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

Global Journal

of Human Social Sciences: F

Political Science



Water-Mediated Nutrients Export

Incidence on the Self-Regulation

Highlights

Political Restructuring in Nigeria

Prevention of Tobacco in Adolescents

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 18 ISSUE 5 VERSION 1.0

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Volume 18 Issue 49 was originally issued as F5

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F
Political Science

Volume 18 Issue 49
Originally issued as F5

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F
Political Science

Volume 18 Issue 5 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

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Offset Typesetting

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Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 18 Issue 5 Version 1.0 Year 2018
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Procedures used in Developing and Validating the Quality of Life Scale in the Context of the Ethno-Political Conflicts in Mathare and Kibra, Nairobi City County-Kenya

By Justus Musya
Flores University

Introduction- The proper place to begin any analysis on ethnic conflicts is the partisan governance systems in which ruling elite favour some ethnic groups at the expense of others. Since the 1960s, the national executive in Kenya has had the exclusive power to grant or deny economic resources to ethnic groups that were deemed to be disloyal (Murithi, 1997). The Kenyatta Government (1963-1978) applied this political ideology towards the Luo Community and the Moi Government (1978-2002) marginalised the Kikuyu community (Laaksol, 2007; CIPEV, 2008). The discriminatory allocation of resources by the executive influenced a heightened sense of ethnic consciousness among ethnic communities. Even with the return of multi-party politics, ethnic groups that perceived themselves as the out-group sought to win over state power to enable a fairer distribution of public goods and service (Alesina & Ferreira, 2004).This political culture occasioned the in-group and out-group mentality in politics and socio-and economic phenomenon.

GJHSS-F Classification: FOR Code: 950407, 950406

PROCEDURESUSEDINDEVELOPINGANDVALIDATINGTHEQUALITYOFLIFESCALEINTHECONTEXTOFTHEETHNOPOLITICALCONFLICTSINMATHAREANDKIBRANAIROBICITYCOUNTYKENYA

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Procedures used in Developing and Validating the Quality of Life Scale in the Context of the Ethno-Political Conflicts in Mathare and Kibra, Nairobi City County-Kenya

Justus Musya

I. Introduction

The proper place to begin any analysis on ethnic conflicts is the partisan governance systems in which ruling elite favour some ethnic groups at the expense of others. Since the 1960s, the national executive in Kenya has had the exclusive power to grant or deny economic resources to ethnic groups that were deemed to be disloyal (Murithi, 1997). The Kenyatta Government (1963-1978) applied this political ideology towards the Luo Community and the Moi Government (1978-2002) marginalised the Kikuyu community (Laaksol, 2007; CIPEV, 2008). The discriminatory allocation of resources by the executive influenced a heightened sense of ethnic consciousness among ethnic communities. Even with the return of multi-party politics, ethnic groups that perceived themselves as the out-group sought to win over state power to enable a fairer distribution of public goods and service (Alesina & Ferreira, 2004).This political culture occasioned the in-group and out-group mentality in politics and socio-and economic phenomenon.

The in-group and out-group dynamic has framed conflicts in the informal settlements of Nairobi (Okombo & Sana, 2010). Ethno-political conflicts have tended to coincide with periods of electioneering. Research suggests the episodic nature of the conflicts during electoral cycles, such as 1992 and 1997, issued chiefly from a rent dispute, involving tenants and property owners. The conflict in 2001, for example, saw tenants who were mostly from the Luo community effect a rent boycott to protest the high rents charged by the property owners, who were mainly from the Kikuyu community. The Luo community felt exploited by the Kikuyu property owners who they acquire charged them high rents for dwelling structures built on irregularly acquired public land, which the latter obtained from state authorities due to their ethnicity (Law Society of Kenya, 2002). The ethno-political conflicts in Mathare and Kiberahas been attributed to social and economic imbalances between and among ethnic groups. Groups that have a lower standard of living have tended to relate their backward circumstances to their political affiliations (Shilloh, 2008). Political elites have used such socio-economic imbalances or quality of life differences as campaign platforms on which to engage in legitimate and illegitimate forms of political action. For instance, statements by politicians, before and during a rent dispute, which pitted the Luo community (tenants) and the Kikuyu property owners energized the conflict. Weeks of brutal fights tenants and youth, hired by property owners to effect evictions for non-payment of rent, left many seriously injured, hundred displaced, and tens of fatalities (Shilloh, 2008).

A central plank of the instrumentalist theory is that communities that form the in-group would generally enjoy a higher quality of life compared to those in the "out-group. Horizontal inequalities generate resentment and hatred by the in-group towards the out-groups. The perception of discrimination by the state generates ethnic grievances, which political elite have manipulated to score political goals, including mobilizing comm.-unities for legitimate expressions of disaffection, such as through elections. At another level, however, elites have used the sense of discrimination as a motive to engage in illegitimate forms of protest, including sponsoring ethnic militia to engage in violence. Establishing this differentiation in living standards, between these groups, is basic to establishing the theoretical and empirical validity of the instrumentalist theory in any context. Accordingly, scales that can estimate quality of life of in-groups and out-groups in theatres of conflict would be immensely useful in explaining the causal mechanism of ethno-political conflicts.

Since social and economic imbalanced are instrumental to the ethno-political violence in Mathare and Kibera (Kinyanjui & Mutsotso, 2002; Okombo and Sana, 2010), it makes sense to develop scales that researchers can use to estimate quality of life among in-groups and out-groups. In this connection, too, understanding the dimensions of quality of life that are most influential in shaping conflict attitudes among ethnic groups is helpful too. This effort requires the development of scales that allow the quantification of the social and economic status of groups that have

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tended to be in conflict. This effort is in line with Herera (2004) call to researchers, in the sprouting field of conflict studies, to operationalise ethnic identity and show how this identity shapes conflict behaviour.

In the literature, measurement problems have led to inconsistent results. Differences in living standards should use as a unity of analysis, groups rather than individuals, hence the distinction made in the literature between vertical and horizontal inequalities, with the latter applying to ethnic groups as a whole and not just to individuals within groups. The researcher followed the lead of Frances Stewart (2000), who argued that what ought to be assesses is horizontal inequalities; after all, ethnic conflict by definition is a group, rather than an individual enterprise. Horizontal inequalities then ought to be the basis of analysing the role of inequalities in ethno-political conflicts.

An emerging strand of literature, which uses horizontal inequalities, has shown strong connections between horizontal inequality and the onset of ethnic conflict. Furthermore, the researcher's intuition is that it is not the severity of inequalities per se that contribute to ethnic conflict, but rather, it is the comparisons ethnic groups make about their quality of life, vis a vis other groups, that are likely to render horizontal inequalities instrumental to conflict.

II. Goals of the Study

The goals of this study were to undertake an exploratory factor analysis to identify the latent factors associated with quality of life, to undertake a confirmatory factor analysis to determine whether the model identified had construct validity and composite reliability, and to do an invariance test to assess whether the CFA model was consistent among the in-group and out-group and identify possible substantial differences.

III. Methods used in the Study

a) Respondents

The study area had a total household population of 149, 658—62729 in the seven villages of Kibra and 86, 929 in the six villages of Mathare. Sampling weighting was done and this meant that villages with a larger population of households had alarge sample size. A sample of 766 respondents was identified using proportional and systematic sampling procedures. The sample was equally divided between respondents living in Mathare (n=383) and Kibra (N=383). Eligible respondents were those who had voted in the 2007 national and presidential elections and who were heads of households.

The three major ethnic communities, Kikuyu, Luo, and Luhya formed (73.5%) of all people living in the study area. The other 18 ethnic communities in the study area formed (26.5%) of the population. Ethnicity is the impetus of Kenya's competitive politics (Kimenyi and Romero, 2008). If so, ethnic groups that mainly voted for the incumbent president can be deemed to be the in-group and the ethnic groups that mainly voted for the opposition party or opposition leaders can be deemed as the out-group. About 85% of the Kikuyu community in the study area voted for MwaiKibaki and (75%) of the Luo community voted for RailaOdinga. Among the Luhya community, about (60%) voted for RailaOdinga and (24%) voted for MwaiKibaki. Using the 2007 national election as a case, the in-group would be the ethnic community to which the incumbent belonged or the ethnic communities that are otherwise privileged, perceived to benefit more from state actions than other communities. The ethnic groups with a long history of conflict in Mathare and Kibraare the Luo and the Kikuyu. The cause of disagreement has been the property owner and tenant conflict, a conflict that has been characterised by landowners who are mainly Kikuyu and tenants who are mainly Luo and Luhya: these communities as those most likely to be poor and to have resource-based grievances (CIPEV, 2008). The breakdown of ethnic group in the study area per the three major ethnic groupings was thus as follows: (1) the in-group, (2) the out-group, and (3) other- group. The in-group was the largest group (n=296; 38.69%) followed by the out-group (n=269; 35.11%). The other-group form a sizeable chunk of respondents (n=202; 27.4%). Included in the other-group were five respondents who declined to identify their ethnicity.

b) Item Selection

Items selection was from the literature on horizontal inequalities. Stewart(2008) has analysed the problem of social and economic inequalities in Kenya between 1993-2000, inequalities that are pronounced in Nyanza, Western, and Coast provinces. These regions fared rather badly, in comparative terms, to the Central province about infant mortality, health access, secondary school enrolment, and per caput outlays on infrastructure (roads), and asset ownership. Central and Nairobi provinces, where most Kikuyu people live (the presumed in-group), were the most advantaged regions in the republic in socio-economic terms. In making comparative analysis, Stewart several indices, including the availability of potable water, scope of rural electrification, and level of secondary enrolment.

Horizontal inequalities arise because of marginalisation of some communities on areas such as health and education. It implicates questions about livelihoods, standard of living, and social mobility (Chronic Poverty Advisory Network, 2014).Horizontal inequalities could be assessed too through constructs such as social power, "voice". The following 16 indicators were used to conceptualise quality of life, implicating as they do estimates of quality of life, likelihood of social mobility, and community tagging in developmental terms(Chronic Poverty Advisory Network,

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2014).Another important indicator of standard of living is personal safety or security (Barrientos, 2003).The original list of indicators of quality of life differences was presented to content experts for scrutiny and validation[1].

Table 1: List of Indicators of Quality of Life Differences

Access to Basic Services
Satisfied with supply of water provided by public utility provider
Satisfied with quality of health services given by public health provider
Satisfied with quality of education given by public health provider
Satisfied with quality of sanitation in the areas where you live
Affordability of Basic Needs
You took three meals a day
You found energy for cooking affordable
House was comfortable to live in
Had electric power in your house
Found it easy to make ends meet most of the time
Voice and Power in Community
Felt safe in your village
People of your ethnic group respected
Had a voice in matters that affected you in the village
Felt proud about your life
Ability to Save and Invest
Could save some of your income in making savings
Could spend some of your money buying assets
Could spend some of your money-making investments

c) *Statistical Procedures Used*

i. *Initial Reliability Test*

The Quality of Life Scale was made up of 15 items. The proportion of missing data was (n=7, 0.05%). Data imputation was effected based on the median score.

Table 2: Reliability Analysis for the Quality of Life Scale

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
Satisfied with supply of water	43.07	140.149	.539	.477	.916
Satisfied with quality of health services	42.67	134.637	.681	.705	.912
Satisfied with quality of education	42.75	137.586	.562	.608	.916
Satisfied with quality of sanitation	43.24	140.315	.558	.475	.916
You took three meals a day	42.77	135.347	.630	.476	.914
You found of energy for cooking affordable	43.07	140.077	.535	.438	.917
House was comfortable to live in	42.77	133.611	.730	.641	.911
Had electric power in your house	42.45	134.356	.683	.553	.912
Felt safe in your village	42.47	132.790	.725	.639	.911
Felt proud about your life	42.34	133.222	.713	.613	.911
People of your ethnic group respected	42.41	134.347	.675	.618	.913
Had a voice in matters that affected you in the village	42.16	138.291	.567	.454	.916

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Found it easy to make ends meet most of the time	42.94	140.599	.468	.375	.919
Could save some of your income in making savings	42.06	136.203	.640	.572	.914
Could spend some of you money making investments	42.36	137.871	.527	.509	.917
Could spend some of your money buying assets	42.01	137.067	.629	.628	.914

The initial Cronbach alpha test showed that the items had acceptable interrelatedness (α=0.91, 16 items), an excellent score (George and Mallery, 2003). The items with the highest inter correlations were: "Felt Safe in your Village" (0.725), "Felt Proud about your Life" (0.713), and "Had Electrical Power in your House" (0.683), and "Satisfied with the Quality of Health Services (0.681). These items point to items to the items that would be most helpful in making sense of deprivation (Klasen, 2000).

Exploratory factors analysis was done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 23). In this study, I followed Costello and Osborne (2005) suggestion that "data and the literature supports the argument (that is, results that will be generalizable to other samples and would reflect the nature of the population) will be achieved using a true factor analysis extraction method. The authors recommend the use maximum likelihood mode of extraction and oblique rotation methods, such as direct oblimin.

In exploratory factor analysis, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was 0.919 and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant (χ^2= (105) = 6790.925 $p<0.05$). The factorability of the Quality of Life Scale was established. Both the scree test and the >1 eigen value test suggested a three-point model should be used.

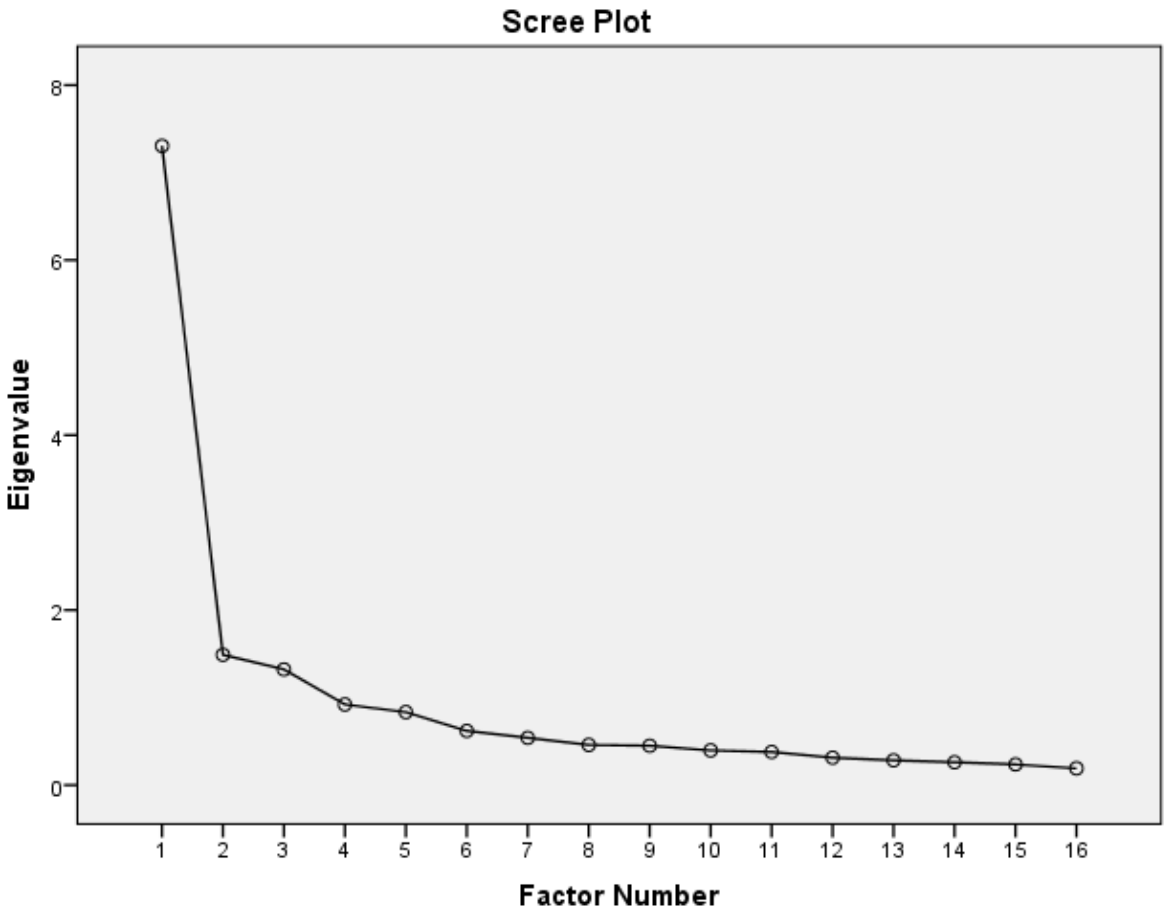

Figure 1: Scree Plot for Quality of Life Scale

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My initial hunch was that a four-point model would be produced: 1) access to basic services, 2 (affordability of basic needs, 3) voice and power in the community, and 4) ability to save and invest. Parallel analysis suggested a five-factor model RMSEA (0.1, 0.061-.079) and TLI (0.9). It enriched my hypothesised model by revealing another dimension of quality of life. A latent indicator emerged that could be estimated using: satisfaction with quality of sanitation, satisfaction with quality of water, and ease/difficulty of making ends meet. From parallel analysis, I supposed the following latent factors: 1) voice and power in the community, affordability of basic needs, 2) ability to save and invest, and 3) access to basic services, and 4) human welfare services. Another dimension of quality of life emerged. It put together the indicators ease of making ends meet and access to water and good sanitation. Respondents who had poor sanitation, lacked access to potable water and struggled to make ends meet were not only likely to living in form of severer deprivation but also in a defined spatial environment. Given the prevalence of ethnically homogenous living arrangements in villages in Mathare and Kibra, this fifth latent factors seemed worth exploring. Consequently, the five and three-factor models were tested.

d) Five factor Model

In the pattern matrix for the five-factor model, the notable indicators were: Factor 1 "You found of energy for cooking affordable are in bold" (0.78), "House was comfortable to live in"(0.723), and "Had electric power in your house" (0.67). Factor 1 could be called affordability of basic needs. The indicators that explained the highest variation were *you found energy for cooking affordable* and *house was comfortable to live in*.

Factor 2 People of your ethnic group respected (0.985), "Had a voice in matters that affected you in the village" (.638), "Felt proud about your life" (0.631). Factor 2 could be called *voice and power in the community*. Its highest indicators were *People of your ethnic group respected* and you *had a voice in matters that affected you in the village.* Factor 3 "Could spend some of your money buying assets" (.861), Could spend some of your income making investments (.792), "Could save some of your income in making savings (0.61). Factor 3 was named *ability to save and invest*. The highest indicators were *could spend some of your money buying assets* and *could spend some of your money-making investments.* Factor 4 "Satisfied with quality of sanitation (0.688), Satisfied with supply of water (0.63), Found it easy to make ends meet most of the time (.51). Factor 4 could *be called* access to basic services. Its indicators were *Satisfied with quality of sanitation and Satisfied with supply of water.*); Factor 5 "Satisfied with quality of health services (0.91) and Satisfied with quality of education (0.74).Factor 5 wascalled *access to basic services. Its highest indicators were* quality of health services and *satisfied with quality of education.* This five-point model was subject to confirmatory factor analysis.

Using the maximum likelihood estimator, confirmatory factor analysis yielded the following results: χ^2 =657.814 (df=94, p=.067, Cmin/df=6.99), $SRMR_{initial}$, 0.054, $RMSEA_{initial}$, 0.089 (CI_{90}, .0082, .095), pclose, 0.00, $CFI_{initial}$ =.917, $NFI_{initial}$ =0.915. Localised areas of strain were detected, necessitating the deletion of item 13. This was an acceptable fit, based on RMSEA, CFI, and SRMR. Several areas of localised strain were observed, including the relationships between QL13 and QL 14 (4.0), QL13 and QL13 and 15 (3.9), and QL 13 and QL5 (4.6). Besides Item 13 had a low loading (0.53); thus, it was deleted. Addressing other localised areas of strain necessitated QL, 13, 2, and QL6. Additionally, some modification indices were effected between e1 felt proud about your life and e2 (MI=6) and e10 and e11 people of your ethnic group were respected (MI=7). These moves were logically defensible, given the conceptual relatedness of affected indicators. The final goodness of fit indices were as follows: χ^2 =67.5 (df=22, p=.09, Cmin/df=3.0), $SRMR_{modified}$, 0.03, $RMSEA_{modified}$, 0.00 (.CI_{90}, .00, .050), pclose, 0.95, $CFI_{modified}$ =1, $NFI_{modified}$ =0.93. These fit indices were good. However, a problem arose regarding the discriminant validity of latent factor 1 and 2. The covariance between these factors was high (0.82).

e) The three-factor model

This model wa suggested by both the scree test and the Eigen value >1 was examined.

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Table 3: Pattern Matrix for the Quality of Life Scale[a]

	Factor		
	1	2	3
Satisfied with quality of health services	.792		
Satisfied with quality of education	.787		
People of your ethnic group respected	.449		
Felt proud about your life	.401		
Felt safe in your village			
Could spend some of your income buying assets		.877	
Could spend some of your income making investments		.716	
Could save some of your income in making savings		.715	
Had a voice in matters that affected you in the village			
House was comfortable to live in			.796
You took three meals a day			.666
You found of energy for cooking affordable			.641
Satisfied with quality of sanitation			.627
Found it easy to make ends meet most of the time			.622
Had electric power in your house			.597
Satisfied with supply of water			.510

Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood.
Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.
a. Rotation converged in 12 iterations.

Factor 1 could be named "Social and Physical Wellbeing, Factor 2 "Disposable Income", and Factor 3 Living Standards. This model was subjected to confirmatory factor analysis. Covariances would exist between e1 satisfaction with health services and education e2(Chronic Poverty Advisory Network, 2014) and between e3 "People of your ethnic group respected" and e4 "Felt proud about your life"(Chronic Poverty Advisory Network, 2014), and e9 "You took three means a day" and e10 "Found it Easy to Make Ends Meet Most of the Time"(Klasen, 2000).

The initial goodness of fit indices were as follows: χ^2 =568.39 (df=70, p=.000, Cmin/df=8.1), SRMR $_{initial}$, 0.05, RMSEA $_{initial}$, 0.096 (CI_{90}, .0089, 0.1), pclose, 0.00, CFI $_{initial}$ =.911, NFI $_{initial}$ =0.9. Several areas of localised strain were observed, including QL4-QL1 (5.1), QL4-QL13 (2.6), QL3-QL13, (4.6), and QL11-6 (2.8). Several indicators were deleted. The final goodness of fit indices were as follows: χ^2 =67.5 (df=22, p=.09, Cmin/df=3.0), SRMR $_{modified}$, 0.03, RMSEA $_{modified}$, 0.052 (CI_{90}, .038, .066), pclose, 0.384, CFI $_{modified}$ =.987, NFI $_{modified}$ =0.98.

Table 4: Standardized Residual Covariancesfor Quality of Life Scale

	QL8	QL5	QL7	QL16	QL15	QL14	QL10	QL11	QL2
QL8	.000								
QL5	-.454	.000							
QL7	.052	.296	.000						
QL16	-.069	.496	-.496	.000					
QL15	.050	1.933	1.593	.000	.000				
QL14	.066	.256	-.430	-.014	.054	.000			
QL10	.388	-.080	.029	-.820	-1.214	-.435	.000		
QL11	-.049	-.608	-1.065	1.483	-.965	.995	.170	.000	
QL2	.396	.546	.074	.679	-.608	.167	.000	-.311	.000

The covariances all fell within the acceptable range of <.1.96 This finding suggests the solution lacked substantial areas of misfit.

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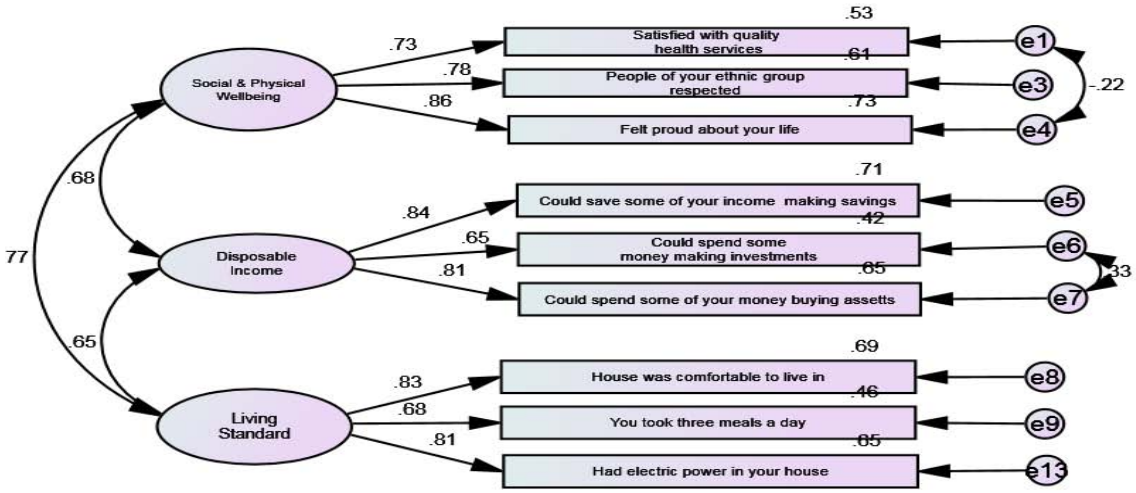

Figure 2: Final Confirmatory Factor Analysis Model for the Quality of Life Scale

The indicators of latent factor "Social and Physical Wellbeing" suggests the measurement of wellbeing would be across several dimensions, with the core ones being physical health and wellbeing and sense of individual autonomy and competence—a sense of value and/or worthlessness (da Corta & Magongo, 2013). A critical component of factor 1 was the group sense of being respected/disrespected. For factor 2, horizontal inequalities would manifest as disparities in income, which has immediate consequences of levels of assets. In this regard, the ability or otherwise in making savings or procuring assets (Hulme & McCkay, 2005). Factor 3 estimated the living standards of respondents with comfort of their houses and access to power representing the key indicators. Access to electricity and nutrition is understood as basic to defining and escaping poverty (Ahmed, Hill, & Naeem, 2013). In an earlier section on exploratory factor analysis, factor 1, emerged as by far the most influential component of quality of life, accounting for 42% of variance. This suggests quality of life differences in Mathare and Kibra can be examined mainly through the lens of physical and social wellbeing. If horizontal inequalities are basic to ethno-political conflict, then it grows out of offences to sense of individual and group pride and dignity.

An invariance test was done to ascertain if the factor structure was applicable across ethnic groups, especially the in-group and out-groups. Configural, metric, and scalar invariance tests were done. The results are depicted in the table below.

Model	χ^2	*Df*	χ^2_{diff}	Δdf	RMSEA (90%CI)	ΔRMSEA	CFI	ΔCFI
Unconstrained	133.653	66	-		.037 (.028-.046)	-	0.980	-
Measurement weights	154.961	78	21.3	12	.036 (.028-.044)	0.001	0.978	0.002
Measurement Intercepts	205.264	96	50.3	12	.039 (.0037-.046)	0.003	0.968	0.01
Structural covariances	227.811	108	22.5	12	.038 (0.03-.045)	0.001	0.965	0.003
Measurement residuals	276.755	130	48.9	22	.039 (.032-0.045)	0.001	0.957	0.008

Losses in CFI and RMSEA scores were below the thresholds of ≤0.01 and ≤0.013 in all nested models. The scale thus had strict factorial invariance.

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Table 6.3.3: Validity and Reliability Quality of Life Scale

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Composite Reliability	0.86>0.7	0.84>0.7	0.882>0.7
Convergent Validity (AVE)	0.79	0.76	0.77
Discriminant Validity	MSV (0.46<0.79, AVE)	MSV (0.44<076, AVE)	MSV (0.59<0.77)
	ASV 0.52<0.79	ASV 0.42<0.76	ASV 0.5<0.77

The scale thus satisfied the thresholds for composite reliability as well both convergent and discriminant validity

IV. Conclusion

This study has broadened our understanding on what needs paying attention to when thinking of quality of life differences between in-groups and out-groups in Mathare and Kibra. The three dimensions of quality of life have been revealed. Weighted, it is the latent factor social and personal wellbeing that captures the bulk of the contrast quality of life differences. The indicators "Felt Proud about Your Life" and "People of Your Ethnic Group Were Respected" are notable in this regard.

The forensic exercise of comparing living standards between the in-group and out-groups can be problematic in a theoretical sense. The chain of violence begins, the literature holds, when there are slight differences in living standards between ethnic groups, a situation that would likely be true for groups living in informal settlements (Østby, 2009). The scales developed need to be tested in other urban settings that are like the one in Mathare and Kibra. The scales could be modified and made useful to other theatres of conflict in slum areas of Kenya. There is need to ascertain if the scale would be useful in understanding the onset of ethno-political conflicts in settings that are not limited to a presidential election.

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Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 18 Issue 5 Version 1.0 Year 2018
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Pitfalls of Unilateralism: The United States in Syria

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Abstract- Unilateral intervention in the internal conflicts of other states all over the world has been part of superpower relations since the dawn of the modern nation-state in 1648. States that carry out such incursions usually premise their involvements on the need to maintain international peace and security on the one hand, and for humanitarian consideration at the other extreme. Since the end of the Second World War in 1945, America has intervened in various internal conflicts of other states all over the world. The usual justification has always been the need to either preserve peace within the international political system or to provide 'humanitarian assistance.' Rather than use multilateral mechanisms in such engagements, the United States has always preferred unilateral intervention. It is within this context that America's role in Syria is analyzed. The emphasis of this work shows the impact of American unilateralism in Syria, the Middle East and the world at large.

Keywords: united states, unilateralism, chemical weapons, syria, war.

GJHSS-F Classification: FOR Code: 170199



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The Pitfalls of Unilateralism: The United States in Syria

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Abstract- Unilateral intervention in the internal conflicts of other states all over the world has been part of superpower relations since the dawn of the modern nation-state in 1648. States that carry out such incursions usually premise their involvements on the need to maintain international peace and security on the one hand, and for humanitarian consideration at the other extreme. Since the end of the Second World War in 1945, America has intervened in various internal conflicts of other states all over the world. The usual justification has always been the need to either preserve peace within the international political system or to provide 'humanitarian assistance.' Rather than use multilateral mechanisms in such engagements, the United States has always preferred unilateral intervention. It is within this context that America's role in Syria is analyzed. The emphasis of this work shows the impact of American unilateralism in Syria, the Middle East and the world at large.

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I. Introduction

Unilateral intervention by superpowers in the internal affairs of states is not a new phenomenon in the international political system. In the late 1930s, Hitler invoked the 'right of self-determination' of German nationals as a pretext for his incursions into Austria and Czechoslovakia (Duiker, 2005: 113-127). Hitler justified his intervention on the grounds that German inactivity in the internal affairs of its neighbours would have created catastrophic humanitarian disasters in central Europe. As history will later show, this German incursion into the territories of its neighbours was to be the beginning of a series of catastrophic events that culminated in the destruction of Germany and Europe between 1939 and 1945. In 2014, the United States intervened in the Syrian civil war with the aim of preventing what it claimed was an upsurge in transnational terrorism because of the Islamic States. The U.S. forcefully intervened in Syria again in 2017 after the Syrian government crossed an international red-line by using chemical weapons on its own people (Myre,2017). The American intervention rather than resolve the dispute between the Syrian government and the rebels fighting against it, further widened the scope of the conflict and turned that country into an unstable and combustible polity. Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention (UHI), the type carried out by the U.S. in Syria is prohibited by various international organizations such as the United Nations Organisation, International Court of Justice and the Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court. Yet, there abound cases of unilateral intervention of a militarily capable state in the internal affairs of another state. Using the Syrian example, this paper examines the rationale / justification for the unilateral humanitarian intervention of the United States of America in the Syrian civil war. It discusses the implications of the unilateral intervention for America's external relations and world peace and security.

II. Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

For better understanding of the paper, clarification would be made on the following concepts: Act of Aggression, Crime of Aggression, Chemical Weapon, and Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention.

a) *Act of Aggression*

Act of Aggression is the use of armed force by a state against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the charter of the United Nations (UNGGA,2010). Aggression is the use of force by a state or government against another state or government in any manner, whatever the weapons used and whether openly or otherwise for any purpose other than individual or collective self-defence of a group of states in pursuance of a decision or recommendation by a competent organization of the United Nations. The characteristics of an act of aggression in accordance with UN General Assembly resolution 3314 are as follow: Encroachment, invasion or attack embarked upon by the armed forces of a state against another state, or any military occupation and annexation of another state. It involves armed forces and the use of force.

a) Military bombardment of a sovereign state by another state or the application of weapons by a state against another sovereign territory.
b) The blockade of the Ports or Coast of a state by the armed forces of another state

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c) An attack by the armed forces of a state on the land, sea or air forces, or Marine and air fleets of another state.
d) The use of armed forces of one state which are within the territory of another state with the agreement of the receiving state, in contravention of the conditions provided for in the agreement or any extension of their presence in such territory beyond the determination of the government.
e) The action of a state in allowing its territory to be used by another state for perpetrating an act of aggression against a third state.
f) The sending by or on behalf of a state of armed bands, groups, irregulars or mercenaries, which carry out acts of armed force against another state of such gravity as to amount to the acts listed above, or its substantial involvement therein.

b) Crime of Aggression

Unlike Act of aggression, crime of aggression is individual–centred. It is a specific type of crime in which a person plans, initiates or executes an act of aggression using state military force that violates the Charter of the UN. The act is judged as a violation based on its character, gravity and scale. Crime of aggression is a leadership crime. It is an aggression committed by state officials who are in position of high political and/or military responsibility. They are officers with authority, who are involved in the decision-making process of waging wars and the illegal use of force. According to the UN Charter, three elements qualify an act to be a crime: perpetrator must be a leader; a competent international court must prove that the perpetrator had been involved in the planning, preparation, initiation or execution of such state of aggression; and it must, by its character, gravity and scale, constitute a manifest violation of the UN Charter. The crime of aggression is one of the crimes under the Rome statute of the International Crime Court. The International Criminal Court Statute or the Rome Statute is the treaty that established the International Criminal Court (ICC) 2002 (ICC,2002). The Rome statute identified four core international crimes, such as, genocide, crime against humanity, war crimes and the crime of aggression. Under the Rome Statute, the court has jurisdiction over crimes only if they are committed in the territory of a state party or if they are committed by a national of a state party. A review conference of the Rome Statute took place from 31 May to 11 June 2010, in the Kampala Conference. Instructively, as of 3 December 2016, 124 states became signatories to the Rome statue.

States parties to the Rome Statute, ratifiers of the Kampala amendments, and the activators of the court's jurisdiction do not include countries such as, Iraq, Syria, Iran, North Korea and the United States of America.

c) Chemical Weapon

Like nuclear, biological and radiological weapons, chemical weapons are also classified as Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). The Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) described Chemical Weapon (CW) as any toxic chemical or its precursor that can cause death, injury, temporary incapacitation or sensory irritation through its chemical action (OPCW,2014). Chemical weapon is a toxic chemical contained in a delivery system, such as a bomb or shell. The toxic chemicals that are used for chemical weapons can be categorized as choking, blister, blood or nerve agents. These agents comprise of the following substances: choking agents – chlorine, chloropicrin, phosgene, and diphosgene; blister agents – phosgene oxime, sulfur mustard and nitrogen mustard; Nerve agents – tabun, sarin, VX, cyclosarin and soman; and blood agents – cyanogen chloride and hydrogen cyanide. Chemical weapons cause skin, eye, mucosal pain, irritation, tearing, and corneal damage, problems. Blood agents cause powerful gasping for breath, violent convulsions and respiratory failure. Choking agents affect human breathe, lungs, vision. They cause burning of the throat, coughing, vomiting, headache and pain in the chest. The nerve agents disrupt the mechanisms by which nerves transfer messages to organs. This further causes the contraction of pupils, profuse salivation, convulsions, involuntary urination and defecation (Robin: 1969). The use of chemical weapon, especially during the World War I had devastating health and humanitarian problems. Nearly 100,000 people lost their lives as a result of the use of chemical weapons during the war. Since the World War I, the use of chemical weapons had persisted by some aggressor leaders or states, such as, Adolf Hitler – against the Jews, and Saddam Hussein – against the state of Iran. Based on the destructive and health problems associated with CW, the Geneva Protocol, which prohibited the use of chemical weapons in warfare, was signed in 1925 (UNODA,2015). Despite the Geneva Protocol, the 1970s and 1980s witnessed the development of chemical weapons. For example, an estimated 25 states developed chemical weapons capabilities. After 12 years of negotiations, the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) was adopted by the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva on 3 September 1992. The CWC opened for signature in Paris on 13 January 1993 and entered into force on 29 April 1997. With the entry-into-force of the Chemical Weapon Convention, the OPCW became formally established.

d) Unilateral Humanitarian Intervention

The history of humanitarian intervention can be traced to Hugo Grotius's concept of customary international law and the European Politics in the 17th century (Eaton, 2011). Hugo Grotius made the first authoritative statement of the principle of humanitarian

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intervention – "the principle that exclusiveness of domestic jurisdiction stops when outrage upon humanity begins." Since NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999, humanitarian intervention became a compelling foreign policy issue among sovereign states, as it reveals the tension between the principle of state sovereignty, which is a major area of concern of the UN and international law, and evolving international norms related to human rights and the use of force.

The concept is defined as a state's use of military force (publicly stated that its use is for ending violation of human rights) against another state (Bull,et al.,1990:67-93). This definition has been criticized for being too narrow as it precludes non-military forms of intervention such as, humanitarian aid and international sanctions. Scheffer Davis gives a broader description. According to him, humanitarian intervention encompasses non-forcible methods, such as, intervention undertaken without military force to alleviate mass human suffering within sovereign borders (Schefer,1992). There is no one generally acceptable definition of humanitarian intervention as a result of some variations, including: the absence of consent from the host state; whether the intervention is limited to punishment action; and whether the intervention is limited to cases where there has been explicit UN Security Council authorization of action (Mersh,2004).

However diverse existing definition may seem, they have general essential characteristics, which include: threat and use of primary forces; intervention in the internal affairs of a state by sending military forces into the territory or air-space of a sovereign state; response to situations that do not necessarily pose direct threats to states' strategic interests, but motivated by humanitarian objectives (Frye, 2000). The legality of humanitarian intervention posed a profound challenge to the future of global order. Debates on its legal status, however has reached an impasse. A major obstacle to legalizing UHI is the overriding concern that states would use the pretext of humanitarian intervention to commit crime of aggression or perpetrate personal and selfish interest (Murphy,1996). In the late 19th century, proponents of UHI were highly influential and recognized, as states were allowed to use force on different grounds. In contemporary international relations, proponents have significantly lost the debate. A new international order exists. For example, NATO's intervention in Kosovo relegated the legality of UHI to the backdrop. In addition, James Pattison also argue that NATO's intervention in Libya in 2011 had broken the UHI phenomenon (Hurd,2012). Consensus of opinion among states/or government, international organizations and jurists favoured the approval of Security Council before a state can use force on another state. Report has it that more than 133 states, approximately 80 percent of the world's population, have issued individual or joint statements rejecting the legalization of UHI. Additionally, in a situation where by the UN Security Council cannot pass a resolution, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations due to Veto by a permanent member, unilateral humanitarian intervention becomes inevitable. Chapter VII permits the Security Council to take action in situations where there is a "threat to the peace, breach to the peace or act of aggression". Any resolution to that effect must be supported by all permanent members. The reference to the "right" of humanitarian intervention was, in the post cold-war context for the first time invoked in 1990 by the UK delegation after Russia and China failed to support a no-fly over Iraq (Economist,2008). There is still an on-going controversy as to whether sovereignty or humanitarian intervention should prevail in the outrage of the abuse of human rights.

e) Theoretical Consideration

This paper on unilateralism on the part of states requires a theoretical approach as it gives a clearer understanding and explanation to the pattern of inter-relations among them at the international level. To that effect, the paper adopts the realist theory. Realism or political realism has been the dominant theory of international relations. The main tenets of the theory have been identified as statism, survival, and self help. The theory sees the state as the main actor in international politics; it does not accommodate non-state actors; state survival is paramount above all in anarchical environment; and that only self-help is guaranteed (Falode, 2009: 35-47). Neorealist, a branch of political realism is the major focus upon which this work is based. Neorealism considers human society to be anarchical. Its proponents uphold the absence of world government, literally anarchy, to be the primary determinant of international political outcomes. The theory posits that since anarchy holds sways, the survival of a state comes first irrespective of the means of survival. It emphasizes "use what you have to help yourself." The theory promotes power as the overriding role in shaping interstate relations. States survive only when they are powerful. Some of its proponents are Thucydides, Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Hans Morgenthau and Henry Kissinger. To these strategists the security of the state is the central issue. To attain security, states must increase their power and engage in power balancing for the purpose of deterring potential aggressors (Snyder, 2009). In his Book I *History* Thucydides demonstrates the relationship between state security and the attainment of power (Thucydides, 2009). He de-emphasizes the relevance of morality in interstate relations. In his work, there is no place for morality – a clear rejection of ethical norms in relations among states. To buttress the above position, Thucydides cites Athen's invasion of the Island of Melos, in a bid for the former to consolidate its position and power.

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The theory is relevant to this study because it demonstrates statism, survival and self-help among states in international relations. The theory provides a clearer picture of the egoistic traits of political leaders and governments in the pursuance of state interest. Finally, it gives credence to the perpetration of aggression by a state against another, which in itself is a means of attaining power and surviving in world politics.

III. America's Interventionism in the Middle east: A Historical Analysis

America's attack or involvement in Syria, following the use of chemical weapons against innocent citizens by the Assad's government on April 4, 2017 is not a new trend. The U.S. involvement in the Middle East crisis is phenomenal. Though not the first Western power to be involved in the Middle East Politics, however, it is instructive to note that the US involvement in the region has spanned over a period of seven decades (Tristam,2008). The history of America's intervention in the oil-rich region could be traced to the 2nd World War, 1939 – 1945. The US first major involvement came up under Harry Truman's administration, 1945-1952. Towards the end of the World War II, Truman deployed American Troops in Iran, to help transfer military supplies to the Soviet Union and to protect Iranian oil. After the war, American duplicity in the Middle East emerged one, opposed soviet influence in Iran and solidified America's relationship with Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi, and two, facilitated Turkey's membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), invariably making it clear to the Soviet Union that the Middle East would be a Cold War hot zone. Also, in 1947 Truman's administration entangled in the Palestine debacle. Truman supported the UN partition plan of Palestine between the Jews and Palestinians. The US favoured 57% of the land to Israel and 43% to Palestine, and personally lobbied for its success. Ever since the implementation of the partition plan, the Middle East has become a cauldron of political violence between the Jews and Palestinians.

In 1953, Dwight Eisenhower administration (1953-1960) was practically involved through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the deposition of the popularly elected leader of the Iranian parliament and an ardent nationalist who opposed British and American influence in Iran. The CIA's coup and the eventual removal of the elected leader tarnished America's reputation among Iranians, who lost trust in America's claims of protecting democracy (Fawcett,2005). In addition, in 1958, two years after the nationalization of the Suez Canal, Eisenhower intervened in the Lebanon crisis. Following the threat from nationalist forces to topple Lebanon's Christian – led government, Eisenhower ordered the deployment of U.S. troops in Beirut to protect the regime. The period 1960 – 1963 was characterized by an improved US – Israeli relationship through economic aid. John Kennedy laboured to reduce the polarization between the Soviet and American Spheres of interest in the Middle East. In 1967, under the leadership of Lyndon Johnson, America once again swaggered its military capability in the Middle East. In the wake of the Soviet threat to attack Israel who had already occupied the Gaza Strip, the Egyptian Syrian Pennisula, the West Bank and Syria's Golan Heights, following the Six Day War, Johnson swung into action in favour of Israel. The U.S. Navy's Mediterranean Sixth Fleet was put on alert, but by June 10, 1967, Johnson compelled Israel to accept a cease-fire agreement (Rugh,2005). The Nixon – Ford administration (1969 – 1976) saw another US – Soviet Confrontation over the Middle East Crisis, the Arabs' attack on Israel during the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur in 1973, created tension between the US and the Soviet. The Soviet threat to unilaterally attack Israel if the latter failed to agree to the proposed cease – fire informed America's military deployment and battle – readiness in the region. Nixon-Ford government persuaded Israel to sign the cease-fire agreement. In 1974-1975 Henry Kissinger, the then Secretary of State negotiated and coordinated peace agreements between Israel and the Arab. Carter's involvement in the Middle East crisis had its high and low points. First, in 1978, Carter's intervention in the crisis led to the Camp David Accord, and in 1979 culminated in the signing of the Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel. On the other hand America's interest in Iran was greeted with uprising from the Iranian Islamic Revolution against the Shah Mohammed Roza Pahlavi regime, and this led to the establishment of an Islamic Republic under the leadership of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, on April 1, 1979.

In April 1983, during the Reagan's administration, the attack on U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon informed America's involvement in the Middle East. The attack by Iranian-backed Lebanese Shiite Organization known as Hezbollah left over 250 Americans dead. Reagan's government however supported Israel's expansion of Jewish settlements in occupied territories. Reagan also supported Saddam Hussein's Iraq against Iran during the 1980-1988 war. The U.S. provided logistic and intelligence which could help destabilize Iranian regime and defeat the Islamic Revolution. From 1989 to 1993, the interest of George W. Bush's administration in the Middle East was centered on the protection of Saudi Arabia and the freedom of Kuwait from Iraq's occupation. In August 2, 1990, Iraq's President Saddam Hussein invaded his Southeast neighbour Kuwait. Upon the invasion of Kuwait, George Bush launched Operation Desert Shield by deploying U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia to defend against a possible invasion by Iraq. Bush however shifted strategy from Desert Shield (the protection of

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Saudi Arabia) to Operation Desert Storm, to repel Iraq from Kuwait. After a month and seven days of air campaign and a four-day ground battle, America liberated Kuwait. Bill Clinton administration 1993 to 2001 was more of mediation in the Middle East. For example, Clinton masterminded the 1994 peace treaty between Israel and Jordan. In December, 2000, Clinton convened a summit though failed with Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat and Israeli leader, Ehud Barak at Camp David.

The George W. Bush administration, 2001 to 2008 witnessed a deeper involvement in the Middle East. The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on America greatly informed Bush's aggression in the Middle East region. The American administration declared war on terror and any act capable of threatening or instilling fear on the American citizens. In October 2001, President Bush led an attack on Afghanistan, to topple the Taliban regime, which had given Sanctuary to al-Qaida. In March 2003, following the deadlock over the Inspection of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) in Iraq, the U.S. attacked the former. George Bush Saw the removal of Saddam Hussein as a fundamental step towards the birth of democracy in the Middle East. During his administration, Bush pursued the doctrine of pre-emptive strikes, unilateralism democratic regime change and attacking countries that harbored terrorists. However, while Bush campaigned democracy in Iraq and Afghanistan, he continued to support repressive and undemocratic regimes in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and in several countries in North Africa. Barak Obama's administration, 2009 to 2016 was characterized by negotiation or diplomacy. Obama's approach was more of passivism rather than aggression. On several occasions, the Syrian President, Bashar al-Assad crossed the U.S. 'red line' by the use of chemical weapons against civilians during the on-going civil war, without any reprisal attack from America.

IV. America's Unilateralism in Syria: an act of Aggression?

Before the 21st Century, US – Syria relations has been cordial as both states were involved in the promotion of international peace. In 1990, following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Hafez al-Assad alongside the United States condemned the invasion of Kuwait. Syria joined the US – led coalition against Iraq's presence in Kuwait (Ricks,2006). In October 1991, Syria in order to achieve peace in the Middle East, participated in the Middle East Peace Conference in Madrid, Spain. However, in the wake of the 21st century there evolved a frosty US – Syria relations. In June 2000, Bashar al-Assad succeeded his fathar Hafez al-Assad. President Bashar al-Assad's reign of terror and anti-international peace posture necessitated U.S. intervention policy in Syria. Assad's strict adherence to undemocratic principles, such as, gross abuse of fundamental human rights, non-active and unequal participation of citizens in politics and authoritarianism informed U.S. Interventionism. According to British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News, in 2002, the United States included Syria in the list of states that make-up an "axis of evil." In an interview on BBC, John Bolton, the US under-Secretary for state brought to the fore the issue of Damascus acquiring Weapons of Mass Destruction. In May 2004, the Syrian government was criticized by the U.S. for its support for terrorist activities and the failure to stop militants from entering Iraq. As a result of government's support for terrorism, the U.S. imposed economic sanctions on Syria.

A more worrisome scenario in Syria was the race for varieties of weapons of mass destruction, the provision of Scud Missiles for Lebanon's Hezbollah, which is in violation of UN resolutions, and the continued support for terrorist activities. In 2010, in response to Syria's antithetical stance, the US renewed the economic sanctions against the former. The government's anti-democratic principles, and the untold hardship necessitated by the various economic sanctions had devastating effects on the generality of the people of Syria. It informed a general state of instability characterized by political uprising, the emergence of rebel groups, protesters and terrorist group. Following the start of the Arab spring in 2011, the Assad administration violently suppressed all forms of demonstrations or protests, but unfortunately Assad could not prevent the outbreak of war.

The civil war which broke out in 2011 became a major concern to the international community. The nature and numbers of deadly fighting groups was perturbing. It involved the use of weapons of mass destruction, such as chemical weapon, (which had been banned and prohibited by the Geneva protocol, United Nations and International Criminal Court (ICC), and several armed opposition groups, including the Free Syrian Army, Syrian Armed Forces, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, Syrian Democratic Forces and the Kurdish Forces emerged (Abouzeid,2014). The indiscriminate abduction, torture and killings by fighting forces, and the use of chemical weapons by Assad's government against innocent civilians made the American government to hold on to humanitarian reason for intervention in the Syrian debacle. Three western hostages, James Foley and Steven Sotloff Americans, and David Haines, a Briton were beheaded by the ISIS (Sherlock,2014). More than 2,142 civilians including women and children were killed by ISIS, more than 1,500 killed by rebel forces and another 420,000 plus civilians were displaced. The use of chemical weapons by the Assad's government was a major cause of death for both innocent civilians and rebel soldiers. Since 2012 to 2017, Assad had used chemical weapons against rebel forces and innocent citizens (ACA,2015). In 2012, chemical weapon known as "Agent 15" was deployed in

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Homs, with seven people fared dead and dozens injured. In 2013, chemical weapons were deployed by the government. First, in March, the use of Sarin Nerve gas killed about 25 people in the twain cities of Aleppo and Damascus. In August, the use of chemical weapon suffocated hundreds of people to death in rebel held suburbs of Syria. In 2014, the Idlib region was attacked with both the Chlorine and Mustard gas. Despite the efforts of the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) to evacuate and destroy Syrian Chemical Weapons, in 2015, Assad's regime unflinchingly continued the use of the chlorine and Mustard gas.

According to Human Rights Watch report, over 200 people were killed by both the Mustard and Chlorine gas (HRW, 2015). On August 10, 2016, Assad Forces once again used chlorine gas in Aleppo. On April 4 2017, Nerve gas was deployed against innocent civilians, in the town of Khan Sheikbonn Idlib a rebel-held Province. The attack killed over 80 civilians, leaving another 405 injured. The April 4 2017 use of chemical weapons in the province of Idlib significantly meant the cross of "red line" for the U.S. The Trump administration, anchoring on the health and humanitarian problems of chemical weapons, responded with 59 Tomahawk Missiles air strike against the Syrian air base from where chemical weapons were launched. America's attack on Syria came after several meetings and conferences organized by international organizations with the aim of resolving the Syrian chemical weapons. The UN ban on the use of chemical weapons and the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons by the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) and both the US and UN economic sanctions on Syria have not deterred Assad from the use of chemical weapons. Diplomacy is said to have failed as various efforts geared towards the prevention of stockpiling, production and use of chemical weapons lacked efficiency. Moreso, beaucreautic procedure in the handling of the Syrian chemical weapons had provided leverage for the continued use of chemical weapons by the Assad's regime. The veto power of Russia, a member of the Security Council prevented a more pragmatic UN – led military action against Syria. Since 2015, Russia has overtly supported the Assad's government. In January 2015, the West and Syrian opposition reported that Russia carried out air strikes against anti-Assad rebels though the latter claimed to have attacked the Islamic state group. In 2016 August, Syrian government forces regained Palmyra from the Islamic state with Russian air assistance. In December, government troops, backed by Russian air power and Iranian sponsored militias, recaptured Aleppo, the country's largest city. Russia's meddling with Syria, Iran's support and a more recent North Korea – Syria relations have interplayed to provide Syria the aura to use chemical weapons. In addition, UN's ineptitude to emphatically and practically arrest the Syrian chemical weapons issue however became Donald Trump's explanation for America's unilateral intervention in Syria in April 6, 2017.

V. Implications of America's Unilateral Attack on Syria

The April 6, 2017 America's unilateral intervention in Syria, over the latter's use of chemical weapons have attracted diverse criticisms - among American Congressmen, actors in international relations and the world at large. To a section of the American populace, the attack has been adjudged to be justified and proportionate while another section sawit as a pre-emptive military action, and unnecessary aggression, partly for its lack of congressional approval. Russia, Iran and North Korea, allies of Syria, outrightly criticized the attack and tagged it an "act of aggression" against an independent state. Britain and France, allies of America, and some Arab States such as, Egypt, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, lend their support and backing to the attack. Also, the UN had pledged to investigate the attack as possible war crimes. Despite the rationale, justification or criticisms over the attack, the question which arises is, "are there consequential implications for US unilateral intervention in Syria?" This last section of the paper seeks to examine the implications of America's attack on Syria.

To start with, Donald Trump's attack against Syria for the use of prohibited chemical weapons restored American credibility in the International Arena. In contrast to President Barack Obama, Trump's promise to take action visibly followed through. Under Obama the "red lines" were crossed severally by Assad without any commensurate military action. Trump's attack became a response to the crossing of "red lines" by the Syrian government. Besides, before the April 6 attack against the Syrian government, America has a very small role to play in the Syrian crisis, and in getting Assad and other warring factions to the negotiating table. However, following the military intervention, the US now have a greater role to play, as the international community watches on for the next step after America's move. Would there be more attacks? How does America intend to resolve the Syrian issue? These and many more questions perturb the minds of discerning observers and actors in international relations.

In Trump's remarks, the strike against Syria is to prevent the continued use of chemical weapons by Assad and to deter other nations from the use of chemical weapons or any other weapon of mass destruction (Byman,2017). If really America's goal is deterrence, then there is need for sustained and repeated actions to bolster credibility. By implication, the April 6 strike would only be the beginning of America's intervention in Syria. Besides, air strike alone has limits if there are no forces on ground to magnify its impact. If

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the U.S's objective is to prevent Assad from killing his own people then ground force will have to be deployed to prevent barrel bombs, indiscriminate Russian airstrikes, torture, and secret killings in the Assad's prison. The perturbing question is, how prepared is the Trump's administration, ready to tangle in the Syrian debacle? The strikes represent a dramatic shift in the Trump's policy. At inception, it seemed that Trump wanted to work with Russia in Syria in order to clamp down on the Islamic state and accepted that Russia's ally, the Assad regime, would stay in power. However, the strikes signify a change of America's policy in Syria. America's policy is no longer in sync with Moscow. A U.S. – Russia collaboration in the Middle East or over Syria would have a negative effect on US relations with its western allies such as, Britain and France.

The dramatic shift in America's policy in Syria and the subsequent airstrikes against the latter is a discord in the U.S – Russia relations. Trump's use of Tomahawk missiles against an ally of Russia portends great risk of conflict between two powerful members of the Security Council – America and Russia. The displacement of Assad from power would require a significant commitment of diplomatic and military resources. Russia and Iran, and more recently North Korea, are strong backers of Assad. Even if military conflict is unlikely between Russia and America, war with Iran or North Korea is a possibility. Iran and North Korea possess weapons of mass destruction and are determined to defy America's threat over the non-testing of weapons of mass destruction (Diaz, 2017). North Korea and Syria have a long history of chemical weapons. Pyongyang helped Syria build chemical weapons factories in the 90's, and North Korea had in many occasions supplied Syria with protective coats and gas masks. According to Alex Diaz, North Korea is a supplier nation of chemical weapons to Syria and also played a role in Iran's CW acquisition. In recent times, there had been cozy relationship between North Korea and the U.S. as the former vowed to bolster its defenses in every way, and to continue in the production of weapons of mass destruction. Any military conflict between North Korea and the US would have its tolls on the latter's allies in Asia – China and South – Korea, and this could thus affect the Sino – US and US – South Korea relations respectively.

America's unilateral intervention in Syria is an implication of the UN's "foot dragging" procedures in the handling of aggression by one state against another. For example, Saddam Hussein did not receive any serious threat from the UN resolution, that would have prevented Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. The UN's procedural approach lacks bites capable of deterring or preventing the likes of Saddam and Assad. It is important to note that the US rather than the UN has been more of a "whistle blower and challenger." For example, the use of chemical weapons by Assad against innocent Syrians had been on since 2012 without any serious military action from the UN. Infact, the US, under Barrack Obama publicized the Syrian issue more than UN, though his resolve to the use of military action was however disapproved by the American congress. A more disheartening trend before scholars and actors of international relations has been the inefficiency on the part of the UN and OPCW to monitor the evacuation and destruction of Assad's Chemical Weapons. After several meetings between the UN weapons inspection team, OPCW, and the Syrian government, over the removal and destruction of CW in Syria, the exercise turned haphazard as Assad continued in the deployment of chemical weapons against innocent civilians. Another case at hand is the North Korea nuclear test issue. This has created a serious rancor between the US and North Korea. The on-going tension between North Korea and the US has shown that Kim Jong-un sees America rather than the UN as a challenger to North Korea's armament and its nuclear weapons test (Hennessy-Fisk and Bulos, 2017).

The US intervention is Syria is a call to duty on the part of the UN. The attack, by implication, calls for a more proactive UN. It is an indication that the UN, ICC, OPCW and other concerned organizations are fast becoming "toothless bulldogs" and "legless organizations". Moreover, the attack is capable of instigating more terrorist activities within Syria and elsewhere. Religious interpretation of the attack is a possibility. This can give credence to terrorism within the Arab states and in Africa. According to the Iranian Foreign Ministry Spokesman, Bahram Ghasemi, the US air strikes only strengthen terrorists and further complicates the situ-ation in Syria [29]. At another instance, the Kremlin claimed that America's attack has created a "serious obstacle" against forming an international coalition to fight terrorism.

VI. Conclusion

America's unilateral intervention in the Syrian civil war has separated the international community into two divides. One divide criticizes the attack. To this group, it is an act of aggression against a sovereign state. Members of this group are Russia, North Korea and Iran. The other group in support of the attack includes Britain, France, Turkey and Saudi Arabia. Whether the attack on Syria had been proportional or justifiable, it is a topic for continuous discussion among the various actors of international relations. However, it is clear to international observers and actors alike that Assad's use of CW was informed by a number of factors which include the backing of Russia, Iran and North Korea, and the inefficiency/ineffectiveness of the UN and other international organizations to stop Assad Bashar's outrageous activities. Finally, the gross abuse of fundamental human rights in Syria, continuous use of

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chemical weapons, ineffectiveness of international bodies and sanctions to deter the Syrian state from the use of CW, display of America's military capability, and America's zero tolerance for despotism, underline US's unilateral intervention in Syria. By implication, US unilateral intervention in Syria has created more tension between the former and Russia, Iran and North Korea. The military and / or weapons of mass destruction campaign in Iran and North Korea have been on the increase partly to challenge or equal America's military capability. This in every guise creates fear and suspicion which affects world peace and security. There is therefore a call to duty for the UN and other relevant agencies saddled with the responsibility of preventing the use of weapons of mass destruction, the re-enactment of the principle of collective security.

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Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 18 Issue 5 Version 1.0 Year 2018
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Political Restructuring in Nigeria: The Need, Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract- Restructuring is a song on the lips of many Nigerians. It has trended for decades and seems to be an inter-generational topical issue in Nigeria. The persistent call for restructuring takes numerous dimensions, but particularly outstanding is in the dimension of politics. It is no surprise though, because the philosophy behind the existence of every state and the control of its resources bothers on politics. Therefore, when there is a damaged cog in the wheel of the politics of the state, it becomes imperative to politically restructure the state. Since this is so, the big question then becomes 'what is the damaged cog in the wheel of the politics of Nigeria that is a necessity for restructuring? What are the challenges of political restructuring in Nigeria? And what is the way forward?' It is in a bid to fill this gap that this paper attempts to answer the above questions through an analytical study of a number of restructuring opinions. The findings of the study proves that ensuring the peaceful coexistence of Nigerian multiethnic nationalities as one peaceful entity called Nigeria and effecting of rapid and competitive development of the different regions of the country among other factors consists the need for restructuring; while elite interest, fear of ethnic dominations, political idiosyncrasy among others construe the challenges facing political restructuring in Nigeria. This paper recommends re-federalization, value reorientation, institutional re-strengthening, ethnic representation amongst others as the solution to restructuring issues in Nigeria.

Keywords: *federalism, re-federalization, resource control, political restructuring, nigeria.*

GJHSS-F Classification: *FOR Code: 199999*



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Political Restructuring in Nigeria: The Need, Challenges and Prospects

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I. Introduction

Nigeria as a sovereign state is one that has numerous ethno-tribal groups as matched with its vast territory, large population and enormous land mass. Each of the locales within the Nigerian territory is endowed with either one mineral, vegetative or other natural resources and/or a correspondence of resident human resources (population). In view of this, any knowledgeable administrative analyst would suggest the adoption of the federalist political structure, so as to ensure efficient administration of both the vast territories of Nigeria and its ethno-tribal heterogeneous population. This is what has been administratively put in place as a political mechanism for governance within the Nigerian polity. The current Nigerian political structure which has its roots in the 1946 Sir Arthur Richard's constitution of Nigeria, right from its inception till now has shown symptoms of administratively sick system of government resulting from such issues as the issue of resource control, outcry of marginalization, issue of ethno-tribal and regional discrimination, and issue of ensuring that every citizen irrespective of age, sex, religion, ethnic, linguistic, regional or tribal affiliation is given a sense of belonging to the country. Most importantly, the issue of resource control vis-à-vis political restructuring has become a contentious issue in Nigeria body politic, having been a key problem facing the Nigerian state since the onset of ethnic politics (Anugwom, 2005; Dickson and Asua, 2016). Despite the lopsided nature of the country's political structure, Nigeria has persisted in the practice and has always resolved to the effection of punitive measures to the dysfunctional issues marking the nature of the federalist political structure operational in Nigeria. These measures manifest in form of the different reforms, structural policies, intergovernmental relations, unification programmes etc which had been adopted in the past by different Nigerian government regimes.

Irrespective of the practice of imbuing the Nigerian political structure with corrective and curative measures, both scholars and other interested parties have gone to town for donkey's years to continue their clamour for the restructuring of the federalist political nature of the country with emphasis highly placed on the issue of intergovernmental relations between the federal and sub-national governments, issue of resource control and allocation, issue of revenue allocation, efficiency and functionality of the constitution, inequality of states and local governments in geopolitical zones, security and marginalization amongst others. However, a critical probe on the real reason for this call exposes all to the conflict of interest which has undermined the intention of the proponents. Apart from the genuine reason of using political restructuring as a veritable tool to better Nigeria, some people especially elite sees is it an abstract instrument to gain favour and achieve their self interest. In fact, many emergency nationalists and opportunists are already using the mantra to make political points ahead of 2019 general elections. This raises some levels of skepticism because it appears there is no clear difference between the ongoing call for restructuring and the last change mantra deployed as the machinery for the 2015 general elections (Farayibi, 2017).

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The history and historiography of the struggle for restructuring of the Nigerian political structure shows that it is an age-long practice that has bred conflicts and formation of conflict groups within the Nigerian society. Yaqub (2016) noted that it has polarized the country into north and south divide with the southerners being the protagonists and the northerners being the antagonists. The protagonists argues that by the virtue of their contribution to general purse, the principles of justice and equity demand that they should be allowed to control and manage their resources since they bear impact of oil exploration while the antagonists maintained that oil exploration activities in the south were funded from the agricultural proceed from of cocoa, groundnut, cotton, hides and skin gotten in the north (Ahmed, Norafidah & Knocks, 2017). As already indicated, those opposed to resource control and political restructuring are mostly from the Northern part of the country. Recently, Alhaji Tanko Yakasai stated that the north has a reservation for restructuring because it aimed to deny the North revenue and representation. In his words: " the idea behind the agitation for restructuring is to demolish those two advantages that are naturally due to the north in terms of representation and revenue sharing." (The Sun, May 26, 2017). The protagonist-antagonist stance on restructuring has resulted in the conflict of interest, conflict words and even physical violence between the two parties resulting consequently to name calling, exacerbation of the political system and loss of lives and properties. Eze (2016) noted that conflicts in Nigerian polity arising from restructuring is not limited to the northern-southern stance but include also ones manifesting in the nature of conflictual intergovernmental relationships. Prominent among the restructuring-bred conflicts are the MASSOB Vs Government conflict of 2005/2006 till date, the IPOB Vs Government conflict of 2014/2015 till date, the Lagos state government Vs Federal Government conflict of 2006/2007, the Anambra state Vs Kogu state boundary conflict of 2016, the Niger-delta militants and Niger-delta Avengers Vs Government conflict of 2003/2004 till date, the Boko-Haram Vs Government conflict the Nigerian-Biafran civil war of 1967-1970 amongst others.

It is in cognizance of these restructuring struggles and its concomitant effects pronounced in the various conflicts as well as the incessant unalloyed complaints against the federalist political structure of Nigeria, that this paper attempts to find out if truly there are needs to restructure the country in a political dimension, ascertain the challenges that the present and past restructuring calls and restructuring attempts has faced and proffer durable solutions to them to the best interest of the Nigerian state and its citizenry.

II. Terminological Conceptualizations

In the words of James clement (2014), any scholarly work, idea or knowledge not subject to critical evaluation should be disposed into the waste-bin of historical embarrassment. In line with this, this paper for the purpose of comprehensive clarification and understanding attempts a succinct scholarly review of terminological concepts and elicited an operational stance of these concepts within the context of this discourse. The concepts reviewed and operational zed include: Restructuring, Political Restructuring, Resource control, Federalism and intergovernmental relations.

Restructuring: Restructuring according to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (9th ed.) is to organize something such as a system or a company in a new and different way. What this means is that restructuring entails alteration and re-organization of an existing system in way different from how it use to be. To Obiora Okonkwo (2018), to restructure is to change an existing status quo in order to make it more functional. Deductive from his assertion is that restructuring is a purpose-driven activity that hinges on replacement of an existing nature of a system with a new one that will be suitable to achieve the purpose of the system. In view of this, restructuring is operationally seen in this paper as a significant alteration, re-organization, reformation and re-arrangement of an existing structuring, form or status quo in a revolutionary or evolutionary manner, with the aim of making it more improved, effective, efficient and functionally competent.

Political restructuring: This has had different meanings as it has been a topic on the paper of most scholars with varying perspectives. According to Ahmed, Norafidah & Knocks (2017) it entails both political re-configuration of the country and devolution of powers to the constituent units as it is practiced in other climes. To Najakku (2016) it is the re-organization and re-arrangement of the nature of resource control by the various governments and regions to foster unity and development. Be it as it may, political restructuring in the context of this paper entails the systemic reform and re-organization of the existing political structure in the nature of practice and in the way it relates to the social and economic dimensions of the polity be it in governance and resource control or otherwise.

Resource control: There is no agreed definition resource control amongst scholars because of the wide spectrum of its usage in many different literatures. In the words of Arowolo (2011), resource control refers to the process by which component units in a federation are allowed to control their human and material resources for the purpose of accomplishing sustainable development for their people. In a similar manner, Ako (2011) focusing on Nigerian scenario opined that resource control is the desire that the region is left to manage its natural resources, particularly its oil and pay taxes and/or royalties to the federal government. However, this paper adopts definition of Ikeji (2011) as operational in this context. This definition holds that resource control is the

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direct management of resources within a geopolitical entity. This is because, resource control is a responsibility that can be done by any government at all be it the national and /or the sub-national government as far as the said resources is within its geopolitical jurisdiction.

Federalism: This concept has also had a plethora of definitions. To Okoli (2004), federalism is a system of shared powers between units of government. It is a system of government that involves organizing a nation in such a way that two or more levels of government have formal authority over the same area and people (Ugwu, 1999). For the purpose of this discourse however, federalism is operationally seen as a political structure and/or system of government in which there is constitutional division and devolution of power to two or more levels of government which are often independent and co-ordinate in rank within a state (country). These levels of government are usually created along ethno-linguistic line to ensure active and efficient representation of all ethno-tribal and linguistic groups in governance.

Intergovernmental relations: Intergovernmental relations according to Prof. F.C. Okoli (2004) is the activity of different layers of government (tiers, organs and agencies) which roam across each others' domain of specified authorities and in which they interact cooperatively and conflictually to achieve parochial and collective objectives of the division and the general government. In addendum to the well captured and encapsulating definition of Okoli, and in a bid to operationalize this concept in this discourse, intergovernmental relations would be seen as the formal relationship, interaction, transaction, interference and interdependence that exists between and among different levels of government (in vertical and horizontal pattern), cutting across their political, social, administrative, legal/constitutional, fiscal and other lines of authority in which they interact either co-operatively, competitively or conflictually to achieve the objective of their independent existence as component units of the general government and their collective existence as a systemic body within a sate (country).

III. Theoretical Underpinning

Political restructuring in Nigeria is an inter-decadal issue that its trend might not be outweighed if nothing is done. This restructuring which impinge on the federalist political structure of the country challenges the dysfunctions of the existing political structure with an aim of transforming it into a new and improved one. With this being the focus of this paper, there is a need to underpin the restructuring of the country's political nature with a theoretical framework. It is on this ground that this paper adopts the liberal-pluralist-institutional theory to empirically justify political restructuring in Nigeria.

The liberal-pluralist-institutional thesis is predominant in anglo-saxon countries. First, the thesis is regarded as being applied and pragmatic in nature and its research is empirically oriented usually with an emphasis on procedural and institutional concern towards resource control, policy relevance and problem solving. Second, this thesis recognizes actors within a society, representing diverse and often conflicting interests. It also assumes that these actors are cooperatively interacting in a way that leads to the realization of the objectives of the entire society as well as those of the actors. Dunlop (1958) in applying the theory to industrial relation argued that each of the actors has its own ideology (interest) and the notion of a pluralist societal system. Hence, it simply requires that the conflicting ideologies of these actors be sufficiently compatible and consistent to permit a common set of ideas, which recognizes an acceptable role of each. This theory further has within its tenets that conflict amongst the societal actors is one that is based on reconcilable and bread and butter differences which may require dialogue, concession and compromise for its resolution thus, giving room for repositioning and restructuring based on agreement. In addition to this, it recognizes the need for an institutionalized mechanism for the resolution of conflicts. In other words, it recognizes the importance of the collective bargaining mechanism which is guided by certain values such as negotiation, consensus, concession, and compromise. It is based on these ideals that this thesis argues that peaceful and violent demonstrations are helplessly tolerated as a means of resolving conflicts or disagreements between and amongst actors. The pluralist however, believes that there must peace in the society because demonstrations destabilize the societal system.

In applying this theory to the Nigerian scenario, the theory took cognizance of the various institutions within the federalist political structure of the country and the systematic and procedural way through which the issue of resource control, policy, conflicts, problem solving amongst others are handled by these institutions. It also points out the actors within our political setting to be the government (federal, state and local), the ethnic groups and regional groups since Nigeria is a federal country having its federalism cutting across ethno-regional line. The cooperative interaction of these actors leads to the actualization of the objective of the Nigerian state which include amongst others include peace, unity and progress; and that of the actors also. However, these actors have their various different interests within the political setting and when these interests are not covered and/or when it becomes conflictual with one another, the consequence becomes the cry of marginalization and call for political

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restructuring so that the interest of all be met. This call for restructuring and cry of marginalization is assumed by the theory to be an issue which can be easily solved by calling all the actors back to the drawing board for need identification, negotiations, compromise and thus re-organization of the system. However, in practical sense, this is not the case in Nigeria as what had at best happened is the use of military suppression technique unless the said marginalized group takes up arm and effect big harm on the peace and economy of the Nigerian state. Little wonder, those who are against restructuring the political structure of Nigeria have argued that the unity of Nigeria is non-negotiable and has been resolved by the fratricidal war fought in 1967-1970 (Atiku, 2017). Whereas there are numerous up-surging outcry of marginalization and call for both secessionist and political restructuring that requires the coming together of the actors of the Nigerian state for a renegotiation, compromise and re-organization of the political structure of the country. The said 1967 - 1970 war was a military suppression of restructuring call by the eastern region of the country because of the high rate of pogrom against the people of that region by the northern regional people. Despite attempts made to reconcile the situation through dialogue and compromise of which the con-federal Aburi accord was a notable one, the northerners breached the accord on their arrival in Nigeria and being in the seat of power resorted to military suppression of the call. This has also been seen in recent times with the happenings in the recent operation python dance in the eastern/Igbo region. The only occasions where negotiation has been used to address restructuring call was in the case of Niger-deltans probably because they were destroying the power house of the country's economy which is resident in their region and in the case of Boko-haram, probably because they were terrorizing the country, though there was no compromise in that of Boko-haram. From another angle of application that bothers solely on the levels of government in the country. Nigeria being a federal state implies that the country must have two or more autonomous and coordinate levels of government in existence within its political structure. The theory sees these levels of government as actors within the government structure/organization. However, the levels of government in Nigeria are not coordinate and the autonomy of local government is questionable since they are subject to the creation and dissolution by the state government. The state governments handles their electoral process, audits their accounts, approves their borrowing, handles their statutory allocation through their joint account and even determine their operation (Batcheson, Ebeziem & Obi, 2012). Little wonder, Nworji (2011) noted that local governments in Nigeria have an abstract existence. All these and many more are empirically the ground on which this theory justifies the need for political restructuring of the Nigerian state.

IV. What the Nigerian Political Structure – Federalism is Supposed to be

The political structure of Nigeria as bequeathed to her by her colonial master is federalism. Federalism is a decentralized structure of government that has many attributes which distinguishes it from any other contrivances that could be labeled federal government. in a bid to understand how the Nigerian political structure (federalism) is supposed to be, this paper aspect discusses below the core feature of true federalism in a succinct manner:

A written constitution: According to Abah & Nwokwu (2017), constitution is the grundnorm or the fundamental law according to which a particular state is governed. It is the whole body of fundamental laws, customs, conventions, principles, rules and regulations according to which a particular country operates. There is no doubt that a federation being a conglomeration of dichotomous ethno-regional groups can only be established through a perpetual covenant of union, which should be enshrined in a written constitution. This constitution must be made in wide consultation of all these ethno-regional groups and in their solemn agreement. Odike (2005) argued that the true mark of any federation is that it distributes executive, legislative and judicial powers between the federal government and the constituent states in a written document known as the constitution. Hence, the constitution of any federation will not only be made in solemn agreement of all the ethno-regional groups of the country but must also be written and documented in a single document. Since it is the constitution that shows in clear terms the modalities of power decentralization between and among the component units of a federation, it then follows that the constitution must be written and rigid for easy reference. This also implies that it is an indispensable characteristic of federalism which is a system of government in which there is constitutional division of power among coordinate levels of government.

Supremacy of the constitution: one fundamental feature of federalism is supremacy of the constitution. The constitution of a federation must be supreme and binding on all persons, authorities and governments. This is to ensure that all actors of the federation operate within the limits of their jurisdiction and not encroach on the powers of another.

Equality of power between levels of government: Ikpe (2009) asserted that a federation is one in which the levels of government operational within it are equal and coordinate in power. This simply means that in true federalism no tier of government is superior or subordinate to the other. Similarly, federal principle holds that the constituent units/ states that form a

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federation should relate to the federal authority on equal plane. No region or state should have more or less power in their relationship or interactions with the central or federal government. Any negation of this is a digression from true federalism as the regional governments can no longer relate among themselves as equal.

Equality in ethno-regional representation: One of the major reasons of adopting federalism is the existence of ethno-tribal heterogeneity. This is because federalism permits the equal representation of all tribes, ethnic groups, and regions in governance so as to ensure that no tribe ethno-regional nationality is marginalized or is left to lag behind developmentally and otherwise. This makes equal representation of ethnic and regional groups a integral characteristic of true federalism.

Fiscal Autonomy: In the view of Nworji (2004) the local government in Nigeria is entitled to fiscal autonomy being a level of government within a country that practices federalism. What this means is that all levels of government within a federation is fiscally autonomous. Abah & Nwokwu (2017) argued that financial subordination marks an end of federalism no matter how carefully the legal forms may be preserved. True federalism does not permit over concentration of power and resources in the hands of either the central government or the component units as to make it more powerful to lord its will over the other especially as regards to fiscal relationship.

Autonomy of each government: Federalism is a political system that emphasizes relative independence of each level of government. In the words of Wheare (1953), federal system must be fashioned in a manner that each level of government should be coordinate to another and that no tier should be seen to be subservient in relationship with others in the federation. The implicit of this is that any government which in practice contradicts the foregoing principle is unfit to be called a federation. This principle is necessary as it ensures that the federal government acts within the ambit of its constitutionally assigned powers while the state and local governments carry out their own affairs without intimidation or frustration. Little wonder, Hon. Justice Kayode Eso opined that the autonomy of the constituent units of a federation is a bedrock, a foundation and a defining principle of true federalism.

Division of powers and responsibilities: Federalism as a political system is one that is marked with clear-cut power division and decentralization. The constitution of all federation usually possesses a formula for dividing power among the levels of government. This formula is seen in the legislative list – exclusive list, concurrent list and residual list. The exclusive list is set aside for only the federal government to legislate on and have basically matters of national importance such as foreign policy, currency and minting, defense, extradition, migration etc. The concurrent list is jointly legislated upon by the levels of government present in a country while the residual legislative list is reserved exclusively for the constituent units of government to legislate on. The rationale behind this constitutional division of powers and responsibilities in a federation is to eliminate intergovernmental conflict between and among the federating units.

V. Nigerian Political Structure – Federalism or Pseudo-Federalism?

Having laid down the benchmark for federalism. It is imperative to critically examine the Nigerian federalist political culture to ascertain if truly it meets the benchmark of federalism, or it is a non-federalist practice disguised as federalism which we've chosen to refer to as *Pseudo-federalism* (false federalism). This examination however, will hinge on the manner of Nigerian practice of the core principles of federalism:

Written constitution: The Nigerian constitution which is the fundamental law through which the Nigerian state is governed is by nature a written constitution. It is one that clearly specifies the structure and system of government operational in the country and as well showcases the manner in which power and responsibility is decentralized among the levels of government present in the country (federal, state and local government). However, it is observed in dismay that this constitution in unitarily inclined as it was imposed on the citizens without proper consultation, referendum or involvement of the citizens in its enactment process. Obasi et al (2009) argued that a historical analysis of the entire Nigerian constitutions will leave every analyst with three dominant factors which are the influence of colonialism, national political elites and the military. By this, there is an absolute justification for the constitution's unitary nature, having been made by the military and hastily imposed on the citizens to facilitate the transition into a new regime that marked democracy in 1998/1999. Since the constitution was imposed and do not reflect citizenry involvement in its making, it then follows that the making of the constitution is neither cognizance of the ethno-regional heterogeneity of the country nor did it bring these groups to a negotiation table to have a perpetual agreement of union and that of the structure that would best suit the administrative operation of their entities. This little mal-federalist practice outrightly makes the Nigerian federalism a false one as one of the core attributes of federalism is not adhered to. Similarly, some scholars have argued that true federalism requires the ethno-regional governments have their own various constitutions citing instances in the case of USA, Australia and Canada. They argue that a federation run by one single federal constitution without constitutions in the constituent units is one that is unitary in disguise. Lord Haldene in support of this argument held that a

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federal government confines its application to cases in which states, while agreeing on a measure of delegation of powers to a common government, yet in their domain, continue to preserve their original constitutions. What the above legal luminary is asserting is that the federating units do not give out all their laws to the federal government for the formation of a federal constitution, rather; they surrender some parts of their laws to the central government while retaining others in their individual constitutions (Abah & Nwokwu, 2017). Obidimma & Obidimma (2015) also maintained that as a federal system is an arrangement between separate autonomous governments, it therefore follows that there should be separate national and regional governments which imply separate constitution for each government. By this, every component unit of a federation is supposed to have a constitution which guides its operation with regards to its affairs. This is not so in Nigeria where only one federal constitution is used to run the affairs of the entire country with no ethno-regional or state constitution.

Autonomy of each government: In the words of Obidimma & Obidimma (2015), the autonomy of each government as obtainable as a core feature of federalism emphasizes that separateness of government also requires that each government must exist not as an appendage of another government but as an autonomous entity, so that it will be able to exercise its will in the administration of its own affairs without external direction from another government. The implicit of this is that a federation does not permit the dominance of one level of government on the others in existing jointly with it in the country. Hence any arrangement which allows this, does not qualify to be called a true federalism. Little wonder, Wheare (1953) cautionary asserted that concentrating too much power and resources on a particular level of government is capable of intoxicating it and making it to dictate the affairs of other levels of government co-existing with it. However, the Nigerian federalist political structure is one that pay no heed to this core feature of true federalism as the 1999 constitution has wielded more powers to the federal government making it more superior and capable of dictating the affairs of the state and local government. Obidimma & Obidimma (2015) exemplarily noted that the exclusive list having 68 items is solely left for the federal government; the concurrent list is within the jurisdiction of the federal government and the state government with the federal government prevailing in case of any conflict. The same federal government is vested with the power to legislate in respect to any matter incidental or supplementary mentioned elsewhere in the legislative list. Again, the local government in Nigeria can be best seen as an appendage of the state government having been constitutionally created under section 7(1) and handed over to the control of the state government under section 7(2) of the Nigerian constitution, who (state) have the power to dictate the existence of local governments within their territory and to meddle with their finance. This is a complete aberration of the core principle of federalism. Hence, a symptom of pseudo-federalism in the name of federalism.

Equality of federating units: In the opinion of Wheare (1953) the equality of the federating units in a federation must be reflected in some reasonable balance between the units in area, population, and wealth which will ensure that all units can maintain their independence within the sphere allotted to them and that no one can dominate the other. This attribute of true federalism is negated in Nigeria where there is gross inequality in area, population, number of states and local governments within the regional zones. This has brought about special treatment and recognition of some federating units at the detriment of others, with complete disregard that the principle of equality of federating units being a characteristic of true federalism holds that federating units must relate to each other and to the federal government on an equal base without any special recognition to any federating unit at the detriment of others. Instances are in the number of states within the different geopolitical zones in Nigeria, where the north-west has 7 states, the south-east has 5 states, the south-south has 6 states, north-east has 6 states, north- central 6 states and south-west has 6 states; there is a clear marginalization of south east and preference on the north-west. Viewing it from a regional perspective, the northern region has 19 states while the southern region has 17 states. Is this not clearly a special recognition and treatment of the northern region? This is also applicable in terms of local governments in the regions. In addition to this, the federalist political structure of Nigeria partitioned the country in such a way that the northern region has an estimated number of 75% of the country's land mass and over 60% of its population despite the fact that landmass and population are part of the criteria for revenue allocation and sharing of national cake. This arrangement is clearly unequal and has in all ramifications given the northern region an undue advantage to maintain absolute dominance in the government of the federation as the region has capacity to dictate actions and policies to be pursued (Abah & Nwokwu, 2015). Little wonder, the laudable report of the 2014 national conference which the northerners believe does not reflect their own best interest has suffered implementation setback till date despite attempts made jointly by all southern states to bring it to life. This evidently paints the federalist political structure of Nigeria as pseudo-federalism.

Fiscal autonomy: Fiscal autonomy of the federating units/levels of government is a key attribute of true

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federalism. Wheare (1953) noted that any form of financial subordination will mark an end to federalism no matter how carefully the legal forms may be preserved. Therefore, for there to be a true federation, it must be structured in a way that each level of government is resourcefully buoyant and financially capable of carrying out its constitutionally assigned duty. It is on this ground that Obidimma & Obidimma (2015) argued that if the federating units/sub-national governments find their constitutionally assigned functions too exorbitant that their resources they cannot fund it and for this purpose resort to the federal government for subsidies and grants; then they are no longer coordinate with the federal government but subordinate to it. However, the reverse of this argument is practically present within the federalist political structure of Nigeria where the revenue sharing formula is skewed in favour of the federal government having been constitutionally assigned with more functional responsibilities at the expense of the sub-national governments. With the federal government of nigeria enjoying hegemony in revenue allocation, the state and local government which created for political reasons are made unviable as a result of their weak fiscal base. The effect of this is overdependence of about 85% of the Nigerian states on the federal government to run their state (Mohammed, 2014); especially Lagos state whose public debt owed to the federal government is the highest in the country. Most states in Nigeria can neither run the affairs of their domain nor meet the salary obligations of their workforce on their own without waiting for the monthly statutory allocation. This is a justification of the rapid increase in the number of states owing their workers' salaries for months, and the reason that some states have place their workers on disguised salary basis where the salaries are either reduced in small quantity or on half basis. The fiscal condition of the local government however is the most pitiful, having been an offshoot of the state government and having a joint account with the state government for the reception of revenue allocation; of which the state meddle with. The local government allocation is often times denied by the state and at other times, the state government dissolves the local governments while still receiving their statutory allocations from the federal government. A typical example is that of Imo state where Gov. Rochas Okorocha dissolved local government and established a constitutionally unrecognized community government, yet still receiving statutory allocation of the local governments from the federation account. This is the rationale behind the functional incompetence of local government and consequently the horrendous underdevelopment in rural communities. The above scenario within the federation of Nigeria paints a picture of false federalism as it is an absolute derail from the core principle of true federalism.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the Nigeria federal structure is marked with pseudo-federalist imperfections emerging from the abuse of and derailment from some core attributes of true federalism. This implicitly exposes that the federalist political structure of Nigeria is nothing but *Pseudo-federalism.*

VI. The Need for Political Restructuring of the Nigerian State: an Analytical Discourse

Over the years and in recent times, many scholars, elites and average Nigerians have been on an outcry that their voices have become deafening to the ears of all. What do they clamour for? RESTRUCTURING! Many questions have been asked and people tend to seek justification for which the political structure of the country should be restructured; others claim that those who clamour for political restructuring do so for the benefit of their own self interest. Hence, the latter address the former as the sub-optimalists of the current political structure - federalism. However the case may be, one thing sacrosanct is that Nigerian federalism is observably on paper, as in practice what the country has at best is pseudo-federalism since there exist ill-federalist practices within the federalism operational. Little wonder, Oruebor (2015) referred to the Nigerian political structure as the feeding bottle federalism. Some of these ill-federalist practices are outlined below in question format as a catalyze-able justification for restructuring the political structure of the country so as to move it from being the so called "feeding bottle federalism" to a more advances, better and improved political structure that would be able to accommodate the varying interests of all the ethno-regional groups and levels of government, getting them satisfied and bonded together in unity without any form of marginalization or agitation for secession. These questions amongst others include:

- Why is it that the states of the Nigerian federation cannot develop at their own pace using the resources which nature has endowed on them?
- Why are certain necessarily important realities like police, issuing of drivers license, birth registration etc dependent on federal government?
- Why is it that communities where mineral resources are being extracted from are still being denied the right to participate in the mining?
- Why does the current constitution of Nigeria bear "we the people of Nigeria do solemnly swear and agree…" even when it is obvious that it was imposed on Nigerians? Who agreed? Who was consulted? Was there any referendum?
- Why are there discriminatory unity schools and tertiary institution admission policies in the name of

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ELDS, quota system and federal character as against meritocracy?

- Why would the federal government still want to be building roads even when these can be efficiently done by the state government? Is this not the reason that the so called federal roads are worse than death traps?
- Why is it that the politicians in Nigeria earns much more than thrice of what the civil servants who are the administrative engine of the political structure earn?
- Why does the federal and state government have three arms of government (legislatures, executive and judiciary) respectively while the local government has two (legislature and executive)?
- Why is it that regions in the geopolitical zones of Nigeria have unequal states and local governments and yet number of states and local governments is a criterion for sharing national cake?
- Why is that the current operational constitution does not reflect a democratic constitution, rather a military imposed constitution with little or no appropriately laid down principle of federalism rather unitarianism?
- Why is it that local government receives their statutory allocation from the federal government in a joint account that is controlled by the state government?
- Why is it that state government till date cannot build and maintain their own railways and neither can they repair or maintain the so called federal roads which are nothing less than death traps?
- Why is the local government still subjected to the whims, caprices and control of the state government even after being constitutionally created as a functional third tier of government in Nigeria?
- Why does the federal government have to decide the amount that the state governments should pay their workers as minimum wage whereas the state governments lack the resources to do so?
- Why is it that the local government is still present as a third tier of government even when it is functional incapacitated and incompetent? Do local governments in Nigeria carry out their constitutionally assigned duties?
- Why is the federal government involved in the creation of local government even when it's the constitutional function of the state government?

Abah & Nwokwu (2017) observed that the above age long rape on the federalist principles coupled with apparent abuse of federal character principle enshrined in the Nigerian constitution by the current president Buhari led administration in areas of appointment into key positions and alleged marginalization and neglect of some sections of the country may have awaken the consciousness of Nigerians on the need for urgent political restructuring of the Nigerian federation. From the above, any sound minded person putting on his analytical glasses would see the need to restructure the political structure of the country on which all the above questions hinges on. These questions are raising dusts and tensions of conflicts. It is in lieu of the consequences brewing from these questions which are outrightly conflicts that this paper tends to present below, six scholarly tangible reasons to restructure the Nigerian political system. These reasons are well buttressed under the following headings and they include:

Origin, formation and consolidation of the Nigerian state: A prominent secessionist and restructuring agitating group known as Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) in one of their broadcasts on January 1, 2015 on Radio Biafra said that the country Nigeria as an entity has expired on December 31st of the previous year (2014); the year that the country marked the centenary of its amalgamation. They vehemently alleged that the charter of agreement that merged the northern and southern protectorate into one single legitimate entity called Nigeria provided that after a hundred years (100years), if the two sides merged together see themselves as incompatible with each other, they have utmost right to secede. However, the authenticity of their claim is what I cannot establish as no record of the involvement of Nigerians in the agreement to merge the northern and the southern protectorates as one in1914 has surfaced till date. Obiora Okonkwo (2018) also noted that the significant thing about the 1914 exercise was that no member of the diverse ethnic groups that make up the protectorates was brought to a negotiation table to agree on the merger. As at the time of the merger, most of the Nigerian nationalists were still tender and little children. For instance, Nnamdi Azikiwe was 10years old as at then, Obafemi Awolowo 5years old, Ahmadu Bello 4years old, Tafawa Balewa 2years old, and Anthnony Enahoro has not even been conceived since he was born in1923. The big question then becomes, who/which Nigerian signed the amalgamation treaty? This simply shows that the entity Nigeria was not amalgamated but rather balkanized. It is but an imposed state; and this imposition affects the country today and the functionality of its political structure whose foundation was laid during the colonial period. This is because, the ethnic-regional groups that make up Nigeria today were as at that time not consulted before the protectorates were merged and neither did they come into any formal agreement. Hence, they have continued to disagree till date as a result of their non-consultation prior to the merger of 1914. Little wonder, Achebe (2012) asserted that the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates in 1914 extricably complicated Nigeria's destiny. Thus, if agreement and harmony should be brought between and among the

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various ethnic nationalities that constitute Nigeria, there is need to go back to the drawing and negotiation table where the diverse ethnic groups of about 371 in number will be fully represented, to negotiate in agreement or disagreement of the unification of all ethnic groups in Nigeria under one single political structure. This in all ramification is a need to politically restructure the country otherwise, Nigeria would continue to be what Chief Obafemi Awolowo called it "A mere geographical expression", because the trending problem of Nigerian political structure as expressed by Ojukwu (1989) is rooted in our fear of unity.

Democracy and true federalism: Lots of political actors and scholars in Nigeria and beyond has over the years stood their ground to say that Nigeria neither practices democracy nor federalism; rather, what we have at best is disguised Unitarianism and dictatorship, of which we've termed *Pseudo-federalism.* For instance, in the words of the former vice President of Nigeria Atiku Abubakar, as expressed in This Day Newspaper dated June 12, 2016; "the present structure of Nigeria is a pointer to the tension at the heart of the nation… agitations by many right thinking Nigerians calls for a restructuring and a renewal of our federation and democratic system to make it less centralized, less suffocating and less dictatorial in the affairs of our country's constituent units and localities". The implicit of his expression is that the federalism operational in Nigeria is one that has grown into a maze; hence it is dysfunctional and breeds conflict. The current federalist political structure operational in Nigeria is one which centralized most powers at the federal government, thus bringing about federal abuse power at the detriment of the state and local government. Observable within Nigeria polity is the practical expression of Lord Acton's words "that power corrupts and absolute power corrupt absolutely", as the federal government having been allocated with much power tends to be corrupted. Little wonder, the current President Muhammadu Buhari does not give credence to verdicts of the court thus negating the rule of law. In an interview granted to *Daily Sun*, Professor A. B. C. Nwosu (a one-time Political Adviser to President Obasanjo), starts by defining restructuring as: …let us change the structure. What is the structure? There is too much power at the centre. The Federal government has too much power, too much responsibility, too much money, much to waste…. I thought change was if it is not good for the country, we would do it. Is there anybody who has not seen that the federal government has too much power, and too much responsibility? Is there anybody who does not see that the over 60 to 70 per cent spent on recurrent expenditure is wrong? Is there anybody who does not see that the federal government has over 800 parastatals and that it is wrong? Is there anybody who does not see that having over 42 ministries is wrong? When asked why people are asking for restructuring, he answers by asserting that: The structure that we have is anti-development. The structure we have is unjust and unfair. I belong to the school of thought that regards restructuring more of devolution of power than regionalization of Nigeria.

With this picture painted of the current Nigerian federalist political structure, a picture of federalism in the nature of Unitarianism, a picture of federalism where the rule of law is trampled upon, a picture of federalism that is anti-developmental, unjust and unfair; would a sane person not argue that the current Nigerian federalist political structure be restructured? He would definitely; as it is no news that the rudimentary functional characteristic of federalism is decentralization of power and a rule of law-guided-democracy (Wheare, 1953). Adele Jinadu being cognizant of the lapses in the current federalist political structure and democracy of Nigeria stated in his article published in June 7, 2017 in The Guardian Newspaper that "the country must not fall victim to the fetishism or magic of legal constitutional design. It must also begin to find ways of re-strengthening and deepening the spirit, the political culture of democracy and federalism, as mechanisms for managing diversity and pursuing the public interest in a plural society; otherwise the design effort will be in vain".

Ethno-regional satisfaction and unity: The call for political restructuring nudges at the heart of millions of Nigerians who are outraged by the present structure of the federation which has increasingly become a recipe for uncertainty, insecurity and instability. This is basically done by ethno-regional bodies such as the Pan-Yoruba socio-cultural group of the western Nigeria, the Afenifere of the west, the Pan-Igbo umbrella body of the east, the Ohaneze Ndi Igbo of the east, the Arewa Youth Movement of the north, the MOSOP of the south-south, the Niger-delta militants and Niger-delta avengers etc. The reason for their outcry for political restructuring of Nigeria is one worthy of consideration if peace and unity should thrive in the country. These reasons cut across ethno-regional dimensions.

Regionally, questions have been asked on why the south – east region has only five (5) states, the north – west have seven (7) and all other regions have six (6) each; implying that in a representative sense of democracy, south – east have 15 senators, north – west 21 senators, and other regions 18 senators each; does this reflect the meaning of equity and balance? Similarly, amidst the 774 constitutionally approved local government areas in Nigeria, south east has 95, north – west 186, north – east 113, south – south 125, south – west 137 and north – central 112; why do this kind of political structure exist? Does it reflect equity and balance? The implicit of this political structure is that the south east becomes marginalized in the politics of

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revenue allocation and that of sharing of national cake as well as in development planning which has population principle as its yardstick. Little wonder, there have been multifarious agitations against marginalization from the south-east region which has often times resulted to conflicts, taking up of arms and consequently bloodshed. Similarly, there have been numerous cases of conflict on resource control in the south – south region of Nigeria who has constantly wailed that the resources found within their territorial environment have always been exploited by the government without involving them in the exploitation of such resources. An Amazon from the region Annkio Briggs stated that the political restructuring of Nigeria remained the only solution to numerous protests and deep-rooted anger that have constantly fuelled tension and inhibited Nigeria from moving forward (Ogefere, 2017).

Ethnically, the Niger – deltans consisting of a conglomeration of ethnic groups ranging from Ogoni, Kalabari, Ikwere, Etchie, Ijaw, Itshekiri and others, have cried out severally against marginalization and federalist ignorance even when they harbor the source of the country's economic power. Their struggle and outcry for political restructuring did not start today but dates back to the resource control struggle of 1966 botched by the Isaac Adaka Boro – led attempt to create Niger – delta republic which till date have culminated into oil – related restiveness in the region even after the death of Adaka Boro (Ako, 2011). The Niger – deltans have in recent past took arms to defend their God – given resources since despite their ownership of the resources, the government tend to exploit them and use the revenue gotten from their land to enrich and develop other areas of the federation while they languish in abject poverty, poor infrastructures and lack of good water supply; since their water bodies have been polluted through the extraction of their mineral resources (oil). The consequences of their taking arm is the bombing of oil pipelines, kidnap of oil extractors and stopping of oil extraction process which had caused Nigeria fortunes in the international market. The other ethnic group (Igbos) represented by the "Ohaneze Ndigbo" have on their own called for political restructuring of the Nigerian state; this is ascertainable in the words of Chief Enwo Igariwey of Ohaneze Ndigbo who stated that they (Ndigbo) have been calling for political restructuring because they believe it is in the best interest of the country and that the Igbos will only vote a presidential candidate who have restructuring agenda in his manifesto come 2019". The Igbos which are another ethnic group have through their various mouthpiece spoken of their being marginalized in the allocation of government seats. Little wonder, many rebel nationalist groups have risen from this ethnic group either calling for restructuring or for secession. Typical examples are Indigenous People Of Biafra (IPOB), Movement for Actualization of Sovereign State Of Biafra (MASSOB), Biafra Zionist Movement (BZM) etc. The stance of the Igbos on the Nigerian political structure as deducible from the speech of the Deputy Senate President, Senator Ike Ekweremadu at the World Igbo conference (WIC) held in Enugu holds that "the minimum Ndigbo demand of Nigeria is a restructure of the federation so that every component part of it can substantially harness its resources, cut it coat according to its cloth and develop at its own speed… Igbos should peacefully struggle for a better deal within the Nigerian common wealth and this struggle must be sustained by Nigeria" (The Sun Newsonline, April 17, 2018).

The issue of these incessant agitations and struggles over resource control and restructuring often breeding conflicts by the different ethno-regional bodies is a sufficient reason to restructure the federalist political structure of Nigeria, so that each region and ethnic group will have their interest met and satisfied and their restiveness and agitations curbed. Restructuring the federalist political structure of Nigeria in an ethno-regionally agreed way will in all ramifications satisfy the diverse interests of the various ethno-regional entities in Nigeria and bring about unity in ethno-regional diversity within the country.

Necessary and important realities: Many questions have been raised on the high concentration of authority and responsibilities on the federal government. Whereas most people said that this concentration makes the Nigerian political structure a unitary federalism, others have similarly said that it is the reason behind the inefficiency of federal government in discharging of their functions; whereas another set of people are of the opinion that it is the reason behind the high rate of corruption at the central government level. Judging from all direction, the indications of the postulations of the above groups of people points towards negativity. Therefore, there is need to decongest, to decentralize and to deconcentrate the authorities and responsibilities accrued to the federal government to the state and local government in order to make it functionally efficient. Obiora Okonkwo in an inaugural lecture delivered in the University of Nigeria Nsukka earlier this year, argued that it is a matter of un-necessity for the federal government of Nigeria to be the sole handler of some necessary and important realities like the police, issuing of drivers licenses, construction of the so-called federal roads and bridges, and provision of secondary education. Similarly, former military president of Nigeria Gen. Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida in his 2017 Eid-el-fitr message to Nigerians said that "restructuring has become a national appeal as we speak, whose time has come. I will strongly advocate devolution of powers to the extent that more responsibilities are given to the states while the federal government is vested with the responsibility to oversee our foreign policy, defense and

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economy. Even the idea of having federal roads in towns and cities has become outdated and urgently needs revisiting. That means we need to tinker with our constitution to accommodate new thoughts that will strengthen our nationality". There is no gainsaying to the fact that they are unequivocally right, these are duties that the state and local governments can efficiently carry out; why is it that the state and local governments are absolutely dependent on the federal government for these? These consequences of this could be seen in the case of Anambra state Governor Willie Obiano during the last gubernatorial election of the state of which he was not only a sitting governor but an electoral candidate re-contesting; he was left with no police officer to offer him security and he had to hire the services of his hometown vigilante security service. This justifies the reason that many scholars and elites have been agitating for state government policing; but this could not be easily done since the current federalist political structure of the country has concentrated such powers as to regulate policing and other necessary and important realities on the federal government. Similarly, most of the federal roads are worse than death traps, a typical example being the Onitsha – Enugu express road that has forced motorists to seek another route between Amansea Awka through Awkuzu to Umunnya where the situation of the road is nothing to write home about. Had the state government been in charge of constructing or maintaining the federal roads, the situation of this road would not be the same since other state roads in the state are in very good shape. Therefore, to make federal government more efficient, there is need to restructure the current federalist political structure in such a way that more authorities and responsibilities will be devolved to the state government while the federal government concentrates on issues such as foreign policy, economy, defense (military), migration (immigration and emigration), international relations and aviation, and any other function which is of classical importance that it will not be efficiently handled by the state and local government.

Rapid and competitive development: The state of development within the Nigerian territory is appalling when compared with the country's enormous human and natural resources. It only stands to suggest the proof of the resource curse hypothesis. Many have argued that the reason that Nigeria is still underdeveloped rests on the corruption on the central government which exploits the country's resource without putting the proceeds developmentally in use. Others have argued that the reason that most states of the Nigerian federation are not developing at speedy pace is because they lack the necessary power needed to harness what is at their disposal in terms of resources, in order to make development a reality. Obi(2006) noted that currently, Nigeria is a federation with 36 states' structure and 774 local government areas which totally rely on the distributive pool account (federation account) to perform their assigned constitutional responsibilities within their respective domains. Okonkwo (2018) argued that the system of government that brings 36 states to the centre at the end of every month to share money is not sustainable; there is need to restructure the federation in such a way that all persons and partners in the federation be it states or regions have the capacity to develop their internal resources with which they can develop at their own pace. Hence, restructuring the current federalist political structure in such a way that states and local government have more revenue sources and powers to control the resources at their areas of occupancy will boost their development functionality and will breed rapid and competitive development across regions in the country which is a giant step towards the development of the country in general. In addendum, it will be a milestone towards job creation. Giving a practical example, it has been said that the north – central zone of Nigeria has abundance of natural resources buried under their soil, imagine if Nigeria is politically restructured in such a way that each state is giving authority to mine, harness and control the resources endowed on it by nature and then pay royalties to the central/federal government; then the north – central region will become a new bride for solid mineral exploitation and development; thus an industrial hub creating millions of employment opportunities to all Nigerians. Now taking cognizance of the fact that virtually all states of the federation are in possession of these resources either in terms of solid and liquid natural resource or agricultural resource, then obviously all Nigerians will be under one employment or the other and each state will be striving to develop more than the other. This is a sufficient need to restructure the political structure of the country in order to actualize the development of the country and its citizens.

Functional competence and intergovernmental harmony: The political structure of the Nigerian state – federalism, has been defined as a system of government in which there is constitutional division of power between two or more coordinate levels of government existing and interacting within a country. The Nigerian federalism is one that has three constitutionally created levels of government – federal, state and local government; but practically two levels of government – federal and state as the local government is submerged into the state government. Hence, visibly sprouted is the issue of constitutional in balance within the constitutional framework of the federal political structure of Nigeria. Whereas the constitution created the local government as the independent third tier of government in section 7(1) of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, it handed over the creation, management and control of the local

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government to the state government in section 7(2). This has been reason for the functional incompetence of local government which has resulted to the motion to abrogate the local government as a tier of government at the national political conference (CONFAB) organized by Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's led regime in 2014. This proves that the local government is dependent and un–autonomous.

Similarly, the state government which has been attributed with practical independence and autonomy has also been seen as being functionally incompetent; the reason is that the federal government most times ceases statutory allocation of the state government as could be seen in the case of the Lagos state government Vs. federal government during President Olusegun Obasanjo's regime; they are similarly, subject to the dictates of the federal government as to the determination of the amount to pay for the minimum wage. From the above, are the levels of government in Nigeria really co-ordinate? This practice has right from the time of its practice tends to make the local, state and federal government inefficient. It also serves as a befitting reason to restructure the Nigerian federalist political structure as it will quench the fire of intergovernmental conflict ignited by the above problems of Nigerian federalism and facilitate functional competence and intergovernmental harmony between and among the levels of government in existence in Nigeria.

VII. Challenges of Political Restructuring in Nigeria

There is an unequivocal need for political restructuring of the Nigerian state as observable from the above analytical discourse. Also observable is that there have previous attempts made towards the restructuring of the Nigerian state. Why then is it that no impact has been felt? What factor is inhibiting and challenging the restructuring of the pseudo-federalist structure of Nigeria? This paper aspect in an attempt to do justice to these questions have outlined and buttressed below the factors that are responsible for the unresponsiveness and fruitlessness of political restructuring struggle in Nigeria. These factors amongst others include:

Elite interest: This appears to be a major problem facing political restructuring of Nigeria. The politico-economic elites of the country who are being favoured in one way or the other by the existing political structure of nigeria influence negatively the struggle for political restructuring. These set of people constitute the wealthy, the politicians and even some elected government officials. In the words of Ujah & Agbakwuru (2017), one of the reasons that the northerners shun the call for political restructuring is because of their landmass and population which grants the northern political elites the opportunity of being appointed in large numbers into government positions and using land to hustle for fund in Abuja. Also in the words of the former Governor of Akwa Ibom state, Obong Victor Attah as cited in Ujah & Agbakwuru (2017), "no governor today will lift a finger or put himself out to diversify or second restructuring when every month he can come to Abuja to collect his share of the booty. The only reason he would do so is if he knows that the survival of his state depends on it". This outrightly shows that the call for restructuring has fallen to the dictates of the politico-economic elites of the Nigerian society. Thus, they become a strong challenger of the bid to restructure the pseudo-federalist political structure of Nigeria.

Fear of domination: This is another problem of political restructuring in Nigeria. Ojukwu (1989) asserted that the problem with Nigeria is rooted in the fear of unity between the ethnic constituents of the country. This fear is predicated on the nature of allowing one ethnic group to dominate and is prevalent amongst the northern region of Nigeria. Sani cited in Nuhu (2016) stated that the north is opposed to restructuring because there is nothing to restructure. He argued that those who clamour for political restructuring or true federalism to enable each region and/ or constituent unit to develop at its own pace are unwittingly advocating that Nigerians should leave as if they are in different countries, where some citizens would leave in comfort zones while others would live on the fringe. Also, in the words of Nwaorgu & Erondu (2010), an attempt to restructure nigeria in 1966 and 1967 was battered by the northerners because of fear of domination of the southern region and the consequent was the genocidal war. From the above, the fear of having nothing and having the southern region dominate the northern has in a tremendous way inhibited political restructuring of the country as the northerners who are acclaimed the most populous would not consent for fear of a domineering uprising of the southern region.

Political idiosyncrasy: The political ideology of most of the politicians and citizens of Nigeria is one that is based on suboptimalism. By this, they are only concerned of their own self interest and not concerned about the interest of all other people living within the diasporic federating units. Hence, their fight for or against restructuring will depend on how it will affect their self interest even at the detriment of others. This political mindset makes some persons whose interest is neither within the politics of Nigeria nor its governance to remain apathetic towards the call for political restructuring despite their seeing the enormous decadence caused by pseudo-federalist practices within the country. This in all ramifications is a inhibition of political restructuring because had these set of people been nationalistic and hold the interest of their country high, they would have added their effort for the call for

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restructuring and in no little way, the impact of their voice might foster the political restructuring of the Nigerian state.

Military Incursion: The effect of military incursion on Nigerian politics at the early age of Nigerian independence is till date an inhibitor of political restructuring. The incursion of the military into the politics of Nigeria enhanced the fear of domination in Nigeria which in no little way has challenged the political restructuring of the Nigerian state. Similarly, the military constitution which is unitary in nature was imposed on Nigeria following democratic transition and was made written and rigid despite its non-federalist nature. This makes it quite difficult for the federalist political structure of Nigeria to be easily restructured since the Nigerian constitution which shared powers and responsibilities unequally is the root of Nigerian federalism and is thus far, written and rigid, making it difficult to amend. If this unitary constitution in a federalist format is difficult to amend, it then follows that the structure it laid would be difficult to be restructured.

Corruption: This is an *anguis in herba* – a snake conveniently hidden in the grassland of Nigeria social scene. The struggle for political restructuring has seen shades of manifestation of corruption in different dimensions. There are corrupt officials who are but political restructuring entrepreneurs using the call for political restructuring as a way to gain favour from the government or gain recognition or even paid. Once they achieve this, they end their call and move towards discouraging the call for political restructuring in Nigeria. Typical examples are in the cases of Asari Dokubo, Ralph Uwazurike and others who ended their struggle for political restructuring of Nigeria when they gained recognition and favour from the government. This is an absolute inhibition of political restructuring in Nigeria. Similarly, corruption has also manifested in the struggle for political restructuring in the nature of presence of corrupt recidivistic politicos who having been in the position of government ab initio have also resorted to influence those in government now who are more like their godsons not to effect political restructuring. A typical example is the case of Rtd. Gen. Yakubu Gowon firmly standing behind President Muhammadu Buhari on non-effection of political restructuring in Nigeria. This is a strong challenge against the political restructuring of Nigeria and one that need urgent attention.

Fear of suppression: This is seen on the part of the citizens. The struggle for political restructuring is not meant only for the nationalist groups, the politicians, scholars and elites but for all the citizens. Observable is that one the reasons for the non-involvement of some citizens in the struggle for political restructuring is the undemocratic use of military to suppress political restructuring agitators. Lots of lives of those calling for the political restructuring have been lost in this form and most citizen dread of losing their own lives too. This fear of military suppression in a uni-dimensional way has adversely affected the call for political restructuring of Nigerian state.

Citizenry laissez-faire attitude: This is another inhibitor of political restructuring in Nigeria. The Nigerian citizens as a result of fear of suppression, ignorance, corrupt mindset and politicization exhibits lack lustrous and carefree attitude towards the struggle for political restructuring of the Nigerian federalism. This attitudinal deficiency is one of projectile factors that have necessitated the un-realization of the restructuring of the pseudo- federalist political structure of the Nigerian State.

The nature of the existing structure: The nature of the existing political structure of Nigeria is one that has an adversary effect on the restructuring struggle. This existing political structure is one that has a rigid constitution that makes it hard for restructuring to be effected. Similarly, the existing political structure of the Nigerian Federation allocated more land mass and population to the northern region of the country. This in all reasonableness is negatively affecting the political restructuring struggle as the higher population of the northern region makes it extremely difficult for the stance of the southern region on political restructuring to be adopted; giving to the fact that northern region is comparatively favoured by the existing pseudo-federalist political structure of Nigeria than the southern region.

Weak institution: In the words of Ocholi (2009), "the government institutions who were strategic to the country's pursuit of democratic ideas instead of serving as the bulwark of democracy, have become weakened by inefficiency, corruption, lack of commitment, incompetence, tribalism, hooliganisms and other sundry handicaps". This weakness of government institutions is negatively felt on the political restructuring struggle of Nigerians. The government institutions who in the past have been assigned restructuring role had woefully failed in the performance of the assigned duty due to the weakness of the said institutions caused by the factors listed by Ocholi. An instance is the case of Revenue mobilization and fiscal allocation commission who was and still is charged with the responsibility of structuring revenue allocation in such a way that will restructure the federal character of the country. Had they efficiently carried out their responsibilities, the ill-federalist revenue allocation problem trending in Nigeria today would have been a thing of the past. This shows the extent to which government institutional weakness has affected the political restructuring of the Nigerian state.

Ethno-regional rivalry: The issue of ethno-regional rivalry in Nigeria is an age-long one that till date is militating against political restructuring of the Nigerian state. Following the rivalry among the ethno-regional

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nationalities in Nigeria emanating from development, resource concentration and resource allocation with a matching fear of domination, the ethno-regional bodies (especially the southern and northern region) have failed to come to agreement on restructuring. This is because they believe that restructuring would make one region more developed than the other and as such, the region that thinks that political restructuring might not fully favour them having conceived the other as a rival, tend not to agree to the adoption of political restructure as a way to eliminate the pseudo-federalist practices in Nigeria. This is solid wall on the way of political restructure which will be difficult to demolish.

VIII. Nigerian Political Restructuring: the Way Forward

The issue of political restructuring in Nigeria is one that needs an addressing touch because Nigerian political structure is long overdue for restructuring. Therefore, in a bid to tackle the hydra-headed monsters impeding the political restructuring of Nigeria and in order to facilitate the birth of a new and improved political structure that will be suitable to the current civilization of Nigeria and ease the country of the tensions and conflicts emanating from pseudo-federalist practice; this paper recommends the following:

1. The country should be re-federalized in such a way that the ill-federal practices observed within this paper are abrogated.
2. The political structure of Nigeria should be made cooperative federalism instead of pseudo-federalism so that the ethno-regional entities interests would be mutually integrated in the formation of a serene sociopolitical structured Nigeria.
3. The Nigerian government institutions should be re-strengthened in such a way that they are made viable in performance and impenetrable by corruption so that they can easily implement political restructuring should it be adopted.
4. The entire citizens of Nigeria irrespective of tribe or region of origin should be value re-oriented and psychologically engineered towards understanding the need for both unity in their diversities and advantage of politically restructuring the country into an egalitarian society. This will also make them to change their laissez-faire attitude and embark on a nationalistic call for restructuring without fear of suppression.
5. The Nigerian constitution should be abolished and re-enacted following a democratic process to lay foundation for true federalism in practice, with sufficient citizenry consultation and referendum.
6. There should be periodic constitutional review and conference (at least every five years) involving all ethno-regional entities and states of the federation to checkmate the functionality of the Nigerian federalism and integrate the interests of the minorities in governance.
7. The contents of all the legislative lists should be re-shared and made to reflect the coordinate nature of all levels of government.
8. There should be equal representation of all ethno-regional entities in all affairs of the country especially in the appointment of people into government offices.
9. There should be revolutionary expunge of pseudo-federalist practices and any culprit attempting it should be severely punished.
10. The state government should be allowed to engage in their own policing to ensure effective security of lives and properties.
11. The country should be structured to have regional equality in number of states and local governments, land mass and population.
12. There should be meritocratic adherence to the principles of federal character of the country and not using it as an instrument of favouritism for any region of the country.
13. The state governments of the country should have ultimate right to exploit and utilize the resources within their territorial domain and remit taxes to the federal government.
14. The states of the federation which have other mineral resource other than oil should also be included in the operation of derivation principle.

IX. Conclusion

The issue of restructuring Nigerian political structure is a topical issue that trends on the front page of the paper of every scholar or elite in Nigeria. No matter how one wants to elude it, this issue needs a quality look and an addressing touch. Therefore, this paper urges all Nigerians and their leaders to stop playing the ostrich on the issue of restructuring the Nigerian political structure. A joint effort towards restructuring the Nigerian federalism will make Nigeria a better country were needless tensions and conflicts are minimal and where the sub-national government are not reduced to mere appendages. Therefore, to achieve this, urgent steps should be taken in the execution of the recommendations of this paper so as to change the status quo to one that will work despite the multifarious ethnic-regional nationalities in the country.

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Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 18 Issue 5 Version 1.0 Year 2018
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Is Nigeria a Failed State? A Commentary on the Boko Haram Insurgency

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Abstract- This paper examined the Boko Haram violence in northern Nigeria using the analytical lens of state failure through state-level analysis. It also stressed that the socioeconomic and political grievances in the North-Eastern region of Nigeria do not only contribute to the operational success of Boko Haram but also to the continuing inability of the Nigerian state to deal with the challenge to ensure national prosperity effectively. Having established that the current "sectarian" conflict in Nigeria is a factor of Nigeria state failure the government therefore needs to actively respond to the plight of its people. Increasing rates of poverty and unemployment should be seriously addressed and more attention needs to be accorded to security issues in the country. The government also needs to ensure adequate protection of domestic cultures and economies in the age of neo-liberal globalisation.

GJHSS-F Classification: *FOR Code: 040608*



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I. Introduction

With over 250 ethnic groups and a large Christian and Islamic presence, post-independence Nigeria has remained culturally, religiously and ethnically heterogeneous. This high level of diversity amongst its total population of over 190 million people (World Population Prospects, 2017), colonial history and its postcolonial social, economic and political problems and challenges have contributed to the conflicts and violence in parts of the mainly Muslim northern region. Thus, it seems that "the mention of Nigeria anywhere in the world increasingly stirs up images of poverty, crime, ethnoreligious violence, and terrorism." (Maiangwa & Uzodike, 2012:2). Undeniably, these ascriptions, especially present Boko Haram conflict, serve as a stratum that perpetually threatens to tear at the basic of Nigeria's stability, unity and prosperity as a nation. One of these conflicts, which this essay examines, is the Boko Haram-Nigeria conflict. Since 2009, Boko Haram has spearheaded many violent attacks in Nigeria. The attacks, which show evidence of increasing sophistication and coordination, are strategically targeted at Nigeria's ethno-religious fault lines as well as national security forces in a bid to hurt the nation's stability (Onuah&Eboh 2011:9). In particular, a wave of attacks against churches from December 2011 through July 2012 suggests a strategy of provocation through which the sect seeks to spark a large scale of sectarian conflict that will weaken the country's stability (Forest 2012: 15). It is in this light that this paper explains the terrorism of the Boko Haram group at the state level by establishing a linkage between it and the present condition of the Nigerian state – characterised by deficiencies and failures.

a) *Boko Haram: A Conceptualization*

The name Boko Haram is taken from a combination of the Hausa word "Boko" meaning book, and the Arabic word "Haram" meaning forbidden. Put together, Boko Haram literally means "Western education is forbidden" (Agbiboa, 2013:145). However, the sect has rejected this description in preference for "Western culture is forbidden." The variance, as one of the senior members of Boko Haram noted, is that "while the first suggest that we are against the formal education coming from the West . . . which is not true, the second assert our belief in the supremacy of Islamic culture (not education), for culture, is wider, it includes education but not resolute by Western education" (Onuoha 2012: 1–2). Boko Haram formally calls itself "Jama" atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda" watiwal Jihad" meaning "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad" (US Department of State June 21, 2012).

Muhammad Isa (2010:322) noted, "The term Boko Haram implies a sense of rejection and resistance to the imposition of Western education and its system of colonial social organisation, which replaced and degraded the earlier Islamic order of the jihadist state." Boko Haram's ideology is rooted in the profound tradition of Islamism and is but one of several variants of fundamental Islamism to have emerged in northern Nigeria. The sect is reportedly induced by the Koranic verse (TMQ 5: 44): "Anyone who is not governed by what Allah has revealed is among the transgressors" (cited in Thurston 2011). Boko Haram is strappingly against what it sees as a Western-based incursion that threatens traditional values, beliefs, and customs among Muslim communities in northern Nigeria. The Boko Haram group was led by Mohammed Yusuf until he was killed by Nigerian security forces just after the sectarian violence in Nigeria in July 2009, which caused over 1,000 deaths, now the present leader is Abubakar Shekau (Umar 2011:3).

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b) State Level Analysis: The Case Of Nigeria

A Nigerian poet, Chinua Achebe wrote that Nigeria "is an example of a country that has fallen down; it has collapsed" (Achebe, 1983:1). Whereas the Nigerian project has continued and has not really collapsed, such views are strengthened by certain problems in the country which reflect a form of state failure. Nigeria typifies a perfect example of a failing and a weak state that is fast gravitating towards a failed or collapsed state like Somalia and others. The existing works on state failure and its groups seem useful in this regard. According to Robert Rotberg, "nation-states fail because they can no longer deliver positive political goods to their people", and he listed these political goods to include education, healthcare, security, social infrastructure, employment opportunities, and the legal framework for law and order. As a result of this, the government loses its legitimacy in the eyes of its citizens. The state is therefore characterised by an intense and enduring violence, which is usually directed against the existing government (Rotberg 2002:85, 87). Nigeria obviously fits into this explicit narrative. Presently, Nigeria is ranked 14th on the Fragile State Index published annually by Foreign Policy (Foreign Policy, 2018). State failure in Nigeria has an unswerving connection with the state's high level of corruption, as Rotberg has rightly argued: "state failure is man-made and not merely accidental" (Rotberg 2002:93). Corruption seems to have a position in Nigeria as a political culture. State resources are commonly syphoned by political elites. Governments are irresponsible and irresponsive to the demands of the people. There are increasing rates of poverty and unemployment in the country. 54.7% of the nation's population lives in abject poverty according to the World Bank index (Forest, 2012). Therefore, there is general dissatisfaction in the country from a mass of unemployed youths. Non-state actors including religious and ethnic-tribal leaders often interfere to ameliorate the miseries of the people and thus enjoy total allegiance from them. These actors easily engage the masses, especially the youths, to promote their personal, political and economic benefits. They further exploit the porosity of the state's borders and general security deficiencies in the country to smuggle all manner of arms and ammunitions to cause chaos in the state for the promotion of their individual interests. This has driven Nigeria back to the Hobbesian state of nature in which life is "poor, nasty, brutish and short" (Onapajo & Uzodike, 2012, 32). Lately, Nigeria has become a theatre of war resulting from a series of ethnoreligious, ethnic-tribal and political conflicts that have left thousands of people dead – particularly in the Niger Delta and northern region of the country.

Furthermore, Ayegba cited in David, Asuelime, et al (2015:91) has argued that poverty and unemployment are the driving forces behind the insurgency in Nigeria. Further, in the study, Ayegba claimed that the high rate of youth unemployment has resulted in poverty and insecurity in the country (David, Asuelime, et al 2015:96). David et al. argued, "socio-economic indices such as poverty, unemployment, inequality, economic underdevelopment, low education, inter alia, underlie the emergence and persistence of Boko Haram terrorism."(David, Asuelime, et al, 2015:83).The theory of relative deprivation explains that when people feel deprived of something they are expected to have, they become discontent, hence could use violence to express their grievances (Parida, 2015:130-131). Ted Gurr (1970) in his book "Why Men Rebel" argues that people become dissatisfied if they feel they have less than they should and could have. Over time, such dissatisfaction leads to frustration and then rebellion against the (real or perceived) source of their deprivation. Outlining in his studies of relative deprivation and conflict in Northern Ireland, Barrel (1972: 317) contends that group tensions develop from a discrepancy between the "ought" and the "is" of collective value satisfaction. Likewise, Davies (1962) maintains that the occasion of political violence is due to the insupportable gap between what people want and what they get; the difference between expectations and gratifications: "this discrepancy is a frustrating experience that is sufficiently intense and focused to result in either rebellion or revolution" (Davies 1962: 5) and these group dissatisfaction can be ascribe to state failure. It is within this perspective that the Boko Haram terrorism can be accurately understood from the state level analysis.

It must be noted that the menace of Boko Haram thrives in the northern part of Nigeria, which has the highest rates of poverty and illiteracy in the country. Facts from the national office of statistics indicate that the North constantly topped the list of poverty rate at a regional level in the country between 1980 - 2010. Indeed, Charles Soludo, the former governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, raised the alarm that the steadily high rate of poverty in the country is a "northern phenomenon" and a "national crisis" that needed crucial attention. Supporting his argument with statistical facts, he maintained that eight out of the ten states with the highest rate of poverty in the country in 2008 were from the northern regions and that poverty in some of the northern states was as high as 95% (Soludo cited in Business Tribune 2008:7). Majority of members of the Boko Haram sect are motivated by monetary benefits, drawing from the fact that most of its members are unemployed youths (Onapajo & Uzodike 2012:31). The factor of widespread poverty and unemployment was also especially highlighted in the final report submitted by the Presidential Committee on the menace of the group to the government in September 2011. (Ikuomola, 2011).

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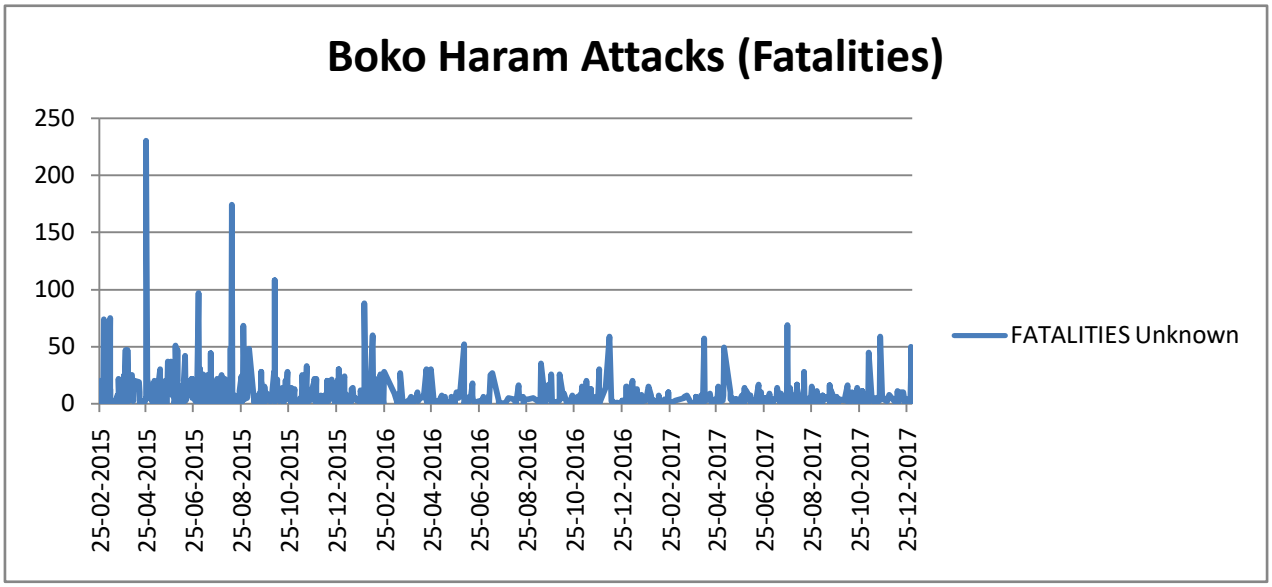
Also, Apart from poverty and inadequate security, the negligence of security officers and general impunity in the country are clearly significant factors that aid the activities of the sect. It was reported that there were a series of warnings and reports to the police and government of the imminent danger of the group by imams within its areas of operation, but there was no response to these warnings until the sect's major clash with security operatives in July 2009. Likewise, reports indicate that Mamman Nur, the mastermind behind the August 2011 attack on the UN building, and others in the sect were earlier arrested and released by the country's State Security Service (SSS) (Onapajo & Uzodike, 2012:32).



Source: Global Terrorism Dataset, University of Maryland

Also, the Presidential Panel tasked to investigate the menace of Boko Haram admitted that "there was no effective and co-ordinated intelligence gathering and deployment to forestall crime" following the most recent attacks by the group (Ikuomola cited in Onapajo & Uzodike, 2012:32). The permeability of Nigeria's borders has also assisted in easy access to arms and ammunition used by the sect. An Islamic scholar, Sheik Mohammad Auwal Al-Bani, familiar with the operations of the group said that its members "load weapons on top of camel[s] in the name of grazing and enter Nigeria" from neighbouring countries including Chad and the Niger Republic (cited in Onapajo & Uzodike, 2012:33). In addition, thriving illegal bomb manufacturing in the country has also facilitated terrorism. For example, in September 2011 in Chechnya village, in a secluded part of the Tafa Local Government Area of Niger State, the SSS invaded a bomb-making factory that had a substantial connection with the group (Adisa&Usigbe, 2011:7). Also, a bomb-making industry was discovered in Rafi n Guza area of Kaduna state in April 2011 (Ibrahim, 2011:4). This is also coupled with the fact that the Nigerian legal system is slow in its prosecution of suspected terrorists and general criminal cases. It has been reported that more than 200 arrested members of the group are still being held in various prisons in the country, without trial. This is also somewhat informed by the general insecurity in the country. Overall, the Boko Haram attacks have become essential symbols of Nigeria's structural weakness and susceptibility. The sect has actually intensified and extended its activities to states outside of its operational base including Kano, Kaduna, Plateau, Bauchi, Gombe, and Abuja; the federal capital territory.

II. Conclusion

This paper has analysed the Boko Haram violence in northern Nigeria using the analytical lens of state failure through state-level analysis and also liked northern socioeconomic and political grievances not only to the operational success of Boko Haram but also to the continuing inability of the Nigerian state to deal with the challenge to ensure national prosperity effectively. Having established that the current "sectarian" conflict in Nigeria is a factor of Nigeria state failure thus the government needs to actively respond to the plight of its people. Increasing rates of poverty and unemployment should be seriously addressed. Some gravity also needs to be accorded to security issues in the country. The government also needs to ensure adequate protection of domestic cultures and economies in the age of neo-liberal globalisation.

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Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 18 Issue 5 Version 1.0 Year 2018
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Land Conflicts and Violence in the Brazilian Amazon Region

By Artur Zimerman

Abstract- The Brazilian Amazon region is the scene of the greatest number of deaths resulting from land disputes in the democratic period (1985 onwards). Such territorial conflicts occur at the time of the growing concentration of this natural resource in the hands of a few owners, whether of the old landowners or the modern structure of agribusiness. Data will be analyzed on agrarian violence, pointing out its main victims and the perpetrators in this type of conflict. The concentration of land has a new face with the acquisition by transnational conglomerates and countries interested in the food sovereignty of their populations, where large tracts of land are purchased to produce food and energy.

Keywords: *agrarian violence; land conflicts; concentration of land; democracy.*

GJHSS-F Classification: *FOR Code: 040608*

LAND CONFLICTSANDVIOLENCEINTHEBRAZILIANAMAZONREGION

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Land Conflicts and Violence in the Brazilian Amazon Region

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Abstract- The Brazilian Amazon region is the scene of the greatest number of deaths resulting from land disputes in the democratic period (1985 onwards). Such territorial conflicts occur at the time of the growing concentration of this natural resource in the hands of a few owners, whether of the old landowners or the modern structure of agribusiness. Data will be analyzed on agrarian violence, pointing out its main victims and the perpetrators in this type of conflict. The concentration of land has a new face with the acquisition by transnational conglomerates and countries interested in the food sovereignty of their populations, where large tracts of land are purchased to produce food and energy.

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I. Introduction

The Brazilian military government created the Land Statute at the beginning of its governance on 11/30/1964 by Law 4.504. This was the strategy used by the rulers to appease the peasants and reassure the great landowners. Its goals were basically two: (1) the implementation of agrarian reform and (2) the development of agriculture. Such goals seemed at first contradictory. After more than half a century of its creation, the Land Statute managed to achieve the second goal only, not carrying out a serious agrarian reform, which would distribute land to those who needed the most. Direction pointed to the continued concentration of land in the hands of big landowners, primarily the landowner and later large agribusiness conglomerates, since the call for state land distribution, especially in areas sparsely inhabited in the country, such as the Amazon region, was from '*land without men to men without land*'. However, it was not for the poor, but for businesses (usually from non-landowners) and large investors. Even so, many families without resources came to the region and settled on land as squatters, giving the necessary ingredients for land conflicts in the country[1].

Another change that was part of the goal of developing the country, especially in remote locations and close to borders, was the creation of a tax-free zone for industries in the city of Manaus, capital of the state of Amazonas, encouraging the mobility of people and companies to those regions, aiming to ensure safety for the Brazilian territory from aggressions coming from other countries or armed groups through the development and increase of the population. We must not forget the historical context where the Cold War was at its height and the military regime felt the need and the duty to protect against the communist threat and guerrillas that would be more hidden in places with low population density and the Amazon region.

From the mid-1980s onwards, the country became democratized and several governments signaled towards agrarian reform with timid measures since there were strong interest groups that wanted the *status quo* on this issue, including creating a ruralist bench by parliamentarians from various parties who were claiming privileges for owners of vast tracts of land who were opponents of agrarian reform. This group was formed by several political parties that comprised governmental alliances with the democratic administrations, passing through the governance of presidents Jose Sarney (1985-1989), Fernando Collor de Melo / Itamar Franco (1990-1994), Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002) , Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010), Dilma Vana Rousseff (2011-2016). Therefore, there was ambiguity in voting on land distribution and agricultural activity in general as far as the National Congress (Chamber of Deputies and Federal Senate) was concerned. Just so to have an idea, in 1994 and 1998 there were about 150 parliamentarians who formed this Ruralist Bench with parties ranging from the ideological spectrum from the right to the center left, rendering agrarian reform unfeasible (HAMMOND 2009: 164).

Poverty affects more the rural population than the urban population, where three quarters of the world's poor live today and Brazil also follows the same path (BORRAS Jr. and FRANCO 2012: 36). Less industrialized regions are the poorest. For instance, in 1998, the average family income *per capita* in rural Brazil was R$ 102.90, representing only 35% of the *per capita* income of the urban area, which was R$ 292.40 (SCHNEIDER and FIALHO 2000: 120). However, because this population layer has low electoral weight, there are almost no public policies that reduce this disparity.

With the return of democracy, the representation of previously excluded groups came to have an effect. The rural poor were organized and demanded a better redistribution of land, with only 1% of

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[1] Based on interviews in 2007 with agrarian leaderships and representatives in the sector.

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rural owners controlling 50% of arable land in the country (WOLFORD 2010). Social movements and popular movements such as the Landless Workers Movement (MST), the National Confederation of Workers in Agriculture (CONTAG), the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), and others were established or strengthened. Even so, we see in the following table that those benefited by the various democratic governments in Brazil were a few.

Table 1: Agrarian Reform and democratic governments, 1985-2015.

Democratic Governments	Settled families	Average number of settled families / year
Sarney (1985-90)	82.689	16.538
Collor/Franco (1991-4)	35.600	8.900
FHC (1995-2002)	584.655	73.082
Lula (2003-10)	614.088	76.761
Dilma (2011-15)	133.635	26.727
Total (1985-2015)	*1.450.667*	*46.796*

Source: By the author (based on data from CPT 1985 - 2015 and IBGE).

The vast majority have been left out and are fighting for better survival conditions, since the number of families who live in the countryside and support them but are not the formal owners of the land is far greater than those benefited by the state redistribution of land. This includes small owners who own insufficient space to survive than they produce.

II. The Amazon Region and Agricultural Violence

We cannot talk about Brazil on the subject of agrarian violence, without addressing the data from the Amazon region, which presents 64% of all the deaths caused by land disputes in the country during the democratic period. This situation derives from what has been mentioned previously and encompasses, in addition to the growing concentration of land, a distribution of land by governments of the military regime to large companies that did not belong to the agrarian sector. The poor mass of rural dwellers barely benefited from this policy. And yet, in democratic governments, the correction was small and even in governments considered center-left and left with strong social and popular appeal, many[2] were left out. Among the regions with unproductive land and distribution potential, the Amazon region stands out, and is where a good part of the conflicts occurred in the country, as suggested in the table below.

Table 2: Agrarian deaths in the *Legal Amazon* and Brazil (1985 - 2015).

Region	State/Region	Deaths	Municipalities (deaths / municipality)	Deaths per 100,000[3]
Legal Amazon	RO (Rondônia)	104	52 (2.0)	25,17
	AC (Acre)	18	22 (0.82)	8,94
	AM (Amazonas)	54	62 (0.87)	7,41
	RR (Roraima)	28	15 (1.87)	26,51
	PA (Pará)	507	143 (3.55)	21,22
	AP (Amapá)	6	16 (0.38)	8,76
	TO (Tocantins)	43	139 (0.31)	14,66
	MT (Mato Grosso)	131	141 (0.93)	23,72
	MA (Maranhão)	148	217 (0.68)	6,07
Total Legal Amazon		1039	808 (1.29)	14,47
Total other regions in Brazil		587	4756 (0.12)	2,59
Total Brazil		1626	5563 (0.29)	5,45

[2] Of what we call the *Legal Amazon*, which includes the states of Rondônia, Acre, Amazonas, Roraima, Pará, Amapá, Tocantins, Mato Grosso, and the western portion of Maranhão.
[3]Data estimated by IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) for the rural population- year 2010.

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Certainly the states of Pará, Maranhão, Mato Grosso and Rondônia stand out negatively for agrarian violence, where 890 (or 55% of the deaths) occurred in the last 31 years of democracy. In Pará, this number is much higher when compared to the others. In order not to compare states of different size or with discrepant populations, we included two more indexes: deaths by municipalities and deaths per 100,000 people. The first one is related to territories and the second one is related to population size. In Pará, this number is still higher in both cases amongst Mato Grosso, Rondônia and Roraima with high rates of deaths from land disputes.

However, besides the number of deaths per state and also the Legal Amazon, who is dying in these conflicts? The Pastoral Land Commission (CPT) publishes an annual report with disaggregated data. The report allows us to slightly understand these numbers. The following table gives us a description of this phenomenon.

Table 3: Number of deaths[4] in land conflicts in the Amazon region (1985 - 2015) by category / profession

Category / Profession														
Lawyer, civil servant	Settled	Miner	Indigenous people	Leader	Other	Small tenant	Small owner	Politician	Squatter	Religious figure	Rural unionist	Rural worker	Landless	Total of deaths
8 0,77%	65 6,26%	41 3,95%	62 5,97%	94 9,05%	45 4,33%	8 0,77%	74 7,12%	6 0,58%	284 27,33%	9 0,87%	56 5,39%	151 14,53%	135 12,99%	1039 100%

Source: Based on data from the Pastoral Land Commission (1985 - 2015).

The largest group of those who die from land disputes are squatters. Even this percentage is higher than the Brazilian average of 22 points. In the Legal Amazon region itself, squatters represent 27.33 percent of the victims of agrarian violence. Recovering from interviews with leaders of social movements, it is very likely to say that a large part of these victims arrived in the region because of the distribution that the then military government gave to companies and big investors and simply took possession of a piece of land without any formal documentation and began to work on it. Such a feat caused conflicts with the formal owners, who hired security guards and were threatened and even killed by them, even if such lands were unproductive. Moreover, the new Federal Constitution of 1988, Article 186, requires proof to the owners that the land performs its social function and is not unproductive, not to be expropriated and redistributed to peasants without (or with little) land (FEDERAL CONSTITUTION 1988).

Such a fundamental law contradicts the Brazilian Civil Code that defends private property. Courts often rule in favor of property owners. These legal contradictions can intensify conflicts over land disputes (ALSTON et al., 1999: 137), and encourage the use of violence as a means of defending each side in this current model. On the side of the large landowners, many of them in the Amazon region, there was a part that falsified documents with the help of local notaries, placing them in drawers with crickets (*grilos* as in Brazilian Portuguese) to give an old and yellowish appearance to the supposed documents, and which became known as *Grilagem de Terra*, equivalent to Land Grabbing (ZIMERMAN 2012: 45).

However, apart from squatters, other categories that add to the number of victims of these conflicts are rural and landless workers, leaders of social movements, small landowners and settlers, among others. The boundaries of the agrarian units generate a lot of conflict, since there is usually no fence in the entire land belonging to an owner, and the pressure of the large is strong for the small ones to feel threatened. There are even small conflicts with victims as well. The landless are organized in movements that have strategies to influence the distribution of land, occupying unproductive areas to be expropriated by the State and later indemnified and transformed into settlements.

It attempts to explain the large number of deaths from land conflicts justifying that land is a valuable natural resource just like in other conflicts which result in many deaths in order to possess other precious resources. Examples in this regard may be the extraction of valuable minerals (diamond, gold, silver), fossil fuel wells (oil), extraction of wood, extraction and production of illicit drugs (coca leaves, cocaine; *cannabis sativa* leaf, marijuana and *hashish*; poppy, opium) and several other items that have a high added value for criminals to appropriate and fight for such resources / products (ZIMERMAN 2016). The Amazon region is very rich in several ores (Vale exploits a good part of them in the area in question), besides legal and illegal extraction of wood. That is, there is much to explore and there is marked deforestation, where state control is small. There is no basic structure for government agencies to account for monitoring and avoiding such delicts and offenses.

We have shown data of fatal victims in conflicts over land disputes in Brazil and in the Amazon region specifically, in addition to the categories of victims. It is worth presenting data on the most violent municipalities, with the highest number of fatalities in the country. Therefore, there is a table with the Brazilian municipalities where 10 or more victims have died in land conflicts since the redemocratization process.

[4] The Pastoral Land Commission only considers the deaths of peasants or their supporters.

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Table 4: Brazilian municipalities with 10 or more agrarian deaths (1985 - 2015)

Position	25 Municipalities	State	Deaths	Deaths*100 thousand/estimated population in 2015[5]
1	Xinguara	PA	61	**142,41**
2	Marabá	PA	45	17,17
3	São Felix do Xingu	PA	35	30,12
4	Eldorado do Carajás	PA	30	91,84
5	Parauapebas	PA	25	13,16
6	São João do Araguaia	PA	23	**170,11**
7	Novo Repartimento	PA	22	31,06
	Rio Maria	PA	22	**124,03**
9	Mucajaí	RR	21	**128,21**
	Santa Luzia	MA	21	29,55
11	Benjamin Constant	AM	17	43,06
	Conceição do Araguaia	PA	17	36,64
	Aripuanã	MT	17	82,30
14	Alta Floresta	MT	16	32,01
15	Porto Velho	RO	15	2,98
	Vilhena	RO	15	16,34
	Tailândia	PA	15	15,44
18	Santana do Araguaia	PA	14	20,89
19	Anapu	PA	13	51,15
20	Curionópolis	MT	11	62,12
	Paragominas	PA	11	10,28
	Redenção	PA	11	13,61
23	Corumbiara	RO	10	113,10
	Lábrea	AM	10	23,11
	Jauru	MT	10	108,21

Source: Own authorship (based on data from IBGE 2015).

There are 14 municipalities located in the state of Pará, which include the 8 most violent in the country. Of all 25 municipalities, there is none outside the Amazon region. This impresses and places this region in prominence, making us wonder the reasons for this negative phenomenon. The death rate per 100,000 inhabitants was included to give the proportional notion of victims and to regulate the population size of each municipality.

III. Democracy and the Role in Reducing Agrarian Violence

There were many more fatal victims in the post-1985 democratic period than during the military regime (1964-1984), according to the data analyzed (LANDLESS WORKERS MOVEMENT 1986; CPT 1985-2015), and this goes against the logic of at least what it should be. The Democratic Peace Theory (RUSSETT et al., 1995) shows that democratic countries do not wage war against other democratic countries. But, they decide their differences based on dialogue and negotiation. The same is not true of countries that do not have a democratic regime. We could infer that the same should occur within countries with a democratic regime, with an emphasis on negotiation and internal dialogue, interest groups and the State and government. Thus, we would not have this violence that actually occurs in the countryside. However, the numbers show opposite tendency and how to explain such phenomenon?

However, if we use the quantitative literature of civil wars, we will see that rigid autocracies and consolidated democracies are not as vulnerable to the onset of civil war as hybrid regimes (known as *anocratic* in this literature), indicating a mixture of democratic and autocratic regimes which are located in the midst of a gradation of democracy (HEGRE *et alli* 2001; ZIMERMAN 2005), as some instruments that measure the democratic level do (eg, *Polity*). Clearly there is no civil war or danger of impending civil war in Brazil. But our democracy is not so consolidated and therefore, there is freedom of speech alongside repression against protests. Such contrasts can lead to escalating violence.

IV. Final Considerations

The Amazon region presents alarming data on agrarian violence due to land disputes and the difference between this part of the country and the rest in this area is very high and worrisome.

[5] The estimate is for the total population in 2015 and not rural population as we do not have this data, which would greatly increase the index in question.

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Clearly there is a behavioral pattern in this region that is peculiar in the production of violence resulting in land disputes:

1. Greater concentration of agribusiness, financial investors, and unproductive latifundia;
2. Production of raw materials for energy, such as sugar cane, and biodiesel material;
3. Severe deforestation, with livestock raising and burning, deteriorating the regional environment, besides projects to create hydroelectric plants with irreparable environmental damage;
4. Exploration of ores and large companies involved in this productive sector (Vale);
5. Acquisition of land by foreigners and directed to food sovereignty and production of energy (ZIMERMAN 2014);
6. Low population density and natural wealth, which makes it possible to distance authorities and impose force (almost) without resistance;
7. Social movements that organize groups to resist through varied strategies, increasing the level of conflict between opposing groups.

The State is the only entity that could avoid something worse and try to reduce violence between opposing parties. However, even in interviews conducted in the region, many inquired that the state is not present to avoid confrontation and impose negotiation and agreement with rival parties. Thus, there is the tacit green light that if the state is not present to impose order and propose alternatives (either through agrarian reform, reparation, legal enforcement, among others), each side will seek to strengthen and enforce its own rules. Thus, many more people should die by land conflicts and the violence will not end.

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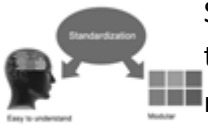

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Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

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 homan 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.



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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 though 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.

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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.



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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.



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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.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

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

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

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

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ISSN 975587

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