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The "Satanic Mill" in Neoliberalism

Socio-Political Stability in Rivers State

Highlights

Insecurity and National Development

Political Centralization in Bahia-Brazil

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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A Revolução De 1930 E O Processo De Centralização Política Na Bahia-Brasil (1930-1933)

By Eliana Evangelista Batista
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Abstract- This paper analyzes the process of centralization of power that took place in Brazil after the victory of the revolutionary movement that ocurred 1930. It discusses the role played by Bahia along with the so called Bloco do Norte, wich was the foundation of the new regime, especially in the early years of Getúlio Vargas' provisional and discretionary government that lasted from 1930 to 1934.

Keywords: revolution of 1930; provisional government; political centralization; bahia.

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A Revolução De 1930 E O Processo De Centralização Política Na Bahia-Brasil (1930-1933)

Eliana Evangelista Batista

Resumo- **Este artigo ocupa-se em analisar o processo de centralização de poder que teve lugar no Brasil com a vitória do movimento revolucionário de 1930, considerando o papel desempenhado pela Bahia, em conjunto com o chamado Bloco do Norte, base de sustentação do novo regime, sobretudo nos primeiros anos do governo provisório e discricionário de Getúlio Vargas, que se estendeu de 1930 a 1934.**

Palavras-chaves: revolução de 1930; governo provisório; centralização política; bahia.

Abstract- **This paper analyzes the process of centralization of power that took place in Brazil after the victory of the revolutionary movement that ocurred 1930. It discusses the role played by Bahia along with the so called Bloco do Norte, wich was the foundation of the new regime, especially in the early years of Getúlio Vargas' provisional and discretionary government that lasted from 1930 to 1934.**

Keywords: revolution of 1930; provisional government; political centralization; bahia.

I. Introdução

Em 3 de outubro de 1930 despontou no Brasil um movimento armado que depôs o presidente Whashigton Luís Pereira de Sousa (1869-1957), pondo fim à Primeira República, inaugurada em 15 de novembro de 1889. O Golpe desferido por militares, ao lado de segmentos políticos e civis, passou à História como Revolução de 1930 e, se no conjunto resulta das crises que tiveram lugar no Brasil durante toda a década de 1920 (FERREIRA: 1980), pode-se afirmar que as tramas em torno da sucessão presidencial a partir de 1929, cujo candidato a vice-presidente era um baiano, podem ser lidas como uma de suas principais causas.

Na Bahia, a campanha em favor da Aliança Liberal, agremiação partidária que defendia um nome de oposição ao governo constituído, foi intensificada no mês que antecedeu às eleições, março de 1930. Os primeiros discursos foram realizados em Salvador, capital do estado, entre os dias 5 e 6 de fevereiro. O tempo demasiadamente curto para realizar comícios em todos os municípios levou a uma divisão em caravanas, com o objetivo de percorrer, ao menos, as principais regiões (BATISTA: 2018).

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A campanha da Aliança Liberal não surtiu efeito e como esperado, o situacionismo venceu as eleições nas urnas, elegendo o candidato baiano Vital Soares (1874-1933) ao cargo de vice-presidência do Brasil. Porém, indiferente aos resultados eleitorais, segmentos militares, políticos e civis continuaram conspirando contra o governo constituído.

No âmbito militar, assumiu a liderança da conspiração na Bahia o tenente Joaquim Ribeiro Monteiro, que era sergipano, mas estava àquela época servindo no 19º Batalhão de Caçadores, em Salvador. As instruções de Juarez Távora, militar responsável pelo levante no norte do país, chegavam através de contatos telegráficos e do médico Eduardo Bizarria Mamede que viajava regularmente à Paraíba para colher informações (TAVARES: 2008, 381-382). De fevereiro a maio de 1930, os contatos foram recorrentes e nas missivas enviadas ao líder do movimento na Bahia, Juarez Távora passava as instruções para o sucesso do movimento, especialmente as que objetivam colocar o controle das vias de comunicação sob a responsabilidade dos conspiradores.

A Bahia era ponto estratégico tanto para os revolucionários quanto para o governo central, pois ligava os estados do norte (atual nordeste) aos do centro-sul, ligação esta fundamental para que o movimento ou a sua contenção tivessem sucesso. Nesse estado, o movimento revolucionário foi organizado em três eixos, o primeiro, sob orientação de Juarez Távora, que envolvia principalmente os militares; o segundo, sob orientação e apoio de conspiradores da capital do país, Rio de Janeiro, envolvendo principalmente civis, alguns em contato com agremiações políticas; o terceiro, sob controle das oligarquias baianas do interior e apoio do governador de Minas Gerais, com o envolvimento dos coronéis em dissidência com o governo da Bahia (BATISTA, 2018; BATISTA, 2020).

Com a vitória da Revolução, em 24 de outubro de 1930, a recomposição dos poderes haveria de conciliar essas três forças. Este artigo ocupa-se em analisar esse processo à luz da centralização de poder que teve lugar a partir da nomeação de Getúlio Vargas ao executivo, bem como considerando o lugar da Bahia no chamado Bloco do Norte, base de sustentação do novo regime, sobretudo nos primeiros anos do governo

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provisório e discricionário que se estendeu de novembro de 1930 a julho de 1934.

II. A Vitória da Revolução de 1930 e a Crise Política na Bahia

O movimento revolucionário de 1930 criou no Brasil uma intensa crise política, envolvendo disputas oligárquicas entre os estados e dentro dos estados (WEFFORT: 1980). A questão da constituição do poder foi uma das mais difíceis tarefas do pós-revolução, tendo em vista a crise de hegemonia no país, ou seja, a ausência de uma classe social que fosse ao mesmo tempo dirigente dos seus aliados e dominante dos seus adversários.

Para Gramsci, a inexistência do equilíbrio entre a força e consenso, situação própria de um momento de crise de autoridade cria condições para "soluções de forças", e abre-se "à atividade de potências ocultas representadas pelos homens providenciais e carismáticos" (GRAMSCI: 2007, 60). Isso explica, em relação ao Brasil, a condução de Getúlio Vargas ao poder, em 3 de novembro de 1930.

Na Bahia, depois de intensos conflitos de direção política vivenciados no primeiro ano após a Revolução, com as nomeações de Leopoldo do Amaral e Artur Neiva, dois civis, a nomeação do então tenente Juraci Magalhães, conferiu relativa estabilidade à política do estado e definiu os contornos do novo regime de governo que seria implantado no Brasil.

De caráter provisório, os interventores federais que viessem a ser nomeados para o estado deveriam dar continuidade à campanha revolucionária. Ainda que não houvesse um projeto definido para todo o país, desde os primeiros momentos de conspiração, as instruções repassadas pelos militares orientavam no sentido de que, vencida a batalha, era preciso obter o controle das redes de comunicação, o levantamento de fundos através de uma caixa revolucionário, a aquisição de empréstimos e material bélico, a organização de milícias para garantir a ordem das famílias sertanejas e a distribuição de boletins e panfletos que fizessem propaganda positiva do governo, concitando a população a colaborar com a causa revolucionária.[1]

O esboço do programa revolucionário estampado nas cartas de militares revela as ações de uma administração breve. Embora fosse acordo entre eles que uma ditadura seria necessária para se fazer a transição entre governos constitucionais no país, não se sabia, exatamente, como conduzir o processo. Dulce Chaves Pandolfi chama a atenção para este embate. Segundo ela, uma das principais divergências na pós-revolução era sobre o tempo de duração do governo provisório. Divididos entre o retorno imediato à Democracia e à adoção de um regime de governo forte que promovesse as reformas sociais antes de se adotar a ordem democrática, de um lado tenentes e seus aliados e, de outro, "oligarcas dissidentes" alimentavam profundas divergências. Segundo Pandolfi, para a maioria dos estados do norte, pelo papel de pouca representatividade exercido na Primeira República, o projeto dos tenentes soava mais palatável, tendo em vista que significava recuperar os espaços perdidos para os estados do centro-sul nos anos anteriores (PANDOLFI: 2013, 17-18).

No Rio de Janeiro, a Junta Governativa que assumiu o comando do país, no dia 24 de outubro de 1930, fez divulgar na mesma data as primeiras medidas do novo governo. A dissolução dos congressos federal e estaduais era a de maior vulto. Anunciavam, porém, que a nova Constituição deveria ser promulgada em breve, após convocação de um novo Congresso constituído por doze representantes de cada Estado e dos Territórios do Acre e Distrito Federal, que passariam também a Estado.[2]

Apesar do anúncio, aos poucos foi sendo afastada a perspectiva de retorno ao regime republicano constitucional divulgada nos primeiros dias da vitória. Os confrontos de ideias entre os revolucionários em relação ao regime constitucional, a descrença nos legisladores e na capacidade de escolha do povo, entre outras razões, selaram a instituição de um governo provisório com poderes discricionários.

Conforme afirmou Gramsci, nessas situações de crise, a classe dirigente tradicional se recompõe com maior rapidez. A unificação dos membros de muitos partidos sob uma única bandeira é um fenômeno "orgânico e normal" nessas ocasiões, porém, quando a crise não encontra essa solução orgânica, exige-se, por força do equilíbrio estático e da imaturidade das forças progressistas, a submissão de todas as forças a um chefe carismático. A posse de Getúlio Vargas como chefe da nação, no dia 3 de

[1] Carta de Juarez Távora ao tenente Joaquim Monteiro. 24.5.1930. In: DA SILVA, José Calasans. *A Revolução de 1930 na Bahia.*op. cit. p. 24-25.

[2] As outras medidas adotadas pela Junta Governativa foram: revisão de julgamentos dos atos administrativos dos últimos seis meses; organização de um Congresso para revisão da Constituição Federal; uniformização das leis federal, estaduais e municipais; revisão e uniformização dos quadros dos funcionários civis e militares; equiparação dos vencimentos e regularização do serviço militar; voto secreto; instrução primária e profissional obrigatórias; federalização da justiça e instrução pública; uniformização dos vencimentos e montepio dos funcionários públicos federais e estaduais, civis e militares; novas atribuições militares de terra e mar; revisão do quadro de aposentados, compulsados, reformados, civis e militares; estado e solução da questão religiosa; limitação e determinação da importação e exportação dos produtos nacionais; uniformização das leis dos impostos em todo país; estudo e determinação da alienação de terras para estrangeiros, imigração e naturalização e igualdade de representações dos estados, no Congresso Nacional. Cf.: OS PRIMEIROS ATOS DA JUNTA GOVERNATIVA. *Diário de Notícias.* 25 de outubro de 1930. Salvador. APEB. Ano LV, n. 028.

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novembro de 1930 pode ser tomado como exemplo dessa situação de crise no Brasil dos anos trinta (GRAMSCI: 2007, 61). Se há uma crise de hegemonia e os grupos dominantes precisam recompor a sua direção, a ascensão de uma figura cativante como Getúlio Vargas era mais que oportuna, era necessária.

Na Bahia reproduziam-se as incertezas vivenciadas em todo país. Momentos após a vitória, as rédeas do estado foram assumidas interinamente pelo comandante Ataliba Osório, que ainda em Alagoinhas, na tarde de 24 de outubro, após comunicação da deposição do então presidente Washington Luís, tomou posse do governo no estado, falando à população no prédio do Centro Operário (BARROS: 1979, 206).[3] Sua gestão foi breve. Assim que chegou a capital, no dia 26 de outubro, Juarez Távora tratou de consultar entre as "classes representantes da Bahia", um nome para assumir a direção política e administrativa do estado, derivando dessa consulta o nome do engenheiro aliancista Leopoldo Amaral.

Entre as ações do primeiro interventor na Bahia, destacaram-se o desarmamento dos coronéis do interior, inclusive daqueles que apoiaram e contribuíram para o sucesso da Revolução. Se por um lado a recolhida das armas enfraqueceu militarmente os coronéis, por outro, marcou a inserção das lideranças políticas do interior na fase de centralização autoritária e burocrática da sociedade política. A partir de então, verifica-se um investimento maior na política partidária e na luta parlamentar por parte desses grupos. Para algumas regiões do interior da Bahia, como o baixo médio São Francisco, A Revolução de 1930 restabeleceu antigas lideranças e consagrou o *modus operandi* dos coronéis que continuaram sendo chefes locais e base de sustentação do governo (MELO: 1989, 101-110).

No entanto, a centralização do poder após a Revolução de 1930 não passava apenas pelo desarmamento dos coronéis no interior dos estados. Exigiam-se também profundas modificações nas instituições que davam sustentação ao poder. Assim, vitorioso o movimento revolucionário, foram presos na capital da Bahia um numeroso grupo de potenciais opositores ao novo regime, outros foram exilados. Desse modo, tentava-se coordenar as mudanças no executivo estadual, o desarmamento do sertão e as substituições de dirigentes nos municípios da capital e do interior.

Além das pressões advindas das oligarquias, o governo provisório foi marcado ao mesmo tempo pela sensibilidade às pressões populares e manipulação de suas aspirações. Após a Revolução de 1930, a pressão popular sobre as estruturas do Estado tornou-se elemento central do processo político, segundo Weffort (1980) pelo menos no sentido de que as formas de aquisição ou de preservação do poder estariam cada vez mais impregnadas da presença popular, a partir de então.

Na Bahia também havia forte pressão popular, especialmente de segmentos de trabalhadores que reivindicavam participação na vitória de outubro de 1930. Como bem observou Boris Fausto, apoiado nas teses de Francisco Weffort, nascia um "Estado de compromisso" característico não de uma revolução no sentido de ruptura, mas de uma aliança entre classes, um rearranjo de poderes no qual um grupo dirigente incorporava o outro sem que ele tenha sido necessariamente destituído do poder. (FAUSTO: 1997, 17). Essa tensão entre governo provisório, as classes produtoras e as classes trabalhadoras seria uma constante na Bahia na década de 1930 e, entre outras razões, a causa para o rápido afastamento dos dois primeiros interventores civis.

Desse modo, o principal objetivo da escolha de um oficial para assumir o governo baiano era pôr fim às disputas políticas que resistiram às armas vitoriosas de 1930 e alinhar o estado ao programa revolucionário. Em depoimento, Juraci Magalhães esclareceu que na Bahia, assim como nos demais estados "era preciso alguém das forças armadas que tivesse mais prestígio, para manter a ordem e conter os movimentos de indisciplina que estavam ocorrendo" (MAGALHÃES: 1972, 72).

Juraci Magalhães chegou à Bahia um pouco antes de a Revolução de Outubro completar um ano. Um jovem de 26 anos, com apenas sete meses de experiência em serviços administrativos, adquirida como auxiliar de Juarez Távora na sua tarefa de organização política, administrativa e social dos estados do Norte, o cearense que comandou uma das brigadas que invadiu a Bahia no ano anterior chegava ao Porto de Salvador, no dia 19 de setembro de 1931, para representar o governo federal no estado e tentar encerrar uma etapa conturbada do processo revolucionário da Bahia: a interventoria de civis.

Ainda que compartilhasse com as ideias dos demais interventores dos estados vizinhos que haviam recentemente criado o *Bloco do Norte*, visando assegurar os interesses da região e apoiar o governo Vargas se ele deliberasse pelo prolongamento da ditadura, Juraci Magalhães não hesitou em organizar uma base eleitoral na Bahia, e cedo perscrutou os baianos da capital e do interior com vistas a uma formação partidária. Ainda em janeiro de 1932, viajou para quatorze municípios, visando construir bases de

[3] Na capital da Bahia, Salvador, nos primeiros momentos do dia 24 de outubro de 1930, o governo foi assumido por Wenceslau Guimarães que assumiu o executivo por conta própria. Sabendo da autonomeação, o major Reis Príncipe, acompanhado de outros oficiais destituiu Wenceslau Guimarães, anunciou a nomeação de Ataliba Osório em Alagoinhas e assumiu o governo até que este chegasse à capital. SILVA, Paulo Santos. *Âncoras de Tradição*... op. cit. p. 26-27; A REPERCUSSÃO DOS FATOS NA BAHIA. *Diário de Notícias*. 26.10.1930. Salvador. APEB. Ano LV, n. 8029.

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sustentação política no interior do estado (BATISTA: 2018).

A essa altura, muitos coronéis já haviam sido "reinvestidos nas chefias dos seus respectivos redutos". Conforme destacou Wilson Lins, eram homens que "haviam deitado raízes no chão fecundo da afeição popular, em suas comunidades", razão pela qual foram "aproveitados" pelo tenente (LINS: 1979, 20). Desse modo, no início do ano de 1932, quando já estavam fortes as discussões em torno da reconstitucionalização do país, Juraci Magalhães saberia usar em seu favor esse contingente significativo de chefes políticos.

A recomposição partidária foi interrompida pela Revolução Constitucionalista de São Paulo, movimento contrarrevolucionário dominado somente em outubro de 1932. Vencidos em seus propósitos quanto à reconstitucionalização, após a luta armada paulista, esses interventores precisaram redefinir as suas bandeiras, tendo em vista que apesar da vitória do governo, mantiveram-se as previsões do Código Eleitoral, promulgado em fevereiro daquele ano, que estabelecia a realização de eleições para a Assembleia Constituinte para o ano de 1933.

Esse momento colocava-se para o governo provisório e seus interventores como cruciais, visto que a manutenção do programa revolucionário passaria a depender da vitória nas urnas. Do discurso em favor da ditadura, os interventores passaram à organização de partidos em seus respectivos estados bem como se esforçaram para reproduzir ao nível local as diretrizes tomadas para o conjunto deles, pois a reconstitucionalização não poderia ser vista como empecilho para a permanência das ideias revolucionárias. Finda-se, portanto, a postura de "neutralidade política" defendida por parte dos militares, pois, conforme avaliação feita pelo tenente Juarez Távora, diante da transformação da conjuntura, "o absenteísmo político dominante no período anterior não mais se justificava, tendo que ser substituído por uma conduta de interferência efetiva nos mecanismos político-partidários" (PANDOLFI: 1980, 361).

Desse modo, não podendo mais se posicionar em favor de uma ditadura, a campanha pelas futuras eleições foi feita pelo governo provisório e seus partidários com forte carga negativa. Criticavam-se os políticos profissionais depostos em 1930, o personalismo político e a fragilidade das facções e adotava-se "como norma política do estado apenas a competência e a honestidade", *slogan* fortemente propalado pelo *Congresso Revolucionário,* realizado em novembro de 1932, e do qual Juraci Magalhães, então interventor federal na Bahia, participou.

III. Conciliação Política e Centralização do Poder na Bahia na Conjuntura Eleitoral de 1933

No ano de 1933 discutia-se em todo o país sobre o caráter que a nova Constituição deveria ter. Matéria amplamente divulgada na imprensa, esse debate já fazia antever as divergências de atuação entre os deputados constituintes a serem eleitos. Havia divergência em diversos aspectos: a representação de classe, o modelo de organização judiciária no Brasil, as responsabilidades do poder executivo, a forma de governo a ser adotada - se parlamentarista ou presidencialista, a legislação social, o voto feminino, o divórcio, a liberdade de culto e o debate em torno da centralização política e das atribuições da União perante os estados (BATISTA: 2018).

Não obstante essas divergências os estados que compuseram o chamado *Bloco do Norte*, em sua maioria governados por interventores militares, buscaram traçar uma linha de conduta junto ao governo provisório já a partir de 1931 (PANDOLFI: 1980, 363.) e mantiveram o alinhamento mesmo quando se deu a convocatória da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte.

À medida que enfeixavam forças para resistir às investidas políticas do eixo centro/sul do país, os estados do norte e nordeste do Brasil cumpriam um importante papel de fortalecimento do governo provisório, pois em sua maioria eram dirigidos por interventores que não queriam a convocação da Assembleia Constituinte. Vencidos em seus propósitos, esses interventores se viram obrigados a redefinir as suas posturas e entraram na disputa política utilizando-se de todas as ferramentas de que podiam dispor para garantir nas urnas a vitória da revolução, seriamente abalada pela Revolução Constitucionalista de São Paulo, no ano de 1932. À Bahia coube um importante papel nesse enfrentamento.

De acordo com Dulce Pandolfi, a criação do Bloco do Norte está diretamente relacionada à condição desses estados no decorrer da Primeira República. Os grandes produtores de açúcar que assumiram papel de destaque no período imperial enfrentaram uma crise aguda de produção e foram gradativamente substituídos no cenário político e econômico nacional por cafeicultores paulistas e mineiros (1980: 341-372). Com a política dos governadores adotada no início do século XX por Campos Sales, assentada no compromisso entre o poder central e os estados, o norte era cada vez mais alijado do centro das decisões políticas e divisão das benesses do Estado, pois era cada vez menor o seu poder de barganha frente às unidades federadas do eixo centro/sul. Desse modo, o norte assumiu ao longo de toda a Primeira República, uma postura crítica aos sucessivos governos e isso lhe rendia ainda mais

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desgaste econômico e enfraquecimento político, situação agravada pela crise nos anos finais da década de 1920. Entre outras, essa foi uma das razões pela qual a revolução de 1930 teve forte impacto na região.

Ao analisar as causas da Revolução de 1930, Barbosa Lima Sobrinho deu atenção especial à questão regionalista. Para ele, o desequilíbrio entre os estados com a força excessiva de uns ameaçando absorver os demais, figura como fator explicativo da crise política e econômica de 1929 e como lastro do movimento aliancista e revolucionário de 1930 (LIMA SOBRINHO: 1975).

Neste cenário, vitorioso o movimento armado, o norte do Brasil passou a ocupar um lugar importante para o governo revolucionário. Além do apoio popular após a revolução, não havia aqui a presença de forte máquina partidária como ocorria nos estados do centro/sul, pois a política era feita em torno de homens e não de ideias, como diria mais tarde Juraci Magalhães.[4] Os estados do norte constituíram-se, portanto, em espaço privilegiado para a implementação das medidas saneadoras propostas pela Revolução de 1930.

A despeito de não existir um sistema partidário forte e de estar organizada em torno das oligarquias locais, a política dessa região do país exigiria do governo provisório a adoção de determinadas medidas. A criação da Delegacia do Norte chefiada pelo militar Juarez Távora foi a primeira delas. Caberia, além dela, a adoção de determinado tipo de interventoria. Em sua maioria, os estados do norte foram governados por militares estranhos à política local. Diferente dos interventores civis que possuíam relações umbilicais com as classes dominantes das diferentes regiões, os militares não deviam a esses grupos a sua manutenção no poder, sendo esta de total responsabilidade do chefe do governo provisório. Assim, supunha-se que eles seriam "politicamente neutros", o que permitiria executar o programa revolucionário com maior facilidade (PANDOLFI, 1980, 346).

Até o final de 1931, o Norte já havia se constituído em um reduto do tenentismo e cumpria o importante papel de fortalecer o governo provisório, sobretudo no que diz respeito à neutralização das forças que lhes eram contrárias nos estados do Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo e Minas Gerais. Em troca desse apoio, Vargas precisava fazer algumas concessões, muitas delas relacionadas à construção de obras públicas como escolas, açudes e estradas, o combate à seca e o incentivo à agricultura, com a valorização da produção a partir do fortalecimento dos Institutos, a exemplo do Instituto do Cacau e a criação de Fazendas Modelo, a exemplo da Fazenda Modelo de Citricultura de Alagoinhas.

Ao lado das reivindicações econômicas, os estados formadores do Bloco do Norte estavam alinhados quanto às tarefas políticas, entre elas e a principal era o sistemático combate à convocação da Assembleia Nacional Constituinte. Para os militares à frente da região, o país ainda não estava pronto para voltar ao regime de representação política, pois a Revolução não havia concluído o trabalho de saneamento proposto em 1930. Conforme assegurou Dulce Pandolfi, os interventores nortistas eram portadores de uma bandeira nitidamente autoritária, "que adiavam e subordinavam à participação política da população e, portanto, o exercício da prática democrática às futuras reformas administrativas" (1980: 350).

A Bahia assumiu uma posição específica junto ao Bloco do Norte, pois parte da oligarquia do estado sempre manteve diante da Revolução um foco de resistência, ainda que ela fosse, em alguns momentos, pequena e facilmente desarticulada. Conforme destacamos, nos primeiros meses após a Revolução, foram recorrentes os descontentamentos em torno das medidas saneadoras dos interventores Leopoldo Amaral e Artur Neiva. A nomeação de Juraci Magalhães tinha por objetivo neutralizar essas forças, mas não deixava de ser uma tentativa do governo provisório de atender às reivindicações de grupos descontentes. Se a prática política e administrativa do interventor-tenente promoveu uma maior penetração da Revolução em todo o estado da Bahia foi porque logo cedo ele aprendeu a se reconciliar com as forças políticas locais, parte delas, contrárias à Revolução, a outra, organizada em coligações.

Juraci Magalhães era um atuante membro do Bloco do Norte. Defendia a manutenção do governo discricionário ao lado dos companheiros militares dos estados vizinhos. A partir de 1931, já buscava assentar as bases no estado da Bahia para criação de um Partido Nacional a serviço da Revolução. Assim, embora fosse contra a reconstitucionalização do país naquele momento, por achar que a Revolução ainda não tinha cumprido o seu papel de sanear as "práticas políticas imorais" da República deposta - conforme afirmou em carta a Getúlio Vargas - tão logo a Revolução constitucionalista teve fim e a Comissão de elaboração do anteprojeto constitucional foi reabilitada, não encontrou dificuldades para organizar um Partido que pudesse garantir a manutenção dos ideais revolucionários.

Em carta endereçada a Getúlio Vargas, no final de janeiro de 1933, Juraci Magalhães relatou ao

[4] Essa afirmativa apareceu em diferentes obras de Juraci Magalhães, mas a observação data do ano de 1931 e foi registrada nas cartas que o interventor federal no estado da Bahia endereçou ao governo provisório. O conjunto dessas missivas está disponível no CPDOC em ambos os arquivos pessoais.

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governo provisório acerca dos passos que foram dados para a fundação do PSD na Bahia.[5] Segundo Consuelo Sampaio, a estratégia adotada por Juraci Magalhães para a fundação do partido oficial na Bahia foi marcada pelos princípios básicos da política dos governadores, "compensando a adesão dos coronéis, com a concessão de benesses e favores que o poder lhe permitia" (SAMPAIO: 1992, 92-93).

Dulci Pandolfi também identificou a interventoria de Juraci Magalhães como aquela, entre as demais dos estados do norte, que mais se distanciou dos princípios revolucionários tenentistas e justificou essa conciliação com os setores oligárquicos baianos por ser este o estado onde esse setor tinha mais força política, mesmo depois do desarmamento levado a cabo logo após a Revolução (1980:354).

Houve, de parte de Juraci Magalhães, um empenho em dividir o estado em amplas coligações. A fundação do Partido Social Democrático- PSD, agremiação oficial do governo constituído, estava fixada sobre as bases de alianças com os coronéis do interior, numa relação em que pela primeira vez no estado da Bahia, um partido era estruturado a partir dos municípios.

A iniciativa em dividir-se em pequenos agrupamentos parece ter partido dos próprios coronéis do interior do estado (LINS: 1979). Juraci Magalhães soube tirar proveito dessas divisões, porém, apesar da sua atuação coordenadora, quaisquer análise dessa recomposição de poderes na Bahia, no ano de 1933, não pode perder de vista a capacidade de articulação desse grupo. As seis Coligações, das quais se destacaram a Coligação Sertaneja (região São Francisco), União dos Municípios do Nordeste Baiano (UMNB), com sede em Alagoinhas e Associação Social e Política Municipal (ASPAM), com sede em Juazeiro, no norte do estado, converteram-se em instrumentos de ordenação política formalizada entre coronéis e lideranças políticas locais. Tinham o poder de arbitrar dissensões partidárias e pessoais e se constituíam, formalmente, como órgão deliberativo para questões territoriais entre municípios, chegando a outorgarem-se funções de intervenção no desenvolvimento econômico e social (MELO: 1989, 96-107).

Além das funções administrativas, as Coligações estavam incumbidas de intensificar o alistamento eleitoral e desenvolver forte propaganda em favor da educação cívica e política do povo, leia-se, propaganda em favor do governo. Ademais, poderiam indicar os seus candidatos a cargos efetivos, cuidando para que o sufrágio popular recaísse sempre sobre indivíduos que defendiam os interesses ditos revolucionários.

O alinhamento dos coronéis do interior a Juraci Magalhães se justifica também pelas características do sistema de governo centralizador adotado após a Revolução de 1930. Na Primeira Republica a máquina política estava enraizada nos municípios. Eram eles que alimentavam o sistema de compromisso entre estado e união. À Revolução cabia o desmonte dessa máquina. Além do desarmamento das oligarquias locais, adotou-se uma legislação na qual os prefeitos passaram todos a ser nomeados e assistidos por um Conselho Consultivo. Além disso, estabeleceu-se "um sistema de recursos que subia do prefeito ao interventor e deste ao chefe do governo nacional" retirando a autonomia do município (LEAL: 2012, 94). Documentos localizados no Centro de Documentação Contemporânea do Brasil - CPDOC/FGV revelam os esboços do modelo de Estado que poderia a ser constituído no Brasil na década de 1930. A imagem revela, com nitidez, essa relação de dependência entre União, Estado e Municípios:

[5] CPDOC. Carta de Juraci Magalhães a Getúlio Vargas. 31.01.1933. Classificação: GV c 1933.01.31/1.

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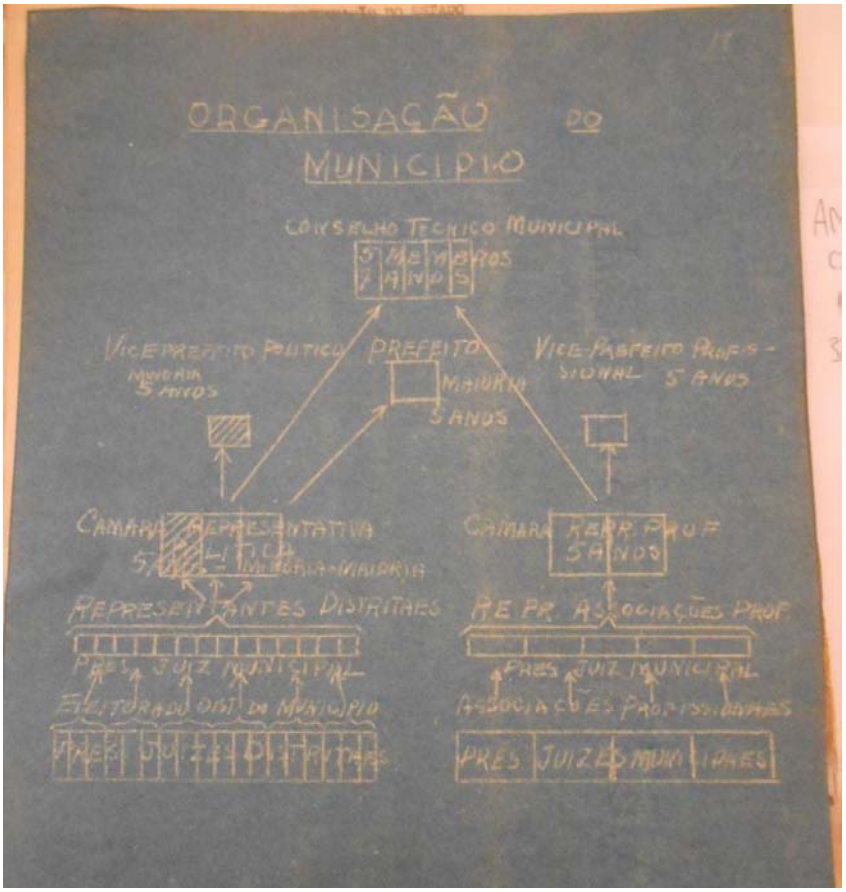

Figura 9: Programa Revolucionário – Organização do Município.

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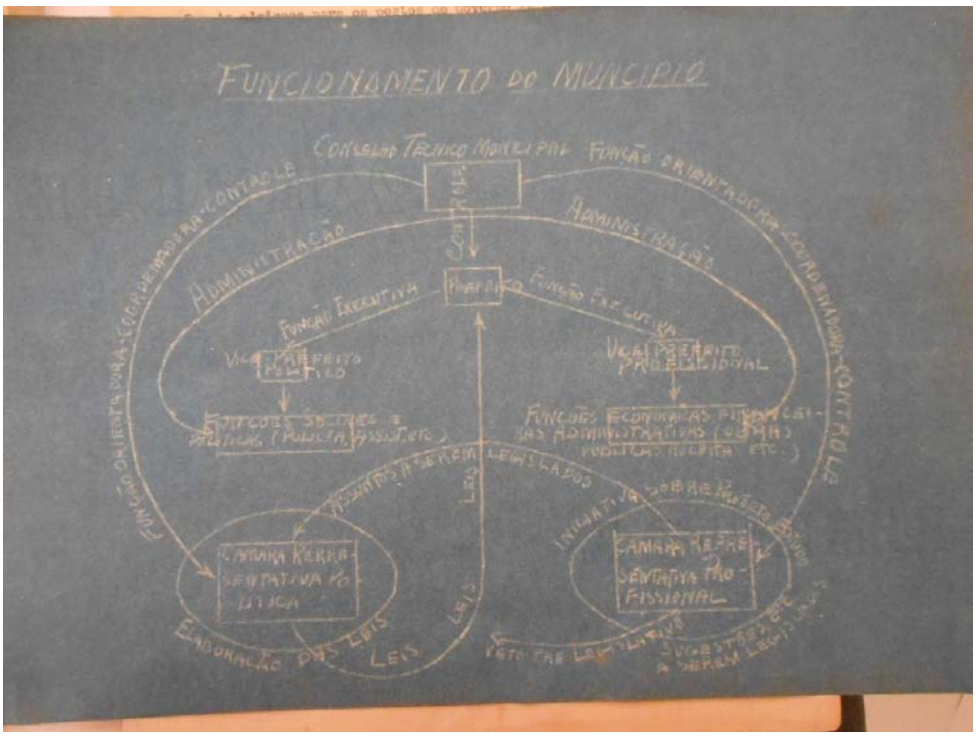

Figura 10: Programa Revolucionário – Funcionamento do Município.

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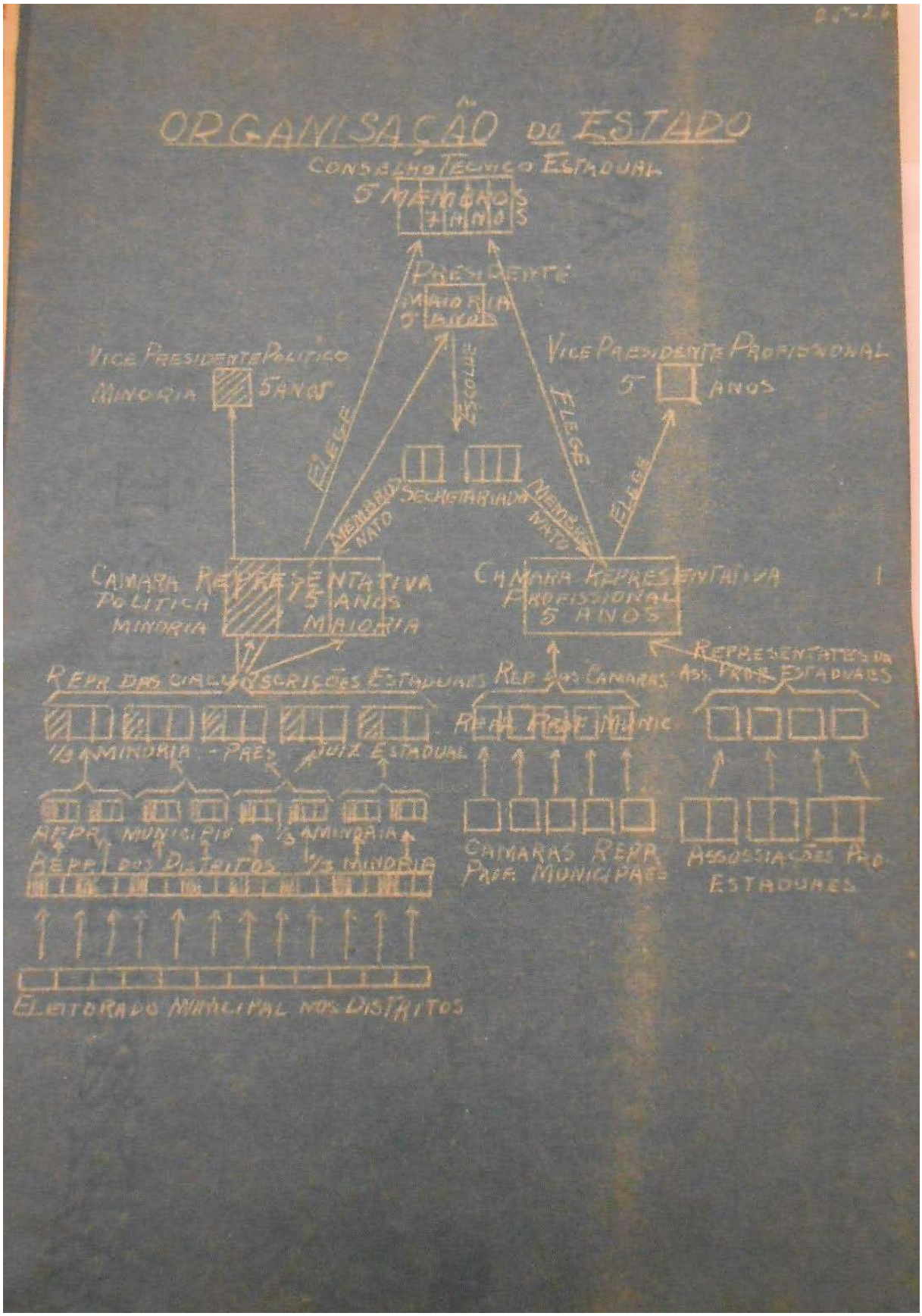

Figura 11: Programa Revolucionário – Organização do Estado.

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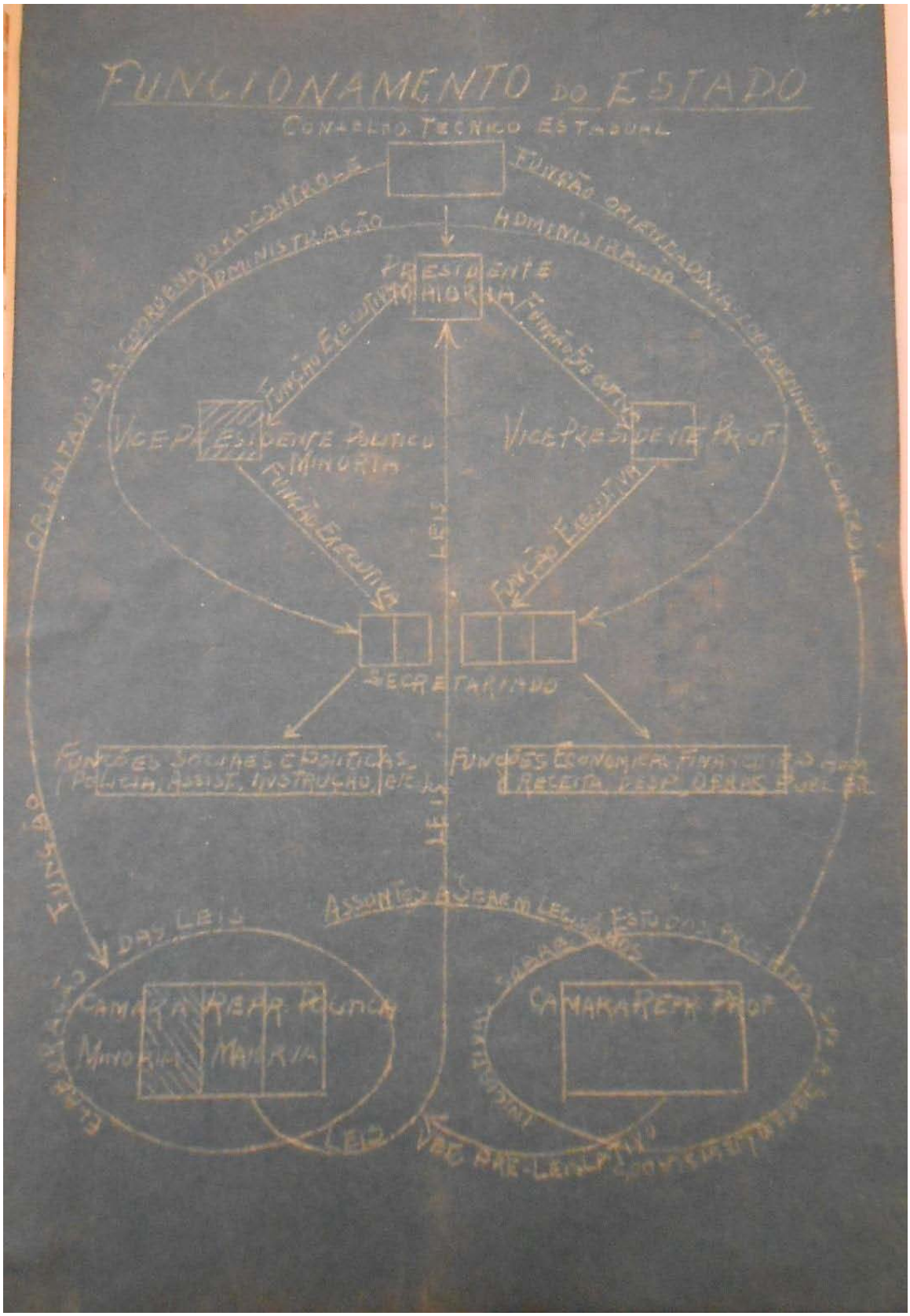

Figura 12: Programa Revolucionário – Funcionamento do Estado.

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Dentro desse novo modelo, o alinhamento com o interventor federal no estado era a única maneira de lideranças políticas do interior conseguirem melhorias para os seus respectivos redutos, uma vez que as arrecadações municipais eram ínfimas. No entanto, é preciso destacar que a emergência de um Estado forte esteve intimamente relacionada a um jogo de poder e a sua consolidação não foi imediata. No pós 1930, o Estado ficou representado por diferentes grupos sociais, o que significava que assentava-se num equilíbrio de forças contraditórias visivelmente insustentável, da qual surgiu o moderno Estado de Compromisso (WEFFORT: 1980, 44).

No bojo das (re)conciliações, o processo de centralização política que esvaziava, em parte, o poder de determinadas oligarquias, destruindo as suas manifestações de autonomia, operava-se com a ajuda desse mesmo poder oligárquico, tendo em vista os benefícios das cisões que dividem internamente as elites regionais e que as levam a competir pelos favores do Estado. Essa predisposição aos acordos seria habilmente utilizada pelo poder central, no caso da Bahia, por Juraci Magalhães e permitiu-lhe substituir as velhas máquinas oligárquicas por outras mais permeáveis aos novos objetivos nacionais, que atendia a uma estratégia global de centralização política (CAMARGO: 1983,15).

Por outro lado, os acordos não poderiam prescindir do papel que os municípios deveriam assumir enquanto unidade política e administrativa do país. A autonomia dos municípios foi um dos pontos que mais suscitou debate pela Comissão do Itamaraty, como ficou conhecida a Comissão que elaborou o anteprojeto da Constituição promulgada em 1934. Ao final das reuniões, o anteprojeto constitucional sugeria que o Estado se constituísse em regiões autônomas, a partir da reunião de um grupo de municípios contíguos, unidos pelos mesmos interesses econômicos (POLETTI: 2012, 77).

O fato é que até 1930, o interior da Bahia estava quase que totalmente desassistido pelos governos passados e somente na relação com o governo constituído teria condições para reabilitar-se. Percebendo essa carência, Juraci Magalhães buscava manter uma relação com esses chefes políticos em torno de coisas concretas. Além de reinseri-los no jogo político-partidário, pois a eles caberiam a indicação de dois terços dos candidatos do partido, e de realizar obras de interesse de seus municípios como criação de escolas, construção de pontes e estradas e fornecimento de energia elétrica, Juraci Magalhães cedeu às elites políticas locais, a prerrogativa para a indicação de funcionários federais, estaduais e municipais para atuar no âmbito dos municípios que conduziam, completando, no campo administrativo, a centralização de poder pleiteada pelos vitoriosos de 1930.

IV. Conclusão

Marcados por uma forte crise de hegemonia que abateu todo o país, os revolucionários de 1930 se viram, de imediato, na necessidade de estabelecer conciliações com vistas à pacificação das forças políticas. Na Bahia, nesse processo de conciliação e acomodação, muitos grupos não foram contemplados. Os rearranjos levaram a muitos conflitos, especialmente nos primeiros meses do novo poder constituído, durante as interventorias de Leopoldo Afrânio Bastos do Amaral (novembro de 1930 a fevereiro de 1931) e Artur Neiva (fevereiro a julho de 1931), indicados por Getúlio Vargas para governarem a Bahia. Rejeitados em bloco ou em parte por segmentos da oligarquia do estado, o rápido afastamento desses dois interventores civis sinalizava a crise de autoridade política e a ausência de lideranças capazes de submeter as demais à sua direção e ao projeto centralizador do governo provisório.

Nessas circunstâncias, nomeou-se o cearense Juraci Magalhães para interventor no estado da Bahia. A escolha por um jovem tenente, com apenas vinte e seis anos de idade e sete meses de experiência administrativa, demonstrava que Getúlio Vargas buscava o consenso político pela indicação de um homem alheio às tramas políticas locais. Na prática, isso significava dizer que o governo provisório buscava outras bases de sustentação e esse novo arranjo poderia até comportar as conformações políticas vigentes na Primeira República, mas não seria definido por elas.

A atuação de Juraci Magalhães, nesse sentido, foi inconteste. Não se trataram apenas de simples conciliações com os mandatários locais. Juraci Magalhães se conduziu por estratégias que resultaram em sólido apoio político e desde os primeiros meses à frente da interventoria, buscou reorganizar a política regional com base no afastamento dos tradicionais grupos políticos dos postos de administração e acolhimento de outros.

A principal base de apoio ao governo provisório veio do interior, principalmente dos coronéis que se reuniram em torno de coligações regionais e lastrearam a formação do Partido Social Democrático, no ano 1933. A fórmula para a criação do PSD ainda era regionalizada, ou seja, estruturada a partir dos diretórios locais, mas o partido passou a representar o estado da Bahia e não mais candidaturas individuais como era prática na República deposta. Como resultado das orientações que surgiram no bojo da criação do Bloco do Norte, toda a campanha para reconstitucionalização do país foi realizada em torno da figura do interventor e esse assumia o papel de representante do governo provisório.

Desse modo, a influência dos mandatários locais – antes pautada pela ausência do Estado,

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assumiu novas feições. A partir da revolução de 1930, era a presença do Estado que viabilizava a manutenção do poder local. Presença essa traduzida em pequenas melhorias realizadas nos diferentes municípios. Com efeito, numa narrativa insistente de que os novos arranjos políticos deveriam alinhar-se ao governo provisório e depois constitucional, Juraci Magalhães, que representou por sete anos a vitória revolucionária na Bahia, revelou-se como o promotor do novo ordenamento político, no qual o Estado passou a ser o principal elemento de aglutinação do poder.

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The “Satanic Mill” in Neoliberalism

By Hugo Fanton

Abstract- This is a theoretical article on neoliberalism in the 21st century, which aims to articulate the notion of neoliberal rationality with Karl Polanyi's concept of “satanic mill”. Based on the analysis of the historical shaping of neoliberalism in Brazil and in world, on the approaches of Brazilian political thought and, at the international level, supported by Christian Laval, Pierre Dardot, Wendy Brown and Nancy Fraser, I defend the argument that the neoliberal reason, similar to liberalism in the Industrial Revolution period, is a mechanism that destroys social tissues, promotes competition in all dimensions of human life and authoritarian forms of political-social organization.

Keywords: *neoliberalism; democracy; authoritarianism.*

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The "Satanic Mill" in Neoliberalism

O "Moinho Satânico" No Neoliberalismo

Hugo Fanton

Resumo- **Este é um artigo teórico sobre o neoliberalismo no século XXI, em que se busca articular a noção de racionalidade neoliberal com o conceito de "moinho satânico" de Karl Polanyi. Com fundamentação nas análises da conformação histórica do neoliberalismo no Brasil e no mundo, perpassando abordagens do pensamento político brasileiro e, no plano internacional, apoiado em Christian Laval, Pierre Dardot, Wendy Brown e Nancy Fraser, defendo o argumento de que a razão do mundo neoliberal, à semelhança do liberalismo no período pós-revolução industrial, é um mecanismo que destrói os tecidos sociais, promove concorrência em todos as dimensões da vida humana e formas autoritárias de organização político-social.**

Palavras-chave: neoliberalismo; democracia; autoritarismo.

Abstract- **This is a theoretical article on neoliberalism in the 21st century, which aims to articulate the notion of neoliberal rationality with Karl Polanyi's concept of "satanic mill". Based on the analysis of the historical shaping of neoliberalism in Brazil and in world, on the approaches of Brazilian political thought and, at the international level, supported by Christian Laval, Pierre Dardot, Wendy Brown and Nancy Fraser, I defend the argument that the neoliberal reason, similar to liberalism in the Industrial Revolution period, is a mechanism that destroys social tissues, promotes competition in all dimensions of human life and authoritarian forms of political-social organization.**

Keywords: neoliberalism; democracy; authoritarianism.

I. Introdução: Um Moinho Que Se Refez

Inicio este artigo de forma pouco usual, com uma advertência. A referência a Karl Ponalyi para refletir sobre a sociedade neoliberal parece, em um primeiro momento, contraintuitiva. Isso porque em "A grande transformação" o autor sugere que a humanidade teria passado para uma nova etapa histórica, em que a sociedade se impõe ao indivíduo. No capítulo final da obra, a reflexão recai sobre o problema da liberdade, ou seja, se a nova sociedade que surge é compatível com a liberdade, na medida em que a grande transformação por que o mundo passara com as duas grandes guerras teria representado o fim do predomínio dos mercados e a ascensão do fascismo e do socialismo como as formas possíveis de organização social. Polanyi não imaginou que a sociedade de mercado, em um novo tipo de liberalismo, voltaria a predominar, com a reorganização de um sistema autorregulável de mercados em plano global, que predomina sobre outras formas de integração político-social, submetendo Estado, natureza e sociedade a seus interesses.

Na construção de seu argumento, o autor define a evolução histórica do capitalismo entre os séculos XVIII e XX como um "moinho satânico", em que o mercado, para se expandir, transforma as relações sociais por inteiro. Neste artigo, buscarei desenvolver esse argumento polanyiano para refletir sobre a racionalidade neoliberal no atual momento histórico. Para isso, situo o debate sobre o neoliberalismo no pensamento político brasileiro, e estabeleço o diálogo entre diferentes interpretações do avanço neoliberal a partir dos anos 1980 e a conceituação de Polanyi. Em seguida, há um aprofundamento sobre a dimensão ideológico-cultural do neoliberalismo, pela discussão das abordagens de alguns de seus principais ideólogos – Hayek, Friedman e os ordoliberais – realizada por três autores contemporâneos que analisam o neoliberalismo enquanto racionalidade: Christian Laval, Pierre Dardot e Wendy Brown. Por fim, corroboro a argumentação de Nancy Fraser sobre a importância do referencial teórico polanyiano para analisar o capitalismo contemporâneo, sendo a realidade brasileira exemplificação da importância de uma visão expandida do capitalismo na análise de sua crise.

Pretendo, ao apresentar essa reflexão teórica, discutir sua relação com a leitura histórica de Karl Polanyi acerca do liberalismo, com ênfase na construção da ideia do mercado enquanto "moinho satânico" que dissolve o tecido social para se impor enquanto lógica que organiza a totalidade da vida humana. Ao que parece, pelos subterrâneos dos Estados de bem-estar social e das sociedades industriais, um novo moinho se refez, e neste início de século XXI volta a dissolver as relações sociais como um todo na busca desenfreada pela expansão de um mercado que, apesar de produzir quantidade enorme de riqueza, tem como efeito uma nova catástrofe social, expressa pelo aumento da desigualdade, da violência e do individualismo.

II. Neoliberalismo No Pensamento Político Brasileiro

Polanyi não é um autor recorrente nas análises políticas e sociológicas do neoliberalismo no Brasil. No entanto, é possível dizer que sua caracterização do liberalismo pode contribuir com tal discussão, e de

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como a lógica de uma economia propriamente de mercado passa a fundamentar a integração social. O autor ressalva que "todos os tipos de sociedades são limitados por fatores econômicos", mas no liberalismo isso assumiu um sentido distinto, pois a civilização passou a se basear no lucro, princípio do qual o mercado autorregulável derivou. Esse é um motivo "raramente reconhecido como válido na história das sociedades", e nunca antes elevado à condição de "justificativa de ação e comportamento na vida cotidiana". Em um curto prazo, a humanidade foi submetida à integral influência de uma forma de progresso econômico que alcançou seu aperfeiçoamento "às custas da desarticulação social" (POLANYI, 2000, 47-53).

A partir desse referencial é possível discutir alguns elementos do pensamento político brasileiro sobre o neoliberalismo. Não será apresentada uma revisão da literatura, apenas alguns aspectos de uma vasta produção científica, que vai muito além dos autores aqui abordados. A proposta é situar o debate, ressaltando que o pensamento político brasileiro, sobretudo nas décadas de 1990 e 2000, traz elementos que articulam o neoliberalismo com um processo de desarticulação social decorrente da conformação de um mercado autorregulável. Como será exposto a seguir, Chico de Oliveira (1999) foi quem mais se aproximou de uma abordagem propriamente polanyiana dessa problemática. No entanto, diversos autores expõem como a reapropriação do Estado pelo mercado, e seu avanço sobre os processos de interação social, sob o princípio da expansão do lucro, são aspectos centrais do neoliberalismo. Nesse sentido, podemos dizer que, também por aqui, em uma nova forma de liberalismo, o "moinho satânico" se refez, um mecanismo que progressivamente destrói o tecido social e estabelece o primado do mercado sobre a sociedade.

As análises sobre o neoliberalismo no Brasil ganharam corpo, sobretudo, ao longo dos anos 1990, mas remontam ao período de crise do desenvolvimentismo e de sua superação por um novo programa econômico-social. Na década de 1980, acirra-se a disputa entre dois projetos distintos, cada um com seu diagnóstico da recessão, do desemprego e da crise fiscal. De um lado, situou-se o discurso neoliberal, "que pregava a austeridade financeira, o saneamento do déficit público, maior abertura para o capital estrangeiro, aumento das exportações, privatização das empresas públicas e redução acentuada do papel econômico do Estado". De outro, "o discurso desenvolvimentista, fruto da união entre parcelas da elite empresarial e economistas críticos", que propunham uma política de enfrentamento aos ditames do FMI pela defesa da "negociação soberana da dívida", com o reescalonamento da dívida interna, articulação "estreita" entre capital industrial e bancário, e intervenção estatal pelo planejamento, dentre outras medidas (CRUZ, 1997, pp. 59-60).

Naquela década, ocorreu "uma enorme transferência líquida de recursos para o exterior, principalmente em função do serviço da dívida externa". Frente a isso e à permanente instabilidade política, o governo federal passa a adotar, entre os anos de 1983 e 1987, diferentes "ensaios ortodoxos e heterodoxos de enfrentamento da crise econômica" (SALLUM JR, 1999, p. 26). Somou-se a isso a pressão internacional sobre os governos latino-americanos para que abandonassem suas políticas desenvolvimentistas e se realinhassem em torno de uma plataforma neoliberal, algo que interessava aos grandes bancos brasileiros. "A Fenaban e a Febraban vinham defendendo a privatização, a abertura comercial e outros pontos da plataforma neoliberal como solução para o país". À época, já se atribuía "todos os problemas econômicos – a começar pela elevação da taxa de inflação – ao déficit público" (BOITO JR, 1999, p. 117).

Dentre os diferentes fatores que conformavam uma situação político-econômica nova, destacam-se a pressão dos países centrais para abertura comercial, a transição econômica de renovação tecnológica, a mudança na governança corporativa e na relação capital-trabalho, a transnacionalização, e, internamente, a emergência de um movimento popular e sindical combativo, orientado por um projeto político antagônico, o democrático-participativo (SALLUM JR, 1999; CRUZ, 1997).

Tal disputa se expressou na campanha eleitoral de 1989, quando o país "ficou dividido entre o discurso 'liberal social' de Fernando Collor de Mello e o discurso popular e democrático de Lula e do Partido dos Trabalhadores" (PAULANI, 2010, p. 119). Deste embate, prevaleceram as propostas de que "as reformas liberalizantes recolocariam o país no eixo do crescimento". O programa abordava a necessidade de "desestatização da economia", de transparência nos gastos públicos e de "caça aos marajás", que propalava os supostos "privilégios" do funcionalismo público no Brasil (PAULANI, 2010, p. 119).

Por isso, Cruz (1997) sintetiza como fatores que contribuíram para o avanço neoliberal no país, a partir da segunda metade da década de 1980, a derrota do movimento pelas Diretas Já, o fracasso do Plano Cruzado e a pressão dos países do centro do capitalismo, sobretudo dos EUA, para abertura comercial (CRUZ, 1997). Boito Jr (1999) acrescenta a vitória de Collor em uma campanha polarizada, que unificou a burguesia em torno de uma candidatura com plataforma neoliberal (BOITO JR, 1999, p. 119).

Conforme apontam Cruz (2007) e Dagnino *et al* (2006), a forma de implementação e o conteúdo do projeto neoliberal variam nos diferentes países, mas possuem como elementos comuns a privatização de setores estatais e abertura comercial, por exemplo. Por

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aqui, as estatais privatizadas passaram a ser controladas pelo capital financeiro internacional. Em outras nações, como na Índia, manteve-se uma forte presença da burguesia interna na atividade econômica. Tal variação remonta às condições socioeconômicas e, sobretudo, políticas, que o programa neoliberal encontra e logra impor em cada país (CRUZ, 2007; e DAGNINO *et al*, 2006).

No entanto, os autores afirmam a existência de um projeto neoliberal propriamente dito, uma forma contemporânea de organização do capitalismo, que têm como centro a redefinição do papel do Estado na economia e na política social. Há *maior participação* do Estado no que se refere à condução da financeirização da economia - controle da taxa de juros, da oferta de moeda no mercado, conversão da dívida externa em interna e consequente política de emissão de títulos da dívida e de controle de seu preço pela taxa de juros e de câmbio, dentre outros mecanismos -, *e retração* no que se refere à regulamentação da relação capital-trabalho e oferta de serviços públicos para efetivação de direitos sociais e econômicos (BOITO JR, 1999; CRUZ, 2007; DAGNINO *et al*, 2006; e DUMÉNIL & LEVY, 2014).

A abordagem de Armando Boito Jr se ancora na concepção de Duménil e Levy (2014), que divergem da categoria "projeto" enquanto definidora do neoliberalismo, concebendo-o como uma "fase" do capitalismo, que expressa a recuperação "do poder e da renda das classes capitalistas", com a hegemonia financeira. O neoliberalismo é definido como uma ofensiva das burguesias sobre as classes trabalhadoras, tendo como força hegemônica as burguesias financeiras, que avançam também sobre os interesses de frações de classe das burguesias internas dos países de capitalismo dependente. Este elemento contrapõe, no caso brasileiro, o neoliberalismo à política dos anos de Ditadura Militar, na medida em que o financismo combateu a industrialização e as medidas protecionistas do mercado interno adotadas pelos militares, ainda que estas não buscassem a soberania nacional. Pelo contrário, seguiram diretamente atreladas a interesses do centro do capitalismo, e justamente por isso reafirmavam uma economia voltada ao mercado externo.

Tais esforços de definição e interpretação do neoliberalismo no Brasil enfocam, sobretudo, a agenda macroeconômica governamental. Isso prevaleceu nas definições do período subsequente. No início dos anos 1990, lembra Paulani (2010), a agenda neoliberal colocou como saída para o problema da dívida externa e do processo inflacionário a "securitização dessa dívida e a internacionalização do mercado brasileiro de títulos de dívida pública, além da liberalização do fluxo internacional de capitais" (PAULANI, 2010, p. 120). Os bancos centrais se converteram no mais importante "instrumento garantidor de preços, revertendo sua posição subordinada em relação aos Ministérios das Finanças e tornando-se uma instituição-chave na elaboração e implementação das políticas estatais" (NOVELLI, 2001, p. 191). No Governo Itamar (PRN/PMDB - 1992-94), o BC deu início à "desregulamentação do mercado financeiro brasileiro", ao abrir a possibilidade de "qualquer agente, fosse ou não residente, enviar livremente recursos ao exterior, bastando, para tanto, depositar moeda doméstica na conta de uma instituição financeira não residente" (PAULANI, 2010, p. 121).

Ao assumir a presidência, FHC acelera tal processo, a partir da concretização de um plano de "privatizações e de uma abertura substancial da economia". Assim, compõem seu programa neoliberal medidas como: câmbio flutuante, após uma valorização inicial da moeda que culminou na "crise cambial de janeiro de 1999, que em apenas quatro meses varreu do país cerca de US$ 40 bilhões"; meta fiscal, com aprovação da Lei de Responsabilidade Fiscal, em que "os direitos dos credores são colocados acima de quaisquer outros direitos"; venda "ao capital internacional (financiando os compradores com dinheiro público)" de empresas de setores essenciais e estratégicos, tais como energia elétrica, telecomunicações e mineração; elevação da taxa de juros a níveis que chegaram a mais de 40% ao ano; e a isenção de imposto de renda à "distribuição de lucros de empresas a seus sócios brasileiros ou estrangeiros e à remessa de lucros ao exterior" (PAULANI, 2010, p. 120-2).

É interessante observar a exposição que o próprio FHC faz de seu programa em artigo publicado em 1998, "Notas sobre a reforma do Estado", em que o afirma como de "reconstrução do Estado". O ex-presidente defende que, "respeitadas as limitações do mercado", é preciso construir uma "ação pública" cada vez mais ampla e eficaz "do que a ação estatal" (CARDOSO, 1998, p. 7). Cabe ao governo promover reformas que deem "higidez fiscal ao Estado", por meio da "manutenção da estabilidade econômica, pelo equilíbrio orçamentário e pela criação de mecanismos que tornassem transparentes as contas", por processos como a renegociação da dívida, "flexibilização dos monopólios", privatizações e "concessão de serviços públicos à iniciativa privada" (CARDOSO, 1998, p. 9). Assim, ainda que não use tais palavras, há uma defesa da maior participação do Estado na financeirização da economia, e menor participação, em favor do mercado, na efetivação das políticas sociais. Também Bresser-Pereira (1998) define a política daquele momento como de "reconstrução do Estado", ressaltando que "a oferta de serviços sociais será entregue, também de forma competitiva, não a empresas privadas, mas a organizações públicas não estatais", de modo que o Estado se torna "financiador em vez de produtor dos

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serviços sociais não exclusivos" (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 1998, p. 95).

Apesar dessa literatura não fazer referência direta a Polanyi, entendo que é possível recorrer a seu aporte teórico para caracterizar o período e, mais do que isso, analisar algumas das principais contribuições teóricas dos autores aqui abordados. Lembremos que, com os conflitos crescentes entre empresariado e governo no período Sarney, que se deram em torno do controle de preços pelo Plano Cruzado, e com o maior descontentamento das classes médias com o retorno da inflação, "a crítica neoliberal toma a ofensiva". A partir de meados de 1987, o governo Sarney passa a dar vazão aos interesses neoliberais e adota medidas para ampliar o processo de abertura econômica, conjugando a supressão de entraves burocráticos com flexibilidade à entrada de capital estrangeiro. Para isso, fundamentou-se em um discurso que retomou termos clássicos do liberalismo econômico, em reação ao descrédito das teses heterodoxas. Esse foi um momento em que se travou "uma batalha decisiva no plano ideológico" (CRUZ, 1997, p. 75).

A reorientação neoliberal da política econômica ao longo das últimas décadas do século XX foi acompanhada por uma desconstrução do referencial desenvolvimentista, que respondia aos desafios de consolidar um capitalismo nacional pela relação entre Estado e classes burguesas, com a localização dos conflitos distributivos no Estado, e sua solução por uma política econômica estatal resultante desses embates em seu interior. Com o avanço neoliberal, em contraposição, o discurso que se torna hegemônico passa a recorrer "incansavelmente à figura mitologizada do mercado autorregulado, denunciando a intervenção do Estado como a origem de todas as mazelas que acometiam a economia nacional", ainda que, na consecução do projeto neoliberal, fosse necessário um Estado ativo e estruturante (CRUZ, 1997, p. 93). No plano do discurso, parcelas significativas do empresariado combatiam "o intervencionismo estatal", clamavam "por desregulamentação, por uma melhor acolhida ao capital estrangeiro, por privatizações" (SALLUM JR, 1999, p. 26).

Nesse processo, o papel do Estado vem para o primeiro plano do embate ideológico, e não se trata aqui de "menos" Estado, mas de qual deve ser sua orientação, como fica explícito nas posições de Cardoso (1998) e Bresser-Pereira (1998). Entendo que a reorientação por que passou o Estado brasileiro nos planos econômico, social e ideológico, analisada pelos autores aqui apresentados, remete à interpretação polanyiana do liberalismo. Houve, nas versões clássica e nova de liberalismo, uma mudança de princípio motivador da ação humana: "a motivação do lucro passa a substituir a motivação da subsistência. Todas as transações se transformam em transações monetárias e estas, por sua vez, exigem que seja introduzido um meio de intercâmbio em cada articulação da vida industrial". A orientação estatal como forma de integração social deve, nesse contexto, garantir as condições para que todas as rendas derivem da venda de uma mercadoria, seja ela a própria força de trabalho, a terra (natureza) ou o dinheiro. Assim, "qualquer que seja a verdadeira fonte de renda de uma pessoa, ela deve ser vista como resultante de uma venda. É isto o que significa o simples termo 'sistema de mercado'", que sintetiza o novo padrão institucional e, uma vez estabelecido, deve funcionar sem qualquer interferência externa. "Os lucros não são mais garantidos e o mercador tem que auferir seus lucros no mercado. Os preços devem ter a liberdade de se autorregularem. É justamente esse sistema autorregulável de mercados o que queremos dizer com economia de mercado" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 60).

Assim como na versão clássica do século XIX, o neoliberalismo do final do século XX no Brasil coloca o primado do mercado como eixo reorganizador não apenas da economia, mas das relações sociais como um todo, com a transferência de sua lógica própria para a redefinição do papel do Estado e da sociedade civil (SILVA, 2016). Por esse caminhar analítico, a ciência política brasileira aproximou-se do debate atual do neoliberalismo enquanto nova razão do mundo. Duas interpretações desse processo histórico, elaboradas na virada dos anos 1990 para os anos 2000, apontam para esse sentido: o conceito de "confluência perversa" de Evelina Dagnino e as formulações de Chico de Oliveira acerca do neoliberalismo, sendo este um autor pioneiro em utilizar a tese contida em "A Grande Transformação" para definir a existência de um "totalitarismo neoliberal".

Nos escritos de Dagnino, a dimensão mais propriamente ideológico-cultural vem para o primeiro plano na análise do neoliberalismo. A partir dos anos 1990, as ideias de eficiência e modernização passam a legitimar o mercado como organizador da vida social e política como um todo, transformando o Estado, no que se refere à política social, em provedor de serviços sob gestão privada, e o cidadão em cliente. No entanto, ressalta a autora, "o projeto neoliberal encontra no Brasil um contendor relativamente consolidado, embora evidentemente não hegemônico, capaz de constituir um campo de disputa", o projeto "democrático-participativo" dos movimentos populares, que nos anos 1980 passaram por um processo de ascensão. Tal contexto impôs "direções específicas às estratégias e formas de atuação das forças vinculadas ao projeto neoliberal" (DAGNINO, 2004, p. 99). A caracterização da reforma de Estado como construção de um "Estado social-liberal" é exemplo disso, pois compõe o esforço de interlocução do neoliberalismo com o discurso participativo e democratizante das forças democrático-populares.

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Noções como participação, cidadania e sociedade civil, que compuseram o projeto político democratizante do Estado, passam a ser apropriadas e redefinidas pelo projeto neoliberal, que se vale de um referencial comum para implementar políticas antagônicas às que os termos anteriormente se referiam. Tal processo histórico é próprio de uma "confluência perversa" entre dois projetos distintos: houve uma ressignificação de referências comuns, deslocadas de seu sentido originário, "de modo a garantir seu papel de orientar práticas adequadas à implementação dos objetivos do projeto neoliberal". Para se legitimar socialmente, o neoliberalismo mobiliza "mesmas palavras e referências, mas seu significado já é outro, ainda que essas diferenças não se explicitem com clareza, o que precisamente torna perversa a confluência". Trata-se da operacionalização de deslocamentos de sentido que obscurecem o conflito presente entre projetos distintos de sociedade. A despeito de apontarem para direções antagônicas, há um referencial comum na análise e definição das práticas sociais e políticas (DAGNINO *et al*, 2006, p. 55).

Assim, pode-se afirmar que houve uma disputa em relação aos significados da democratização brasileira, e como resultado dessa disputa, sua adequação, pelo projeto neoliberal, a um modelo de Estado que "se isenta progressivamente de seu papel de garantidor de direitos". No que se refere à cidadania, as "redefinições neoliberais" reduzem sua dimensão coletiva a "um entendimento estritamente individualista". Ao mesmo tempo, opera-se uma "conexão entre cidadania e mercado", de modo que "tornar-se cidadão passa a significar a integração individual ao mercado, como consumidor e como produtor". Promove-se um deslocamento da noção de cidadania à gestão da pobreza, com um "apelo à solidariedade" que a restringe "à responsabilidade moral da sociedade, bloqueando a sua dimensão política e desmontando as referências à responsabilidade pública e ao bem público" (DAGNINO, 2004, pp. 106-7). Desse modo, o eixo central da redefinição "é a diluição precisamente daquilo que constitui o núcleo da concepção de cidadania, a ideia de direitos universais" (DAGNINO *et al,* 2006, p. 56).

De modo concomitante, houve um progressivo deslocamento da noção de "sociedade civil". De um lado, promoveu-se a valorização do "Terceiro Setor" e da filantropia. De outro, a criminalização de movimentos sociais que mantêm como estratégias a realização de protestos e ocupações de propriedades que não cumprem sua função social. Nesse processo, a noção ampla de sociedade civil a que o projeto democrático-participativo remetia teve seu sentido deslocado em direção de uma concepção restrita a um conjunto específico de organizações mais próximas do mercado. A noção de participação acompanha essa mesma direção, ao ser reduzida ao "trabalho voluntário" e à responsabilidade social de indivíduos e empresas. "O princípio básico aqui parece ser a adoção de uma perspectiva privatista e individualista" de participação, de forma a "substituir e redefinir o significado coletivo" a que o termo remetia. Promove-se, com isso, uma "despolitização da participação" e uma dupla restrição do participar: é ação restrita às organizações consideradas "legítimas" a que o novo significado de sociedade civil remete, e também à execução de políticas públicas, excluindo-se o poder decisório. "O significado político crucial da participação é radicalmente redefinido e reduzido à gestão". A ênfase gerencialista e empreendedorista transita entre as áreas da administração privada e estatal, de modo que o deslocamento de sentido de participação a afasta daquilo que é central no projeto democrático-participativo, a efetiva partilha de poder (DAGNINO, 2004, pp. 100-3).

É desse modo que o projeto neoliberal opera "com uma concepção minimalista tanto da política como da democracia", pela redução do espaço político, de seus participantes e sua incidência (DAGNINO, 2004, pp. 106-8). Trata-se de uma visão "que reage contra a ampliação da política" contida nas demandas dos movimentos populares, traduzindo-se em seu inverso: "a redução dos terrenos, sujeitos, temas e processos considerados como constituidores da política", circunscritos aos limites da representação. "Em contraposição a uma concepção que reconhece a centralidade do conflito e da democracia como a melhor forma para tratá-lo, essa visão minimalista se esforça na sua invisibilidade e no seu confinamento, quando não no seu tratamento tecnocrático e gerencial" (DAGNINO *et al,* 2006, pp. 58-60).

Apesar de a autora não recorrer a Polanyi, é possível estabelecer relações entre ambos. Os "deslocamentos de sentido" são expressões de como o sistema econômico, uma vez controlado pelo mercado, tende a expandir seus princípios como orientadores da organização política e social como um todo. "Em última instância, é por isto que o controle do sistema econômico pelo mercado é consequência fundamental para toda a organização da sociedade: significa, nada menos, dirigir a sociedade como se fosse um acessório do mercado". Ao invés de a economia estar orientada pelas relações sociais, é a sociedade que, progressivamente, é "embutida" no sistema econômico. O fator econômico ganha, aqui, importância vital para a existência da sociedade, e o sistema econômico passa a ser organizado em instituições separadas, com um "status especial", a partir do qual organiza as relações políticas e sociais. "A sociedade tem que ser modelada de maneira tal a permitir que o sistema funcione de acordo com as suas próprias leis. Este é o significado da afirmação familiar de que uma economia de

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mercado só pode funcionar numa sociedade de mercado" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 77). Os "deslocamentos de sentido" são, assim, algumas das expressões de como o mercado, sob o neoliberalismo, modela a sociedade e o Estado de acordo com seus próprios interesses e suas leis.

Nos escritos de Chico de Oliveira essa fundamentação ganha centralidade, em sua teorização sobre o "modo de produção social-democrata". Oliveira foi "autor pioneiro" na utilização da tese de Polanyi "a fim de interpretar a encruzilhada nacional: social-democracia ou neoliberalismo?" (QUERIDO & BRAGA, 2018, p. 14). O autor recorre à formulação polanyiana de que, frente ao avanço do mercado sobre todas as esferas da vida, inevitavelmente, a sociedade tomaria medidas para se proteger, sendo o surgimento do "antivalor" uma de suas expressões. No entanto, repõe-se um dilema na relação sociedade-mercado: quaisquer sejam essas medidas, "elas prejudicariam a auto-regulação do mercado, desorganizariam a vida industrial e, assim, ameaçariam a sociedade em mais de uma maneira". Isso se desdobrou no "desenvolvimento do sistema de mercado numa trilha definida e, finalmente, rompeu a organização social que nela se baseava" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 18).

A tese neoliberal, no entender de Oliveira (1988), é a de que os controles institucionais próprios do Estado de bem-estar social chegaram a um limite que ameaça a própria acumulação de capital, inviabilizando o crescimento. Entendem os liberais que o "limite do capital é o próprio capital". No entanto, afirma Oliveira recuperando a formulação propriamente polanyiana, "essa voracidade" do capital não pode ser entregue a si mesma, "sem controles públicos, sob pena de transformar-se numa tormenta selvagem na qual sucumbiriam juntos a democracia e o sentido de igualdade nela inscrito desde os tempos modernos. Não deve escapar à observação que, em países como os EUA, o tamanho crescente da pobreza já é um risco real nesse sentido" (OLIVEIRA, 1988, p. 27).

Com o avanço neoliberal no Brasil e episódios como a forte repressão do governo FHC sobre a greve dos Petroleiros em 1995, o "receio polanyiano manifestado no final dos anos 1980 parecia se concretizar". Ao se ancorar na chantagem e no medo, a destituição dos direitos é "imposta como necessária à adequação à racionalidade instrumental da globalização", na passagem de uma "hegemonia burguesa 'incompleta' para um verdadeiro 'totalitarismo neoliberal', em que a fala do oponente é deslegitimada antes mesmo do conflito emergir" (QUERIDO & BRAGA, 2018, p. 17).

Na conceituação de um "totalitarismo neoliberal", Oliveira (1999) novamente recorre à teoria social de Polanyi, ao estabelecer a correlação entre o avanço da autorregulação do mercado e os processos de subjetivação na contemporaneidade. Isso está presente na ideologia neoliberal de "volta ao indivíduo", que é reduzido à "prevalência exclusiva do mercado como a única instituição reguladora, autorreguladora tanto da alocação dos recursos econômicos como das relações sociais e da sociabilidade em sentido geral". Também está presente na redução ao privado, expressa por uma "intensa subjetivação" da acumulação, concentração e centralização do capital. Seu paradigma é a "globalização, que expressa a privatização do público, ou, ideologicamente, uma experiência subjetiva de desnecessidade, aparente, do público" (OLIVEIRA, 1999, pp. 55-7).

Dessa forma, seja por mecanismos como a exclusão da fala do oponente acima descritos, seja por um quadro de violência que "é produzida pelos próprios aparelhos de Estado", o avanço neoliberal promove "a privatização do público, e, no seu rastro", a anulação da política. É justamente nessas condições que o neoliberalismo passa "por uma estranha metamorfose: sua face real é a do totalitarismo" (OLIVEIRA, 1999, p. 81). Pode-se dizer, com base nisso, que o "moinho satânico" é refeito, em uma forma nova de liberalismo, que tritura por completo a sociedade pela anulação do dissenso, dissimulação do conflito e confinamento da política ao interesse exclusivo do mercado.

III. A Razão Neoliberal

O fim da perspectiva reformista de matriz social-democrata que acompanhará a obra de Chico de Oliveira nos anos 2000, em que o "totalitarismo neoliberal" avança e se apropria de todas as formas de "antivalor", caracteriza também o olhar de parte da literatura internacional sobre o tema, principalmente pós-crise de 2008. Aqui, pretendo expor uma discussão que coloca em evidência justamente a dimensão subjetiva desse processo. No neoliberalismo, uma nova razão organiza a ação humana e, assim como no liberalismo clássico, está fundada na ficção da mercadoria, que "oferece um princípio de organização vital em relação à sociedade como um todo, afetando praticamente todas as suas instituições, nas formas mais variadas". O significado disso é a impossibilidade de "qualquer entendimento ou comportamento que venha a impedir o funcionamento real do mecanismo de mercado" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 94).

Essa visão do liberalismo enquanto concepção de mundo, conjunto de crenças e interesses, como racionalidade social que orienta os sujeitos de diferentes classes, perfaz o esforço reflexivo de Wendy Brown (2019) e Dardot e Laval (2016). Suas obras se apoiam no pensamento de Hayek, Friedman e dos ordoliberais para refletir sobre a "nova razão do mundo" que expressa as relações de hegemonia conformadas nas últimas décadas.

Nas referidas obras, há uma mesma problemática acerca da dimensão ideológico-cultural

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do neoliberalismo, em abordagens que partem dos principais ideólogos neoliberais. Porém, enquanto Brown (2019) busca decifrar a razão que articula a moralidade tradicional ao neoliberalismo nas novas formas autoritárias de exercício de poder, Dardot e Laval (2016) dirigem o olhar para a lógica concorrencial que passa a mediar as relações sociais como um todo, não mais restrita ao mercado.

A análise das relações entre neoliberalismo e pensamento moral autoritário-conservador é especialmente importante, pois revela uma reorientação de percurso do projeto neoliberal. Na acepção de Nancy Fraser, o "neoliberalismo progressista" resultou de uma articulação entre a agenda financista e a dos movimentos identitários em luta por reconhecimento. Justamente por isso, à redução de direitos na esfera do trabalho se combinou um avanço nos direitos mais relacionados à luta feminista e por igualdade racial, por exemplo. No atual contexto de rompimento com tal forma de neoliberalismo, em uma versão mais autoritária da dominação financeira, vêm para o primeiro plano as concepções originais da ideologia neoliberal, com ênfase em Hayek e Friedman. "Para Hayek, o mercado e a moral, juntos, são o fundamento da liberdade, da ordem e do desenvolvimento da civilização". Desse modo, há um ataque combinado à sociedade e à justiça social "em nome da liberdade de mercado e do tradicionalismo moral" (BROWN, 2019, p. 23).

Em Hayek, as noções de sociedade e justiça social dão base para o totalitarismo, pois obstruem as tradições e as liberdades, conceitos que, por sua vez, levam ao progresso. As ideias de justiça social e Estado social, que alicerçaram o Estado de Bem-Estar dos *Trente Glorieuses*, seriam, no pensamento hayekiano, fundamentos de uma intervenção estatal ilimitada nos mercados e nos códigos morais, com "uma tendência peculiar de autoaceleração" (HAYEK, 1973).

> Fala-se não apenas de "justiça social", mas também de "democracia social", "economia social de mercado" e "Estado de direito social" (ou soberania social da lei – em alemão sozialer Rechtsstaat); e, embora justiça, democracia, economia de mercado e Estado de direito sejam expressões de sentido absolutamente claro, a adição do adjetivo "social" as torna suscetíveis de designar quase qualquer coisa que se queira (HAYEK, 1973, p. 90).
>
> Quanto mais se vê que a posição de indivíduos ou grupos torna-se dependente de ações do governo, mais eles insistirão em que os governos visem algum esquema reconhecível de justiça redistributiva; e quanto mais os governos tentam realizar algum padrão preconcebido de distribuição desejável, mais eles devem sujeitar a posição dos diferentes indivíduos e grupos ao seu controle. Enquanto a crença na "justiça social" governar a ação política, esse processo deverá se aproximar mais e mais de um sistema autoritário (HAYEK, 1973, p. 68).

Os postulados neoliberais assim formulados visam legitimar um "certo tipo de intervenção governamental", em favor do mercado. Deve-se manter um cuidado permanente, pois a intervenção política é cumulativa, de modo que qualquer forma de intervenção tem de preservar as ordens espontâneas de mercado. A não preservação se expressa pela intervenção política no domínio da espontaneidade que, "uma vez iniciada, leva necessariamente à coletivização total da economia e ao regime policial totalitário, já que é preciso adaptar os comportamentos individuais aos mandamentos absolutos do programa de gestão autoritária da economia" (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, p. 77).

Conforme nos explica Brown (2019), tal concepção hayekeana de justiça social teve desdobramentos no "neoliberalismo realmente existente". Epistemologicamente, houve até mesmo a negação da existência da sociedade. Politicamente, expressa-se pelo programa de privatização e desmonte do Estado social. Legalmente, promoveu a liberdade de grupos e indivíduos na contestação do conceito de igualdade como fundamento jurídico, das proteções sociais, ambientais e laborais. No plano da ética e da cultura, há um questionamento da justiça social pela valoração da autoridade natural dos valores tradicionais, com vistas a "desmassificar" indivíduos e famílias, reconhecendo-os enquanto tal.

A esse pensamento que advém de Hayek se soma o ordoliberalismo alemão. "A desmassificação ordoliberal visava combater a proletarização por meio da empreendedorização (logo, da reindividualização) dos trabalhadores, por um lado, e da realocação dos trabalhadores em práticas de autoprovisão familiar, por outro" (BROWN, 2019, p. 49). Com isso, a autora aponta três decorrências sociais dessa forma de neoliberalismo: i) a "empreendedorização", alicerçada na noção foucaltiana de "multidão de empresas" e na concepção de "portifólio de autoinvestimentos" como forma de inserção social do indivíduo; ii) a economia de "compartilhamento" e a terceirização, com o chamado processo de "uberização"; iii) e a delegação, às famílias, das tarefas de prover os dependentes.

Assim como Evelina Dagnino, a autora estadunidense afirma que tais decorrências resultam de uma limitação da política, apartando-a "da sua soberania, eliminando sua forma democrática e definhando suas energias democráticas (...). O neoliberalismo busca tanto constringir quanto desdemocratizar o político" (BROWN, 2019, p. 70). Isso garante não apenas um afrouxamento do controle político sobre o mercado e seus atores, mas também a substituição da regulação e das políticas redistributivas por liberdade financeira e direitos de propriedade isentos de taxação. Há uma inversão do processo histórico anterior que visava expandir a noção de política para fundamentar a extensão de direitos.

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A autora aponta, no entanto, diferenças entre os intelectuais neoliberais em relação ao político. Milton Friedman e Friedrich Hayek o concebem enquanto domínio perigosamente autoexpansivo. Já os ordoliberais adotam uma posição mais próxima de Carl Schmitt, com a defesa de um Estado forte o necessário para a ordem e a estabilidade econômicas, sendo a tecnocracia e o distanciamento do processo decisório em relação às políticas econômicas as formas de "proteger" (ou isolar) a economia das demandas democráticas. Ainda assim, "todos consideram as liberdades individuais e o mercado, juntamente com a moralidade tradicional, como elementos ameaçados pelos interesses e poderes coercitivos, ingovernáveis e arbitrários abrigados pelo político" (BROWN, 2019, p. 75).

Assim como já referido na exposição do pensamento político brasileiro acerca do neoliberalismo, Brown (2019) enfatiza que os ideólogos do neoliberalismo não buscavam um Estado fraco a que a expressão "Estado mínimo" alude, mas sim limitar seu escopo de atuação e direcionar a institucionalidade para os interesses próprios do mercado, isolando-o das pressões democráticas e pluralistas. Um de seus intelectuais fundadores, Milton Friedman, em "Captalism and Freedom", ressalta a codependência entre as liberdades econômicas e políticas, a "conexão íntima entre economia e política". Porém, o exercício do poder político é ameaçador às liberdades nessas duas esferas. "A ameaça fundamental à liberdade é o poder de coagir, seja nas mãos de um monarca, de um ditador, de uma oligarquia ou de uma maioria momentânea" (FRIEDMAN, 2002, p 15). Aqui, há uma legitimação do autoritarismo político com o intuito de forjar mercados liberalizados, tal como a experiência histórica da ditadura de Pinochet no Chile.

Em Hayek, a defesa autoritária se opera de outra forma, pelo combate às noções de "soberania popular" e "sociedade". Nas palavras de Brown (2019), o pensador austríaco entende que "a soberania popular ameaça a liberdade individual, licencia o governo ilimitado e confere supremacia justamente ao domínio que precisa ser controlado, o político". Por sua natureza ilimitada, a soberania é "categoricamente incompatível com um governo limitado e com o 'destronamento da política', ambos necessários para uma ordem econômica e moral florescente". Assim Hayek se diferencia de Friedman, pois não reduz democracia ao liberalismo, mas os distingue afirmando que "o único princípio compartilhado por eles é o da igualdade perante a lei (...). O liberalismo é uma doutrina sobre o que a lei deveria ser, a democracia uma doutrina sobre a maneira de determinar o que será a lei". A democracia é um "método de governo - a saber, o governo da maioria', enquanto o liberalismo 'diz respeito ao escopo e propósito do governo'" (BROWN, 2019, p. 87). São, portanto, fortes as tensões entre ambos, na medida em que a democracia limita o poder político somente pela opinião pública e o liberalismo busca impor limites a todas as formas coercitivas de governo.

> Acima de tudo, argumenta Hayek, a democracia e o liberalismo têm opostos radicalmente diferentes. O oposto da democracia é o autoritarismo, poder político concentrado, mas não necessariamente ilimitado. O oposto do liberalismo é o totalitarismo, controle total de todos os aspectos da vida. Isso faz com que o autoritarismo seja compatível com uma sociedade liberal – com a liberdade, a moral tradicional, uma esfera privada protegida. E o totalitarismo pode ser engendrado e administrado por maiorias democráticas (BROWN, 2019, p. 88).

O desdobramento disso na análise política liberal se opera pela noção de "excessos de democracia". Afirmam os neoliberais que, no Estado de Bem-Estar, há uma substituição das funções familiares; e na concepção de justiça social, há uma repressão à lei moral que lhe seria superior em termos de garantias de liberdades. Em Hayek, enfatiza a autora, o "respeito à propriedade privada, normas de gênero e outras crenças tradicionais" é o verdadeiro fundamento de "uma sociedade livre, moral e ordenada" (BROWN, 2019, p. 90).

Também os ordoliberais alemães merecem atenção especial tanto de Dardot e Laval (2016) quanto de Brown (2019). Neste caso, a ideologia se caracteriza pela defesa de um Estado forte e tecnocrático, em uma forma igualmente autoritária de liberalismo. "Os ordoliberais são mais diretos em dissociar a democracia de um Estado limitado por um dispositivo que eles chamam de 'constituição econômica'" (BROWN, 2019, p. 79). A democracia aqui é restrita ao voto e a liberdades pessoais, e ainda assim às esferas representativas não recaem as atribuições de definição da política macroeconômica.

No ordoliberalismo, como aponta Foucault no Nascimento da Biopolítica, a originalidade em relação às demais correntes neoliberais está em operar um "duplo circuito" entre Estado e economia. "A economia produz legitimidade para o Estado que é fiador dela" (FOUCAULT, 2010, p. 86). Isso significa que se o Estado fornece "o quadro de um espaço de liberdade dentro do qual os indivíduos podem buscar seus interesses particulares, o livre jogo econômico criará e legitimará em outro sentido as regras de direito público do Estado" (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, p. 107).

Assim, o problema colocado aos ordoliberais não é "abrir espaço para a liberdade econômica dentro de um Estado existente que já tem legitimidade própria, mas, sim, o de fazer um Estado existir a partir do espaço preexistente da liberdade econômica". Tal liberdade tem como princípio fundamental a concorrência, que garante "os planos espontâneos dos indivíduos". É justamente essa "promoção do princípio

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da concorrência" que acaba por introduzir "um deslocamento importante com relação ao liberalismo clássico, na medida em que o mercado não é mais definido pela troca, mas pela concorrência. Se a troca funciona pela equivalência, a concorrência implica desigualdade" (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, p. 111).

Ao compartilhar da desconfiança de Friedman e Hayek em relação ao político, ainda que não rejeitem a soberania estatal, os ordoliberais buscam "desdemocratizar o Estado e substitui-lo por outro, suportado pela expertise técnica, dirigido por autoridades competentes e devotado aos princípios de uma economia competitiva e liberalizada" (BROWN, 2019, p. 93). Nesse sentido, a proposta de uma "constituição econômica" garante a autonomia do mercado em relação ao restante da sociedade. Aqui, o Estado é dedicado à expansão do mercado que, em contraposição, deve ser autônomo em relação ao poder político.

> Os Estados ordoliberais não podem aceitar a participação cidadã ou o compartilhamento do poder democrático; ao contrário, eles são moldados por 'uma expressão clara e inatacável da vontade política' fundada na expertise técnica. Dirigir o capitalismo requer uma administração não política e não democrática por autoridades habilmente informadas e que intervêm 'não no mercado, mas para o mercado (...) nas condições do mercado (BROWN, 2019, p. 98).

Desse modo, os fundadores da racionalidade neoliberal teorizam acerca de como se conforma um intervencionismo propriamente liberal. Não se trata da retomada da crítica do velho laissez-faire ou da ideia corrente de "Estado mínimo" para caracterizar a relação entre economia e política, mas da necessidade de construir um "código de trânsito" que seja "firme e rigoroso", estabelecendo, na acepção polanyiana, uma complementariedade entre Estado e economia de mercado em oposição à sociedade. Assim, "longe de condenar por princípio a intervenção do Estado como tal", Hayek teve a "originalidade de substituir a alternativa da 'intervenção ou não intervenção' pela questão sobre *qual deve ser a natureza* de suas intervenções. Mais precisamente ainda, a questão é diferenciar as intervenções legítimas das ilegítimas" (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, p. 158).

A "racionalidade neoliberal" tem, então, como elemento constitutivo primordial uma "cultura política profundamente antidemocrática" (BROWN, 2019). A democracia é rebaixada e diminuída, de modo que o exercício do poder político é progressivamente "privado da modulação provida por meio da deliberação esclarecida, do pacto, da prestação de contas e da legitimação pela vontade do povo". O Estado permanece como forma e organização institucional do exercício do poder, porém em nome das liberdades e da moral tradicional deve ser "desdemocratizado". Uma vez despojado de soberania popular, o Estado tem sua autoridade fortalecida, o que, na visão neoliberal, levaria a uma pacificação dos potenciais conflitos sociais. Pela tecnocracia, rebaixa-se "ainda mais o valor ou mesmo a possibilidade de participação democrática", com o objetivo de garantir um "anteparo contra os esforços inevitáveis de atores poderosos do mercado para distorcer a concorrência" (BROWN, 2019).

Nesse sentido, a argumentação de Brown (2019), conforme já sugerido, aproxima-se de um dos núcleos da teoria de Polanyi. Lembremos que uma economia de mercado é conformada por um sistema autorregulável de mercados, ou seja, "é uma economia dirigida pelos preços do mercado", em um sistema "capaz de organizar a totalidade da vida econômica sem qualquer ajuda ou interferência externa". Isso é uma novidade histórica, de acordo com Polanyi (2000), advinda da Revolução Industrial, e que encontrou no liberalismo do século XIX seu ápice. Até então, o papel desempenhado pelos mercados na economia interna "foi insignificante", e nem mesmo o mercantilismo permitiu prever "um desenvolvimento tão singular". O comércio "livre" da época mercantil o era apenas em relação ao particularismo do período anterior, mas pelo Estado nacional houve uma ampliação do "escopo da regulamentação. O sistema econômico estava submerso em relações sociais gerais; os mercados eram apenas um aspecto acessório de uma estrutura institucional controlada e regulada, mais do que nunca, pela autoridade social" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 62).

É contra tal autoridade que o liberalismo se volta na busca pela generalização dos mecanismos de mercado como reguladores das relações político-sociais. Nesse processo, o controle do Estado pelo mercado e a direção precisa do "intervencionismo" a favor da promoção do lucro assumem centralidade no projeto político liberal. Em Brown (2019), há uma articulação dessa evolução histórica com a valoração neoliberal de uma cultura política antidemocrática, pois a completa redução do público ao privado impede qualquer forma de sobreposição do sistema social ao sistema econômico de mercado.

IV. "Moinho Satânico" Sob o Neoliberalismo

Enquanto em Brown (2019) a racionalidade neoliberal é definida, sobretudo, por uma cultura "profundamente antidemocrática", em que a liberalização financeira se combina com a disseminação de valores morais tradicionais que buscam legitimar clivagens sociais e uma profunda desigualdade, para Dardot e Laval (2019) a "racionalidade neoliberal tem como característica principal a generalização da concorrência como norma de conduta e da empresa como modelo de subjetivação (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, p. 17). Diferente do liberalismo do século XIX, "não se trata mais de

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postular um acordo espontâneo entre os interesses individuais, mas de produzir condições ótimas para que o jogo da rivalidade satisfaça o interesse coletivo". Nesse sentido, o neoliberalismo "combina a reabilitação da intervenção pública com uma concepção de mercado centrada na concorrência" (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, p. 69).

A questão de como situar a intervenção estatal é justamente o fundamento da crítica de Dardot e Laval (2019) ao pensamento de Polanyi. Os autores franceses entendem que o erro na declaração da morte definitiva do liberalismo está em ter subestimado as possibilidades de intervenção estatal em favor do funcionamento do mercado. Para fundamentar sua crítica, Dardot e Laval (2016) recorrem às próprias elaborações teóricas de Polanyi, destacando que é preciso distinguir os diferentes tipos de intervenção estatal. Para eles, o neoliberalismo "se define melhor como certo tipo de intervencionismo destinado a moldar politicamente relações econômicas e sociais regidas pela concorrência", e a ausência dessa reflexão teria levado Polanyi ao erro de não ver futuro ao liberalismo (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, p. 67-8).

No meu entender, a análise político social do neoliberalismo tem significativas perdas se colocarmos em evidência as falhas de previsão de Polanyi, pois isso pode obscurecer as possibilidades de interpretação do presente a partir de sua conceituação de liberalismo. A "racionalidade neoliberal", conforme descrito acima, pode ser interpretada pela noção de "moinho satânico", seja em sua conceituação como cultura antidemocrática que se fundamenta no mercado (Brown, 2019), seja na ideia de generalização da concorrência que perfaz o centro da argumentação de Dardot e Laval (2016). Buscarei demonstrar isso a partir de agora.

Polanyi (2000) concebe o mercado, não o Estado ou a sociedade, como força transformadora que move a história, atuando em seus subterrâneos. O mercado é definido por ele a partir de sua historicidade e não como uma relação social natural, pois o ser humano não nasce dotado de propriedade privada. No entanto, sua análise enfatiza o mercado como sistema de trocas que necessariamente tem de ser imposto pelo Estado, e nessa imposição se contrapõe à sociedade.

> Não havia nada natural em relação ao laissez-faire; os mercados livres jamais poderiam funcionar deixando apenas que as coisas seguissem o seu curso. Assim como as manufaturas de algodão - a indústria mais importante do livre comércio - foram criadas com a ação de tarifas protetoras, de exportações subvencionadas e de subsídios indiretos dos salários, o próprio laissez-faire foi imposto pelo Estado. As décadas de 1930 e 1940 presenciaram não apenas uma explosão legislativa que repelia as regulamentações restritivas, mas também um aumento enorme das funções administrativas do Estado, dotado agora de uma burocracia central capaz de executar as tarefas estabelecidas pelos adeptos do liberalismo. Para o utilitarista típico, o liberalismo econômico era um projeto social que deveria ser posto em prática para grande felicidade do maior número de pessoas; o laissez-faire não era o método para atingir alguma coisa, era a coisa a ser atingida. (POLANYI, 2000, p. 170).

Por isso, a dualidade decisiva para compreender o processo histórico, e mais recentemente o neoliberalismo, não é Estado-mercado, mas sociedade-mercado. Para Polanyi (2000), é decisivo pensar nas consequências da expansão do mercado para a força de trabalho, pois na sociedade capitalista quase todo trabalho é exercido na forma de venda da força de trabalho, algo estabelecido e regulado pelo Estado, e fundamento básico do laissez-faire. É justamente essa relação que permeia o cotidiano vivido pelas pessoas. Como dito anteriormente, não nascemos dotados de propriedade privada, mas de força de trabalho, e a consequência disso é estar inteiramente dependente desse fator para sobreviver.

Na Inglaterra, coração da Revolução Industrial, afirma Polanyi (2000), "ocorreu um progresso miraculoso nos instrumentos de produção, o qual se fez acompanhar de uma catastrófica desarticulação nas vidas das pessoas comuns". Esse é o processo sobre o qual ele procura refletir sob o termo "moinho satânico": quais fatores determinam as formas dessa desarticulação, que "moinho satânico" foi esse que triturou os seres humanos? "Qual foi o mecanismo por cujo intermédio foi destruído o antigo tecido social e tentada, sem sucesso, uma nova integração homem-natureza"? (POLANYI, 2000, p. 51)

O capitalismo, ressalta o autor, tende a produzir, por meio de suas sucessivas crises, um vasto exército industrial de reserva, grande contingente de pessoas que ficam à margem das relações de mercado e não encontram mais lugar em uma sociedade dominada pelo mercado. Mesmo em meio a uma acelerada produção de riquezas, promove-se a exclusão social de um número crescente de pessoas. Por isso a dualidade fundamental é entre sociedade e mercado que, pela relação estabelecida com o Estado e a orientação precisa de sua intervenção, tende a dissolver as relações sociais em todos os seus âmbitos, não meramente econômicos. Com sua tendência de expansão permanente, o mercado no modo de produção capitalista tende a invadir todos os domínios da existência humana, e para tanto disputa o Estado com a sociedade, em uma dinâmica que varia da imposição de limites ao mercado ao alcance do laissez-faire como princípio.

Ao tratar da política de cercamento de terras na transição do feudalismo para o capitalismo na Inglaterra, Polanyi afirma que "os senhores e os nobres estavam perturbando a ordem social, destruindo as leis e os costumes tradicionais, às vezes pela violência, às

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vezes por pressão e intimidação". Com o pobre desprovido de sua parcela de terras comuns, "o tecido social estava sendo destruído; aldeias abandonadas e ruínas de moradias humanas testemunhavam a ferocidade da revolução" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 53). Outro exemplo se deu pela "devastação sem precedentes nas moradias do povo comum". Nesse processo, os trabalhadores progressivamente passaram a se "amontoar" em "novos locais de desolação; a gente do campo se desumanizava em habitantes de favelas; a família estava no caminho da perdição e grandes áreas do país desapareciam rapidamente sob montes da escória e refugos vomitados pelos 'moinhos satânicos'" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 58).

Os "moinhos satânicos" são, portanto, metáfora de "uma avalanche de desarticulação social", por mecanismos institucionais que provocaram a "devastação" da sociedade por um "*novo credo*", que "era totalmente materialista", e apregoava que todos os problemas humanos seriam resolvidos com a produção de uma quantidade ilimitada de bens materiais.

> Um princípio bastante desfavorável à felicidade individual e geral trabalhava na destruição de seu ambiente social, sua vizinhança, sua posição na comunidade, sua profissão, numa palavra, de todas aquelas relações com a natureza e o homem na qual estava embutida a sua existência econômica anterior. A Revolução Industrial estava causando uma desarticulação social de estupendas proporções, e o problema da pobreza era apenas o aspecto econômico desse acontecimento. Owen afirmou, com muita justeza, que a menos que a interferência e a direção legislativas contrabalançassem essas forças devastadoras, ocorreriam grandes e permanentes males (POLANYI, 2000, p. 157)

Na noção de "moinho satânico", desse modo, há uma combinação da expansão do mercado com sua organização pelo Estado, com consequências de desarticulação social e apoio em uma nova ideologia. São essas, justamente, as dimensões presentes no debate teórico contemporâneo sobre a racionalidade neoliberal. Ainda que os efeitos imediatos variem, na medida em que se trata de épocas históricas diferentes, os fundamentos pelos quais se operam são os mesmos. Por isso, é possível afirmar que a humanidade neste início de século XXI vivencia um novo "moinho satânico", agora neoliberal.

Lembremos ainda que Polanyi distingue a intervenção governamental das fronteiras entre Estado e mercado, ao afirmar que o Estado liberal do século XIX conduziu uma dupla ação. "De um lado, agiu em favor da criação dos mecanismos de mercado e, de outro, implantou mecanismos que o limitaram; de um lado, apoiou o 'movimento' na direção da sociedade de mercado e, de outro, levou em consideração e reforçou o 'contramovimento' de resistência da sociedade aos mecanismos de mercado". Para que a sociedade inteira se organizasse de acordo com a "ficção da mercadoria", constituindo-se como uma "grande máquina de produção e troca, a intervenção do Estado é indispensável", tanto no plano legislativo, "para fixar o direito de propriedade e contrato", quanto no administrativo, "para instaurar nas relações sociais regras múltiplas necessárias ao funcionamento do mercado concorrencial e fazer com que sejam respeitadas. O mercado autorregulador é fruto de uma ação política deliberada". O contramovimento de proteção à sociedade se dá justamente contra tais tendências destruidoras do mercado, sendo algumas de suas expressões o protecionismo comercial nacional e o protecionismo social que se instalou no fim do século XIX. "Portanto, a história deve ser lida segundo um 'duplo movimento' de sentido contrário: o que leva à criação do mercado e o que tende a resistir a ele" (DARDOT & LAVAL, 2016, p. 63-4).

É por essa reflexão que Polanyi (2000) fundamenta sua previsão de morte do liberalismo, na "grande transformação" dos anos 1930-40. A catástrofe do século XX foi conformada pela dissolução da sociedade pelo mercado. No pós-guerra, entende o autor, a sociedade reagiu ao mercado, seja pela forma do socialismo, seja pelo fascismo, tendo o liberalismo sucumbido diante de seu grande fracasso evidenciado pelas guerras. Apesar de 30 anos depois o liberalismo ter ganhado novo impulso, apegar-se a tal erro de previsão pode nos impedir de mobilizar os conceitos de Polanyi para definir a racionalidade neoliberal, "moinho satânico" que promove a concorrência em todas as dimensões da vida humana, formas autoritárias de organização político-social e a piora das condições de vida da grande maioria da população em todas as partes do mundo.

V. Considerações Finais

O lucro como princípio da ação e da vida humana é o fundamento do mercado autorregulável e de uma sociedade moldada pelo mercado. Em um longo processo histórico de desarticulação social e reorganização do Estado, tal princípio deu bases para a expansão do mercado como agente regulador dos processos de interação social como um todo, em suas dimensões materiais e ideológicas. O avanço é tamanho que ao mercado são atribuídas dotações humanas: ele reage com mudanças de humor a cada manifestação coletiva, intervenção pública ou acontecimento natural. É uma figura mítica, que denuncia qualquer dissenso como origem do caos, e assim expande ininterruptamente o "totalitarismo neoliberal".

Não à toa, a atual conjuntura repõe de maneira dramática a velha tensão liberal entre capitalismo e democracia. O sistema econômico, de mercado, ganha corpo a partir de uma institucionalidade que lhe é própria, e cada vez mais apartada de qualquer controle

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social. Desde cima, ou de uma esfera oculta que pouquíssimos alcançam, mas sempre presente, modela a sociedade e o Estado à sua maneira, exigindo que a totalidade social funcione de acordo com seus interesses. Submetido a essa força, o Estado reproduz cotidianamente a sociedade de mercado, e busca legitimação por um já velho jargão: "não há alternativa".

Por isso, como nos ensina Nancy Fraser (2017), é preciso construir "uma visão multidimensional de crise". O aporte teórico polanyiano, naquilo que denomia *laissez-faire planejado*, traz uma concepção de contradição capitalista "entre domínios", não mais restrita ao sistema econômico propriamente dito, mas também presente na "tendência inerente do 'mercado autorregulado' para desestabilizar tanto a sociedade quanto a própria natureza". As contradições envolvem diferentes condições necessárias à produção mercantil, que colocam sob risco os "os processos naturais que sustentam a vida e fornecem os insumos materiais para o abastecimento social", assim como "os processos socioculturais que criam as relações de solidariedade, as disposições afetivas e os horizontes de valor que sustentam a cooperação social" (FRASER, 2017, p. 4).

Assim, o mercado livre se opera pelo "incremento de um intervencionismo contínuo, controlado e organizado de forma centralizada". Em uma apenas aparente contradição, o mercado que se autorregula avança na regulação de tudo a sua volta. "A introdução dos mercados livres, longe de abolir a necessidade de controle, regulamentação e intervenção, incrementou enormemente o seu alcance" (POLANYI, 2000, p. 172). Quem cultua de forma permanente o Estado enquanto ausência promove sua presença por mecanismos de controle irrestrito: cabe à tecnocracia e a novas instituições apartadas de qualquer intervenção democrática garantir a expansão ininterrupta do mercado sobre a vida. Novamente recorrendo às palavras de Chico de Oliveira, estamos diante de um "totalitarismo neoliberal" que disciplina todas as dimensões da vida de acordo com os interesses de mercado, e as realidades antes próprias da periferia do sistema capitalista parecem ter-se generalizado. Sob a ação do Moinho Satânico neoliberal, uma razão única busca se impor e submeter por completo a sociedade e a natureza ao interesse único da acumulação de capital.

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Social Media and Hate Speech: Implications for Socio-Political Stability in Rivers State

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Abstract- The entire world is linked up as a global village by information technology which connects people worldwide. Usage of information technology in social media increases its popularity among youths, especially universities, politicians, and public and private workers. The most significant innovations of men that have brought people together from every race, religion, and nationality are the Internet with social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and Gab that are continually connecting billions of people in the world who share their ideas and opinions instantly. These so-called ideas and thoughts shared on the Internet to some extent, bear several ill consequences and online harassment, trolling, cyber-bullying, and hate speech. Hate speech as any tweet promotes violence against other people based on racial segregation, ethnicity bais, nationality, sexual orientation, gender identity, religious affiliation, age, disability, or diseases. Although several governments and social media sites are trying to curb the hate speech, it is still plaguing our society. The Twitter, Facebook, Gab etcetera are social media that promotes free speech. It allows users to post contents that may be hateful without any fear of repercussion, leading to suspension orders for violating its terms of service, namely, abusive or hateful behaviour.

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Social Media and Hate Speech: Implications for Socio-Political Stability in Rivers State

Fiberesima Patience Aduko [α], Past. Prof. Abomaye-Nimenibo, Williams Aminadokiari Samuel [σ] & George, Sotonye M. D. [ρ]

Abstract- The entire world is linked up as a global village by information technology which connects people worldwide. Usage of information technology in social media increases its popularity among youths, especially universities, politicians, and public and private workers. The most significant innovations of men that have brought people together from every race, religion, and nationality are the Internet with social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook and Gab that are continually connecting billions of people in the world who share their ideas and opinions instantly. These so-called ideas and thoughts shared on the Internet to some extent, bear several ill consequences and online harassment, trolling, cyber-bullying, and hate speech. Hate speech as any tweet promotes violence against other people based on racial segregation, ethnicity bais, nationality, sexual orientation, gender identity, religious affiliation, age, disability, or diseases. Although several governments and social media sites are trying to curb the hate speech, it is still plaguing our society. The Twitter, Facebook, Gab etcetera are social media that promotes free speech. It allows users to post contents that may be hateful without any fear of repercussion, leading to suspension orders for violating its terms of service, namely, abusive or hateful behaviour. We obtained both primary and secondary data from three Local Government Areas of Rivers State, the hob of this study. 5-Point Likert Scale and Chi-Square statistic were used in our analysis. Seven Hundred (700) questionnaires were retrieved from the public to whom these were distributed. Responses to questions were analysed, and statistical results revealed a significant positive relationship between social media and hate speech. Among others, the study recommended that the Federal Government of Nigeria enact laws banning social media use in disseminating hate-speech and making it a crime to use media houses.

I. Introduction

a) Background of the Study speech

The fastest way to grow a business empire in this 21st century is through social media and networking in this era of globalisation.

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One of the greatest innovations of men that have brought people together from every race, religion, and nationality is the Internet with social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, and Gab. These are continually connecting billions of people and accepting their ideas opinions instantly. These so-called ideas and thoughts to share on the Internet sometimes bear several ill consequences and online harassment, trolling, cyber-bullying, and hate speech.

Twitter defines hate speech as any tweet that promotes violence against other people based on racial segregation, ethnicity, nationality differences, sexual orientation, gender identity, religious affiliation, age, disability, or diseases. Although several governments and social media sites are trying to curb the hate speech, it is still plaguing our society.

Facebook is said to have spread hate speech by United Nations investigators in playing a leading role in the possible genocide of the Rohingya community in Myanmar.

Sri Lanka has also accused Facebook of instigating anti-Muslim mob violence that left three people dead. With hate crimes increasing in several countries or states[5], there is an urgent need to understand better how hateful posts spreads in online social media to curb it, if not eliminating it.

Social media sites namely Twitter and Facebook, Gab promotes free speech and allows users to post contents that may be hateful without any fear of repercussion which has led to the migration of several Twitter users who were banned/suspended for violating its terms of service, namely for abusive or hateful behaviour (Zannettou et al. 2018a).

Hate speech provides a unique opportunity to study how the hateful content would spread in the online medium if there were no restrictions.

Many social networking sites emerged in 2000 to ease the interaction between people who share a common interest in music, education, movies, and how businesses conducted their transactions and advertisements and in the marketing of their products.

There are many scholarly ideas about the first occurrence of social media. Carton (2009) argues that technologies that make it easier for us to communicate with each other have been advanced throughout much of human history. Emile Durkheim, a French scholar, named by many people as the father of sociology, and

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Ferdinand Tonnies, a German sociologist, is considered pioneer inventors of social networks during the late 1800s. Tonnies argued that social groups could exist because members shared values, beliefs, and conflicts. His theory deals with social contract conceptions of society. Durkheim combined empirical research with sociological theory. In the late 1800s, radio, and telephone use for social interaction was rampant, albeit one-way with the radio (Rimskii, 2011, Wren, 2004). However, when social networks have evolved over the years to the modern-day variety which uses digital and more advanced media technologies, communication becomes free and easy to use, having the barrier of a one-way flow of information removed.

In the 1960s, the email was invented (Borders, 2010) but, the Internet was not available to the public until 1991. The email was initially invented to exchange messages from one the computer to another requiring online services (Abamye-Nimenio & Abomaye-Nimenibo (2019). Email servers accept and store messages easily accessible by recipients their convenience (Simeon O. Edosomwan, 2016).

Social networking started in the 1990s. According to Daniel (2010), social media is hard to define and is a two-way street that gives you the ability to communicate. Social media is a strategy and an outlet for broadcasting. Social Networking is a tool for connecting people (Cohen, 2009; Stelzner, 2009). Furthermore, Cohen (2009) reported that differences between the duo are not just semantics but also features and functions embedded into these websites by their creators, which dictated its use.

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines, Social media is a form of electronic communication which is a Web site for social networking and blogging whereby users create online communities who share information, ideas, messages and other contents (Merriam-webster Dictionary). In support of the Merriam-Webster definition, Cohen (2009) and Hartshorn (2010) define social media as a media used to transmit or share information among the audience. Social networking is an act of engaging people with shared interests to build relationships through community.

Social media is used for:

i. Promoting communication between employees and management.
ii. The engagement of employees to share project ideas, knowledge and experiences.
iii. Promoting webcast and videos.
iv. Communication with current and potential customers.
v. Receiving feedback on product development and providing customer service and support.
vi. Encouraging the company's employees to interact with members of a well-recognised business community.
vii. Therefore, social media becomes a venue for discussions and a classic goal of marketing and communications, and the companies must ensure that they adhere to social media's rules and business etiquettes.

Social media may be a disadvantage to man rather than maximising social networks' benefits for holding the administration accountable and promoting indigenous businesses. The disadvantageous use of social media is known as Hate speech as far as this study is a concern, which has been in existence since the days of the biblical Cane and Abel, the crucifixion of Jesus, the persecutions of the early church and the slavery and colonisation of Africa. Similarly, looking back at history, we see hate speech prevalent in society and has done unprecedented ills to nations and the implications has been devastating as such speeches have led to genocides, civil wars and death of millions of people over the years.

During World War II in the early nineteenth century, Adolf Hitler tortured and killed over six million Jews (the holocaust) due to hate speech and deprived orientations. Similarly, hate speech has crawled into the socio-political system in Rivers State and Nigeria at large. This hate speech has been an endemic problem and cankerworm in our societies. The Social media is seen as an avenue to spread hate speech faster than a snake's venom because of the potentials of the social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, YouTube, Gab, and others. Without proper modalities for regularisation and control of this endemic problem, the social vices such as electoral violence, terrorist attacks and other forms will increase in our society (Nigeria).

The Internet being a good platform for men being a rallying point has brought people from every race, religion, and nationality on earth together; and through the Social media sites such as Twitter Facebook and Gab have connected billions of people and allowed them to share their ideas and opinions instantly. This study observes that hate speeches tend to spread faster, farther, and broader; within a blink of an eye, such hate-speech messages are viewed or seen by billions of people worldwide using those social media platforms.

Whether verbal or written, hate speech is an attack on individuals based on religion, ethnicity, political beliefs, race, gender inequality, sexual orientation, or disability, which hinders development and peaceful co-existence among diverse groups not limited to only democratic cultures. Hate speech has fueled violent conflicts, civil wars, and genocide, World War II, the anti-Muslim campaign in Bosnia, and the anti-Tutsi hate campaign before the Rwandan genocide. Hate speech has a much higher spreading velocity. The posts of hateful users receive a much larger audience

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and as well at a faster rate. As a case study, we shall investigate the detailed account characteristics of Robert Gregory Bowers, the sole suspect of the Pittsburgh synagogue shooting (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pittsburgh_synagogue _shooting).

According to Joel, Jennifer (2014) Hate speech in Nigeria is branded by violent outbursts by public officials, academia and is demonstrated in several exchanges on the streets, online forums, and sectarian print media in different parts of the country. With hate crimes increasing in several states, there is an urgent need to understand better how hateful posts spreads online in social media and should be inept.

When World War II reached its climax, living conditions in Nigeria had deteriorated to the extent that an average Nigerian could hardly afford three square a day. Following several crises resulting from hate speech, the colonial administration yielded to political independence in 1960. In the face of these crises, ethnicity becomes an instrument of sub-group security and survival (Nnoli, 1978). The use of ethnic groups by political leaders during elections encouraged hate speeches. For instance, in 1959 election, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) garnered 77 per cent of the northern votes among the Hausas but was unable to win votes in the south because of hate speech.

Nnoli (1993) remarked that the economy's speed declined after the affluent was never anticipated or predictable. Egwu (1993) remarks that ethnic considerations continue to affect resource allocation, employment in the public sector, and public institutions' admission. In 1979, during the Second Republic, each of the parties contested the presidential election-maintained dominance in their ethnic bases. In 1983, the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) had a clear leading in the North among the Hausas. The Unity Party of Nigeria led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo had a landslide victory among the Yorubas in Western Nigeria while the Nigerian Peoples Party led by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe won in Igbo states in Eastern Nigeria. This ethnicisation in Nigeria politics manifests itself in the inter and intra ethnic conflicts, election violence and civil war (Nwachukwu, Aghemalo & Nwosu, 2014).

Ethnic politics played an insignificant role during the 1999 presidential election. What happened was that all the ethnic groups massively voted Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (a Yoruba man) because of his political party-the PDP (Peoples Democratic Party). During the 2003 and 2007 elections, Nigerian followed a similar voting pattern in voting in their political party candidates.

The 2011 and 2015 presidential elections revealed that ethnic cleavages re-emerged to play a dominant role in polls' results. General Buhari's victory in North-West and the North-East States and President Jonathan's winning in South-South and South-East during the 2011 and 2015 presidential elections followed the same voting pattern. Voting for ethnicity and political party allegiance and religious dogma trail Nigerian politics carry with it hate speech. Ethnic polarisation also trailed Nigerians at the death of President Musa Yar'adua and the collapse of the PDP zoning arrangement being the handiwork of hate speech of ethnicity. The zoning principle in Nigeria by PDP was to solve the problem of political inequality and ethnic nationality politics. President Olusegun Obasanjo was voted massively into power in the 1999 and 2003 elections through the zoning formula. On 29th May 2007, late President Musa Yar'adua (a Northerner and Muslim) also massively voted based on ethnic, regional and religious divides. The president did not complete his tenure in office but died and was replaced by his vice, Goodluck Jonathan (a Southerner and Christian) as the President in May 2010. This election caused some rancour in the Northern elites who want to complete their tenure. As a result, they expected President Jonathan not to contest the presidential position in the 2011 election.

Contrary to their expectations President Goodluck Jonathan contested and won the PDP primary election ticket for the 2011 presidential election, thereby bringing the zoning arrangement to an end, and mutual suspicion between religious, regional and ethnic groups heightened. Campbell (2010) noted that a divided PDP poses a problem to security and stability in Nigeria. However, while Nigeria is working to consolidate democracy, hate speech is also increasingly becoming a challenge. At the same time, hate speech occurs regularly in Nigeria's media and public discourse.

With over 250 ethnic groups and religious and social diversity; coupled with a political system characterised by intense contestation for power and a winner-take-all environment, Nigeria provides a conducive environment for hate speech to fester. As a result, post-1999 elections have seen violence stoked by hate speech, which has caused election-related rioting, public ferocity, thuggery etcetera, resulting in thousands of unaccounted deaths Nigerians, destruction of properties; and economic destruction, etcetera.

There should be remedies toward putting to an end of free speech of hatred, political and controversial electoral rights. An election in developing nations especially in Africa has been worrisome, as the period for the elections has been characterised by a 'do or die affair', as individuals group themselves and political parties as it is the chief means and process for acquiring power in a democratic state. The election period comes with several activities as political parties conduct primaries to select an aspirant that will represent them in politically elected governments. Being a candidate seeking a public; requires creating awareness in the masses by presenting their manifesto and campaigning vigorously across the nation. In the course of that, hate speeches are incessant.

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It is common in Africa to find the political system denying the electorate of their rights, privileges, and democratic freedoms. The absence of democratic rules among groups and individuals have cause barbaric actions and violence during elections in Nigeria. This assertion was confirmed by Collier (2010), who stated that elections in Africa are frequently accompanied by violence despite their claims to multi-party democracy. We see most recent electoral violence in African countries of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Zimbabwe to mention but a few. Actions of electoral commissions and the immaturity of politicians are some of the reasons for electoral violence in Africa according to Hoglund (2009).

Violent exchanges of hate speech between Igbo traders and Hausa/Fulani traders in Northern Nigeria, according to Osaghae Suberu (2005) was the root cause of the Nigeria-Biafran civil war from 167-1970. Almost half a century later, the upshot of the violent Boko-Haram sect is gradually leading Nigeria into a state of anarchy. The term 'Boko-Haram', loosely translated as ' Western Education is forbidden', refers to a violent sect from the North, who has claimed responsibility for bombings of the UN headquarters in Abuja's Nigerian capital city, National office of the Police Force and numerous unspeakable damages. They, who have expressed its chief goal to be the 'Islamization' of the Nigerian nation, express ethnic and religious intolerance that extensively pervades social interaction in Nigerian. Presently, we have the Fulani herdsmen/ farmers clashes and killings, and bandits in Nigeria.

The nation experience hates speech during the 2011 and 2015 general elections, where politicians, religious figures, public officers, citizens, and ethnic nationalists although it was detested in the electoral cycle. In the traditional and social media, derogatory speeches were made in local dialects to label and demean opponents. The Nigerian media always favour elites who sometimes use it to promote hate messages against their opponents. A common site is that the African Independent Television (AIT) owned by a People's Democratic Party (PDP) stalemate, the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) and the Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria (FRCN) owned by the Federal Government but controlled by members of the ruling party - the All Progressive Congress. These stations are used continuously to propagate hate speech during the 2019 election campaign brings. The National Broadcasting Commission (NBC), did not enforce her powers given by the Federal Government to enforce punishment for hate speech offences, and by not accepting the broadcast, finds it hard to impose sanctions due to the attention widely gained as a result of broadcasting hate speech against the opponents.

In 2015, top politicians associated with President Goodluck Jonathan employed Cambridge Analytics to produce and distribute an Islamophobia video to scare the electorate from voting for the opposition - General Muhammadu Buhari as a sponsorer of Boko Haram. The latter inflict or perpetrate much violence (Isola, 2018).

The people in Rivers State having divergent cultural practices, religious beliefs (Christianity, Islam, Traditional and others) with different dialects are not free from hate speech. Hate speeches are gradually dividing the Municipal because of political tussle among Public figures and party loyalists who struggle for political hegemony.

Hate speech is an expression of hostility toward individuals or social groups based on their perceived group, membership, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion debility, gender or sexual orientation. All forms of expression which spread or incite or promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and base on intolerance, including intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination, hostility etcetera against minorities people of immigrant origin etcetera (Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, 1997).

Historically, six state elections have been conducted so far in Rivers State between 1999 and 2019. A review of these elections revealed that Rivers state witnessed both pre and post-election violence. Electoral violence in Nigeria was attributed to animosity, religious dichotomy, pervasive poverty and weak institutionalisation, political parties, the Judiciary, and law enforcement agencies (Nwolise, 2007; Campbell, 2010 and Orji & Uzodi, 2012). Africa and beyond is noted for hate speech. Most notable examples are the 2007 post-electoral violence in Kenya, 2011 post-electoral violence in Nigeria as reported by the FGN, 2011; Chedotum et al., 2013). The nexus between hate speech and post-election violence in Africa was studied by Ezeibe (2013). Ezeibe argued that the seed of hate speech campaign has matured in Africa, but no extensive work has been done, the little one did was under-reported; even though they are apt and scientific yet, none of them examined the effect of hate speech and hate campaign on Nigeria's electoral violence.

Although no law in the Nigerian constitution has expressly prohibited hate speech, the Criminal Code has laws related to libel, slander, blasphemy, perjury, and similar offences. The Nigerian Electoral Act of 2010 under section 95 did not vividly explain the prohibitions. Although registered political parties have signed a code of conduct stating that no party or candidate may distribute inflammatory statements, there has not been prescribed sanctions. The 2015 Cyber Crime Act under section 26 places ban on the publication of racist and xenophobic materials. However, the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) code and that of Advertising Practitioners Council of Nigeria (APCON) carry some provisions that are against hate speech. There is no strong political will to prescribe punishment

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for those who use hate speech during elections. Even though these laws are enacted, there been no prosecution of offenders of hate speech. So, there is no legal precedent for offenders of hate speech. However, in February 2018, the Senate considered a bill to making hate speech punishable by death, but the explanation of hate speech is ambiguous and associated with the fight against terrorism. Prof. Yemi Osinbajo, the Vice-President of Nigeria, has stated that hate speech is a form of terrorism. The bill was frustrated and strangled to death as it attempts to silence government critics.

Social media and hate speech in Rivers State resulted from power tussle among chief political leaders and their supporters, especially during electioneering periods and campaigns. Hate speech in the Nigeria context is promoted or predicated by religious and ethnic related feuds or hostilities. The political leaders in Rivers State use Machiavellian tactics to discredit their opponents through hate speeches when addressing their supporters and sympathisers. The use of hate speech was incessant during the 2019 electioneering processes when the political actors throw insinuating words regarded as insults upon each other both in radio stations, local and national television networks, and the news media.

Hence, the Rivers State at various phases of development and consolidation has experienced hate speech and its ill-effects in no smaller measure. Election campaigns are fertile ground for hate speech and incitement to hatred. Elected officials, political parties, candidates, other opinion makers, and members of "civil" society are all in the corridors of hate speech.

The statement "all men by nature are a political animal" is only right, when it comes to the relationship between media houses, social media bloggers and their users who parley with politicians to shield truth. This axiom also holds sway for party loyalists and sympathisers that carry out their benefactor politicians and party stalwarts' commands. We have media report on https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/03/27/politics-war/human-rights-impact-and-causes-post-election-violence-rivers-state that carried the news of Rivers State' most powerful gang leader, Sogboma George, escaping from jail while awaiting trial for murder in 2005. The Nigeria Police did not make any effort to rearrest him and went about as a free man until the time of his assassination. Similarly, in 2007, Sogboma George was arrested and remanded in a Police cell for a traffic offence, and armed men loyalist to him broke the police cell and set him free. He was again left untouched or rearrested by the Police.

Rivers State politicians sponsor the gang leaders or cultists. Much of the July and August 2007 fighting rutted by Ateke Tom, leader of the Icelanders/ Niger Delta Vigilante group, against his former boy Sogboma George, the criminal gang leader was that of a struggle for supremacy. The then Ateke Tom it was rumoured rose from obscurity during Rivers' 2003 elections to fame when he was paid and armed by Rivers State government officials to help drive opposition supporters out of his hometown Okrika. While late Sogboma George emerged during the Rivers' 2007 elections which later became the most powerful and politically connected gang leader, with close ties to Rivers State's administration, then-Governors Celestine Omehia and Rt. Hon. Chibuike Rotimi Amaechi. These warlords were able to swindle the Rivers State Government's hand by causing mayhem of violence in Port Harcourt to be patronised.

Rivers State and the World witnessed a blood bath on 31st breaking 1st January 2019 night in Omoku where Christians were killed by a notorious gang leader Don Wanny. YouTube displayed video footages of the blood bath with the recorded hate speeches uttered by Don Wanny. The Rivers State Government later granted him an amnesty.

While the political actors use aggressive words even in the last concluded State election, they instigate their foot soldiers to act accordingly against the oppositions. Examples displayed in the All Progressive Congress hierarchy; Senator Magnus Abe vs Rotimi Amaechi preferred candidate Tonye Cole. Their action led their supporters to destabilise their former APC State Secretariat at Forces Avenue, Old GRA. Social media sites displayed videos of these events with each faction making hate speeches against another.

During a court sitting in Port-Harcourt, hooligans hover around the court's Premises at Moscow road before the Nigerian Police dispatch them. The aftermath was an eye saw as the Police could not disperse the protesters. Social media and hate speech have no doubt been used by the Political actors to intimidate, scare and witch-hunt their opponents in Rivers State. Without calling names, we cannot help but get records of some Assembly-men who have one way or the other have perpetrated cult-related activities in the Rivers State in this present administration.

This study's feasibility is to proffer workable solutions that can make Rivers State institutions work in full gear to either eliminate social media hate speech or reduce it to its barest minimum. Below are few selected organisations to be used to accomplish this task of socio-political stability in Rivers State, and they are:

i. Media Houses in Rivers State often resort to hate speech which either stabilises Rivers State's polity or mar it.
ii. Owners of Radio Stations either divulge the truth to the public or distort information, giving room to people to utter all kinds of hate speeches in media houses; and sometimes moderators allow some hate speeches that suit their interest, and bar others that go against their loyalists or political godfathers.

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iii. The Radio Biafra station is noted for media house hate speech.
iv. Some social media bloggers are financed and sponsored by some people to spread propaganda and fake news about their opponents. Therefore putting their benefactors in a good light, and their opponents in the dark was a brain cause of the clash between Governor Ezenwo Wike Nyesom and the former Governor of Rivers State, the Federal Minister of Transportation Rt. Hon. Chibuike Rotimi Amaechi convoy at Trans Amadi Industrial Area in 2018.
v. A group of individuals use the media for insults and hate speeches that negate civil society's liberty. Political party supporters and their youth followers make all kinds of absurd statements on social networks as hate speeches.

However, the media houses are expected to impact the society by serving as an ombudsman to political office holders, moderate the civil order activities, and cause the dissemination of correct and accurate information through televisions, media houses, blogs and other additional arrangements. The correct and accurate presentation and addressing of societal matters in the media had a long-lasting dint in people's minds. Also, the content of any message is capable of motivating if not otherwise, the audience and eventually cause an optimistic or adverse action.

In 2015, the Centre for Information Technology and Development (CITAD) stated that 70 per cent of the people in Nigeria disseminate hate speech in social media whose identities are not hidden. Our society needs to be put in place specific restrictive measures to curtail hate speeches in the social media which negates the reason for setting up these platforms. Hate speech can stir up socio-political instability in Nigeria's social order and by extension, any other nation.

b) Statement of the Problem

From all empirical standards and permutations, the Social Media platforms and Social networking sites in this 21st century plays a dominant role in Rivers State economic growth and development. The social media is the platform that sends out information faster, and swifter, and its robust potential contribution in terms of asking the state government for public accountability. It also compels the international communities for prompt interventions, but the reverse is seen due to some perceived abnormal functionalities of social media users as they create demeaning havocs on networking sites by making frivolous comments are known to be hate speeches in this study.

The fundamental issues are the socio-political havocs and instability this new culture so displayed in the media industry has to incur Rivers State's demeaning effect. These particular acts have resulted in countless violence resulting in deaths of loved ones and casualties in Rivers State, leading to socio-political imbalance and instability in the polity. Therefore, this demands that Rivers State institutions and Nigeria adopt a more suitable approach to manage and provide appropriate measures to curtail this endemic disease that is gradually bed-rocking the social media communities and negates speedy economic growth in Rivers State.

Curtailing hate speeches seem onerous because the top pioneers of these endemic problems who do little or nothing to imbibe ethics needed to win popularity during the electioneering process without the normal blame-game and propagandas seem to be diluted truths, thus, leading to hate speeches. Therefore, a way forward in solving these endemic problems inherent in social media, institutions, and society needs investigation to curtail or eliminate hate speech.

One of the biggest challenges in Rivers State in particular and Nigeria at large is the inability of the political leaders to see everybody from the Rivers State as one or brothers and sisters so that when appointments and employments when made, eliminates ethnicity consideration and be thrown overboard. The Rivers State's various stakeholders will be contingent upon forming strategic partnerships and alliances and working collaboratively with one voice against hate speeches. Recording of tremendous achievements, in scope, scale, and sustainability of success, this social media platform needed to work closely with existing mandates, capabilities, and resources of government institutions, independent agencies, and civil society as per laid down principles or policies that, will ultimately tend to make a significant impact in reducing societal vices to its barest minimum, especially in Rivers State. The famous question that readily comes to mind is whether this hate speech can reduce socio-political instability like ballot box snatching, assassination, kidnapping and other cult and gang-related vices to its barest minimum? There are other thought-provoking questions arouses our interest to undertake this study.

c) Objective of the Study

This study's general objective is to ascertain whether partnering with stakeholder's forums will meet-up demand for reducing hate speech in society now and in the future.

The specific objectives of the study are:

i. To examine the extent to which social media users influence hate speech.
ii. To examine how social media hate speech, negate socio-political stability of Rivers State.
iii. To assess the establishment of stakeholder's forum for significant reduction of socio-political instability in Rivers State.
iv. To examine how Policy-Makers and media houses can help tame hate speech in Rivers State.

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d) Research Questions

To effectively carry out this research, there are pertinent questions that are relevant to the study as follows: -

i. Can social media users influence hate speech?
ii. Can social media stop hate speech from negatively influencing socio-political stability in River State?
iii. Can the establishment of stakeholders' forum through social media significantly impact reducing socio-political instability in Rivers State?
iv. Can policymakers and media house help to tame hate speech in Rivers State?

e) Research hypotheses

The following hypotheses will guide the study. They are:

i. H_0: Social media cannot stop hate speech from negatively influencing socio-political stability in River State?
ii. H_0: Social media users cannot influence hate speech.
iii. H_0: The establishment of the stakeholder's forum will not significantly impact reducing socio-political instability in Rivers State.
iv. H_0: Policymakers and media houses cannot tame hate speech in Rivers State.

f) Significance of the Study

This study will be a source of information to aid the Federal, State and Local governments in curtail potential threats emanating from hate speeches that can hurt the State's polity.

This study's results are believed to be an eye-opener to both Governments and the general public and call for a stakeholder's forum to nib the bud.

The study will also encourage Nigerian policymakers to initiate good policies that will forestall peace and tranquillity in the nation as hate speech is collectively and eradicated in Nigeria using this research's recommendations.

Our findings will also be a reference point to other researchers and will contribute to knowledge.

g) Scope of the Study

The research covered the period 2005 – 2017. The survey understudies Rivers State as one of Nigeria's largest populated cities with Five Million, One Hundred and Ninety-Eight Thousand, Seven Hundred and Sixteen (5,198,716) 2006 National Census. Rivers State has twenty-three (23) Local Government Areas with millions of this population acquainted with social media and social networking sites. The Local Government Areas that come under this study are Port-Harcourt, Obio-Akpor, and Okrika LGAs analysed for generalisation to other states and countries in the world.

h) Definitions of Terms

Social Vices: These are the various crimes perpetrated in society due to the hate speech made on social media and political actors. These vices could be thuggery, assassination, kidnapping, armed robbery, civil unrest and violent protests.

Political figures: These are the top politicians in the State who have followers and hold public office.

Media users: This section refers to the public that participates with any online and social media interactions, mostly through Twitters, Facebook, WhatsApp, Gob, email etcetera.

Media Houses: refers to Television and Radio stations.

Bloggers: These are online organisations that create a social media account for specific purposes.

II. Literature Review

The literature review provided the researcher avenue to critically view previous scholarly works and studies about the topic, which helps a researcher select appropriate objectives and methodology to enhance knowledge. Furthermore, this section of the research will build on the lacunas or loopholes that concern the study.

a) Literature Review

The word "Social Media" means collecting applications by Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Gab, LinkedIn, YouTube, and other websites linking people to share information and make them aware of social networking events. The 21st century has witnessed unprecedented patronage of social media, and people belonging to different age groups use these social media houses. Social media has touched the lives of people in Rivers State. Information Technology (IT) has the capability of changing the living standard of people. As a tool, social media provides several ways of interaction and different opportunities to learn foreign languages worldwide. Today's world is a global village due to disseminating information on social media in no distance time with users connecting within seconds and share ideas and make comments by video conferencing. People of different cultures discuss freely on any issue of interest. Social media made this possible by linking the people to their culture through diverse documentaries. Through social media, people also get information about other regions and countries. Social media influence or impacts on the lives of adolescents, both positively and negatively. Students use social media for learning purposes, for entertainment, and innovative researches, etcetera.

Students join different social, cultural and religious groups on Facebook and other media to interact with one another and discuss divergent topics. The uses of Social media are numerous. Social media

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provide platforms of opportunities to young men and women to seek for jobs. Some companies post their adverts for recruitment and even selection online. Some of these companies create their group or page to inform their employees about their company's operational activities or situations; while other for advertisement.

According to Chukwuere J.E (2017), there has been a drastic improvement in technology over the years. Social media is popular among students for conveying data. The World Wide Web (WWW) has increased knowledge acquisition and information transfer more comfortable and faster. Therefore, it is common today for people from all walks of life to easily share information, pictures, and post-motivated thoughts on social media and advert jobs. Advancement in technology, makes work done even in one's bedroom, at his/her convenient time through the use of smartphones, tablets, or personal computers and what is available. However, we noticed a demerit in social media users globally, as many female students have used up their precious times playing games instead of using the mass media wisely to acquire knowledge. Also, many of them devote most of their time on things that add no value to their academics, such as constant chatting and uploading pictures. Social media is an online tool created for interaction and content sharing among people in the community, and its broader context includes; web-based technologies like YouTube for social video sharing service, text messaging, blogs etcetera. , Microblogs activities on Twitter and social networking services are carried out such as Facebook, MySpace, WhatsApp explorations.

The use of social media by youths has become a way of life, and personal activities are made public, according to Edge (2017). Studies on students usage of social media, its impact on their social behaviour, education, academic performance as well as the positive and negative effect, has been carried and the results revealed that there are factors that influence the usage, ethical usage and many more (Al-Sharq, Hashim & Kutbi, 2015; Wolf, Wenskovitch & Anton, 2016; Mingle & Adams, 2015). Khan (2012) conducted similar research which focused on social media websites impact on students. While Ahn (2011) study covered the social media effect on adolescents' academic advancement and social wellbeing.

According to Rajeev (2015), social media impact different area of our society in allowing individuals to make their views and life public. Shabir, Hameed, Safdar and Gilani (2014), suggested that social lifestyles of youth's rest upon Social Media, which impact can be undesirable sometimes. Social media has gradually become part and parcel of our society.

According to Al-Sharq, Hashim & Kutbi, (2015), social media is becoming part of our society and changing social norms and culture. Wolf et al., (2015) stated that information and content sharing are now a social desire, which has changed so many people including students' especially female students, how they interact, communicate and socialise in the learning institutions. The news media has provided robust connectivity, communication and content sharing among students and society. Students can now participate in social discussions, posting comments, pictures, images, share ideas and many more. At this point, one can say that Social Media influences youths daily, and affects their life path and particularly students (Rajeev, 2015).

i. *Concept of Media*

Social media is a form of interactive media that lets users communicate through posts, videos, blogs, forums and messages. Social media is the content we create and share.

Mass media means technology intended to reach a mass audience. It is the primary means of communication amongst the vast majority of the general public within seconds when the messages are out. The mass media platforms include newspaper, magazines, radio, TV and the Internet. Whenever one wants to listen to his/her favourite song, watching his/her favourite TV shows, or listen to current news and events in the world, or turn up to a particular station, it is most likely that one will have to tune on to a specific station of interest in TV, Smartphones or computer. These sources that we turn on to get information are all considered to be mass media.

Media means the plural form of medium and medium means communication and a mode of expression centred on expressing views of people and their possessions with characteristics that help to direct people's opinions. It uses both technical and institutional methods of production and distribution to reach out to the audience. It also involves the codification of symbolic form and separate contexts in the production and reception of information. It is for information distribution to communicate the products of mass-production that spread the news about a product to many of the audience at whatever location. The question that readily comes to mind is what effect does the mass media have upon people?

Considering the above question, we found in the literature that, different news media have their particular characteristics and effects on people based on accessibility, and audience. Media effects on society in this 21st century is so much, and it ranges from entertainment to creating awareness and education. These effects on people make them outstanding as agents of change and act as sources of information of facts to the listening audience or society.

Media plays a crucial role in democracy, like being a watchdog, such as establishing democracy and safeguarding the existing tenets in democratic values like public officials' accountability and entertainment through music, drama, films, and dance etcetera. Media

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productive in those aspects also tend to play a significant role in the company's products' business, and marketing displayed and introduced to the general public through media and ultimately results in the nation's economic growth.

Generally, social media is categories into three as follows: -

Print Media: They include Newspapers, Magazines, Booklets, Brochures and house magazines.

Electronic Media: Television, Radio and Films, New Age Media: Mobile Phones, Computers and Internet.

The first phrase of media usage began in 1920, and the notion of mass media was generally restricted to print media, including books, pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines. Post World War II, introduced radio, and television. Recordings include gramophone records, magnetic tapes, cassettes, CDs, DVDs, cinema in 1950, the Internet about 1990, and mobile phones about 2000.

Social media is classified into visual and non-visual based on its nature, scope, and society's effectiveness. Press or media evaluated as the fourth pillar of a democratic system which was the prime force in the struggle for independence in African countries. Many freedom fighters started with newspaper and different kinds of literature to address public issues to create nationality among the people before and after independence.

Over the 250 years of media coverage, its status and relevance keep appreciating due to people's support and trust and how it has made life easy. However, after Nigeria's independence in 1960, the media scenario has undergone tremendous changes attributed to globalisation. Indian media and entertainment industry has travelled a long way and grown into a leading media market with over 1.2 billion people. The Indian constitution guarantees free press and free expression, having a press or media without the government's intervention or restrictive regulation.

Free 116 media is an essential source of information in a free society, that when used irresponsibly, can threaten the particular geographical expanse, such as Rivers state. In India, the government takes on the role of the primary regulator of the media. It has established specific law not only to regulate media activities but also to protect their freedom. With the object to regulate media industry, various authorities in India has been established through different legislations from time to time as Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Press Information Bureau, Press Council of India, Central Board of Film Certification, Telecom Regulatory Authority of India.

ii. *Characteristics of Media*

John Thompson of Cambridge University has identified the following characteristics of media:

i. Compromises of both technical and institutional production and distribution methods are evident throughout the media 's history.
ii. The commodification of symbolic forms of production relies on manufacturing and selling large quantities of the product.
iii. The information distribution is a "one to many" form of communication, whereby products on mass production are widespread to many audiences.

There are different types of media having specific characteristics based on reaching the audience and accessibility. Print media like newspapers and magazines influence people, such as politicians and policymakers who often turn to print media for their news, intended to reach the general public. Radio is available to a broad audience which is suitable to communicate local information. It has an entertainment function and a platform for serious discussions and interaction with call-in shows. Television is a medium for severe news or entertainment, depending on the outlet; some talk shows and news broadcasts intended to entertain and inform, which requires strong visuals for effective communications. Internet is online media, like blogs, and social media news. Media information dissemination in a developed country in terms of communication is operative, and receiving information, but have a low rate of accessibility in developing countries, which can quickly disseminate (accurate or inaccurate) information globally.

iii. *Impact of Media on Society*

The society is affected by the media multifariously. Media plays its role in the social order effectively in Information accessibility in media which means access to facts and documents, which helps a person acquire information and knowledge in preparing the human race for the 21st century. Media organisation and communication hardware expand access to information. The world has become a global world that is closer and cohesive due to data transmission and data transmission. Within seconds, information reaches every nook and cranny of all the countries. Everyone knows the whole lot happening everywhere.

Media serves as a public watchdog, playing a role in shaping, guiding and reflecting the public opinions. The functions of the media help to strengthen the tenets of democracy.

Entertainment is one of the major avenues the media have used to enrich the people. Broadcasting has monopolised the leisure industry. It provides literature, music, drama, dance, sport, avenues for interaction with resourceful persons, culture entertainments etcetera.

The overall human development is directly related to education. Media enable the spread of knowledge through conventional and unconventional methods. Through educating the public, ignorance has

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been on the road to eradication. The social media adds new information to valuable human knowledge.

Economic growth brings about development through the mass media was used for both social and business concerns. They include advertising, marketing, propaganda, public relations and political communication.

iv. *Social Media and the decay in cultural Norms*

The high use of the Internet has a correspondingly high risk, and but there had been no risk of the simple use of the media (Berson and Berson (200). Elola and Oskoz (2008) have stated that social media did not know about risks at the early stage of development and could not quickly develop abilities to make life's choices. They went on to say that social media helped evolve a business relationship with other states and social media positively affected.

Social media is used in educational learning, especially e-learning Brady, Holcomb, and Smith (2010). Similarly, Lusk (2010) stated that students use social media in their academic pursuits, enhancing communication skills through social media. Social media had provided new web tools that the students could use to raise their learning skills. According to Jacobsen and Forste (2011), media hurt grades, and students have used media continuously while doing homework, or in class which negatively affects their examination scores. Kalpidou, Costin, and Morris, (2011) stated that there was a relationship between social media and grades, Ohio State University described in his study that those students had low grading who spent their time on social media, then those who did not spend their time on social media. According to Waddington (2011), adolescents thought social media as the component of their culture; not a craze. It could enhance their ability, and they used it as an educational tool. All the studies discussed above show that social media have different effects on different people.

v. *Social Media's Impact on Social LifeStyle*

Digital media had provided opportunities to contribute to those countries that have ICT (Information Communication Technology). According to Livingstone and Bober (2003), social media was the core cause of the generation gap in several ways like lack of awareness, recognition of domestic rules, and what kids were acting and parents' opinions about their children's doing. People forgot their rituals and traditions because of social media.

Social media has created an alternative new world of information, communication, and interconnectivity order which cannot be activated using face-to-face communication methods (Al-Sharq et al., 2015; Chukwuere & Onyebukwa, 2017).

With Social Media, pressing issues in societies are discussed and given attention (Shabir et al., 2014). Al-Sharq et al., (2015) have stated that high education institution students have engaged in excessive social media usage, which has coined a debate on whether social media has impacted their social lifestyle, behaviour and wellbeing.

Al-Sharq et al. went on to say that, the level of changes brought by social media has positively impacted tutors, students, education institutions and other stakeholders to improve their interactions and teaching and learning delivery technique. Social Media's adoption into education and life results from its user-oriented features, cheap and easy to use and others (Chukwuere & Onyebukwa, 2017).

Students use The use of social media by students crosses various departments in Schools. Al-Sharq et al. (2015) have advanced some reasons for using social media to communicate with their friends, have access to learning contents and sharing, group discussion forums, chat rooms, wiki, fun and many others. Social media usage among university students brings both positive and negative impacts. Al-Sharq et al. (2015) further stated that Social Media creates a new innovative mindset on students and improves inter-social interaction and relationship between students and educators. This new media can be addictive, time-consuming, distractive, social-gathering, isolation, monophobia and others.

Also, Mingle, and Adams (2015) believed that Social Media usage has negatively caused students depravity in handwriting, being unable to spell words. Social media has made students pass sleepless nights which cause them to be late to their classes and unable to do and submit on time class assignments, addicted to the Internet, have few study time, etcetera, which have a negative chain effect on their social lifestyle, and cultural belief system. Social Media changes educational settings and learner's behaviour (Mingle, and Adams, 2015). These students, according to Edge (2017), are exposed to post unethical contents and views. Nevertheless, Social Media can cause harm (s) to the user despite changes in innovation in the 21st Century (Moate, Chukwuere & Mavhungu, 2017).

vi. *Worldview on Hate Speech*

Hate speech has been in existence from time immemorial; even in time of Biblical Cain against his brother Abel. At the time of the Lord Jesus Christ, His persecutors used hate speech against Him; and the Church age also experienced it. The same odium words were fluently used at the time of the slave trade and Africa's colonisation. History, hate speech has done unprecedented ills to nations, and the implications have been devastating as such speeches have led to genocides, civil wars and death of millions of people over the years. During World War II in the early nineteenth century, Adolf Hitler tortured and killed over six million Jews (the holocaust), due to hate speech and

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misinformation. Osaghae & Suberu (2005) from their findings have said that the remote cause of the Nigerian civil war from 1967- 1970 resulted from violent exchanges of words (hate speech) shared between Igbo traders and Hausa/Fulani traders in Northern Nigeria. Half a century later, the upshot of the violent Boko-Haram sect is gradually leading Nigeria into a state of anarchy. Hate speech has crawled into the system and politics in Rivers State and Nigeria at large that became an endemic problem and cankerworm in our societies. Social media spread hate speech faster than a snake's venom because of social media platforms' potentials.

There is no one unique and universal definition of hate speech, incitement to hate, or other crucial terms within human rights law with the above issues on hand. As a result, this study will take some explanations from notable organisations.

The UN's International Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination defines hate speech as a "form of other-directed speech which rejects the core human rights principles of human dignity and equality and seeks to degrade the standing of individuals and groups in the estimation of society." Similarly, in various countries, criminal codes generally refer to speeches that incite any group of persons to commit an offence against any other group or create enmity between groups as a hate speech.

The European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) defines hate speech as all forms of expression which spread, incites, promote, or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti- Semitism or other forms based on intolerance expression by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discriminative hostility towards minorities, migrants, and people of immigrant origin.

The South African Broadcasting Complaints Commission defines hate speech as the material which when judged within context; sanctions promotes or glamorises violence based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, gender, age, or mental or physical disability, and sexual discrimination. The Commission also referred to hate speech as the propaganda for war, incitement of imminent violence, or advocation of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion and which constitutes incitement to cause harm".

Hate speech is also regarded as an abusive speech targeted at specific group characteristics, such as ethnic origin, religion, gender, or sexual orientation (Warne and Hirschberg, 2012). In recent times, a tweet is regarded as hate speech if it uses a sexist or racial slur as opined by Waseem and Hovy (2016).

More precise definitions from the law are specific to firm jurisdictions and therefore, do not capture all forms of offensives, hateful speeches (Matsuda, 1993). As of June 2016, Twitter bans hateful conduct.

The governments, organisations and the public are interested in controlling hate speech in social media and the perpetrators. However, there is a little or no consensus on what hate speech is.

vii. *Social Media and Hate Speech*

In real life, the consequences of hate speech are increasing, affecting human health and becoming an issue (Burnap and Williams, 2014). Hate speech mirrors readers' opinions only and induces ill feelings (Martin et al., 2013).

Hate speech has recently attracted some interest as a research topic on the one hand, according to Djuric et al., 2014; Burnap and Williams, 2014; Silva et al., 2016.

Social media disseminates hateful messages. Hate speech in Europe is associated with the ongoing refugee crises. As hate speech on social media sites increases, people are more aware of the associated problems and how to deal with it, such as removing illegal messages 24 hours after they are reported (Titcomb, 2016).

Early detection of hate speech and such an automatic detection method can reduce or impair hate speech contents escalating and be a vocal point of eliminating such vile speech via social media.

Therefore, hate speech detection can be considered a classification task when given an utterance, which determines whether it contains hate speech. Training an information classifier requires a large amount of data that does not hate speech-related.

viii. *Case for Freedom of Speech as Against Hate Speech*

Freedom of expression, as stated in Article 19(3) of the ICCPR carries duties and responsibilities subject to the following restrictions:

a. There must be mutual respect for the reputations and rights of other people;
b. The protection of national security, public order, and public health or morals.

Furthermore, Article 20 of the same ICCPR prohibits any propaganda for war and any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred. Nowadays, most jurisdictions and most scholars accept the necessity of certain restrictions on freedom of speech. As one of the limitations, hate speech has been widely debated and scrutinized in political and academic circles, but a universally agreed definition of hate speech does not exist.

Nevertheless, two elements appear to be frequent to a variety of views. The first is hate speech directed at a person or a group of persons considered inferior because of some characteristics that misconstrue their identity, innate (i.e. race, ethnicity, sexual orientation). Secondly, hate speech incites violence, discriminatory treatment, or the offence to the

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human dignity of a targeted person(s) (Cortese, 2006; Heyman, 2008; Gelber, 2002).

For example, Gelber (2002) is primarily concerned with searching for an adequate response to hate speech, rather than elaborating on its definition. In developing her argumentation, Gelber combines three theories; Nussbaum's capabilities theory, Austin's conception of utterances as 'speech-acts', and Habermas's validity claims model. Gelber starts the discussion about hate speech by challenging the libertarian concept of free speech according to which the goal of a speech policy is simply to restraint on individuals' speech liberty.

Drawing upon Nussbaum's idea that free speech is significant to the development of human capabilities, she offers an alternative conception that accentuates the free speech exercise's participation as the primary goal of a well-designed speech policy (Gelber, 2002; emphasis added). Gelber also challenges the above-discussed distinction between 'doing' and 'saying, by referring to Austin's concept of speech-acts. From Austin, the standpoint of view, the idea that when a person speaks, they are doing more than making a statement was adopted.

In every utterance, three validity claims exist, i.e. the claim to Certainty, the claim to the rightness of norms and values, and the speaker's sincereness. These three validity claims appear as the claim to inequality in the objective ecosphere so that there will be no personal claim to the rightness of discrimination against certain groups, and a sincere hater towards the targeted group. Speaking on systematic power asymmetry, Gelber concludes that a hate-speech-act is a discursive act of discrimination that propagates inequalities.

Furthermore, hate speech refers to the USA Supreme Court's legal practice and discusses two different tests employed in the freedom of expression cases. The first one is the 'clear and present danger' test that allowed to limit freedom of expression only in a speech that represents an immediate danger of substantive evil, e.g. riots or violence of any other sort. The second test – the 'bad tendency' test – that does not allow the presence of any threat or danger. So, the government is permitted to set limitations on free speech 'if such has a natural tendency to bring probable effect (Gitlow v. New York, 1925; cited in Zingo, 1998: 18).

ix. *Hate Speech and Implication to Socio-Political Instability in Rivers State*

From 1999 to 2019, when the Fourth Republic in Nigeria stated and ended, Rivers State has witnessed political violence. Rivers state socio-political stability, has never been obtained but rather the constant vulnerability of hate speech and its devastating ills. Hate speech at election campaigns and its incitement to hatred was the order of the day in Rivers state and Africa at large.

As such, electoral leadership quality can have profound negative or positive impacts beyond an election's success. Strong electoral leadership can mitigate grave challenges to the electoral process, while poor electoral control often exacerbates.

In reality of this study, the political actors and the youths have not done so well with social media in inciting hate speeches in the state. These hate speech acts that come from mostly the politicians have created instability and havoc in the assassination, murder, kidnapping, and other vices.

In response, Rivers State politicians and youths on social media must exercise ethical leadership that co-opts and models concepts such as honesty, justice, and respect for human rights.

Those that propagate hate speech are usually elected officials, political parties, candidates, opinion makers, and members of civil society officialdoms.

According to The Human Rights Impact and Causes of Post-Election Violence in Rivers State (https://www.hrw.org/report/2008/03/27/politics-war/human-rights-impact-and-causespost-election-violence-rivers-state) stated that democracy in Nigeria since 1999 has been an illusion and that hundreds of Nigerians have died in 2003 and 2007 elections.

Rivers State's government is one of the wealthiest state governments in Nigeria. That position is derivative from Rivers State status as the heart of Nigeria's booming oil industry. In recent years, rising world oil prices have flooded Rivers State's treasury with a budget higher than many West African countries. Despite this wealth, Rivers State has some of the worst socio-economic indicators in the biosphere, and people are evenly employed, with less care for a decent education, health care, etcetera despite massive oil revenues to develop the state for the benefit of the entire population, Rivers State politicians have squandered the money through mismanagement and corruption. Ironically, the young men are attracted to well-funded gang activities because poverty and unemployment have helped fuel the same problems and crises.

It is pertinent to note that Rivers State wealth has not just been wasted, but has also put to work in sponsoring violence and insecurity on behalf of ruling party politicians. It was on the net that before the 2003 elections, the then-Governor of Rivers State Dr. Peter Odili and his political associate's funded criminal gangs helped him rig the elections to give the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) a landslide victory. These gangs used the money given them to procure sophisticated weapons; making them better armed than the police.

Over the years, Rivers State politicians initially sponsored gangs have become involved in other forms of lucrative criminal activities, including the theft of crude

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oil, bank robbery, kidnappings for ransom, and other violent crimes. Due to the political connections these gangs have, they have unprecedented immunity and so, their actions or crimes committed were of total impunity, as the police or military were blocked continuously to deal with these miscreants, who lived openly in urban towns where their violent crimes resulted in murder and injury to ordinary Nigerians.

x. *Countering Social Media Hate Speech in Rivers State Polity*

A direct online expression of hate speech or an act of sharing a hateful post is usually impulsive, careless, internally motivated and does not involve significant cognitive or emotional effort. Indeed, it might involve more effort to suppress a hateful or angry feeling than to release it. Unlike hate speech, an act of counter speech is not spontaneous, but responsive, not active, but reactive. It requires a conscious decision and involves considerable cognitive and emotional effort in that, rather than with carelessness, it is more often associated with awareness of the potential consequences of confrontation with the hater, such as attracting their attention and being targeted by insults and even more hate personally hence, highly unpleasant penalties. A decision to counter an act of hate speech requires a usually disproportionate amount of emotional effort and resources compared to the impulsive, self-rewarding and the affective act of posting or sharing a hateful post (Coustick-Deal, 2017). According to free speech advocates and Facebook's official stance, counter-speech is supposed to be a more effective tool against hate speech than removing offensive content by websites administrators (Bartlett & Krasodomski Jones, 2015, p. 4).

Therefore, this study will help bring to the notice of the various sponsors, particularly the politicians, security agencies, and media houses, to be abreast of a range of hate speech issues during an electoral cycle.

The study will explain how to deal with hate speech issues by government officials, security agencies and others, stop incitement to hatred, and hate crimes. Policy administrators are primarily concerned with constitutional provisions, electoral laws, political party laws, and legislation governing media. At the same time, they should be aware of all the legal and regulatory instruments that may come into play. By doing so, government officials can identify other responsible regulatory, oversight, and enforcement bodies to share information and coordinate a response.

Strategists need to be aware that regulatory responses to hate speech are controversial as they revolve around restrictions on access to information, free speech, and political/electoral rights. Fundamental Human Right guarantees free speech and anti-discrimination, but how can free speech be a hate speech challenging to balance. Moreover, regulatory responses are fraught with many other potential problems, including definitional issues, implementation and enforcement challenges, lobbing, and abuse of the law.

During election campaigns, the politician needs to maintain neutrality and treat candidates equally so that appropriate and proportionate penalties appropriated to offenders, and a safe electoral environment is guaranteed.

These stakeholders have vital roles in regulating hate speech in crucial areas that mould the society in Rivers State, and they are:

a. *Constitutions*

Several countries directly reference hate speech or incitement to hatred in their constitutions. Article 16 of South Africa's 1996 Constitution confirms all citizens of their right to freedom of expression, and the right does not in any way extended to propaganda for warfare, or incitement to violence, or advocacy of hatred on account of race, ethnicity, gender or religion, which constitutes incitement to cause harm. Article 17 of Fiji's (1998) Constitution contains similar incitement restrictions to violence and advocacy of hatred. It goes further by unambiguously protecting individuals and groups' rights to freedom of hate speech. However, Human rights activists have raised concerns over some restrictions placed on free speech under Article 17 of the constitution.

b. *Electoral Laws of Timor-Leste*

The electoral Article 13 of the Government Decree 18/2017 *of Timor-Leste* forbids oral or written language that discriminates in terms of race, sex, ideology, religious beliefs, and social status or against any human rights. Therefore, the Public Offices Election Law calls candidates to refrain from delivering speeches on Television and radio broadcast that damages others' dignity and honour.

c. *Media Laws, Guidelines, and Codes of Conduct*

The media is given authority to amplify and should not spread hate speech to a varied audience. Some jurisdictions have accordingly placed responsibilities against the prohibition of incitement to hatred on the mass media. During the electoral period, the Press Council of India's guidelines barred election campaigns among communal or the caste under election rules. Thus, the Media should eschew reports, which promote feelings of enmity or hatred on the grounds of religion, race, caste, community, or language. News broadcasters Standards Authority guidelines for Election has been issued, prohibiting any form of 'hate speech' or other obnoxious contents that will likely lead to incitement of violence or public unrest. News broadcasters are strictly warned to avoid reports capable of promoting ill feelings of enmity or hatred among the people.

The Guyana Elections Commission (GECOM) engaged the country's media representatives in drafting,

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ratifying, and implementing a Media Code of Conduct, which law applies to journalists and editors, operators in the broadcast and print media, and media owners. Thus, their needs further exacerbated because Guyana has neither broadcast legislation nor any media regulatory or watchdog bodies. The Code precisely refers to incitement to hatred and the grounds for incitement.

The Zambian Electoral Commission Media Code of Conduct for Journalists states that all media houses in the country are bound to report news on elections in an accurate manner and should not make any abusive editorial comment, capable of inciting violence or advocate hatred on account of race, ethnicity, tribe, gender, political or religious conviction.

d. *Political Party, Guidelines, Laws and Code of Conduct*

The Kenya Political Parties Act of 2012 includes a Code of Conduct for politicians, Political Party Laws, Guidelines, and Codes of Conduct. In Kenya, this Political Parties Act bars political parties from engaging in violence and encouraging its members and supporters to do so. It places further limits on advocating hatred that constitutes ethnic incitement, vilifying others, or inciting with the intent to cause harm, among other restrictions. Guidelines for Political Parties issued by the Nigeria Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) prohibits hate speech and discriminatory rhetoric during campaigns. The Electoral Commission in India is responsible for ensuring that campaigns adhere to a strict Model Code of Conduct. The first part of the Code stipulates that "no party or candidate shall indulge in any activity that may aggravate differences or create mutual hatred or cause tension between different castes and communities, religious or linguistic ethnicity. The Code provided that political parties must obtain necessary written permissions to hold rallies and public meetings during election campaigns.

In Myanmar, the Union Election Commission actively involved political parties while drafting the Political Party Code of Conduct. The Code was accepted by all the 91 political parties contesting the 2015 elections and promoting ethnical peace during election campaigning. Under the Code, political parties are committed to refraining themselves from incitement of violence, hatred, and fuelling racial, segregation, or tribal trends that could threaten national unity. The prohibition applied to campaign events and no form of evil communications during their campaign periods. While political parties generally complied with the Code, they failed to condemn hate speech conveyed by other groups. Nationalist governments and like-minded individuals, who were not bound by the Code, used social media platforms to incite hate speech and fuel racial and religious tensions.

e. *Implementation and Law Enforcement Issues*

Global experiences have several critical challenges with legal and regulatory frameworks designed to counter hate speech and incitement to hatred. However, there are issues of hate speeches that need addressing, including definition, implementation of law and enforcement issues.

Effective implementation of standards and laws governing hate speech requires several things. First and foremost, hate speech requires a clear, concise and consistent definition of the term. Secondly, it requires a threshold by which adjudicatory bodies can determine whether hate speech has occurred and whether it is legitimately prohibited. Unfortunately, there is no definition of hate speech that is universally accepted, incitement to hate, and other terms within human rights law. As a result, courts and other public bodies in flora and fauna have applied different definitions involving various levels of details, which is not healthy for states and governments even the UNO being the watchdog of the whole earth. The third issue is how to enforce the laws against hate speech when they are not adequately defined and therefore, becomes difficult to interpret and convict an offender according to law. So, arbitrary interpretation of the law to convict the innocents and those on the government's opposing side or religious men and women in the state religion is not the right thing to do.

b) Theoretical Framework

i. *John Stuart Mill Theory of Liberty*

Mill's theory of liberty is concerned with the line between the state and the individual, and liberty becomes the things government should be allowed to regulate. This research focuses on the segment of Mill's theory that concerns how the government controls speech and the distinction between hate speech and its regulation. Mill's argument centres on free speech which connotes two core propositions. The first is that free speech is necessary and that it exposes false ideas. To Mill, we do not know what "the truth" is; instead, at that moment, we labour using different hypotheses about what might be the veracity. We ultimately accept a given theory as correct, having seen no other evidence that sticks to falsehood. Free speech makes it easier to prove a hypothesis whether it is untrue and exposes incorrect thesis.

It is no gainsaying that theory we accept as fact today may become false at any other time or moment, as long as we are cleared that the veracity of information available to us at the moment, may turn that Hypothesis false at a later date when fresh truth is exposed to man's knowledge.

We always compare competing hypotheses and choose those provides a better description of the biosphere. Under this approach, we rank sets of

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suppositions such that a superior hypothesis set explains all of the events clarified by an inferior set of principles and additional events that are inconsistent with the substandard. Therefore, facts and falsifiability are inseparable, which is simply a transitional phase in which we have accepted one set of hypotheses over another. As events unfold, generating new information, we will eventually agree to a different set of rules. Since we cannot prove a hypothesis as false without the freedom to express competing ideas, truth itself becomes a function of the extent to which we can freely express concepts. If every government restrains expression, we will hold on to inferior hypotheses due to ignorance of the real truth unveiled. In the course of government allowing people of freedom of speech, it is most likely that those who held on to the exact truth, knowing the truth, will eventually release the real truth without fear or favour; and this will help society move forward in sound health.

Mill's second argument for freedom of expression is that it fosters a society with diverse points of view. In such cultures, where competing hypotheses that conflict with one another exist, there will be an increase in society's knowledge. Furthermore, just as genetic variation contributes to a species' ability to survive random shifts in its environment, differences in beliefs prevent the social order from uniformly adopting a defective lifestyle concerning its environment. Instead, by having diverse points of view, society can correct itself and withstand possible falsehood, thereby preventing accidents and eliminating goods shortages.

Mill has made no particular attempt to make a case for "free conduct", nor has he denounce speech-related conduct which refers to situations in which an actor's speech indicates a plan of action, a threat or an encouragement to act on others conduct. Mill's theory has implied at least one clear boundary between speech and comportment, saying that the government can and should regulate speech-related behaviour that has harmful external effects.

ii. *John Stuart Mill's arguments on Speech and Conduct regulation*

First, assuming that actions can be in one of two categories- hate and non-hate speech centred on their effect. The hate speech category includes those speeches and conducts that are intended and generally hurt its target. An example of behaviour in the hate category is a murder; threats speeches of, "I will kill you!", provided that there is sufficient credibility in that statement. An ethnic or racial slur is another form of hate speech aimed at isolating and humiliating a specific target. The non-hate category includes conduct or words spoken that were not to hurt the other person. Hate speech is hard to defend, but we know what fighting words.

Mill's theory propagates non-hate speech against state regulation, but it supports guidelines of hate conduct. We will refer to it below as "hate conduct" even though such was assumed to be speech-related. We shoulder hate speech to include a speech component, where the government regulates such behaviours and creates concern that the Rivers State government hampers freedom of thought among its citizenry.

However, Mill's framework opines that the government can regulate hate conduct to a larger proportion. Hate conduct crosses the barrier between a "self-regarding" activity-that that aims to and affects oneself, and action that primarily aims and adversely affects others' documented interests.

The question that concerns Officials today is whether, based on an actor's intent, we may increase the penalty on a firm type of conduct which would be a trivial question if it were a matter of examining criminal intent. The criminal law emphasized intentions, but the inquiry focuses on determining ideas in feeling to do the criminal act itself. The more thought-provoking question occurs when the actor's intent reflects an expression that mixes hate and political opinion, such as "I killed him because he is a member of a trade union I do not like." The question then is - Under Mill's theory, can the state assess a penalty against the killer whose motive was on the victim's political affiliation or ethnic group membership? We believe that the government can measure a punishment under Mill's framework. There are two reasons. First, the killer crosses the boundary between self-regarding behaviour to conduct that is aimed at and harms others in violation of accepted norms. Secondly, once this boundary is crisscrossed, nothing prevents the state from identifying a more dangerous group of actors based on their expressed motivations.

The state under Mill's theory is free to determine amongst two persons who is the most dangerous person of one kill for money and the other who kills because he is awkward behind a car's wheel. The state is invariably free to make distinctions among killers based on their expressed motivations. One might argue that the government is essentially creating new law rules by punishing the politically motivated killer more than another murderer. However, the relevant law has already been established: it is illegal to kill. The act of killing loses all claims to protection from regulatory burdens under Mill's theory because it crosses the boundary between self and other-regarding action. Once anybody goes over the boundary line, the state is free to assess penalties in any way that enhances its ability to enforce its laws. In punishing the politically motivated killer more harshly, the Rivers State merely varies the consequence according to the perception of the social danger created by the underlying group.

Mill remarked that George Bramwell murdered his uncle to get money for his mistress, and states that he had done it to set himself up in business, or then

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would he have equally been hanged. These arguments of Mill might have been interpreted as an argument that supports the state when it punishes an actor, and never took the actor's motivation or thoughts into account.

There are two other categories of speech and conduct; namely non-hate, speech-related conduct and hate speech. By non-hate speech-related behaviour, we mean demeanour that is speech-related but not aimed at hurting another person by violating legal and social interests.

Mill's framework in these cases, suggests that if the conduct is to hurt others and does so, the state can regulate it; and that harm must be sensible in light of the social norms that govern, which the government does not have a free hand to control unless an individual's conduct crosses the boundary between hurting others and affecting oneself. Hate speech invokes freedom of expression concerns. As in all other cases, the question is whether it crosses the boundary between self-regarding and other-regarding action, and is entirely a matter of norms or conventions that needed rules that must create a presumption occasion which calls for the non-restriction of speech by the state. So, freedom for individuals to adopt different lifestyles, which may involve different speaking ways, is guaranteed. However, it is difficult to identify existing norms or social interests.

Indeed, ethnic or racial interest group are regularly ready to force others to accept their definitions of ideal speech and conduct; but such an approach is inconsistent with Mill's theory.

The aim of regulation should be to abate harm, not to protect an abstract doctrine. Current courts and commentators are preoccupied with searching for the fixed set of fundamental values that underlie the constitution's efforts to protect expression. As a result, they disregard real pain.

iii. *Pigou's Theory of Externalities*

Pigou's externalities theory provides a theoretical backing for using damage payments or fines rather than command and control statutes. Like Pigou, Mill also uses a theory of externalities as a basis to distinguish permissible and impermissible regulation. Every action of a man can be considered conduct that has a harmful external effect, and that therefore the government is free to regulate all speech-related comportment.

iv. *Karl Popper Paradox of Freedom*

The search for fixed values generates a version of what Karl Popper referred to as the "paradox of freedom." In this context, the paradox is as follows: The state should not regulate speech because it restricts the individual's freedom of thought. However, by refusing to control hate speech, the government gives bullies the freedom to suppress others' expression. A theory must be able to specify the line between too little and too much regulation. With their respective emphases on fixed categories of speech and freedom of thought as an overriding principle, free speech and free thought theories are incapable of doing what it is supposed to do.

v. *Islam nausea (Jihad' In the Media)*

'Jihad' is a concept that has been at the centre of the controversy regarding Muslims' representation. The use of Jihad in Western media is an example of Muslims' treatment as a 'muted group' subject to being defined by a language spoken of by others. The term is conceived widely as "Holy War" in the post 9/11 era as the Bush administration identified this War as Terrorism and is in religious terms, and this is an idea that has stuck to the present day.

With 'jihad' in terms of violent war-like intent emanating from a monolithic 'Islamic world', the definition strongly furthers the Huntingtonian thesis that casts the post-Cold-War World in the framework of a war of progress, and motivating the United States and their rhetoric, portraying the West and the 'Islamic World' as diametrically oppositional and clashing entities.

In the process, the western media 'reduces "jihad" to a one-dimensional caricature of terrorism as religious martyrdom'. This effect is apparent both in the Muslim World and in the West and thus furthers conflict and misunderstanding, playing into the interests of terrorists and warmongers alike.

An example relevant to the corpus studied is the reportage of the Boston bombings. An April 2013 New York Times story entitled 'Phone calls discussing "jihad" prompted Russian warnings on Tsarnaev', and how the mention of the word 'jihad', according to the newspaper can sometimes mean Holy War, alerted Russian authorities to the Tsarnaev plot.

Its statement that 'jihad' can sometimes mean 'holy war' is a highly inaccurate deduction, the effect of which is made worse by its flippant and matter-of-fact execution. The phrase 'holy war' is a mistaken and misleading description of 'jihad'. As Tagg states, 'the phrase "holy war" is most appropriately used to describe the Crusades against Muslims during the late Middle Ages' (Tagg, 2009: p. 30).

Another article in the *Times* entitled 'An Internet 'jihad' aims at U.S. viewers' who said 'When Osama bin Laden issued his videotaped message to the American people, a young "jihad" enthusiast went online to help spread the word'. Interestingly, the young enthusiast that went online to support Bin Laden's campaign is a 'jihad enthusiast'. Calling members of terrorist groups as 'jihadists' is another way the media succeeds in misrepresenting the meaning of 'jihad'.

The media use of the concept of 'jihad' has been misappropriated to mean something different to Muslims, leaving the vast majority of Muslims, who have

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quite a different idea of what the word 'jihad' means, entirely disenfranchised.

vi. *Liberal Legal Frameworks*

As a philosophical idea and political reality, freedom of speech has occupied thinkers and scholars' attention since ancient times (Gearon, 2006). Each historical era has defined the scope of freedom of speech; however, it is only in the modern period that liberty to express ideas, opinions and beliefs has become established as a right. In our contemporary World, freedom of expression is sure-fire in international, regional and national legal instruments, just like Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that everybody has an equal right to freedom of speech, opinion, and expression, including the freedom to hold opinions without interference or receive and impart information and ideas through any media.

Freedom of expression is crucial for the functioning of democracy and public participation in political processes. Its principal aim is to protect individuals and society in the course of expressing their opinion of a matter; and is notable as a whole from political oppression and authoritarian government.

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution provides one of the most liberal legal frameworks for expressing opinions and beliefs; and accordingly, prohibits Congress from passing any law that would infringe freedom of speech and the press. As a product of the American Revolution, the First Amendment is deeply imbued with the spirit of libertarianism and enlightenment that challenged the authoritarian rule of monarchs and the church and celebrated reason for individual liberty. Hence, American legal settings allow individuals and groups great freedom in expressing all kinds of views, among others those that could be offensive or even harmful.

Furthermore, by pointing out that freedom of speech ought not to depend on individual preference and taste.

Referring to Mill's defence of freedom of speech, Bracken (1994) argues that Mill did not advocate absolute freedom. He reminds us of the harm principle, pointing out that it 'allows "offensive speech" up to the state of becoming a nuisance to someone else'. Bracken suggests that Mill wanted to distinguish between 'speech as "incitement" and speech as mere "advocacy".

Similarly, he develops an argument based on Cartesian dualism's premises – a philosophical position that sees the human mind as entirely separated from the corporeal body. Cartesian dualism, therefore, implies unrestricted freedom of will, as well as the so-called 'mental privacy', i.e. the impossibility of assessing someone's mind or modelling someone's resolve.

We are free to either act or not, based on what we hear or read. Thus, the Cartesian dualist framework – by separating body and mind – also provides a categorical distinction between speech and action. Drawing upon the radical free-will theory, and pointing out that every person is responsible for their actions, Bracken concludes that words are not deeds.

c) *The Gap in Existing Literature*

This study uses qualitative methods to examine the literature gap regarding the relationship between social media and hate speeches. The advantages of social media, the effects of hate speech, identifying the pioneers of the hate speech, victims of violence, and possible mechanisms to reduce such inimical actions for socio-political gains of the state which are missing in the existing literature especially as it regards Nigeria in general and Rivers State in particular. Therefore, we are to review earlier studies of eminent Scholars and their works regarding hate-speech and policies to reduce such conflict. Procedures made regarding media houses are critical links that may shed real light on policy impacts regarding hate speech.

III. Method of Study

This section comprises the theoretical framework, hypotheses, research design, data collection method, data analysis method, and logical data framework.

a) *Research Design*

The study design for this research work shall be a case study. Case studies have the potential of allowing the scholar to focus on a particular community or individual in his detailed leaning on a specific phenomenon. Case study enabled researchers to do better and thorough research.

Baridanm (2001), stated that research design refers to a framework or plan that guides collecting and examining the study's data. Considering the nature of the research problem, we adopted the descriptive survey method to generate the necessary and required data. Also, the questionnaire was the chief instruments of data collection.

The conduct of surveys in research is essential for describing the characteristics of a large population; which gives high reliability while presenting all subjects with a homogeneous stimulus that ensures eradication of observer subjectivity (Mugenda and Mugenda (1999). Robson (2002), stated that a survey collects information from a group of people interviewed or distributing questionnaires to a representative sample of a group; which design is preferred because large size is feasible, making the results statistically significant even with multiple variables.

We distributed seven hundred questionnaires in three Local Governments to people between the ages of 18 and above who were either working, graduates, and secondary School leavers and are familiar with social

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media events, due to cost and difficulty involved in covering the entire population of interest in Rivers State.

b) Research Area

The research responsibility is to create change in the best case and prevent the study environment's identified problems. Most of these challenges resulted from human activity and resolved through societal processes by adopting and enforcing the right policies and government programmes with a result-oriented policy thrust. However, implementing new ideals requires a combination of knowledge and questioning our social and political institutions' human behaviour.

Rivers State in Nigeria has been the hob of the nation's economy, and they are also troubled zones with hate speech and an increase in social vices.

c) Data Sources

In this study, both primary and secondary data sources were obtained and used to evaluate the investigation problem. Primary sources of data are first-hand information that the researcher finds from the study population. We collected our prime data from some university students, traders, and the general public. The importance of primary data is that it has not been published yet and is more reliable, authentic, and objective and has not been subjected to scrutiny and bias assessment; its validity is better than secondary data. However, some of the limitations of primary data are; limitation of information sources; and in certain instances, it becomes difficult to obtain data because of either scarcity of population or lack of cooperation.

Secondary data has been processed but might have a link or relevance to the project under review. Our secondary data came from significant publications on the study such as journals, magazines, books, reports and other relevant documents. Some of the secondary data benefits are that it is easier to obtain the required information, and is less expensive.

d) Population of Study

Asika (1991) stated that the population comprises all the elements or subjects of interest and maybe finite or infinite. The full set of cases of the sample taken is called the population (Saunder et al. 1997). Therefore, this study's population sample is from three local government areas (Port-Harcourt, Obio-Akpor and Okrika in Rivers state).

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), explained that the target population should have some observable characteristics to which the researchers intend to make a sweeping statement about the study results. Our definition clarifies issues about the sample of the investigation is not homogeneous. Therefore, the researchers intend to examine the sample size of selected people from the general public.

Our target population ranges from the ages of 18 years and above that constitute the respondent. Therefore 700 respondents were selected using accidental and purposive sampling techniques. Our sample size comprised youths of employable age and above, both graduates, secondary school leavers and some artisans.

e) Sampling technique

The sampling technique used is the qualitative methods of accidental sampling and purposive sampling that were useful for conducting exploratory research; they are less stringent, very descriptive and analytical. Another reason is that they are cost-effective and consumes less time.

i. *Accidental sampling*

Accidental sampling is a type of nonprobability technique which involves the sample drawn from that part of the population which is handy, that is, a sample population selected because it is readily available and convenient. We shall sample the targeted population's opinions about their knowledge on the gravity of harm hate speech inflicts on people and the possible remedies. The relevance of Accidental Sampling explained by Black (1999) is that it is an inexpensive way of ensuring sufficient numbers of a study. Based on this sense, our population was selected being readily available and convenient.

ii. *Purposive Sampling*

A purposive sample is a non-representative subset of some larger population and serves a specific need or purpose (Trochim, 2005). Purposive sampling will be useful in the study because it consumed a smaller amount of time, and it was less expensive. Concerning the research, this method we specifically talk to some stakeholders in the state like lecturers. We concentrated on this purposive sampling method because it is the best use with small numbers of individuals/groups that may well be sufficient to understand human perceptions, problems, needs, behaviours and contexts, which is justification for qualitative audience research. Another advantage of purposive sampling is the dispensation of people who do not fit into the requirements.

These are methods and techniques the researcher will apply to gather information from different ranges of sources. There are a variety of methods used while the researchers list the ones that will be applicable for the study:

a. Questionnaires
b. Surveys

a. *Questionnaires*

Questionnaires and Survey research are the commonly used method of collecting information and data about a population of interest. The population target comprises a group of individuals (e.g., adults from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, parents of young children) or establishments that take care of early

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educational programs, public and private schools, academia's and professionals.

We have two most common types of survey questions which are closed-ended questions and open-ended questions.

Whereas, in *Closed-Ended Questions,* respondents choose from a list of predetermined answers that must not overlap. An example of a close-ended survey question is, "Please rate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements, such as "Can social media users influence hate speech." Please state firmly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?"

We used a Likert scale in the above example, which is frequent as a set of responses for closed-ended questions. Researchers often use closed-ended questionnaires in their survey for ease of counting the frequency of similar responses.

In terms of *Open-Ended Questions,* survey respondents answer questions in their own words in the space provided for them. An example would be, "Please tell me if social media can influence hate speech?"

Therefore, a question can either be open-ended or close-ended. In the previous example, questions on household income asked respondents to choose from a given set of income ranges, considered close-ended.

A well-designed questionnaire is more than a collection of questions on one or more topics. When designing a questionnaire, researchers must consider some factors that can affect participation and the responses given by survey participants.

The length of the questionnaire is always guided so that it may not be unnecessarily prolonged, though it may carry too many questions to cover too many topics. However, the questionnaire is to be of a reasonable length and only central to the research questions.

The questionnaire and the administration methods were tested first, before final adoption for distribution; which goal is to identify any problem with the questions asked and ascertain clarity from test-run respondents of individuals who may or may not be the participants in the main study and whether response options in close-ended questions are adequate.

Based on the pre-test findings, additions or modifications to questionnaire items will be made, and administration procedures made will be used in the main study.

b. *Surveys*

A survey administered to sampled individuals at a single point may be of different samples from the population at different time frames. A survey questionnaire may minister to the same interviewees at various times.

iii. *Ethical consideration*

We believe that we have a valid result because we preserved the participants' anonymity and confidentiality as we reported their aggregate responses. During the survey, we made them know that they are volunteers and could withdraw at any time.

f) Method of Data Analysis

The statistical tools or techniques employed in the research to process the data collected and arrive at valid points and conclusions are simple percentage and chi-square. In examining the data collected for this study, we used a pie chart in determining the results—the results of the data laid in a tabular form for ease of understanding and interpretation.

Following the nature of the research problem and for clarity purposes; descriptive analysis and the 5-point Likert scale methods were applied for the survey. The former described the data generated while the latter measures the strength of the structured questionnaire.

We also use the chi-square statistical test to validate the research findings' statistical significance, which was considered appropriate to test the differences between the observed frequencies and the frequencies expected based on our stated hypotheses. This result will help us to draw a valid conclusion from the study. The formula for the chi-square x^2 statistical analysis is given as:

$$x^2 = \frac{\sum(f_o - f_e)^2}{f_e}$$

Where; x^2=chi-square

f_o= Expected Frequency

f_e = Observed Frequency

The degree of freedom (df) = (n-1)

Where;

n = number of columns

The observed frequencies are closed to the expected frequencies, then the x^2 value will be small, showing a good fit, but if otherwise, the fit is poor. A good fit lead to the acceptance of the Null Hypothesis (Ho) whereas, a poor fit lead to its rejection.

IV. Data Analysis/Discussion of Results

The main variables of the hypotheses are:

i. Independent variable (X)
ii. Dependent variable (Y)

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a) *Likert Scale Data Framework*

Table 4.1: Likert Scale Data Framework

Research Questions	Hypotheses	Sources of Data	Method of Data Collection	Method of Data Analysis
Can social media users influence hate speech?	Social media users can influence hate-speech	Primary and Secondary sources	Accidental sampling technique and Purposive Sampling Techniques	Likert scale
Can social media hate speech negate socio-political stability in River state?	Social media hate speech negates socio-political stability in Rivers State.	Secondary source	Purposive sampling techniques	Chi-square
Can the establishment of stakeholder's forum significantly impact reduction of socio-political instability in Rivers state?	The establishment of stakeholder's forum will significantly impact reduction of socio-political instability in Rivers state.	Primary and Secondary Sources	Accidental sampling technique and Purposive Sampling Techniques	Both the Likert Scale and Chi-Square Analysis
Can policy-makers and media house help to tame hate speech in Rivers state?	Policy-makers and media house can help tame hate speech in Rivers state.	Primary Source	Accidental sampling technique and Purposive Sampling Techniques	Both the Likert Scale and Chi-Square Analysis

b) *Logical Data Framework (using Hypothesis)*

Table 4.2: Logical Data Framework (using Hypothesis)

Hypotheses	Number and % of Yes	Number and % of No.	Data Analysis
Can social media not stop hate speech from negatively influencing socio-political stability in River State?	130 (18.57)	570 (81.43)	Social media users can influence hate-speech
Social media users cannot influence hate speech.	100 (14.29)	600 (85.71)	Social media hate speech negates socio-political stability in Rivers State.
The establishment of stakeholder's forum will not significantly impact the reduction of socio-political instability in Rivers State.	122 (17.43)	578 (82.57)	The establishment of stakeholder's forum will significantly impact reduction of socio-political instability in Rivers State.
Policy-makers and media houses cannot tame hate speech in Rivers State.	280 (40%)	420 (60%)	Policy-makers and media house can help tame hate speech in Rivers State.

The response of the logical data framework (Table 4.2) revealed the followings:

i. Only 130 respondents representing 18.57% agreed that Social media could not stop hate speech from negatively influencing socio-political stability in River State. However, 570 representing 81.43% of the respondents disagreed with this statement meaning that Social media can stop hate speech from negatively influencing socio-political stability in River State.

ii. The second assertion that Social media users cannot influence hate speech was supported by 100 interviews representing 14.29% of the respondents. Whereas, 600 persons representing 85.71% of the total respondents disagreed with the statement, implying that Social media users can influence hate speech.

iii. The third Hypothesis stated that establishing a stakeholder's forum would not significantly reduce socio-political instability in Rivers State. A total of 122 (17.43%) of the respondent agreed with this assertion, and 578 (82.57%) respondents disagreed with the statement, meaning that the establishment of stakeholder's forum in Rivers State will significantly impact on the reduction of socio-political instability in the state.

iv. The fourth Hypothesis states that Policy-makers and media houses cannot tame hate speech in Rivers State. This Hypothesis was supported by 280 people representing 40% of the total people

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interviewed, while the remaining 420 persons representing 60% of the total respondents disagreed meaning that Policy-makers and media houses can tame hate speech in Rivers State.

c) *Point Likert Scale*

Table 4.3: Point Likert Scale

S/N	Research Questions	Strongly Agree (5 pts)	Agree (4 pts)	Weakly Agree (3 pts)	Strongly Disagree (2 pts)	Disagree (1 pt.)	Total
1	Can social media users influence hate speech?	300	200	70	100	30	700
2	Can social media hate speech negate socio-political stability in Rivers State?	280	250	70	70	30	700
3	Can the establishment of stakeholder's forum significantly impact reduction of socio-political instability in Rivers State?	260	240	78	98	24	700
4	Can policy-makers and media house help to tame hate speech in Rivers State?	220	180	20	180	100	700

Table 4.3 shows the Likert Point Scale concerning the research questions as follows:

i. Can social media users influence hate speech? A total of 570 respondents agreed, i.e. 300 strongly agreed (5 points), 200 agreed (4 points), and 70 weakly agreed (3points). On the other hand, 130 respondents, i.e. 100 (2 points) strongly disagreed while only 30 (1 point) disagree. The result revealed that social media users could significantly influence hate speech positively.

ii. Can social media hate speech negate socio-political stability in Rivers State? A total of 600 respondents agreed that social media hate speech can negate socio-political stability in Rivers State, i.e. 280 (5 points) respondents strongly agreed, 250 (4 points) agreed, 70 (3 points) weakly agreed; whereas a total of 100 respondents, i.e. 70 (2 points) strongly disagree and 30 (1 point) disagreed. Therefore, the result revealed that social media hate speech could negate socio-political stability in Rivers State.

iii. Can the establishment of stakeholder's forum significantly impact reduction of socio-political instability in Rivers State? The responses revealed that a total of 578

d) *Age Distribution Linkage*

Table 4.4.1: Distribution Table

S/N.	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
17 – 18 Years	93	96	189	27.00%
19 – 20 Years	186	194	380	54.29%
21 – Above Yrs.	64	67	131	18.71%
Total	343 (49%)	357 (51%)	700	100%

In this study, 700 students were randomly selected for the collection of primary data for this study. In these 189 respondents representing 27% are between 17 to 18 years old, 380 students, 54.29% students are between the ages of 19 to 20 years old, and remaining 131 respondents representing 18.71% are 21 years of age and above. From these respondents, 49% are Male, and the remaining 51% are Female (see Table 4.4.1 below).

V. Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

a) *Summary*

This study briefly summarises recent scientific literature on the psychological dynamics of hate-speech and counter-speech on the internet or social media. Media users instinctively engage in various counter-speech activities by making hateful speeches, posts, evoking odium, and even joining online anti-hate communities. In contrast, various anti-hate ventures appeared, making counter hate-speech tools, videos, articles and other resources available to the internet users.

Most available videos and media speeches on networks and internet abound. Research has shown that online hate has much more viral potential to destroy than bring joy or sympathy. Other studies have shown possible devices underlying the viral spread of hate speech and prejudice, fear and psychological trauma.

Other researchers have shown that familiarity with what we call fear immunises people from perceiving a given issue as threatening. Fear makes human beings

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motivated by hateful content and to warn others. Hate and ridicule are weapons often used against anything and any person being afraid of and perceived unfamiliar. Online inconspicuousness of adversaries, combined with a perceived lack of consequences, make people prone to online disposition. A lot of people mistreated might have a temperamental effect on online behaviour abusers.

b) Conclusion

We investigated social media's effects as a forum for hate speech, which shows that social media plays an essential role in propagating hate speech. Teenagers mostly use social media to communicate with friends and families and use this medium to reproduce hate speech. Results also depict politicians using social media against their opponents to cause health problems and failure in polls. Social media users have no regards for cultural values, social norms, and Christian and Islamic values.

Online hate and prejudice speeches threaten members of targeted groups. In most cases, it transforms into real-life violence, which endangers our society's victims' physical safety and psychological wellbeing. The fear for one's own life is a factor that cows down many hate speech victims who could not put up active resistance. Only a handful of people are honoured to challenge online hate and are free of hate speech oppression.

Opposing hate speech is responsive and requires concerted efforts.

Crowd-initiated social media counter-action came by anger resulting from hate-speech and goes viral, reaching far beyond the original filter bubble.

c) Recommendations

We recommend that:

i. The social media forum should be used for positive purposes and not to disseminate hate speech.
ii. Use of social media in information dissemination should minimise its harmful use. The government has to take some strict actions to curtail hate speech and ban immoral websites that encourage hate speech.
iii. The government should enact laws against hate speech as a crime and enshrine ways of checking the media's unfair reporting, which ruin society.
iv. Social media users should remember the purpose for which media houses are established for and always use them accordingly.
v. Adolescence youths should engage their time wisely instead of wasting their precious time on social networks like WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, the television and radio Stations disseminating hate speech.
vi. Civil society organisations, media houses, companies, and influential leaders of the society should mount pressure on influential dangerous speakers to withdraw their evil utterances, which will, in no small extent, checkmate hate speech.
vii. The government should create forums of enlightenment campaigns to bring about meaningful awareness in discussing grave concerns with respect, by organising press conferences, calling on partners and other civil society organisations to do the same.
viii. Media houses should form a critical mass to compel individuals of hate speech to denounce or reverse their comments before the public.
ix. Let condemnation and calls for hate speech statements withdrawals prioritise media houses without fear or favour. They should respond to any dangerous speech made by high-profile public figures.
x. The Federal Government of Nigeria should enact laws banning social media from disseminating hate-speech and making it a crime using media houses.

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Insecurity and National Development: Nigeria at a Crossroad

By Sheu Habeeb Abidoye

Abstract- Insecurity has become the defining characteristic of Nigerian political scene, especially since the return to democracy in 1999. Its rising wave in the recent times has taken a very perilous dimension which is fast decelerating her development and threatening the corporate existence of the country as a nation. Available data on the level and dimensions of insecurity in Nigeria reveals an increase over time. Since the emergence of nascent democracy, major cities and towns have become flashpoints of violent clashes, kidnapping, assassination, rape, hijacking, sabotage, insurgency and looting. The curiosity to x-ray the dastard effects of insecurity on Nigeria's development informed this study. Content analysis was adopted for the paper, and relevant journals, texts and other academic documents were used. The paper revealed that Nigeria's national security is at crossroad and the effect is dastardly felt on her development. Corruption, injustice, high level of inequality, poverty and religious intolerance are revealed as the impetuses that heighten the tension of insecurity in Nigeria. The paper, amongst others, recommended a holistic overhauling of Nigeria's security architecture, equality in the distribution of national wealth and tolerance.

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Insecurity and National Development: Nigeria at a Crossroad

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I. Introduction

National security remains the development obligatory of developing countries of the world and indeed, the major prescribed goal of the international community. This involves the attainment of sufficient levels of economic growth and violent free society to allow for a progressive improvement in the standard of living of the citizenry. However, for Nigeria and most African countries their national security is in an abysmal state. The worsening security conditions have been generating a mix of domestic, social, political and international tensions. Average citizen expect governments to provide for political stability and socio economic security; including employment opportunities, good healthcare and shelter. The non-fulfillment breeds discontent, insecurity, social unrest and serious political challenge.

The rising wave of insecurity in Nigeria in the recent times has assumed a very dangerous dimension which is fast retarding her development and threatening the corporate existence of the country as a nation. Insecurity has become the defining characteristics of Nigerian political scene, especially since the return to democracy in 1999. Available data on the level and dimensions of insecurity in Nigeria reveals an increase over time. Since the emergence of nascent democracy, major cities and towns have become flashpoints of violent clashes, kidnapping, assassination, rape, hijacking, sabotage, insurgency, looting etc.

The overwhelming presence of insecurity in Nigeria today is easily established without recourse to any authority citation. Armed robbery, ethnic/communal clashes, religious riots and all forms of social unrest and upheavals had left many dead, maimed and homeless. Many Nigerians have fallen to the assassins' bullets. Others have been kidnapped and only released on huge ransom which re-payment they might not be able to meet up. Kidnapping has become a very fast-growing industry enriching the criminals with millions of Naira on daily basis. The Police and other security agencies appeared to be compromised while the government remains insensitive. The billions of Naira voted for security both at State and Federal levels for unexplainable reasons are not made available to combat these problems. Meanwhile citizens continued to fulfill their obligations to the Government of the day amid this state of insecurity, fear and tension. Similarly, electioneering campaigns and indeed the election itself are marred with riggings, violence and unrest (Oshio, 2019).

It is undisputable that this national insecurity which takes horrible and terror dimensions has halted the sustainability of development in the nation. Insecurity has become part of the most disturbing problems that have slowed down the pace of development in Nigeria. The political and socio-economic status of the country stands testimony to it (Sheu and Alamu, 2017).

Insecurity in Nigeria has resulted in a lot of death of able bodies who can contribute meaningfully to development sustainability, destruction of properties, social and economic dislocation and its attendant poverty and unemployment. The situation has further disempowered both the rural and urban poor. In the face of the national insecurity in the country, Nigeria is confronted with daunting developmental challenges. These developmental challenges include endemic rural and urban poverty, high rate of unemployment, debilitating youth unemployment, low industrial output, unstable and deteriorating exchange rate, high inflation

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rate, inadequate physical and social infrastructure, very large domestic debt, and rising stock of external debt (Ewetan, 2013).

In this connection, it is easy to establish a nexus between national security and national development. Accordingly, it is meaningless to talk of national development in the absence of national security. In other words, insecurity in a nation is a threat to development hence the study.

II. Conceptual and Theoretical Clarifications

a) *The Concept of National Security and National Insecurity*

To aptly conceptualize the concept of national insecurity, it is important to have a brief discussion on security and national security. Security is the antithesis of insecurity. The concept of security may be seen as a state of being fend from harm or apprehensiveness. Quite a number of factors expose a nation to apprehensiveness and tension. In this light, national security is viewed as a multi-dimensional concept whose purpose is to protect human and national values. For a nation, security connotes conditions of peace, stability, order, growth and development. National security has been expounded in different ways, each of which emphasized vital factors underlying eidolons. Brennan (1961) sees national security as the protection of national integrity and survival, while Ray (1987) says that national security is to be understood in terms of the desire and capacity for self-defense. Ochoche (1998) holds that national security focuses on the gathering of military armament, personnel and expenditure for the protection of a nation.

Flowing from postulations of the scholars above, the concept of national security has often been taken to merely connote the preservation of territorial integrity, internal stability and sovereignty with the focus on the coercive power and military strength of the state. Traditionally, national security is perceived with state-centric notion. However, in today's complex and interdependent world faced with many non-traditional threats like pandemics, climate change, etc it must, however, be seen in a more holistic manner. Such an all encompassing view of national security demands that the determinant of security is not just the coercive elements of state power but its comprehensive national power with the latter being a composite of many factors across all facets of national life.

It is suffice to say that national security has gone beyond arms protection, preservation of territorial integrity cum sovereignty and maintenance of internal stability to encompass the protection of a nation from hunger, pandemics, diseases, environmental hazards and other forms of threats that might be looming in a nation. National Security question addresses a lot of issues bothering on human existence and well-being. Abdul-Monerm and Al-Marshat (1985) alluded that national security is more than territorial defense and should focus on the "*social, physical and psychological equality of life of a society and its members both in the domestic setting and within the large regional and global system*". A nation that is competent in ensuring national security enjoys immense competence for viable development.

Flowing from the above conception of security, it is suffice to say that insecurity is a state of harm or apprehensiveness. It connotes unrest, instability, disorder and underdevelopment. For Beland (2005), insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety stemming from a concrete or alleged lack of protection. It refers to lack of adequate freedom from danger. It is a situation where human and national security of a state is compromised and hampered by weak economic, political, military and human conditions.

b) *Nigeria National Security Architecture*

Security Architecture is the security outfit/design that describes how the security controls are positioned to addresses the necessities and potential risks involved in a certain scenario or environment. The historical security antecedent and philosophy of Nigerian state and her security architecture is perceived to be centralized in nature. And this is partly responsible for the laxity and poor delivery of security services in the country. The Nigeria police was created for colonial interest; repression of the native and maintenance of law and order for exploitation purpose. With recourse to the West African Frontier Force, the Nigeria Police was centralized and oriented toward ensuring compliance with imperial act of 1807 and 1833 which abolished slavery as well as achieving the colonial objective of divide and rule. They were armed to aid the transportation of raw materials from the hinterlands to the metropolis (Jemibewon, 2009).

Decades after Nigeria got her independence, the security structure remains centralized with inimical consequences on the management of crime and security at the grassroot. The call for community and state policing that could catalyze the decentralization of the security structure has received little or no attention from the federal government that hold on to the police and armed forces pertinaciously. Though, between 1960 and 1967, the federating power was decentralized such that the three regions had their jurisdictions under their control. They had their police and prison system tailored to suite the geographical location and people's tradition. The military incursion however, disrupted the regionalism and its intriguing feature of healthy competition for development, with the regional policing inclusive. The over-centralization of the power at the centre returned the centralized security structure.

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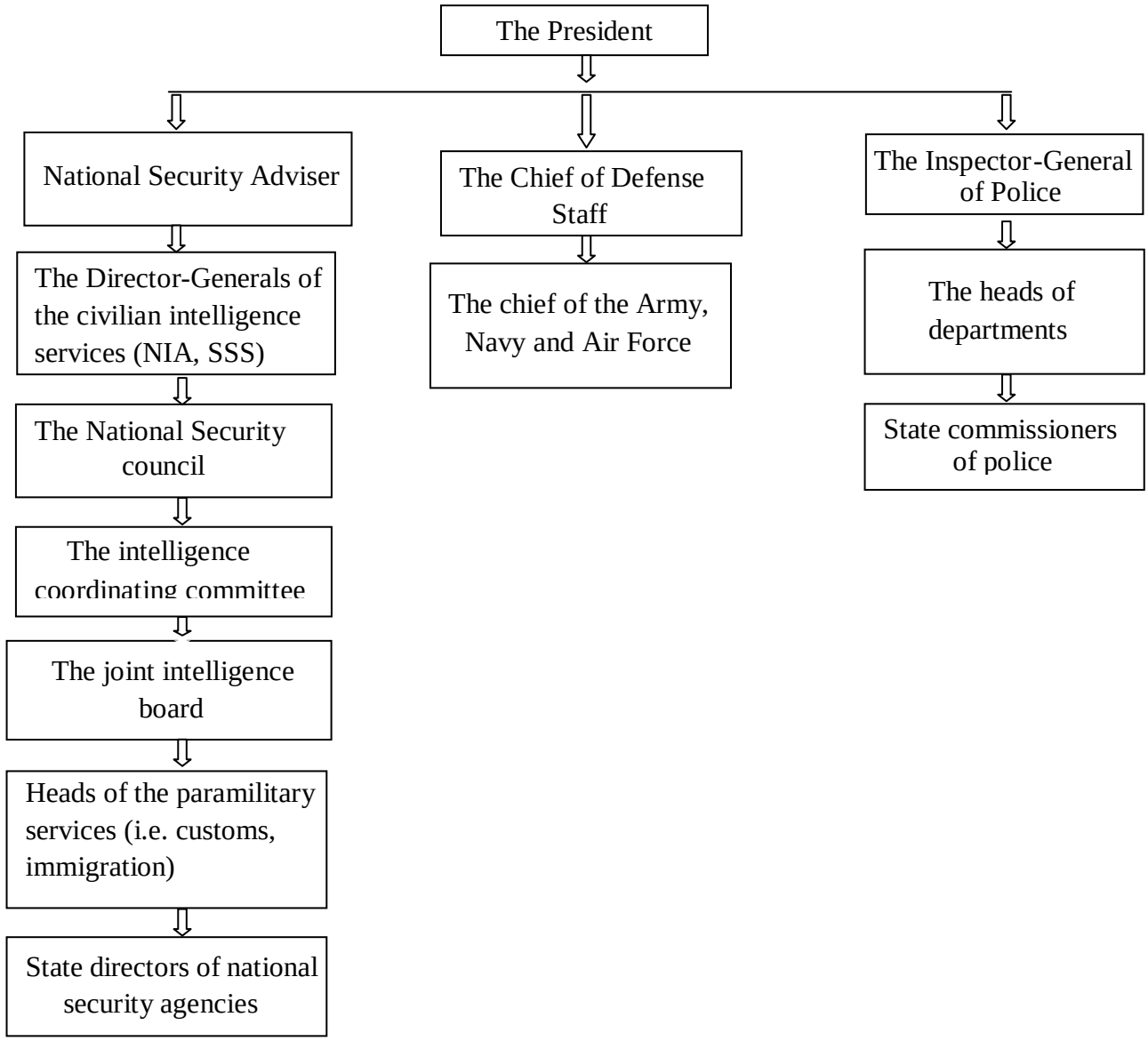

Source: Aghedo I. & Thomas A.N (2012)

Figure 1

c) The Concept of National Development

The concept of economic development is often used interchangeably for development and national development. However, development and national development are more encompassing to include political, social, cultural and economic development.

The traditional economic growth perspective sees economic development as the capacity of a national economy whose initial economic condition has been stagnant for a long time, to generate and sustain an annual increase in its gross national product (GNP) (Todaro and Smith, 2004).

The experience of many developing nation where despite realizing such economic growth targets, the level of living of the citizenry remained for the most part unchanged, informed the conjecturing of a more comprehensive and people-centered view on development. Development came to be conceived as multidimensional process involving major changes in social structure, attitude and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of poverty. Development in its essence must represent the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system move away from condition of life widely perceived unsatisfactory toward a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually better (Todaro and Smith, 2004).

Duffield conceives national development as a normative process of becoming; a series of interconnecting movements leading from poverty and vulnerability to security and well-being (Duffield, 1934). Anderson and Woodrow refer to it as a process through which people's physical/material; social/organisational;

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motivational/attitudinal vulnerabilities are reduced and capacities are increased (Anderson and Woodrow; 1988).

The critical variables that indicate national development in a country include; high per capita income, high incidence of savings, high level of investment, high level of technology, high level of literacy, high standard of living, low mortality rate, political stability etc. Development depicts general improvement in human conditions. It is an attack on the chief evils confronting the modern world today; malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment, diseases, slums, inequality and insecurity.

d) Securitization Theory

The theory of securitization is generally traced to the Copenhagen School of Security Studies in Denmark, and it is generally attributed to Ole Waever, Barry Buzan, and a range of other researchers. The writing of Ole Waever on the theory and concept of securitization seek to address the increasingly worrisome debate between those who claimed that threats (insecurity) are objective, and those that maintained that insecurity is subjective (what is perceived to be a threat). In an attempt to address this worrisome debate, the Copenhagen school suggested that security should instead be seen as a speech act, and the central issue should not bother on whether threats are real or not, but the ways in which a certain issues can be socially constructed as a threat. The emphasis here is on how issues such as hunger, pandemic, disease, environmental degradation, immigration etc can be contrived to be threat to human or society (Munster, 2018).

Speech acts has its root in philosophy and it refers to the idea that by saying something, something is done. So, just as the naming of a farm is a speech act that brings something into effect, the uttering of "security" can be viewed as an act by which any kind of issues; traditional, political, social, economic, and environmental can become staged as a threat. However, not all issues about security qualify as securitization in the sense understood by Ole Wæver and his Copenhagen colleagues. A securitizing speech act needs to follow a specific rhetorical structure, derived from war and its historical connotations of survival, urgency, threat, and defense. This leads the Copenhagen school to define securitization as a speech act that has to fulfill three rhetorical criteria. It is a discursive process by means of which an actor (1) claims that a referent object is existentially threatened, (2) demands the right to take extraordinary countermeasures to deal with that the threat, and (3) convinces an audience that rule-breaking behavior to counter the threat is justified. In short, by labeling something as "security," an issue is dramatized as an issue of supreme priority. One can therefore think of securitization as the process through which non-politicized issues are elevated to security issues that need to be dealt with urgency, and that legitimate the bypassing of public debate and democratic procedures (Munster, 2018).

In relation to the theory discussed, national issue becomes a security issue when perceived and contrived as threat by the people and policy demand is made in the same regards. The national security questions are questions that bother on the well-being and safety of the citizenry. It might be economical, political, social or environmental. In Nigeria and most developing nations of the world, what are perceived as threat often receive little or no attention from the decision makers. The traditional state-centric notion of territorial integrity, internal stability and sovereignty are what state actors pay considerate attention to as what constitute threat. The recent security trend however required holistic approach to cover economics, political, social and environmental issue that threatens not only the lives of the citizenry but as well national development.

e) National Security and National Development: The Nexus

National Security and National Development are two sides of a coin. In an increasingly interconnected and complex world, it is crystal clear that security and development are inextricably linked, especially in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Threats to national security can have socio-economic undertones to include spillover effects of environmental degradation, contests over natural resources, social and economic inequalities, political and economic migration, and natural disasters, among others. For decades, development has been linked to security through the concept of human security. The relationship can be complex: retarded development can lead to grievance, and conflict can threaten development and corporate existence of a nation. Peace and security are prerequisites for poverty reduction and countries mostly affected by political instability, conflict and displacement are those whose citizens battle most with poverty and hunger.

f) Overview of National Insecurity in Nigeria

Major cities and towns are now become flashpoints of violent clashes, kidnapping, assassination, rape, hijacking, sabotage, insurgency, looting etc. In the North East, the activities of Boko-Haram constitute threats. The terrorist group is responsible for human rights abuses across Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, and Niger. The violent radicalization of the Boko Haram members and the resulting military operations has reportedly affected many households in the region and its dastard effects are felt all over the country. This conflict has triggered an acute humanitarian and forced displacement crisis, with

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devastating social and economic impacts on the population, further deepening underdevelopment and regional inequalities. The most affected states are the Borno, Adamawa and Yobe. The most affected groups are women, children, and youth. Boko Haram's tactics have included multiple modes of attack, including suicide bombings, seizure and destruction of entire villages, forced displacement, abductions, sexual violence targeting women, and forced recruitment of men.

The conflict between farmers and herdsmen in the North Central has been on a rise for years now. This has escalated and expanded tensions. This conflict is multi-faceted and complex. The conflict centers around agricultural households and nomadic cattle-herding groups who come into conflict over land access. As the population in North Central Nigeria increases, the amount of land used for farming also increases, often into areas that have traditionally served as cattle grazing areas. At the same time, climate change and the Boko Haram insurgency reduce the amount of land suitable for grazing in North East Nigeria, forcing herding communities to expand their routes into increasingly Southern areas. This competition over land and resources is compounded by religion and ethnicity – herders are most members of the minority Fulani ethnic group and are generally Muslim. Farmer-herder conflicts often consist of attacks by one group and subsequent retaliation from the other community.

The South West is often faced with violent clashes over boundaries and resource control between ethnic groups. The Modakeke-Ife violent clash is typical example. The crisis left many dead, homeless and displaced. In Lagos and many other cities in the south west, the incessant clash between Yoruba and Hausa traders is testimonies to the high wave of insecurity in Nigeria. As if this is not enough, kidnapping for ransom known for South-South surfaced. The Oke-Ogun axis of Oyo State and Ife Road are flashpoints of Kidnapping. In cases where ransom are not handsome enough or delayed, the victim's lives are wasted.

The South-South that is popularly known as Nigeria's source of oil wealth and widely perceived as the economic force driving Nigeria is not left out of the insecurity. The south south region suffers from ecological degradation as a result of oil spills, high rates of youth unemployment, and extensive inequality between the local population and employees of oil companies. These issues are compounded by ethnic and political tensions in the region. In particular, ethnic minority groups have frequently clashed in competition for oil wealth; political tensions in this zone also run high. All of these factors have resulted in high levels of crime. Militant and pirate groups have operated in the region for decades, targeting oil companies, pipelines, and individuals. Killings, abductions, and robberies are not uncommon, and many people have been displaced from their homes or communities as a result of the violence.

g) Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria

Flowing from the writings above, the catalysts of insecurity in Nigeria are not farfetched as explained in this section of the study.

The too much emphasis on the traditional state-centric security notion of territorial integrity, internal stability and sovereignty by the state actors rather than the notion of securitization explains what breed insecurity in many developing countries, Nigeria inclusive. Nigerian state for example pays little or no attention to other forms of threat that are more apprehensive than the traditional security notion. The failure to diagnose and address the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria, most of which are domestic, economical and political posed a serious challenge in adverting insecurity in the nation.

Critical to the understanding of high wave in level insecurity in Nigeria is an appreciation of nature and character of the Nigerian state. Capital rent seeking, Corruption, patrimonialism and prebendalism are identified as the major character of the post-colonial Nigerian state. The characteristics have combined with one another and with many others to undermine the state obligation to guarantee fundamental human rights and freedom, ensure law and other and facilitate peace and stability as preconditions for national development. Given this situation, elite contestation for political power and capture of the state whipped up insecurity.

Poverty cum unequal distribution of national wealth is another catalyst that has nurtured insecurity in Nigeria. Mass poverty conditions the mind and attitude of Nigerians and makes them liable to elite manipulation for ethic and religion identities and the resultant violent clashes. As state is unable to satisfy the basic need of the people, they in turn withdraw from the sphere of state into religious and ethnic coccons with the heightened sensitivity to the role of others in their misery. In line with the common say that an idle hand is a devil workshop, unemployment among the youths has forced them to take to the work of terrorism, robbery, kidnapping and bloodshed.

Illiteracy and ignorance cannot be underscored as catalysts to religious violence. There is nothing so easy to enslave and nothing so easy to mobilized for violence as ignorance and illiteracy. The level of insecurity has risen in the recent time because of lack of knowledge and manipulation of the illiterates.

External influence is considered an important factor that contributes to insecurity in Nigeria. External influence can be in different forms. It can be in terms of ideology, environment and host of others. Notable among the external influence on insecurity is the activities of Nigeria Tliban and the link of Boko-Haram to international terrorist group such as Al-Qaeda.

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h) Implications of National Insecurity on National Development in Nigeria

One of the dire consequences of insecurity in Nigeria is the loss of lives and properties. The destruction of properties also further depletes the standard of living of the residents as it compounds the problem of poverty and unemployment which threatens national development in the country. A secured environment attracts foreign investors and investments that contribute to national development. This is however hampered by the incessant violence in the country. Violent clashes have destroyed infrastructures and create political instability. The destruction has led to deterioration of the economic environment and reduction in the desired levels of factors of production.

Not only do people living in violent areas suffer injuries, death and have their properties destroyed, they may also be displaced from their homes and lose their means of survival as evident in the recent looting that greeted ENDSARS protest in the nation. Insecurity results in deaths, injuries, disabilities and psychological trauma to able men and women who are needed for national development. Education is very vital in any national development. The nation is striving to put in place amenities for the purpose of elevating the education standard of the country. This is, however, hampered by incessant closure of schools and institutions in places where the level insecurity is on the high side. Insecurity often interrupts the education of children through the damage to schools, absence of teachers, changes in family structures and household income. For example, in the northern part of the country that is extremely violent, school year and calendar are disrupted. Schools are often closed, buildings and supplies are destroyed, teachers and students are killed and forced to become refugees in IDP camps.

Apart from the fact that many virile men of the nation are seriously affected by insecurity which consequently led to their death, the country's source of revenue is equally affected. Crises in the Niger Delta, for example, had shaken the country to her root, as the source of the revenue of the country was greatly affected with the damage of pipelines that convey the oil which is the mainstay of Nigeria's economy.

III. Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is concluded that the rising wave of insecurity in Nigeria in the recent times has assumed a very dangerous dimension and it is fast retarding her national development and threatening the corporate existence of the country as a nation. The Police and other security agencies appeared to be compromised while the government remains insensitive to this plight.

IV. Recommendations

The state should shift attention from the traditional security notion of integrity, internal stability and sovereignty the notion of securitization. Issues that are popularly perceived as threat by the citizenry should be accorded needed attention and policy should made in the same regard. Genuine fight against corruption is another viable tool to ameliorating the level of insecurity in Nigeria. The state obligation to guarantee fundamental human rights and freedom, ensure law and other and facilitate peace and stability as preconditions for national development should not be undermined by state actors and security of the nation should be strengthened to address these state obligations.

There is need for total overhauling of Nigeria security architecture, such that the security structure is decentralized to accommodate community policing. It is disheartening that violence is not properly investigated and punishment is not appropriately imposed. Decisive and obstinate actions should be taken against those behind scenes fueling insecurity in the country. Political intelligence and surveillance is also proffer as a panacea to solving the challenge of insecurity in Nigeria. There is need for developing an early warning system or raising alarm on the imminent threat to security. Tolerance among the ethnic and religious groups should be preached. This gospel will in no small measure ensure peaceful coexistence among Nigerians.

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FSSRC/ASSRC is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS). The credentials of Fellow and Associate designations signify that the researcher has gained the knowledge of the fundamental and high-level concepts, and is a subject matter expert, proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice. The credentials are designated only to the researchers, scientists, and professionals that have been selected by a rigorous process by our Editorial Board and Management Board.

Associates of FSSRC/ASSRC are scientists and researchers from around the world are working on projects/researches that have huge potentials. Members support Global Journals' mission to advance technology for humanity and the profession.

FSSRC

Fellow of Social Science Research Council

FELLOW OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals. It is an award and membership granted to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Fellows are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Fellow Members.

Benefit

To the institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.



Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A FSSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 1 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Fellows can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Certificate

Certificate, LOR and Laser-Momento

Fellows receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Designation

Get honored title of membership

Fellows can use the honored title of membership. The “FSSRC” is an honored title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FSSRC or William Walldroff, M.S., FSSRC.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Recognition on the Platform

Better visibility and citation

All the Fellow members of FSSRC get a badge of "Leading Member of Global Journals" on the Research Community that distinguishes them from others. Additionally, the profile is also partially maintained by our team for better visibility and citation. All fellows get a dedicated page on the website with their biography.

Career | Credibility | Reputation

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Future Work

Get discounts on the future publications

Fellows receive discounts on future publications with Global Journals up to 60%. Through our recommendation programs, members also receive discounts on publications made with OARS affiliated organizations.

Career | Financial



GJ Account

Unlimited forward of Emails

Fellows get secure and fast GJ work emails with unlimited forward of emails that they may use them as their primary email. For example,
john [AT] globaljournals [DOT] org.

Career | Credibility | Reputation



Premium Tools

Access to all the premium tools

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Financial

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Organize seminar/conference

Fellows are authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). They can also participate in the same organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent. Additionally, they get free research conferences (and others) alerts.

Career | Credibility | Financial

Early Invitations

Early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences

All fellows receive the early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences and webinars hosted by Global Journals in their subject.

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Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Fellow members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

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Fellows may join as a member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) after successful completion of three years as Fellow and as Peer Reviewer. Additionally, Fellows get a chance to nominate other members for Editorial Board.

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And Much More

Get access to scientific museums and observatories across the globe

All members get access to 5 selected scientific museums and observatories across the globe. All researches published with Global Journals will be kept under deep archival facilities across regions for future protections and disaster recovery. They get 10 GB free secure cloud access for storing research files.

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ASSRC

ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

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The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Associate membership can later be promoted to Fellow Membership. Associates are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Associate Members.

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Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



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Earn 60% of sales proceeds

Associates can publish articles (limited) without any fees. Also, they can earn up to 30-40% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.

Exclusive | Financial

Reviewers

Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Associate members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

And Much More

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All members get access to 2 selected scientific museums and observatories across the globe. All researches published with Global Journals will be kept under deep archival facilities across regions for future protections and disaster recovery. They get 5 GB free secure cloud access for storing research files.

Associate	Fellow	Research Group	Basic
$4800 **lifetime designation**	$6800 **lifetime designation**	$12500.00 **organizational**	APC **per article**
Certificate, LoR and Momento **2** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **10** research contacts/day **1 GB** Cloud Storage **GJ** Community Access	**Certificate,** LoR and Momento **Unlimited** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **5 GB** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance **GJ** Community Access	**Certificates,** LoRs and Momentos **Unlimited** free publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **Unlimited** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance **GJ** Community Access	**GJ** Community Access

Preferred Author Guidelines

We accept the manuscript submissions in any standard (generic) format.

We typeset manuscripts using advanced typesetting tools like Adobe In Design, CorelDraw, TeXnicCenter, and TeXStudio. We usually recommend authors submit their research using any standard format they are comfortable with, and let Global Journals do the rest.

Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

Authors should submit their complete paper/article, including text illustrations, graphics, conclusions, artwork, and tables. Authors who are not able to submit manuscript using the form above can email the manuscript department at submit@globaljournals.org or get in touch with chiefeditor@globaljournals.org if they wish to send the abstract before submission.

Before and during Submission

Authors must ensure the information provided during the submission of a paper is authentic. Please go through the following checklist before submitting:

1. Authors must go through the complete author guideline and understand and *agree to Global Journals' ethics and code of conduct,* along with author responsibilities.
2. Authors must accept the privacy policy, terms, and conditions of Global Journals.
3. Ensure corresponding author's email address and postal address are accurate and reachable.
4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
5. Authors should submit paper in a ZIP archive if any supplementary files are required along with the paper.
6. Proper permissions must be acquired for the use of any copyrighted material.
7. Manuscript submitted *must not have been submitted or published elsewhere* and all authors must be aware of the submission.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

It is required for authors to declare all financial, institutional, and personal relationships with other individuals and organizations that could influence (bias) their research.

Policy on Plagiarism

Plagiarism is not acceptable in Global Journals submissions at all.

Plagiarized content will not be considered for publication. We reserve the right to inform authors' institutions about plagiarism detected either before or after publication. If plagiarism is identified, we will follow COPE guidelines:

Authors are solely responsible for all the plagiarism that is found. The author must not fabricate, falsify or plagiarize existing research data. The following, if copied, will be considered plagiarism:

- Words (language)
- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
- Graphs
- Illustrations
- Lectures

- Printed material
- Graphic representations
- Computer programs
- Electronic material
- Any other original work

Authorship Policies

Global Journals follows the definition of authorship set up by the Open Association of Research Society, USA. According to its guidelines, authorship criteria must be based on:

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

Changes in Authorship

The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

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During submission of the manuscript, the author is confirming an exclusive license agreement with Global Journals which gives Global Journals the authority to reproduce, reuse, and republish authors' research. We also believe in flexible copyright terms where copyright may remain with authors/employers/institutions as well. Contact your editor after acceptance to choose your copyright policy. You may follow this form for copyright transfers.

Appealing Decisions

Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

Declaration of funding sources

Global Journals is in partnership with various universities, laboratories, and other institutions worldwide in the research domain. Authors are requested to disclose their source of funding during every stage of their research, such as making analysis, performing laboratory operations, computing data, and using institutional resources, from writing an article to its submission. This will also help authors to get reimbursements by requesting an open access publication letter from Global Journals and submitting to the respective funding source.

Preparing your Manuscript

Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

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

Format Structure

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

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

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

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

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

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality 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.



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.

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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:

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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:

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Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

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- 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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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:

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- 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.
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- Do not present similar data more than once.
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- 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.
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- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
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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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