played in entrenching democratic values into the Nigeria political system; and
- ii. Assess the process of democratization especially with regards to the political system.

III. ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

The study tested the following hypotheses.

1. Effective political parties enhance the democratization process.
2. A diversely represented political party in Nigeria will enhance the democratic process.

IV. THE ASSESSMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES ON DEMOCRATIZATION IN NIGERIA'S FOURTH REPUBLIC

Given the nature of Nigeria as a multi-ethnic society and an identifiable cleavage, the task of democratizing the various aspects of the country into one indivisible was a challenge Nigeria could not completely overcome. However, one of the ways of achieving democratization is through the activities and operation of political parties because, given their diverse social base, political parties tend to be one of such institution that could bring about democratization. However, the study will analyze and look into the performance of Nigeria political parties in the Fourth Republic towards this goal, to determine how far they have gone in this question of democratization.

The Nigeria Fourth Republic which begins in 1999 and still in progress in operating democratized systems and thus has the activities and operation of political parties vital to its survival. Political parties through their roles of articulating and aggregation of interests and recruitment of political office holders are very central to the smooth operation of democracy in Nigeria. The words of Dode (2010) emphasized these roles when he said that the existence of a vibrant political party is a sine qua non for democratic consolidation in any polity. However, within the framework of democracy in a country like Nigeria which is naturally multi-ethnic, there exists the problem of democratization. Some institutional and attitudinal constraints serve as challenges affecting the performance of Nigerian's Fourth Republic political parties, which is the primary focus of this research, towards this problem, which has made people regard them as an agent of disintegration rather than integration. Looking at the majority of the political parties in this current Fourth Republic in Nigeria, one apparent and common attribute is that they lack national outlook that will reflect on the composition of its members and their network of offices around the country. A lot of the parties could not command a base nationally regarding membership and could not even boast of offices in as many parts of the country as possible, and consequently, political parties that ought to serve as a networking institution for many people could not serve this purpose. Anifowose (2004) noted that the majority of the political parties existing in Nigeria's Fourth Republic do not have a national outlook in relation to their operations. Looking at the current number of political parties in Nigeria, which is more than 50, only a few like the People Democratic Party (PDP), All Nigeria People Party (ANPP), Action Congress (AC) and probably the Labour Party (LP) and the All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) could be said to have members that clearly cut across several parts of country, which is roughly 3% of the total number of registered political parties with the Independence National Electoral Commission (INEC) (Anifowose, 2004). Based on this estimate, we can generalize that most of the Nigerian political parties in the Fourth Republic do not have a national outlook. With this assertion, we then say that political parties in this Fourth Republic do not represent the interest of the vast majority of the people and thus do not bring about the needed democratization.

Having asserted that Nigerian political parties in the Fourth Republic lacked national outlook, it is then evident that ethnicity influences these parties regarding their support and operations; this is a problem militating against the quest for the democratic process. Emmanuel, (2009) asserted that except the PDP, the registered political parties at the inception of the Fourth Republic could not detach themselves of ethnic affinity. With this in mind, we expect that the parties will draw

support from their ethnic groups and seek to represent ethnic cleavages and appeal for votes predominantly along communal lines. Where such exist, we anticipate that political parties will replace national interests with ethnic interests and will instead preserve their ethnic interests at the expense of national interests, this claim, we can be asserted when we look at the nature of electoral support that follows the 1999 General Elections where the Alliance for Democracy won massively in the Yoruba speaking of the South-Western region while the All Peoples Party won majorly at the Northern part of the country. It was only the People's Democratic Party which we can adjudge to have a national outlook that won across the country. This result showed that the AD had an affiliation with the West while the APP had an affiliation with the North. Though, we may say that the level of ethnicity in the activities of the current political parties in operation is incomparable to that of 1999.

This claim is out of the fact that political party like the ANPP performed considerably well outside the traditional Northern region that they were familiar with, they gained the level of support in states like Oyo and Ogun, where senators Bola Ajibola and Ibikunle Amusun were presented as gubernatorial candidates (Dode, 2010). Also, the Action Congress which emerged from the Alliance for Democracy made a meaningful impact in states like Edo, Delta and Adamawa. But it is essential to note that we cannot say that these parties have lived above the troubled water of ethnicity because we observed that in the states cited, people essentially voted for personality fairly than political parties (Dode, 2010). This is to say that even if these candidates contested on the platform of the more relatively unknown party, they will still command such support. Example of such is the emergence of Dr Olusegun Mimiko on the platform of the Labour party as the governor of Ondo State (Dode, 2010). So with this, the current parties in this Fourth Republic, excluding the PDP we could not claim to be devoid of ethnic affinity, which affected their operation in connection to democratic process because they tend to have priority to ethnic interests over national interests. What happens in effect would be a situation where an individual identifies with his own ethnic group and where an individual feels more relaxed and secured among his kinsmen. Once this practice obtains in a given political system as it happens in the present day Nigeria, it will defeat the purpose of achieving democratization. So one could affirm that the more political parties in a multi-ethnic society like Nigeria show their ethnic affinity, the less they achieve democratization.

However, taking a closer look at the activities and operations of the PDP, which at least has a national outlook and above the claim of ethnic affinity. One is poised to look at various activities of the political parties and see whether they have brought about democratization or not. There is a diverse representation

of People's Democratic Party as it can boast of membership that cuts across all ethnic groupings and even its level of support does not restrict to a particular part of the country which could explain why it has been in control of the central government since the inception of this Fourth Republic (Oarhe & Ikelegbe, 2009). We expect that in a country like Nigeria, the more diverse representation a party has, the more it enhances democracy, which is true of a party like the PDP, but there are some activities within the party that cast doubt over such claim. One such case is the issue of zoning that is going on within the ranks and file of the party. This zoning issue which has to do with a particular region presenting the presidential candidate on the platform of the party could be a form of affirming ethnic loyalty and cleavages (Oarhe and Ikelegbe, 2009). The interests and comments this issue has generated among the people have shown that people are still more conscious of their ethnic interests than national interests. So this will infer that it is not a sufficient condition that a political party that has diverse representation will necessarily ring about or enhance democratization. But as a political party which aggregate interest, the more diverse its membership is, the more the chance of improving democracy will be.

Apart from the above peculiarity of Nigerian political parties in the Fourth Republic, it is worthy to note that there is a lack of policy programmes in parties' policies. Looking at the parties in operation in this Fourth Republic, virtually all these parties cannot be said to have a clear-cut policy programme that they intend to pursue about democratization, and thus we should not expect any line of action that will bring about the democratization of the country. It should be noted that all these parties have as one of their objectives to ensure the democratization and unity of the country, but we cannot see any practical policies that enable the realization of such aims.

Also, the occurrences in Nigeria's Fourth Republic have shown that there is the poor interface between political parties and civil society as co-participants in the ecology of governance. It is with regret that we see that Nigerian political parties have failed to recognize civil society organization as a complementary agent in ensuring democratization. These political parties always consider their primary aim of gaining political power and fail to provide groundwork on how to put in place a mechanism through which there will be a form of partnership with other civil society in order to gain national unity. Also, the civil society on their part could not view the parties as partners in achieving the unification of the country; fairly they are always criticizing at any chance, the activities of these parties.

Having looked at how far Nigerian political parties in the Fourth Republic have performed toward democratization. It is pertinent we shed light on some

principle, other than the structure and activities of political parties, which has effects on the question for democratization.

One of such is the principle of Federal Character. This principle intends to facilitate representation of all groups in a particular government. The provision of the 1999 Constitution supports this principle toward the operation of political parties in the country. The political parties must reflect this principle in the composition of their executive committees or other structural institution of the party. This step is to have a sense of belongingness from various ethnic groups in the country. They believe that once they adhere to this, it will advance the course of democratization. Although, given the current lack of integration in the country, people have called for the jettison of the Federal Character principle saying it has proven ineffective in promoting democratization. However, we do not welcome this principle because it achieves its key purpose of making sure there is representation in the government and should not bear the blame for people's ethnic consciousness. So it is of note here, that there is the need for attitudinal re-orientation on the part of Nigerian people. Based on this, it necessitates considering the role of the National Orientation Agency (NOA) which has been making efforts in sensitizing and even appealing to people to see the country's interests as that which is over and above that of the narrow ethnic system. Mostly, people continue to underutilize the aim of this agency because of their lack of widespread sensitization and propaganda.

With the foregoing analysis, it is evident that we have not yet achieved democratization in Nigeria as a result of the activities of political parties, which lacked national viewpoint in order to aggregate all interests into the country's common interest thereby leading to pursuing ethnic interests. Noted also is the attitude of people toward national interests as people tend to align themselves more with their ethnic group compared to that of national interests. People see themselves first as a nationality of a particular ethnic group before seeing themselves as a Nigerian. The link between the attitudes of people and activities of political parties is such that it is the essential attitude of party members that will reflect in the direction of such party.

If all the above-mentioned facts are what prevailed in Nigeria since the inception of the Fourth Republic in 1999, it then meant that democratization in Nigeria had disintegrated instead, one which we could attribute to the activities of the existing political parties.

V. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Political scientists have constructed many theories for political analysis. For the purpose of this study, we will use two theories which are the Systems Theory and the Structural- Functional Theory. The

significant and guiding concept in Systems Theory is the 'System'.

Systems are general relationships, that is, a whole which comprises many parts. Hence systems emphasize relationships and not individual. One of the proponents of Systems Theory is David Easton. Easton identifies the political system as the basic unit of analysis. He defines the political system as that 'system of interactions (set of interrelated components and processes) in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made'.

From the aforementioned interactions, we can observe that there are three phases in the political system - inputs, conversion, and output. The political system takes inputs consisting of demands which are the articulated needs, problems and aspirations that are brought to bear upon the political system, and expression of support for the regime which consists of adherence to laws or positive orientations which promote the political system from the society and convert them into output-authoritative policies and decisions. Feedback mechanism put output back into the system as input, thus completing a complex cyclical operation.

Structural-Functional Theory is an offshoot of System Theory. It is a methodology of analysis which examines a system regarding the structures, which are part of the system and the functions these structures perform. However, concerning politics, Structural-Functional theory describes the means of explaining the fundamental functions of the political system. It explains the relationship between components (structures) on one hand and between the constituents and the whole (political system) on the other hand. It is the contributions of each structure that help to sustain the political system.

One of the proponents of Structural-Functional Theory is Gabriel Almond. Almond identified the functional requirement of the political system and proceeded to explain the contributions of these functions towards the maintenance and stability of the system. He categorized the functions into two which are inputs roles (which include, political socialization and recruitment, interest's articulation and aggregation, and political communication) and output function which includes rule-making, rule-application and rule-adjudication (Yagboyaju, 2008).

Having explained the chosen models, the purpose of their choice is based on the fact that the democratization process is caused either when the system succeeds or fails in achieving a stable political system. In the Estonian's view, the political system will bring good governance when all the interrelated components perform their functions (Yagboyaju, 2008). Political parties in this sense are the core elements of the system that deal with the inputs that they obtain either in form of support or demand from inside and

outside the society that affects the political system and vice versa. The political party then processed the input and produced output in the form of the ways they carry out their activities. Also, the political party as one which has a structure describes a system with various constituents through which they formulate and execute policies. For example, party caucus can discuss issues of national interest, anything that comes out of such discussions would refer to as the output and anything that is emerging for discussion within the party can represent as input. With this interrelationship, a political party can contribute to national development and democratic process.

The Structural-Functional Theory views the state as a whole System which is capable of bringing its sub-system elements into one entity through the process of integration. The political party as one of the sub-systems within the political system performs many functions which include that of communicating the wishes of the voters to the government, informing the electorate on significant political issues and allowing for broader participation by more people in the political system. Through this participation of people with different backgrounds democracy can thrive (Yagboyaju, 2008).

Regarding this work, our system is the political parties in the Nigeria political system. Based on the above analysis, the research work will examine how Political parties in Nigeria have been acting as agents for democratic process especially the Nigerian political parties during the Fourth Republic, which was from 1999 to 2007.

VI. FINDINGS

The general objective of this study was to examine the role of political parties in the democratization of Nigeria with special reference to the Fourth Republic. The introductory part started with the background to the study, which highlighted the composition of political parties in Nigeria, and thus the need for democratization. A theoretical framework was also used as a stepping stone of what type of approach to use in analyzing certain issues. This theoretical framework stated the functions which political parties performed in every political system and defined the key concepts like a political party, party system, and democratization. Also, the study discussed and reviewed some literature. The researchers were able to see how different scholars viewed the roles of political parties in improving democratization in a country like Nigeria which is multi-ethnic. The political parties in the Fourth Republic were not devoid of ethnic affinity which gave a reason why they could not engender democratization for the country. It was against this background that political parties served as an instrument of democratization. Also, the researchers were able to uncover the historical account of Nigerian

political parties from the pre-independence up till the present Republic. The study looked at various activities geared toward democratization starting from the pre-independence era and showed the peculiarity of each Republic as regards democratization. Finally, based on information gathered, the researchers analyzed certain claims that were made on the present day experience in Nigeria and were able to determine the fact that Nigeria's political parties in this Fourth Republic have not been able to bring democratic process because of certain perceived factors which constrained their effectiveness as an agent of democratization.

VII. CONCLUSION

In concluding this research, we can objectively say that from the research findings from various sources, there exists a negative relationship between the findings and the first assumption, which states that political parties in Nigeria's Fourth Republic have effectively enhanced the democratization process. Regarding the second assumption which states that diversely represented political parties in Nigeria will enhance democratic process, there also exists a negative relationship because an example was made of the PDP which is diversely represented and still could not bring about national integration for the country.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

In the real sense of political parties, their activities and operation ought to serve as a catalyst for democratization especially in a country like Nigeria which is a multi-ethnic society. However, having seen the performance of the Fourth Republic political parties in Nigeria, it is apparent that they have failed in achieving this purpose for the country, a claim which this research work has concretized. Given the various problems that are confronting political parties and indeed the search of democratization, the following recommendations will bring about the desired democratization for the country.

The study observes that the number of political parties in operation is too much. Though, the country is practising a multi-party system which gives no restriction to the number of political parties that can be in operation. Experiences have shown that majority of these political parties lacked recognition from the populace and have seen the formation of the party as a means of enriching themselves through a collection of various allowances from the electoral body. So the study recommends that if Nigeria adopts only two party systems, the country will achieve democratization because there will be no room to identify a party solely with a particular ethnic group and such a party will be national in outlook. Though people may argue that two-party systems will even divide a country into opposing blocks, but the study contends that given the nature of

Nigeria, such an introduction cannot lead to such blocks rather it will serve as an avenue to bring all ethnic groups into a single fold since there are no many parties that individual groups can align with on their own to create political identity.

The study also recommends that political parties should base their candidate selection on merit and not on preference or hidden affection. When there is a selection of candidates on merit, then the candidate will definitely command legitimacy and support from everybody cutting across the ethnic boundary and thus serves as a catalyst for democratization because he or she will represent common interest. This should replace the current practice among parties in this Fourth Republic which impose their candidates on the basis of the interest of particular people as against the wish of the majority. Example of such a case is the emergence of Umaru Yar'Adua as the standard bearer of the People Democratic Party in the 2007 Presidential Election, who many believed the President, Olusegun Obasanjo imposed. This only act of the president attracted many negative utterances especially from the part of the South-South people which did not augur well for the democratization of the country.

In addition to the above, Nigeria should have a societal re-orientation. What Nigeria needs now is not political system 'per-se' but a societal change of attitude. There should be a massive mobilization and political education of the Nigerians toward a belief in the interest of the country as one, and any government that is assuming office should avoid ethnocentrism and particularism.

Intra-tribal marriage should also be encouraged especially between the core North and the core South. This will foster unity and ensure the needed democratization. Finally, the study argues that if the Nigerians uphold and implement all the foregoing recommendations, they will improve democratization in Nigeria and its political system.

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From Socialism to Open Cooperativism: Convergences and Divergences in the Work of Castoriadis, Olin Wright and Bauwens & Kostakis

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Abstract- This article attempts at integrating core socialist elements, analyzed through the prism of Castoriadis's and Wright's work, into a model of open cooperativism between Commons-based peer production, ethical market entities and a partner state, introduced by Bauwens and Kostakis. It concludes with a critical appraisal of Bauwens and Kostakis's model.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is an attempt to rethink the content of socialism under the conditions of the neoliberal hegemony today. To this end, I begin by critically demonstrating two versions of socialism, developed by two ostensibly disparate thinkers, Cornelius Castoriadis and Erik Olin Wright. Castoriadis was a greek-french philosopher, best recognized for his articles published in the journal *Socialisme ou Barbarie* from the period of 1949 till 1965. His thought flourished in the midst of the French intellectual milieu marked by the currents of existentialism, phenomenology, post-structuralism, psychoanalysis, and Marxism. In the 40 issues of the journal, Castoriadis developed a radical critique of both capitalism and Marxism, resulting in the redefinition of the content of socialism as crystallized in his project of individual and collective autonomy. Later on, the evolution of his thought will culminate in his magnum opus *The Imaginary Institution of Society* and the subsequent six volumes of the *Crossroads in the Labyrinth*. Erik Olin Wright, on the other, is a contemporary social theorist whose work has developed in the aftermath of the collapse of the so-called "really existing socialism" in the Eastern bloc regimes, followed by the current expansion of neoliberal capitalism. Similarly to Castoriadis, he has articulated a critique of "orthodox" Marxism, envisioning a socialist utopia within and beyond capitalism. Despite their different conceptual and historical contexts, the work of Cornelius Castoriadis and Eric Olin Wright share a common trait: the theoretical elaboration of a socialist society.

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I build on Castoriadis's and Wright's work by introducing Bauwens and Kostakis's model of open cooperativism, which, I argue, integrates some core socialist elements penetrating both Castoriadis's and Wright's work. I make the case that, in comparison with Castoriadis's project and Wright's socialist transformation strategy, Bauwens and Kostakis's model of open cooperativeism carries the advantage of sketching out some more concrete pathways towards a post-capitalist society built on the premises of information and communication technologies. The Internet and free/open source software/hardware can *mutatis mutandis* sustain *glocal* mutual coordination of Commons-based peer production that has the potential to force capitalism to adjust to a Commons transition in the long run. However, Bauwens and Kostakis's model does not come without deficiencies. They seem at times to stick to a technocratic and economistic vision of self-institutionalization. To address this limitation, it is crucial to give a more vibrant political spin to their technical and bio-economic rationality with the aim to reverse the current tide of individualism towards a voluntary cooperative political ecology. It is essential to reinvent *the political* to face the big challenges lying at the intersection of technology, economy, and society.

II. THE PROJECT OF INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE AUTONOMY

Castoriadis is an emblematic figure of continental philosophy, influenced by a heterogeneous current of thought, including ancient Greek philosophy, post-structuralism, phenomenology, psychoanalysis, and Marxism, to name just a few. He joined the communist party in Greece in 1941, but he abandoned it in 1942, accusing it of chauvinism, authoritarianism, and centralism. He then joined the Trotskyist group of Agis Stinas, but he left it also to form together with Claude Lefort an autonomous group in France, which published the journal *Socialisme ou Barbarie* from 1949 till 1965.

In the 40 issues of the journal, Castoriadis developed his project of individual and collective autonomy, which epitomizes his conceptualization of socialism. Castoriadis's radical approach manifests, for instance, in his article *Socialism and Autonomous*

Society, published in 1979, where he emphatically argues, already in the first page, that we should abandon both the terms “communism” and “socialism”, for they have become ambiguous and mystified both in the totalitarian regimes of the Eastern bloc and the so-called socialist democracies of the West.¹ The term “socialism” seems “value-laden” since it attributes to society a substantive primacy over the individual.² But, for Castoriadis, the concept of the individual is equally ambiguous. What is the individual? Castoriadis holds that the individual has been a product of heteronomy in most of history. In archaic societies, the individual is formed by the rules established by ancestors and religion. In the so-called liberal societies, a small minority of individuals exploits the vast majority of individuals while representative democracy is a semblance of democracy dominated by the rational mastery of capitalism. In the so-called socialist societies, the individual is oppressed and exploited by a Communist bureaucracy.³

In contrast to heteronomy, Castoriadis argues for the autonomous development of the individual, the first instance of which dates back to the birth of philosophy and democracy in ancient Greece.⁴ Thus, the individual develops in tune with a self-reflective and autonomous collectivity. Whence, the definition of socialism by Castoriadis:

What was intended by the term ‘socialist society’ we henceforth call autonomous society. An autonomous society implies autonomous individuals- *and vice versa* .Autonomous society, autonomous individuals: free society, free individuals. Freedom- but what is freedom? And what freedom?⁵

Freedom is neither an autonomy deriving from a moral imperative nor the unobstructed exercise of some basic liberal rights, but the equality of all in the creation of the law governing society. Freedom is the precondition of individual and collective autonomy, for it permits the participation of all citizens in the formation of the rules regulating private and public sphere. Castoriadis notes:

What is at issue is not inner freedom, but *effective, social, concrete* freedom, namely, to mention one primary feature, the largest possible space for movement and activity the institution of society can ensure for the individual. This freedom can exist only as dimension and mode of the institution of society [...] A free society is a society in which power is actually exercised by the collectivity, but a collectivity in which all effectively participate in equality. And this equality of effective participation, as goal to attain, must not remain a purely formal rule; it must be insured, as much as possible, by actual institutions.⁶

In contrast to the antithesis of freedom with equality in liberalism, Castoriadis considers equality as a

presupposition of freedom and *vice versa*. He conceives equality not in a “natural” or “metaphysical” sense, but in a political sense of duties and rights equal for all. However, in Castoriadis, equality transcends the liberal rights of modernity – which he considers partial and incomplete– by expanding into the freedom of all to participate in power, that is, the capacity of “...bringing someone to make/do what they would not have otherwise, in full knowledge of the relevant facts, *willed* to make/do”.⁷ Castoriadis distinguishes between two kinds of power: the instituted power, identified as *the political*, and the instituting power, identified as *politics*. *The political* consists in the existing laws of society created by tradition, religion and established authorities, whereas *politics* signifies the freedom of the *polis* to constantly question and remake its laws a new through public deliberation.⁸ *Politics* refers to the deliberate self-institutionalization of society. Since there is necessarily power in society, inequality of power translates into inequality of freedom. To overcome this inequality, Castoriadis conceives of socialism as the self-institutionalization of society by collective management introduced first and foremost at the level of production and expanding accordingly on all levels of society. Socialism consists in the abolition of the division between directors and executants, which penetrates liberal democracy, capitalism and “orthodox” Marxism, and the expansion of individual and collective autonomy on all levels of society.⁹ Socialism is thus a form of collective management, operating in terms of individual and collective autonomy. But how can this collective management function at the level of economy and society as a whole?

To answer this question, we need first to revisit some basic points of Castoriadis’s relation to Marxism, which has been thoroughly examined in a series of works thus far.¹⁰ Castoriadis argues that Marx was sedated by the dream of positivism to discover the eternal laws of nature and society in terms of “the rational mastery of the unlimited expansion of technology and economy on nature and society.”¹¹ Marx attempted to become the Newton of history by developing a “final” theory of historical materialism based on technological determinism. He reversed the Absolute Spirit of his teacher Hegel into the matter of nature, transformed by the productive forces of human species, as they develop in technoscience and apply furthermore to the industry. Consequently, he was led to narrow down enormously the field of self-institutionalization to the level of production and economy, thus leaving aside the political question, that is, the question of power itself, on the assumption that the latter will spontaneously resolve in the higher phase of communism, after the main theorem of revolution will have applied to society as a whole.¹²

Marx was equally sedated by the economism of capitalism in placing the economy at the center of

politics, thereby adopting capitalism's model of homo oeconomicus. He failed to see, at least to a full extent, that the crisis of capitalism lies in the contradiction of production itself and not just in the ones surrounding production such as "the anarchy of the market", "overproduction" or the "falling rate of profit."¹³ Marx failed to recognize that technique itself is bound with the contradictions of capitalism; that technique itself is the incarnation of the relations of production, and, therefore, infused with class struggle. Finally, Castoriadis argues that the work of later Marx took dominance over the revolutionary element of younger Marx. In the so-called socialist states of former Eastern Bloc regimes, Marx's project was transformed into the political dogma of Leninist-Stalinist Marxism.

Castoriadis holds that the basic contradiction of capitalism between capitalists and the proletariat resides on a more fundamental flaw of capitalism lying within the field of production *per se* in which workers are obliged to participate insofar as they do not interfere with the planning process itself. The division between directors and executants results in the alienation of labor and an enormous waste due to untapped capacities.¹⁴ The contradiction between directors and executants expands from the economy into society as a whole. People experience their lives as alien since they cannot participate in the decision-making affecting both the public and private sphere. They are treated as mere objects, when they ought to be the sole subjects of their own lives and pursue their aspirations to the fullest. The solution to this contradiction is not the abolition of private property, the nationalization of production and the planning of economy by the State, which according to Castoriadis re-establishes a new inequality between the state and the workers, but the management of economy and society *in toto* by citizens themselves.¹⁵ Socialism is not the teleological endpoint of history, crystallized in the application of a "final" sociopolitical theory represented by a party of supermen, but the unleashing of the free creative activity of the masses. The question of how such a model of socialism could be realized naturally arises.

For Castoriadis, the primary principle of socialism is direct democracy, applying first and foremost at the level of production and expanding accordingly into all spheres of society.¹⁶ Direct democracy operates through councils established at each enterprise, in which workers equally participate after information being disseminated in a transparent and simplified manner. On conditions of global interdependence and decentralization of economy, worker councils form the base of an assembly of all councils represented by central governments. Both worker councils and governments are composed of revocable delegates, who guarantee the implementation of decisions taken at the base of each enterprise. Analogous types of councils form the center of

concentric spheres, expanding from the workplace into society as a whole. Socialism establishes thus a form of centralized decentralization based on two-way information flow between centers and the base.¹⁷ Socialism implies the abolition of the capitalist division of labor using the horizontal cooperation of experts and workers, the rotation of tasks, and, finally, the mutual coordination of work by workers themselves.¹⁸

Thus, technology will be subordinated to human needs by a conscious and deliberate transformation intended to liberate man from toil and drudgery. Technology will be humanized to turn robotization of work into poetry. Work should not be a chore, an activity of misery, boredom, and alienation, but the outcome of creation, self-fulfillment, and cooperation. Workers should be masters of machines instead of slaves. The humanization of technology can, therefore, contribute to turning work into a meaningful and joyful activity.¹⁹

Castoriadis notes that the real problem of society consists in abolishing the distinction between production and leisure. "The problem is to make all time a time of liberty and to allow concrete freedom to embody itself in creative activity. The problem is to put poetry into work. (Strictly speaking, poetry means creation.) Production is not something negative that has to be limited as much as possible for mankind to fulfill itself in its leisure. The instauration of autonomy is also – and in the first place – the instauration of autonomy in work".²⁰ The reduction of the working day would combine with the redistribution of the social product by the abolition of the hierarchy of salaries, wages and incomes²¹, and the subsequent establishment of a truly democratic market based on the sovereignty of the consumer.

In contrast to the neoliberal mantra claiming that socialist planning is inevitable due to the practical inability of controlling dispersed information, Castoriadis argued that computers could support the overall planning of economy by breaking down essential information into a manageable set of variables. Computers can store and update all data necessary for decisions concerning management, investment, consumption, production, and so on.²² And, indeed, this sounds true today to some extent if one considers the capacity of states and corporations to control big data through sophisticated machine learning and software mechanisms.

Given the full availability of data, discussions would be held at the assemblies of each enterprise, proposals would be submitted, and decisions would be taken in terms of majority vote.²³ Castoriadis yet emphasizes that no plan, however perfect, can be a panacea for all problems. No technical rationality can replace human imagination. The plan will provide only with a framework necessary for serving the ever-changing human needs.²⁴

Castoriadis was also one of the first thinkers who mentioned the devastation of the environment by the capitalist economy and stressed the need for techno science to be subject to democratic and ecological deliberation.²⁵ His theory of direct democracy develops in contrast to liberal procedural models of democracy, which conceal the rational mastery of capitalism under the pretext of neutrality and legality. Procedures cannot but be “value-laden” by the central imaginary significations of the social-historical. Castoriadis does not dismiss procedures, but he incorporates them into the free deliberation of the anonymous collective infused with the magma of the social imaginary significations. In his later writings, democracy is supplemented with a psychoanalytical element, emphasizing the conscious self-reflective renewal of the social-historical. Democracy becomes the regime of novelty par excellence. The essential problem of democracy then is the combination of some basic rules with the most possible diversity of cultural creation, lifestyles, and needs.²⁶ In this sense, Castoriadis's project is an attempt to integrate the private sphere of the individual, that is, negative freedom, into the public sphere of the *demos*, where the deliberation over the content of positive freedom affects both public and private sphere. Castoriadis, however, did not develop a systematic theory of democracy. This corresponds to the non-systematic character of his magmatic logic-ontology. Nonetheless, Castoriadis's theoretical incarnation of socialism in his project of individual and collective autonomy has often been criticized as impractical given the immense complexity of contemporary societies.²⁷ Castoriadis, yet, was one of the first thinkers to foresee the potential of technology, that is, the very existence of computers, to facilitate rather than render infeasible a socialist project.²⁸ Moreover, I will show in the third section that Castoriadis's foresight on technology has developed today into a clear vision of a post-capitalist ethical economy, supported by the Internet and free and open source software/hardware.

But, still, Castoriadis's project raises at least two major concerns. Hans Joas rightly claims that it is highly contestable whether citizens would consent to a redistribution of their income.²⁹ Therefore, the principle of the abolition of the hierarchy of salaries, incomes, and wages is problematic.

Castoriadis argues for the mutation of the current homo oeconomicus towards the values of individual and collective autonomy. It remains an issue as to how such a radical shift of mentality could occur today, especially when Castoriadis rejects the current political system as a whole, relying solely on the autonomous movements of collectivities. Castoriadis was critical towards any political reform, since he held that this would lead to the assimilation of the project of socialism by the current political system.³⁰ Castoriadis also abstained from articulating any concrete proposal

of how this trans-mutation of individuals and collectivities could occur in contemporary societies. Therefore, the feasibility of Castoriadis's project is undermined not by the complexity of contemporary societies, but by the lack of the alternatives necessary to nurture the transformation of the central imaginary significations of society towards individual and collective autonomy. To this end, Erik Olin Wright's work can offer us some valuable insights, echoing Castoriadis's project in several respects.

III. ENVISIONING REAL UTOPIAS

The work of the sociologist Erik Olin Wright represents one of the most contemporary attempts to formulate an emancipatory social science aiming at the socialist transformation of society. The normative principle of this transformation is a radical democratic egalitarian conceptualization of justice, according to which all people should have equal access to the necessary material and social means to live flourishing lives (social justice); and the necessary means to participate in collective decisions affecting one's life as a member of a community (political justice).³¹ Freedom is the power of making decisions over one's life, and democracy is the power of participating in collective decision-making. Wright defines power as the capacity of actors to generate effects in the world.³² He holds that freedom presupposes equality as the capacity of all people to participate in collective decision-making. Wright's egalitarian understanding of freedom is both “negative” and “positive” since the liberal ideal of freedom as non-interference combines with the capacity of all people to participate in democratic processes.³³ It becomes evident then that Wright's work bears some striking similarities with Castoriadis's project of individual and collective autonomy.

Wright has developed a systematic critique of both Marxism and capitalism, which intersects on many points and levels with Castoriadis's critique. He argues that Marx proposed a highly deterministic theory of the demise of capitalism and a relatively voluntaristic theory of the construction of its alternative.³⁴ Like Castoriadis, he identifies some essential problems of traditional Marxism.

Marx's law of the falling tendency of the rate of profit seems inadequate since crises within capitalism do not appear to have an inherent tendency to become ever more intense over time. On more theoretical grounds, the labor theory of value, on which Marx's theory of crisis intensification is based, seems no longer sustainable, at least in full extent. “While the idea of labor as the source of value may be a useful device for illustrating the idea of the exploitation of labor, there is no persuasive reason for believing that labor and labor alone causally generates value”.³⁵ Thus, for the moment there is no good reason to hold that the internal contradictions of capitalism make it unsustainable in the long run.³⁶

Class structures have become more complex over time, rather than being simplified through a process of homogenizing proletarianization.³⁷ What we are witnessing today is the differentiation of the working class, evidenced by the growth of freelancers, self-employed and small employers. Most importantly, managers and supervisors attain properties of both capitalists and workers, thus reproducing anew the basic contradiction of capitalism epitomized by Castoriadis in terms of the division between directors and executors. Therefore, the collective capacity of the working class to challenge capitalism seems to decline within mature capitalist societies.³⁸

Ruptural strategies of social transformation, even if they were capable of overthrowing the capitalist state, do not seem to provide a social-political setting for sustaining democratic experimentalism. In agreement with Castoriadis, Wright holds that the empirical cases of ruptures with capitalism (e.g., the Eastern bloc regimes) have resulted in authoritarian state-bureaucratic forms of an economic organization rather than a truly democratic regime.³⁹

Wright agrees with Castoriadis that the relations of domination within capitalist workplaces constitute pervasive restrictions on individual autonomy and self-direction, thus blocking the full realization and exercise of human potentials. Exploitation, alienation of labor, large economic inequalities, the uncontrolled social externalities of technological change and profit-maximizing competition perpetuate eliminable forms of human suffering, thus impeding the universalization of conditions for expansive human flourishing.⁴⁰

Wright differentiates from Castoriadis when he employs a liberal egalitarian critique of capitalism. He argues that capitalism is fundamentally incompatible with a strong notion of equality of opportunity related to "brute lack", meaning risks that are beyond one's control and therefore over which one bears no moral responsibility.⁴¹ Wright locates six sources of inefficiency in capitalism: (1) the underproduction of public goods; (2) the underpricing of natural resources; (3) negative externalities; (4) monitoring and enforcing market contracts; (5) pathologies of intellectual property rights; (6) the costs of inequality.⁴² Like Castoriadis, he criticizes consumerism with regards both to moral and environmental issues.⁴³ Wright argues that capitalist commodification threatens human values such as child care, product safety, the arts, community, religion, and spirituality. Last but not least, he points out that capitalism fuels militarism and imperialism and limits democracy.⁴⁴ In agreement with Castoriadis, he holds that representative democracy is rigged by corporate influence.⁴⁵

In contrast to both capitalism and traditional Marxism, Wright develops a socialist transformation strategy. He initially distinguishes between three forms of power: economic power based on the control over

economic resources, state power based on rule making and rule enforcing over territory, social power based on voluntary collective action. He then assigns these three powers to capitalism, statism, and socialism respectively.⁴⁶ Of particular importance is the distinction Wright makes between the terms "power" and "ownership". He attributes "ownership" to the right over property and surplus, and "power" to the capacity to direct the means of production. Capitalism, statism, and socialism are differentiated according to the ownership over means of production and the type of power exerted over economic activities.⁴⁷ But capitalism, statism, and socialism can also combine according to multiple settings of ownership and power over the means of production and economic activities.

In contrast to traditional statist versions of socialism, Wright's socialist transformation strategy is grounded on the distinction between state and social power, state and social ownership, and the possibility of partnerships between the market and socially owned and controlled enterprises.⁴⁸ Therefore, capitalism, statism, and socialism should be considered as coordinating variables of socialist transformation.⁴⁹ Wright's socialist transformation strategy is geared towards three principle directions: (1) social empowerment over the way the state affects economic activity; (2) social empowerment over the way capitalism shapes economic activity; (3) social empowerment directly over economic activity. In short, socialism points to the social empowerment of the civil society over the state and the market.

To this end, Wright illustrates seven different pathways⁵⁰:

1. Statist socialism: in contrast to central planning of the economy, statist socialism could be oriented towards deepening the democratic quality of the state with the aim to open a genuine pathway to social empowerment.
2. Social democracy: in contrast to the state regulating capital in ways that empowers capital, social democracy could regulate capital in ways that enhance social power.
3. Associational democracy: in contrast to associations being heavily manipulated by elites and the state, associational democracy could promote open and deliberative decision-making processes highly representative of civil society interests. In an associational democracy, labor unions, business associations, organizations or civic groups directly engage in various aspects of political decision-making and governance.
4. Social capitalism: in addition to associations of workers or unions exerting power over corporations through co-determination of funds, bargaining over pay and working conditions, etc., the union movement could create venture capital funds,



controlled by labor (like in Canada), to provide equity to start-up firms that satisfy particular social criteria. Consumer-oriented pressure on corporations would be an additional form of civil society empowerment over economic power. Fair trade and equal exchange movements aiming to connect consumers and producers by building alternative global economic networks could also potentially disrupt the economic power of multinational corporations.

5. Social economy: voluntary associations, NGOs, co-ops, community-based organizations, all subsidized through donations, charities, grants, and taxes, directly organize economic activity, e.g., Wikipedia, the Quebec economy. An unconditional basic income provided by the state through taxation could furthermore enhance social economy.
6. Cooperative market economy: instead of worker-owned cooperative firms operating in isolation and thus forced to bend to the capitalist competitive pressure over time, worker-owned cooperative firms could be incorporated into a cooperative market economy that could provide finance, training, problem-solving services and all kinds of mutual support.
7. Participatory socialism: the combination of statist socialism (1) and social economy (5) with the mission to jointly organize the production of various goods and services. The state is more pervasive by directly getting involved in the organization and production of economic activity. Social power expands from its participation in representative democracy into the productive activity itself.

Similarly to Castoriadis, Wright advocates a pluralistic and heterogeneous socialist transformation grounded on a centrally-coordinated decentralization of power. But contrary to Castoriadis who was against any type of state or market-driven reformism, Wright's socialist transformation strategy is premised on the radical democratization of both the state and economy by civil society. Four of the seven pathways to socialism involve the state. But for socialism to be fully realized, Wright holds that state and economic power have to be subordinated to social power on the model of economic democracy.⁵¹

As regards the social empowerment over the state, Wright advocates a combination of pathways (1), (2), (3) and (7). In contrast to Castoriadis, Wright claims that a radical egalitarian democracy does not identify with direct democracy replacing representative democracy, but with the deepening of democracy in all three varieties of democratic governance (direct democracy, representative and associational).⁵² He introduces participatory forms of direct democracy that could create countervailing power against the ordinarily powerful groups and elites influencing state governance.

The design principles of this countervailing power are the following: bottom-up participation, pragmatic orientation, deliberation, state-centered decentralization to local units of action such as neighborhood councils, local school councils, workplace councils, and so on. Participatory democracy differs from spontaneous activist efforts or projects led by nongovernmental organizations or social movement groups, for it aims to change the central procedures of state power rather than occasionally influencing them. Wright cites as an example of participatory democracy the municipal participatory budgeting applied in the case of Porto Alegre in Brazil. Finally, Wright argues that direct democracy cannot stand alone, but it needs to connect to representative democracy and associational democracy.⁵³

To enhance the democratic quality of representative democracy, Wright introduces proposals for egalitarian public financing of politics, and randomly selected citizen assemblies. He also claims that political institutions can be designed in such a way as to enable secondary associations – labor unions, business associations, organizations or civic groups – to play a positive role in deepening democracy. Centralized administrations are good at imposing uniform rules over homogeneous contexts, but when it comes to heterogeneous economic and social conditions, centralized command and control process is much less effective.⁵⁴ One-size-fits-all regulations are rarely satisfactory for example in the context of environment and workplace safety, given that ecologies and workplaces are diverse and complex. Associations could solve this problem and complement public regulatory efforts by gathering local information, monitoring behavior and promoting cooperation among private actors. Instead of associations simply providing external pressure by lobbying politicians and agencies for specific rules, they would thus be included systematically in the central tasks of governance: policy-formation, coordination of economic activities, and monitoring, administering and enforcing regulations.

The possibilities of an expanded and deepened associative democracy are not limited to the role of encompassing associations in neo-corporatist peak-level public policy formation. Associative democracy can also function at the local and regional level to solve problems and to design and implement detailed rules and standards of various sorts. Associations must be relatively encompassing, representing a substantial proportion of the relevant social category; second, the association leadership must be accountable to membership through meaningful internal democratic processes; and third, the associations must have significant powers to sanction members. Wright cites the example of the Quebec in Canada, which illustrates an exemplary showcase of deepening the associational dimension of democracy in the domains of skill

formation within regional labor markets, habitat conservation for endangered species, child and elderly care, cooperative housing, education, energy production, and many more.⁵⁵

As regards the social empowerment over the economy, Wright envisages a sort of market socialism developing in a combination of pathways (4), (5), (6) and (7).⁵⁶ He employs the term “social economy” to specify economic activities rooted in the associational life of civil society. Two prominent examples are the Wikipedia and the Quebec social economy. Concerning the Quebec experience, Wright suggests four institutional designs to enhance social empowerment: (1) state subsidies targeted to the social economy (2) development of social economy investment funds (3) governance through associational democracy (4) participatory democratic forms of organization. With the term “social capitalism” he refers to a wide range of institutional mechanisms and social processes directly impinging on the exercise of capitalist power. Some examples he mentions are labor solidarity funds and share-levy wage earner funds, both pushing capitalism towards a structural hybrid within which social power has greater weight. Finally, a cooperative market economy consists of an association of worker-owned firms such as Mondragon in Spain.

Wright conceives of the state, capitalism and civil society as coordinating variables of his socialist transformation, since society as a whole is a hybrid structure comprised of potentially interchangeable overarching powers: economic, state and social. While it is analytically useful to distinguish capitalism, statism, and socialism according to the power dominant each time, neither of them constitute purely independent powers. The same applies to all units of analysis within each power, be it a firm, a government, a labor union, an association, a cooperative, and so on, where complex configurations of capitalist, statist and socialist elements combine. Thus, Wright notes:

This has critical implications for our understanding of the problem of transformation: emancipatory transformation should not be viewed mainly as a binary shift from one system to another, but rather as a shift in the configuration of the power relations that constitute a hybrid.⁵⁷

Wright’s central thesis is that the realization of a radical egalitarian democracy presupposes the social empowerment of the civil society over the state and the economy. To achieve this, he introduces a flexible strategic pluralism based on multiple pathways of social empowerment, embodied in a variety of structural transformations: participatory forms of direct democracy, egalitarian public financing of politics, randomly selected citizen assemblies, associations, organizations, the Quebec social economy, unconditional basic income, labor solidarity funds, share-levy wage earner

funds, worker-owned firms. In short, the social empowerment of the civil society over the state and the economy is reminiscent of Castoriadis’s *politics* as the deliberate self-institutionalization of society.

Wright acknowledges himself a number of potential critiques of his transformation strategy, similar to those of Castoriadis.⁵⁸ An initial point of criticism is that models of participatory democracy are non-functional, since people are too apathetic, ignorant or busy to participate. Secondly, a multitude of associations, networks, and communities does not guarantee for the creation of the social power necessary to effectively control the state and economy. On the contrary, this could lead to conflicts of interest or, as conservative critics of socialism have argued, to the tyranny of the majority. Thirdly, according to the critique posed by the revolutionary socialists, it is not possible to create such a socialist transformation in a society dominated by capitalism. Any socialist transformation will sooner or later confront the problem of competition with the capitalist economy, and the dependency of the social economy on capitalism for financial resources. And, indeed, this seems to be by large the case in the cooperative market economy where 90% of coops are coops in name only, meaning that the main owners are not workers themselves. Even in worker-owned cooperatives, workers are often not co-op members. Therefore, many co-ops are co-ops in name only. They are market entities that have adopted capitalist practices since their main interest is to get a higher selling price or lower buying price in the market.⁵⁹

To address these criticisms, Wright argues that moving along the pathways of a social empowerment is not a guarantee of success, but a more favorable terrain of struggle.⁶⁰ He conceives of the predictions of the revolutionary socialists as pessimistic. They exaggerate the power of capital and they under-estimate the social spaces available for social innovation.⁶¹ He also claims that there is empirical evidence showing that when there are opportunities for people to get involved in decision-making directly affecting their lives, they do participate in substantial numbers.⁶² And, indeed, both these claims contain considerable grains of truth, since, despite its current dominance, capitalism is not a fixed economic system, but it carries cracks inherent to its operational logic, which can potentially lead to alternative economic and societal patterns. Wright’s seven pathways to socialism provide a rough map of the direction of social empowerment, which is highly dependent on the historical settings. However, Wright does not see clearly in these settings what Castoriadis saw in a glimpse before decades: the potentially significant role of technology in the socialist transformation of the state and economy. I show in the following that Bauwens and Kostakis extend the socialist paths opened up by Castoriadis and Wright by building especially on the role of information and communication technologies in the



creation of a post-capitalist Commons-oriented ethical economy.

IV. THE MODEL OF OPEN COOPERATIVISM

Bauwens and Kostakis are neither philosophers nor sociologists. They both come from a business management environment highly shaped by information and communication technologies. They do not intend to develop a normative political theory akin to the ones of Castoriadis and Wright. Rather their goal is to offer a more techno-pragmatic pathway towards a post-capitalist economy supported by information and communication technologies. They build on the work of Yochai Benkler who first coined the term Commons-based peer production to describe the effect of the Internet and free/open source software on the flourishing of a nonmarket sector of information and cultural production, which is not treated as private property, but as a mode of social production based on open sharing and cooperation.⁶³ Social production is not limited to public goods or limited access Commons, which are necessarily self-managed by stable communities of individuals interacting on a regular basis and knowing each other.⁶⁴ Social production expands into the digital Commons on the model of peer production, which is considered to enhance individual and collective autonomy by establishing a more participatory political system, a critical culture, and social justice.⁶⁵ Benkler mentions two basic forms of digital Commons: distributing computing (e.g., Wikipedia, Open Directory Project, Slashdot) and file-sharing (e.g., Gnutella, Project Gutenberg).⁶⁶

Bauwens and Kostakis combine Benkler's theorization of the digital Commons with the natural Commons scrutinized by Elinor Ostrom, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics in 2009 for analyzing numerous successful cases of self-managed limited access Commons such as forests, fisheries, oil fields, grazing lands, and irrigation systems. Limited access Commons are neither public nor private, but they are managed collectively on the basis of, among others, three interlinked principles: a well-defined shared resource, a community of peer-to-peer producers creating value on the premises of the resource, and certain rules regarding the sharing of value, and the imposing of sanctions on free-riders.⁶⁷

Bauwens and Kostakis define Commons-based peer production as a third mode that differs from for-profit or state production in that it produces value through the free cooperation of users having access to distributed "fixed" capital or common property regimes.⁶⁸ By "fixed capital" they refer basically to computers and software/hardware. The architecture of Internet has allowed for autonomous communication between multiple computer users, while the development of the free software by Richard Stallman in

1983 has disrupted one of the main pillars of capitalism, that is, private intellectual property. Stallman, in cooperation with other software programmers, created an operating system called GNU, made up of free software consisting of open code that could be accessed, ran, modified and distributed freely under the General Public License (GPL).⁶⁹ What the General Public or "copy left" License allows for is the freedom of anyone to access, run, modify and distribute the program under the same terms. The GPL is an inversion of traditional copyright law, aiming to protect collective forms of ownership alongside individual ones. In other words, the GPL ensures that the free software cannot be privatized.

Jeremy Rifkin rightly argues that the General Public License could be considered a digital version of the regulation of the limited access Commons, inasmuch as it incorporates many of the Ostrom's design principles, such as the conditions of inclusion, the restrictions of exclusion, the rights governing access and withdrawal, enhancement and stewardship of the resources, etc.⁷⁰

The Internet and the free software/hardware are pivotal to the development of the Commons, since they allow for the autonomy of distributed networks that are not controlled by hubs, that is, centralized choke-points. On that basis, peer production is developed in terms of equipotentiality, holoptism, and stigmergy. Equipotentiality opens up equal opportunities for everyone to participate according to his/her skills. Participation is conditioned a posteriori by the process of production itself, where skills are verified and communally validated in real-time. Holoptism contrasts panopticism that penetrates the modern systems of power⁷¹ in that it allows participants free access to all information necessary for the accomplishment of the project in question. Holoptism allows for stigmergic processes of mutual coordination where the participants can match their contributions to the needs of the system.⁷² Stigmergy is thus a form of self-organization based on indirect coordination.

Commons-based peer production is neither a hierarchy-less nor structure-less mode, but a rather mixed form of hierarchy, cooperation, and autonomy. For instance, Wikipedia is a mixed form of democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy. Democratic voting concerning the content is accompanied by the aristocracy of the most reliable users and the monarchy of the founder/leader in cases when neither democracy nor aristocracy works.

In contrast to capitalism, Commons-based peer production favours, in principle, decentralisation over central control, democratic self-management over hierarchical management, access over ownership, transparency over privacy, and environmental sustainability over growth at all costs. Profit is not central, but peripheral to the social and environmental

goals of the community. As such, Commons-based peer production is divided into global and local Commons.

Local Commons refer to autonomous peer-to-peer projects developed by resilient communities in ways that resemble Wright's pathway of social economy. Some striking examples are the Quebec economy, degrowth ecological and permaculture movements, Transition Towns, the Bologna project, car sharing, interest-free banks, autonomous energy production, and many more.⁷³ But, despite the empowerment of the local governance and the optimization of local assets and infrastructures, Bauwens and Kostakis recognize that local Commons seem more like centripetal lifeboat strategies that cannot but conform in the long run to the capitalist mainstream. For this reason, they attempt to connect local peer-to-peer production with global Commons.⁷⁴

The key factor in the development of global Commons is free software/hardware that has disrupted capitalism in the last decades. Whereas the latter is based on profit maximization and top-down management, the former can sustain a peer production aiming at the distribution of value through hybrid forms of governance where hierarchy, autonomy, and cooperation coexist on different degrees and levels.⁷⁵ Some examples of global(digital) Commons are Wikipedia, Wikispeed, Open Source Ecology, LibreOffice, Linux, Goteo, Farm Hack, Arduino, Espiral, Loomio, Sensorica, etc.⁷⁶ Blockchain technology⁷⁷ can potentially foster the Commons development inasmuch as it can provide decentralized and transparent self-management of eco-systemic networks (holoptism), operating through mutual coordination (equipotentiality and stigmergy) on the basis of open design, open manufacturing, open distribution, open book accounting, open supply chains, open finance, etc. Blockchain technology already supports platform cooperativism on the Internet and mobile applications through which several groups (taxi drivers, photographers, farmers, designers, programmers, teachers, researchers, innovators, investors, web developers, etc.) are joining forces on the mission to work together in a self-managed, decentralized and autonomous manner.⁷⁸ It still remains an issue as to what degree the Commons can still remain autonomous from big banks, corporations, and governments.⁷⁹

To address this issue, Bauwens and Kostakis introduce a new economic model called "Design Global-Manufacture Local" (DG-ML) or "Cosmo-localization," which combines open global design based on free/open software with local production. In a nutshell, DG-ML follows the logic that what is not scarce becomes global (e.g., global commons of knowledge, design, software), and what is scarce (e.g., hardware, resources, infrastructures) is local. In contrast to traditional corporate enterprises that operate under closed

intellectual rights and employ large-scale production on the basis of national or global supply chains, DG-ML inverts this mode of production by adopting open intellectual property rights, whether open source or creative or copyfair⁸⁰, thus allowing for everyone to become a manufacturer and producer, whether an individual, a community or an enterprise. Global (digital) Commons can connect with local Commons via Transition Towns, decentralized communities and fablabs/makerspaces based on free/open source software/hardware and renewable energy systems distributed through micro grids on the Internet of Things. Thus, the DG-ML model introduces an on-demand distributed mode of production that can significantly lower production and transaction costs, while reducing the environmental impact of production through the use of readily available supplies and the recycling of waste material. The DG-ML technologies promote openness, sharing, and abundance of resources, bottom-up innovation, creativity, sustainability, resilience, and the global scaling up of small group dynamics through *glocal* governance. Some illustrative case studies have been examined by the literature so far, such as L'Atelier Paysan, Farm Hack, Ability Mate, Wikihouse, RepRap, Osvehicle, Open Bionics.⁸¹

To enhance Commons-based peer production, Bauwens and Kostakis integrate the DG-ML model into a broader model of open co-operativism between a partner state and ethical market entities⁸², with the aim to gradually replace the accumulation of the capital with the circulation of the Commons. Platform cooperativism can be incorporated into a Commons-based peer production on the model of an open cooperativism the central axis of which would be the multistakeholder cooperative that crystallizes the values of a self-managed democratic community of investors, *producers* and *prosumers*. Multistakeholder cooperatives would serve as the transition business model until ethical market entities adjust to the Commons in the long term. Finally, Bauwens and Kostakis's model of open cooperativism forms a new ecosystem that comprises three institutions: (1) the productive community of *glocal* Commons; (2) the entrepreneurial coalition built around the *glocal* community; (3) the for-benefit association supporting both the *glocal* community and the entrepreneurial coalition (see Figure 1).

The productive community consists of all members, users, and contributors of Commons-based peer production, who produce the shareable resource either paid or volunteering. The Commons-oriented entrepreneurial coalition consists of generative enterprises that add value to the scarce common resources. Generative enterprises contrast extractive enterprises in that they do not seek to maximize profits without sufficiently re-investing surplus in the maintenance of the productive communities (see Figure 2). The best example of the difference between



extractive and generative enterprises is industrial agriculture and permaculture respectively. Whereas in the first case the soil becomes poorer and less healthy, in the latter it becomes richer and healthier. Some

striking examples of extractive corporations are Facebook, Uber and Airbnb, which do not share any profits with the co-creating communities they depend on for their value creation and sustenance.⁸³

Productive community	Linux	Mozilla	GNU	Wikipedia	Wordpress
Entrepreneurial coalition	e.g. Linux Professional Institute, Canonical	e.g. Mozilla corporation	e.g. Red Hat, Endless, SUSE	e.g. Wikia company	e.g. Automatic company
For-benefit association	Linux Foundation	Mozilla Foundation	Free Software Foundation	Wikimedia Foundation	Wordpress Foundation

Figure 1: The three institutions that shape the model of open cooperativism⁸⁴

In the best of cases, generative enterprises identify with the productive community which forms a meta-economic network based on the transition from community-oriented business to business-enhanced communities. Some prominent examples are the Catalanian Integral Cooperative or CIC (Catalonia Spain), The Mutual Aid Network (Madison, Wisconsin USA) and Enspiral (New Zealand).⁸⁵

The third institution that binds together productive communities and commons-oriented enterprises is the for-benefit association, which supports the infrastructures of Commons-based peer production. In contrast to traditional non-governmental and nonprofit organizations that operate on conditions of scarcity, for-benefit associations operate on conditions of

abundance. Whereas the former identify a problem and provide a solution for that, the latter maintain an infrastructure of cooperation between productive communities and commons-oriented enterprises, protect the commons through licenses, manage conflicts, fundraise, etc.⁸⁶

At the macro-level, the three institutions of productive communities, entrepreneurial coalitions and the for-benefit associations could apply to the evolution of the civil society, the market entities and the state respectively (see Figure 3). The for-benefit association could be presently considered as a snapshot of a future partner state, which could facilitate the Commons-based peer production of civil society and ethical market entities.⁸⁷

EXTRACTIVE OWNERSHIP	GENERATIVE OWNERSHIP
1. Financial Purpose: maximizing profits in the short term	1. Living Purpose: creating the conditions for life over the long term
2. Absentee Membership: ownership disconnected from the life of the enterprise	2. Rooted Membership: ownership in human hands
3. Governance by Markets: control by capital markets on autopilot	3. Mission-Controlled Governance: control by those dedicated to social mission
4. Casino Finance: capital as master	4. Stakeholder Finance: capital as friend
5. Commodity Networks: trading focused solely on price and profits	5. Ethical Networks: collective support for ecological and social norms

Figure 2: The differences between extractive and generative ownership⁸⁸

A partner state could boost the transition from capitalism to Commons-based peer production through a de-bureaucratization and commonification of the public sector on the basis of a bottom-up self-management, establishing an open co-operativism between the Commons and ethical market entities willing to minimize negative social and environmental externalities. To this end, taxation of social/environmental entrepreneurship, ethical investing and productive labor could be minimized, whereas taxation of speculative unproductive investments, unproductive rental income and negative social and environmental externalities could be increased.⁸⁹ Also, education and publicly funded research and innovation could be aligned with the Commons-oriented economic model.⁹⁰ Early examples of the partner state approach can be

found in the Bologna Regulation for the Care and Regeneration of the Urban Commons or the Barcelona En Comú citizen platform.⁹¹

Bauwens and Kostakis hold that the model of open cooperativism should scale up from regional to national and transnational level to establish a hegemonic counter-power against and beyond predatory capitalism and neoliberalism. To this end, they advocate the creation of three additional institutions operating at a translocal and transnational level: (1) Chambers of Commons, locally representing commons-oriented entrepreneurial coalitions; (2) Assemblies of the Commons bringing together commoners and citizens, also locally; (3) Commons-oriented Entrepreneurial Associations, connecting commons-oriented enterprises globally.⁹²

CBPP	Productive Community	Entrepreneurial Coalitions	For-benefit association
SOCIAL LIFE	Civil Society	Market entities	State

Figure 3: The evolution of Commons-based peer production into social life as a whole⁹³

To sum up, Bauwens & Kostakis's model of open cooperativism constitutes a strategy, which is both reformist and revolutionary, since it aims to transform the current politico-economic system towards the creation of a global Commons-oriented ethical economy based on a democratic self-institutionalisation of society. It is a model based on open cooperation with a friendly capitalism willing to adjust to a Commons-centric society in the long run.

V. FROM SOCIALISM TO OPEN COOPERATIVISM

Castoriadis's project of individual and collective autonomy has exerted a pervasive influence over political thought in the last century, and it still resonates within collectivities and movements across the globe. One of its main shortcomings is that Castoriadis was against any state or market-driven reformism in fear of socialism being assimilated by the political system. Castoriadis's postulate of the abolition of the hierarchy of salaries, incomes and wages is highly inapplicable today, at least as a general rule. Castoriadis also concentrated in his later writings on more philosophical issues, thus abstaining from introducing any concrete proposals of how his project could materialize in contemporary societies.

Wright's and Bauwens and Kostakis's work could offer some corrections to these deficiencies by introducing some proposals that could render Castoriadis's project somewhat feasible under the

conditions of the current expansion of neoliberal capitalism globally. Wright's seven pathways to a socialist transformation can indeed provide a plausible strategy. Bauwens and Kostakis follow in the footsteps of both Castoriadis and Wright by building, among others, on a core socialist element mentioned by Castoriadis but largely neglected by Wright: the technological support of individual and collective autonomy.

Bauwens and Kostakis's model of open cooperativism points to an ecological self-institutionalization of society that incorporates almost all pathways illustrated by Wright – the social state, associational democracy, the social economy, the social capitalism, the cooperative market economy –into a centrally-coordinated decentralization of power supported by the Internet and free/open source software/hardware. The DG-ML sub-model has, indeed, the potential to sustain a *global* mutual coordination of Commons-based peer production supported by a broad institutional alliance of a partner state (parties, institutions, and organizations) and ethical market entities (corporations, NGOs, social enterprises, credit banks). This is evidenced today by numerous empirical cases such as the Quebec economy, the Bologna project, Wikipedia, Wikispeed, L' Atelier Paysan, FarmHack, Arduino, Espiral, Loomio, Sensorica, the Catalanian Integral Cooperative or CIC (Catalonia Spain), the Mutual Aid Network (Madison, Wisconsin USA), Linux Foundation, and many more.

Thus, the advantage of Bauwens and Kostakis's model of open cooperativism over Castoriadis's and Wright's work is the concrete demonstration of a post-capitalist society built on the premises of information and communication technologies that can *mutatis mutandis* promote self-governance, cooperation, creativity, sustainability and distribution of value. But Bauwens and Kostakis's model of open cooperativism is also to some degree limited. Despite them attempting to avoid any form of techno-determinism or techno-fetishism, they stick at times to a technocratic and economic vision of self-institutionalization. They intend to beat capitalism on its own ground by competing in terms of self-management fostered by technological and economic hacks, which might indeed develop into a plausible strategy. Bauwens and Kostakis's project combines a bio-techno-economic rationality with a concrete plan and strategy. Yet this is not enough.

One of the major problems of social change is how to reverse the current tide of individualism towards a voluntary cooperative political ecology. This amounts to the need already stressed by Castoriadis to alter the central imaginary significations of contemporary societies by creating a novel anthropological type not driven by self-interest and profit maximization. This goal, however, stumbles upon its own foundations. The collaborative economy illustrated by Bauwens and Kostakis is still in its infancy and faces numerous barriers and contradictions owing to the global dominance of a neoliberal capitalism colonizing democracy. To put it simply, there are no easy exits from already existing capitalism.

The virtue of Bauwens and Kostakis's work is that they have introduced a model of a radical self-institutionalization of civil society, comprising both state and market mechanisms along democratic, ethical and ecological lines. They advocate an open, decentralized and flexible cooperativism facilitated by information and communication technologies. Their model, however, requires a more vibrant political spin to form an inter-compatible strategy aiming to engage a critical mass in the collaborative economy. Human-computer interaction and digital platform design deal with complex concepts of political theory, already embedded in algorithmic design, the examination of which is still nascent both empirically and normatively. The research on how social relations are shaped by information and communication technologies, and how the latter relate to our social systems and institutions is still preliminary.

Some of the big challenges lying ahead in the collaborative economy are how to tackle issues of concentration of power and conflict; how to reconcile individuality and pluralism with community and unity; how to combine hierarchy and competition with self-management and cooperation; how to analyze the interweaving of meanings and practices cross-cutting diverse social imaginaries; how to coordinate dispersed,

peer-to-peer initiatives; and how to relate to established social systems and power relations in the market, the state and civil society at large. Therefore, it is essential to reinvent *the political*, to face the challenges lying in the intersection of technology, society, and economy.

VI. CONCLUSION

This article examined the potential of integrating core socialist elements, analyzed through the prism of Castoriadis's and Wright's work, into a model of open cooperativism, introduced by Bauwens and Kostakis. Castoriadis's project of individual and collective autonomy has been enormously influential over political thought in the last century, and still resonates within movements and collectivities getting active in the emerging collaborative economy. But Castoriadis was highly skeptical of any state or market-driven reformism in fear of socialism being co-opted by the political system. In addition, he abstained from articulating any concrete proposal of how his project could be realized in contemporary societies.

In contrast to Castoriadis being skeptical of reformism, Wright introduces a flexible strategic pluralism based on seven pathways of social empowerment, employing both state and market mechanisms. Wright's seven pathways can indeed sustain a plausible strategy for a socialist transformation of society. But Wright has downgraded the significant role of technology, already foreseen by Castoriadis decades ago.

Bauwens and Kostakis follow in the footsteps of both Castoriadis and Wright by building, among others, on the technological enhancement of individual and collective autonomy. They introduce a model of Commons-based peer production, supported by information and communication technologies. The Internet and free/open source software and hardware can sustain a DG-ML model that connects local with global Commons-based peer production. The DGML model integrates into a broader model of open cooperativism that forms an ecosystem comprising three institutions: (1) the productive community of *glocal* Commons; (2) the entrepreneurial coalition built around the *glocal* community; (3) the for-benefit association supporting both the *glocal* community and the entrepreneurial coalition. These three institutions could correspond to the evolution of the civil society, the market entities, and the partner state respectively. This way, Bauwens and Kostakis's model of open cooperativism could establish a hegemonic counter-power against and beyond predatory capitalism and neoliberalism.

But Bauwens and Kostakis's model of open cooperate-vism also does not come without deficiencies, since they stick at times to a technocratic and economic vision of self-institutionalization. Their

model should be given a political spin that would push towards the examination of the complex social relations embedded in the algorithmic design of information and communication technologies, and the relation of the latter to social systems and institutions in general. I argued for the reinvention of *the political* on a mission to transform the current anthropological type of homo oeconomicus into a homo cooperans.

Notes

¹ Cornelius Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 3*, translated and edited by David Ames Curtis (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 314.

² Ibid., 315.

³ Ibid., 315-316.

⁴ Ibid., 316.

⁵ Ibid., 317.

⁶ Ibid., 317-318.

⁷ Ibid., 318.

⁸ Cornelius Castoriadis, "Power, Politics, Autonomy" in *Philosophy, Politics, Autonomy*, edited by David Ames Curtis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

⁹ Cornelius Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 2*, translated and edited by David Ames Curtis, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 92-95.

¹⁰ Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), 9-110; Cornelius Castoriadis, *A Society Adrift, Interviews and Debates 1974-1997* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010a).

¹¹ Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, 56-68.

¹² Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 3*, 323.

¹³ Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 2*, 106.

¹⁴ Ibid., 93-94.

¹⁵ Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 3*, 296-297.

¹⁶ Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 2*, 95-100.

¹⁷ Ibid., 99-101.

¹⁸ Ibid., 113-114.

¹⁹ Ibid., 103-104.

²⁰ Ibid., 107.

²¹ Castoriadis, *A Society Adrift*, 162.

²² Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 2*, 121.

²³ Ibid., 129-130.

²⁴ Ibid., 130-131.

²⁵ Cornelius Castoriadis and Daniel Cohn-Bendit, *From Ecology to Autonomy* (Athens: Kedros-Rappas, 1992) (in Greek).

²⁶ Cornelius Castoriadis, *Démo cratieetrelativisme* [Democracy and Relativism], edited by Enrique Escobar, MyrtoGordicas and Pascal Vernay (France: Mille et unenuits, 2010b), 119.

²⁷ FerencFehér, "Castoriadis and the Re-definition of Socialism", in *Autonomieet Auto transformation de la Société, la Philosophie Militante de Cornelius Castoriadis* [Autonomy and Autotransformation of Society, the Militant Philosophy of Cornelius Castoriadis], edited by Giovanni Busino (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1989), 401-402.

²⁸ Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 2*, 144.

²⁹ Hans Joas and Raymond Meyer, "Institutionalisation as a Creative Process: The Sociological Importance of Cornelius Castoriadis' Political Philosophy", in *The American Journal of Sociology* 94, 1989 (5): 1184-1199.

³⁰ Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol. 3*, 11; Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings Vol.*, 228.

³¹ Eric Olin Wright, *Envisioning Real Utopias* (UK: Verso Books, 2009), 7-8.

³² Ibid., 73.

³³ Ibid., 12.

³⁴ Ibid., 64.

³⁵ Ibid., 66.

³⁶ Ibid., 65-67.

³⁷ Eric Olin Wright, *Classes* (UK: Verso Books, 1985); Eric Olin Wright, *Approaches to Class Analysis* (US: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

³⁸ Wright, *Envisioning Real Utopias*, 67.

³⁹ Ibid., 69.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 26-34.

⁴¹ Ibid., 35.

⁴² Ibid., 37-43.

⁴³ Ibid., 44-47.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 47-57.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 56-57.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 73-74.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 76.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 80.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 82.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 86-92.

⁵¹ Ibid., 92.

⁵² Ibid., 108-109.

⁵³ Ibid., 117.

⁵⁴ Wright, *Envisioning Real Utopias*, 127; Cohen and Joel, *Associations and Democracy*, 42-44.

⁵⁵ Wright, *Envisioning Real Utopias*, 127-133.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 135-189.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 226.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 93-95.

⁵⁹ Sam Gin din, "Chasing Utopia", in *Jacobinmag*. Retrieved May 16, 2016. <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/03/workers-control-coops-wright-wolff-alperovitz>; Trevor Scholz, *Platform Cooperativism. Challenging the Corporate Sharing Economy* (New York: Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, 2016).

⁶⁰ Wright, *Envisioning Real Utopias*, 93-95.

⁶¹ Ibid., 95.

⁶² Ibid., 114.

⁶³ Yochai Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 7-18.

⁶⁴ Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

⁶⁵ Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*, 7-8.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 59-90.

⁶⁷ Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*.

⁶⁸ Vasilis Kostakis and Michel Bauwens, *Network Society and Future Scenarios for a Collaborative Economy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

⁶⁹ Richard Stallman, *Free Software, Free Society* (Boston, MA: GNU Press, 2002), 3-7.

⁷⁰ Jeremy Rifkin, *The Zero Marginal Cost Society: The Internet of Things, The Collaborative Commons, and The Eclipse of Capitalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 175.

⁷¹ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage, 1997).

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⁷³ David Bollier and Silke Helfrich, *Patternings of Commoning* (US: The Commons Strategy Group, 2015).

⁷⁴ Kostakis and Bauwens, *Network Society and Future Scenarios for a Collaborative Economy*, 48.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 52; Benkler, *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*.

⁷⁶ Bollier and Helfrich, *Patternings of Commoning*.

⁷⁷ Melanie Swan, *Blockchain. Blueprint for a New Economy* (UK: O'Reilly, 2015).

⁷⁸ Scholz, *Platform Cooperativism. Challenging the Corporate Sharing Economy*; Trevor Scholz, *Ours to Hack and to Own, The Rise of Platform Cooperativism, A New Vision for the Future of Work and a Fairer Internet* (New York and London: Or Books, 2016).

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⁸⁰ Open source license allows software to be freely used, modified, and shared. Similarly, Creative Commons License permits a more agile copyright protection. Copy fair differs from both in that it allows for the commercialization of Commons knowledge in exchange for rent.

⁸¹ Vasilis Kostakis, Vassilis Niaros, George Dafermos and Michel Bauwens, "Design Global, Manufacture Local: Exploring the Contours of an Emerging Productive Model", in *Futures* 73, 2015: 126-135.

⁸² Michel Bauwens, "Towards the democratization of the means of monetization: The three competing value models present within cognitive capitalism", in *The Journal of Peer Production*, Issue#4 Value and Currency, 2014. <http://peerproduction.net/issues/issue-4-value-and-currency/invited-comments/towards-the-democratization-of-the-means-of-monetization/>

⁸³ Michel Bauwens, Vasilis Kostakis, Stacco Troncoso and Anne Marie Utratel, *Commons Transition and P2P: a Primer* (Published by the Transnational Institute, 2017).

⁸⁴ Ibid., 13.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 14-15.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 15.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁸⁹ Kostakis and Bauwens, *Network Society and Future Scenarios for a Collaborative Economy*, 66-67.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 68.

⁹¹ Bauwens, Kostakis, Troncoso and Utratel, *Commons Transition and P2P: a Primer*, 27-28.

⁹² Ibid., 39-43.

⁹³ Ibid., 26.



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Towards Enduring Democratic Polities in Africa: Prospects, Challenges and Trajectories

By Yahaya Yakubu

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Abstract- By equating the functionality of regimes to indigenous culture, the study explores the causal mechanisms through which cultural conditions institutional outcomes and design. Upon review of relevant literature, the study opines the confounding role of culture on the nature of institutions cannot be downplayed. Building on Almond and Verba's perception of Participant Political Culture, it claims democracy in Africa is likely to remain unresponsive, and neither can it bring about predetermined outcomes such as developments, growth, equality, equity and the likes. It further claims the functionality of any political arrangement is more likely when such arrangement embodies social accepted norms, values and beliefs. Hence, it contends that for democracy to function in Africa there abounds the utmost need for contextual domestication as opposed to the current system of transplantation. Consequently, democratic values inherent in the dominant indigenous culture as a possible solution to the crisis of governance should not be dismissed. While the research does not assents to return to traditionalism, it propagates for the contextual domestication of democracy in tandem with prevailing norms and existential political and societal realities across the African continent.

Keywords: *post-colonial africa, democracy, culture, institutions and domesticating democracy.*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Concentration of interest in the study of young democracies shifted from the ability of countries to achieve transitions to democracy to their ability to sustain and consolidate it. The demise of the cold war and waves of democratic transitions that swept the developing world, cemented democracy's place as the popular denominator for political language in the 20th century and beyond. These new democracies vary contextually from each other as well as those obtainable in Western capitalist societies. For a better part of the developing world, periodic elections serve democratic prerequisites. If accepted that there is more to democracy than holding periodic elections, queries arise as to the degree to which governments are liable and responsive to public opinion, political inclusion, participation and representation for civil society, and the propensity to which power is balanced to deter arbitrary excise of authority. Hence, with a view to attaining threshold in line with global standard practices, the need to interrogate the interaction between state and society in democracies cannot be down played.

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The centrifugal and enforcing roles of institutions of governance, in conditioning and constraining social cohesion remains central to understanding the functionalities of developing democracies. Decades after independence, Africa is underpinned by myriad experimental institutional models, depicting the depth of institutional crisis in the region. Hence, the twin incidence of colonialism and emergence of post-colonial states arguably birthed the institutional crisis in Africa. Trapped in a perturbed middle ground between full-fledged democracy and utter dictatorship or personalistic regimes, the querying of auspicious and hostile prerequisite for democratization in Africa warrants a re-evaluation. As concurred by Abebe (2010) contrary to existing social political realities, post-decolonization elites inherited a liberal constitution making process aimed at building modern nation states. In assent Mazrui (2002, p. 9) proclaims the inherent system of transplanting Western political ideals was made by a way of disregarding well-embedded informal traditional values, and unlike the experience of other development models such as Japanese and the Turks. Consequently, Ethan and Nathan (2008), argue historically, data sets on democratization episodes have tended to lump together democracies founded before 1960 with those constituted after that date.

Their analysis in part point to the failure to acknowledge prevailing pre-existing norms in state building process and points to generalization as the bane of the misconceptions that characterizes the study of democracy in Africa. In concurrence this study posits, the established patterns as abound in mainstream literature are liable for generalizing democracies in Africa. In the course of which they fall short of acknowledging contextual variations across democracies in Africa. Building on Almond and Verba's *Civic Culture*, this research interrogates the probability of enduring democratic polities in Africa from an institutionalist perspective. Claiming institutions as the basis upon which political communities thrive, dictates the manner in which state and society interacts. As it does the prevailing and socially adhered norms, values and behavior in other words culture. In doing so the study employs the content analytical method of social scientific inquiry.

II. CONCEPTUAL PROLOGUE

In line with the foregoing debate, this section is committed to elucidating pertinent concepts that are germane to understanding the subject matter in focus. They include democracy, democratization, institution and culture.

In the field of social science, the concept of democracy remains one of the most difficult to define, owing to its vast interpretation and application across time and space. However, it remains plausible to identify certain universal principles that are embedded in the idea and practice of democracy. Elaigwu (2015, p. 214) lists some salient physiognomies of democracy to comprise; authority, rule of law, legitimacy, choice and accountability. Dahl (1971) places more emphasis on contestation and participation. Ibagere and Omoera (2010) assert a definite feature of a democratic system is the supremacy of national or common interest, which must all times, supersedes individual or group interest. While Nwonlue and Ojukwu (2012) ascribe the success of any participating democracy upon three major factors; legislative efficiency, economic and economic management and inclusion of all in the affairs of governance, hence proportionate representation of interest. Perhaps a more concise definition is Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address in (1864), which democracy extolled the virtues of what he considered as government for the people, by the people and for the people. In lieu, this research deduces the idea of popular mandate, legitimacy, participation, inclusion and representation as the cores of democracy. Hence defines democracy as a form of governance which derives its mandate from the outcome of a free electoral process, and puts the interest of all above any in the course of discharging its statutory functions. While democracy is not alien to Africa, the current socio-political institutions of democracy are Western. Hence, it is of the opinion of this study that democracy must be contextualized to address peculiar or predetermined problems for which it was adopted.

For Ifeanacho and Nwagwu (2009) democratization from a cultural perspective entails the institutionalization of democratic principles as part of everyday culture in the society. Osaghae (1999) sums it up as a procedural establishment, strengthening or extending principles, mechanisms and institutions that define a democratic regime. The proffered understanding of democracy and democratization in this research falls within the Euro-centric conception and interpretation of both concepts respectively. Hence, democracy as obtained in Africa today is the result of a transplanted ideals and values other than of the indigenous population. While lamenting the incompatibility of democracy with the African culture, the study opines the compatibility or otherwise is neither a triumph nor a loss for Africa. As contingently argued by

Adelman (1998) who claims, that while constitutional system in Africa is marred with irregularities, a return traditional system remains elusive.

In a foremost attempt to establish the impact of culture on democracy Almond and Verba (1963) developed a model in which they interviewed a sample of 1,000 respondents in (USA, Mexico, Great Britain, Germany and Italy) and defined a measure for political attitudes, perceptions and trends. They posit political culture remains a prerequisite for the operation of any political system. In another instance, Gorodnichenko and Roland (2013) came up with a model of democratization based on individualist and collectivist culture. They contend societies with individualist culture, despite potentially being less able to address collective-action limitations, are more likely to adopt a democracy faster than those with collectivist culture. While the underlying studies may be criticized for its limitations in the areas of numbers of participants and countries covered, they proffer an insight into the argument on the existence of a plausible correlation between culture and institutions. Macionis (2009) conceives culture as not just a manner in which thoughts are structure but also a way of acting and encumbers the material object that collectively forms a people's way of life. For Avruch (1998, p. 6) culture is a complex whole which encompasses knowledge, arts, beliefs, morals, laws, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society.

Having summary attempted to clarify the properties and mediating roles of culture, it will be of utmost important to literary explore the mechanism through which it affects institutions. North (1990) claims institutions are humanly devised constraints that condition human interaction, largely made up of formal constraints (law, rules, constitution) informal constraints (norms of behavior and conventions) and their enforcing properties. If North's theory of formal rules is a result of modern states, upheld by a constitution, whereas informal constraints are norms of prevailing behaviors within a societal heritage, referred to as culture. Then, Macionis et al (2005, p. 106) understanding of culture as designs for living, the values, beliefs, behaviors, practices and material objects that constitutes a peoples way of life. Hence, within this context design entails formally devised constrains, while values, beliefs, behaviors and practices could pass for norms that have prevailed over time passed from one generation to another, which distinguishes one group from another, making institutions as conceived by North to be and embodiment and reflection of culture.

In another instance, Todd (1990) claims the evolution of political systems globally is a function of underlying values ingrained in people from an early age through family systems; parents child relations. Thus communism is likely to prevail in societies dominated by communitarian families and likely to be more tolerant to

authoritarianism, as they are largely accustomed to absolute authority yielded by the head of the family. Whereas a nuclear family in France, in a liberal non-egalitarian society is likely to foster intolerance for authoritarianism and promote individualism. As captured by the Economist (March 21, 2002) Sheik Zayed of Abu Dhabi largely credited with the vision that realized the United Arab Emirates and Sultan Qaboos of Oman refer to themselves as the father of their nation. In comparison to Africa, post-colonial and contemporary state elites more than often see the state as theirs and they as its fathers, in such societies liberal societies are relatively unsuccessful.

As stated the underlying roles of institutions in structuring social cohesion and enforcing norms, values and shared rules remains central to the function of any political arrangement. Accordingly, North (1990) claims institutions are humanly devised constraints that condition human interaction, largely made up of formal constraints (law, rules, constitution) informal constraints (norms of behavior and conventions) and their enforcing properties. Helme and Levitsky (2004) define institutions as rules and process that condition social interaction by shaping and constraining actor's behaviors, with a distinction generally between formal and informal. It will suffice to argue that institutions are socially adhered and accepted norms, values and behaviors that conditions societal outcomes.

Africa's institutional crises can be minimally tied to the alien nature of democratic institutions inherited from the colonial administration. Without recourse to pre-existing socio-political realities, liberal democratic institutions were constituted legally to serve as a guideline for shaping and conditioning societal behavior. Consequently, in a handful of states in the continent, basic state institutions are relatively weak and in extreme cases dysfunctional, thus affecting their capacity to structure and regulate economic, political and social activities. This is thought to be so because; they do not reflect the embodiment of shared values and norms. While a regression to traditional or informal African institutions remain a near impossible task, there lies the need to explore the possibilities of domesticating democracy in tandem with prevailing norms in the society.

III. CULTURAL DETERMINANTS OF INSTITUTIONS

Culture and institutions as endogenous variables are determined possibly by technology, geography, development, wars amongst other significant historical events. What then is the causal mechanism between the underlying variables? This research will attempt to establish a correlation between culture and institution based on the individualist and collectivist propositions respectively. Minimally defined,

individualism highlights personal freedom and achievement. Individualist culture therefore accords social status to personal accomplishments such as important discoveries, innovations, great artistic or humanitarian achievements and all actions that make an individual stand out. Collectivism, in disparity underscores entrenchment of individuals in a larger group. It emboldens conformism and discourages individuals from recalcitrant and standing out. Platteau (2000) for example illustrates collective culture in the context of African development. Specifically, he documents that productive individuals are seen with suspicion and are coaxed into sharing their surplus with the community.

Because individualist culture accords social status rewards to people who stand out, it may give a special, culturally motivated, incentive for innovation that is separate from the standard monetary incentive. On the other hand, individualism can make collective action more difficult because individuals pursue their own interest without recourse to collective interests. Collectivism, in contrast, makes collective action easier because individuals internalize group interests to a greater degree. However, it also encourages conformity and discourages individuals from standing out. This framework implies that individualism should encourage innovation more, but collectivism should have an advantage in coordinating production processes and in various forms of collective action.

Hence the study opines, liberal democratic value is embedded in the very idea of individualism, which is not in tandem with collectivism as obtained in pre-colonial African societies. The large family sizes in the region, kinship ties and ethnic affiliations amongst other contextual realities make individualism a near impossible feat to attain. Consequently, the emergence of the post-colonial state was accompanied by a clash of indigenous and alien civilization. This is thought to be so because of the inability to reconcile the uneasy relationship between pre-existing societal values of collectivism and the idea of individual preference and liberty as embedded in liberal democratic values. Huntington (1993, p. 23-24) sees civilization as an embodiment of cultural entity, which is defined both by common objective elements as language, history, religion, custom, institutions and subjective self-identification of a people. By adopting Huntington's thesis, this study opines societies from divergent civilizations are likely to have dissimilar views, beliefs, norms and values as to how a society should be structured and governed. And that the adoption of liberal institution of democracy, from an alien civilization, with no recorded attempt at domesticating such, arguably remains the basis upon which institutional crises in Africa thrives. As put forward by Said (1993, p. 2) who claims, even as we must comprehend the pastness of the past, there is no way in which the past

can be quarantined from the future. Huntington (1993) further claims cultural characteristics and differences are less mutable, thus less easily compromised and resolved than political and economic ones. Certainly they abound a lot of phenomena in which the collectivist and individualist claims can be inferred on. This study however opines the implication of individualism-collectivism cleavage is a fundamental one with many facets. Hence, the prospect of detaching cultural effects from institutional outcomes remains a cumbersome endeavor.

IV. DOMESTICATING DEMOCRACY IN AFRICA

Albeit its shortcomings, democracy holds more potential for fostering and promoting human development than any other system of government. Fukuyama's (1992) contention that liberal democracy is the final stage of human development in terms of governance means Africa has no choice but to join the bandwagon of liberalist states. While liberal democracy has brought about significant increase in the quality and standard of living in Western society the same cannot be said for the African continent. When examined critically, one can argue the inability to practice democracy as theoretically conceived as the bane for the dysfunctionality of democracy in Africa. From an alternative perspective one can employ Huntington's theory of civilization or see attempts to universalize democracy as the new scramble for Africa. While the abundance literature of democracy has proffered numerous accounts as to why it has failed to attain predetermined outcomes in the development world. This study claim, the attempt to practice democracy as it is obtained in the West plays a major role in the unresponsive nature of democracy in the African continent.

Furthermore, while scholars whom are referred to as pluralist, argue for legal pluralism in the practice of democracy, the traditionalist as widely referred to frown at democracy in its entirety. For them democracy as practiced in Africa cannot be sustained neither can it address the myriad of socio-economic and political challenges that plagues the continent. Against this Wamba dia Wamba (1990) in his distinction between democracy in Africa and democracy for Africa, asserts that since the inception of democratization in Africa, Africans have nurtured the culture of consuming what the West have articulated for them on democracy. In another instance Wamba dia Wamba (1990, p. 129) extolls;

Contrary to assumed democratization should be considered as a process of a struggle to win, defend, and protect rights of people and individuals against one-sidedness, including the right to self-organization for autonomy and not necessarily right of participation in the state process.

As a way out of the plethora of crisis that has remained despite the presence of democracy, there remains the need for Africans to devise contextual solution to address indigenous crisis. Thus, Moshi and Osman (2008) claim liberal democracy failed in many parts of Africa mainly because the Western political parties aggregate primarily along class interests, whereas in Africa an established class system is relatively absent. Similarly, Eboh (1990, p.176) opines Western style of democracy is not an authentic expression of contemporary African political culture. Consequently Eboh (1993, p. 98) declares the solution to the problem of governance in Africa lies in tackling the African socio-economic and political realities, thus according democracy an African flair.

Different explanations have been proffered as to why democracy has largely failed to bring about development to Africa. As for Offor (2006, p. 121) he attributes this to the refusal to accept that democracy varies, and for this reason it need to be practiced in strict adherence to the Western models. In summing up the debate, Kwasi (1996) opines Africa's political salvation cannot emanate from the current model of majoritarian democracy. His argument revolves around the fact that Africa is a heterogeneous society, and that attempts at practicing majoritarian democracy may amount to under or ill-representation of certain ethnic minorities.

While the underlying arguments independently or collectively capture the political realities in post independent Africa, they largely fall short of proffering equal measures, rather they lay too much emphasis on the incompatibility of the African collectivist culture and liberal democratic values of individualism. Hence, it is of the opinion that for democracy to bring about predetermined outcomes, democracy in Africa should not encompass a return to default political arrangements nor a transplantation of western democracy. Rather state should tailor their regimes to suit prevailing norms, serving as the springboards on which societies should be structured. This is thought to be so because democratic as well as anti-democratic values may be embedded in pre-existing political arrangements.

Hence, attempts at domesticating democracy in Africa must as a matter of urgency revise the idea of development as obtained in liberal democracies. As opposed to modernization, industrialization and even Gross Domestic Product, the study proposes collective well-being, signaling a return to collectivism as obtained in pre-colonial societies. In consonance Gyekye (1997) agreed to sustain democracy in Africa, the practice of democracy should be contingent on a commitment to indigenous ideas and institutions, rather than alien democratic principles.

Consequently, the research opines the prospect for domestication of democracy remains arguably blur.

This can in part be attributed to the incidence advent of globalization, economic interdependence and the idea of collective global security. Nonetheless, void of regime type, a better part of the African continent has remained unsuccessful in establishing functional liberal institutions of governance. The study has identified political culture as central to the dysfunctional democracies in Africa. While there abound a host of causal factors, culture remains particularly pertinent to the crisis rocking governance in the region. In lieu, Tar (2010) claims in terms of political culture, most African states which are products of colonialism maintain strong ties with their former colonial masters resulting in constant interference in domestic policies. The so-called “colonial hangover” is deeply embedded. France, for instance, has always maintained strong ties with its former colonies in sub-Saharan Africa, aimed at sustaining its neo-colonial grip in these countries. This hangover as claimed above discourages indigenous models of democracy as it has multifaceted negative implications on sovereignty and autonomy in the region.

Another major challenge of governance in Africa is ethnicity. The paradox of dual identity has plagued the continent and has fostered socio-political instabilities, civil wars, religious and inter-tribal conflicts. Preceding independence the once nationalist African states often regress to ethno-nationalism, this hampers the prospects of establishing indigenous democratic models as well as deters the consolidation of liberal democratic ideals as obtained in Africa.

V. CONCLUSION

The study argues, that to address the institutional crisis that abounds in the African continent, there lies the need for the consideration of legal pluralism in the practice of democracy. As it also proposes the need to explore the possibilities to domesticate democracy in accordance with prevailing social norms. While it does not assent to a return to traditionalism, it claims liberal democracy is less likely to address African challenges, owing that it embodies the values other than those accustomed to. While, the above recommendations may seem near impossible with recourse to the advent of globalization and spread of liberal democracy, it remains a viable option to addressing the institutional malice that rocks the African continent. Conclusively, the constitutional basis of domestication should take into cognizance the primacy of the people as well as the central role of institutions of democracy, emphasizing the need for power sharing and effective checks and balance mechanism.

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Inter-State Irregular Migration Cause and its Impact on Human Rights: A Study of Gurghe Zone, Ethiopia

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Abstract- Population movement is an integral part of human activity since the ancient time. Motivated by voluntary and forceful factors, the history of civilization were built through dynamic processes of movements. The pattern, the magnitude and the impacts of migration is not similar overtime. Particularly nowadays, due to an increasing crisis of migration, it is a crucial issue of global concern.

International migration is a type of cross border migration and one of the central themes of debate and concern among different academic, political and economic domains. Despite, international migration being a complex and diverse concept, the particular focus of this study is not with all aspects and types of international migration; instead, it only focuses on causes and consequences of international irregular migration and its impact on human right.

Keywords: migration, irregular migration, interstate.

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Inter-State Irregular Migration Cause and its Impact on Human Rights: A Study of Gurghe Zone, Ethiopia

Gizachew Asrat ^α & Adane Mengist ^ο

Abstract- Population movement is an integral part of human activity since the ancient time. Motivated by voluntary and forceful factors, the history of civilization were built through dynamic processes of movements. The pattern, the magnitude and the impacts of migration is not similar overtime. Particularly nowadays, due to an increasing crisis of migration, it is a crucial issue of global concern.

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The main objective of the study was to examining the specific contributing factor for people cross border irregular migration and its impacts on human right of migrants. Methodologically key informant interview, FGD as well as questionnaires were employed to find out the cause of migration and its consequence on irregular migrants. The study finds out that in Gurghe zone the cause of irregular migration were mainly due to poverty, unemployment, inability to cover family expense and misconceived attitude towards migration. The study recommends creating conducive working environment, creating awareness and designing new policy towards alleviating the illegal migration by working with federal government as well as with the local people will reduce the rate of irregular migration and the crisis on migrant.

Keywords: migration, irregular migration, interstate.

1. INTRODUCTION

Population movement is an integral part of human activity since the ancient time (Koser 2007:1). Motivated by voluntary and forceful factors, the "history of civilization...were built through dynamic processes of ... movements" (Jamie, 2013:186). It was this movement of peoples that developed into the term migration. However, the pattern, the magnitude and the impacts of migration is not similar overtime. Particularly nowadays, due to an increasing crisis of migration, it is a crucial issue of global concern.

Human migration which can be described as "a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence" is becoming increasingly a subject of discussion and realistic challenge, as well as one of the "forefront national and international agenda". According to UN,

Department of Economic and Social Affairs, report there were "232 million international migrants in 2013" (UN, 2013:1). This considerably huge number of migrant population with a firm tendency to "increase for the foreseeable future", has direct negative and positive consequences on all sending, transit and receiving states.

International migration also "presents significant challenges" on migrant's themselves. For example, exploitation and human right abuse are critical challenges that are encountered by international migrants. As Koser (2007:1) describes, "some migrants are exploited and their human rights abused; integration in destination countries can be difficult; and migration can deprive origin countries of important skills".

International migration is one of the various types of migration known currently. It is a type of cross border migration and "one of the central themes of debate and concern among different academic, political and economic domains" (Jamie, 2013:186). Despite, international migration being "a complex and diverse concept", the particular focus of this study is not with all aspects and types of international migration; instead, it only focuses on causes and human security impact of international "irregular" or "illegal migration" which is described as "the movement of persons that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries" (International Labor Organization [ILO], 2011:11).

Cross border "irregular migration" facilitated by human smugglers and traffickers, is increasingly becoming a socio-economic and security problem of world states. An increasing migrant's movement in "irregular fashion" than the "legal ways" which considerably create migrant crisis is the phenomenon of the current international migration problem. Various contributing factors are suggested for this increasing crisis of irregular migration. For instance, Koser (2007:54) claim that "the reason that increasing numbers of migrants are moving in an irregular rather than a legal way is mainly because of increasing restrictions on legal movements, mostly in destination countries". However, it is not only destination countries which restrict people legal cross border migration, but also the sending countries too. Due to these reasons, an increasingly crisis of irregular migration consequently

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brought significant challenges on the national-state, international community and on the migrant themselves. For example, security threat to states' sovereignty, transmission of infectious diseases, and also "undermining (*sic*) the human security of the migrants themselves", are the major negative consequences of irregular migration (ibid: 62).

As far as irregular migration is a global issue, Ethiopia cannot escape from this problem; rather presently it has become a chronic problem for the country. It is usual to hear the discourse of migration crisis from the local Mass Medias, mainstream international Mass Medias and from the public's day to day discussion. The phenomenon of exploitation and human right abuse of the Ethiopian migrants in abroad is not uncommon to hear. Xenophobic attack in South Africa, terrorists ruthless inhuman killing in Libya (Mehari, 2015), government planned eviction of a huge Ethiopian migrant (around 154,450 individuals) in Saud Arabia (IOM, 2014) and hundreds of government sponsored returnees from Yemen uprooted by its current violent conflict, and from Libya by the threat of ISIS, are only the few to mention the chronic crisis of the Ethiopian migrants. Thus, examining the question what causes irregular international migration and what negative consequences it brings on human rights of migrant themselves in Ethiopia, particularly taking Guraghe Zonal administration of the country as a case is the main purpose of this article.

II. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

Basic information was collected from different individuals. First migrant returnees were the major source of information. Emphasis were given for those migrants who spent abroad relatively more time and migrants who were victim by irregular migration. Second the families of the migrants who have returned, the families of the victims of illegal migrants, potential migrants were contacted for further investigation. Government and Non-government institutions who are working on migrant issues were also supplement the research and the study incorporates variety of perspectives from different point of views.

For the research migrant returnees, their families and potential migrants were selected to share their experiences concerning the causes of irregular migration and the impact on human security to ensure a representation of different types of experience. The researchers plan to conduct an in-depth interview schedule for the systematic questioning of informants. And the interview were flexibility in the sense that the respondents should be allowed to raise issues and questions that they think are important.

For the reason of intensive investigation and interpretation of the issues, only based on the

researchers' deliberate judgment, a sample subjects were designed to be selected from specific peoples of concerns such as returnee migrants, active migrant, families and relatives of migrants, government and nongovernmental institutions working in the areas and so on. More specifically, snowball technique were employed to directly access peoples of concern. Thus, from the three Districts and Two City Administration-Meskan, Qubena, Marko, Butajera and Wolkite Town, 24 (twenty four) participants were accessed for an interview and questionnaires were distributed for 43 returnee migrants and victims.

Both primary and secondary sources of data are expected to obtain for this study. Primary sources of data was accessed through instruments of interviews, FDGs and questionnaires. And secondary data from relevant literatures, including research publications, articles, books,

a) Methodology of Data Analysis

The study were focused on qualitative approach for data interpretation and analysis. It gives a due emphasis for qualitative approaches, since the issue raised here needs description and interpretation of meanings than numeric expression. But the researchers were used quantitative data for respondent's background information and some data which were numerically stated. First the raw data gathered from purposively selected respondents through methods of in-depth interviews, and questionnaires were coded and classified according to common attributes. Next, the data in Amharic was translated in English. Then the organized data were interpreted and analyzed using thematic arrangement.

III. DISCUSSIONS

a) Prevalence of Migration in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is one of the countries with a large number of migrants in North America, Europe and the Middle East. According to Tefere and Beruk (2009), by The end of 2005, more than 1 million Ethiopians migrated to the rest of the world. Looking for a better education, employment opportunities, and political instability are considered major causes for migration. Political migration was intensified in Ethiopia during 1970-1990 due to political instability at the time. Although the stock of migrants is decreasing since 1990, migration is still important and a hot issue in the current day Ethiopia.

The UN 2008 Revised Population Database shows that 546,000 Ethiopian migrants live in different parts of the world. This estimate is, however, very small vis-à-vis the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia estimates which sometimes reach as big as 1 million (Tefere and Beruk 2009). According to the Population and Housing Census conducted in 2007, Ethiopia's population grew by

about 2 million people. At the same time, close to 120 thousand Ethiopian left their country every year.

Political and economic reasons accounted for the increase of Ethiopian migrants since the 1970s. But, these are not the only reasons. According to Abye (2008), some migrants come from a well to do family who can afford the travel and living expenses abroad. Those who are facing hardship at home are not those who migrate because the poor can't afford to travel. Hence, it can be argued that although the initial reason of migration is political instability, the recent migration trend can be accounted for by the desire to acquire western culture and enjoy better standard of living. This, however, does not include those who migrate to the Middle East whose case is mostly economic. According to Adamnesh (2006), survey on Ethiopian returnee shows a search for education in host country, political instability at home and better standard of living in host country accounted for 54%, 27% and 10% respectively of the respondents.

A study by Bathseba (2007) shows that Ethiopia lost 74.6% of its skilled manpower during the period 1980-1991. In the end of 2002, Ethiopia lost more than one third of medical doctors. However, during the 1980-1991 period, only 25% of those who had gone for further studies returned. Moreover, according to Abye (2008), out of the 5000 PhD holders and 5000-6000 MDs the country has produced during the last 100 years, over 30% live and work abroad. As a result, the country spends about USD 5.3 million per annum on expatriate professionals to fill its human resource gap.

People migrate from Ethiopia mainly through family ties, networks, labor brokers, smugglers and traffickers. Business meetings and conferences are also becoming a major source of migration these days. Young women are the main victims of traffickers in Ethiopia. According to Emebet (2006) as cited in

Atnafu (2006), 14,000 Ethiopian women were domestic workers in Beirut and 17,000 in Lebanon. But official data shows only 6,148 women left the country legally during 1992-2001. This shows that a significant number of Ethiopian women go through illegal channels. Some women also move to Saudi Arabia and other Arab states through Oumra and Hajji.

Despite numerous reports of the abuse of Ethiopian migrants in Yemen and Saudi Arabia, Ethiopians have continued to migrate to the Gulf States in large numbers in recent years. 2012 showed an unprecedented exodus of Ethiopians migrating to Yemen. Out of 107,532 Horn of Africa migrants crossing the Arabian and Red Sea to Yemen in 2012, 78% (84,446) were Ethiopians. Estimates indicate since 2006 over 500,000 migrants have made this crossing, almost all of whom are of Somali and Ethiopian origin. The cumulative volume of Ethiopians arriving in Yemen since 2006 is, as of January 2014, at least 334,000. Actual figures might be even higher considering the limitations in the monitoring of new arrivals and because most Ethiopian arrivals do not register since they immediately travel north towards Saudi Arabia.

According to a study conducted by IOM in April 2004 in Egypt, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon, 7.5 per cent of all Ethiopian migrants who had left their country for employment and other purposes were between the ages of 13–17 years at the time of their migration. The study also showed that 87.1 per cent of these migrants were trafficked.

Different reports indicated that cross-border human trafficking is highly prevalent in Ethiopia. Key institutional stakeholders said that the prevalence of trafficking is very high. In relation to this community representatives, returnees/victims, and parents of migrants have similar perception about the prevalence of irregular migration from Ethiopia in general and from the study areas in particular.

Table 1: Total Migrants (2003-2007 E.C) per region

Region	Year in Ethiopian Calendar					Total
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	
Tigray	1866	9869	9311	958	0	22004
Afar	165	611	642	39	1	1766
Amhara	11311	66298	58592	6482	3	142686
Oromia	10852	66851	69009	7552	2	154266
SNNP	4990	24319	25299	3092	4	57704
Addis Ababa	12782	29009	18891	2454	17	63153
Gambella	14	52	32	13	0	111
Dire Dawa	171	825	412	22	0	1430
Harari	17	121	88	7	0	233
Somali	18	48	35	1	0	102
Benishangul	47	356	385	50	0	838
Gumuz	42233	198667	182696	20670	27	444293
National						

Source: statistical data of legal migrant from Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs

IV. IRREGULAR MIGRATION IN GURAGHE ZONE

Migration related problems are common to all parts of Ethiopia. However, this study only takes into consideration selected areas of Guraghe Zonal administration which is Meskan, Qubena, Marko, Butajira and Wolkite Town due to the reason that those woredas are identified by the Zone Administration and other nongovernmental organization by which they are highly victim and exposed for such act. The phenomena of migration related problems and particularly vulnerability to the risks of irregular migration such as death, slavery, torture, forced labor, sex and gender based violence, financial exploitation and so on, are increasingly becoming a crucial problem on the Ethiopia migrants in general, as well as particularly to migrants from Guraghe Zone. To make matters worse, the issues

in general and “the general public assumptions about migration causes, triggers and accelerators are not necessarily scientifically supported by research” (Mehari, 2015).

Even if the Guraghe Zonal administration is one of the most vulnerable area to migration problems in the country, nothing is still done in the area of the research world, ironically which is vital to tackle the problem at its base. And out of 154,450 Ethiopian returnees from Saudi Arabia in 2014 around 2019 is from Gurage Zone (Guraghe Zone Labour and Social Affairs, 2014) which is an indication of the area is vulnerable to irregular migration. What driving factors are there contributing for the widespread prevalence of migration in the area, and the resulting vulnerability of human right abuse were the issues discussed under. The following table illustrates the number of returnee irregular migrants since 2014 in Gurghe Zone.

Table 2: Number of returnee Migrants Since 2014 in Gurghe Zone

No.	Woredas/Town	Number of returnee		
		Male	Female	Total
1	Butajira	138	240	378
2	Mesqan	351	718	1069
3	Marko	48	103	151
4	Sodo	4	77	81
5	Wolkite	22	89	111
6	Abshegie	8	56	64
7	Enmor	9	63	72
8	Geta	--	15	15
9	Gumer	2	11	13
10	G/Gu/W	4	23	27
11	Esia	1	4	5
12	Qubena	12	56	68
13	Cheha	12	23	35
14	Endegagn	--	6	6
15	Mehure Aklil	4	11	15
Total		615	1495	2110

Source; Gurghe Zone Labor and Social Affair, 2016

As we see in the above table 1 the total rate of regular migrants per region as well as at the national level from 2003 E.C to 2007 E.C were in a decreasing rate. This is due to the ban of migration towards Gulf state migration by the Ethiopian government starting from 2013 which in turn facilitate the irregular path of migration towards this countries. The majority of the migrants are from Oromia, Amahra, Addis Ababa and SNNP regions respectively but when we see in terms of number of population with the number of migrant Addis Ababa taking the highest and Amhara and Oromia regions are ranked next respectively and Tigray and SNNP comes as a third and fourth with almost

comparable proportion of their population migrate towards Arab and Middle East as well as African countries for the past five years. The above table shows that peripheral regions like (Afar, Gambella, Harari, Benishangul-Gumuz as well as Somali) sends the lowest number of migrants from their total population.

V. CAUSES OF MIGRATION

The causes of irregular migration are varied and interrelated. The causes may be categorized into two, namely, supply-sides (push factors) and demand-side factors (pull factors). Push factors are understood as the reasons behind migration in general, as well as the

conditions for the incidence of trafficking within the country of origin; i.e. Ethiopia or from their local areas which is from Guraghe Zone. This section of the study gives particular attention to these factors, taking into account the nature and context of the study. Demand side factors, on the other hand, are reasons and situations creating demand for migrant labour and exploitative working conditions in countries of destination.

a) *Supply-side factors*

Similar to the global trend, lack of employment opportunities and increasing poverty are the major factors behind the prevalence of migration and trafficking from Ethiopia. The overall context of poverty, especially rural poverty, is the most important push factor. Socio-economic poverty is manifested in the form of a large and predominantly young rural population with limited access to means of production such as land, limited access to social services, including

vocational and higher education, and limited employment opportunities. As shown in Table 3, high rates of unemployment and low levels of earning stand out as key economic reasons and misconceived attitude towards migration also have its own highest share as a reason for illegal migration in Gurghe Zone. As table 3 indicate lack of employment opportunity and poverty is the major reason for irregular migration in Guraghe zone which accounts an equal percent 30.2 each and commutatively 60.4%. Another 23.3 and 16.3 percent also shared with the first two ideas which is inability to cover family expense and misconceived attitude towards migration respectively. In relation to this Kainth, 2009 stated that first and for most important factor that motivates the migrants to migrate is better employment opportunities. Embet in 2001 added that Ethiopian women are migrated to Gulf state for housemaids which shows that job opportunities for women in the country are very limited.

Table 3: Motivation Factors to Migrate in Guraghe Zone

Motivation factors to go	Frequency	Percent
Lack of employment opportunities	13	30.2
Instability to cover family expenses	10	23.3
Poverty	13	30.2
Misconceived attitudes towards migration	7	16.3
Total	43	100.0

An interview with labour and social affairs office in Mesqan reported that overpopulation is another issue in light of the fact that land is limited. According to the officers, there are six to seven children per family and the landholding is not sufficient at subsistence level and there is high seasonal change and drought in the area specially in Mesqan which highly facilitate the illegal migrants from the area. In relation to this a study conducted by ILO in 2011 also support that there is high number of high human trafficking in the country because of poverty and unemployment.

Failure in educational endeavors is another critical push factor. This is usually expressed in relation to completing junior secondary (10thgrade) education with sufficient scores to pursue through senior secondary (preparatory, i.e. grades 11th and 12th) and then tertiary levels of education, as well as in relation to pessimism about the possibility of succeeding in education at all and in getting employment after graduation. This reason is reported to have pushed many young girls and boys to consider migration as the only viable option to further personal goals in their lives. As ILO stated most of the victims and returnees in the country which account 90% are failed in their education.

As presented in figure 1 this study also shows that more than 77 per cent of victims/returnees involved in the study have failed in their educational endeavors.

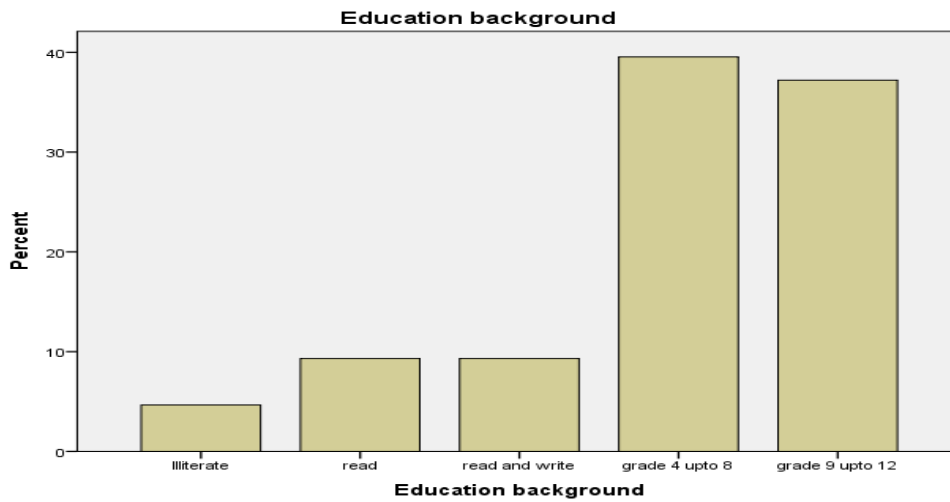


Figure 1: Educational background of respondents

The 'culture of migration' is another key factor underlying high levels of irregular migration. Cross-border migration is considered as personal, social, and material success in most communities, creating wrong role models for the younger generation (the case story in Box 3 depicts about this influence).

The 'culture of migration' has emerged in some areas, in Guraghe Zone mostly from Mesqan, Marqo,

Butajira and Wolkite, as a result of the great number of Muslim population that have travelled to Mecca and Medina, Saudi Arabia, for the Muslim pilgrimage which is one of the dominant way for migration in the study area.

Box 1

How the culture of migration influences young girls to migrate

Two girls from poor families in Butajira and Mesqan confessed that they were pressured to migrate to Middle East countries (particularly to Jeddah and Reid). They noted they grew up listening about opportunities abroad and successful stories of relatives and neighbors who migrated abroad; and thus, they decided to migrate to Jeddah through the Air port in the name of Haji and Umera to abide by the norm and support their family. They were migrated at the age of 15 and 17 when they migrated.

Returnee in Butajira and Mesqan

The afore noted societal structural causes are supplemented by a number of intermediate causes to constitute the totality of push factors for migration in general and irregular one in particular in Ethiopia and study areas. The key institutional informants, returnees and community members contacted under the study as well as other study in relation to migration, listed down the following to be intermediate push factors:

- Negative attitudes attached with low wage and informal jobs in the areas as well as in the country
- Existence of a large number of local brokers with networks extending to countries of destination;
- Misinformation and false promises by brokers/traffickers;
- Inability of families to pay for tertiary education for their children after they failed to pass 10th and 12 grade entrance exam;
- Due to the reason that people with low level or no education can find an employment abroad;
- The fact that most people can raise the amount of money to pay to brokers/traffickers after migration mostly for three month;
- Success stories of those who already migrated;

- Family and peer pressure: children, especially daughters are expected to support their families once they reach a certain age; they are advised to bear the pain and suffering when they report the hardship and challenges of migration;
- Limited knowledge about the legitimate process of migration and accessibility of this to female migrants in the rural areas; and
- Lack of an effective legal framework and its implementation
- The less amount of payment and existence of over exploitation for domestic worker in the study area

b) Demand Side Factor

There are a range of causes for the high and increasing demand for the exploitative use of migrant labour in destination countries. While a more detailed study in the respective destination countries, such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, U.A.E., and Lebanon, is necessary to reach definitive conclusions, the available information points towards three major pull factors across destination countries. These are: rapid changes in the local and regional economies, weak protection regimes for migrant

workers, and the role of traffickers in artificially expanding demand (ILO, 2011).

The major destination countries for Ethiopian migrant workers and victims of trafficking have experienced favorable economic conditions that have enhanced the living standards of their nationals. This has in turn created a shortage in low-paying, informal, and dangerous sectors, such as domestic work, construction, agriculture and sex work. To address this gap, countries of destination are looking towards developing countries where they have a significant comparative advantage in terms of better payment offers and living conditions. Unskilled young people in developing countries such as Ethiopia find these work and living conditions very attractive to improve their life. Local law enforcement agencies in the destination countries have not given adequate and timely attention to trafficking as a serious problem. The resulting weak protection regime in destination countries gives traffickers a free ground for their illicit operation. A telling sign in this respect is the reported use of 'visa-on-demand' by traffickers in Addis Ababa as well as at the local level. The pull factors are particularly strong in border areas and transit towns near the borders.

VI. PROFILE OF IRREGULAR MIGRANTS AND VICTIMS

Information for this section is gathered from different sources, including: returnees/ victims

contacted for the study, parents of migrants and responses of key institutional informants and community members. This deals which sections of society are vulnerable for irregular migration in age as well as in education level and in economic status.

a) Age of Migrants

Owing to their inexperience, vulnerability, sense of adventure, and responsibility, it is not surprising that young persons and children commonly fall prey to brokers and those benefiting from the migration process. A large percentage (63.1 per cent) of Guraghe Zone migrants were between the ages of 19 and 26, followed by the age group 26 to 30 (27.9 per cent), and fewer but significant number migrating after the age of 31 (9.3%) see table 4 below. It finds out that men migrants are generally older than women migrants mostly between the age of 25 and above. This study found that the issue of age will be falsified for passport purpose which shows there is a chance of child trafficking which is not reached at the age of 18 and one returnee from Mesqan confirm that she is migrated at the age of 16. The falsification of age is related with the absence of age certificate in the area.

Table 4: Age of Returnee Migrants (Respondents)

Age of Returnee	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
19.00	2	4.7	4.7	4.7
20.00	3	7.0	7.0	11.6
21.00	2	4.7	4.7	16.3
22.00	6	14.0	14.0	30.2
23.00	3	7.0	7.0	37.2
24.00	2	4.7	4.7	41.9
25.00	6	14.0	14.0	55.8
Valid 26.00	3	7.0	7.0	62.8
27.00	2	4.7	4.7	67.4
28.00	5	11.6	11.6	79.1
30.00	5	11.6	11.6	90.7
32.00	2	4.7	4.7	95.3
40.00	1	2.3	2.3	97.7
42.00	1	2.3	2.3	100.0
Total	43	100.0	100.0	

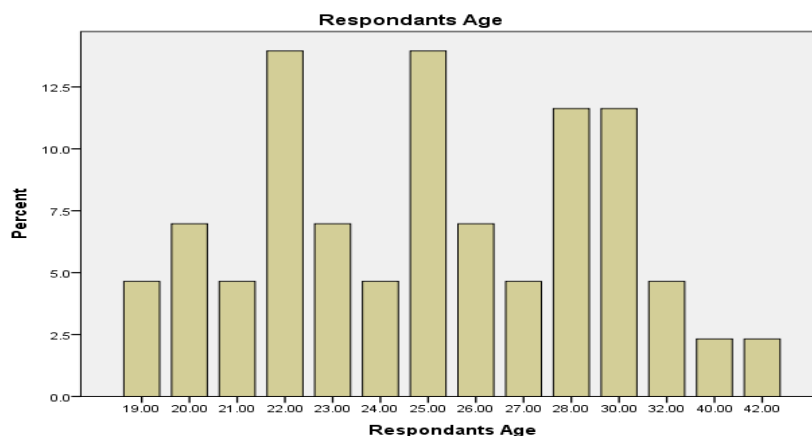


Figure 2: Age of Respondents (Returnee)

The information falsifying age is confirmed by qualitative information from community members and law enforcement officials, as well returnees. These groups pointed out that the age profile of a typical migrant ranges from 16 to 25. This could not be prevented mainly due to the absence of birth registration and the possibility of falsifying age and brokers using the illegal way do not also focus on the age of their clients. See box 4 below informant view on falsifying age is an easy task.

Box 2

An indication that falsifying age is common

"Any where you can easily change and prove your age as you wish'.

An informant from Wolkite

So from this we conclude that the area lose its own worker class and mostly female are easily victim since their age is lower than men and they are not well experienced in life at all and highly exposed to human right violation at the country level (by brokers), at the journey by smuggler and border security as well as at the host state by employer. Research conducted in this regard also support this idea. A study conducted by ILO, 2010 and 11 found that most of the time in Ethiopia and Specifically in some areas of SNNP migrants are migrated at the age of 17-27 and 16-25 respectively. The study also added almost around 54 percent were migrated at the age of 19-25 with little participation of child labour migration in the country. Another study conducted by Asnak and Zerihun in 2015 the majority of the migrants to Gulf are the young with the age of 18 to

35 involved in labour migration. This study reported that SNNP accounts the fourth contributor region in the country which is 1.668% since 2007. So the area need new policy and strategy to overcome the loss of the young section of the society from the region as well as from the study area.

b) Vulnerability Based on Sex

Both male and female migrate to the Middle East countries, but their proportion may be different depending on whether we are considering potential migrants or victims and in relation to the migration channel (see Box 5). According to information collected from returnee and key informants about brokers/traffickers, women mostly use the formal migration channel than men involving visa and passports.

It is also reported that women constitute the majority of clients of brokers/traffickers. All parents interviewed for the study also spoke about their daughters and not of their sons, who have passed through deceptive recruitment practices and been exposed to abuse and exploitation.

On the other hand, it is reported that men mostly use the services of smugglers and the majority of migrants who use the 'desert route', i.e. through Afar, Dire Dawa and Djibouti are men. Reports of irregular migration of young men to Middle East countries have been noted from Qubena, Butajira and Mesqan. However, it is also noted that the number of women migrants using the services of smugglers is on the increase. See table 5 below women constitute 69.8 per cent of returnees and victims involved in the study.

Table 5: Migration Based on Sex

Returnee	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	30	69.8	69.8	69.8
Valid Male	13	30.2	30.2	100.0
Total	43	100.0	100.0	

Given the fact that the majority of the migrant are female. Some study in this regard shows that females are taking the highest number of migrant towards Gulf countries. A study conducted by Asnak and Zerihun in 2015 stated that:

In absolute numbers, oromia and Amhara regional states, which happen to be the largest population too, made the largest contribution of female migrants in the past years, followed by Addis Ababa and SNNP, respectively (Asnak and Zerihun, 2015).

Box 3

The gendered aspect of vulnerability to migration

Men are not as vulnerable as women and they only suffer hardship in rare circumstances mostly in case of travel but females are highly exposed for abuse after arrival and in travel.

An informant from Qubena

c) Educational Background of Returnee Migrant

Study conducted by ILO 2011 stated on this regard:

level of education is not a critical criterion for women migrants to be engaged in domestic work and men migrants to be engaged in manual labour of any kind. Few PEAs register men applicants who are educated and experienced for employment as drivers, cooks, engineers, masons, carpenters, steel fixers, welders, and plumbers. It is reported that men migrating through the 'desert route' have

similar educational background and experience (ILO, 2011).

According to primary sources collected from returnees, officials and community members, both educated and uneducated women may be potential migrants and victims of migration. This is because most women migrants are mainly trafficked for domestic work purposes, including child and elderly care. They reported that most are students who have failed their national exams they sat for upon completion of 8th(second cycle of primary education), 10th(first cycle of secondary education) or sometimes 12th grades (preparatory).

Community members participating in FGDs in Wolkite and Mesqan have specifically mentioned the 10th grade as a common hurdle for young girls. Young people who have given up their education for different reasons, including death of parents, repeated failure to pass a grade, and other causes also opt for migration to change their life. It is reported that brokers/traffickers mostly target young girls who have graduated from high school and are unemployed.

This is because they understand that these girls have no hope of alternative education and training or employment opportunities and hence consider themselves as burdens to their families and are forced to consider migration. (see Table 6 for further information).

Table 6: Education Background of Respondents (Returnee)

Returnees Educational Background		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Illiterate	2	4.7	4.7	4.7
	Read	4	9.3	9.3	14.0
	read and write	4	9.3	9.3	23.3
	grade 4 up to 8	17	39.5	39.5	62.8
	grade 9 up to 12	16	37.2	37.2	100.0
Total		43	100.0	100.0	

The quantitative data confirms that 39.8 percents of returnee migrants are having education level of 4-8 grade and 37.2 percents are from grade 9 up to 12 which shows that the study areas are highly affected by second cycle of primary education, first cycle of secondary education) or sometimes by preparatory.

Box 4

How education is facilitating irregular migration

I am failed to pass grade 10 two times after that I am decided to migrate because I did not want to be a burden to my family. You will not have I good feeling when you stay at home after you failed the exam.

An informant from Mesqan

VII. THE PROCESS OF IRREGULAR MIGRATION

As defined by the Palermo Protocol, human trafficking is composed of three elements: recruitment,

transportation, and exploitation (Cited in ILO, 2011).. According to US Department State cited in RMMS, 2014 argued that irregular migrants are highly vulnerable to the risk of human security throughout the whole stage of migration. Below the study were discussed the process through which migrant from the Guraghe Area are trafficked to Middle East countries.

a) Recruitment

In this part the researchers try to review other study conducted in the country. Due to the reason that recruitment of potential victims is the first step in the process of human trafficking. This section presents findings pertaining to a better understanding of who perform the recruitment and the process and techniques used to recruit potential victims. The findings are drawn from primary information provided by returnees,

parents of migrants, community members and key informants representing institutional stakeholders.

b) Local Brokers

According to ILO, 2011 define local brokers are individuals going around at the community level recruiting migrants from the communities they live in. These people are known by community members as key links in the migration process, providing them with important information about opportunities abroad and the process of migration. They promote their services by using success stories of people they have already sent abroad. They also actively disseminate information about employment opportunities in Gulf countries, routes that result in

successful migration, and returns and benefits of migration. They particularly target girls with economic, social, educational, and family problems.

c) Techniques used by Local Brokers

Local brokers disseminate information to the community and the target/potential individual. As we see in table below the source of information for returnee migrant for their first move is friends and brokers which accounts 30.2 and 27.9 percent. Brokers are disseminate the information for friends and family by telling the story of successful returnee migrant and the their dream will be real when they are gone in Gulf state and South Africa.

Table 7: Source of Information

Source of Information	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Relatives	3	7.0	7.0	7.0
Friends	13	30.2	30.2	37.2
Family	8	18.6	18.6	55.8
Broker	12	27.9	27.9	83.7
government and employee agency	1	2.3	2.3	86.0
Returnees	6	14.0	14.0	100.0
Total	43	100.0	100.0	

Once potential migrants or family members contact them, they fill them with wrong information about issues like working and living conditions in the destination countries, and the possibility of gifts from employers. If anyone challenges them with facts about failed migration stories, abuse, and exploitation suffered by migrants, they argue saying that is the result of bad facilitation by inexperienced and untrustworthy brokers and bad luck. Some may completely deny the facts.

A data drawn from the informants, local brokers are responsible for the first stage of recruitment of most victims of trafficking for the purpose of labour from Gurage Zone to Arab countries. But the data which shows the truthiness' of the information after they reach in host state is different and most of them are argued it is full of false. Table 8 below shows this idea.

Table 8: How Much the Information Valid

Validity of information acquired	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Correct	5	11.6	11.6	11.6
partially correct	14	32.6	32.6	44.2
not correct	20	46.5	46.5	90.7
do not known	4	9.3	9.3	100.0
Total	43	100.0	100.0	

The significant majority of victims have reported that the information they got before migration were not correct which accounts 46.5% and followed by partially correct which is 32.6%. This does not mean that the information is completely false since there are around 11.6% were got the information correct.

Box 5

A case how brokers abuse migrants

We payee for brokers 3000-4000 birr after reaching in the Arab countries and employed a majority of domestic workers have no any payment for three month which is given for the broker (Phone interview with Current Migrant in Lebanon, 2016)

d) *Brokers for transportation and smuggling*

These are individual or a chain of individuals responsible for the transportation and smuggling of migrants across borders. This is a kind of trafficking receive the victims from local brokers, usually in groups, and are likely to transfer them to another trafficker within the network before they reach the destination country (see the box below). Such individuals are reported to be located on the desert and sea routes and have contacts with brokers in transit countries, such as Djibouti and Yemen, and in destination countries, such as the Saudi Arabia. These individuals function by securing protection from local authorities and armies patrolling the desert routes.

Box 6**A case how transportation arranged by brokers and the abuse**

We transferred from Addis Ababa to Djibouti and someone(the broker) take as in a group and put as in narrow room for five days and the transfer to Yemen to other individual by care. The suffocation and other smells cannot expressed in word since we are too many in number and the weather is too hot.

An informant from Qubena

The study conducted by ILO, 2011 supported this idea by stating that smuggling and local brokers are played a significant role in facilitating the irregular migration. It argued that:

The smuggling practice usually starts once local brokers have transferred to the smugglers an adequate number of migrants to form a manageable group to cross borders. The responsibility of this category of traffickers is to take the irregular migrants through arduous territories and smuggle them through non-patrolled sections of the border. In some cases, irregular migrants are transferred to other brokers responsible for the remaining section(s) of the route. The covert and arduous nature of irregular migration puts migrants in a vulnerable and dependent position. It is reported that this category of traffickers/smugglers routinely abuses migrants under their care to ensure compliance and/or take economic and/or sexual advantages.

e) *The Fusion between Illegal and Legal Brokers*

The Employment Agencies use their legal certificates and license to participate in the irregular (undocumented) channel of migration towards Arab countries. They recruits' potential migrants in the localities. Family and potential migrant at the local levels take expensive loans from private lenders to send girls. As result both family and migrants are heavily debated before they migrate to host countries (see box 9 below).

Box 7**A case shows how legal and illegal brokers are no change**

I am traveling to Reid by paying 7000 birr which I borrow from my Uncle and After a month my employer tolled to me to go to my country which I have only 700 birr only in my hand I feel bad and decided to stay with any kind of exploitation. I have no information about my agency they take the phone number and passport.

An informant from Mesqan

f) *Destination traffickers*

Destination brokers consist of individuals who exploit the vulnerability of migrants in destination countries and who put them in situations of vulnerability, abuse, and exploitation using fraud, control, coercion, and threat. These traffickers are residents of the destination countries and have usually a links with local and unlicensed agents or enticed friends and family members to handle the local aspect while they handle the process at the destination end.

The traffickers is composed of sponsors. These are usually well-established male and female residents in Saudi Arabia and UAE, who have strong links with chain of brokers and smugglers in Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Yemen, as well as with agents in the countries of destination. In Saudi Arabia, these traffickers 'sponsor' the smuggling of migrants who have arrived in Djibouti or Yemen with the intention of benefiting from their exploitation and vulnerability once they arrive in Saudi Arabia. The 'sponsoring traffickers' are also involved in the recruitment and transportation of the victims from their place to Djibouti and Yemen through the Afar or Dire Dawa routes. It is reported that those who use sponsors to move on from Yemen to Jeddah are required to have the telephone address of their sponsors or agents who would pay the fee for Yemeni brokers. The latter make sure that those on whose behalf the fees are paid reach would safely to Saudi Arabia and hand them over to their sponsors. The 'sponsor' will receive them upon arrival, provide them with shelter, place them as domestic workers and collect their salary directly from the employer. Through this arrangement, 'sponsors' make sure that they get back the amount of money they invested and much more from the hard work and exploitation of the victims (see the story of Mohammed in Box 10).

Box 8**A case how brokers mislead migrants and abused**

The local broker told me to go am gone to Riyadh but after I am reaching their the destination broker take to unknown rural areas.

An informant from Butajira

Another informant from butajira said that brokers at the local and destination countries are evil. In the Yemen the brokers are fight together and one migrant are killed by stone which is throw towards broker attack.

So brokers either local, at the route as well as at the host state abuse the irregular migrant in terms of money in each travel and if migrant lack money torture as well as insult and moral attack were some of human right violation employed by brokers in different stage.

VIII. TRANSPORTATION AND ROUTES OF MIGRATION

Migrants use two ways to leave Ethiopia: they either buy an air ticket and take a flight from Bole International Airport to the destination country or cross the border to neighboring countries using the 'desert route'. They may take bus up to a certain point and proceed on foot to cross a certain section of the route. Once they cross the border, some stay in neighboring countries, such as Djibouti, Yemen, Kenya and Sudan and seek employment, while others proceed to other countries of destination, such as Saudi Arabia. The following are the major trafficking routes from Ethiopia.

a) *Irregular Migration of Guraghe Migrants to South Africa through Moyale*

The Ethiopian Embassy in South Africa estimated that approximately 45,000 to 50,000 Ethiopians live in South Africa. This number is recently growing due to the influx of new arrivals (IOM cited in ILO 2011). It is estimated that 95 per cent or more of these Ethiopian arrivals enter South Africa through irregular means. The vast majority of Ethiopian migrants in South Africa are young men in the age range of 18 to 35 years old (Ibid). The majority of Ethiopian migrants living in South Africa are from Kembata, Hadiya and Gurage communities. Everyone in Hossana knows someone who has migrated or is trying to migrate to South Africa, and everyone seems to want to go. More recently, men from Shashemene and Hawassa have started to use this route to migrate to South Africa.

This study further confirmed that young men from Hadiya and Kembatta cross the border through Moyale to Kenya and proceed to South Africa by irregular way in relation to this an interview conducted with Guraghe Zone Labour and Social Affairs Officers currently Guraghe community which is neighbor to Hadiya Zone are now increase to go to South Africa through Kenya because of the information they got from

the Hadiya Zone migrant which returnee as well as brokers. The travelers pay high amount of money to enter in to South Africa than Gulf State and may have to sell their land and cattle to cover the costs. Migrants use their passports until they enter into Kenya and cross the border to Tanzania. Once in Tanzania, they destroy their passport to avoid being identified as Ethiopians and being deported back if arrested by the authorities.

However, the exploitation is not a such visible unlike Gulf countries once they reach the destination country either by the smugglers or employers.

b) *Irregular migration to Saudi Arabia and UAE through Afar and Djibouti*

Irregular migrants from Guraghe Zone are smuggled/trafficked daily into Djibouti through Afar Region/Semera Region, further into Yemen and then to Saudi Arabia or UAE or Riyadh. The illegal brokers arrange the movement, but friends, and relatives are also involved in creating the link with the illegal brokers and convincing the potential migrants.

Migrants are transported in public transport bus or trucks to be regrouped in a town called Logia. The illegal brokers then transport them to Assayta, and Tajore,. Once they reach these towns, illegal brokers wait till enough travelers are regrouped. They then proceed to Djibouti travelling in containers and trucks at night by choosing routes not frequented by authorities.

In all circumstances, a number of illegal brokers are involved in the recruitment, transport, and shelter provision and transfer of migrants until they reach their destination or they get stranded along the way for various reasons or get arrested by authorities.

The amount paid to illegal brokers differs according to the place of origin and sex of the travelers. The amount that the different categories of illegal brokers get also differs. A traveler pays on average ETB 3,000–5,000. Some of the illegal brokers are so organized that they guarantee a refund if the travelers get arrested before they reach their destination.

The travel is said to be tiresome and difficult, and travelers have to walk at night, through the desert and without food and water. Illegal brokers may snatch their money; beasts may attack them; and women travelers may be sexually abused (see Box 11 below).

Box 9

Illegal Brokers and Routes and the Abuses

I payee to the local broker 4000 Ethiopian birr and when I reached in Yemen the brokers are asked to add money from our relatives in Saudi and unfortunately I have a family in Saudi Arabia and I give 2500 birr in Yemen and lastly in Saudi 5000 birr.

An informant from Butajira

Ahmed is from Qubena, Guraghe Zone. Ahmed is 38 age and have family in Riyadh. He decided to through irregular in 2004 because previously he is gone to Saudi Arabia through religion pilgrim and captured by the police and deported to Ethiopia. If someone use religion pilgrim and caught by police and forcefully deported to the home state it is impossible to go back in Haji and Omera for five years due to this reason he decided to go through irregular way. He travelled by local broker to Afar and Djibouti. The journey was so long and tiresome. He payee a total of 25,000 Ethiopian birr. In

travel there was conflict between broker and Yemen border police. The Yemen police take to the prison namely Taiz prison house and stay for one month. The time was so harsh and its impossible the misery to explain, the hunger and trust. After a month the police ask to payee 2500 Riyal and to go. He called to his family in Saudi and payee it. There are other who failed to payee and they suffer the torture. Ahmed and other friends who payee the required amount of money have gone to Saudi by foot for one day and after that brokers at the border off Saudi Arabia left by informing them they are already reach and he have to turn and they have to go.

Ahmed a returnee migrant from Qubena woreda

This route is characterized by a network of brokers feeding one another from the local level up to Saudi Arabia. Once they reach in Yemen, if they escape the 'police' they transferred to brokers in Yemen who facilitate their transportation and entry into Saudi Arabia for a fee of 1,500 and above Riyal. However, the migrants have, in most cases, finished their money at this stage. As a result, brokers have made it a requirement to recruit only those who have sponsors in Saudi Arabia or from home/family/ who would forward the required processing fee to the Yemeni brokers. Those who failed to give the required amount of money will suffer more and face human right violation like lack of food, torture to bring it, insulations are few.

c) *Irregular Migration through Bole International Airport*

The Ethiopian Government has banned migration of workers to Lebanon for over two years. However, there is still a high demand for female migrant workers in Lebanon; and most potential migrants have heard from friends and relatives who have already migrated to Lebanon that there is a relatively more freedom in Lebanon than in any other country in the Middle East. According to rumours, migrant workers can work as contract employees, allowing them to work with two to three employers and thereby earn better income. As a result, a number of female migrant workers are using the services of illegal brokers to migrate to Lebanon. To avoid being intercepted at Bole International Airport by immigration officials, they first travel to Nairobi, Kenya, and from there travel to Dubai, UAE and then proceed to Beirut, Lebanon. Alternatively, they first travel to Djibouti or to the Sudan, and from there go to Beirut, Lebanon.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs estimated that here are about 130,000 Ethiopians living in Saudi Arabia, most of who are irregular migrant workers (ILO, 2011). Potential migrants are still using the pretext of Muslim pilgrimage, Haj and Oumra to migrate to Saudi Arabia and overstay their visa to seek employment there and it is one of the predominant way of transportation to enter in to Saudia Arabia for majority women from Guraghe Zone as labor worker. In supporting this idea an interview with Guraghe Zone Labour and Social Affair Head said that what is a different in Guraghe Zone irregular migrant from the other part of the country most of our women are migrate to Arab countries by Ethiopian Airlines through the name of Haji and Oumer which is a religious pilgrimage (see box12 below). Women are asked to change their names into Muslim names and

those who are not Muslims are told to learn the Koran and pretend to be Muslims. Those who have not reached the age of 25 years will also have to change their official documents to that effect.

Box 10

I Am gone to Meca Medina in the name of Haji and Oumera by paying 40000 birr and I decided to stay there by the support of brokers and the broker take me from Meca to Riyad.

An informant from Butajira

IX. HUMAN RIGHT VIOLATIONS

The third element in the trafficking process is exploitation. The main purpose of recruiting and transporting a potential migrant is to be able to benefit from the exploitation of his/her labour and/or body (sexual exploitation or removal of organs). Traffickers violate various rights of their victims to ensure compliance, control and take maximum advantage.

As a result, human trafficking inflicts massive negative impact, first and foremost on the affected people and their families, and also on the societies of which they are part. The consequences of trafficking on victims are manifold and devastating. The perilous journey to the destination, hazardous working and living conditions, and abuse and exploitation in the hands of traffickers and employers have significant and long lasting impact on the lives of victims. The constant control of their movement and the state of vulnerability and fear, in which traffickers and employers keep their victims, causes serious adverse consequences on the personal, social and economic situation of the victims, as well as their physical and mental health.

The principal sources of information for the first two dimensions, i.e. exploitation and coercion, are the responses of returnees and current migrant in Gulf countries, including victims, for queries on their working and living conditions at the places of destination. Information and research work from other sources has been used to enrich the findings.

a) *Exploitative working and living conditions*

The most common complaint of victims of trafficking is exploitative working and living conditions facing them at the place of destination. The reported conditions include: long working hours, unbearable workload, restricted movement, inability to change employers, denial of wages, and irregular payment of wages. It was also reported that female employers add

more tasks on domestic workers and restrict their movement within the house when they fear that their husbands are sexually attracted to the domestic workers.

Some reported that their employer take them to a relative or friend's house to clean and/or cook if ever they manage to complete their work a bit earlier. Migrant workers labour for excessively long

hours per day and are not allowed sufficient leisure time. The working hours reported by returnees indicate that the majority around 48.8 percent are working above 12 hour per day and 27.9 percents are working 12 hour again the sum of the two extreme are reaching around 76.7 percent of migrants are work 12 and above hour which denies the right to have leisure time(see Figure 3).

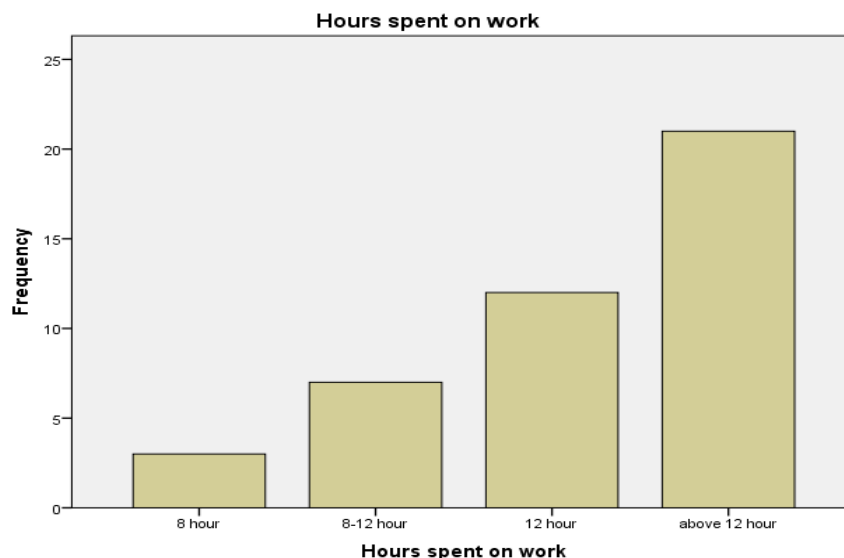
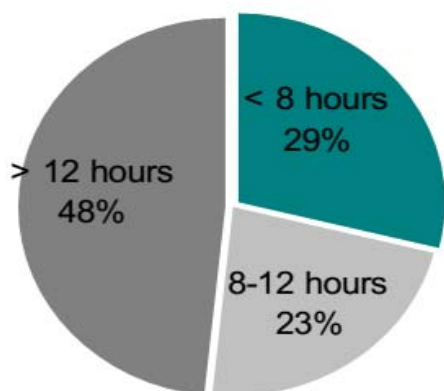


Figure 3: Working Hours per a day

In relation to this a study conducted by ILO, 2011 on the title of trafficking in person overseas in Ethiopian case support this idea. The study find that the majority of returnees are argued that they are working over 12 hour and some of them are highly exploited by their employer and if they have time they are forced to work their relative as well as neighbors house. The study shows the hours work in figure 4.



Adopted from ILO, 2011

Figure 4: Hours work

In addition to this figures the researchers find out by an interview victim had returnee migrant almost all of them said that over hour work is common to

domestic worker. some of them argued that if they complete one work they will give you on other and they said that employer did not like to see you sleep or seat. An informant from Mesqan explain about exploitation see the box below

Box 11

The exploitation over hour work

I am stayed for three month with life like die and live. I worked around 20 hours per day I have no time to sleep. The problem came from after a month. They employee me for a month and I spent 7000 Ethiopian birr to go there and they inform me I have finished my contract and to go back to my country by having only 700 riyal. If I heard this I am shout and told them I cannot go back if you want you can kill me. After that day Until I decide to came I have no time to sleep or to get rest I work for 20-22 hours per day. The employer(Madam) also wait me until I wake up by looking the time given for me. She is not sleep in the night to look me.

Returnee Informant from Mesqan

b) Abuse based on Sex

As compared to other migrant workers, domestic workers are more vulnerable to abuses and violations of rights. As human rights watch reported in 2008 even if domestic workers accounts less than a quarter of the eight million foreign worker in Saudi Arabia, but Embassies from the sending state reports that abuses and human right violation comprises a

majority from domestic workers. Since the domestic workers are women they are highly susceptible to human right abuse and violation. Returnee migrants in Guraghe Zone support this idea. The majority of

returnee migrant which account 74.4 percent argued that females are abused more than men. Only 25 percents are argued that the abuse are not different based on sex (see 9 table below).

Table 9: Abuse Based on Sex

Sex Based Violence	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Female	32	74.4	74.4	74.4
Valid Men	11	25.6	25.6	100.0
Total	43	100.0	100.0	

c) Coercion

Available evidence indicates that victims of trafficking are subjected to acts of coercion at places of destination. Most prevalent among these are confiscation of documents, restrictions on freedom of

movement, emotional abuse and withholding of wages. Table 10 presents the responses of returnees to direct questions as to the occurrence of strong and medium indicators of coercion.

Table 10: Difficulties During Few Months of Arrival

Difficulties encountered in few month of arrival	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Economic problem	2	4.7	4.7	4.7
Cultural shock	1	2.3	2.3	7.0
Long work hour	19	44.2	44.2	51.2
Health problem	6	14.0	14.0	65.1
Communication barriers	15	34.9	34.9	100.0
Total	43	100.0	100.0	

Irregular migrant from Guraghe Zone are facing long work hour in the host state. In this regard respondents were asked to respond if they had faced long working hours. So, around 44.2 % are reported to have undergone long working hour during few months

of arrival at the place of destination countries. In addition to this communication barriers were also accounts 34.9% followed by health and economic problem which accounts 14% and 4.7% respectively.

Table 11: Negative Consequences Faced in Course of Life

Negative Abuses	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Joblessness	11	25.6	25.6	25.6
Exposure to diseases	8	18.6	18.6	44.2
Labour exploitation (slavery)	24	55.8	55.8	100.0
Total	43	100.0	100.0	

The study indicates that migrants usually face problems during the course of their life in addition to just at the time of arrival. In this paper, information was collected from returnee migrants the type and nature of problems/negative consequences they faced during their stay at the place of destination. Table 11 shows that migrants who travel in irregular base are mostly face multifaceted problems which includes labor exploitation/slavery, joblessness and exposed to disease which accounts 55.8%,25.6 and 18.6 % respectively.

In addition to this an interview and FGD responses argued that migrant domestic workers have little or no privacy as they are closely supervised as to what they eat, when they sleep and what they do in their rooms. Their freedom of movement and communication

outside the household is also restricted through confiscation of passports and work permits, as well as through monitoring their contacts with others. Restricting the right to freedom of movement and prohibiting using of telephone or speaking with neighbors are widespread malpractices on domestic workers in Gulf Countries.

An interview with current migrant in Gulf countries through social media said that the abuse are multiple in nature they are highly abuse freedom of movement, they forced to clean the rooms by chemical which mostly damage eyebrows. She argued that mostly domestic workers are killing themselves by jumping from through the balcony three to four floors high; while others try to commit suicide by swallowing cleaning detergent through themselves from the building this is due to separation from any kind of

communication for two or three years which create psychological problem. In supporting this idea see the box below the story of returnee migrant.

Box 12

Abuse on migrant

All of the family insult you. The employer forced me to wash clothes by hand with chemical which bleed my hands.

Returnee from Mesqan woreda

Both male and female migrants are also reportedly forced into illicit activities, including commercial sex, and drug and alcohol trafficking. This is usually done once the victims are rendered undocumented through confiscating their passport or 'helping' them to escape from their sponsor.

Sexual, physical and emotional abuses, together with the absence of medical care, result in untreated physical injuries, mental health problems and even death. Community members and key informants reported cases where victims returned with serious physical injuries, such as a broken leg or death without any explanation. In this regard scholars like Koser, Koslowski and Mehari stated that the negative impact on irregular migrants ranged from exploitation to lose their lives.

X. INTERVENTIONS TO COMBAT IRREGULAR LABOR MIGRATION

a) Corrections

Considering the high prevalence and complexity of the problem, effective responses demand a coordinated, multi-level and multi-sectoral approach. An effective and comprehensive response to human trafficking should include measures for preventing, protecting and supporting victims of trafficking, while appropriate measures are taken to prosecute traffickers. It is also critical that governmental, intergovernmental, international, non-governmental and private organizations and the community cooperate in their efforts to prevent and protect victims of migrant in host state. This chapter presents the different efforts that have been made by different governmental and non-governmental organizations in response to irregular human trafficking.

b) Prevention

Migrant workers in general and migrant domestic workers in particular are vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, including trafficking and forced labour. Protection measures aim at providing support services to victims of exploitation and abuse also to reduce the risk of secondary victimization by the same authorities that are entrusted to provide support.

Considering the fact that most of the migrant domestic workers work and live with their employer, protection measures should also ensure that future

exploitation and abuse do not occur. The efforts include setting appropriate legal, policy and institutional frameworks; public awareness campaigns; devising a labour market information system; improvement of employment and vocational training; and monitoring of private employer agencies.

XI. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

a) Conclusions

In Guraghe Zone irregular migration is supported by long journey through desert routs as well as through Ethiopian Airline by the name of Haji and Umera religious pilgrims.

The cause of irregular migration in the study areas were mainly due to poverty, unemployment, inability to cover family expense and misconceived attitude towards migration. The issues of migration supported by multiple factors which is both supply side as well as demand factors some of the supply side factors are; negative attitudes attached with low paying and informal jobs in the areas as well as in the country, existence of large a number of local brokers with networks extending to countries of destination; misinformation and false promises by brokers/traffickers; inability of families to pay for tertiary education for their children; success stories of those who already migrated; family and peer pressure: children, especially daughters are expected to support their families once they reach a certain age; they are advised to bear the pain and suffering when they report the hardship and challenges of migration; limited knowledge about the legal way of migration and accessibility of this to migrants in the rural areas; and lack of an effective legal framework and its implementation etc. The demand side factors are rapid changes in the local and regional economies, weak protection regimes for migrant workers, and the role of traffickers in artificially expanding demand.

The cause of migration in Guraghe zone were most of the time similar across the study area, even though the cause of migration is mainly depend on poverty and unemployment migrants from Mesqan woreda specifically from Ille kebel are forced due to climate change, crop failure and landlessness.

Most of migrations are facilitated by local brokers and the source of information are family, brokers as well as returnee migrant. As most of returnee migrant explained the information gained is not correct after they reached at the destination countries. Most of the migrants are female from the Guraghe Zone with the age of 19-25 and followed 26-30. The education level of migrants are mostly from Gurghe Zone were those who completed primary and secondary school.

The researchers had provided possible solutions based on the findings of the study. From the findings of this study the researchers recommends/

implications for individual, family, government and community based on the data from returnee migrants. The researcher suggested the following points by making a constant reference the participants view. Some of the recommendations were discussed as follows:

Individuals

- Individuals have to change the attitudes towards migration
- Individuals who have capital should create job opportunity in the area
- Avoiding of backward work attitudes internally

Family

- They have to protect their children from illegal migration
- They have to help their children domestically they have to

Government

- Government specifically local governments should create employments opportunity
- The legal framework must be strong
- The government should create awareness on the legal way and the danger of irregular way of migration
- The Zone Administration and Justice office should work cooperatively in taking a measures on illegal agency and brokers
- Creating equal employment opportunity for all
- Creating conducive working environment
- Financial Support for returnee as well as for those individual in need
- Supporting returnee migrants
- The local government in collaboration with the national government should give legal protection for its own people in time of migration as well as in destination countries
- Gurghe Zone local government should have to support depending on the cause of migration since the cause of migration in Gurgahe Zone were different in different woredas.

Community

- They have to expose those illegal traffickers or smugglers
- The community have to know the danger of irregular migration
- Giving the correct information in regarding to migration through legal as well as illegal way
- Participating in community level for tackling illegal migration and the routs
- Giving training on care giving, household service by TVET. The training should be incentive based and attractive in terms of need of host countries and must be in collaboration with Federal government.

Generally the issues of illegal migration is a serious problem in the country as well as in Guraghe zone. Even the migrates are migrate illegal in time of the

research period. The issues of migration commonly shared problem even if the local government have to take correction mechanism to reduce the illegal migration in the area. Still Gurghe Zone Labour and Social Affair and other stakeholders have to struggle to reduce poverty and unemployment in the area and different measurement must be taken to different woredas in Gurghe Zone. For instance, in Mesqan and Marko the local government have to design policies in relation to combat the issues of crop failure and limited land by assisting the youth through training and giving common land.

In the rest woredas the local government have to reduce the problem through creating job by organizing through micro and financial support with follow up and continuous evaluation and monitoring system.

In addition to the above policy type recommendations the researchers try to recommend the government body so as to work cooperatively with religious leaders since migration in Gurghe Zone is mostly by the name of religious pilgrims namely Haji and Omera.

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The Sub-National Politics of Setting Road Infrastructure Development Agenda (RIDA): An Insight from Yobe State, North Eastern Nigeria

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Abstract- Some political, social and economic factors often confront democratic regimes in making decisions in their developmental strides. Despite its importance, however, the issues of how and why road infrastructure development agenda (RIDA) emerged are often neglected in political discourse. In Nigeria's North Eastern region and in Yobe state in particular, where the availability of road infrastructure is still not adequate and financial resources and political consideration collectively require fresh insights. This paper, therefore, provides the description and analysis of RIDA of Governor Gaidam in Yobe State from 2009-2015 through the perceptions and experiences of road development stakeholders. This qualitative study involved 26 interviews with informants and review of policy documents that underscores what, why and how the Yobe state developed its RIDA. The finding showcases the government's mandates, objectives and priority agenda setting towards achieving road infrastructure development under the regime. Overall, the emp has is was primarily placed on both content and context of the regime's RIDA which may positively or negatively affect the state's current and future road infrastructure development.

Keywords: *policy, infrastructure, road development, agenda setting, yobe state, nigeria.*

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



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1. INTRODUCTION

Over the years, most societies associate the relevance of road infrastructure development with poverty reduction, improvements in education, health care and social cohesion (Andres, Biller and Dappe 2016; Mudi and Manase 2015). Infact, this explains the reason attributing national growth to the well-functioning of the road infrastructure which underscores production and the free flow of essential goods and services (Mudi & Manase, 2015). Although there has been some progress regarding road infrastructure development in Nigeria since the return of democracy in 1999, such nature of development, however, depicts geo-political disparities with consequences on the nation's socio-economic development (National Bureau of Statistics, (NBS, 2010). This lack of key infrastructure had in the North Eastern region of Nigeria propelled the worst health and

education indices (MDG 2015; UNDP 2015). Infact, in Yobe state, this situation had caused poverty, hunger, disease, unemployment, illiteracy, and youth restiveness (Abbas 2016). Due to such lack of needed basic infrastructures like road network, some Nigerians regard Yobeas one of the most underdeveloped states in Nigeria (Abbas 2016; NBS 2010) characterized by less developed socio-economic development indicators especially if compared with others.

Interestingly, through road infrastructure development in Nigeria, "the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy" in Chapter 2 subsections 15 (3) requires that: "for the purpose of promoting national integration, it shall be the duty of the state to provide adequate facilities for and encourages free mobility of people, goods, and services throughout the Federation." As result, this becomes necessary as road transport "has grown importance due to an increased share of conveyance of passengers and goods across the globe and provides connection to remote areas, facilitates trade, provides access to amenities, markets, etc." (Nandy, 2014:132). However, the main challenge is that although critical infrastructure like road remains central to any key national development agenda such as addressing poverty (Abbas, 2013), unfortunately, the current situation in Nigeria shows a collapse of important infrastructures that continue to undermine and limits the capabilities of its people to advance their socio-economic endeavours (Abbas, 2016). It is therefore not surprising that due to its importance in easing movement of goods and services, poverty reduction, improvements in education, health care and social cohesion (Andres, Biller and Dappe 2016; Mudi and Manase 2015; Opawole et al. 2013; Oyedele 2012) the demand for road infrastructure from most democratic regimes in Nigeria and other developing societies, therefore, becomes higher.

For this study, road infrastructure, therefore, comprises "all types of roads in a given area, including various structures which serve to transport passengers and goods" (Ivanova & Masarova 2013:264). Similarly, road infrastructure includes road categories (main, township and rural) alongside "facilities, structures, signage and markings, electrical systems, and so on needed to provide for safe, trouble-free and efficient traffic" (Ivanova & Masarova, 2013:264). The importance

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of road infrastructure has been advanced previously by Nandy (2014:132) who showed that road transport “has grown importance due to the increased conveyance of passengers and goods across the globe as it provides connection to remote areas, facilitates trade, provides access to amenities, markets, etc.” Although good road networks are desirable in socio-economic development Olivia (2017) cautioned its planning, implementation, and management is posed by challenges that require good governance, competence, and availability of sufficient fund. Hence, good regime performance is needed to achieve the availability of good road infrastructure and its maintenance.

Although previous efforts were made to understand the development of road infrastructure by regimes at regional or national comparative levels (De 2012; Jerome 2012; Oliva 2017), individual national levels (Demenge et al. 2015; Ivanova & Masarova 2013; Lindsay & Kongolo 2015; van de Walle 2009), comparative states wide analysis at national levels (Nallathiga, 2015; Nandy, 2014), none of the studies provided an individual state level analysis on road infrastructure development agenda. Although some earlier scholars provide discussions: Demenge (2015) and Mohanty, Nayak, and Chatterjee (2016) for Ladakh and Odisha states respectively in faraway India, and Opawole et al. (2013) in Osun state in Nigeria, the roles of the sub-national level through democratic regime performance particularly in Nigeria, is currently absent. This paper therefore while reflecting on the national and state priorities in Yobe state amidst social, economic and political reasons, provides the motivations on how and why this regime developed its RIDA through the perceptions and experiences of road infrastructure stakeholders in the democratic process.

This paper organisation of this paper runs: section 2 provides the qualitative methodological approaches adopted. It delineates the socio-economic context of the study area, data collection procedures, selection of key informants and how data analysis was carried out including its overall limitations. Section 3 provides the description and analysis of RIDA of Gaidam's regime from 2009-2015 through the perceptions and experiences of key road stakeholders in Yobe state. Specifically, some consideration of the motivations that made the regime to have developed its RIDA in line with political, economic and social factors was outlined. Emphasis is particularly made on the roles that sub-national government plays in road infrastructure development in the budget and financial allocation; construction of new road length; maintenance of both old and new roads; geo-political coverage and rehabilitation and reconstruction of failed roads owned by the central government in federating countries. These issues remain the stabilising factors within the constitutional mandate of most Nigerian states that envisaged comprehensive RIDA. Finally, as this paper

has mapped out the key mandates, strategic objectives, and priority agenda setting in achieving road infrastructure development, section 4 draws the conclusions of this paper based on its key findings.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study is a critical exploration of Yobe state with respect to its socio- economic infrastructures. It examines the state as one of the poorest with the worst social and economic indices in Nigeria (NBS 2010). The Governor Gaidam's regime from 2009-2015 served as a case in point. Located in North Eastern region of Nigeria, Yobe state was created on 27th August 1991. With state capital in Damaturu, the state is situated within latitude and longitude 11° N and 13.50° E respectively with 47,153 km² total land area. Stretching the entire northern part of the state, Yobe shares over 323 kilometers of international territory with the Niger Republic. According to 2006 national population census, Yobe state has a population of 2,321,339 people made up of 1,205,034 male and 1,116,305 female (NBS, 2010). Based on the projected 3.2 percent growth rate per annum, Yobe's current population ranges around 3.5 million. Small-scale agriculture constituting more than 80 percent of its populace remains the main source of income and employment for a large population of the state (Abbas, 2016). With 80% rural population, Yobe state has 17 Local Government Areas (LGAs) and 178 political wards.

Using the qualitative research approaches, the data collection was carried out in Yobe state in Nigeria from May to September 2016. This involves an interview with purposively selected 26 informants and review of the regime's road infrastructure development policy documents. The interview data were verified through member checking. The 26 informants were selected from 4 categories of senior public officials, civil society groups, experts in road construction and management and community leaders. For the top public officials, past and present politicians and bureaucrats (Commissioners, Permanent Secretaries and Directors) with portfolios in the State Ministry of Works (SMoW) were involved. For the civil society, some representatives of road-related issues observers (Nigeria Society of Engineers, (NSE), National Union of Road Transport Workers, (NURTW), and the National Union of Journalist, (NUJ) were involved. For the experts in road construction and management mostly working in the state included some environmental experts, civil engineers, surveyors, and town planners were also interviewed. Similarly, some community leaders who have influenced road infrastructure development plan in the state were interviewed as key informants.

The data were analysed using the thematic analysis. Hence, after careful and critical analysis of the raw data, meanings were attributed to each statement,

comment and description of informants through categorising the textual data into clusters of similar entities or conceptual categories. The categories in each transcript were collated either through the chronology of events, discussions based on themes or its interconnectivity. It should, however, be noted that although this effort was made to cover road infrastructure development stakeholders, only the reflections, experiences and reports in the current democratic governance process were used as there have been no abundant studies on this issue, especially in the study area. However, an understanding of the national development approach to road infrastructure development in Nigeria and similar places is considered useful and applied in this study.

III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

In this paper, three themes provide the description and analysis of this regime's RIDA from 2009-2015 through the perceptions and experiences of road infrastructure stakeholders in the democratic process. These themes reflect on the regime's road infrastructure development mandates, strategic objectives, and priority agenda and target setting. For this chapter, the regime's responsibilities in road infrastructure development is first presented then followed by subsequent sub-sections.

a) *Responsibilities of the State Government in Road Infrastructure Development*

When asked about the regime's responsibilities in road infrastructure development, informants offered similar opinions albeit in different perspectives. Interestingly, most of their shared opinions were based on the principle that democratic regimes have a responsibility to provide infrastructure need of citizens such as good road network (Opawole et al. 2013; Oyedele 2012). As argued by another scholar, such infrastructure development is the basis for measuring the performance of democratic leaders and, it is the foundation of good governance (Oyedele 2012). While reflecting on this democratic regime in Yobe state, a civil engineering director whose work experience in the road sector spans over 30 years, states:

In any democratic setup, one of the primary responsibilities of the government to its citizens is to provide good basic infrastructure. Among the key infrastructure urgently needed in Yobe state, road networks play a very important role in the lives of the citizens regarding movement from one place to another, economic activities, and soon. It is my opinion that, at the moment, one of the key elements that need to be provided by any regime in Yobe state is good road network (Interview, August 2016).

As has been expressed above, the role of the state government road infrastructure development is

particularly important in Nigeria (FMW 2013; Opawale et al. 2013; Oyedele, 2012) as public roads are categorized into three Trunks; A, B and C which means are shared responsibilities of federal, state and LGAs (FMOW 2013). Based on this, the success of any state government depends on the regime's RIDA. Infact, it will be guided by how well it is either initiated or articulated towards achieving its set goals. In Yobe state, the Ministry of Work is established to run as the government's institutional body to design, provide and maintain good and quality road infrastructure at the state level (FMW 2013). Its role, therefore, captures what Lindsay and Kongolo (2015) describe as government's institutional responsibility towards the provision of good road infrastructure at the sub-national level. Further, as road infrastructure development is on the concurrent legislative list according to the constitution of Nigeria, Yobe like all other state governments is thus empowered to initiate and implement its RIDA in line with the nation's vision 2020.

Given this decentralised responsibilities among the three tiers of government (federal, state and local), the current political and administrative provisions, therefore, encourage the exercise of responsibilities of any regime in road development. Specifically, in Yobe state, this mandate is expected to be achieved by the combined activities of key players in the road sector. Therefore, to achieve this broad goal in Yobe state, the SMO Wpiloted by a Commissioner is responsible for the road infrastructure policy development and even implementation. To help discharge his/her duties, the Commissioner who remains a political appointee of the State Executive Governor is thus assisted by the Permanent Secretary and the Heads of various departments. As these key players oversee the over-arching body that provides policy direction towards ensuring good road networks, road infrastructure development cannot be achieved if the regime's RIDA is not properly initiated or crafted through articulated vision and mission of the regime's overall socio-economic development agenda in the state. In short, this regime like others can only achieve road development if they have the needed initiatives and innovations to develop the road sector.

b) *Strategic Objectives: Vision and Mission*

When the Gaidam's regime came into power in 2009, most road networks in Yobe state were either bad or impassable due to a serious need for repairs (YBSG 2012; YOSERA III). A road transport workers union leader (NURTW) provides specific examples of the poor situation of the road in Yobe state when this regime came on board in 2009.

At the start of this administration, most road networks in Yobe state were then nonmotorable to most of our drivers thereby forcing us to drive through the desert and another bad terrain to

transport people, goods, and services. It was very difficult for us (drivers) considering the poor terrain in the state (Interview, July 2016).

This opinion is similarly supported by a top government official, however, using the state capital (Damaturu) as an example.

Before we came in 2007, even Damaturu metropolitan was just like a glorified local government as there was nothing to show as a state capital. Throughout the state, we honestly lacked basic good road infrastructure thereby making it difficult for people to move around freely. My first thinking was, therefore, to ensure that we start by providing the immediately needed infrastructure across Yobe state through embarking on road construction, rehabilitation, and reconstructions. Our first target was to ensure that we plan and develop good networks of road and drainages in five major towns of Yobe state which includes Damaturu, Nguru, Gashua, Gaidam, and Potiskum before moving further (Interview, August 2016).

The opinions captured above are indications of the regime's desire and political commitment to develop road infrastructure which was either absent or in bad shape over the years in the state (YOSERA III; YBSG 2012). To address this infrastructure gap, these policy documents capture the regime's overall vision and mission statement in its road infrastructure development drive.

Vision

Intend to open up rural and semi-urban areas with a view to having functional rural-urban roads in each of the seventeen LGAs in Yobe state (Yobe Socio-economic Reform Agenda, YOSERA III: 85).

Mission

To open up Yobe state with a view to having functional roads towards easing transportation of goods and services and enhance social and economic interaction among the citizens of the state as well as another part of the country (Yobe State Government policy document for the implementation of programmes and projects (2011-2015), YBSG 2012:47).

While lending his voice to the vision and mission of the government, a top politician provides a comprehensive objective of the regime in road infrastructure development from 2009-2015.

The regime's focus in road's development is to create opportunities for all places, sections, constituencies and senatorial districts of Yobe state to have access to basic social amenities which would not have been possible if there are no good road networks linking those areas. It is the objective of the regime to give farmers and those who intend to go back to farming access roads thereby

boosting an agricultural policy of the regime which encourages farming as a priority policy. It is also our desire that through these new roads, access to agricultural farmlands will be provided and to bring out their produce in order to communicate and interact with people in the markets to sell their goods and buy goods as well. All the objectives we hope to achieve them while considering resources and community needs in our desire for accountability as a government (Interview, August 2016).

Generally, the main aim of this democratic regime is to provide equal access and opportunities to all communities the access to health care, education and market for their agricultural products. Most of the larger population of Yobe state mostly depends on road transportation for intra and inter-city, communal to community linkage, community to farm linkage among other socio-economic activities (YOSERA III). Consequently, the poor availability of road networks will mean people will be left without access to public infrastructures such as schools, hospitals, and markets (Andres, Biller & Dappe, 2016) thereby pushing them into poverty, poor health, illiteracy and unemployment. To address this, Andres, Biller and Dappe (2016) thus suggested that underdeveloped states need good road networks not only to ensure quality life but also to avoid a possible building constraint on economic growth to the substantial infrastructure gap. However, while the relevance of roads remains relevant to socio-economic development, achieving this objective by the democratic regime are not easy to come due to political interests and financial constraints. Hence, it is only critical and logical for each democratic regime to prioritise its road infrastructure agenda and initiatives.

a) *Priority Agenda Setting*

Given the series of political, economic, and social considerations by democratic regimes in road development, prioritisation becomes imminent. As revealed in this paper, five priority agenda have guided this regime's road infrastructure development, as subsequently explained.

i. *Agenda for Road Budget and Finance*

Road infrastructure financing under this regime in Yobe state has been its priorities. Informants share that since Yobe state has been considered underdeveloped due to lack of infrastructure like good road network, this regime's resolve to allocate and utilise sufficient financial resources in road infrastructure development is not only eminent but strategic. In specific, the regime was to focus on funding requirement, improve budgetary allocation, releases, and performance towards addressing some salient financial operational challenges in the road sector. Although private financing of infrastructure is gradually

replacing public financing in developed nations (Jerome 2012; Olivia 2017), road infrastructure development in Yobe state and Nigeria in general still comes from public funds (FMW 2013; Oyedele 2012). As democratic regimes are mostly influenced by political interest, it thus becomes eminent for this regime to make strategic political calculations to decide on financing road infrastructure in the state. To emphasise the need for more funding for the road sector, a civil engineer and a former permanent secretary in the state commented:

In my opinion, there is a need for an increase in the budgetary allocation and finances of the road development sector especially if you consider the relevance of roads as key infrastructure in the socio-economic development of a developing state like Yobe which solely depends on road transportation. Road's developments thus remain a significant factor in driving the state's agricultural economy as well as its trade. In this regard, more financial resources are needed to facilitate achieving the regime's objectives into reality. Without enough resources allocated for the sector, these objectives cannot be achieved into reality because road development is capital intensive (Interview, June 2016).

The general agreement is that achieving road infrastructure development by this regime requires improvement in financial resource mostly especially budgetary allocation. This view is similarly justified as Ivanova and Masarova (2013) suggest that the construction, repair, and maintenance of road infrastructure require sufficient fund to make such facility technically adequate for any weather situation. It should, however, be noted that although improved public financial expenditure is considered significant for road infrastructure development, the major challenge is that in most cases in developing societies, budgets are merely considered as paper work. Added to this challenge in Nigeria, there is currently lack of alternative financing such as Public Private Partnership (PPP) in road development (Opawole et al. 2013). As argued by these scholars, in the absence of such alternative financing and the lack of political will by the government, in most cases road projects are abandoned, suspended and uncompleted. Other challenges include over inflation of contract sum in budgets and are sometimes not even released at the end of the financial years due to corrupt practices or lack of fund. This generally is an indication that, the regime performance in road infrastructure development could be affected by poor budgeting and financing which remains a threat to achieving sustainable infrastructure development needed in Yobe state and Nigeria.

ii. *Agenda for Construction of New Road Networks*

When this regime came into being, its main target was to construct over 1000km of road length by

2015 across Yobe state (YBSG 2012; YOSERA III). In Yobe state like elsewhere in Nigeria, good road network with wide coverage is essential for socio-economic activities as it remains the dominant means of transportation in the state. Although important as it sounds, this can only be achieved if this regime performs in delivering road infrastructure in Yobe state. This becomes imperative as De (2012) showed that effective governance plays an important role in realising fundamental objectives of states in the provision of right infrastructure. Impliedly, this means that the better this democratic regime performs in developing road infrastructure based on certain consideration, the better the delivery of road networks which could have an impact on the nature of democratic consolidation in the state. In this regard, two factors (political and socio-economic considerations) are found to be the motivating factors for this regime plans in road infrastructure development.

For political consideration, democratic demands during electioneering campaigns are identified as one guide to the regime's agenda on road infrastructure development. A community leader in one of the areas that demanded the construction of new road network shared his view:

Most of the roads development projects of this regime were based on the needs of the people. We usually made such demand through our respective communities during election campaigns. I think if this government is conscious of the people's demands, then it must live up to its responsibilities (Interview, May 2016).

This opinion reflects Demenge (2015) where he found that the location and distribution of road infrastructure are also influenced by political considerations such as power and control exercised by state elites. He argued therefore that road networks can be constructed for instance due to political pressure (Demenge 2015). This mean road may be constructed to satisfy citizen's demand which mostly favours political allies instead of for instance political opponents (Demenge 2015). In Yobe state, such demands are mostly made during campaigns as candidates make such pledges to deliver if elected or reelected into office. Based on this, the regime as a matter of accountability and responsiveness is expected to deliver on its campaign promises in road infrastructure development. Anything short of the regime's agenda in the road sector will, therefore, be considered a democratic failure of the regime if they failed to perform as pledged.

For socio-economic consideration, road development in Yobe state is considered as an important drive expected to open up access to social and economic amenities thereby improving the living standard of the citizenry. To buttress this point, a representative of the NSE explains this rationale.



When you have good road networks, it eases the way people move around, facilitates economic activities; provide access to healthcare, education, water and related social and economic services and opportunities. It is my view that, roads development is an important element of this regime especially by considering the plans so far by this regime to open up both rural and semi-urban areas (Interview, August 2016).

This opinion emphasises that road access improves free movement of goods and services, economic activities and well as better chances for access to health care, education and even water facilities in the state. This generally means that road access serves as a key variable in raising people's standard of living in a given place (van de Walle 2009). This scholar went further to argue that to improve access to education and health, road infrastructure must be provided which he termed "limited distributive instruments" where government attempts to achieve its distributional objectives. Lindsay and Kongolo (2015) also advanced that one way to promote access to social services to people which democratic regimes should emphasise is to provide them with good road infrastructure. It is in this regard that Demenge (2015) for instance advanced that this form part of the reasons why political regimes, in most developing nations, embark on road construction project as they are considered conducive for development of societies. Although there could be differences in each regime's preferences in the provision of road infrastructure with regards to coverage and time spent (Nallathiga 2015), the performance of this democratic regime in Yobe state could be determined in future whether this key milestone has been achieved or not.

iii. *Agenda for Maintenance of Road Infrastructure*

Road maintenance was also identified as one of the regime's priority while developing its road infrastructure development agenda. The regime's target was to rehabilitate by 50 percent, 70percent and 100percent of rural, semi-urban and urban roads respectively by 2015 (YBSG 2012; YOSERA III). To achieve this target means to plan to provide good roads in the state that are without potholes and hence safer for transportation of people, good, and services. Based on this, importance is therefore attached to maintenance on road infrastructure as one Director in the SMOw reveals.

The major challenge in the road sector is the need to focus on maintenance. As I said earlier, it is not good enough to construct a road without making proper plans for its maintenance. Note that, you may end up losing the entire facility (road) and may have to do it all over again at a later time. But with proper maintenance, the road can stay for a long time allowing for safer movement of people, goods, and services. Also, you may not feel the effect of

spending so much resource on it for serious repairs (Interview, August 2016).

Interestingly, while road maintenance like road construction requires huge resources to carry out, any road constructed either by this regime or previous governments must be accompanied by proper maintenance to last longer. It is, therefore, one thing to construct, reconstruct or rehabilitate and it is yet another to maintain the road infrastructure. This explains for instance why the expansion of road infrastructure must be followed by maintenance, as construction and maintenance are interdependent (RAWG 2011). Similarly, the movement of people, goods, and services take longer time due to the poor road network in Yobe state (YOSERA III). It is therefore only logical that the current democratic regime not only engages in road construction but also in its major repairs and maintenance towards achieving sustainable road infrastructure development in the state.

Although there are wide acknowledgments of the regime's effort in overall road infrastructural development, some informants however shared contrary opinion particularly with regards to road maintenance by the state government. For instance, a journalist reports that "although, the regime prioritised road development as part of its socio-economic development agenda, its approach to road maintenance is less coordinated as there is no clear policy by the government" (Interview, August 2016). However, to indicate unsuccessful effort made by this democratic regime towards having its state's owned road maintenance agency in Yobe state, one Director in the SMOw shares his experience:

During the 2012 National Council on Works, the council recommended that every state should establish State Road Maintenance Agency (SRMA). Although State Ministry of Works has put in place all the necessary machinery to actualise this resolution, such target is not currently achieved or realised by the regime. We are waiting for the government to act as it will go a long way in road maintenance and repairs in Yobe state if established (Interview, August 2016).

Based on this opinion, even at the moment, Yobe state government does not have the federal government like FERMA responsible for the maintenance of roads in Yobe state. FERMA is an acronym for Federal Road Maintenance Agency managed by the federal government of Nigeria responsible for the rehabilitation, repair of the failed portion and the general maintenance of federal government's owned road across the country. Thus, the lack of any specific agency responsible for overall repairs and maintenance of state-owned roads by Yobe state government remains a major challenge that needs to be addressed. van de Walle (2009) advanced that there should be an institutional arrangement in which

routine maintenance of road infrastructure is efficiently provided and enforced as it may significantly impact on road sustainability. Importantly, since the state government is involved in several “road development, construction, maintenance and management” (FMW 2013), it needs to have its road maintenance agency. This is important as the expansion of road infrastructure must be followed by maintenance as the two (construction and maintenance) are interdependent (RAWG 2011). Also, Nallathiga (2015:88) stated that “states tend to perform better when they have “specialised Road Development Corporation.”

iv. *Agenda for Geo-Political Coverage of Road Infrastructure*

From 2009-2015, the main target of the regime was to provide 20km township roads and 40km drainages in the major towns by 2015 (YBSG, 2012; YOSERA III). As indicated in these policy documents, the regime’s overall goal was to increase accessibility of rural areas to road networks by 60percentby 2015 and increase accessibility of rural-urban road networks by 65percentby 2015. To achieve the targets, three considerations with regards to geo-political coverage and the siting of road infrastructure in Yobe state were identified. Firstly, the regime intended to provide road networks across the state thus covering all Local Government Area (LGAs) in its three senatorial districts (Yobe East, South, and North). One top politician in the state emphasised this point.

We hope at the end of the tenure of this regime, can boost up to say, there is no any Local Government Area (LGA) in Yobe state that is not connected with road network as result of the effort of this regime. We aim to cover every nook and cranny of the state with road network (Interview, August 2016).

Secondly, major township roads are planned to be constructed in the towns of Damaturu (the state capital), Potiskum, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua. A top politician shares the motivation for this regime’s agenda.

Before we came in, there were no sufficient and good township roads or drainages either in Damaturu or any place outside Damaturu. We immediately rolled out our plans to embark on construction of township roads and drainages in all major towns (Damaturu, Potiskum, Gashua, Nguru, and Gaidam). I was able to ensure that, although it started by late Governor, the construction of the ring road which was to be one phase and one lane, when I came in, we decided that Damaturu ring road should be made double lane and we must provide street lightening after its completion (Interview, August 2016).

With regards to above-expressed opinion, there seem to be efforts to make the concentration of township roads in major towns and even the state

capital in Yobe state. This opinion reflects that roads are sometimes constructed for symbolic reasons (Demenge 2015). Other prominent scholars such as Conover (2010) also emphasise that road infrastructure may serve as a “symbol of prestige, modernity, development and progress.” In this regard, the regime’s effort towards providing such roads in those areas are thus considered to be for fascinating and modern infrastructure needs to beautify places and areas due to their prestige. In this regard, as Damaturu and other major towns were identified the likely major beneficiaries of road infrastructure development of the regime is an indication of the “symbol, iconography and prestige” (Conover 2010; Demenge 2015) of road infrastructure albeit other socio-economic and political relevance that may be important in Yobe state.

Thirdly, the regime had planned to provide road accessibility to rural-urban areas. Atop pub official provides this explanation in an elaborate manner:

Governor Gaidam has always maintained that every citizen of Yobe state must have the opportunity to enjoy social infrastructure and amenities such as hospitals, schools, and water, etc. Some of these facilities are located in some places that if there are no roads network and linkages, people from such remote places cannot access these infrastructures and they are also citizens of Yobe state. To bring out people and communities from such socio-economic seclusion is what prompted even the Trans-Saharan road project in Yobe state and other road projects like the Godowoli-Siminiti, etc (Interview, August 2016).

This opinion indicates that most people from remote areas in Yobe state find it difficult if not impossible to access market places to sell their goods, or send their children to school or families have access to good health care services. Interestingly, previous studies have shown that road infrastructure interventions provide economic benefits as it reduces constraints that that people face in exploring and expanding economic opportunities (van de Walle 2009). Similarly, another study (Stifel, Minten, & Koru 2016) found that improved rural roads infrastructure stems from the economic benefits that such road enhances or increase access to for instance markets. Given the fact that the larger population of Yobe state like in most Nigerian states lives in rural areas (Abbas 2016; YOSERA III) it is only logical that this democratic regime make some deliberate plans in developing rural road infrastructure as this will facilitates socio-economic development in Yobe state.

v. *Agenda for Reconstruction of Failed Federal Government Roads*

As one of its priority agenda, this regime intended to reconstruct failed road networks (mostly owned by the federal government) in the state through collaborations. This became desirous because when

this regime came on board in 2009, most roads in the state owned by the federal government were in deplorable conditions and needed urgent repairs and re-construction (YOSERA III). One former Director in the SMOW explains the reasons for the need to take over the federal roads by the state government in its plans.

When this government came in, it was on record that most federal roads in Yobe state were dilapidated or failed. However, given that it is our people (Yobe citizens) in the state that mostly use these roads, the state government felt and decided to come in to renovate some of the key ones. To me, this takeover is very important for the citizens who are the end user of the facilities (Interview, May 2016).

This view is similarly shared by a representative of the Nigeria Society of Engineers (NSE).

Honestly, before the coming of this regime, the situation of our roads in Yobe state is in a very sorry state. Although the roads are categorised into federal and state roads, the federal roads, in particular, have suffered serious neglect to the extent that this regime has to take over some of the roads for reconstruction and maintenance (Interview, August 2016).

Some informants justified the regime's action as they argued that, although some roads are owned and managed by the federal and state governments based on their schedules (FMW, 2013), it is the people who mostly reside in Yobe state that fly these roads. In their opinion, to an ordinary man, it does not matter whether these roads are owned by federal or state government. Although the intention to take over some federal government roads were important by considering the poor state of federal government's owned roads in the state, at the crux of this plan lays unending conflicts between the federal and state governments with greater political implications. The crisis centers on the fact that the federal government is responsible for Trunk A roads, state government for Trunk B and LGAs for Trunk C (FMOW 2013). Although, the intention of taking over of the federal roads by the Yobe state government were done through agreements these intentions are sometimes challenged by opposing politicians from national level with different political parties with the state government. A representative of the NURTW cited an example with the Gashua-Nguru road:

The Nguru-Gashua for instance, although the project was later abandoned due to conflicts of interest between federal and state government's claims over the road is one of the most important roads in the state having linked Yobe state with the rest of Nigeria in that location. I will say that the initial startup to rehabilitate the critically failed portion of the road by the Yobe state government

was a good development until the project suffered a setback due to political differences of our political leaders. I think the state government will have to go back to the drawing board once again (Interview, July 2016).

This opinion brings to the fore the unhealthy nature of national and sub-national politics in road development like in the development of other basic infrastructure mostly influenced by national and state level key political actors in Nigeria. This indicates that different sub-national politics is diverse in sharing responsibilities. Although each tier of governments is responsible for funding, construction and maintenance of road network based on their respective schedules (FMW 2013), the bulk of road infrastructure development in Nigeria still largely remains with state governments. With the current political rivalry, the state government is thus only limited to designing, financing, constructing and maintaining state government-owned roads in the state. Worse still, when the insurgency started, it gave way for the federal government to abandon the few road projects they were undertaking which pass through the state. In short, this essentially means that the functions of the SMoW in Yobe state are to be strictly guided by the regulations of Trunk B roads controlled by state government. Since this arrangement sometimes causes political conflict; it is likely to affect the pace of road infrastructure development in the state and the nation in general.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this paper was to provide the Gaidam's regime RIDA from 2009-2015 in Yobe state, North Eastern Nigeria through the perceptions and experiences of road stakeholders. As the finding showed, when this regime came on board, road networks in the state were either absent or in deplorable conditions and therefore in need of urgent intervention to ease socio-economic activities of the people. It was in consideration of these challenges that the regime intended to develop road infrastructure needs in line with democratic, political, economic and social demands. Its relevance in Yobe state is associated with poverty reduction, improvements in education, health care and social cohesion. To achieve this agenda, the emphasis was made to increase the budget and financial allocation; construct new road length; maintain both old and new roads; achieve geo-political coverage and rehabilitate and reconstruct failed roads owned by the federal government domiciled in the state. As this democratic regime was influenced by diverse political interests, it thus becomes eminent to have made strategic political calculations to reach a certain decision on the design, finance, construction and maintenance of road infrastructure in Yobe state. These addressed issues in this paper remain the stabilising factors in

Yobe state that shapes regime performance within its constitutional mandate that envisaged comprehensive RIDA. As this study has mapped out the mandate, strategic objectives, and priority agenda setting towards achieving road infrastructure development set by this regime, the contending future question remains whether or not such political declarations were achieved or not.

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Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). 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: Authors are advised 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. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

Techniques for writing a good quality human social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. 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.

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

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of human social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow [here](#).



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

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

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. 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 for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

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

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

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

Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.



20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print for 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 of 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 criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to 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 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 avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

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

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite 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 approaches 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. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a 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 limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—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 for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity 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 of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets 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 for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory 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 soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate 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 to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate 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 section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show 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:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the 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—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and 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 as 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. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give 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 manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit 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 section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an 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 implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully 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 the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or 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 an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of 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 other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

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



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