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Local Governance in Mexico

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Highlights

Economic Development in Nigeria

War Impediment Strategic Approach

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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By Rosa Lorena Valdez Miranda & Carlos Gomez Diaz de Leon

Abstract- The purpose of this paper is to provide some theoretical and empirical elements to measure the level of governance using an empirical case that will focus on the analysis of the 2015-2021 administration of the Government of the State of Nuevo León. The governance model is evaluated based on the weighting of the degree of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy that can be observed from the analysis of state public management and the evaluation of some public policies. For the development of the project, the World Bank's governance index is used as a reference, which includes the measurement of six variables: voice and responsibility; political stability and absence of violence; government effectiveness; regulation quality; Rule of law; and, control of corruption. These variables can be measured based on the identification of certain public policies.

Keywords: *governance; public management; public politics; Nuevo Leon.*

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Local Governance in Mexico. The Case of Nuevo Leon 2015-2021

Rosa Lorena Valdez Miranda α & Carlos Gomez Diaz de Leon σ

Abstract- The purpose of this paper is to provide some theoretical and empirical elements to measure the level of governance using an empirical case that will focus on the analysis of the 2015-2021 administration of the Government of the State of Nuevo León. The governance model is evaluated based on the weighting of the degree of effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy that can be observed from the analysis of state public management and the evaluation of some public policies. For the development of the project, the World Bank's governance index is used as a reference, which includes the measurement of six variables: voice and responsibility; political stability and absence of violence; government effectiveness; regulation quality; Rule of law; and, control of corruption. These variables can be measured based on the identification of certain public policies.

Keywords: governance; public management; public politics; Nuevo Leon.

Resumen- El propósito del presente trabajo es aportar algunos elementos teóricos y empíricos para medir el nivel de gobernanza de la administración 2015-2021 del Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo León. Se evalúa el modelo de gobernanza a partir de la ponderación del grado de eficacia, eficiencia y legitimidad que puede observarse del análisis de la gestión pública estatal y la evaluación de algunas políticas públicas. Para el desarrollo del proyecto se utiliza como referencia el índice de gobernanza del Banco Mundial, que incluye la medición de seis variables: voz y responsabilidad; estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia; efectividad gubernamental; calidad de la regulación; Estado de Derecho; y control de la corrupción. Estas variables pueden ser medidas en función de la identificación de ciertas políticas públicas.

Keywords: gobernanza, gestión pública, políticas públicas, nuevo león.

I. Introduction

El presente trabajo forma parte de un proyecto de investigación histórico que tiene como propósito aportar algunos elementos teóricos y empíricos para medir el nivel de gobernanza de la administración 2015-2021 del Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo León. El objetivo del documento es aplicar una propuesta de modelo para la evaluación de la gobernanza a partir de la adaptación de la propuesta del Banco Mundial del modelo de medición de la gobernanza mediante varios factores: la ponderación del grado de eficacia, eficiencia y legitimidad que puede observarse del análisis de la gestión pública estatal y la evaluación de algunas políticas públicas.

Se parte de la hipótesis que del origen de la legitimidad del Gobernador electo en el verano de 2015 se infiere el carácter apartidista del candidato y su naturaleza ciudadana. Sin duda un elemento clave de la gobernanza es la participación ciudadana y en el caso de la elección del Gobernador Jaime Rodríguez Calderón es evidente que su abrumador triunfo sobre los partidos dominantes en la entidad, PRI y PAN, fue producto de la emergencia ciudadana buscando nuevas alternativas de gobierno. Aunado a esto, en el plan estatal de desarrollo 2015-2021, se subraya como una característica del gobierno el involucramiento de la ciudadanía haciendo de la participación ciudadana una política transversal. Con ello estaríamos en posibilidades de afirmar que se plantea una gobernanza como modelo de gobierno, aunque de manera implícita. Este es el modelo para evaluar en este trabajo.

El proyecto tiene las siguientes delimitaciones: históricamente se refiere a la gobernanza emanada por el gobierno central del Estado; geográficamente el estudio considera la entidad federativa de Nuevo León; y temporalmente, el periodo de la administración pública 2015 a 2021.

Para el desarrollo del proyecto se tomarán como base algunos datos oficiales del Gobierno Estatal y se presentará un marco teórico e información empírica relevante de temas como la gobernanza, las políticas públicas y la gestión pública. Para el desarrollo del proyecto se utilizará de referencia el índice de gobernanza del Banco Mundial para evaluar el estado de la gobernanza del Gobierno de Nuevo León al año 2021, considerando seis variables: voz y responsabilidad; estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia; efectividad gubernamental; calidad de la regulación; Estado de Derecho; y la política para el control de la corrupción.

El presente proyecto no pretende emplear una copia integra de la metodología utilizada por el Banco Mundial para la constitución de su índice de gobernanza, solo se utilizará de referencia para realizar la evaluación. Para ello metodológicamente se desarrollarán los siguientes pasos: asignación de indicadores individuales a las seis variables; cambio de escala de los indicadores; promedio de los datos asignados a cada variable, procesamiento del modelo y análisis y discusión de resultados.

De acuerdo con el Banco Mundial, las seis variables presentadas impactan en el nivel de gobernanza que se tiene en un territorio. Medir por separado cada variable permite conocer las áreas de

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oportunidad que tiene el Gobierno y de esta forma se puede percibir el nivel de gobernanza y realizar ajustes a las políticas públicas que coadyuven a lograr una mayor gobernanza desde una perspectiva de la participación y de la eficacia de las acciones y programas gubernamentales.

Si bien, las referencias que se encuentran en medios de comunicación en relación con el Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo León pudieran conducirnos a inferir que existen deficiencias en la gobernabilidad, otorgar una calificación a priori pudiera ser subjetivo e inadecuado. Por tal razón se procederá a realizar un análisis cuantitativo que permita determinar con cierto grado de objetividad el nivel de gobernanza del Gobierno de Nuevo León, considerando aspectos como las políticas públicas que impactan a cada una de las seis variables que de acuerdo con el Banco Mundial tienen relación con el grado de gobernanza.

II. Antecedentes

El Estado de Nuevo León se ubica al noreste de México, limita al norte con Estados Unidos, al este con el Estado de Tamaulipas, al sur con el Estado de San Luis Potosí y al oeste con el Estado de Coahuila y Zacatecas. Nuevo León cuenta con una población de 5,784,442 personas, según reporta el Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) para el año 2020.

El Gobierno de Nuevo León estuvo encabezado por el Gobernador Constitucional Jaime Rodríguez Calderón quien fue electo para el periodo 2015-2021. A la fecha, el periodo ya ha concluido, lo que permite realizar un análisis de la gestión pública, la gobernanza y los impactos que las políticas públicas emanadas de la administración antes mencionada han tenido en relación con los resultados esperados. Para poner en perspectiva la posición de Nuevo León como entidad federativa en el contexto del país, se realiza una comparación respecto a otras cuatro entidades federativas con ciertas características similares: Jalisco, Veracruz, Estado de México y Ciudad de México.

Un indicador económico de relevancia es el Producto Interno Bruto (PIB) que mide el valor monetario de los bienes y servicios producidos en un determinado territorio durante un año. De acuerdo con información del Sistema Nacional de Cuentas del INEGI, el PIB del Estado de Nuevo León del año 2019 fue de $1,839.42 mil millones de pesos (mmp) a precios corrientes y en 2020 fue de $1,762.90 mmp. Este es el tercer PIB más alto en el país, solo detrás de la Ciudad de México y el Estado de México. Nuevo León representa el 8.03% del PIB Nacional.

Los ingresos de Nuevo León, de acuerdo con la información de la Cuenta Pública 2021, ascendieron a $104,630 millones de pesos (mdp) al cierre del año 2021, lo que representa un incremento de 6.4% respecto a los $98,306 millones que ingresaron en 2019. Durante 2021, los ingresos propios representaron el 21%. La dependencia de los ingresos estatales respecto a las participaciones y aportaciones federales en Nuevo León es de 79%, cifra inferior a la que presentan otras entidades federativas en sus Cuentas Públicas de 2021: Estado de México, 84%; Jalisco, 89%; y, Veracruz, 93%.

El poder Ejecutivo de Nuevo León presenta déficit para el año 2021, siendo este de $1,737 mdp. Las entidades federativas que tienen superávit, de acuerdo con sus portales de transparencia, son: Jalisco, $5,020 mdp; Ciudad de México, $6,947 mdp;, Veracruz, $5,041 mdp.

Indicadores	Nuevo León	Jalisco	Ciudad de México	Estado de México	Veracruz
Población 2020	5,784,442 habitantes	8,348,151 habitantes	9,209,944 habitantes	16,992,418 habitantes	8,062,579 habitantes
PIB 2020	$1,762.90 mmp	$1,595.85 mmp	$3,473.74 mmp	$1,990.22 mmp	$990.74 mmp
Dependencia de recursos federales 2021	79.00%	89%	56%	84%	93%
Ingresos totales 2021	$104,630.57 mdp	$124,458.95 mdp	$211,534.42 mdp	$258,901.65 mdp	$145,256.89 mdp
Déficit o superávit 2021	-$1,737.05 mdp	$5,020.13 mdp	$6,947.86mdp	-$2,667.52 mdp	$5,041.05 mdp
Deuda y obligaciones 2021	$57,956.7 mdp	$26,409.6 mdp	$92,590.9 mdp	$57,318.2 mdp	$42,471.7 mdp

Fig.1: Indicadores del Estado de Nuevo León, Jalisco, Ciudad de México, Estado de México y Veracruz, realizados con información del INEGI, la SHCP y las Cuentas Públicas 2021 del Poder Ejecutivo de los Gobiernos de los Estados de Nuevo León, Jalisco, Estado de México, Ciudad de México y Veracruz.

De acuerdo con información publicada por la Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público (SHCP), al cierre de 2021 Nuevo León fue el segundo estado más endeudado del país, con un total de $57,956.7 mdp, la primera posición fue ocupada por la Ciudad de México que tiene un total de $92,590.9 mdp de deuda y obligaciones.

El Gobierno del Nuevo León realiza su gasto con base en su Plan Estatal de Desarrollo (PED). La Ley Estatal de Planeación establece las bases de

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integración y funcionamiento del Sistema Estatal de Planeación fortaleciendo el papel estratégico del PED, esto conforme a su artículo 1 fracción II. Durante los primeros meses de funciones del Gobernador Rodríguez Calderón se diseñó el Plan Estatal de Desarrollo 2016-2021, en el cual se establecieron 45 objetivos, 103 estrategias y 449 líneas de acción que se traducen en programas operativos anuales. Los 5 capítulos en los que se basa el Plan Estatal de Desarrollo son: Gobierno eficaz y transparente; Economía incluyente; Desarrollo humano y social; Desarrollo sustentable; y, Seguridad y justicia.

III. Planteamiento del Problema

La premisa básica de la gobernanza es la participación ciudadana. Canto Chac (2008) señala que "la participación ciudadana en las políticas públicas está en el centro del asunto de la gobernanza y, por tanto, en el centro de la relación entre gobierno y sociedad en torno a tres dimensiones básicas: democracia, desarrollo y derechos". No obstante, no hay que olvidar que la gobernanza se refiere más específicamente a la capacidad directiva del gobierno (Aguilar, 2013). Es pues el ámbito político el que sufre el cambio. Sin embargo, el proceso de gobierno se sostiene sobre las estructuras, recursos, procesos que se desarrollan en la administración pública, lo cual implica entonces a la gestión pública.

La administración pública como estructura, y la gestión pública como proceso, materializan, mediante las políticas públicas los objetivos y acciones del gobierno lo cual deriva en el último eslabón de trabajo: las políticas públicas. Nuevo León ha diseñado políticas públicas en el marco del Plan Estatal de Desarrollo 2016-2021. El último paso de una política pública, de acuerdo con Aguilar, L. F. (2012), es precisamente su evaluación.

La respuesta que el electorado de Nuevo León dio en la elección de 2015 fue la elección de una "opción ciudadana" representada en la figura de un candidato independiente que en la boleta electoral no era representante de ningún partido. Transcurrido el periodo de gobierno de la administración 2015-2021 a cargo del Gobernador Jaime Rodríguez, es posible evaluar el nivel de gobernanza en el Estado de Nuevo León, considerando para ello aspectos que inciden directamente en la eficiencia, eficacia y calidad tanto de la gestión pública y como de las políticas públicas.

Como parte del Presupuesto Basado en Resultados, es importante calificar el éxito de los programas del gobierno para determinar la eficiencia en el gasto público y la continuidad de estas erogaciones en futuros ejercicios fiscales. Algunas de las políticas públicas que consideramos fundamentales para ese propósito son: Presupuesto Basado en Resultados y del sistema de evaluación del desempeño; la política de capacitación o profesionalización; y, la política de transparencia gubernamental.

Desconocer el éxito o el fracaso de las políticas públicas del gobierno estatal, la gestión pública y el estado de su gobernanza, deriva en que el gasto público sea ineficiente y que exista una afectación directa para el ciudadano. Para atender esta problemática es necesario generar la evaluación del modelo de gobernanza del Estado de Nuevo León, lo que permitirá detectar áreas de oportunidad.

IV. Marco Teórico

En este apartado se desarrollará el marco teórico en torno a tres conceptos fundamentales que deben de ser tomados en cuenta para atender el planteamiento del problema: gobernanza; gestión pública; las políticas públicas.

a) Gobernanza

La gobernanza es una transformación sistémica a la forma en que se relaciona el gobierno con la sociedad y la concepción del gobierno como función directiva que resulta ser muy compleja ya que abarca la totalidad del modelo, en todos los niveles y ámbitos, desde lo local hasta lo federal o nacional, y que involucra al sector público, privado y a la sociedad civil. No se pueden utilizar indistintamente los conceptos de gobernanza y gobernabilidad, siendo esta última la que se enfoca únicamente al fortalecimiento de las capacidades del gobierno, mientras que la gobernanza va más allá y considera el cumplimiento de los objetivos involucrando a los actores dentro y fuera del gobierno, es decir, no sólo la eficacia sino también y sobre todo el grado de colaboración lo cual implica la participación ciudadana.

Gobernanza es un término que ha estado en constante evolución y es aplicado desde lo local a lo global. En ella intervienen no solo actores gubernamentales en el diseño y aplicación de políticas públicas, sino otros actores de forma individual o colectiva en forma de organismos o grupos informales. Kooiman (2005) dice que la gobernanza "significa una nueva forma de gobernar más cooperativa en la que las instituciones públicas y las no públicas, actores públicos y privados, participan y cooperan en la formulación y aplicación de la política y las políticas públicas".

La gobernanza es la forma en que se gobierna considerando a los diferentes actores públicos y privados para colaborar en las acciones de gobierno de tal manera que todos se sientan parte del diagnóstico y la solución de los problemas públicos y se pueda transitar hacia acuerdos y consensos que contribuyan a empoderar la capacidad gubernativa de la sociedad. La prestación de algunos servicios, si bien tiene que estar bajo la tutela del sector público, pueden ser llevados a

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cabo por organismos e instituciones privadas que resultan ser más eficientes para esas actividades.

De acuerdo con lo que argumenta Aguilar (2015), la gobernanza es el orden o arreglo que regula a la estructura que surge cuando todos los actores involucrados interaccionan en un sistema sociopolítico. Gobernar implica interactuar con diferentes actores sociales, públicos y privados. Quien gobierna sólo para algunos sectores en realidad no está gobernando, porque gobernar va más allá de solo crear acciones de gobierno involucrando a unos pocos, gobernar significa que todos los actores intervengan en algún proceso de las políticas públicas. Un gobierno no debe de ser sólo un gobierno que imponga impuestos a la clase trabajadora, o un gobierno que solo considere la opinión política del partido al que pertenece el gobernante. En la gobernanza se considera la participación de todos en todos los procesos de políticas públicas y a todos los problemas de la agenda pública.

Resulta interesante lo expresado por Aguilar (2007) en relación con que "los gobernantes legítimos pueden no gobernar", considerando la conceptualización de gobernanza, cuando las decisiones y acciones de los gobernantes se quedan en el campo directivo y pueden no tener un efecto sustancial en la convivencia y supervivencia social. En la historia reciente de México se han presenciado momentos en que quienes ocupan un puesto gobernante hacen grandes esfuerzos por alcanzar la gobernabilidad y crear consensos entre diferentes grupos para lograr eficacia y eficiencia en las políticas públicas y otros en los que se actúa de manera autoritaria y unilateral. Algunos son casos de éxito, como algunos programas sociales en periodos presidenciales recientes, pero otros son lamentablemente grandes fracasos como es el caso de seguridad y educación.

La gobernabilidad no es independiente de la capacidad, ética e inteligencia de las personas que conforman la administración pública y de quienes participan en ella como agentes externos que intervienen de forma activa. Pardo (2016) explica que la burocracia favorece la gobernabilidad al integrar a individuos que son capaces de generar ideas que ayudan a consolidar las políticas públicas que se implementan por medio de las estructuras gubernamentales existentes.

El concepto de gobernanza trasciende las categorías de eficacia, estabilidad y legitimidad que tiene el de gobernabilidad para referirse a un proceso referido a las capacidades de dirección conjunta entre actores gubernamentales y no gubernamentales. Implica colaboración entre empresas, gobierno y ciudadanía ya sea en forma individual o bajo formas asociativas más complejas y formales. En ese sentido, la perspectiva de la gobernanza "apunta a la necesidad o conveniencia de un nuevo proceso directivo de la sociedad más que a la reproducción del proceso directivo estructurado por la acción del gobierno aun si dotado con la totalidad de las capacidades requeridas" (Aguilar, 2007, p. 17).

Considerando el énfasis que Aguilar (2007) da al tema, se considera que la gobernanza es un proceso directivo de la sociedad, es decir, que rebasa el ámbito del gobierno. Por otra parte, esa implicación de la sociedad en el proceso de gobierno entraña interacciones continuas entre individuos, empresas e instituciones públicas. Estas interacciones necesarias reflejan esa incapacidad del gobierno tanto desde la perspectiva de los recursos, como de la capacidad de procesar efectivamente las demandas ciudadanas y convertirlas en políticas públicas incluyentes y eficaces. Por lo tanto, es necesario aglutinar los esfuerzos del gobierno con los otros actores políticos y sociales para darle suficiencia e inteligencia a la función directiva de la sociedad aprovechando las aportaciones de la sinergia social.

La gobernanza justifica la manera en que se concibe la administración pública, teniendo como consecuencia lo que se conoce como la nueva gestión pública, identificada con el acrónimo NGP. A través de ellas se promueven las prácticas gerenciales exitosas en las estructuras burocráticas tradicionales. Este nuevo perfil de la administración pública que se conoce como la nueva gestión pública, de acuerdo con Uvalle (2003), es su capacidad de respuesta ante los retos que impone la realidad de los problemas derivados de la globalidad y la agenda de los problemas contingenciales que modifican prioridades y estrategias.

De acuerdo con Aguilar (2013) existen distintos tipos de gobernanza, los cuales se describen a continuación:

1. "Gobernanza pública" es el concepto y término fundamental que se refiere al proceso mediante el cual el gobierno dirige a la sociedad. Este es el concepto base que asumimos en el presente trabajo por su generalidad.
2. "Gobierno o gobernanza del sector público"/ "Gobierno o Gobernanza de la administración pública" es el concepto y término que se refiere al proceso mediante el cual el gobierno dirige o gobierna su sistema administrativo o a la administración pública en su conjunto y en sus diversas modalidades (central, descentralizada, desconcentrada, paraestatal).
3. "Gobierno o gobernanza corporativa pública"; "Gobierno o gobernanza corporativa del sector público" es el concepto y término que se refiere al proceso mediante el cual el gobierno gobierna y dirige sus específicas y particulares corporaciones u organizaciones administrativas, encargadas de realizar funciones concretas". (Aguilar, 2013, p. 43)

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Para la medición de la gobernanza, el Banco Mundial y el Instituto del Banco Mundial han desarrollado una serie de indicadores de gobernanza como métrica se aplica a más de 20 países. De acuerdo con Rivas, Trujillo, y Lambarry (2015), las seis variables de la gobernanza que se miden en este índice son: voz y responsabilidad; estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia; efectividad gubernamental; calidad de la regulación; Estado de Derecho; y control de la corrupción. Cada una de estas variables se describe en la siguiente tabla.

Variable	Descripción
Voz y responsabilidad	Mide el grado en el que los ciudadanos de un país pueden participar en la selección de su gobierno, así como la libertad de expresión, la asociación y la prensa.
Estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia	Mide la probabilidad que medios inconstitucionales desestabilicen al gobierno a partir de hechos violentos, incluyendo el terrorismo.
Eficacia del gobierno	Mide la calidad de los servicios públicos, la capacidad de la función pública y su independencia de presiones políticas; así como la calidad de la formulación de la política reguladora del Estado.
Calidad reguladora	Mide la capacidad del gobierno de formular y de aplicar políticas sanas y las regulaciones que permitan y promuevan el desarrollo del sector privado.
Estado de derecho	Mide el grado de confianza que tienen los ciudadanos, así como las reglas que sigue la sociedad, particularmente la calidad de la aplicación del contrato, la policía, y las cortes, así como la probabilidad del crimen y de la violencia.
Control de la corrupción	Mide el grado a el cual la energía pública se ejercita para el aumento privado, incluyendo formas pequeñas y magníficas de corrupción, tan bien como captura del Estado por las élites y los intereses privados.

Fig. 2: Variables de la gobernanza. Elaboración propia con información de Rivas, Trujillo, y Lambarry (2015)

Estas variables permiten valorar la gobernanza de un país y para medirlas se utilizan distintos indicadores que provienen de información obtenida de ciudadanos, empresarios y trabajadores. Rivas, Trujillo, y Lambarry (2015) indican que las fuentes de esta información son las encuestas a hogares y empresas; proveedores de información empresarial; organizaciones no gubernamentales; y, organizaciones del sector público. Es decir, se consideran distintos tipos de mediciones para cada una de las seis variables que a su vez integran el índice de gobernanza.

b) Gestión pública

La gestión pública considera la diversidad de opiniones que existen entre los actores políticos, sociales y económicos para establecer objetivos y planes de acción, no se limita a imponer un solo punto de vista. "No se trata de que la gestión pública se deba ocupar únicamente de los fines, pero tampoco exclusivamente de los medios" (Hughes, 1996). Este autor también da tres perspectivas desde las cuales se ha entendido la gestión pública: la socialdemócrata en los 60's; la corporativa en los 70's; y, la consumerista en los 80's.

La perspectiva socialdemócrata tiene como objetivo prestar servicios universales e iguales para todos. Sus medios son la burocracia monopolista y la segmentada.

La perspectiva corporativa tiene como objetivo reparar los problemas de una prestación demasiado centralizada. Sus medios son la racionalización y especialización.

La perspectiva consumerista tiene como objetivo la competitividad en el mercado para ser económico, eficiente y eficaz. Sus medios son los consumidores, la capacidad de elección; el mercado, la flexibilidad y otros (Hughes, 1996).

La nueva gestión pública llega a Latinoamérica en la década de los 80s y 90s cuando los gobiernos atravesaban por crisis financieras y fiscales, en un momento en que se buscaba restablecer la naturaleza pública de las políticas y mejorar la calidad, cobertura y eficiencia de los servicios públicos (Aguilar, 2007).

La propuesta de la Nueva Gestión Pública, de acuerdo con Pardo (2016), "se centra más en aspectos prácticos; da énfasis en la calidad, el desempeño y los resultados de las organizaciones, independientemente de su carácter público o privado". El enfoque de políticas públicas deja del lado la legitimidad del gobierno o su organización, para poner mayor atención en los procesos de elaboración y ejecución de las políticas.

Pardo (2016) señala que la diferencia del enfoque de la Nueva Gestión Pública con el de políticas públicas es que este enfoque se constituye con la idea de que las organizaciones públicas pueden ser similares o hasta iguales a las organizaciones privadas, incorporando mecanismos y estrategias que han mostrado éxito en el sector privado para hacerlas más eficaces.

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Allison (1983) señala que hay tres funciones de la gestión pública: la gestión estratégica; la gestión de los componentes internos; y, la gestión de los componentes externos. La gestión estratégica es la que se refiere a establecer las prioridades y en base a esto definir objetivos y diseñar cómo se van a alcanzar. La gestión interna se relaciona con la organización de los recursos humanos, materiales y financieros para alcanzar los objetivos planteados. Por su parte, la gestión de los componentes externos involucra todo aquello que no forma parte de la propia administración pública; su entorno.

Para García (2007), la nueva gestión pública es la búsqueda por tener una administración eficiente y eficaz, es decir, una administración que sea capaz de atender las necesidades de los ciudadanos considerando el menor costo posible, pero sin sacrificar la calidad y la obtención de los objetivos. En este orden de ideas, los pilares de la nueva gestión pública son la elección pública, los costos de transacción, el neo-tailorismo y la teoría de la agencia. Lo anterior hace referencia a la introducción del sector privado en temas públicos; la búsqueda del costo óptimo; la reducción de la burocracia y la simplificación administrativa; y la rendición de cuentas.

La nueva gestión pública, de acuerdo con Uvalle (2007), es entendida como una opción pragmática que se enfoca en darle solución a las fallas administrativas de los gobiernos, para ello es necesario consolidar estructuras burocráticas óptimas en funcionamiento y eficientes en relación con su costo beneficio. Para la nueva gestión pública es fundamental controlar a los burócratas y políticos para que no tengan exceso de autonomía en sus decisiones.

La nueva gestión pública también se apoya del gerencialismo que son las prácticas exitosas de empresas privadas que pueden ser aplicadas en el sector público. Entre las áreas consideradas están la administración, la dirección, la eficiencia y la calidad. El gerencialismo proporciona de modo significativo las herramientas, técnicas y tecnologías idóneas para llevar a cabo la reestructuración de las áreas de gobierno (Uvalle, 2007).

Al estudiar el tema de gestión pública es indispensable centrar la atención al recurso humano que participa dentro de la función pública, tanto el que encabeza la toma de decisiones como quienes las ejecutan. Es indispensable que los altos perfiles que ocupan la posición de administrador o gerente público funjan como un eje articulador del gobierno, como lo menciona Cabrero Mendoza (1995). En este sentido, la preparación del recurso humano para formar parte del proceso de modernización de la administración pública exige de una estrategia que parta de las más altas esferas del poder hacia el último eslabón. Esto significa que exista una política consistente de profesionalización de los servidores públicos.

El sector público he evolucionado y tomado algunas de las mejores prácticas empleadas en el sector privado. Si bien, el fin de ambos sectores es diferente, ambos tienen que trabajar de forma eficiente y eficaz para alcanzar sus objetivos colectivos. "La administración por objetivos, planeación presupuestal programada, dirección de personal de tiempo flexible, planeación presupuestal de base cero y sistemas computarizados de apoyo a decisiones son algunas de las tecnologías de carácter directivo que han sido transferidas del sector privado al sector público" (Bozeman, 1998, p. 40).

c) Políticas públicas

El funcionamiento del gobierno se visibiliza a través de las políticas públicas. Son, en palabras de Woodrow Wilson, "el gobierno en acción". De ahí que el quehacer del Gobierno puede ser medido a través de sus políticas públicas. De acuerdo con Aguilar (2012) las políticas públicas son "acciones de gobierno, que tienen como propósito realizar objetivos de interés público y que los alcanzan con eficacia y eficiencia" (p. 17). Las políticas públicas deben tener un fin determinado que justifique su creación y aplicación dentro de una determinada sociedad. Canto Sáenz (2015) argumenta que las políticas públicas pueden estar integradas por acciones intelectuales y acciones políticas.

Aguilar (2012) describe los momentos de las PP de principio a fin:

1) La formación de la agenda.
2) La definición del problema público.
3) La hechura o formulación de la política, es decir, la construcción de opciones para resolver el problema.
4) La decisión o la selección entre opciones.
5) La comunicación de la política.
6) La implementación de la política.
7) La evaluación de la política. (p. 34)

Las políticas públicas son un conjunto de acciones complejas que pueden requerir la intervención de más de un funcionario y la colaboración de distintos órdenes de gobierno, incluso puede existir participación de la sociedad civil. Todas las personas que intervienen en algunos de los momentos de la planeación, ejecución y medición tienen un efecto para el éxito de las políticas públicas. No hay un funcionario en particular a quien se le pueda adjudicar una política pública, sino muchos actores participantes.

Si bien, algunos investigadores como Aguilar (2012) dan énfasis a los momentos de las políticas públicas como un proceso que va desde su formulación hasta su evaluación, existen otros investigadores que consideran que una acción de gobierno puede significar ya una política pública. Es este sentido, "las políticas públicas son simplemente la secuencia de posiciones tomadas por las instituciones

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gubernamentales y que actúan en nombre del estado, con relación a las cuestiones incluidas en la agenda pública" (Oszlak, 2006, p. 5).

Las políticas públicas, de acuerdo con la definición de Manheim y Rich (1988), son las actividades regulares y tipificadas de los funcionarios del Estado. Por su parte, Montecinos (2007), conceptualiza a las políticas públicas como el conjunto de actividades que tienen como destino la solución de distintos problemas. De acuerdo con Pardo (2016), el enfoque de políticas públicas incorpora la idea de agenda pública que consiste en seleccionar y jerarquizar temas. Para diseñar políticas públicas es importante tener la información para decidir las acciones gubernamentales.

Las personas que integran los gobiernos, en todos sus niveles, diseñan e implementan políticas públicas. Un cuestionamiento relativo a esto es qué tanto influyen los actores políticos en el tipo de políticas públicas y las áreas hacia las cuales están dirigidas. No obstante, la influencia que algunos de los involucrados pueden ejercer en la formulación y ejecución de políticas públicas, estas no son productos del trabajo individual, sino una suma de esfuerzos.

Entendiendo la importancia de evaluar las políticas públicas, en los distintos órdenes de gobierno se realizan mediciones con el objetivo de verificar el nivel de éxito que tienen. Por mencionar un ejemplo, a nivel federal se cuenta con el Consejo Nacional de Evaluación de la Política de Desarrollo Social (CONEVAL). Existen distintas formas de evaluar las políticas públicas, Guerrero (1995) menciona 5 enfoques de evaluación: descriptivo, clínico, normativo, experimental y pluralista.

> Evaluación descriptiva. El objetivo es registrar los cambios que surgen con la aplicación del programa gubernamental, pero no llega a medir los niveles de variación. Para este tipo de evaluación se utilizan técnicas como el muestreo, la aplicación de encuestas, observación, análisis estadísticos, entre otras.
>
> Evaluación clínica. El objetivo es medir la efectividad de la política pública basándose en sus propios objetivos y sus normas particulares. Se emplean técnicas como la encuesta estadística, la evaluación sumaria y la evaluación formativa.
>
> Evaluación normativa. El objetivo es calificar la política pública con base en normas externas, elegidas por el evaluador, las cuales pueden ser igual o diferentes a los objetivos oficiales de las políticas públicas.
>
> Evaluación experimental. El objetivo es controlar científicamente los efectos de la política pública. Las técnicas utilizadas son las comparaciones con un grupo de control equivalente y con uno no equivalente.
>
> Evaluación pluralista. El objetivo es establecer un análisis colectivo y permanente, partiendo de los objetivos generales, para adaptar y mejorar la aplicación de la política pública con el acuerdo de todos los involucrados. Para elegir la técnica se establece una comisión pluralista que analiza las necesidades del caso y con base en 6 modelos deciden: lógico, experimentalista, endosistémico, modelo del experto, modelo de pretoria y demográfico. (Guerrero, 1995).

Considerando las características descritas de los 5 enfoques descritos anteriormente, en el presente trabajo se utiliza la evaluación descriptiva de algunas de las políticas públicas implementadas por la administración 2015-2021 del Gobierno de Nuevo León. Las políticas públicas que se analizan impactan en cada una de las seis variables que son consideradas dentro del índice de gobernanza.

V. Metodología

En este apartado se aborda la metodología para llevar a cabo la ponderación de la gobernanza con base en la comprobación cuantitativa que atiende el planteamiento del problema. Para ello se utiliza de referencia la metodología utilizada por el Banco Mundial para la estimación de su Índice de Gobernanza calculado para gran parte de los países del mundo. El presente trabajo no pretende realizar una réplica exacta, sino de forma aproximativa tomar los puntos centrales considerados por el Banco Mundial y proceder a estimar el nivel de gobernanza del estado de Nuevo León.

a) Comprobación cuantitativa

De acuerdo con el portal del Banco Mundial, el Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) es un reporte que presenta los indicadores de gobernanza para 200 países durante el periodo 1996-2019. Con la estimación de estos indicadores es posible hacer comparaciones entre países y analizar la evolución del nivel de gobernanza de una nación. Lo anterior permite atender las áreas de oportunidad y tomar decisiones respecto a políticas públicas.

Para la estimación del Índice de Gobernanza, se adaptará la metodología del Banco Mundial mediante la utilización de ciertos conceptos analizados para la medición de la gobernanza de los 200 países y presentar un análisis para el estado de Nuevo León. Además, a diferencia del reporte del Banco Mundial, solo se estimará un periodo y no una serie de años que permita contrastar la evolución del índice a través del tiempo.

La metodología original del Banco Mundial utiliza encuestas, proveedores de información y otros medios para obtener información. Para este documento se considerará información y evaluaciones obtenidas de instituciones públicas y privadas. Es decir, no se realizarán evaluaciones en lo individual, sino se conjuntarán evaluaciones ya existentes que impactan en cada una de las seis variables del índice de gobernanza: voz y responsabilidad; estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia; efectividad gubernamental; calidad de la regulación; Estado de Derecho; y control

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de la corrupción. Con los valores atribuidos a cada una de las seis variables se estimará el índice de gobernanza del Estado de Nuevo León.

Considerando estas seis variables del índice de gobernanza que es elaborado por el Banco Mundial, se realizó una búsqueda de información sobre las políticas públicas implementadas por el Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo León. Estas políticas públicas han sido consideradas en distintas evaluaciones y los resultados pueden ser de utilidad para el presente proyecto. En este sentido, entre las políticas públicas que se consideran están las siguientes:

Variable	Política Pública	Responsable
Voz y responsabilidad	Política pública de participación ciudadana contemplada dentro del PED 2016-2021 en el Eje de Gobierno Eficaz y Transparente. Además, existe una Ley de Participación Ciudadana para el Estado de Nuevo León.	Dirección de Participación Ciudadana de la Secretaría General de Gobierno del Estado de Nuevo León.
Estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia	Política pública dentro del PED 2016-2021 en el Eje de Seguridad y Justicia dentro de los temas de seguridad pública y de atención a víctimas del delito y violaciones de derechos humanos.	Secretaría de Seguridad Pública Fiscalía General de Justicia Instituto Estatal de las Mujeres
Eficacia del gobierno	Política pública dentro del PED 2016-2021 en el Eje Gobierno Eficaz y Transparente dentro de los temas de gobierno eficaz y eficiente. Presupuesto basado en Resultados y el Sistema de Evaluación de Desempeño (PbR-SED), instrumentos utilizados en la Gestión para Resultados (GpR).	Cada Secretaría del Gobierno Estatal es responsable de medir la eficacia de sus políticas públicas. En el Estado de Nuevo León, la dependencia responsable de emitir la información de PbR-SED y GpR es la Secretaría de Finanzas y Tesorería General del Estado.
Calidad reguladora	La política pública de Mejora Regulatoria está considerada dentro de las prioridades en el PED 2016-202.	Comisión Estatal de Mejora Regulatoria
Estado de Derecho	Política pública dentro del PED 2016-2021 en el Eje de Seguridad y Justicia dentro del tema de procuración y administración de justicia.	Secretaría de Seguridad Pública Fiscalía General de Justicia Instituciones judiciales de Nuevo León
Control de la corrupción	Política pública dentro del PED 2016-2021 en el Eje Gobierno Eficaz y Transparente dentro del tema de Transparencia y Combate a la Corrupción.	Contraloría

Fig. 3: Políticas públicas que influyen en el nivel de gobernanza de Nuevo León.

Para realizar la evaluación del nivel de gobernanza del Estado de Nuevo León, se utilizará como base el indicador del Banco Mundial y del Instituto del Banco Mundial descrito por Rivas, et al. (2015). Para cada una de las seis variables de la gobernanza se eligieron uno o más indicadores ya existentes y que cuentan con credibilidad para su estimación. Los indicadores utilizados de acuerdo con cada variable y su descripción se presentan en la siguiente tabla:

Variable	Indicador utilizado	Descripción del indicador	Valor original del indicador
Voz y responsabilidad	Índice Estatal de Libertad de Expresión 2019. Encuesta Estatal de Participación Ciudadana del Estado de Nuevo León 2018.	El índice Estatal de Libertad de Expresión 2019 fue elaborado por el Colectivo de Análisis de la Seguridad con Democracia, A.C. (CASEDE), quienes basándose en cinco dimensiones evaluadas analizan los contextos legal, institucional, mediático y de seguridad de la libertad de expresión en el estado. En la Encuesta Estatal de Participación Ciudadana del Estado de Nuevo León 2018, el 81 % de los entrevistados que participaron en el último año consideran su participación "satisfactoria" o "muy satisfactoria" y han percibido los resultados de su contribución.	El valor del Índice Estatal de Libertad de Expresión 2019 para el Estado de Nuevo León es de 4.1. Siendo 10 la calificación más alta. El valor de la Encuesta Estatal de Participación Ciudadana del Estado de Nuevo León 2018 es 81%.

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Estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia	Índice de Paz en México 2021 para el Estado de Nuevo León.	El Índice de Paz en México 2021 considera hechos delictivos como homicidios, delitos de violencia, delitos cometidos con armas de fuego, crímenes de la delincuencia organizada y cárcel sin sentencia.	El valor del Índice de Paz en México 2020 para el Estado de Nuevo León es de 2.802. Siendo 1 la calificación que indica el nivel más pacífico y 5 el menos pacífico.
Eficacia del gobierno	Índice general de avance en PbR-SED de la SHCP 2021. Índice de Monitoreo y Evaluación del CONEVAL para el Estado de Nuevo León 2021.	El Índice general de avance en PbR-SED de la SHCP mide el progreso en la implementación y operación del PbR-SED en las Entidades Federativas, presentando una calificación promedio de 74.2 en 2021. El CONEVAL promueve la institucionalización de la evaluación y el monitoreo para contribuir a la mejora continua de la gestión gubernamental en el Estado de Nuevo León. Los elementos del análisis que dificultaron la obtención de la calificación más alta fueron: monitoreo y evaluación de las políticas; indicadores de resultados y gestión; y, el área responsable de realizar o coordinar la evaluación.	El Índice general de avance en PbR-SED de la SHCP otorga una calificación de 73.5 para el Estado de Nuevo León en el año 2021. El Índice de Monitoreo y Evaluación del CONEVAL para el Estado de Nuevo León en 2021 fue de 93.5, siendo 100 la calificación más alta.
Calidad reguladora	Indicador Subnacional de Mejora Regulatoria 2019.	El Indicador Subnacional de Mejora Regulatoria 2019 permite evaluar el avance de la política de mejora regulatoria a nivel federal, estatal y municipal. Este indicador tiene como objetivo revisar el marco normativo, la fortaleza de las instituciones responsables de la aplicación de la política de mejora regulatoria y la oferta de instrumentos y servicios al público para la presentación de trámites y mejora de regulaciones de manera óptima. Nuevo León tiene una Comisión de Mejora Regulatoria y como política está considerada dentro de las prioridades en el PED 2016-202. En 2017 se publicó la Ley para la mejora regulatoria y la simplificación administrativa del Estado de Nuevo León.	El Indicador Subnacional de Mejora Regulatoria 2019 del Estado de Nuevo León fue de 4.17. El indicador tiene una escala de 0 a 5.
Estado de Derecho	Índice de Estado de Derecho en México 2020–2021 para el Estado de Nuevo León.	El Índice de Estado de Derecho en México 2020–2021 es preparado por el equipo de investigación del World Justice Project y en él se incluyen los resultados para el Estado de Nuevo León. Se basa en las experiencias y percepciones de más de 25,000 ciudadanos y 2,600 expertos en los 32 estados del país.	El Índice de Estado de Derecho en México 2020–2021 para el Estado de Nuevo León es de 0.43. Los puntajes están entre 0 y 1, donde 1 indica la máxima adhesión al Estado de Derecho. Nuevo León ocupa la posición 7 en el ranking nacional. La media nacional de este índice en 2020-2021 fue de 0.40, siendo Yucatán el estado mejor calificado con 0.47.

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Control de la corrupción	Encuesta Nacional de Calidad e Impacto Gubernamental (ENCIG) 2021 para el Estado de Nuevo León.	Entre los rubros que considera la ENCIG 2021 se encuentra la percepción sobre la frecuencia de actos de corrupción y la tasa de habitantes que experimentaron al menos un acto de corrupción en el Estado de Nuevo León.	La ENCIG 2021 reporta un nivel de 84.4 en la percepción de corrupción en el Estado de Nuevo León; así como una tasa de 10,714 por cada 100,000 habitantes que tuvieron contacto con algún servidor público y que experimentaron al menos un acto de corrupción. Es decir, el porcentaje de habitantes que experimentaron corrupción es de 10.714%.

Fig. 4: Indicadores utilizados para medir las variables de la gobernanza.

La metodología utilizada por el Banco Mundial para realizar la medición del índice de gobernanza considera los datos de las fuentes subyacentes de cada uno de los indicadores utilizados para medir las variables. Utilizando como referencia las estimaciones realizadas por el Banco Mundial descritas por Rivas, et al. (2015), se plantea una metodología aproximativa considerando los siguientes tres pasos para ser aplicados al presente proyecto:

1. Asignación de indicadores o datos de fuentes individuales a las seis variables agregadas.
2. Cambio de escala de los indicadores para expresarse en un rango de 0 a 1. Los valores más altos significan mejores resultados.
3. El resultado del indicador de gobernanza es un promedio de los datos de cada origen.

Considerando que las seis variables de gobernanza tienen la misma ponderación dentro del indicador global de gobernanza, la estimación queda como se presenta en la siguiente ecuación.

$$G=((1/6)*VR)+((1/6)*EAPV)+((1/6)*EG)+((1/6)*CR)+((1/6)*ED)+((1/6)*CC)$$

La nomenclatura de la ecuación anterior significa lo siguiente: G = Gobernanza; VR= Voz y responsabilidad; EAPV= Estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia; EG=eficacia del gobierno; CR=calidad reguladora; ED=Estado de Derecho; CC=control de la corrupción.

VI. Operacionalización

En este apartado se desarrollan las operaciones de la metodología planteada anteriormente, para llevar a cabo la aproximación cuantitativa que atienden el planteamiento del problema y de esta forma poder estimar el índice de gobernanza del Estado de Nuevo León.

a) Comprobación cuantitativa

Considerando la metodología del Banco Mundial y el Instituto del Banco Mundial descrito por Rivas, et al. (2015) para la medición de la Gobernanza y utilizando los indicadores descritos en la sección anterior, se considera conveniente realizar un cambio de escala en los indicadores elegidos para medir cada una de las variables. En las variables donde se presentan más de un índice o encuesta, el valor numérico para la variable es el promedio resultante. La siguiente tabla resume la información:

Variable	Cambio de escala de los indicadores	Valor de la variable
Voz y responsabilidad	El valor del Índice Estatal de Libertad de Expresión 2019 para el Estado de Nuevo León cambia de escala de 4.1 a 0.410. El valor de la Encuesta Estatal de Participación Ciudadana del Estado de Nuevo León 2018 cambia de escala de 81% a 0.810.	(0.410+0.810)/2=0.61
Estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia	El valor del Índice de Paz en México 2021 para el Estado de Nuevo León cambia de escala de 2.802 2.773 a 0.556.	0.5495
Eficacia del gobierno	El Índice general de avance en PbR-SED de la SHCP para el Estado de Nuevo León en el año 2021 cambia de escala de 73.5 a 0.735. El Índice de Monitoreo y Evaluación del CONEVAL para el Estado de Nuevo León en 2021 cambia de escala de 93.5 a 0.935.	(0.735 + 0.935)/2=0.835
Calidad reguladora	El Indicador Subnacional de Mejora Regulatoria 2019 del Estado de Nuevo León cambia de escala de 4.17 a 0.834.	0.834

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Estado de derecho	El Índice de Estado de Derecho en México 2020–2021 para el Estado de Nuevo León tiene la escala requerida, por lo que se queda en el valor de 0.43.	0.430
Control de la corrupción	La ENCIG 2021 reporta un nivel de 84.4 en la percepción de corrupción en el Estado de Nuevo León, por lo que en la escala requerida obtiene un valor de 0.156. Considerando la tasa de 10,714 por cada 100,000 habitantes que tuvieron contacto con algún servidor público y que experimentaron al menos un acto de corrupción, se asigna un valor de 0.89286.	(0.156+0.89286)/2=0.52443

Fig. 5: Cambio de escala de los indicadores utilizados para medir las variables de gobernanza

Considerando el valor de cada una de las variables, a una escala de 0 a 1, donde 1 es el máximo nivel de gobernanza, la ecuación es la siguiente:

$$G=((1/6)*0.61)+((1/6)*0.5495)+((1/6)*0.835)+((1/6)*0.834)+((1/6)*0.43)+((1/6)*0.52443)$$

Por lo anterior, el resultado de la evaluación del nivel de gobernanza en el Estado de Nuevo León es de 0.63048, siendo 1 el nivel que representa el mayor grado de gobernanza y 0 su ausencia. El análisis de los valores se presenta en la siguiente sección del presente documento.

VII. Análisis de la Información

Para presentar de forma ordenada las ideas, se utilizarán las seis variables del índice de gobernanza para clasificar la información que se desea presentar, indicando los principales aciertos y las fallas detectadas en la administración del Gobierno de Nuevo León que inició en el año 2015. Si bien, esta sección puede considerar aspectos cualitativos, el resultado final es numérico y corresponde a lo obtenido en la comprobación cuantitativa. Como se ha mencionado en el presente documento, la gestión pública de la Administración 2015-2021 del Gobierno de Nuevo León estuvo influenciada por la condición de independencia partidista con la que el titular del ejecutivo implementó su gobierno, situación que puede influir en el nivel de gobernanza alcanzada durante el periodo.

a) Voz y responsabilidad

La Ley de Participación Ciudadana considera instrumentos de participación ciudadana como la consulta popular, consulta ciudadana, iniciativa popular, audiencia pública, presupuesto participativo, revocación de mandato, contralorías sociales, consejos consultivos ciudadanos y comités ciudadanos. No obstante, no hay evidencia de que todos estos instrumentos hayan sido utilizados.

En el Quinto Informe de Gobierno (2020) se menciona que "el Consejo Nuevo León recibió el Premio Copilli siendo reconocido como un mecanismo de participación ciudadana e incidencia en políticas públicas locales". Esta información fue publicada en distintos periódicos que resaltan que este premio reconoce las buenas prácticas que promueven la participación de diversos actores para diseñar, aplicar y evaluar políticas públicas en el Estado.

De acuerdo con el Índice Estatal de Libertad de Expresión 2019, algunas de las áreas de oportunidad más importantes del Estado de Nuevo León son la independencia de los medios de comunicación, fortalecer el marco legal de la libertad de expresión y el pluralismo de los medios. Nuevo León es un estado donde la prensa escrita, las redes sociales y la televisión juegan un papel muy importante como fuentes de información, pero también como medios de expresión de periodistas y de los ciudadanos en general.

b) Estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia

En el Quinto Informe de Gobierno (2020) se presentan algunos programas implementados para combatir la violencia, entre ellos destacan: la campaña informativa de la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública para sensibilizar a la población sobre la violencia familiar; el Modelo de Intervención Domiciliaria Estratégica (MIDE) consiste en el seguimiento y el control de casos de violencia familiar y de género; el Instituto Estatal de las Mujeres ofreció videoconferencias a jefas de familia sobre asesoría legal, psicológica, social y para la prevención de la violencia; en coordinación con los tres órdenes de gobierno, la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública implementó el programa de prevención social del delito y la violencia; entre otros.

No obstante los programas anteriores, la Fiscalía General de Justicia del Estado de Nuevo León ha presentado el siguiente Semáforo Delictivo al mes de octubre de 2021: en semáforo rojo está la violencia familiar, la violación, el homicidio, robo a casa, robo a vehículo, lesiones y extorsión; en verde secuestro y robo a negocio.

c) Eficacia del gobierno

El Estado de Nuevo León aun no cumple con la implementación total del Presupuesto Basado en Resultados y el Sistema de Evaluación del Desempeño, pero si ha logrado avances en los 6 años de la Administración 2015-2021, de acuerdo con información publicada en el Quinto Informe de Gobierno (2020). La administración 2015-2021 estatal señala que tiene el

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compromiso de asegurar que los programas y políticas públicas estén alineadas a los objetivos del Plan Estatal de Desarrollo.

El CONEVAL promueve que existan mecanismos de evaluación y monitoreo de políticas públicas en el Estado de Nuevo León. En el reporte de 2021 del CONEVAL se destaca que el Estado cuenta con un marco normativo, programas, padrón de beneficiarios, reglas de operación, difusión de programas y transparencia en el presupuesto que permiten políticas públicas de desarrollo social eficaces. No obstante, existen áreas de oportunidad como son el monitoreo y evaluación de las políticas; indicadores de resultados y gestión; y, el área responsable de realizar o coordinar la evaluación.

d) Calidad reguladora

El Gobierno de Nuevo León cuenta con una Comisión Estatal de Mejora Regulatoria que tiene como objetivo "impulsar la simplificación de trámites y servicios y la calidad de las regulaciones para facilitar a ciudadanos y empresarios el ejercicio de sus derechos y el cumplimiento de sus obligaciones y, con ello, contribuir a mejorar la gestión gubernamental y el ambiente de negocios" (Quinto Informe de Gobierno, 2020).

La Comisión Nacional de Mejora Regulatoria (CONAMER) otorgó al Estado de Nuevo León un certificado a través del Programa de Reconocimientos de Operación de Simplificación de Cargas Administrativas (PROSIMPLIFICA), por acreditar una tasa de simplificación que demuestra una reducción del costo económico de los trámites y servicios de conformidad con los lineamientos establecidos por la CONAMER. La política pública de mejora regulatoria es un esfuerzo que surge a nivel nacional, pero que Nuevo León la tiene considerada en su PED 2016-2021, y se ha materializado a través de la Comisión de Mejora Regulatoria y de la Ley para la mejora regulatoria y la simplificación administrativa del Estado de Nuevo León.

e) Estado de Derecho

El Índice de Estado de Derecho en México considera que hay ocho factores que influyen en la fortaleza del Estado de Derecho, los cuales son: el poder gubernamental; la ausencia de corrupción; el gobierno abierto; derechos fundamentales; orden y seguridad; cumplimiento regulatorio; justicia civil; y, justicia penal. Algunos de los factores anteriores están relacionados con otras variables del índice de gobernanza por lo que se pudiera inferir que existe una correlación entre variables.

Nuevo León es visualizado como una entidad que cuenta con un Estado de Derecho por encima de la media nacional. Sin embargo, no existe una notable diferencia entre el nivel del Estado de Derecho en 2015, año en el cual inicia la administración 2015-2021, y la percepción que se tiene en el año 2021. Cabe destacar, que hay años en los que el Estado de Derecho en Nuevo León se vio gravemente mermado, especialmente durante la crisis de seguridad de 2012. Pero hacia el final de la administración anterior la situación ya presentaba mejoría. En 2017 fueron creadas tres nuevas fiscalías: Fiscalía Especializada en Combate a la Corrupción, Fiscalía Especializada en Delitos Electorales y Fiscalía General de Justicia, esta última en sustitución de la Procuraduría General de Justicia. La creación y operación de las fiscalías robustece el Estado de Derecho de Nuevo León, sin embargo, hoy en día aún es necesaria la consolidación de la confianza del ciudadano hacia sus instituciones.

f) Control de la corrupción.

El combate a la corrupción ha sido uno de los principales compromisos del Gobierno del Estado y es uno de los reclamos más intensos que hace la sociedad. Sin embargo, en los últimos años se han suscitado algunos escándalos por presuntos hechos de corrupción que han sido documentados por distintos medios de comunicación como El Norte, Milenio y El Horizonte. El 84.4% de la población considera que existe corrupción en la entidad, de acuerdo con la ENCIG 2021. Aunque la percepción del nivel de corrupción del Estado de Nuevo León es alta, los casos de habitantes que han experimentado actos de corrupción por algún servidor público se mantienen en el orden del 10.714%.

La Contraloría del Estado ha implementado un programa que consiste en la "creación de la Unidad Anticorrupción que tiene por objetivo coordinar la administración pública a través de la prevención, la detección y la sanción de faltas administrativas y presuntos hechos de corrupción" (Quinto Informe de Gobierno, 2020). La Administración 2015-2021 del Estado capacitó a servidores públicos en temas como el Sistema Nacional Anticorrupción, la Ley General del Sistema Nacional Anticorrupción y la Ley General de Responsabilidades Administrativas y Delitos Penales.

VIII. Conclusiones

El análisis de las variables del índice de la gobernanza ha permitido realizar un estudio de las políticas públicas y la gestión pública de la administración del Gobierno del Estado 2015-2021. El análisis cuantitativo permite obtener una calificación numérica del nivel de gobernanza utilizando los resultados de índices e indicadores de gran prestigio y objetividad. El rango de calificación es de 0 a 1, siendo 1 la mejor calificación que se puede obtener.

Respecto a la voz y responsabilidad, el Gobierno de Nuevo León ha hecho grandes esfuerzos por fortalecer la participación ciudadana en un estado donde sus habitantes muestran gran interés por participar en los temas gubernamentales. Sin embargo, aún falta el ejercicio práctico de los mecanismos de

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participación ciudadana que ya están previstos en la legislación. Por su parte, existe una gran participación de los medios de comunicación, pero su independencia del gobierno aún es motivo de duda entre la población. Esto resume el valor de 0.61 de esta variable.

La estabilidad política y ausencia de violencia es una variable que cobra mucha importancia en una entidad que ha sufrido de episodios altos de violencia en el pasado. No obstante que se han reducido los niveles de violencia a los que se llegó en 2012, el Gobierno del Estado ha sido cuestionado por el repunte en la violencia de los últimos años, llegando a tener semáforos en rojo en algunos de sus indicadores. Además, en temas como la violencia de género se han mostrado un deterioro importante. El valor de esta variable se resume en 0.5495.

La eficacia del gobierno puede ser medida a través de la implementación del PbR-SED y de las calificaciones que le otorgan organismos como el CONEVAL. Las fortalezas del Estado de Nuevo León, que a nivel nacional ha mantenido la imagen como uno de los estados más eficientes, son el marco legal, las reglas de operación y la difusión de la información, sin embargo, aún queda trabajo pendiente en el monitoreo y evaluación de los programas y los indicadores de resultados y de gestión. Por tal motivo, el valor de esta variable es de 0.835.

La calidad reguladora del Estado de Nuevo León está estrechamente ligada el éxito de la política pública de Mejora Regulatoria, que si bien es una política que nace a nivel federal, es el Gobierno del Estado el encargado de su aplicación a nivel local. Para una Entidad Federativa que quiere ser competitiva y fomentar el crecimiento económico y la inversión privada, es fundamental fortalecer esta variable. El valor de la calidad regulatoria del Estado es de 0.834.

La fortaleza del Estado de Derecho es indispensable para el éxito en temas como son la seguridad, la inversión, el desarrollo social y la competitividad. El respeto absoluto al marco legal y su aplicación es fundamental. Los factores que influyen en la fortaleza del Estado de Derecho son: el poder gubernamental, la ausencia de corrupción, gobierno abierto, derechos fundamentales, orden y seguridad, cumplimiento regulatorio, justicia civil, y justicia penal. El valor otorgado al Estado de Derecho de Nuevo León es de 0.430.

El control de la corrupción es una de las principales demandas de la sociedad nuevoleonesa. En los últimos años, las notas de los principales medios de comunicación del Estado han mostrado que existen algunos casos de presunta corrupción que incluso han derivado en la separación del cargo de algunos funcionarios públicos. Por lo anterior, el valor de esta variable es de 0.5244.

Por las razones antes expuestas, realizando un estudio aproximativo de algunas de las políticas públicas y la gestión pública de la administración del Gobierno del Estado 2015-2021, el nivel de gobernanza de Nuevo León es de 0.6304. Este nivel de resultado deja ver algunas deficiencias en el gobierno 2015-2021. Las situaciones que más obstaculizan que el gobierno estatal pueda gozar de gobernanza son la ausencia del Estado de Derecho, la corrupción y el crecimiento de la violencia. Aunado a lo anterior, aún queda mucho por hacer en el tema de participación de ciudadana y la independencia de los medios de comunicación. Los temas mejor evaluados son la calidad regulatoria y en cierta medida la eficiencia del gobierno en algunas políticas, sin embargo, no se puede considerar que ya todo está hecho en estos tópicos.

Con los resultados del presente trabajo que consiste en la evaluación realizada a las políticas públicas del gobierno estatal, la gestión pública y especialmente a la evaluación del estado de su gobernanza, se detectan áreas de oportunidad que pueden derivar en ajustes que permitan que el gasto público sea más eficiente y que exista un beneficio directo para el ciudadano. Es importante dar seguimiento y evaluación de políticas públicas: lo que no es medido, difícilmente puede ser mejorado.

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African Leadership and Tenure Elongation: Implications for Democracy and Development in Africa

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Abstract- This work examines the sit-tight syndrome of African leaders who have no respect for the national constitution, preferring to remain in power indefinitely despite tenure limitations by the constitution. The study adopted leadership theory as its theoretical framework and findings show that probe for wrongdoings, the misconception of democracy for the monarchy, strong authoritarian instinct, lack of accountability and transparency, cheap access to state resources and intolerance of opposition are some of the causes of tenure elongation in Africa which has spelt negative implications for democracy and development. The work recommends the building of a strong institution, independent of the judiciary, respect for the rule of law and, constitution establishment of constitutional courts in AU to regulate tenure common language and common market establishment.

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African Leadership and Tenure Elongation: Implications for Democracy and Development in Africa

Prof. Abomaye-Nimenibo, Williams Aminadokiari Samuel [α] & Michael Jack Eyo, Mni [σ]

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I. Introduction

Africa had primarily been home to centralized organizations whose system of leadership was hereditary. Although there were pockets of republicanism, for instance in the Igbo and Ibibio societies, democracy introduced by the Western power, though on a limited scale, was indeed very strange to the people. Despite reluctantly imbibing the western democratic form of organization immediately before and after independence, monarchial instincts had been deeply entrenched in the typical African leader who believed once he was appointed, elected king or elected to political office, particularly at the apex of the polity, it behooved him to rule or hold such office for life, whether elections were conducted at interval or not. In effect, the general impression or mentality of the people was disposed towards perpetual rulership which would terminate only at the death of the incumbent. This is still being widely held today and informs leadership succession plans in Africa. This informs why many African leaders are gravitating towards absolute monarchical tendencies and the continent dominated by sitting tight leaders, demonstrating or parading some levels of democratic insignia.

As succinctly captured by Gauba (2007) some leaders assume office on a sober note but, in due course, assume that they are indispensable. They deploy their manipulative skills, including oratory power, persuasion and playing on the sentiments of the people to perpetuate themselves in power. In other words, they become so pronounced by their expertise and experience that it becomes very difficult to replace them at periodic elections. In exercising their powers, they set aside the original aims of the state by amending the constitutions.

Most African countries have misconstrued democracy for monarchy and this has given rise to leadership deficit in the continent. The recent history of Africa is replete with leaders who are obsessed with power, constantly engaging in the manipulation of democratic institutions (legislature, executive & judiciary) to suppress opposition and hang onto power. This has stunted socio-economic development in Africa and made our leaders laughing stock in the comity of nations.

The leadership of countries vary in terms of size, population, language and level of economic development. Britain and France were the dominant colonizers of Africa, followed by Spain and Portugal. Until 1951 the American Constitution did not restrict the eligibility of a president to seek re-election indefinitely. Theodore Roosevelt sought (but failed) to be elected in 1912 for a third term some years after his first two consecutive terms. The tradition was finally breached when Franklin Roosevelt was re-elected for a third consecutive term in 1940 and a fourth in 1944. But this was in a period of a grave emergency, that of the second world war. It is such emergencies that present the strongest argument in favour of indefinite eligibility, and when they occur the prestige and authority of the president's personality might be invaluable in saving the life of the nation. Roosevelt himself professed a desire to adhere to the tradition, and to relinquish office in 1941to a successor, if only they could do so with an assurance that they would keep the nation intact, a nation at peace, nation prosperous, and clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its citizens, nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of the national government can and will succeed, the nation that is in a position to use those powers to the full to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity.

The Americans, after the Roosevelt experience, had to amend their Constitution in 1951 to give the force of law to the tradition limiting the presidential office to two full elective terms or one full elective term plus more

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than half of another term inherited from a previous president for the president's tenure may be terminated sooner by death, resignation or removal from office following the provisions of the constitution.

Given this sit-tight leadership syndrome, what is the causative or driving factor that promotes this leadership style in Africa, and what are the effects of this on democracy, how can African leadership truly imbibe the tenets of democracy, what does this pretend to the people wellbeing of the.

This work adopts Burns leadership topologies of transactional and transformational leadership. Leadership has been defined as the ability to influence people towards the accomplishment of goals, associated with the determination of the goal, the vision for the future and the process of change to reach the goals and the future, helping people to do things they would not normally do. Leadership entails one's ability to unite people in pursuits of common objective/goals through persuasion, influence and cooperation, rather than intimidation, power, dominance, social superiority, imposition or snobbery (Okafor, 2006). It has also been looked at as that which does not involve power, dominance, social superiority or anything suggestive of snobbery. Leadership is influence on people, not power over them (Dimock) for as noted by Denis the single defining quality of a leader is the ability to create and realize the vision. A leader is therefore a person who can be looked up to, whose personal judgment is trusted, who inspire and warm the hearts of those he leads, gaining their trust and confidence and explaining what is needed in the language they understand (Laximiknth, 2006).

The concept of transformational leadership according to J. M. Burns, assumes that a leader is a person who stimulates and inspires the followers to achieve an outcome that is beneficial to the generality of the people. He recognizes the needs of the followers and is ever ready to commit available resources to achieve or provide such needs, transforming the followers, developing human capital and making elaborate provisions for leadership recruitment through unmanipulated elections based on democratic principles. Transformational leadership enhances the motivation, morale, and performance of followers through a variety of mechanisms. According to Warrilow transformational leadership can be identified with such qualities as: -

(i) *Charisma or Idealised Influences:* Under this style, the leader conducts himself in ways that endear him to his subject, is generally very firm, be a role model to others and believes in a clear set of values and actions. He is always attracted and loved by his followers.

(ii) *Inspirational Motivation:* The leader here motivates and inspire his followers, shows enduring direction and articulation in vision.

(iii) *Intellectual Stimulation:* A leader supports creativity and provides avenues for interactions with the people. Listens to views and acts objectively, being ready to entertain views, interact and resolve challenges.

(iv) *Personal and Individual Attention:* Response positively to the needs of the followers and ready to mentor his followers.

Transformational Leadership is proactive, works to change the organizational culture by implementing new ideas, employees achieve objectives through higher ideals and moral values, motivate followers by encouraging them to put group interest first, above individualised consideration: Each behaviour is directed to each individual to express consideration and support, intellectual stimulation: Promote creative and innovative ideas to solve problems.

The transformational leadership style has been criticized for making the whole population dependent on an individual for direction at all times. Generally, however, transformational leaders perform more optimally, are sensitive to the group's needs, interests and aspirations.

On the other hand, transactional leadership is an exchange leadership typology in which the leader seeks for benefit from the followers and once he gets that, he is done e.g votes in exchange for the provision of benefits such as jobs, money loyalty and support in exchange for the provision of amenities. No transactional leader is interested in service but in what he stands to gain in politics. He is usually erratic, rewards loyalty and punishes those who are against him.

Transactional leadership, also known as managerial leadership, focuses on the role of supervision, and performance, it's a style in which the leader promotes compliance of his followers through both rewards and punishments. Unlike transformational leadership, leaders using the transactional approach are not looking to change the future, they are looking to merely keep things the same way they get it, that is believe in maintaining the status quo. This type of leadership is effective in crises and emergencies, as well as when projects need to be carried out in a specific fashion.

Transactional leaders are concerned with processes rather than forward-thinking ideas. They accept goals, structure, and the culture of the existing organization, and tend to be directive and action-oriented, willing to work within existing systems and negotiate to attain goals of the organization, and tend to think inside the box when solving problems. This leadership style is primarily passive.

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These transactional leaderships are reminiscent of African leaders who assume the position and are initially friendly to the people, but suddenly because of the paraphernalia of the office plot against his people whenever they may draw his attention to rules governing leadership non-performance. Consequently, authoritarian instincts in most African leadership is unreservedly strong and since 1990 about 24 African leaders had initiated moves to stay in office beyond constitutionally defined terms. With this sit-tight impostor and messianic self-serving leaders intact, democracy in Africa faces a serious threat.

Besides Burns transformational and transactional leadership typologies, there are three other schools of thought viz Trait Theory, Behavioural Theory and Situation Theory. The Trait school believes leaders possess special qualities which make them successful, that these qualities are inborn. Such qualities, according to Chiselli (1971), include supervisory ability, desire for occupational achievements and decisiveness. Stogdil (1974) went on to include capacity for self-management, strong inner achievement drive, high sense of responsibility and ability for group work and personal charm.

Behavioural theory, on the other hand, was proposed by Kurt Lewin, E A Fleishman, Rensis Likert, Robert Blake, who emphasize leadership styles, whether such styles are democratic, authoritarian or laissez-faire. They believe that leadership consists of what leaders do or say and the way they behave that besides traits, leadership may be acquired through qualifications and experience.

Lastly, the situational theory believes leadership is situational, that one could be a good leader in environment A but may not be good in environment B. they opined that leadership is multi-dimensional, differing from one community or situation to another. The proponents of this theory include F. E. Fiedier, Victor Vroom and Philip Yetton, Paul Hersey and Kenneth Blanchard. While we subscribe to those leadership attributes, leadership should be visionary, responsive and guided by the rules

The study adopted the descriptive/historical analysis and the materials for the work were generated from secondary sources such as books, magazines, newspapers which contents were critically scrutinized to discern some missing gaps and fill same. The study will be of immense benefit and serve as a guide to policymakers, national leaders and politicians in Africa as well as to scholars in academic and research institutions.

The study is premised on the presumption that despite the prescriptions of the constitution and electoral and extant law, power transition in Africa is still predicated upon or greatly influenced by hereditary.

II. Tenure Elongation in Africa

African history is replete with leaders who are or were obsessed with power constantly engaging in manipulating democratic institutions, (legislative, Executive and Judiciary), to suppress opposition and hang onto power in perpetuity. The continent parade the highest number of presidential monarchies. Of the 10 longest-ruling non-monarchs in the World as of 2020, 6 are from Africa, and the topmost spot on that roll is held by Cameroonian President Paul Biya who has been in office for 44 years and is not prepared to leave office. Others are Teodoro Obiang Ngwema of Equatorial Guinea 40 years, Dennis Sassan Nguesso of Congo 35 years, Yoweri Museveni of Ilganga 34 years, Idris Derby of Chad 29 years, Isaias Afweki of Eritrea 26 years. Beyond the top 10, there are Paul Kagame of Rwanda 25 years, Hage Geinob of Namibia 19 years, Faure Gnassingbe of Togo 14 years, Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi 14 years, Ibrahim Bouba Car keita of Mali 12 years. In 2001 president Lansana Conte of Guinea organized a referendum that scrapped the term limit. In 2005 President Idris Derby of Chad held a referendum to delete Article 61 (2) of the constitution which restricted the president to two terms Mamadou Tandja of Niger abolished term limits through a referendum even though Article 49 of the Nation's constitution expressly forbade it. In Burkina Faso, President Blaise compare who had already served two terms argued in 2005 that the term limit restriction in Article 37 of the Constitution could not apply retroactively to limit him. He won tenure elongation for another 2 terms and in 2014, tried to abolish the term limit but this led to riot and street protest/upheaval which forced him out of the office to exile. Meanwhile, some military adventured led by Gen. Gilbert Diendere tried to cash in on the situation by toppling the country's interim government but the coup was resisted by the people and ECOWAS, African Union.

In Senegal, Abdoulaye Wade in 2012 argued that the term limit in his country's constitution could not apply retroactively to his first term in office.

Nguesso, 71 has ruled Congo for 25 years, called a national referendum to discuss the extension and scraping two-term limit, announced a referendum to change the constitution to allow him to run for 3rd term.

The uprising that hit the Arab world and North Africa led to the deposition of sit-tight president Sine Abidine Ben Ali of Tunisia (20 years on the thrones, Hosni Mubarak spent about 31 years on the saddle before being forced out.

In Togo Gnassingbe Eyedema who ruled for 38 years run Togo as a personal estate. Edwardo do Santos of Angola ruled for 38 years (1979) and has changed Constitution to rule till 2022 and Alassane Ouattara of Ivory Coast 12 years. In 2010, at least 3,000 persons were killed in Cote d' Voire before Ouattara was

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able to assume office because Laurent Gbagbo, then the incumbent, refused to vacate office after an electoral defeat. Now after two full terms as prescribed by the constitution.

President Alassane Quttara has manipulated the country constitution and its institutions, for the third term of office, amid public protests for himself. At least six people have been killed. He is using the death of his chosen successor, Prime Minister Amadou Gon Coulibaly, in July, as a crutch and citing provisions of a 2016 Constitution. Such a decision is against democracy and invitation to another round of violence, and political uncertainties which undermine peace and development.

Table 1: Tenure Elongation in Africa 2020

S/N	Country	President/ Head of State	Date Birth	Assumption of Office	Year of Exit	No. of Yrs. Spent	Means of Exit
1	Equatorial Guinea	Teodore Obiang Nguema Mbasogo	5/6/42	1979	In power	41	
2	Cameroon	Paul Biya	13/2/33	1982	In power	39	
3	Zimbabwe	Robert Mugabe	21/2/24	1980	forced out in 2018	39	
4	Uganda	Yoweri Museveni	16/9/44	1986	In power	34	
5	Sudan	Omar Al-Bashir	1/1/44	1989	Forced out in 2019	31	
6	Chad	Idris Deby	18/6/52	1990	In power	30	
7	Burundi	Pierre Nkuruziza	18/12/64	1994	June 2020 by death	26	
8	Eritrea	Isaias Afewerki	2/2/46	1993	In power	27	
9	Rep of Congo	Denis Sassou Agueso	27/11/43	1997	In power	24	
10	Rwanda	Paul Kagami	23/10/57	2000	In power	20	
11	DRC	Joseph Kabila	4/6/71	2001	In power	19	
12	Togo	Faure Gnassingbe	6/6/06	2005	Still in power	15	
13	Burkina Faso	Blaise Campalore	31/5/45	1957	Forced out in 2014	28	
14	The Gambia	Yahaya Jammeh	25/5/65	1994	Forced out 2017	23	
15	Jose Edeando dos Sambo	M. Angola	28/8/42	1979	Forced out of office 2017	38	

Below are selected African countries with perpetual eligibility to office:

a) Equatorial Guinea

Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo became president of Equatorial Guinea in 1979 after unseating his uncle in a military coup. He has ruled Equatorial Guinea for more than 41 years, the longest-serving president in the world. He held a referendum in November 2011 that gave him 2 more terms of 7 years each, this will take him 2025. He would be succeeded by his son and has imposed no term limit.

b) Cameroon

President Paul Biya became president of Cameroon in November 1982 when former president Ahmadu Alijo left office. Before then he was the Prime Minister who served as such from 1975 to 1982. Biya won the presidential election in 1992 with 40% of total votes and was re-elected President in 1997 with (92.6%) votes, 2001 (70.92%), 2011 (77.9%) 6th term and (71.3%) 2018. He has ruled Cameroon for almost 40 years connecting the country to France for all its needs. Biya was barred from running for the presidency in 2011 under the 1996 Constitution. He manipulated the legislature and abolished the term limit in the constitution through a referendum that he pooled 157 against 15 votes by his opposition in the Anglophone regions. Election in Cameroon is often marred by manifest irregularities. Every few years, Biya held an election to justify his continued stay in office. He has been described as a creative innovator in the world of the phoney election. Cameroon is still under the clinching fist of Biya who is about 87 years, killing and maiming opposition politicians of the English speaking people of Cameroon, thousand of whom are seeking refuge in South-South Nigeria.

c) Zimbabwe

President Robert Mugabe became President of Zimbabwe in 1980 after guerrilla warfare he led which weakened the authority of the whole supremacists in Rhodesia finally forcing the colonialists to grant independence to the country now known as Zimbabwe. He assumed the leadership of the country at independence through the democratic process and

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under a constitutional government. However, after repeated elections in the country, he developed autocratic tendencies and initiated a self-succession plan that entranced him in power. He criminalized dissent, and views that did not align with his parochial views as the fundamental principle of state policy and turned the conduct of sham election into an art initiated violent land distribution which precipitated harsh international sanction, trickle-down pyramidal corruption and shrinking of government to a personality cult.

In November 2017 Mugabe sacked his Vice President, Emmerson Mnangagwa, who was very likely to succeed him. The development angered the Zimbabwe people and heightened the fear of Mugabe's wife, Grace Mugabe, succeeding him. This attracted the military which stepped in and forced him to resign. Mugabe had planned for running for the 8th term in office in 2018 when he was forced out of office at the age of 94 years after ruling the country for 37 years.

d) The Gambia

Yahaya Jammeh became President of Gambia in 1996 after ruling the country as a military head of state from 1994 Jammeh lost presidential re-election for the 5th term to an opposition candidate Adama Barrow who polled 363, 515 votes as against 212,099 by Jammeh. He initially conceded defeat but later changed his mind and refused to leave office citing serious and unacceptable abnormalities in the electoral process. But the electoral stood by the result if announced. ECOWAS, AU and the UN insisted that Jammeh must quit.

Nigeria and ECOWAS mobilized troops into the Gambia and Jammeh fled the country after ruling for 22yrs. The president-elect, Barrow, who fled to Senegal for safety was then sworn in at the Gambia Embassy in Dakar, Senegal before returning triumphantly to the Gambia as president

e) Uganda

President Museveni ruled Uganda for more than 30 years before being re-elected in 2016 after scrapping the term limit in 2005. This pitched him against his former Minister Amama Mbabazi who criticized him for the country's inability to check endemic corruption. Stifling opposition, using state apparatus to suppress popular will and grooming his son, kainerugaba Muhoozi to succeed him anytime his elongated tenure would expire are some of the grounds.

f) Burundi

Pierre Nukunzize ruled Burundi from 2005 until his death in June 2020 making him the longest-serving president in the country.

In 2015, he went in for another re-election against the constitution which led to a large-scale protest and won in July 2015. He was crowned supreme Guide of the country in 2018 but he died in June 2020. In 2020 Nkuruziza was reelected president polling more than 90% of the votes.

g) Rwanda

The incumbent President, Paul Kagame, became Vice President of Rwanda in 1994 after leading a rebel force that ended the genocidal war which claimed about 800,000 lives in the country. He became President in 2000 hoping to lead the country for 40 years. He initiated a referendum on a constitutional amendment in December 2015 which allowed him to stand for re-election for another seven (7) years single term. This will take him to 2024 with additional two terms of five (5) years each, making that will extend his tenure to 2034. President Kagame polled 98% of the vote in the 2015 referendum in the country.

III. Causes of Tenure Elongation

1. Fear of probe for wrongdoings
2. The misconception of democracy for the monarchy was the prevalent mode of leadership recruitment in the pre-colonial and even the first few years of the post-colonial era when kings wielded absolute powers over their subjects.
3. Strong authoritarian self-serving leaders with messianic instincts for self-succession,
4. Fear of margination and suppression
5. Weak political institutions but strong personalities
6. Resentment against opposition
7. Lack of accountability and transparency and fear of prosecution
8. Ethnic cleansing
9. Emergency. civil war/strife, disease or conflict or national calamities or emergencies.

The methods adopted by most African sitting presidents to prolong their stay in power vary from one country to the other. However, the commonest ways of tenure elongation include but are not limited to; Tinkering with the constitution, use of the crude method of intimidating opposition, free use of state funds and security apparatus, manipulation of the legislature and the judiciary, frequent use of referendum, inciting ethnic tension and conflict to divert attention and disrespect for rule of law and court orders.

a) Tenure Elongation and the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria

That the president can contemplate perpetual eligibility is dependent on the legislature. This is because the constitution, in most cases, does provide that no action of the president is exercisable without the approval of the legislature which may be either a condition precedent or condition subsequent. A condition president is a such action in the appointment and a condition subsequent if it involves an emergency. Certain actions of the president require the

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acquiescence of both chambers of the legislature where it is bicameral.

In Nigeria, President Obasanjo plotted for tenure elongation towards the expiration of the second term in office in 2007 but failed. This is because, in Nigeria, the constitution limits the presidential terms of office to four years although this may be extended from time to time for a period not exceeding six months at a time by a resolution of the National Assembly if the federation is at war involving its territory and the President considers that it is not practicable to hold elections. The four years is calculated from the date of swearing-in, but an incumbent president does not vacate office until his successor is sworn in. The Senate and the House of Representatives shall each stand dissolved at the expiration of a period of four years commencing from the date of the first sitting of the House. If the Federation is at war in which the territory of Nigeria is physically involved and the president considers that it is not practicable to hold elections, the National Assembly may by resolution extend the period of four years mentioned in subsection (1) of this section from time to time but not beyond a period of six months at any one time. Subject to these provisions of this Constitutions, the person elected as the president shall have the power to proclaim the holding of the first session of the National Assembly immediately after his being sworn in, or for its dissolutions, as provided in this section.

Furthermore, in Nigeria, section 64(1)(2)(3), a person shall hold the office of President until when his successor in the office takes the oath of that office, he dies whilst holding such office; or the date when his resignation from the office takes effect; or he otherwise ceases to hold office following the provisions of this constitution. Section 135 (1) 1-d)

(1) and the president shall vacate his office at the expiration of a period of four years commencing from the date, when –

(a) in the case of a person first elected as President under this Constitution, he took the Oath of Allegiance and the oath of office; and

(b) in any other case, the person last elected to that office under this Constitution took the Oath of Allegiance and oath of office or would, but for his death, have taken such oaths.

(2) If the Federation is at war in which the territory of Nigeria is physically involved and the President considers that is not practicable to hold elections, the National Assembly may by resolution extend the period of four years mentioned in subsection (2) of this section from time to time; but no such extension shall exceed a period of six months at any one time.

Once a person has been elected to the office of the president at any two consecutive elections, he is forever barred from holding the office again. This limitation constitutes perhaps one of the most remarkable characteristics of the presidency under the 1999 Constitution. It is a recognition of the dangerous tendency of indefinite eligibility to personalize government, to elevate the president into a cult and an institution, and the office into an inheritance. A holder of the office of president for more than two terms as president by the Constitution is bound to become an institution himself, attracting loyalties of a personal nature. His authority will tend to be all-pervading. A cult of personality is built up around him, generating belief in his infallibility and indispensability (Nwabueze 1984).

IV. Implications of Tenure Elongation for Democracy & Development

This propensity to personalize rule and to perpetuate it indefinitely is a disastrous factor in the politics of African countries. It has undermined the quality of democracy on the continent, and exposed government to disaffection and acts of subversion, often culminating in its forcible overthrow by the military, with all the attendant instability, and the disruption in the country's normal democratic evolution. It also deprives the country of the benefit of change in leadership, for change may prevent or check sterility and complacency by enabling a fresh vitality and a fresh approach to be brought to bear upon the problems of government (Nwanbueze 1984).

Consequently, tenure elongation is; threat to democracy, leadership and leads to ineptitude, weak institutions, apathy by the citizens, poor governance, corruption, poverty and disease (endemic), dwindling economic fortunes, instability and absence of national cohesion.

African leaders have often criticized the limiting of the president to two terms of four years each on the following grounds;

(i) that such would stifle zeal and make the president indifferent to his duty;

(ii) that a president, knowing he would be barred from the office forever after, might be tempted to exploit for personal advantage the opportunities of the office while they lasted;

(iii) that an ambitious president might be tempted to try to prolong his term by perverse means;

(iv) that it would deprive the country of the advantage of the president's previous experience in the office,

that it would lead to a lack of continuity in policy, and consequently to instability in administration. But indefinite eligibility is beset or wrought with several oddities already discussed above.

It has been accepted that tenure elongation could bring violence in societies that rely on coercion to maintain order instead of providing adequate patterns or value satisfying action – (Gur T 1970).

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Respect for the rule of law ensures stability in any nation because without the security they can be no development, for as noted by McNamara (1968) development means economic, social and political progress. It means the reasonable standard of living and reasonable in this context requires continual redemption; which is reasonable in an earlier stage of development will become unreasonable at a later stage. Most African leaders came to power to execute the constitution of the country and to be limited to a specific period but would want to remain perpetually in power without effecting meaningful development to enhance the living standard of the people. In today's world, development has taken a new dimension, according to Rodney for development involves increased skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and natural wellbeing increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relations (Rodney 1986). For Africa to witness growth and development, the leaders should always apply self-restraint and place the interest of their people at heart.

Development does not consist of perpetual eligibility but with better health care delivery, long-life span, expectancy, better nutrition, abundant supply of food and energy, good shelter, more and better schools, improve political participation by the people in the political process, poverty reduction, employment generation. If all these have declined from high levels then beyond doubt there is no development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central issues have been growing worse especially if all these are involved it will be strange to call the resulting development even if per capita income is double (Seers, 1963). This informs why most African countries under perpetual leaders suffer from civil war, political instability and incessant violence in the system.

The World Bank has noted that this negative development retard development which gives rise to virtuous and vicious circles. Where development succeeds, countries become progressively safer from violent conflict, making subsequent development easier. Where development fails, countries are at high risk of being caught in a conflict trap in which war wrecks the economy and increases the risk of further war. (World Bank, 2003)

Generally, tenure elongation in Africa has engendered bitterness, corruption, ethnic tension and rivalry, marginalization, acrimony, oppression, religious intolerance, open confrontation, poverty, disease, civil strife and war, and plunder of the commonwealth by a few elite. These are common features today in the African political landscape. There is usually a frequent forceful change of government through a coup, poverty is on the increase and the gap between the rich and the poor becomes wider on daily basis, leaders are ethnically based, drawing support mainly from their ethnic groups, larger ethnic groups dominate and oppress the minority ethnic groups, loyalty is not to the nation, but powerful individuals and their ethnic groups. The governing elite believes in divide and rule tactics and lives ostentatiously spending and embezzling public funds at will. African countries lack both internal and external unity. The francophone nations prefer France to fellow Anglophone African countries. All these give way to bad governance, unemployment insurgency, violence, kidnapping, armed robbery, drug & human trafficking and proliferation of small arms and light weapons circulating in all parts of Africa today and retard economic development. Thus democracy which strives on tolerance of opposing views, justice, freedom of association and participation in the political process is seriously bastardized in Africa. Instead of free, fair and credible elections, Africa is noted for all manners of election malfeasance, ranging from rigging, impersonation of candidates, impunity, the ballot box and paper snatching, falsification of results and announcement of discredited and corrupt politicians as leaders.

It is doubtful if the perpetuity of many of these leaders in power has resulted in meaningful developmental strides for their countries. Worse is that some have had to brutally muscle through the rewriting of their respective country's constitutions to accommodate their regular hold on power. Sit-tight leaders have turned Africa into a wasteland and brought mockery to the continent. The world ridicules Africa and its leaders in their obsession with staying in power for life.

It was due to this ugly trend in democracy in Africa that President Muhammadu Buhari (2020) advised the leaders of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to spare their countries political upheavals by keeping to constitutionally prescribed tenure, that African leaders should not only respect constitutional limits of tenure but also respect the law and ensure free and fair elections in their countries.

President Buhari pointed out that the attempts to elongate tenure tend to generate crises and political tension in the region, that the challenges facing the sub-region are enormous and these range from socio-economic matters to security issues, which are in themselves difficult enough. When, therefore, another political turmoil is added in the form of tenure elongation, he went on, the result is always a brew of violence and economic disruption which often turns to economic and political disaster.

V. Conclusion/ Recommendations

This work examines the sit-tight syndrome of African leaders who have no respect for the national constitution, preferring to remain in power indefinitely despite tenure limitations by the constitution. The study adopted leadership theory as its theoretical framework

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and findings show that probe for wrongdoings, the misconception of democracy for the monarchy, strong authoritarian instinct, lack of accountability and transparency, cheap access to state resources and intolerance of opposition are some of the causes of tenure elongation in Africa which has spelt negative implications for democracy and development. The work recommends the building of a strong institution, independent of the judiciary, respect for the rule of law and, constitution establishment of constitutional courts in AU to regulate tenure common language and common market establishment.

At independence in the early 1960s, leadership recruitment in emergent independent states of Africa was through, except a few states such as Nigeria, a one-party authoritarian model. The new states believe that it was through a single party system that the country would be able to mobilize and integrate the various internal ethnic diversities into the national ethos. Due to inherent weakness coupled with systemic corruption and nepotism, and the inability to inculcate a sense of national unity and bring about development, most civil one-party democracies in Africa were swept away by the military who made an incursion into politics in Africa. The military leadership recruitment was through coup'd etat that enthroned power-seekers or autocratic life president or head of state who did not only rule with impunity but also plundered the wealth of these nations and further under-developed their countries and people.

Today, however, a military coup is no longer fashionable and most African countries are democratizing their political institutions, providing a limit to power and tenure, even though, most leaders are not bothered by these constitutional restraints as they use the resource of the state to bribe their ascension and continued to stay in power and manipulate the legislature to have their way.

This has given rise to instability, corruption, poverty and disease, gross disrespect for the constitution and rule of law, human rights abuse, impoverishing the people and further under-developing African countries.

This work, therefore, recommends the following as a panacea for indefinite eligibility to political office at the apex of the nation in Africa.

1. African countries are noted for strong leaders but very weak political institutions. There is the need then to build strong institutions that would drive the democratic process.
2. The justice system should be overhauled and the judiciary should enjoy substantial independence to enable the dispensation of justice without fear or favour
3. African leaders should do more like the cries or partnership and peer review to evolve a common practice code for leaders.
4. There should be aggressive determination and commitment on the part of African leaders to be amended to the rule of law and respect for court decisions.
5. African countries should establish constitutional courts to adjudicate on matters bordering on exercising power beyond prescribed limits, deal with all forms of constitutional infringement and litigations concerning elections.
6. African leaders should be made to always keep in mind that African problems can only be settled by Africans. Some African countries should particularly the French-speaking should realize that their destiny is not in France but Africa and take concrete steps from being continually used by Paris to destabilize Africa economically and politically.
7. Africa should consider, besides the common market that is in the offing, the adoption of a language for Africa to assist in the integration process.

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Between National Security and New Roles: The Latin American Armed Forces as a Political Actor

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Abstract- Many countries in Latin America have opted to assign military personnel to internal tasks. Although this "militarized" response is deeply rooted in the region's political, military and social history, the military increased their projection to the interior of their national territories under the common influence of the United States' strategic concept of National Security since 1947. Defining National Security involves numerous risks since the concept has a great semantic plasticity and makes it difficult to understand the region's constitutional and institutional framework in which police and military forces interact in the so-called Internal Security, which also lead to rethinking civil-military relations in Latin America.

Keywords: national security, internal security, armed forces, civil-military relations, latin américa.

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Between National Security and New Roles: The Latin American Armed Forces as a Political Actor

Entre Seguridad Nacional y Nuevos Roles: Las Fuerzas Armadas Como Actor Político en América Latina

Dr. Gustavo Eduardo Ordóñez Martínez

Abstract- Many countries in Latin America have opted to assign military personnel to internal tasks. Although this "militarized" response is deeply rooted in the region's political, military and social history, the military increased their projection to the interior of their national territories under the common influence of the United States' strategic concept of National Security since 1947. Defining National Security involves numerous risks since the concept has a great semantic plasticity and makes it difficult to understand the region's constitutional and institutional framework in which police and military forces interact in the so-called Internal Security, which also lead to rethinking civil-military relations in Latin America.

Keywords: national security, internal security, armed forces, civil-military relations, latin américa.

Resumen- Numerosos países en América Latina han optado por asignar personal militar para tareas de orden interno. Si bien esta "militarización" se encuentra arraigada en la historia política, militar y social de la región, los militares han aumentado su proyección hacia el interior de sus territorios nacionales bajo la influencia de Estados Unidos y de su concepto estratégico de Seguridad Nacional desde 1947. Definir la Seguridad Nacional comprende numerosos riesgos ya que el concepto tiene una plasticidad semántica enorme y hace difícil entender el sistema constitucional e institucional en el cual policías y militares interactúan en la llamada Seguridad Interior, lo que también conlleva a repensar las relaciones civilo-militares en América Latina.

Palabras clave: seguridad nacional, seguridad interior, fuerzas armadas, relaciones civilo-militares, latino américa.

Abstract- Después de tres décadas de democratización en la mayoría de los países de América Latina y el Caribe, las fuerzas armadas de la región han experimentado cambios profundos en su estructura, composición y doctrina, mismos que, hasta la fecha de hoy, no pueden darse por concluidos. La región se caracteriza por la ausencia de conflictos armados interestatales por lo cual hay una tendencia general a recurrir a la fuerza armada para enfrentar amenazas internas como el crimen organizado y el narcotráfico o para misiones humanitarias y de asistencia a la población en caso de catástrofe natural.

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Un claro ejemplo es México, en donde el ejército, la marina y la Guardia Nacional realizan operaciones contra el crimen organizado en el marco de la seguridad pública desde 2006, además de sus misiones constitucionales en materia de seguridad interior que incluyen misiones de asistencia a la población civil en caso de catástrofe natural y protección de infraestructura crítica. Con la llega del nuevo gobierno de izquierda de Andrés Manuel López Obrador en diciembre de 2018, el ejército y la marina han sido movilizados en el marco de nuevas misiones como la construcción de infraestructura estratégica y la administración de aeropuertos, aduanas y puertos marítimos, convirtiéndose *de facto* en actores políticos y agentes de regulación de las relaciones sociales y económicas.

Este artículo tiene por objetivo explicar el rol histórico de los militares en la consolidación del aparato estatal en América Latina para poder entender por qué hoy en día siguen jugando un papel importante ciertos países de la región. Esta tendencia a recurrir al militar para gestionar crisis internas o gobernar tiene sus orígenes en el proceso de consolidación del Estado moderno latinoamericano, mismo que se vio acentuado por la adopción del concepto de *National Security* promovido por Estados Unidos y ampliamente estudiado y codificado en la región. Como veremos a lo largo de este documento, los militares nunca han estado ausentes en el proceso de creación, consolidación y gestión del Estado.

I. Introducción

Cualquier evaluación o análisis del estado o composición de las fuerzas armadas debe de iniciar con una pregunta fundamental: ¿para qué sirven las fuerzas militares? Tradicionalmente, las fuerzas armadas en el mundo han desempeñado un papel fundamental para la defensa del territorio nacional en contra de enemigos externos. No obstante, en América Latina siguieron un camino diferente y *sui generis*. Si bien en un principio los militares latinoamericanos se enfocaron en independizar el territorio nacional del Imperio Español y defender la integridad territorial, rápidamente asumieron el gobierno de las recién independizadas naciones y enfocaron sus esfuerzos en unificar y pacificar sus respectivos territorios. De este modo los militares desempeñaron un rol fundamental en la consolidación del Estado moderno latinoamericano, ya fuera para mantener el *estatu quo,* para sofocar rebeliones, mantener el orden público o administrar el gobierno.

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A lo largo del siglo XIX, desde Ciudad de México hasta Buenos Aires, y de Lima a Caracas, élites militares gobernaron la región, forjando una cultura de *caudillos* militares que persistiría hasta mediados del siglo XX. Fue precisamente con esta cultura del "hombre fuerte" que los militares se convirtieron en un actor político y social a la vez. Dicha cultura permitiría al concepto estratégico estadounidense de la *Seguridad Nacional* de fusionarse con las estructuras político-militares propias de la región, encontrando en el *caudillo militar* el vehículo ideal para consolidar un frente común en contra del "enemigo interno" representado por la entonces Unión Soviética y Cuba.

Al final de la Guerra Fría y ante la ausencia de un enemigo existencial, las fuerzas armadas, particularmente las de México, Colombia y Guatemala, consolidaron su proyección hacia el interior de sus territorios nacionales para hacer frente al narcotráfico, al crimen organizado y al terrorismo. Dicha proyección hacia el interior del territorio se vio acompañada de importantes reformas constitucionales y legales mismas que han remodelado la estructura y naturaleza de la fuerza armada, y las cuales no podemos dar por concluidas. Recientemente, han surgido nuevos espacios geográficos y contextos socio-políticos en dónde se ha recurrido a los militares para salvaguardar el llamado orden interior y gestionar asuntos internos.

II. Los Militares y la Consolidación del Estado Moderno Latinoamericano

Desde su emancipación de España y Portugal a inicios de siglo XIX, el continente fue el teatro de numerosas crisis que permitieron el surgimiento de identidades político-militares muy diversas. La emancipación de las Provincias Unidas de América Central *vis-à-vis* del Imperio Mexicano (1821-1823) dio origen al nacimiento de Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua y Costa Rica, mientras que la guerra entre el Imperio Brasileño y las Provincias Unidas de La Plata (1825-1828) dio origen al Estado Oriental del Uruguay.

Este proceso de "construcción" del Estado moderno latinoamericano mediante guerras sucesivas también dio origen a identidades regionales y acentuó la falta de cohesión en el seno del Estado, permitiendo a *caudillos*, por lo regular militares, de ampararse del poder político y militar e instaurar regímenes en torno a "hombres fuertes".

Un claro ejemplo de estos regionalismos fue el régimen del general-gobernador de Buenos Aires Juan Manuel de Rosas (1835-1852), quién organizó *La Mazorca*, un sistema de vigilancia y represión para intimidar a oponentes políticos y asentar su poder en la provincia de Buenos Aires, consolidándose como el principal *caudillo* de la Confederación Argentina[1]. Si bien los militares siempre han estado presentes en los procesos de construcción del Estado latinoamericano, cuatro grandes guerras darían origen a identidades político-militares muy acentuadas en México, Argentina, Chile y Perú.

El 16 de mayo de 1833, el general Antonio López de Santa Anna asume el cargo de presidente de México instaurando una dictadura militar y ocupando el cargo en 11 ocasiones entre 1833 y 1855, fecha en que estalla la guerra México-Estados Unidos de Norte América (1846-1848). Al término del conflicto, México pierde la mitad de su territorio y el general Santa Anna se exilia en Colombia hasta 1853, fecha en que regresa a ocupar una vez más el cargo de presidente hasta 1855, cuando es depuesto por el general Juan Álvarez durante la Revolución de Ayutla (1854-1855)[2].

Un nuevo conflicto interno opondría a los *liberales,* dirigidos por el general Ignacio Zaragoza, a los *conservadores* durante la *Guerra de Reforma* (1858-1861). Fue precisamente durante esta guerra que se forja la carrera y reputación del coronel Porfirio Díaz, surgiendo así una nueva élite militar en torno él y quién posteriormente se enfrentaría a los *conservadores* y al Imperio Francés de Napoleón III durante la *Segunda Intervención Francesa* (1862-1867)[3].

Después de su heroísmo al mando de las tropas liberales en contra de los franceses y conservadores, el ya general Porfirio Díaz dirige el Plan de la Noria (1871), un plan político-militar para impedir la reelección del presidente Benito Juárez y destituirlo. Años más tarde, dirigiría el Plan de Tuxtepec (1876) para destituir al presidente Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, siendo posteriormente nombrado presidente de 1877 hasta 1880[4].

Asentado su poder militar, político y económico, el general Díaz ocupa el cargo de presidente de manera ininterrumpida entre el 1 de diciembre de 1884 y el 25 de mayo de 1911. Los militares gobernarían de manera casi ininterrumpida hasta 1946 cuando se completa la transición del liderazgo militar al civil durante la administración del general Manuel Ávila Camacho (1940-1946).

Otra élite militar surgió en Argentina durante la *Guerra del Paraguay* o de *La Triple Alianza* (1865-1870), la cual enfrentó por un lado a una coalición entre Brasil, Argentina y Uruguay, y por el otro a Paraguay, en el mayor conflicto interestatal en América Latina y unos de las mortíferos en el mundo entre 1815 y 1914, dejando

[1] Entrevista con el Dr. Gabriel Périès, experto en Guerra Revolucionaria y Seguridad Nacional. París, enero de 2017.
[2] DIAZ Lilia. *El liberalismo militante,* en Historia General de México, El Colegio de México, 2000, pp.587-595.
[3] *DIAZ Lilia, Op.cit.,* pp. 612-617.
[4] GONZALEZ Luis. *El liberalismo triunfante,* en Historia General de México, El Colegio de México, 2000, pp.5

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al menos 300,000 bajas del lado paraguayo y 100,000 del brasileño.

Si la guerra destruyó casi por completo a la República del Paraguay, minando su economía, población y comercio exterior, en Argentina, por el contrario, contribuyó a la consolidación del Estado entorno a una élite político-militar asociada al *Partido Autonomista Nacional* y que gobernaría el país de manera ininterrumpida entre 1874 y 1916. Dicha élite se conformó durante las elecciones presidenciales de 1868 (en plena guerra contra Paraguay) cuando los *liberales* – antiguos *unitarios* y partidarios del presidente Bartolomé Mitre – acordaron con los *federales* de las provincias apoyar la candidatura presidencial de Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, quién asumió el cargo el 12 de octubre de 1868 durante la primera transición pacífica del país. Hacia finales del mandato de Sarmiento en 1874 se funda el *Partido Autonimista Nacional.* El presidente más prestigioso del partido fue sin duda el general Alejo Julio Argentino Roca, quién ocuparía el cargo en dos ocasiones, primero de 1880 a 1886, y después 1898 a 1904[5].

Bajo el mandato de Roca el ejército unificó al país a través de numerosas campañas militares. De este modo, la Pampa se incorporó a Argentina durante la campaña de la *Conquista del Desierto* (1878-1879), las provincias de Neuquén y Río Negro se incorporaron durante la *Campaña al Neuquén y Río Negro* (1880-1881) y la *Campaña a los Andes (*1882-1883), mientras que la provincia de Chubut se anexó durante las *Campañas finales* (1883-1885). No obstante, la consolidación del Estado argentino como una sola entidad político-militar se dio durante la *Revolución de 1880* y la derrota de la provincia de Buenos Aires a manos del general Roca, permitiendo la federalización de la ciudad y su anexión al territorio nacional, poniendo fin a un largo conflicto entre las provincias y Buenos Aires.

Finalmente, la *Guerra del Pacífico* (1879-1883), que enfrentó a Chile y a una coalición entre Bolivia y Perú, dio origen a una era de *caudillismo* en Perú y contribuyó a la consolidación de Chile como potencia regional en detrimento de sus vecinos andinos. Diversas razones explican la victoria de Chile sobre los aliados. Por un lado, la consolidación de la *República Conservadora* (1831-1861) durante el mandato del general José Joaquín Prieto (1831-1841) permitió a los militares chilenos consolidar un ejército poderoso y crear una marina de guerra con tecnología de punta. Por otro lado, la inestabilidad política y económica de Perú y Bolivia dificultaron la consolidación de las capacidades tecnológicas y logísticas del ejército y la marina de guerra[6].

La inestabilidad del Perú encuentra sus orígenes en las sucesivas guerras intestinas que opusieron a diversos *caudillos militares* entre 1827 y 1879, fecha en que estalla la guerra contra Chile. Si la aparente victoria del mariscal José de La Mar (1827-1829) en contra de la Gran Colombia de Simón Bolívar durante la *Guerra Colombo-Peruana* (1828-1829) contribuye a la consolidación de gobierno en torno al mariscal La Mar, los sucesivos gobiernos conservadores del mariscal Agustín Gamarra (1829-1833) y del general Luis José de Obregoso y Moncada (1833-1835) – este último en guerra contra el general Felipe Santiago Salaverry (1835-1836) – acentuaron una etapa de profunda división social y una continua inestabilidad política interna que se saldó con la división de la República Peruana durante la *Guerra Civil* (1834) y la creación de la *Confederación Perú-Bolivia* (1836-1839) de la mano del general boliviano Andrés de Santa Cruz[7].

Para enero de 1839, el *Ejército Restaurador del Perú* bajo el mando del general chileno Manuel Bulnes y el mariscal Agustín Gamarra derrota a la *Confederación Perú-Bolivia.* Al final del conflicto, el mariscal Gamarra sería ratificado para un segundo mandato como presidente Constitucional del Perú entre 1840 y 1841, fecha en que surge una nueva insurgencia de la mano del general Manuel Ignacio de Vivanco, quién sería el gobernante *de facto* y *Dictador Supremo del Perú* hasta 1844. Posteriores crisis políticas opondrían a diferentes *caudillos militares* hasta la instauración presidente Manuel Pardo de 1872 a 1876[8].

El estallido de la *Guerra del Pacífico* en 1879 debido a una imposición de impuestos por parte de Bolivia a la empresa chilena *Compañía de Salitres y Ferrocarril de Antofagasta* obliga a Perú a entrar en guerra en contra de Chile en virtud de un tratado de alianza defensiva firmado con Bolivia en 1873. La tensión producida por las diferencias entre el progreso de Chile en territorio peruano y boliviano y la inestabilidad política y económica de los aliados se saldan con la victoria de Chile y perdidas territoriales en detrimento de los aliados. Perú pierde la provincia de Tarapacá y Bolivia la provincia de Antofagasta y su acceso al mar. Con el fin de la guerra, la inestabilidad política en Perú se acentuó durante la Guerra Civil Peruana de 1884-1885. Paralelamente, Chile comienza una era de auge militar y política en América del Sur[9].

Finalmente, cabe resaltar que Colombia fue un caso atípico en la región ya que los militares

[5] BARATTA María Victoria. *La Guerra del Paraguay y la construcción de la identidad nacional.* Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 2013, pp. 238-264. file:///C:/Users/eduar/Downloads/uba_ffyl_t_2013_891710.pdf

[6] CLUNY Claude Michel. *Atacama Ensayo sobre la guerra del Pacífico, 1879-1883.* México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008, pp. 79-87.

[7] VILLALOBO Sergio. *Chile y Perú la historia que nos une y nos separa 1535-188.*Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 2022, pp. 53-55.

[8] *Ibidem.*

[9] CLUNY Claude Michel*, Op.cit.,* p.362.

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colombianos tuvieron un rol marginal en la consolidación de la independencia, misma que fue llevada a cabo por los contingentes venezolanos de Simón Bolívar, y por lo tanto no se instauró una élite militar fuerte en torno a un caudillo local como en México, Argentina o Perú[10].

III. El Rol de Los Militares en Asuntos Interiores

Como observamos anteriormente, desde el inicio de su vida independiente hasta finales del siglo XIX, los militares desempeñaron un rol esencial en la consolidación del Estado en Hispanoamérica en la medida en que su intervención permitía mantener o revocar el *estatu quo* político, económico y social. En cuanto su participación en asuntos internos y de seguridad, el rol de los militares aparece regulado por primera vez en México en un edicto imperial de Agustín I de Iturbide de 1821 mediante el cual se otorgaba al emperador "*la facultad de expedir órdenes para el arresto de individuos en nombre de la seguridad del Estado*"[11]. Posteriormente, la Constitución de 1824 estableció que el presidente de la República tenía facultades en materia de seguridad interior y defensa exterior de la nación[12].

La Constitución de 1857 retomaría el concepto de "seguridad interior" (sin definirlo) como una atribución del presidente de la República "*de disponer de la fuerza armada permanente de mar y tierra para la seguridad interior y la defensa exterior de la federación"*[13]. Del artículo anterior – y que estaría vigente hasta la promulgación de la Constitución de 1917 – se entiende que los militares tenían la obligación de salvaguardar el orden interior en medio de un contexto de crisis y rebeliones internas recurrentes, así como de defender el territorio nacional en caso de invasión por parte de una potencia extranjera. No sería sino hasta la invasión del Imperio Francés en 1862, aunado a un contexto de seguridad degradado por los constantes embates de los grupos de *bandoleros*[14], que se promulga la *Ley de Seguridad Pública de 1862* otorgando a los militares la facultad explícita de salvaguardar el "orden público" y los bienes de la población[15].

En Colombia, fue en el artículo 120 de la Constitución de 1886 que el legislador otorgó a los militares la misión del mantenimiento del "orden público" con medidas de control como el Estado de Sitio, además de su misión tradicional de "seguridad exterior" de la República[16]. Por su parte, la Constitución Política de la República Peruana de 1834 hace mención al orden interior en su artículo 140 como el objeto de la fuerza pública (Ejército, Armada y Guardia Nacional) de "*defender el Estado contra enemigos exteriores, asegurar el orden interior y sostener la ejecución de las leyes*"[17]. De lo anterior se entiende que los militares estaban facultados para intervenir al interior del país y gestionar el orden público.

IV. La Seguridad Nacional

Numerosos estudios afirman que el concepto de *Seguridad Nacional* tiene sus orígenes en Estados Unidos durante el periodo de la Guerra Fría. No obstante, de acuerdo con el académico Gabriel Périès, el concepto aparece por primera vez en Argentina en la *Ley de Residencia de 1902* (ley N°4144)[18], otorgando al gobierno la facultad de expulsar a extranjeros que alteraran el orden público y pusieran en peligro la "Seguridad Nacional" del territorio. Si bien dicho ordenamiento no define la "Seguridad Nacional", el hecho de que esta expresión aparezca en un texto jurídico latinoamericano guarda estrecha relación con la arraigada tradición de proyectar al ejército hacia el interior del territorio que se dio durante el siglo XIX.

El concepto de *Seguridad Nacional* tal y como lo conocemos hoy en día, es decir, como un instrumento de gestión del aparato de político, diplomático y de seguridad de un Estado, tiene sus orígenes en Estados Unidos, en dónde los militares y civiles encargados de la defensa del país lo concibieron como una manera de reestructurar las fuerzas armadas de tierra, aire y mar en una sola estructura, el *Ministry of the Defence*, para hacer frente a la Unión Soviética. De este modo, el Congreso promulgó el *National Security Act* de 1947. Es importante resaltar que esta ley no define la expresión de *National Secuirty,* pero si fija la bases para la restauración de la fuerza armada.

El concepto sería importado a la península de Corea en donde sirvió de base al régimen del presidente Syngnam Rhee para hacer frente a su vecino

[10] Entrevista con el Dr. Armando Borrero Mansilla, antiguo profesor de la Escuela Superior de Guerra y consejero presidencial en materia de Seguridad Nacional. Bogotá, 25 de junio de 2022.
[11] ROBETSON William Spencer. *Iturbide de México.* Fondo de Cultura Económica (2012, primera traducción), p.305.
[12] No se define en estos textos
[13] Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos de 1857. http://www.ordenjuridico.gob.mx/Constitucion/1857.pdf
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del norte apoyado por China y la URSS. Bajo el régimen de Rhee Corea adopta su primera constitución el 17 de julio 1948 otorgando a los militares la "*sagrada misión de la seguridad nacional y la defensa del territorio*"[19]. Es importante resaltar que esta evolución normativa de la *seguridad nacional* se repetiría en México en la reforma constitucional de 2004.

El *National Security Act* de 1947 creó también la *Central Intelligence Agency* (CIA), entendiéndose que la seguridad nacional también involucraba a los civiles. Paralelamente, la ley creó un *National Security Council* (NSC), el cual se volvería un recurso organizacional del aparato de seguridad en México y Colombia para sus respectivos *Consejos de Seguridad Nacional*.

El concepto sería ampliamente estudiado en los círculos militares latinoamericanos y codificado en la *Doctrina de la Seguridad Nacional* para hacer frente la Revolución Cubana y al comunismo. Como lo demuestran los estudios de Gabriel Périès[20] y Rodrigo Nabuco de Araujo[21], Argentina y Brasil fueron los países que más contribuyeron a la estructuración del corpus operativo de la doctrina ya que recibieron intercambios directos de Francia en materia de *Guerre Révolutionnaire* (Guerra Revolucionaria, posteriormente contrainsurgencia en Estados Unidos), ampliamente desarrollada por los oficiales franceses Paul Aussaresses, Pierre Dabezies, Roger Trinquier, David Galula y Charles Lacheroy durante la guerra de Indochina (1945-1954), en Camerún (1955-1962) y Argelia (1954-1962).

La *Doctrina de la Guerra Revolucionaria* aportó lecciones en el plano militar, operacional y de mantenimiento del orden que serían integradas en la *Seguridad Nacional* justificando el avance de los militares en el plano civil y político mediante jurisdicciones de excepción que permitieron a los militares interactuar en el marco civil y policial, particularmente durante las dictaduras militares en Argentina (1976-1983), Chile (1970-1990) y Brasil (9164-1985).

No obstante, fue en Colombia donde los militares tendrían mayor proyección hacia el interior en el contexto de la lucha contra el narcotráfico y las guerrillas. De este modo, el presidente Julio César Turbay Ayala (1978-1982) invoca la doctrina durante la *XIII Conferencia de Comandantes de Ejércitos Latinoamericanos* en Bogotá en 1979 otorgando a las fuerzas armadas "*el poder de reestablecer el imperio de la autoridad*"[22]. Posteriormente, con la promulgación del *Estatuto de Seguridad*, en vigor durante todo su mandato, facultaría a los militares para combatir el narcotráfico al mismo tiempo que contemplaba una serie de normas de la justicia militar aplicables a la población civil [23].

a) Segurdiad Nacional Y Guerra Contra El Nacotráfico

La guerra contra el narcotráfico, promovida por Washington, dio un nuevo impulso a la seguridad nacional, permitiendo a militares y policías interactuar en contra de este nuevo enemigo. De esto modo, el presidente Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) enmienda el *Posse Comitatus Act*[24] permitiendo al *Department of the Defence* de crear la *South Florida Task Force* en 1982. Con esta reforma, los militares podían dar soporte logístico y entrenamiento militar a las agencias civiles (FBI y DEA)[25].

Después de la designación del narcotráfico como nuevo enemigo existencial mediante la *National Security Decision Directive 221* (NSDD 221 Narcotics and National Security) de 1986, el presidente George H. W. Bush (1989-1993) firma una nueva NSDD en 1989 delimitando el rol de los militares en la lucha contra el narcotráfico. El presidente Bill Clinton (1993-2001), por su parte, continuaría la política de sus predecesores y designaría al narcotráfico como una amenaza a la *National Security* de Estados Unidos mediante su *National Drug Control Strategy* de 1994[26].

Los atentados terroristas del 11 de septiembre de 2001 acentuarían la participación de los militares en asuntos interiores, en donde en el marco de una renovada estrategia de *Homeland Secuity* se designa al terrorismo como nuevo enemigo mediante una serie de reformas iniciadas con el *U.S. Patriot Act* y la creación del *Department of Homeland Security* en 2002.

México se alinearía con esta estrategia y promulgaría su primera *Ley de Seguridad Nacional* en 2005 al mismo tiempo que reforzaría su ofensiva militar en contra del narcotráfico y el terrorismo. Paralelamente, el presidente Colombiano Álvaro Uribe (2002- 2006 y 2006-2010) implementaría su *Política de Defensa y Seguridad Democrática* (PDSD), marcada por la desmovilización de las *Autodefensas Unidas de*

[19] Artículo 5 de la Constitución de la República de Corea del Sur de 1948. https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Republic_of_Korea_1987.pdf?lang=en

[20] PÉRIÈS Gabriel. *De l'action militaire à l'action politique : Impulsion, codification et application de la doctrine de la « Guerre Révolutionnaire » au sein de l'armée française (1944 – 1960).* Université Paris I – Sorbonne, 1999.

[21] DE ARAUJO Rodrigo Nabuco. *L'art français de la guerre. Transferts de la doctrine de la guerre Révolutionnaire au Brésil (1958 – 1974),* Cahiers Amériques Latines, No. 2, 2012, p.42.

[22] LEAL BUITRAGO Francisco. *Capítulo 5. Defensa y Seguridad Nacional en Colombia, 1958-1993*, en LEAL BUITRAGO, Francisco y TOKATLIÁN Juan Gabriel (Co). *Orden Mundial y Seguridad: Nuevos desafíos para Colombia y América Latina.* Instituto de Estudios Políticos y Relaciones Internacionales (IEPRI), Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá, 1994, p. 26.

[23] *Ibidem,* p. 150.

[24] Legislación de la Guerra de Secesión que impedía la participación de los militares en asuntos civiles.

[25] CHEPESIUIK Ron. *The War on Drugs: An International Encyclopedia*. ABC –CLIO, Inc, 1999, p .198.

[26] Executive Office of the President, Office of National Drug Control Policy, National Drug Control Strategy. Reclaming Our Communities from Drugs and Violence. Washington, 1994, p. IV.

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Colombia (AUC) y el debilitamiento de las guerrillas de las *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC) y del *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (ELN).

b) La Adopción de la Seguridad Nacional en el Orden Jurídico Mexicano

El caso mexicano resulta particularmente interesante debido a que, a pesar de su proximidad geográfica con Estados Unidos, los militares y civiles mexicanos no estudiaron y desarrollaron una doctrina propia sino hasta los años 1990.

Si bien los militares mexicanos también hicieron frente a movimientos de inspiración comunista y a otros movimientos subversivos de carácter rural, la legislación mexicana no conoció evoluciones normativas de importancia más allá de la atribución que hace la Secretaría de Gobernación a la Dirección Federal de Seguridad en 1973 en materia de "*recolección y análisis de información concernientes a la seguridad nacional*"[27]. El discurso de la "seguridad nacional" sería adoptado en el Plan Global de Desarrollo del presidente Miguel de la Madrid (1982-1988) para designar al narcotráfico como la principal amenaza a la seguridad nacional (sin definir este concepto) de México y como una misión de las fuerzas armadas[28].

La Constitución de 1917 y su apartado en materia de seguridad interior y defensa no tendrían evoluciones normativas importantes a pesar del contexto regional de la Guerra Fría. En efecto, el texto constitucional facultaba al presidente de la república para:

> *"Disponer de la fuerza armada permanente de mar y tierra para la seguridad interior y defensa exterior de la Federación*", y ninguna ley de carácter secundario regularía este artículo constitucional.

No es sino hasta 2004 cuando una reforma constitucional del artículo 89 fracción VI que se introduce el concepto de seguridad nacional en el orden jurídico mexicano quedando como una obligación del presidente para:

> "*Preservar la seguridad nacional, en los términos de la ley respectiva, y disponer de la totalidad de la Fuerza Armada permanente o sea del Ejército, de la Armada y de la Fuerza Aérea para la seguridad interior y defensa exterior de la Federación*".

Se sobrentiende que, en la jerarquía de normas, la seguridad nacional prevalece sobre la seguridad interior y la defensa exterior, mismo si el concepto de seguridad interior, como lo hemos visto, es anterior al de seguridad nacional y está estrechamente ligado a procesos históricos y normativos propios de la región hispanoamericana.

Es importante también resaltar que, si la reforma prevé una ley respectiva en la materia, no sería sino hasta el año 2005 que se promulga la *Ley de Seguridad Nacional* para regular las actividades del Centro de Investigación y Seguridad Nacional (creado en 1989 y disuelto en 2018).

A partir de 2012, el concepto de seguridad interior vuelve al primer luego de un largo periodo de reposo (desde los textos constitucionales de 1857 y 1921) para ocupar el centro de los debates en los círculos académicos, políticos y militares, marcados por la guerra contra el narcotráfico y la cada vez mayor participación de los militares en ese contexto.

c) Entre "Policiarización" de Las Fuerzas Armadas y "Militarización" de Las Fuerzas Policiales

El contexto histórico de la región nos muestra que el concepto de seguridad interior es anterior al de seguridad nacional. En efecto, los textos constitucionales de México, Perú y Colombia otorgaban prerrogativas y facultades a los militares en materia de seguridad interior (y por ende de orden público). Las evoluciones constitucionales, y la posterior adopción del concepto de estadounidense de *National Security,* acentuaron dichas prerrogativas y consolidaron la proyección de los militares al interior del territorio nacional, particularmente en México, en donde militares y policías interactúan en el marco de la seguridad nacional/seguridad interior.

Es precisamente con la adopción de la expresión de seguridad nacional que militares y policías comienzan a interactuar en la lucha contra el narcotráfico en México. De este modo, el entonces presidente Felipe Calderón (2006-2012) emite el decreto presidencial del 9 de mayo de 2007, lanzando una ofensiva militar y policial en contra de los grupos del crimen organizado en el estado de Michoacán, movilizando a más de 5,000 efectivos militares[29].

La estrategia comprendía la puesta en marcha de operaciones conjuntas entre cuerpos de policía y militares y la profesionalización de la Policía Federal mediante tecnología y capacidades operativas, pasando de 22,000 efectivos en 2007 a 35,000 en 2011. Así mismo, se acordó el soporto logístico y financiero de Estados Unidos mediante la *Iniciativa Mérida.* Entre 2006 y 2012, cerca de 45,000 efectivos militares fueron movilizados en operativos conjuntos en los estados de Michoacán, Veracruz, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas y Guerrero.

El presidente Enrique Peña Nieto (2012-2018) continuaría la lucha contra el crimen organizado. Durante su mandato, se dan importantes evoluciones normativas en materia de seguridad interior al mismo

[27] Reglamento Interior de la Secretaría de Gobernación (SEGOB) de 1973. Actualmente, el reglamento de la SEGOB distingue en su apartado XXIX entre Seguridad Pública y Seguridad Nacional.

[28] Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 1983 – 1988. http://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=4805999&fecha=31/05/1983

[29] Decreto por el que se crea el Cuerpo Especial del Ejército y Fuerza Aérea denominado Cuerpo de Fuerzas de Apoyo Federal del 9 de mayo de 2007. https://www.dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=4987036&fecha=09/05/2007

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tiempo que se dan atribuciones policiales a la *Marina*. En efecto, con la creación de las Unidades Navales de Protección Portuaria (UNAPROP) en marzo de 2014, la *Marina* adquiere funciones de *Policía Marítima* en el interior de los recintos portuarios, mismo si esta figura jurídica es inexistente en la legislación mexicana[30].

Mediante la adopción del concepto seguridad interior en el Programa Sectorial de Marina 2013–2018, el Programa para la Seguridad Nacional 2014–2018 y el Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2013–2018, las UNAPROP asumen la capacidad de realizar acciones de vigilancia, verificación, visita, inspección y control en funciones de "Guardia Costera" dentro de los recintos portuarios[31].

En junio de 2017, la SEMAR adquiere funciones de Autoridad Marítima Nacional ejercidas a través de la Unidad de Capitanías de Puerto y Asuntos Marítimos (UNICAPAM) y competencias de *Guardia Costera* para asegurar la seguridad marítima y portuaria reafirmándose como un actor relevante de la administración pública federal.

Al final de su mandato, Peña Nieto propone la promulgación de una *Ley de Seguridad Interior* (LSI) para dar certidumbre las fuerzas armadas en sus misiones constitucionales en la materia. No obstante, sería declarada inconstitucional por la Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación el 15 de noviembre de 2018 debido a numerosas críticas de la sociedad civil según las cuales abría una vía a la "militarización" del país y a la violación sistemática de los Derechos Humanos.

La llegada del presidente de izquierda Andrés Manuel López Obrador suponía un enfoque diferente al de sus predecesores. Sin embargo, López Obrador desmanteló la Policía Federal y creó una Guardia Nacional con elementos transferidos del ejército y la marina. Paralelamente desmanteló el CISEN y creó un nuevo Centro Nacional de Inteligencia (CNI), dirigido por un militar. Sin embargo, la creación del CNI ni implicó la derogación de la Ley de Seguridad Nacional (que regula al CISEN), por lo cual el CNI actualmente opera sin un marco normativo.

La Guardia Nacional – de origen militar y administrada por los militares – se ha convertido en un actor primordial de la lucha contra el narcotráfico y por ende en un actor esencial de la seguridad pública, particularmente desde que el presidente emitió un decreto autorizando de manera explicita a la Guardia Nacional en materia de seguridad pública[32]. Recientemente, el gobierno involucró al ejército en la construcción de obras de infraestructura como el Tren Maya en la península de Yucatán y el aeropuerto Felipe Ángeles al mismo tiempo que la *Marina* administra los puertos del país en funciones de Autoridad Marítima Nacional y brinda protección física al aeropuerto internacional de la Ciudad de México.

d) Hacia Nuevos Espacios para la Proyección del Ejército al Interior del Territorio

A diferencia de México y Colombia, las constituciones y legislaciones de Chile, Perú y Ecuador tienen claro la diferencia entre seguridad interior y defensa. No obstante, estos países han recientemente movilizado a sus fuerzas armadas para gestionar problemáticas de índole social.

De este modo, Chile mantiene desde 2021 a fuerzas armadas y carabineros desplegadas en las regiones de La Araucanía y el Biobío para contrarrestar las acciones de los indígenas Mapuches tipificadas por el gobierno como terroristas. El 12 de octubre de 2021, el entonces presidente Sebastián Piñera declaró el Estado de Excepción Constitucional por 15 días en las provincias de Biobío y Arauco en la región del Biobío, y en las provincias de Malleco y Cautín en la región de La Araucanía "*para enfrentar con mejores instrumentos el terrorismo, el narcotráfico y el crimen organizado que se ha enraizado en esos territorios*"[33].

En la práctica, esto significa que el ejército tiene facultades para realizar tareas de vigilancia y patrullaje de manera conjunta con la policía y los Carabineros, así como brindar apoyo tecnológico y logístico en el territorio, así como controlar el tránsito y el ingreso de las personas a estas provincias.

La elección del presidente de izquierda Gabriel Boric en marzo de 2022 no significó un cambio substancial en la estrategia gubernamental para hacer frente al problema Mapuche. El 16 de mayo, la ministra del Interior de Boric, Izkia Siches, decretó el Estado de Emergencia en la región de La Araucanía y en las provincias de Biobío y Arauco ante un incremento de ataques incendiarios y robos a empresas forestales por parte del movimiento Mapuche Coordinadora Arauco-Malleco (CAM). La medida de excepcionalidad incluye, además de un importante despliegue militar para "*resguardar las rutas, permitir el libre tránsito de personas y el abastecimiento*", otras medidas legales

[30] Acuerdo Secretarial 039 mediante el cual se crean las Unidades Navales de Protección Portuaria (UNAPROP). Diario Oficial de la Federación, 31 de marzo de 2014. Disponible en: http://www.dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5338803&fecha=31/03/2014

[31] Acuerdo Secretarial 333 mediante el cual las Unidades Navales de Protección Portuaria (UNAPROP) tienen como misión el realizar acciones de vigilancia, verificación, visita, inspección y control en funciones de guardia costera dentro de los recintos portuarios en apoyo al ejercicio de la autoridad en materia de protección marítima y portuaria. Diario Oficial de la Federación, 17 septiembre de 2018. Disponible en https://www.dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5538053&fecha=17/09/2018

[32] Acuerdo por el que se dispone de la Fuerza Armada permanente para llevar a cabo tareas de seguridad pública de manera extraordinaria, regulada, fiscalizada, subordinada y complementaria. Disponible en https://dof.gob.mx/nota_detalle.php?codigo=5593105&fecha=11/05/2020

[33] MONTES Rocio. (2021, 12 de octubre). Sebastián Piñera envía a las Fuerzas Armadas a "la zona roja" del conflicto mapuche en Chile. *El País*. https://elpais.com/internacional/2021-10-13/sebastian-pinera-envia-a-las-fuerzas-armadas-a-la-zona-roja-del-conflicto-mapuche-en-chile.html

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como la solicitud de un fiscal preferente para delitos relacionados con narcotráfico y robo de madera, principales delitos de los que se responsabiliza a los Mapuches[34].

A mediados de julio, el presidente Boric extendió el Estado de Emergencia por tercera vez en el año. Paralelamente, el Congreso aprobó en definitiva un proyecto de ley que permite al presidente de la República de disponer de las fuerzas armadas para resguardar la infraestructura crítica del país en caso de peligro grave o inminente por un periodo de hasta 60 días sin la necesidad de que se decrete previamente el Estado de Excepción Constitucional.

Del mismo modo, el gobierno de Ecuador ha recurrido a la fuerza armada para controlar episodios de comisión interna duranta las protestas de 2019-2021 y de junio de 2022. Perú también movilizó a la fuerza armada durante las protestas de abril de 2022 e impuso el Estado de Emergencia en todas las carreteras del país acompañado de un importante dispositivo militar y policial.

V. Conclusión

El estudio de la historiografía del espacio geográfico hispanoamericano de las fuerzas armadas, así como de su participación en la lucha contra el crimen organizado y el narcotráfico, revela que, desde su creación, el marco jurídico y doctrinario prevé la presencia activa de la fuerza armada en el territorio nacional como actor político, es decir, como agente regulador de las relaciones socio-económicas en determinados espacios geográficos en detrimento de las autoridades civiles. El caso de México es emblemático, particularmente el rol de la Marina que ha asumido funciones de Autoridad Marítima Nacional, es decir, funciones de Policía Marítima, suplantando a las fuerzas civiles.

La adopción del concepto de seguridad nacional en la región se tradujo por importante evoluciones normativas y constitucionales que persisten hasta nuestros días a través de estructuras que combinan lo civil con lo militar. Cabe preguntarnos si asistimos a una "policiarización" de las fuerzas armadas o una "militarización" de las fuerzas policiales, particularmente en México.

Existe una confusión entre el campo de acción de la seguridad nacional y de la seguridad interior, y de esta última con la seguridad pública, a pesar de que la seguridad interior sea anterior a la seguridad nacional y la seguridad pública en el orden constitucional y jurídico mexicano.

Finalmente, las misiones de las fuerzas armadas, dimensionadas hacia el interior del territorio en el marco de la lucha contra el narcotráfico y el crimen organizado, están lejos de terminar su proceso evolutivo tanto a nivel doctrinario como legal. Para concluir, el rol de las fuerzas armadas en el territorio nacional en misiones de seguridad interior esta lejos de concluir y cabe preguntarnos si nos encontramos en un periodo de ruptura o continuidad con el *caudillismo* militar.

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Love and Sexuality in the Brazilian Historical Past: From Law to Social Praxis

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Abstract- Love and sexuality are analyzed in everyday experiences and in religious/secular discourses as long-term power strategies in western patriarchy, seeking to verify the dialectic established between legislation and social practices in Brazil. In the search for answers, the investigation focuses on two complementary but distinct instances: the presence of "love and sexuality" in the collective imagination and how this imaginary, which circulates between us and around us, interests power and institutions. It appears that the legal bases of western legislation and its effects are structuring elements of prescribed or proscribed sexual behaviors, according to a logic that opposes desires to duties, creating a "pastoral of fear".

Keywords: love and sexuality; social codes and practices; sin, guilt and fear; mensa et toro duties.

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Love and Sexuality in the Brazilian Historical Past: From Law to Social Praxis

Amor e Sexualidade no Passado Histórico Brasileiro: Da Lei À Práxis Social

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Resumo- Amor e sexualidade são analisados nas vivências cotidianas e nos discursos religiosos/ seculares como estratégias de poder de longa duração no patriarcalismo ocidental, procurando verificar a dialética estabelecida entre a legislação e as práticas sociais no Brasil. Na busca por respostas, a investigação detém-se sobre duas instâncias complementares, mas distintas: a presença de "amor e sexualidade" no imaginário coletivo e como este imaginário, que circula entre nós e a nossa volta, interessa ao poder e às instituições. Verifica-se que as bases jurídicas da legislação ocidental e os seus efeitos são elementos estruturantes dos comportamentos sexuais prescritos ou proscritos, de acordo com uma lógica que opõe os desejos aos deveres, criando uma "pastoral do medo".

Palavras-chave: amor e sexualidade; códigos e práticas sociais; pecado, culpa e medo; deveres de mensa et toro.

Abstract- Love and sexuality are analyzed in everyday experiences and in religious/secular discourses as long-term power strategies in western patriarchy, seeking to verify the dialectic established between legislation and social practices in Brazil. In the search for answers, the investigation focuses on two complementary but distinct instances: the presence of "love and sexuality" in the collective imagination and how this imaginary, which circulates between us and around us, interests power and institutions. It appears that the legal bases of western legislation and its effects are structuring elements of prescribed or proscribed sexual behaviors, according to a logic that opposes desires to duties, creating a "pastoral of fear".

Keywords: love and sexuality; social codes and practices; sin, guilt and fear; mensa et toro duties.

Resumen- El amor y la sexualidad se analizan en las experiencias cotidianas y en los discursos religioso/ laico como estrategias de poder de largo plazo en el patriarcado occidental, buscando verificar la dialéctica establecida entre la legislación y las prácticas sociales en Brasil. En la búsqueda de respuestas, la investigación se centra en dos instancias complementarias pero distintas: la presencia del "amor y la sexualidad" en el imaginario colectivo y cómo este imaginario, que circula entre nosotros y alrededor nuestro, interesa al poder y las instituciones. Se verifica que las bases legales de la legislación occidental y sus efectos son elementos estructurantes de las conductas sexuales prescritas o proscritas, según una lógica que opone los deseos a los deberes, creando una "pastoral del miedo".

Palabras clave: amor y sexualidad; códigos y prácticas sociales; pecado, culpa y miedo; deberes de mensa et toro.

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I. Introdução

Este artigo atém-se a uma das dobras do imaginário social ligada ao sexo e ao amor e procura contribuir para o esclarecimento de uma zona que já pertenceu ao silêncio cultural, mas que hoje ocupa a boca de cena do discurso social. É uma fala cujos sentidos, multiformes e pluralistas, merecem ser desvelados, dado o cuidado com que o passado produziu normas, pragmáticas, leis, conceitos e preconceitos sobre um tema considerado de *mixti fori* –, subministrado pelo trono e altar, compreendendo o universo real e o mágico.

Na época atual, o acontecimento a investigar não é livremente escolhido pelo historiador, mas pela inflação da informação, a multiplicação de perguntas, das próprias inquietações coletivas. O território da pesquisa é o presente, com seus problemas, mas a explicação sobre os acontecimentos só pode se enraizar no passado, por meio de uma operação destinada a decifrar todas as camadas sucessivas da realidade imediata. Camadas que aparecem na intersecção inevitável do coletivo com o individual, de mulheres e grupos excluídos sobre os quais recaíram castigos por comportamentos amorosos – morais e físicos – considerados como pecados contra Deus e o Estado. Os sentimentos humanos sobre o amor e a sexualidade são estruturantes na cultura ocidental, marcada pela dialética entre o desejo e o dever. O amor romântico é considerado por muitos historiadores como um fenômeno tardio, consequente dos processos de industrialização e urbanização, da Europa do século XVIII.

Embora os sentimentos, com as emoções e os efeitos que desencadeiam, façam parte das

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preocupações humanas, a sua história ainda é recente. Em contrapartida, é uma categoria que está na moda e se afirma autonomamente a grandes temas de pesquisa: os sentimentos diante do nascimento, vida, doença e morte. Sentimentos se dobram com emoções, com virtudes, com defeitos. A história da ira, da inveja, das percepções, dos saberes e odores, do prazer e do sofrimento... A lista é inesgotável, pois os assuntos investigados conectam-se intimamente, exigindo uma análise que os ponha em rede. Além do que, têm sido e continuam a ser abordados por políticas de controle e de propaganda, que, por meio de uma axiologia drástica, dota-os de valores positivos ou negativos, de acordo com a lógica de certa sociedade, em certo tempo, refletida na ideologia de gênero binário e heterossexual.

Os modos de sentir são também prisioneiros de suas épocas. Em princípio, pertencem à história das mentalidades, ao tempo quase parado das estruturas. O século XVIII concedeu um lugar privilegiado à percepção, inventando um sistema educativo interessado na observação através dos sentidos, para chegar à formação das ideias. A sensibilidade não é vista somente como emoção terna e dolorosa, mas como a capacidade dada ao homem de receber impressões profundas de tudo aquilo que pode agir sobre ele. O homem sensível não é apenas aquele que se enternece: é quem recebe impressões de forma emocional. A mensagem do sofrimento redentor, o dolorismo, é reativado nas Luzes, quando "as lágrimas são as únicas verdades íntimas e os únicos efeitos do real que provam a todos a sua existência no sofrimento" (VINCENT-BUFFAULT, 1988, pp. 20-21). Conceito remetido, no Romantismo, ao sofrimento no amor, o ideal hedonista oitocentista que evoluiu vertiginosamente, após a descoberta do subconsciente e do inconsciente, colocando em discussão a crença no racionalismo humano. A teoria de Freud, tendo por centro o complexo de Édipo e baseada no desejo e na repressão da sexualidade, provocou uma profunda mudança na concepção humanista do homem, conferindo novas cores à revolução de costumes dos Anos Loucos (1919-1919) e à Revolução sexual da década de 1960, marcada pela socialização do uso da pílula anticoncepcional. O "breve século XX" abrigou o movimento de emancipação feminina, provavelmente o maior acontecimento da contemporaneidade, uma vez que, ao separar a sexualidade da procriação, permitiu às mulheres um investimento mais profundo em sua luta pela igualdade com o "sexo forte". Em decorrência, o exercício da sexualidade escapou do monopólio da Igreja e do Estado, incorporando as vozes silenciadas do "sexo frágil" e dos grupos excluídos, integrados por todas as categorias não encaixadas no modelo prescrito ao casal heterossexual, unido pelos laços sagrados do matrimônio. A sexualidade reduziu-se à cópula reprodutiva de futuros operários e soldados, ao Trono; de almas, ao Altar, produzindo um discurso, a rigor, hagiográfico, debruçado sobre virtudes e pecados, interessado em normatizar o exercício de poderes e articular a ordem do parecer com a ordem do ser. Nos pedaços do imaginário que uma sociedade organiza sobre a sexualidade, ocorrem deslocamentos, novas peças são incluídas, com distâncias e comparações entre elas. Um dos fragmentos desse processo é investigado a seguir.

II. Metodologia

Amor e sexualidade são termos de invulgar complexidade, uma vez que se apoiam em bases biológicas, materiais, espirituais, políticas, coletivas ou individuais. Trata-se de um caleidoscópio de alta complexidade, pelo qual é preciso circular, fazendo escolhas e recortes, com uma abordagem pluralista e multidimensional. Para esta reflexão, algumas obras estão selecionadas como fundamentais e os seus autores se fazem nossos interlocutores. Um deles é Wilhelm Reich, em seu comentário sobre a invasão da Abissínia pela Itália, quando milhares de pessoas indefesas foram trucidadas, fornecendo uma ideia das proporções do assassinato em massa que viria em caso de uma nova guerra mundial. O fato de a nação italiana, em que grande parte da população passava fome, ter seguido com fanatismo o chamado às armas, reforçou a crença geral de que alguns países são governados por indivíduos com sintomas de doença mental e de que os homens, em geral, participam de uma psicopatia ao adotar comportamentos conflitantes com os seus desejos e possibilidades reais. A raiz desse problema estaria na repressão da sexualidade, a energia vital produtiva. A fim de entender o motivo da repressão sobre a vida amorosa, Reich relaciona a vida mental humana e a ordem econômico-social em uma economia centrada na função sexual, declarando que esse processo já estaria detectado pela literatura e cinema, pois "noventa por cento de todos os romances, de toda a arte poética lírica, noventa e nove por cento de todos os filmes e peças de teatro são produções que apelam para necessidades sexuais não satisfeitas" (REICH, 1966, p. 25).

Freud e Reich apresentam uma maneira de se utilizar da psicanálise em ciências sociais, evitando a ameaça de se transformarem conceitos psicanalíticos em figuras de estilo, criando nova retórica. O recurso à morte do pai, ao Édipo ou à transferência, pode servir para tudo e assim "não é difícil calcá-los sobre as regiões obscuras da história". Infelizmente, não passam de utensílios decorativos quando objetivam somente designar o que o historiador não compreende. Ao circunscrever o inexplicado, confessam uma ignorância, instalam-se onde uma explicação econômica deixa um "resto" (CERTEAU, 1982).

A contar da última década do século XX, muita gente se viu atraída pela história da sexualidade. Lucien

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Febvre pedia uma história do amor e Ariès interessou-se pelo tema em *Atitudes diante da Vida,* um de seus primeiros livros. A demografia histórica foi considerada por Peter Leslett como o caminho que permitiria fazer a história da sexualidade e muitos demógrafos dedicaram-se a esse assunto, revelando elementos fundamentais da emancipação sexual relativa do século XVIII, época que registrou o aumento relativo dos nascimentos ilegítimos e das concepções pré-nupciais. Jean-Louis Flandrin, um dos maiores historiadores do sexo, produziu uma obra notável, conduzindo um combate corajoso sobre a vontade de saber sobre o tema. Nessa vertente, Michel Foucault analisa a proliferação de discursos e de modalidades sobre o corpo, cujas variantes – o corpo cósmico, social, individual ou sexuado –refletem as sucessivas pertinências utilizadas por uma sociedade para articular a consciência sobre ela própria. O desejo de conhecer nos leva a procurar ler, por meio ou através das representações, o funcionamento, as leis e finalmente a própria realidade do corpo. Foucault toma um caminho inverso em *A vontade de saber*, fazendo do corpo um artefato ilegível, que permite produzir sempre mais discursos, vendo-o mais como uma oficina no discurso ocidental e isentando-se de pretender construir, a partir das representações, um discurso sobre o corpo que as produz. Um dos eixos de seu pensamento é dado pela autoafirmação da classe burguesa que se intitula como detentora de um sexo melhor que o dos outros, raciocínio que remete para a materialidade do real. Encontra-se em Foucault o cruzamento de duas teorias sobre o corpo, visto como condição ilegível das ficções e das ficções de *per si* (FOUCAULT, 1985). Nessa linha, resta perguntar por que se produzem essas ficções.

O fio de Ariadne a nos conduzir pelo labirinto fascinante das concepções acima esquematizadas repousa em dois eixos: o primeiro consiste no estabelecimento do discurso do poder e da história desse discurso sobre os nossos corpos; o segundo, nos poderes desse discurso sobre as manifestações sensíveis do amor nas práticas sexuais, com o pressuposto de que essa investigação é um polo à volta do qual se estabelece o nosso mundo e a nossa vida se desenrola. Como força motriz, está o sentimento do medo, como o primeiro elemento da equação estruturante do Ocidente, de raízes judaico-cristãs. A culpa é o elemento seguinte, acompanhada, inelutavelmente, pelo castigo. Em lugar de poetas românticos, de manuais de autoajuda ou de discursos bem-intencionados sobre a bondade dos sentimentos humanos, estaremos em companhia de Jean Delumeau, estudando o medo, o pecado e a culpa; de Michel Foucault, espreitando pelas janelas do crime e castigo – e por que não, da loucura? –; de Jean-Louis Flandrin, analisando o tempo de abraçar, e de tantos outros autores brilhantes que aplicaram o seu ofício à história das mentalidades. Teremos a companhia, também, dos donos dos poderes sagrados ou profanos, sempre interessados em subjugar desejos e emoções às suas estratégias de mando. Investigadores brasileiros seguem esse movimento, na trilha especial dos desvios às normas estabelecidas. A história do pecado se avoluma, deixando adivinhar as virtudes do sexo bem-comportado, as normas aconselhadas ao exercício da sexualidade. No painel planetário que se estabelece, projetam-se as cores vivas do primitivo e do civilizado, do mau e do bom comportamento. Projetam-se as identidades excluídas: mulheres, *gays*, hermafroditas, transexuais, impotentes, frígidos, estéreis. Multidão estigmatizada, impossibilitada de estender o conceito de cidadania ao exercício de uma sexualidade plena, sem culpa e sem medo. É a esta vastíssima coorte de identidades excluídas que se dirige este artigo, que busca escrutar a natureza dessas identidades no passado brasileiro, na versão cadavérica da realidade social transmitida pelas leis.

O comparativismo entre amor e sexualidade no passado, engessado em normas binárias prescritivas de práticas heterossexuais, exercidas no casamento, e nos dias atuais que veem a marcha de grupos alternativos para o alcance da cidadania plena, comprova que os nossos ancestrais não estavam tão distantes de nós em seus desejos. Há, pois, analogias entre as duas épocas, colocadas ao lado das diferenças. Nesse cenário, somos mais impressionados pelas diferenças do que pelas analogias, pois são as variações que nos levam a nos indagar sobre a nossa identidade sexual, os nossos medos, as nossas aspirações (DUBY, 1988). O medo ao outro é também o medo ao marginalizado. Na temática aqui tratada, as margens eram ocupadas pela pluralidade de pessoas que não podiam ou queriam se submeter às regras controladoras do exercício da sexualidade. O "outro", como a imagem especular de identidades socialmente sancionadas, permanecia inevitavelmente no mundo dos excluídos, por meio do medo de pecar e da impotência em constranger os apelos da carne aos limites do toro conjugal.

III. A Doutrina do Amor e Sexualidade no Ocidente Cristão

Para compreender a atitude da Igreja quanto ao problema da sexualidade, é preciso refletir sobre a visão monista do sexo permitido apenas no âmbito e nos limites do casamento heterossexual, monogâmico e perene. O conjunto da doutrina a respeito do casamento prende-se fundamentalmente no controle de nascimentos, a ser considerado nas fronteiras do matrimônio. Nesse tema, faz-se necessário investigar de onde provêm os imperativos contraditórios de virgindade e de procriação, e de qual maneira, no bojo de qual contexto histórico e através de quais combates, essa contradição foi, por um tempo, resolvida.

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Em *L´église et le contrôle des naissances*, Flandrin apresenta um painel sobre os principais acontecimentos relacionados à questão do controle de nascimentos no Ocidente, focalizando a presença da Igreja como preceptora principal de um tema que prendia a atenção dos donos do poder, pelas consequências sociais, políticas e econômicas nele implicadas (FLANDRIN, 1970).

Essa obra nos informa que, na baixa Idade Média, por volta do século XII, aparece o amor cortês, criando a teoria de um amor conjugal plenamente espiritual. No século XIII, São Tomás de Aquino reabilita o prazer encontrado no ato conjugal, que havia sido procrastinado anteriormente, iniciando o movimento de aceitação da busca de um "prazer moderado", como razão lícita do acoplamento conjugal. A doutrina dessa época registra ser lícito ao homem copular com sua mulher, para evitar cair em adultério. Também oferece para os pobres, sobrecarregados de crianças, a sugestão da "continência reservada".

No século XVI, o dever conjugal, isto é, os serviços de cama e mesa, sujeitavam-se a uma equação de créditos e débitos – tal qual uma bolsa de compensação – e a recusa ao dever conjugal para limitar o número de filhos é condenada. Nesse cenário, embora a procriação apareça como um dever conjugal, a sua recusa passa a ser considerada como um pecado venial, quando os esposos estivessem na impossibilidade de nutrir mais filhos do que aqueles que já sustentavam.

No século XVII, mais precisamente em 1602, surge a primeira justificativa dos beijos e abraços como preliminares ou substitutivos ao coito, considerando que eles exprimiriam e reforçariam o amor conjugal, mesmo quando sob o risco de ejaculação.

Em 1798, Malthus publica *Um ensaio sobre o princípio da população*, obra que passou a nortear debates acalorados sobre o tema, a partir de então.

No século XIX, os *Penitenciais* deixam aparecer a dúvida sobre o caráter instrisecamente mal do onanismo, mas aconselham que não se devia interrogar os penitentes sobre esse tema (1842). Em 1851, o Santo Ofício, relembra que o ato de Onan, por ser contrário à lei natural, não poderia ser em caso algum autorizado. A mulher é condenada por "onanismo" se cooperasse, de qualquer forma, com o ato sexual, quando o marido usasse um preservativo. Os onanistas impenitentes deveriam ser aconselhados pelo confessor à continência periódica.

Em 1900, ocorre o Primeiro Congresso Mundial do Movimento Malthusiano, dando novas cores à discussão. Até 1930, quando é publicada a Encíclica *Caste conubii*, a igreja prescreve instruções sobre onanismo e métodos preservativos, recusando a visão puramente biológica do ato conjugal e considerando, desse prisma, que o coito significaria para o homem o fechamento do amor conjugal. Nesse período, a Igreja Anglicana admitiu a contracepção por "motivo sério". No ano de 1924, as descobertas de Ogino-Knaus levaram à descoberta de um método de identificação do período estéril da mulher, facilitando a legitimação de relações conjugais, sem a necessidade de preservativos. Em 1935, o objetivo do matrimônio é aliado ao amor conjugal, oferecendo uma doutrina nova do casamento. E, em 1951, Pio XII considerou natural a busca do prozer pelos cônjuges, proclamando que o método da continência periódica era oferecido a todos os casais que temessem, por razões sérias, uma nova gravidez. Em 1951, Pio XII utiliza "regulamentação dos nascimentos" como expressão para legitinar a contracepção. Em 1953, aparece a pílula de progesterona, que foi, três anos após, experimentada numa grande escala em Porto Rico. Pio XII, por sua vez, condenou todo emprego dessa pílula para fins diretamente contraceptivos. Em 1960, a pílula é posta à venda nos Estados Unidos. Em 1963, João XXIII encarregou uma comissão extra-conciliar de estudar a oportunidade de um reexame das prescrições sobre a vida conjugal. Dois anos após, o Concílio Vaticano II (1962-1965) voltou a discutir as relações entre sexo e procriação, tendo sido nomeada uma comissão especial para cuidar do assunto, mas Paulo VI resolveu não tomar nenhuma decisão sobre os resultados conclusivos dessa comissão, que permaneceram secretos. Em 1968, houve a publicação da encíclica *Humanae Vitae,* reafirmando dados da doutrina tradicionais sobre a sexualidade no matrimônio. Na atualidade, a questão do controle de nascimentos é posta com urgência a uma humanidade em vias de vencer a mortalidade infatil, as epidemias e as fomes. E também a uma igreja que deseja assumir sua parte de responsabilidades deste mundo. Antes do século XIX e depois do início do Cristianismo, o problema era outro: conciliar casamento e castidade, justificar o casamento, porém, mantendo a preeminência do estado virginal. A contradição maior não era, como hoje, entre uma doutrina intangível e a sobrevivência da humanidade, mas aparentemente, tratava-se de uma discussão que se dava no seio próprio da doutrina (FLANDRIN, 1970).

A cronologia da doutrina eclesiástica sobre o controle de nascimentos, levantada por Flandrin, abarca o período de 81 a.C. a 1968 d.C., balizado pelos registros de posturas legislativas/judiciárias que podem lançar luzes a respeito do amadurecimento da reflexão sobre a sexualidade, esclarecimento marcado por dubiedades e desencontros, mas que incidia pesadamente sobre os comportamentos dos fiéis. A primeira data refere-se às leis de Sila contra os *Veneficii* (envenenamentos), tocantes ao celibato e à esterilidade dos romanos de grandes famílias, incluindo o uso de poções que provocavam o infanticídio, dos já nascidos e daqueles por nascer. O último registro concerne ao ano de 1968, com a publicação da encíclica *Humanae Vitae*. Em 108 registros, comparece um conjunto

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multifacetado de documentos (cânones, leis, decretos, confissões, pastorais, cartas, epístolas, apologéticas, vulgatas, pregações, conselhos, considerações, homilias, penitenciais), cuidando de uma problemática recorrente, exposta em antinomias sobre objetivos sexuais legítimos ou ilegítimos. De modo geral, visa-se ao casal heterossexual, baseado na instituição divina do matrimônio. O sexo exercido fora do casamento ou por modalidades não sancionadas é nomeado, indistintamente, como pecado, vício ou crime. O ator dessas práticas sujeita-se a penalidades severas, chegando à morte pelo fogo no caso de homossexuais masculinos ou femininos – os sodomitas – , em princípio, raramente citados por um discurso destinado aos "filhos da Igreja", isto é, aos seus "fregueses".

Os acontecimentos principais desses dois milênios de interpretações começam com o nascimento de Cristo. No cenário da Era Cristã, o tema da sexualidade é tratado por uma política de procriação, com temas decorrentes (celibatarismo, contracepção, castidade, virgindade, continência, gravidez, infanticídio, aborto, concupiscência, luxúria, onanismo, sodomia, "práticas vergonhosas", prostituição). Sobre esses assuntos constroi-se um discurso de medo e de culpa, balizado por acontecimentos específicos: conversões de apóstolos – São Pedro, São Paulo –, vitória do Cristianismo contra o Paganismo no Império Romano, condenação de heréticos – agnósticos, macabeus, filisteus, cátaros, albigenses – por ações sexuais reprovadas pela doutrina eclesiática, presente nos textos dos doutores Agostinho, Tomás de Aquino, Bernardo e dos evangelistas Marcos, Mateus, Lucas.

O segundo quartel do século XII marca o surgimento do amor cortês, que enaltece a donzela pura e virginal, posta no centro de um ritual amoroso por seus pretendentes – cavaleiros transmutados em vassalos. Por volta de 1130, configura-se a teoria do amor conjugal puramente espiritual, feito à moda de José e Maria, que se defronta com o dilema de estender o ideal de castidade ao matrimônio, contrariando a sua destinação reprodutiva. Na segunda metade do século XII, é proposta a conjunção reservada para satisfazer ao dever conjugal, sem ser poluída pelo prazer. Entre 1215 e 1226, as cruzadas contra os albigenses suscitam intensas discussões sobre o papel da sexualidade na identidade e destinos dos cristãos. A intensa luta contra o paganismo e as heresias concentra a atenção dos legisladores cristãos, católicos ou reformados, na Idade Moderna, com a atuação de inquisidores que reforçam a condenação dos "pecados da carne", qualificando-os como diabólicos. A contemporaneidade assistiu às as descobertas de Ogino-Knaus (1924), permitindo maior eficácia antinatalista ao "sexo reservado" anterior. Um ano depois, Von Hildebrand recusa a visão puramente biológica do ato conjugal, afirmando que seu sentido para o homem é o cumprimento do amor conjugal. Em 1935, Hebert Doms publica *Do sentido e do fim do casamento*, propondo uma doutrina nova do matrimônio, baseada no amor conjugal. Em outubro de 1951, Pio XII considera "natural" a procura de amor pelos cônjuges no leito matrimonial e proclama que o método da continência periódica é permitido a todos os casais que tivessem razões sérias para temer uma nova gravidez. Nessa fala, Pio XII se utiliza da expressão "regulação dos nascimentos". Em 1953, é concluída a invenção da pílula de progesterona e, dois anos depois, é experimentada, com sucesso e em grande escala, em Porto Rico, vindo a fornecer a base técnica para as grandes mudanças comportamentais das décadas seguintes, concentradas na liberdade sexual feminina (FLANDRIN, 1970).

a) A dialética entre o medo e a culpa: pecado, vício e crime

A gula e a luxúria, embora não marcassem presença nos primeiros lugares do septenário oficial, ocuparam as maiores preocupações e os maiores espaços do sermonário sobre culpa e castigo no Ocidente. Aliás, a longa estrutura das sanções aplicadas ao sexo e aos alimentos comprova-se no fato de os maiores interditos da espécie humana se aplicarem a eles, como os tabus da antroprofagia e do incesto. As duas quaresmas da tradição cristã, a do Advento e a da Morte, proibiam a ingestão da carne vermelha e os atos sexuais. A homologia do significado popular do verbo "comer", aplicado à fome e ao sexo, reproduz o interdito eclesiástico na vida humana: "as bênçãos nupciais são proibidas desde a 1.ª Dominga do Advento (20 de Novembro) até o dia de Reis inclusive, e desde quarta-feira de Cinzas até a Dominga 'in Albis', inclusive (24 de Abril) " (LISBOA, 1881, verbete "Nupcias").

Nos sentidos latos de pecados decorrentes do uso indevido da carne e do sexo, ficava difícil discernir as fronteiras entre as ações virtuosas, que garantiriam o necessário à vida e sua conservação, e o espaço ocupado pelo pecado do exagero, da exorbitância em consumir, pelo mero prazer. Quando a gula ou a luxúria viriam, como criaturas de Satanás, a perturbar a obra divina, do comer para o sustento do corpo e das cópulas essenciais para a reprodução de corpos para o Estado e de fiéis para a Igreja? Os conselhos aos fiéis é que vencessem em primeiro lugar a gulodice e a luxúria, para depois atacar de modo gradativo e por ordem de dificuldade crescente, os vícios mais resistentes. Mas no início dos tempos modernos, a luxúria revestiu-se de uma gravidade que contradizia a sua colocação no final da lista. Um dos penitenciais anônimos dos anos 1490 consigna que a fornicação era mais detestável do que o homicídio e o pecado mais repugnante a Cristo.

A lógica estrita da necessidade de povoar o mundo não se apresenta incólume a uma investigação

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cuidadosa. De fato, já por volta do ano 200, Tertuliano afirma que a Terra estava sobrepovoada, fornecendo argumento a uma posição antinatalista de algumas seitas/filosofias heréticas e colidindo com a proibição do uso de drogas contraceptivas, considerada como um assassinato dos não nascidos. Ainda na base dos quiproquós, no ano 300, os sodomitas são identificados como parricidas. Duzentos anos mais tarde, o pai de família perde o seu direito de vida e morte sobre seus filhos. Nesse mesmo século, o perigo de superpopulação é apontado por São Jerônimo, quando denuncia as práticas contraceptivas das jovens da sociedade católica de Roma. De forma paradoxal, entretanto, analisa a história de Onan como prática contraceptiva, tornando o onanismo, isto é, o coito interrompido, num pecado nefando (384 d.C.).

No ano 390, um decreto de Valentiano condena os sodomitas ao fogo. A contracepção se transforma num crime "pior que a morte". No fim do sécilo IV, Santo Agostinho estigmatiza os procedimentos contraceptivos e a continência periódica dos maniqueus, desenvolvendo sua teoria do casamento em sua obra *De bono conjugali*. Em 418, Santo Agostinho escreve sobre as núpcias e a concupiscência. Entre 590 e 604, o Papa Gregório o Grande afirma que o prazer conjugal era inevitavelmente sujo, mesmo quando os conjuges se unissem com o fim de procriar. Do século VI ao XI, os *Penintenciais* inauguram a sua idade de longa duração, apontando as penitências que deveriam ser dadas pelos confessores aos penitentes arrependidos, a fim de serem absolvidos de seus pecados.

São Paulo, em sua Primeira Carta aos Coríntios (aproximadamente, em 56 d.C) adverte contra o incesto e a impudicícia e reprova as relações com prostitutas. Mas, o mesmo diploma aconselha o casamento como remédio contra a fornicação e considera como incontornável a "dívida" carnal, advertindo que a liberdade dada pela lei bíblica não pode se transformar num pretexto para satisfazer a carne. O apóstolo também condena os fármacos e, em sua *Carta aos Romanos*, estigmatiza os costumes "contra a natureza" dos pagãos. Em uma epístola aos Efesos, Paulo traça um paralelo entre o amor conjugal e o amor de Cristo por sua Igreja (62 d.C). Nesses primeiros documentos, aparece a oposição dialética entre corpo e espírito, recorrente em séculos na doutrina cristã.

Em sua longa trajetória, o casamento se afirmou como instituição divina, colocado em oposição ao sexo praticado fora do casamento ou à continência voluntária, que viria a contrariar os princípios bíblicos do Antigo Testamento, expressos no "crescei e multiplicai-vos", mandamento emitido após a ocorrência das duas catástrofes bíblicas primordiais: a Queda e o Dilúvio. Nesse âmbito, aparece já a exaltação da Virgindade de Maria e os crimes de luxúria, incluindo entre as práticas vergonhosas "aqueles que concebiam com a boca", certamente numa expressão que remetia ao sexo oral (por volta do ano 130). De modo geral, essas práticas são interditadas por eliminar ou desperdiçar a semente (o sêmen). Aconselham-se castigos autoinfligidos para que os jovens escapassem à concupiscência. O onanismo, o "pecado nefando", concentra boa parte das preocupações dessa literatura, merecendo um tratamento mais detalhado. A história bíblica é reproduzida compulsivamente nos sermonários ocidentais, relembrando a obediência de Onan a seu pai, Judá, que lhe ordena seguir a regra do levirato, casando-se com Tamar, a viúva de seu irmão mais velho, Er, que fora morto por Deus. O casamento foi efetuado, porém Onan se esquivou da consequência de seu enlace físico com a nova esposa – garantir a descendência ao irmão defunto –, uma vez que qualquer filho nascido de Tamar seria o herdeiro de Er, com o direito de reivindicar o dobro da herança, como primogênito. Se não houvesse descendência macha de Er, Onan teria herdado como o filho mais velho sobrevivente. Nessas circunstâncias, a fim de defender seus interesses, ao fazer sexo com a viúva de seu irmão, Onan "derramou sua semente no chão", e como castigo foi morto por Deus. A implicação da narrativa é que o ato de Onan deu origem ao descontentamento divino, mas não está claro se seu mau comportamento indicasse a recusa de cumprir a obrigação de levirato, contrariando a norma de dar continuidade ao nome de seu irmão e aos direitos do clã, ou se referisse ao ato de "espalhar sementes em vão", ou até mesmo em fazer sexo com Tamar (que normalmente seria proibida para ele, por ser sua cunhada). Visões primitivas judaicas, expressas no Talmud, consideram que a imposição da pena de morte se originou desse fato. Não obstante, os regulamentos levíticos a respeito da ejaculação, vista ou não como onanismo, prescrevem somente uma lavagem ritual, prevendo que o homem permaneça ritualmente impuro, até o dia ou a noite seguinte à ejaculação em vaso inidôneo. Alguns críticos consideram que a história de Onan é um mito de origem sobre a constituição da tribo de Judá, no qual a morte de Onan representaria a morte de um clã. Er e Onan seriam os representantes de clãs respectivos. Ademais, essa interpretação sugere que a ira de Deus não se dirigia ao ato sexual, mas à desobediência de Onan ao se recusar a engravidar a viúva de seu irmão. Estudos divergentes contestam tal versão: segundo eles, a punição a Onan resultou de um ato sexual pervertido, por desperdiçar sua semente no chão e pela sua recusa de fornecer um herdeiro a seu irmão defunto. Aqueles que seguissem Onan quebrariam "o vínculo social com suas 'mãos criminosas', desperdiçando o precioso fluido que havia sido projetado para perpetuar a raça humana" (WIKIPÉDIA, 17/6/2021).

Em seu *Comentário sobre o Gênesis*, João Calvino refere-se ao pecado de Onan, identificando-o

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como masturbação e pontificando que "o derramamento voluntário de sêmen fora da relação sexual entre um homem e uma mulher é uma coisa monstruosa", além de ser duplamente monstruoso retirar-se deliberadamente do coito para que o sêmen possa cair no chão. Nessa vertente, John Wesley, fundador do Metodismo, em suas Reflexões sobre o pecado de Onan, de 1767, considera que "qualquer desperdício de sêmen em um ato sexual improdutivo, seja na forma de masturbação ou coito interrompido, como no caso de Onan, destruiu as almas dos indivíduos que o praticam". As ideias de Wesley alertam sobre "os perigos da autopolução" e os efeitos físicos e mentais da masturbação, descrevendo casos de doenças e recomendando terapias. Apesar de a "transgressão" de Onan não envolver a masturbação, os teólogos encontraram "um elemento comum" no coito interrompido/onanismo e no gozo solitário, assim como em relações anais e outras modalidades de sexo praticado fora da vagina ou do toro conjugal. Assim, onanismo adquiriu o significado de masturbação, em muitas línguas modernas, com fundamento na interpretação da narrativa bíblica de Onan (WIKIPÉDIA, 17/6/2021).

b) *Sexo e amor no passado histórico brasileiro: o combate entre o desejo e o dever*

O estatuto do amor na era colonial, revelado pelos documentos, estava preso aos dois arquétipos de sexualidade então vigentes: o amor casto de esposas e o amor-paixão realizado fora do casamento. As mulheres mais estimam do que amam seus maridos, e como todas as mulheres honradas, devem servir, amar e obedecer os cônjuges. Estes, por sua vez, deveriam honrar, alimentar e estimar suas mulheres, como bons católicos. O companheirismo, baseado na estima e concórdia mútuas, é o sentimento aconselhado aos esposos, porque os "casamentos de amor" arriscavam subverter a ordem social, pois "a função principal do matrimônio era a de estabelecer alianças entre famílias e assegurar a transmissão do patrimônio" (FLANDRIN, 1981, p. 9).

As fontes literárias confirmam tal postura, tanto em Portugal, quanto no Brasil. As obras de Gil Vicente e de Gregório de Matos, por exemplo, tratam de casamentos ou duplas amorosas mal sucedidas, como resultado de equívocos ocorridos na escolha do par. As narrativas farsescas aludem a medianeiros e jogos de interesses nos negócios do amor, além de maridos traídos, delitos e punições. Canções e provérbios populares são outras fontes que permitem o acesso à estética e sabedoria folclóricas sobre sentimentos e amor. As tramas narrativas tratam de temas mais ou menos gerais: o princípio da homogamia, o respeito às distâncias sociais e o ceticismo sobre o amor no casamento, reproduzindo o androcentrismo rude, que reproduzia, nas fronteiras do lar, a rudeza da sociedade envolvente. No Brasil, os papéis sociais elencados para o exercício do poder na família agravavam-se pela exigência de se manter o domínio do colonizador sobre os colonizados, do branco sobre a "gente de cor". Os documentos contam que os maridos eram os maiores violadores dessa regra, por ausências contumazes da casa, pela sonegação de roupas e alimentos à mulher e filhos. As devassas e róis de desobriga registram inúmeras denúncias de abandono do lar atalhado por ações corretivas: admoestações, excomunhões, penas pecuniárias e de prisão. Os sacerdotes recusavam a desobriga da quaresma àqueles que se furtassem ao dever conjugal de coabitação (CAMPOS, 2003, p. 42).

Ao inquirir sobre sexo e amor no passado brasileiro, faz-se preciso levar em consideração a presença de escravos, radicalizando o poder do mais forte sobre o mais fraco e a prevalência de poderes locais sobre os metropolitanos e fortalecendo o mando marital na escala privada, como um clássico *pater familias*. Essas circunstâncias agravavam a posição subalterna da mulher, equiparando-a à das escravas, e facilitava os atentados à ordem matrimonial. As sevícias, como a outra face dos gestos amorosos, aplicadas pelos homem em suas mulheres, são fortemente marcadas por elementos sado-masoquistas, como Gilberto Freyre apontou nas casas-grandes dos engenhos nordestinos:

> Nas condições econômicas e sociais favoráveis ao masoquismo e ao sadismo criadas pela colonização portuguesa – colonização, a princípio de homens quase sem mulher – e no sistema escravocrata de organização agrária do Brasil; na divisão da sociedade em senhores todo-poderosos e em escravos passivos é que se devem procurar as causas principais do abuso de negras por brancos, através de formas sadistas de amor que tanto se acentuaram entre nós; e em geral atribuídas à luxúria africana (FREYRE, 196l, p. 449).

Herdada da Europa, por via lusitana, a fé conjugal manifestava-se pelo respeito ao princípio de coabitação. Coabitação de mesa e tálamo. Dever sacramental defendido pelas *Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia*, que ordenam que "todos nossos súditos façam vida marital com suas mulheres, e a elas que acompanhem a seus maridos, como são obrigadas, aos lugares aonde com decência com eles puderem viver". Tornados "uma só carne", o casal submetia a *unidade* de existência adquirida aos princípios da *monogamia*, *indissolubilidade, honestidade* e *fidelidade* recíproca dos dois cônjuges na coabitação, exigidos para se alcançar a excelência do matrimônio: a "geração dos filhos e a fé recíproca da castidade dos esposos" (CONSTITUIÇÕES PRIMEIRAS DO ARCEBISPADO DA BAHIA, 1853, parágrafo 301, p. 14). A poligamia era repugnada para os fins do matrimônio, uma vez que "a experiência mostra, que as mulheres conhecidas por muitos homens não produzem; e quando produzam, são filhos de pais

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incertos, vacilando por este modo a obrigação da educação; a poliandria pois opõe-se à lei natural" (ARAÚJO, 1853, pp. 27-28). A condenação é sublinhada em tratados de direito canônico, com a observação de que não constituía um obstáculo para os "fins primários" do casamento, "porque a experiência mostra, que um só homem pode fecundar a muitas mulheres, e cuidar da educação de muitos filhos". Marido e mulher obrigavam-se ao débito conjugal, circunscrito nas razões legítimas para as relações sexuais, dever incontornável e dilemático, pois, ao mesmo tempo em que a postura tridentina privilegiava o estado da castidade e o exemplo dado por São José e Maria Santíssima, os casais castos não cumpririam os fins precípuos do próprio matrimônio, isto é, a geração da prole, a *bonum prolis* (SEIXAS, 1880).

A posição da igreja sobre o dever de tálamo é esclarecida em algumas obras intituladas *Casos de consciência,* que funcionavam como manuais de confessores. O capítulo referente ao tálamo – "Casos sobre a direção dos cônjuges ou principalmente acerca do débito conjugal e o seu abuso ou onanismo" –, arrola diversos fatos que poderiam ser trazidos à apreciação do confessor e aconselha condutas a adotar. Embora os casos narrados sejam fictícios, a própria destinação da obra exigiria que se baseassem em fatos reais. Deixando de lado os enfeites retóricos, o didatismo e a complexização dos problemas, a ficção transmite versões possíveis de sentimentos e práticas sexuais registradas por essa imprescindível fonte histórica.

Normas mergulhadas na noite dos tempos fundamentam razões para a sonegação do débito em São Paulo. Um réu que não consumara o casamento, declara a uma testemunha que "se queria casar para fazer uma vida casta [...]" e "por sua morte havia de deixar sua mulher na forma, que a recebia", uma vez que desejava "viver como São José tinha vivido com Nossa Senhora" (PROCESSO DE NULIDADE MATRIMONIAL, 1824, fls. 5-5v).

Os diretores de consciência são concitados a interrogar sobre a licitude das posições diversas durante o ato sexual, considerando como "natural" apenas uma: o homem acima da mulher alongada de costas. Mas seria lícito, quando os órgãos sexuais dos parceiros estivessem unidos, adotar outras posições? A resposta em geral era rigorista, pendendo para a negativa, sobretudo quando as relações fossem realizadas à moda dos animais, tendo por objetivo a busca do prazer e não obstáculos oriundos da gravidez da mulher ou de enfermidades diversas (DELUMEAU, 1983). A refinação doutrinária era alheia aos versos profanos, como no caso de Gregório de Matos, ao trazer uma das raras descrições do ato sexual, nas paragens setecentistas do Brasil:

Fodamo-nos, minha vida,
que estes são os meus intentos,
e deixemos comprimentos,
que farto tendes de comprida:
eu sou da vossa medida,
e com proporção tão pouca
se este membro vos emboca,
creio, que a ambos nos fica
por baixo crica com crica,
por cima boca com boca
(GREGÓRIO DE MATOS, [s.d.], v. 5, p. 1078).

Os documentos paulistas mencionam explicitamente apenas a chamada posição "a tergo" e atos sodomitas, como crimes contra a natureza, cometidos pelos moradores da capitania. A condenação dessas técnicas podia provocar dissenções entre casais, com mulheres acusando seus maridos de quererem copular com elas "como animal" (PROCESSO DE DIVÓRCIO, 1821, fl. 11v).

Aliás, a sodomia, o "pecado nefando" dos autos da Inquisição, deveria ser bastante popular no Brasil. Gilberto Freyre diz que até europeus de nome ilustre figuram como sodomitas em processos da *Visitação do Santo Ofício às partes do Brasil*. Opinião estatisticamente corroborada por Sônia Aparecida de Siqueira: em 283 culpas confessadas nas duas visitações realiza na Bahia, em 1591 e 1620, figuram 44 atos de sodomia, quantia que só perde para as blasfêmias, em numero de 68. É significativo que entre as culpas sexuais, apareçam, ao lado das práticas sodomitas, apenas uma de bestialidade e outra de molície (SIQUEIRA, 1978). A "tropicalização das consciências" acentuaria hábitos sodomitas, protegidos pela distância da metrópole e pela tolerância maior às transgressões no meio colonial, como expressa Gregório de Matos, no seio do anticlericarismo radical que marcou parte de seus versos barrocos: um sodomita, vigário geral, mantinha filhos e criados "aferrolhados para o pecado Mortal". Os parceiros dos sodomitas eram chamados de "ductos" ou "condutos", comprados "com um vintém de bananas, e de farinha dois punhos" (GREGÓRIO DE MATOS, v. II, p. 278).

Um pecado da carne, "molície", nos documentos do passado brasileiro, aparenta indicar práticas homossexuais, mas é um pecado que resta definir, embora aponte, em princípio, para um termo que abarcasse práticas solitárias (FLANDRIN, 1981).

A percepção de não existir pecado do lado de baixo do Equador, corrente na Europa seiscentista, adquiriu contornos sociológicos nas penas de Gilberto Freyre (FREYRE, 1961) e de Paulo Prado (PRADO, 1997) autores que reproduziam o pensamento sobre o caráter estruturante da luxúria e da libidinagem em nossa sociedade, transmitindo a visão esteriotipada sobre o Brasil Colônia de cronistas e jesuítas, incansáveis em apontar a dissolução de costumes nas terras brasis. A literatura de viagem, dos cronistas e dos

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missionários associa o selvagem à palavra sedutora, produzindo o selvagem como "corpo de prazer". A erotização do corpo do outro e da voz selvagem acompanha de perto a formação de uma ética da produção. A erotização da palavra une-se à imagem do outro, fazendo da sociedade selvagem um corpo de festa e um objeto de prazer. Uma série de oposições estáveis mantém ao longo das narrativas dos primeiros séculos da colonização a distinção entre o selvagem e o civilizado. Como personagem, o selvagem surge como a imagem invertida do trabalhador, representando uma outra economia, diferente da do trabalho, fazendo retornar, sob forma estética e erótica, os elementos que a economia de produção teve que recalcar para se constituir. O desejo aparece como o reverso da lei (CERTEAU, 1982).

O medo do inferno, propagado por sermões contínuos, poderia estar na base da visão coletiva sobre o pecado, com as denúncias sobre os fornicários, alvos da Inquisição em suas visitas programadas à Colônia, em seu empenho central de descobrir cristãos-novos ou infiéis de toda natureza, mas, também, em policiar costumes da população. Nas denúncias e confissões, há uma sexualização das imagens divinas, atingindo mesmo a Cristo e a Virgem Maria. A fé misturava-se ao desejo, produzindo a figura do Cristo fálico da imaginação coletiva daquela época. Ao sexualizar o divino, não é surpresa que divinizassem suas práticas sexuais, fazendo com que a linguagem da sedução caminhasse entre o Cristo fálico e a Virgem fêmea, povoada por santos diversos, por Deus e pelo Diabo. No universo de saberes e magias sexuais, vigorava a quase absoluta separação entre machos e fêmeas, e é preciso que o pecado não transcorresse livre, caminhando par a par com o medo à inculpação em vida e no pós-morte (VAINFAS, 2003).

A Igreja, num processo provavelmente de mão dupla, moldava e amoldava-se à cultura secular, avaliando o amor físico, que não visasse precipuamente à geração, como fornicação. A realização da sexualidade era tributária, por conseguinte, de valores codificados, pelos quais se proibiam determinadas modalidades eróticas na vida íntima do casal. Mesmo que esses valores não fossem mantidos na prática social – e os documentos mostram que em muitos casos não o eram – teriam, certamente, uma ação inibidora da libido conjugal. Assim é que vemos "casos de consciência versando sobre a licitude ou não de práticas sexuais entre esposos". Numa obra dedicada a tais fatos, uma penitente inquieta-se sobre a prestação do débito conjugal, por ter prometido "guardar castidade matrimonial, o mais perfeitamente que pudesse ser, sem lesar os direitos do marido". Assim, procura saber se pode acariciar o marido, dando-lhe dessa forma ocasião de pedir o débito. A resposta esclarece muito sobre o comportamento sexual que se esperava dos bons católicos: honesto, manifestando sinais convenientes de amizade, e acariciando seus maridos para lhes mostrar a sua afeição. À mulher honesta, carinhos honestos. A Igreja ocupa um lugar privilegiado num sistema tão adequado para canalizar os impulsos de um sexo mortificado e as irritações de desejos que não podem se satisfazer. De um ponto a outro, a Igreja toma a iniciativa do processo de culpabilização, impondo-se como mediador ideológico de um fenômeno que se apresenta com profundas rupturas de estilo de um período outro (DARMON, 1979).

O estudo do pecado no passado brasileiro implica um conjunto específico de conceitos: aqueles relacionados à "informação social", isto é, à informação que o indivíduo trasmitia sobre si, e à informação que a Igreja, como agente social, transmitia sobre os indivíduos. Dois níveis de informação unidos num único quadro conceptual: do grupo social diretamente sobre si e da Igreja sobre o grupo social.O primeiro pode ser auferido de depoimentos dos próprios autores: de relance, nos róis de desobriga da Quaresma; mais circunstanciadamente, em obras profanas, tais como as literárias. O segundo nível constitui a "pastoral do medo", analisada por Delumeau no mundo ocidental, e presente, em cores conferidas pela presença de índios ("os negros da terra") e afrobrasileiros, escravos ou forros, postos à disposição da libido dos brancos. Nesse campo, persiste a dúvida a respeito de uma possível importância exagerada, dada pelos historiadores, à repercussão do discurso do pecado na rotina social, uma vez que se constata uma profunda distância sobre o agir e o dizer na vida cotidiana. A frequência de pecadores na sociedade ocidental põe em discussão a eficácia do gigantesco esforço dos cristianizadores modernos para fazer entrar nos costumes, a golpes de sermões, proibições e ameaças, um outro modelo de vida sexual: o único que eles julgavam tolerável em países da cristandade (DELUMEAU, 1978).

Os crimes mais denunciados no Brasil referiam-se a adultério, bigamia, alcovitice, molície, além de "casos reservados", isto é, aqueles referentes a pecados cuja absolvição competia apenas ao bispo. Uma vez que as fontes registram fornicadores e adúlteros ordinariamente, é provável que a categoria dos reservados abrangesse pecados "contra a natureza"– sodomia, homossexualismo, bestialismo – ou práticas contraceptivas violentas – abortos, infanticídios. Os tratados de teologia moral declaram, por alto, as causas das reservas: "Aos nossos Santos Padres pareceu ser de suma importância à disciplina do povo cristão, que certos crimes mais atrozes e graves não fossem absolvidos por quaisquer, mas somente pelos Sumos Sacerdotes" (ARAÚJO, 1853, t. II, pp. 2-46).

As observações contidas nas fontes, embora lacunares, permitem a reconstrução do papel

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estratégico do pecado como poderoso meio de controle social. O conteúdo sociológico de uma história dessa natureza demonstra que, embora vigorasse a acepção de serem todos os homens pecadores, eram os casos mais discrepantes e que ocorriam em grupos subalternos que acabaram por ser registrados. O pecado e a culpa, submetidos à penitência e ao perdão, conferiram à Igreja o domínio sobre a sociedade brasileira e, aos estudiosos, a possibilidade de ouvir, mediada embora pela linguagem burocrática das autoridades, as vozes de pessoas integrantes de grupos excluídos (CAMPOS, 1992).

IV. Conclusão

A abordagem da vida intima do homem, na duração do passado histórico, é tarefa urgente, mas complexa. É a isso que se refere Jean-Louis Flandrin, um dos grandes especialistas do assunto, ao observar que a idéia segundo a qual nós temos dificuldades particulares sobre o plano sexual e que elas são imputáveis à nossa moral tradicional, de essência cristã, tornou-se muito expandida entre os ocidentais de hoje; desse modo há qualquer coisa de ilógico em escrutar com tanta atenção o passado dos indivíduos submetidos à cura psicanalítica e tão pouco sobre seu passado coletivo. Tarefa, ao que parece, ser incumbência dos historiadores, que, em sua maioria, concordam em reconhecer a existência e o vigor dos temas de austeridade sexual numa sociedade em que os contemporâneos descreviam, frequentemente para reprovar, a imoralidade e os costumes dissolutos.

A desconfiança da cultura ocidental quanto aos prazeres, a insistência a respeito dos efeitos de seu abuso para o corpo e a alma, a valorização do casamento e das obrigações conjugais, a severidade das normas sobre o uso legítimo do sexo testemunham o poder da Igreja e do Estado sobre o corpo humano. Se considerarmos apenas os textos que falam desses temas e os lugares que lhes eram conferidos, evidencia-se que se tornou cada vez mais insistente a inquietação sobre os prazeres sexuais, quanto à relação e o uso que se pode ter com eles, com os intuitos declarados de moralização de costumes e de proteção do casamento e da família, efetuados de modo mais ou menos autoritário pelo poder político. A substância do prazer sexual, como força ética, é da ordem da força contra a qual o indivíduo precisa lutar. No passado, essa luta se passava, necessariamente, nos subterrâneos sociais, ao qual estavam relegados os loucos, pobres, homossexuais, sodomitas, onanistas, impotentes, blasfemadores, alquimistas, que viviam "o drama estranho e desconhecido de todos aqueles que, em razão de uma sexualidade reputada como falha", eram condenados a pagar o resgate do mito heterossexual, monogâmico e perene dos deveres inscritos no *toro* conjugal.

A redução do ato sexual ao estado de conceito jurídico talvez possa ser visto na qualidade de preâmbulo à reação canônica do século XX. Desde o início do século, a consumação/não consumação, a potência/impotência relacionadas ao dever conjugal integraram-se a uma rede complexa e densa de definições, que provocou, por sua vez, a sondagem, análise e dissecação da vida sexual, a fim de fornecer à Igreja fundamentos sólidos de intervenção, de controle e de pressão sobre a vida individual e coletiva da população.

No Brasil, as relações entre marido e mulher e dos pais com seus filhos subordinavam-se ao poder do chefe. Poder exercido despoticamente, sob o império da lei. Monarquia masculina, de direito divino, muito bem expressa por Capistrano de Abreu, numa visão concisa da sociologia de família: "pai soturno, mulher submissa, filhos aterrados". A poligamia masculina apresentava-se profusa e profundamente arraigada nas práticas sociais, em especial para os estamentos mais altos, que podiam dispor de um poder quase ilimitado quanto ao corpo e à alma de seus subordinados. A documentação escreve a sua história, dificilmente conformada aos modelos importados da Europa, que se impuseram no Brasil, como observa Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, não com a consistência do ferro, mas com a consistência do couro.

A literatura sagrada e a profana traçam uma tipologia das transgressões cometidas no Brasil, entre as quais avultam as da carne, nas cartas jesuíticas, nas crônicas de náufragos ou viajantes. No entanto, o dossiê do pecado repousa especialmente em arquivos eclesiásticos, concentrando-se nas pastorais, nos manuais de teologia moral, nos autos de devassa e róis de desobriga da quaresma, além dos processos do Santo Ofício, indicando comportamentos que deveriam ser atalhados pela Igreja. Na medida em que prosseguimos na análise dessas fontes, vamos nos convencendo de que boa parte da população se mantinha distante da pauta sexual prescrita para o amor e a sexualidade, concedendo ao desejo um lugar privilegiado no combate mais do que milenar do homem contra o preconceito e a desigualdade. A "pastoral do medo", embora vencida pelos movimentos de luta contra preconceitos sobre o amor e a sexualidade no campo da legislação secular e, em parte, também da eclesiástica, continua atuante no cotidiano patriarcal e falocrático da sociedade brasileira.

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The Cessation of Gender Inequality in Nigeria and Women's Participation in Partisan Politics

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Abstract- The study focuses on gender inequality and women participation in Nigerian politics, it was discovered that traditional, socio-economic and political and cultural structures aid discrimination against women lead to law of contribution of women to social development. The finding shows that despite global effort to improve the poor condition of women through conventions and conferences such as CEDAW, MDGs, among others, gender discrimination has no abetted. Some of the main factors militating against women's effective participation in politics are illiteracy, poverty, money politics, intimidation, harmful traditional practices, violence, cultural and religious barriers. It is suggested that more effort is required by civil society, groups and government agencies for greater awareness on gender issues and rekindling effort of all stakeholders in quest to formulating politics and programmes towards reduction of gender inequality. Actions recognized by Nigerian laws. The recommendation also suggested that in order to ensure active participation of women in politics, government and political parties should increase the level of awareness of women by organizing seminar, workshops not only in the cities but also in villages.

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The Cessation of Gender Inequality in Nigeria and Women's Participation in Partisan Politics

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Abstract- The study focuses on gender inequality and women participation in Nigerian politics, it was discovered that traditional, socio-economic and political and cultural structures aid discrimination against women lead to law of contribution of women to social development. The finding shows that despite global effort to improve the poor condition of women through conventions and conferences such as CEDAW, MDGs, among others, gender discrimination has no abetted. Some of the main factors militating against women's effective participation in politics are illiteracy, poverty, money politics, intimidation, harmful traditional practices, violence, cultural and religious barriers. It is suggested that more effort is required by civil society, groups and government agencies for greater awareness on gender issues and rekindling effort of all stakeholders in quest to formulating politics and programmes towards reduction of gender inequality. Actions recognized by Nigerian laws. The recommendation also suggested that in order to ensure active participation of women in politics, government and political parties should increase the level of awareness of women by organizing seminar, workshops not only in the cities but also in villages.

I. Introduction

Before the British colonization of what is today Nigeria, women's voice in the communities was rarely unheard-of could not be ignored. Thus, women seldom participated in the decision-making and administrative processes of their communities. Mba (1982) and Awe (1992) stated that despite this marginal participation as compared with the men, their views were important and critical to community life. Their roles in the societies were complementary to that of men, rather than being completely subordinated to them.

Colonialism and its practices altered this arrangement and reinforced indigenous gender hierarchies negatively and thus pushing women to the background. In other words, colonialism exploited Africa's gender social division of labour negatively to the disadvantage of women, thus increasing women's vulnerability to violence and exclusion (Mama, 1997; Amadiume, 1995). In effect, the exclusion of women from the public sphere resulted in an unequal gender order, so that in wealth, power and status, women were in a disadvantaged position relative to the men.

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At independence, Nigeria did not significantly reconstitute the inherited colonial patriarchal structures that limited women's participation in the public sphere. Hence, women still had limited access to both tangible and intangible societal resources.

The Nigerian women were still faced with various restrictions such as low participation in politics (Aluko & Ajani, 2006); widowhood rites and disinheritance (Oyekanmi, 2008); female genital mutilation, poor access to education, healthcare, jobs, land credit, early marriage, etc (FMWA, 2006) during the first Republic and early military regimes in the country.

However, in recent times, successive Nigerian governments, in reaction to the various International Conventions and Covenant on women, have undertaken legislative and administrative reforms that would give women full access to economic and productive resources. These have resulted in an improvement in the status of women who now occupy ministerial positions and seats in the legislature. For example, during the Obasanjo administration, there were six women ministers out of a total of thirty-four and ten women special advisers out of a total of thirty-five as well as twenty-one female representatives out of a total of three hundred and sixty in the National Assembly (Afolabi- Akiyode, & Arogudade, 2003). Women have also enjoyed an increased presence in the labour market and education. As of 2010, women's participation in the industrial sector stood at 11%. Similarly, women's represented 87% of those employed in the service sector (FMWA, 2006).

It was only during the first International year for Women in 1985 that Nigeria began to make deliberate efforts to reckon with women in public affairs and nation-building.

The military government established a commission for women Affairs with the intent to remove duplication of programmes and efforts to strengthen inter-agency linkages and complement similar programmes as well as define sectoral responsibilities to promote the general welfare of Nigerian women. States were also instructed to establish directorates of women affairs.

This was in line with the United Nations (UN) Declaration of a decade for women (1975-1985). The evidence was the emergence of many women organizations that were formed by voluntary members of society. In reality, some of these organizations were

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formed before the UN declaration. Interestingly, these organizations were formed by women themselves to achieve their emancipation and improve their potentials. Examples of such organizations, are the NCWS – National Council for Women's Societies, WIN – Women in Nigeria, FO MWAN – Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria and OYUN Progressive Women Association.

However, attempts made to open up most of the rural areas where women are mostly based have been of tremendous effect. Thus, even women in the villages have become aware of the change going on around them. The regime under review and its concerted efforts have initiated and appointive positions were reserved for women.

To further the participation of women in politics, the regime of Olusegun Obasanjo of the (PDP) People's Democratic Party, scrapped all fees required of women political contestants to enable them to participate in the future elections. The government also sent about 30 women to India to see and learn how to establish a small scale industry to contribute meaningfully to the economic development of the country.

In recent times, development has made it possible for women to participate in those activities which were the exclusive reserve of the men. Considerable attention has been focused on making women more prominent in terms of contributing to the economy and development of their countries, hence their participation in politics has been viewed to be a major factor of nation-building.

The Beijing conference of 1998 added impetus to the empowerment of women in Nigeria. The various programmes embarked by the Nigerian government such as Family Economic Advancement Programme (FEAP) and Family Support Programme (FSP) have assisted so much in advocating the development course of the womenfolk (Egwanwon, 2002).

The Better Life Programme in supporting the level of awareness given to women as to what their role should be in regards to politics. The belief that information rules the world, has been emphasized because, without the requisite information at the disposal of these women, the efforts of the government would be in futility (Ene, 1997).

However, women's progress has been painfully slow. These improvements notwithstanding, women in Nigeria are still faced with enormous obstacles as the growing recognition of their contributions in recent times has not translated significantly into improved access to resources or increased decision-making powers. Women still hold only 3% representative in national government and still constitute the majority of the poor and the illiterate. Women still constitute 65% of the 70% of Nigerians living below the poverty line with their income and purchasing power being very low compared with US$1,628. (UNDP, 2006). Similarly, while males constitute 58% of Nigeria's adult literate, females constitute 41% (UN, 2005).

Lack of awareness by the rural women has prevented them from sending their girl child to school. The situation leaves many girls untrained and unqualified to hold public positions.

Women's participation in politics is a contentious issue in Nigerian political life. The issue of inequality has therefore been perceived by different people, especially the womenfolk, as an attempt to erode their fundamental rights.

Despite the global efforts to improve the poor conditions of women through numerous conventions and conferences such as the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City (1975), with several resolutions to promote equality, development and peace in the world, the UN for women, which aimed at creating awareness on the marginalization of women, Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) intended to guarantee women's equal rights with men in all spheres of life, including education, employment, healthcare, suffrage, and marriage, as well as the International Safe Motherhood Initiative, in Kenya (1987), and the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, that stressed the importance of gender equality, International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD), 1994, the number of women in social and public life remained unimpressive in so many countries of the world.

This means that these policies have not been translated to the anticipated equality and development. Many governments have assented to the numerous treaties, conventions and covenants yet the implementation has not been effective, leading to little or no impact on the set objectives.

Even though the State has embraced gender mainstreaming, it is evident that gender inequalities are still persistent. This shows that the situation has not changed at all or much.

Given this development, what is gender inequality? does gender inequality limit the opportunity for women to participate in politics, what measures can be adopted to improve women's participation in politics?

These studies seek to investigate the major problems of inequality that inhibits women participation in politics and to proffers solution to enhance gender parity and women participation in politics. This study would bring to the fore the various dimension of gender equality/inequality in the various spheres of Nigeria society such as in the economy, education, politics, health, legal right, it will also highlight the reasons while the progress in achieving gender equality in Nigeria has been painfully slow, the study will be of immense benefit to scholars and students on gender parity and policymakers and fill a gap in the literature in the area.

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Conceptual Clarification

(i) *Gender Inequalities*

Gender inequality often stems from social structures that have institutionalized conceptions of gender differences. Culture stereotypes are a possible explanation for gender inequality and the resulting gender disparity. According to Margaret (1982), women have been traditionally designated to occupations that require low skills. While these skills are culturally valued, they were typically associated with domesticity. Therefore, an occupation requiring high skills is not economically valued. Men have been traditionally viewed as breadwinners or workers, so jobs held by men have been historically and economically valued and paid higher wages.

Gender inequality can further be understood through the mechanism of sexism. Margaret (1982) opined discrimination takes place in this manner as men and women are subjected to prejudicial treatment based on gender alone, Sexism occurs when men and women are framed with two social cognition.

Benevolent sexism takes place when women are viewed as possessing a low degree of competency and a high degree of warmth. Although this is the result of a more positive stereotype of women, this still contributes to gender inequality as the stereotype is only applied to women who only conform to the caring and nurturing stereotypes, making women still being discriminated against as they are not viewed in the positive light. In addition, this form of sexism has negative effects or notions on women, which include the idea that women are weak and in need of protection from men.

Hostile Sexism takes place when women are viewed as having a high level of competency but a low degree of warmth. This form of sexism is framed as an antagonistic attitude towards women and occurs, as women are perceived to be attempting to control men, either through sexual seduction or through feminist ideology.

Discrimination also plays out with networking and preferential treatment within the economic market. Men typically occupy positions of power within the job economy. Due to taste or preference for other men, because they share similar characteristics, men in the position of power are more likely to have and promote other men, thus discrimination against women.

Kurts in Ebere (2003), believes that gender has to do with the social complex relationship between males and females in the society as well as the power and economic differential associated with them. Inequality has to do with social factors in society. It deals with activities that are appropriate for males and females and what rights, resources and powers inequality has as a form of discrimination against the female folk. Which gives inadequate participation of women in developmental issues and the decision-making process.

According to Bukoye (2007), discrimination is any distinction and exclusion made based on sex that has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, employment or exercise of power by women irrespective of their marital status.

According to Colemen (1987), Gender inequality or discrimination remains pervasive in many dimensions of life worldwide. This is so, despite considerable advances in gender equality in recent decades. The nature and extent of the discrimination vary considerably across countries and regions, but the patterns are striking.

In no region of the developing world are women equal to men in legal social and economic rights. Gender gaps are widespread in access to and control of resources in economic opportunities, in power and political voice. This has dealt a deadly blow to development. Women who are intelligent and resourceful are relegated to the background simply because of age-long tradition and culture. What this means is that these women cannot contribute their quota to development. This situation plays out in Nigeria where women's participation in the economy and politics is less than 20% because of the deep inequality practised all over the country.

The study adopted the theory of sexism which is the attitude and institutions, often unconscious, that judge human worth, on the ground of gender or sex roles. It could be prejudice or discrimination, against women based on their genders. The proponents of this theory include Karl Marx, Peter Glick, Susan Fsick, Mary Anstell etc.

The theory emphasizes fundamental, physical and psychological differences between men and women, cultures and societies are deciders of gender women oppression is in connection with the production.

Fundamental, physical and physiological/ biological, differences between men and women, in part, account for the ascribed masculine supremacy, and patriarchy inevitability in societies. (Mariete S. 2005) Partriachism is the most crucial form of feminine domination, the legitimacy of which ironical rests upon tradition.

Ann Oakley and Sherry have espoused the view that culture and society are the deciders of gender roles. In their respective analysis, they opined that culture is the total of human societies accumulation of traditions, values, norms prescription of behaviour, among other things, over the years of their existence (George, 1990).

Accordingly, these legacies are transmitted from generation to generation, and members of a culture determine gender roles. Consequently, the universal subordinate status of women in politics is historical, having been determined by culture and

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society, and which members think of as absolute and unchangeable. In essence, the cultural order puts men above women.

Accordingly, the order bestows on man, the responsibility to guard the terms and the cultural foundation up which the development of society and the home is founded, while the women guard the home unity and health as well as integration of society through rearing, including the nurturing of off-springs when they are young (Abayomi, 2000). The Marxist analysis of the women question takes a different dimension. It examines the status of women concerning the economic system, rather than the relationship between men and women. The endpoint is that women's oppression is in connection with the production.

Marxist feminists, consequently focus on housework and its relations to capital arguing that house workers directly under the capitalists, the men (husbands) act as the domestic capitalists or compradors, who subject the housewives to exploitation and labour at home including providing services like laundry, cooking, cleaning the environment and child-rearing, are not subjected to economic evaluation or monetization and be so rewarded accordingly.

Women's oppression will cease to exist, in the projection of George, when class oppression disappears as a result of proletarian revolution, which will invariably emancipate both men and women from capitalist exploitation. Unfortunately, the dream of women liberation and emancipation from men's oppression may not be attainable because of the demise of communism, which had intended to provide the ideological framework and foundation for such revolutionary Putsch by the oppressed workers. Gender theologists in their justifications' rationalize religious injunction as the determining basis for gender inequalities in society.

These theoretical factors are assembly deterministic of the sex roles in the society, and by extension, decide life opportunities and how far each sec can go in the societal scheme of things.

Ambivalent Sexism has two sub-components: hostile sexism and benevolent sexism which means “well-wishing or friendly: Traditionally, only hostile sexism was considered relevant, but recently, a strong stream of research has been conducted to show the detrimental effect of benevolent sexism.

Ambivalent Sexism offers a reconceptualization of the traditional view of sexism to include both subjectively benevolent and hostile feedings towards women. The tradition of the benevolent component is a major contribution because it addresses the interdependence that men and women share.

Benevolent and hostile sexism both reinforce traditional gender roles and preserve patriarchal social structures by sharing the common assumption that women are the weaker sex, the two forms of sexism differ in their expression. Benevolent sexism is defined as subjectively positive attitudes of production, idealization and affection towards women in traditional roles while hostile sexism is defined as their negative equivalent of domination, degradation, and hostility. Men can hold types of sexist beliefs without contradicting each other "women need to be protected as they are deemed to be incompetent at work.

a) Political participation

Women participation in politics, according to Momodu (2003) the issues should be seen from four perspectives: access, participation, representation and transformation. Access to political institutions, participation (which includes control of power within such institutions), quantitative and qualitative representation and the result will be a social and political transformation in the polity. Enhance Women's roles in politics and development, can be achieved when these four conditions are fulfilled.

Women in politics are sustained for three reasons, firstly, politics is an important arena for decision making. Individuals who hold official positions in government get to decide how to allocate scarce resources, such as tax revenues. Public officials make decisions that may help some people at the expense of others. The decision by public officials often affects people's individual choices by encouraging some behaviours and outlawing others.

Secondly, political power is a valuable good. Policymakers hold power over other social institutions, such as the family. Third, holding a political position is 'to hold a position of authority (Paxton, 2010). Women in positions of authority and power can influence decisions on issues that bother women and impact positively on the lives of the female gender.

Political participation, according to Igwe (2002), is the degree of involvement of the people in governance and related institutions of society, such as the economy and culture. It involves participation in political campaigns and debates, attending caucus or strategy meetings of political parties, voting during elections, standing as candidates for elections, and holding government and party positions. It also includes freedom of expression, association, right to free flow of communication, influence on decision process, and right to social justice. It also expresses such rights to demand better social and health services, better working conditions, and an increase in wages, amongst others Okolie, 2004).

The essence of political participation in any society, whether civilized or primitive, is the participation, acquisition and control of power and dispensing power to organize society, harness and distribute resources and influence decision making in line with organized or individual interests (Arowolo and Abe, 2008). All groups, including those of women, seek to influence the

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dispensation of power in line with their articulated interests as a fundamental motive of political participation.

Today women increasingly seek power equality and distribution and redistribution of resources in their favour. However, careful observations have indicated that the involvement of women in Nigerian politics is largely noticeable at the level of voting and latent support. Adeniyi (2003) has identified violence and other forms of electoral conflicts perpetrated by male and female youth as the major barriers confronting and inhibiting women active participation in Nigerian politics. Arguments are on the increase on the specific role women should play in society or women should engage in other socio-economic and political activities like their male counterparts. It is, however, believed that while the natural relationship between mother and her child may compel and confine her to sedentary activities, it is also important that such mother should contribute her quota to the development of her family and that of her society at large.

The continuous marginalization of Nigerian women denies them the opportunity of performing these functions. It is interesting to note that society recognizes the value of women as voters in a democratic process, yet they are perceived as incapable of governing, thus limiting their ascendance to the pinnacle of decision-making and participation in the power structures. This explains why women take the risk of having their needs subsumed under the interest associated with their membership of a particular class, ethnic group, or culture or women organization.

b) Causes of gender inequality

The poor participation of women in politics and governance has been a major concern at the global level. In Nigeria, the number of women participating in politics is not proportionate to that of men rising global focus on issues of gender equality, aided by calls such as that of goal three of the Millennium Development Goals, is bridging the gap created by long-term discrimination against women, and helping to make women more visible in politics.

The following issues are the challenges facing women are enormous, researchers have shown that the under listed are responsible for gender inequality and low participation of Nigerian women in politics.

1. *Patriarchy:* It refers to a society ruled and dominated by men over women, which in turn has given to women being looked upon as mere household wives and non-partisans in the decision making process in households not to talk of coming out to vie for political positions.
2. *Stigmatization:* Following the way politics in Nigeria is played, it is being perceived that it is for individuals that have no regard for human rights and are quick at compromising their virtue for indecent gains. Therefore, women aspirants who venture into politics are looked upon as shameless and promiscuous.
3. *Low Level of Education:* The low participation of women in education is also part of the shortcomings. The National Adult Literacy Survey, 2010 published by the National Bureau of Statistics revealed that the adult.
4. *Poor Financing:* Competing for political positions in Nigerian requires huge financial backup. Most Nigerian women who seek these positions could not afford to meet the financial obligations therein, despite the wavers given to women aspirants by some of the political parties. And so, they could do little or nothing to outweigh their male counterparts.
5. *Political Violence:* Nigerian elections have always been characterized by one form of violence or another since the return of democracy. Female aspirants to various political parties cannot withstand political violence; therefore, women participation in politics is drastically reduced.
6. *Religious and Cultural barriers:* Both Christianity and Islam do not accord women many roles in public life, and the same is obtainable in most cultural values, where women are seen culturally as the sex who should be quite submissive and full of virtue. However, they are not to be seen in the public domain. And so it is a challenge to women participation in politics, more so, women found in the corridor of politics are not often religious in practice.
7. Political Godfatherism is one of the concepts that open narrow doors when it comes to deciding who gets in the political scene. However, it affects women participation in Nigerian politics. Literarily because Godfathers are seen in Nigeria to be men who have the power personally to determine both who gets nominated to contest elections and who wins an election. Godfathers are people of questionable wealth and influences who robbed political parties of their conventional and legitimate functions of presenting clear and coherent programmes based on which the candidates presented by them are chosen by the voters.

c) The causes of gender inequality in Nigeria

1. *Improper Education*

"Knowledge is power". It might not be a strong point, but this is pointing more towards some parts of Nigeria that are rejecting western views on women, to stick to cultural ones. Education is nothing if you leave all you learn in school and still behave like a savage when you get back home. In other words, it must be obvious that you are educated. There are two ways to this, a community that's poorly educated can never know the worth of women and a woman that is not

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educated cannot know her rights, talk less of the myriad of things she's capable of contributing to modern society. It has also been noticed that parents don't usually encourage the education of their female children because they believe it will be of no benefit to them, as any money or success she earns in the future, due to her education, will be of her husband's, not theirs.

2. *Tradition and Culture*

Tradition is said to be the custom of a particular society, while culture is simply the way of life. Women are never appointed traditional rulers because it is deemed an abomination on almost every ethnic group. Why should a woman be leading when there are able men to that could lead?" such is the typical cultural dogma that has plagued many thrones and political seats in Nigeria. Don't even dare suggest female leadership to the elders of the community, you might lose your head.

3. *Mentality*

It is hard to keep "mentality" as a standalone point, as it is largely influenced by culture and tradition. However, if you look at it subjectively, from a women's view, it stands alone, how? Many women are not ambitious because they believe top positions are not meant for men. Even some ladies complain about having a female boss simply because are used to having a male boss. It almost seems clandestine for women to want to occupy a political position or the hot sit in a company. such a mentality is usually created and forged by a woman's immediate environment. If you have seen women lead, you would think that it is normal for women not to lead even if you were not directly told.

4. *Religion*

It is not a secret that religion is one of the top contributors to gender inequality in the world. Religion is one of the many things that guide the masses in living a good and peaceful life and is one of the biggest contributors to peace on earth. However, some religions or religious practices restrict women to just domestic roles, making it impossible for them to even think about holding a political post.

II. The Challenges of Nigeria Women in Socioeconomic/Political Development

The international concern for women has gained serious recognition and ascendancy attracting various governments to the needs of women inclusion in their political and leadership positions.

Egonmwan (2002) observed that Nigeria's involvement of its womenfolk in developmental activities assumed a visible dimension when the United Nations Organization declared the year 1975 as the international year of women and since then march 8th of every year have been set aside by the UN for celebrating the occasion.

In July 1980, an agreement was reached by all member states that every nation should recognize the need for the involvement of women in nation-building. Consequently, Africa's collective appreciation of women's participation in politics found concrete expression in the Lagos Plan of Action which was the policy voice of African Heads of State and government in a meeting held in Lagos, April. 1980.

African states developed policies and strategies for women's full participation in politics and all other developmental activities. Nigeria's response to this was the establishment of the National Commission on Women Development (NCWD) at the national and state levels in the country.

The basic function of this commission committee was to promote awareness among women. The federal government also signed and ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women.

This convention otherwise known as CEDAW (2009) as international organizations including the UN, AU and ECOWAS were enjoined to compel African countries to ensure women have adequate representation in politics, access to health care, ensuring proper education and access to credit and loan facilities. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights also recognizes the radical equality of men and women in dignity.

Therefore, African women as indispensable transmitters of family values, need to be culturally, socially, economically and politically empowered to enable them to attain their optimum goals in life. It is noteworthy to mention some countries of the world that top the list of gender equality particularly women's full participation in the politics such as

According to World Economic Forum (2009) Iceland, Finland, Norway Sweden and New Zealand. The developing countries including Nigeria are yet to institutionalize gender equality. (World Economic Forum, 2009).

Akirinade (1990) observed that women participation in politics in Nigeria dates back to 1929 during the Ikot Abasi women riot. Since then Nigerian women have delved into different aspects of partisan politics first by campaigning for men or husbands as candidates of their choice. It is quite easy to use women as campaign tools because they can be easily mobilized.

Through Queen Amina of Zaria, a new role was defined for women, because of her bravery and exemplary leadership. Nigerian women became aware of the roles they could play by assisting the men in politics.

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Nigerian women have continued to contribute significantly to the wellbeing of the human race, but about 60% of the total population of women are yet to fully participate in politics even though they have made several efforts to the progress of the nation. (Dibia, 2004).

To improve a lot of women Nigerian government has started operating scholarship schemes for interested candidates that do exceptionally well in science and other related subjects realizing the need for education in supporting women's active participation in all spheres of life. (Buchanan, 1993).

For this reason, two technical colleges have been devoted to the enhancement of women development in the country. Today federal and state ministries of education seek to encourage parents to send their female children to school.

In support theory of a prominent monarch, Ashiru (2009) in Kaduna state, advised parents to see the girl child education as a task to be achieved and a vital issue to the development of society. In his words "If you educate a man, you educate a person, but of is educate a woman, you educate a society.

Of all the various policy instruments for ensuring women are not excluded from decision making. Legal Aid Council and Legal Literacy Council according to Dibia (2004) are the most popular components of a government effort to reduce family abuse, and the Family Law Centre offers advisory and legal advice on all family legal problems free of charge to low-income people.

Akande and Kuye (1986) also pointed out that free publications are targeting school-age children in the hope that they will read it to their mothers while also learning on their own.

The legal Aid council has contributed to the abrogation of the customs which was discriminatory against Nnewi women in the inheritance of the property of their husbands which was repugnant to natural justice and the constitution.

Between 1999-2007, the then president Olusegun Obasanjo announced the establishment of a new ministry for women's affairs in his 2000 budget speech as earlier earned led by General Sani Abacha's legacy of 1995.

The rationale for women's ministry was to encourage women to enter the labour force and supply a wide range of talents and services demanded by the general public.

a) Nigerian Women in Governance

Democratic government has been observed to be an adequate and most enabling style of governance that enables citizens active participation in their affairs. As quoted in Obi (2007) Aristotle explained that democracy exists whenever those who are free and are well off but, being the majority are in control of the government.

It has been described as continuous responsiveness of government preferences of its citizens considered as political equals. Nigeria experiencing the rule of democracy may have geared its actions towards encouraging women in the participation of politics.

Even though there is diversity in culture and language of the units that made up Nigeria, yet the zeal to participate in the affairs of the nation be it federal, state or local government is aroused in the of the citizens. Obi (2007) Democracy accommodates different ethnic units, culture, sex and religions and guarantee individuals rights. Therefore under democratic governance, Nigerian women have been advised to use the opportunity to come forward and contribute their quota to nation-building. (Obi, 2007).

Women are therefore enjoined to take their proper position in governance without waiting for the men to offer them an opportunity that may not be easy. The emphasis on the equality of persons which is the cardinal pursuit in democracy should be an added advantage. It accords respect to every individual and emphasizes numerical strength.

Nwafor and Ezegbe (1998) confirmed the necessity of involving women in democratic governance as an imperative that should be given adequate attention. This is because democratic governance is an opportunity for an individual to exercise his or her right, irrespective of age, sex, gender or class.

As observed by Mirya Zuniga (1995) giving women the opportunity to participate in politics through adequate empowerment will be a fruitful effort, and not domination over others but an increased power of their self-esteem and internal force, and according to Dighe (1995), an empowered woman is someone with a sense of self-worth and self-confidence, someone who critically analyses their social and political environment and thus exercise control over the decisions affecting her life. Women empowerment goes beyond all the cultural stereotypes that have relegated women to the kitchen. It involved a conscious effort to equalize the power between men and women. It also involves active political participation, sound educational opportunities, among others. (Amujin, 2007).

Gender inequality is the reason behind greater poverty, slower economic growth, weaker governance and a lower standard of living of people. There is a correlation between gender discrimination and underdevelopment. A UNDP analysis confirmed a very strong correlation between its (UNDP's) gender-related development indices and its"Human Development Index. (World Bank)

With the UN research and analysis, above Nigeria is still found wanting on the extent it involves it

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women folk in governance. Giving women the opportunity to participate in politics has contributed immensely to governance and positive impact on the female rural dwellers.

Ijere (1992) women are known to form the backbone of rural development; a successful development without the involvement of rural communities is a haphazard development. (Ijere, 1992)

Political participation starts in the rural communities where the government is closer to the people and when women are allowed to start from their local government.

For women to achieve this aim, their economic empowerment would ensure their active role in politics. Women therefore should have access to the necessary tools and resources for their self-actualization.

The great opportunity given by the Obasanjo regime went a long way to ameliorate the poor conditions of women and removed practices militating against their development and full participation and active politics.

To disabuse the minds of their male counterpart from Jeth joining gender stereotypes hinges on women's ability to convince men that their new social space and new gender identities are non-threatening, mutually benefiting and greater than a zero-sum game". (Dibia, 2004).

The notion of women as homemakers and men as providers should be changed for the mutual understanding that both men and women should participate in the labour market regardless of gender and domestic responsibilities.

Women can therefore combine family and work based on the government's accommodative policies. Okpoko (2002) opined that women should forge a link between themselves both the literate and the illiterate, ones to dialogue and share experiences and fully integrate themselves in the political affairs of the nation.

Emphasis has also been laid on functional skill building which will also assist greatly to empower women in active participation in both productive and community development.

Aboh (2009) observed that despite the various programmes and conferences for women, Nigerian women continue to wriggle in the pains of relegation and gender-based discrimination in the allocation of positions, (political, economic) and that no poverty alleviation programme has ever been a target at women alone in Nigeria and despite the International Day for Rural Women set aside to recognize the rural women, Nigerian rural women can still not reckon with. Women, in general, is still classified as the poorest 70% of the world's poorest people are women. Convention on the Elimination of all forms Discrimination against women has marked its 30th anniversary, yet the profile of women who participated in development and nation-building activities is nothing to be compared with that of the menfolk.

The president of the National Association of Women Journalists (NAWOJ) is of a counterview. There is hope for the Nigerian woman, women are presently being trained and re-retrained to fit into the job of politics as well as entrepreneurial skills to build their capacity utilization. Although Nigerian women still have a long way from achieving equality with their male counterparts, there is progress in women education as confirmed earlier in this study. A good number of Nigerian women are now found in all sorts of training institutions all over the country and outside the shores of Nigeria to improve their level of education which will thereafter pave way for their involvement in politics.

Awareness is being created by various organizations calling on women to participate in partisan politics. Nigerian women now occupy various positions as ministers members, senate members, house of representative members of the state house of assembly. Deputy governors, commissioners and other political appointments. For instance, the Obasanjo administration The result of our investigation proven that the regime under our focus in its first term appointed about 7 women as members of the executive council while in his first term more than seven women were appointed into the cabinet. Our findings in chapter four gave a detailed account of our findings.

Unfortunately, the national literacy rate for females is 26% compared to 72% for males and in a certain state, the female literacy enrolment and achievement rates are much lower, for example, girls net enrolment in Sokoto state is 15% compared to 59% for boys. (UNICEP, 2002).

III. Summary, Conclusion / Recommendation

a) Summary of findings

The study was designed to examine gender inequality and women participation in politics in Nigeria. Based on the study, it was discovered that the problems of gender inequality in Nigeria have receded as modern society has redefined the role of a woman, which is vastly different from what it used to be in the middle ages. However, patriarchy and gender inequality engendered by religious beliefs, and diverse cultures are still prevalent. Women are still largely considered to be inferior to men, as women are only deemed fit to be home keepers and child bearers.

There exists gender imbalance. Several direct and related policies have not been implemented, leading to little or no impact on the set objectives.

Most of these policies on poverty reduction, fertility reduction, maternal mortality reduction, can be more effective if bold steps are been taken to improve the status of women checks against discrimination

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against women. If there is a bottom-up approach, which encompasses grassroots participation in the decision-making process, gender disparity issues might be less and its unintended consequences drastically minimized.

Poor child health maternal health, HIV infection, rural-urban residence, early marriage, household headship, illiteracy, man-hours at work, wages, income, employment, means of production, senior positions, and parliamentary seats are some of the development indications that have not been substantially addressed for women. The overriding influence of custom and tradition are especially obvious. For instance, the non-discrimination clause in the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is not taken into cognizance when policies are being formulated. The gap in gender issues such as property inheritance rights, divorce, reproductive health rights, discrimination against women and harmful cultural practices, if abridged can make a big difference for gender concerns.

b) Conclusions

The problems of gender inequality should not be ignored by any society. Though usually viewed as a human rights problem, gender equality is vital for attaining progressive and sustainable economic development and a peaceful environment. This is because women are more than 50% of the population of Nigeria. According to United Nations Population Fund, gender inequality hinders the growth of countries, development of individuals, and progress of societies.

c) Recommendation

1. *Support Women for Local Elections*

Many career politicians gain their first experience in governance and through campaigning and running for local office. Catherine Samba-Panza served as Mayor of Bangui.

Supporting women for local elections would reassure both potential female candidates and party leaders that women can win competitive elections. Women should be encouraged to participate in grassroots politics and development

2. *Diversify the pool of female candidate*

Women have a unique capacity to shed light on the often obscured needs of marginalized groups. AFRICAN LEADERSHIP AND TENURE ELONGATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA he most vulnerable members, including children and ethnic and religious minorities. When marginalized groups exist in government, society is more stable and less likely to experience armed conflict. Women are advised or encouraged to actively participate in governance to bring their experience to bear an issue to state concern.

3. *Raise Societal Awareness of women's leadership*

The contributions of women are waved by male colleagues as inferior at times of decision making. Developing a curriculum for Civic Education that emphasizes women's leadership deemphasized cultural norms against it will ensure that future generations are more receptive to female political participation.

Female office holders' should be trained on media that make them role models for African girls and boys.

4. *Create Cross-Party Women's Caucuses*

Most women lack the power and influence enjoyed by their male colleagues. Women public office holders should be encouraged to form Cross-party caucuses as mediators in inter-party disputes and curb disagreements in civil society.

A female cross-party caucus is made up of women from all ethnic groups, which enables legislators to find common ground on various issues and leverage their collective power to push through important legislation.

5. *Build Capacity of Female Leaders*

However, concrete steps can be taken to immediately enhance women's political leadership. Through pieces of training to build their capacity and knowledge around various issues and to connect them with civil society activists who can be key allies in creating beneficial new policies.

While African women have made great strides in recent decades, there is still work to be done to ensure that they have a primary role in their nation's government and wider society. By advocating for the above five steps, international and regional organizations can provide valuable support to Africa's amazing women leaders. These women can, in turn, model meaningful inclusion for governments around the world.

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A Conflict or War Impediment Strategic Approach: Perception Games, Deception Hypergames, and Deterrence in Global Politics

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Abstract- This article enhances the use of the applied game theory and hypergame theory in global politics and strategic security studies. It suggests first a (Deception Hypergame Model of Inter-state Conflict) where conditions of certainty and uncertainty, perception and deception are considered within a conflict/war impediment perspective. While inferring an interconnectedness of (Initial Stability in the Powers Conflict and Deterrence Relation) in the international system, we develop a (Deterrence Entanglement Law) second that can be applied effectively to inter-state conflict cases to preclude the (present/future) conflict or war possibility given that the balance reached might be relative, outright, or incomplete, as proven under this theoretic-strategic approach.

Keywords: *game theory; hypergame theory; strategy; equilibrium; deterrence; conflict; war.*

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Abstract- **This article enhances the use of the applied game theory and hypergame theory in global politics and strategic security studies. It suggests first a (Deception Hypergame Model of Inter-state Conflict) where conditions of certainty and uncertainty, perception and deception are considered within a conflict/war impediment perspective. While inferring an interconnectedness of (Initial Stability in the Powers Conflict and Deterrence Relation) in the international system, we develop a (Deterrence Entanglement Law) second that canbe applied effectively to inter-state conflict cases to preclude the (present/future) conflict or war possibility given that the balance reached might be relative, outright, or incomplete, as proven under this theoretic-strategic approach.**

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I. Introduction

Game theory is the branch of science concerned with modeling the strategic interactions between two players or more in real-world circumstances or a predicated situation, in whatever discipline of knowledge, where the aim is to maximize each side's utility with or without considering the other's rationality. So, the equilibrium in game-theoretic models represents the solution point reached when all players pick their moves simultaneously or sequentially in the game. Many equilibria have been defined in the field;the most famous is the non-cooperative games' Nash equilibrium. Under the latter, playerscan randomize their choices, playing mixed strategies and making the best strategy-response to each other's strategy choice simultaneously while considering the other(s)'s own rationality.

The rationality argument is a standard used in game theory indicating that each player in a game situation seeks the maximization of utility during the strategic interactions of this game's real/predicted life situation, making rational choices (i.e., decisions) that are individually expected to bring the highest and stable payoff to this actor at the end. The extended development of the mentioned game theory is the hypergame theory. If game theory models the strategic interactions in complete or incomplete certainty conditions and perception state, then the succeeded hypergame theory has another say.

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Hypergame theory acknowledges the circumstances in which some opponents are in a conflict situation where the incorrect perception, intentional deception, misunderstanding, and misled information made by one opponent against its enemy have a place in modelingthis situation. Nash equilibrium is proved to be found in those intentional deception/ misperception-based models of the hypergame under a specific context. In a hypergame model, multiple games or hypergames manifest, given that each separate perceived game or hypergame of one player includes some understood equilibria from this player's own perspective and perceptions of the game and the other(s)'s (i.e., the opponent) perceptions and beliefs about the conflict. Still, none of the separately perceived equilibriums can be Nash equilibrium of the entire hypergame model, but only if it is to be a Nash equilibrium in each individual subjective game/ hypergame, expressing Nash strategy in all of them under the same model. Thence, the ultimate balance of a hypergame model, strategizing a complex conflict situation, can be reached, and even permanently.

Accordingly, in this research work, we introduce a (Conflict or War Impediment Strategic Approach) relying on the applied game theory and hypergame theory in global politics. This approach is represented through two developed theoretical works; the first is a (Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict "DHMIC"), and the second is a (Deterrence Entanglement Law "DEL"). In this paper, both are explained from a theoretic- strategic lens, which can be applied to inter-state conflict cases for impeding the conflict/war among the international system's nation-states, considering the (DEL)'s rules illustrated in this context.

II. The Conflict or War Impediment Strategic Approach, Part I: A Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict (DHMIC)

a) *The (DHMIC)'s Main Assumptions*

i. *Basic Assumptions*

- The (DHMIC) is based on a second-level hypergame (HG), in which misperceptions about the game or/and reality exist, and at least one player is

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aware that a hypergame isbeing played and there is a misperception in the game.

- In this hypergame model, there are two players: the first is Power I, and the second is Power II. We abbreviated both as (P-I) and (P-II), respectively, where each might be super, great, or middle power, conditioning that the client, agent, puppet, or dominated states do not lie within this hypergame-model's confines of interactions.
- Given that it is a second-level hypergame model, every player in a perceived hypergamecannot realize or know exactly about the other player's preference vector. Besides the misperceptions that exist when reasoning about the other's strategic choices; also, deception manifests depending on the lack of information about a player's actual actions, moves, beliefs, and perceptions.
- Each player, either (P-I) or (P-II), perceives the hypergame relying on available information, specifying some equilibria while perceiving the other player's game and how this actor understands the game and reality. In sum, our "Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict (DHMIC)" can be denoted as: $\{HG = (HG)1 + (HG)2\}$, where the $(HG)1$ is the hypergame perceived by (P-I), consisting of the game played by (P-II) as (P-I) understands it, that is: $\{(HG)1 = (G)2\}$. Likewise, the $(HG)2$ is the hypergame understood by (P-II) that is composed of the game played by (P-I) as (P-II) perceives it; this is denoted as: $\{(HG)2 = (G)1\}$.
- The (DHMIC) represents an actual hypergame where a common knowledge about the conflict exists, relating outcomes between individual games and dismissing equilibria perceived within each player's hypergame if it would not be equilibria for the entire hypergame played.
- The mapping function applied within the (DHMIC) is an attempt to balance unbalanced models when applying hypergame theory to conflict management. That aims to facilitate managing complex conflict that (may) exist in real-world circumstances if "uncertainty, misperception, and deception" become a triple-dimension controlling or restricting the nation-state or any power's behavior in its relationship with other powers in the international system. So, we focus on the state actors in this modeling, seeking to stabilize the system structure once the misperception/deception is revealed or countered and the equilibria are reached and settled.

ii. *Theoretical Assumptions*

- The model relies on two theoretical backgrounds discussed in the above theoretical survey. The first is the Decision-Theoretic Deterrence Theory and the second strand of the Classical/Rational Deterrence Theory. At the same time, the first variant of the last, the Structural or Neo-Realist Deterrence theory, is applied, which focuses on how to balance the system between two or more great powers, in particular, distributing political, economic, and/or military power between them (approximately) equivocally so that no one state/power or group of states/powers can overwhelm the other. That is the well-known *balance of power* system. Comparingly, the Decision-Theoretic Deterrence Theory concentrates on studying decision-making relations between actors (i.e., states) in the system, attempting to stabilize the system's structure through theoretical predictions on how each actor might behave, making rational decisions when confronting other actors in the system who are assumed to make rational choices in the same course.
- The famous Chicken model as the prominent and dominant game model in the Decision-Theoretic Deterrence Theory reflected a normal form representation of game theory, where the players make their decisions in a simultaneous move. There are mainly four rational possibilities: a- either both players/nation-states choose to cooperate, and the outcome is a compromise with payoffs next to best for all; b- both choose to defect, thus getting their worst payoffs in the game moving to conflict outcome; or that one state defects and the other cooperates, where the one that defects gets its best in the game, and the other that chooses to cooperate gets its next worst payoff under one-side cooperation situation. The Nash or optimal equilibria in the Chicken game model are represented in three cases: the mutual cooperation or compromise outcome and the two cases when one defects and the other cooperates. Within the same modeling, the theory confirms two main strategy categories: the first is well-known as the "Tit-for-Tat," explaining the cases when all players cooperate or all defect; and the second is known as "Tat-for-Tit," which is the opposite, describing the situations where one prefers to cooperate and the other defects, and vice versa.
- Our "Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict" is based on not only developing the Decision-Theoretic Deterrence Theory's uses in IR where misperception, different information, and uncertainty exist about the reality or the gameitself in a complex conflict modeling function. Also, the (DHMIC) attempts to integrate the Asymmetric Escalation Game, which is one strand of the Perfect Deterrence Theory, explained above, with the Decision-Theoretic Deterrence Theory under one deception hypergame-model manner. The Perfect

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Deterrence Theory was introduced by Zagare and Kilgour in 2000 as a remedy to the precedent game models that were built on rationality assumptions and proved to be incomplete or inconsistent theoretically in many ways, reconciling the international relations theory with the applied game theory excellently. Effectively, they showed why and how conflicts ensue, escalate, and are resolved interstate, how limited conflicts arise, and when and how extended deterrence exceeding a crisis initiation succeeds (i.e., preventing an all- out conflict), or fails, allowing the conflict outcome to be in play.[1]

- The built model depends, in part, on the explanation of the Asymmetric Escalation Game, which is one of the incomplete information models developed by Zagare and Kilgour in 2000, that Zagare applied to the Cuban Missile Crisis 1962,[2] criticizing precedent theoretical attempts of using game theory in interpreting the crisis in his 2014 research work,[3] as illustrated later. Within the Asymmetric Escalation model, as explained previously, there are two players: Challenger and Defender, where the Challenger may prefer not to make a demand preserving the status quo or make a demand overturning it. Under the same game, the Defender may concede, defy responding in kind, or escalate. The Defender defying stimulates the Challenger to make a demand only, sequentially, resulting in a limited conflict or escalating where the Defender in the following node can also escalate, allowing for all-out conflict to ensue or defy only, leaving the Challenger to win. If the Defender responds to the Challenger's Demand by escalating instead of conceding or defying, and the Challenger escalates likewise, an all-out conflict outcome arises. If the Challenger backs down, preferring to respond to the escalation by making a demand only, thus not countering escalating, this player allows the Defender to win as an outcome.
- In this model, we reconcile the (P-I) and (P-II)'s preference vectors, actions, and moves, and each perceived hypergame's equilibriums where misperceptions/deception and misled understanding or misinformation exist in complicated circumstances of managing conflict interstate, with the following:

a. The assumptions, strategies, and equilibria included in the Decision-Theoretic Deterrence Theory's Chicken game model;
b. The strategic preferences, game moves and countermoves, and equilibria theorized within the Asymmetric Escalation Game model of the Perfect Deterrence Theory. So, a developed hypergame-theoretic model is introduced _ as to come below.

- This study's developed (Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict) *hypothesis* that we seek to prove its validity is: "The initial stability in the system powers' conflict and deterrence relation is achieved through joint equilibria simultaneously occurring and the opponent-directed-capable and credible threat-existing in a mutual deterrence relationship, under certainty and perception, or uncertainty and deception conditions."

iii. *Complementary Assumptions*

- The Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict is composed of:

a. Deception hypergame played first, which we called "Play I: Deception Hypergame."
b. Sub-hypergame played second, and is initiated by (P-I), which we called "Play II: Deception-Derived Sub-(HG)."
c. Sub-hypergame played third and initiated by (P-II), naming it "Play III: The (DTD-AE)'s Deception Sub-(HG)" where the (DTD-AE) abbreviation indicates "Decision-Theoretic Deterrence & Asymmetric Escalation."

- In the (DHMIC), the (x, y) refer to payoff to Power I (P-I), and payoff to Power II (P- II), consecutively. At the same time, the (4, 3, 2, 1, 0) numbers indicate the payoffs as follow: "4 = Best; 3 = Next-Best; 2 = Next-Next-Best, and Next-Zero-State Worst; 1 = Zero-State Worst; 0 = Minus-State Worst," where $\{0 < 1 < 2 < 3 < 4\}$.
- The arrow used in our modeling at a strategic preference node refers to that it is the *rational choice* made in the hypergame, depending on:

a. Decision-Theoretic Deterrence theory's Chicken Game's assumptions;
b. Perfect Deterrence Theory's Asymmetric Escalation Game's assumptions;
c. The assumed rationality of each player, which relies on the player's perceptions about the game and reality, its beliefs and available information on how the opponent reasonsand what its perceptions in the game are, the *subjective* probability of preferred actions,and the *expected* utility and its maximization calculations _ where the last two are borrowed from the rationality arguments in game theory.

[1] See in, Frank C. Zagare and D. Marc Kilgour, *Perfect Deterrence* (The UK, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); D. Marc Kilgour and Frank C. Zagare, "Explaining Limited Conflicts," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24 (2007): 65-82.

[2] Frank. C. Zagare, "General Explanation of the Cuban Missile Crisis," in *International Journal of Peace Economics and Peace Science, Vol. 1, No.1.,* ed. Manas Chatterji and Chen Bo (The UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 91-118.

[3] Frank. C. Zagare, "A Game-Theoretic History of the Cuban Missile Crisis," *Economies* 2 (2014): 20-44.

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- The "Constrained Limited Response Equilibrium (CLRE)"[4]/[5] is used in our Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict, however, under different conditions. The (CLRE) is employed here not because the Defender _ assuming that it is (P-II), was thought to be soft or soft-hard, surprising the Challenger, assumingly (P-I), by a limited response. In contrast, we used the (CLRE) because (P-II) at one node of Play II could reveal that it is a deception hypergame or could not (i.e., the actual case) but acting upon uncertainty conditions and starting a deception sub-hypergame on its own _ where (P-I) is not aware that there would be a counter-hypergame being played, or that it would have misperception/ deception in a deception hypergame it initiated. So, the reached equilibria were not considered Perfect Bayesian Equilibria[6] that Zagare and Kilgour mainly proved in developing their Perfect Deterrence Theory. Rather, we defined each of them as *Nash equilibrium of the hypergame*, the theoretically well-known as *hyper Nash equilibrium*, under some given conditions explained.
- According to that, our (DHMIC) seeks to reach Nash Equilibria, which occurs when all players simultaneously make their best response to the other players' strategy choice, achieving their best payoffs in the game where no player may have the incentive to deviate. Here, we determine the equilibrium relying on the made action's rationality, coinciding with that rationality of all players when making their moves responding to one another, not on the type of the player _ that we keep unchanged (i.e., two powers in the system). Moreover, Nash Equilibria are used in the precedent Decision Theoretic-deterrence Theory's Chicken game model on whose assumptions, partially, we build our deception hypergame model.
- Therefore, in the (DHMIC), we define Nash equilibria positions achieved either in a hypergame or what we call a sub-hypergame that resembles the precedent sub-game,[7] but rather in a played hypergame. More clearly, if Nash equilibrium occurs in a sub- hypergame that starts from any node of the entire hypergame, we call "sub-hypergame perfect Nash equilibrium," tracing the roots of the well-known sub-game perfect Nash equilibrium addressed in extensive forms of game models.

b) The (DHMIC)'s Perceived Hypergames and Individual Outcomes

i. *The (P-I)-$(HG)_1$*

The $(HG)_1$ here is the hypergame perceived by (P-I), which answers how this player reasons about the other player's game, that is, the (P-II)'s $(G)_2$. In the context of a general (DHMIC), the (P-I)-$(HG)_1$ is composed of: a. "Plays I and II's Deceiver "(P-I)"-Perceived HG;" and b. "Play III's Deceived "(P-I)" - Perceived HG." That we explain as follows:

a. Plays I and II's Deceiver "(P-I)"-Perceived HG

In these $(HG)_1$'s plays, Plays I and II, Power I (P-I) is the only player who knows that there is a hypergame being played and that (P-II) has misperceptions about the game. Therefore, the following explanation is introduced based on (P-I)'s perceptions and beliefs about the entire hypergame. Under "Plays I and II," (P-I) has a preference vector including these actions:

[4] Under a CLRE, there is uncertainty about Defender's willingness to respond in-kind to an initiation where Challenger misjudges Defender's intentions and is surprised by a limited response (Kilgour and Zagare, "Explaining Limited Conflicts"). Challenger at such a point prefers to not escalate, making a demand only and limited conflict arises, as it concludes that Defender will counter-escalate, and an all-out conflict will occur (ibid). Furthermore, Zagare explaining the Cuban missile crisis from the Asymmetric Escalation Game-model's perspective, demonstrated that only the Constrained Limited Response Equilibrium is "consistent with the beliefs, the action choices of US and Soviet decision makers and, significantly, with the political bargain that ended the crisis" (Zagare, "General Explanation of the Cuban Missile Crisis," 91). This (CLRE) occurs: "if Defender is Hard at the first level (i.e., defying or escalating), (and) then it is also likely Hard at the second level (i.e., counter-escalating if Challenger escalated first), which is why Challengers never escalate first" (ibid, 102) when Defender defies/responds-in-kind; and therefore, what Zagare called here Limited Conflict, Brokered Settlement, or Compromise outcome results. Also, another significant equilibrium may take place under the Asymmetric Escalation model, resulting in the Limited Conflict same outcome, which is the Escalatory Limited Response Equilibrium (ELRE). According to Zagare, the (ELRE) exists only when a tactically Hard Defender is much more likely to be of type Hard-Soft than of type Hard- Hard _ where Hard Challengers tend to escalate first given that Defender will most likely back off and the equilibrium will be Challenger Escalates (Wins) (ibid). Thus, a Limited Conflict outcome can only occur with either the (CLRE) or (ELRE) equilibrium, from the Perfect Deterrence Theory perspective. Under our (DHMIC), if (P-II) backs down after responding-in-kind and (P-I)'s escalation firstly, that is because the last is an irrational actor in the system and backing down by (P-II) is the "non-rational choice." That, if made, has the least probability ever in a game between equally or equivalently (super, great, or middle) powers of the international system in real-world circumstances. So, we dismissed employing the (ELRE) in our modeling.

[5] See, Kilgour and Zagare, "Explaining Limited Conflicts;" Zagare, "A Game-Theoretic History of the Cuban Missile Crisis;" Zagare, "General Explanation of the Cuban Missile Crisis."

[6] Under the enlarged manner of Perfect Bayesian Equilibria, there is an equilibrium emerges at the end of each node of two or more players' interactions in an extensive form game, where players make their moves sequentially. Also, Perfect Bayesian Equilibrium is determined depending on the type of players and whether they are hard or soft, aggressive or cooperative, or reliable/non-reliable, for example, where a player can acquire updated information at any node about the other player's type, changing the course of moves, and the equilibria resulting based upon that.

[7] The sub-game is a game that emerges from any node of the last branch in an extensive form game resembling a tree of branches and nodes and is defined by its sequential-move nature. The sub-game may be played in the future, and within which if Nash equilibrium occurs, it is called sub-game perfect, provided that the same equilibrium will be reached through every sub-game emerging from any other node of that lastbranch.

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{(Demand); (Defect "D" in the Tat-for-Tit); (Conditional Cooperation/Cooperation "CC/C" in the Tit-for-Tat); and (Defect in the Tit-for-Tat)}. Here, the (Tat-for-Tit) and (Tit-for-Tat) strategies are borrowed from the Decision Theoretic-Deterrence Theory to be used differently in sequential-move multiple games. Both players choose to cooperate, or all prefer to defect in the (Tit-for-Tat) strategy; that is what we refer to as: (C-C; D-D). Rather, one player cooperates, and the other defects, and vice versa, in the (Tat-for-Tit) strategy, which we denoted as: (C-D; D-C). Within this perceived hypergame, (P-I) understands that (P-II) has a preference vector consisting of a. (Cooperate), b. (Defect), and c. (Conditional Cooperation) actions under the (Tit-for-Tat) strategy.

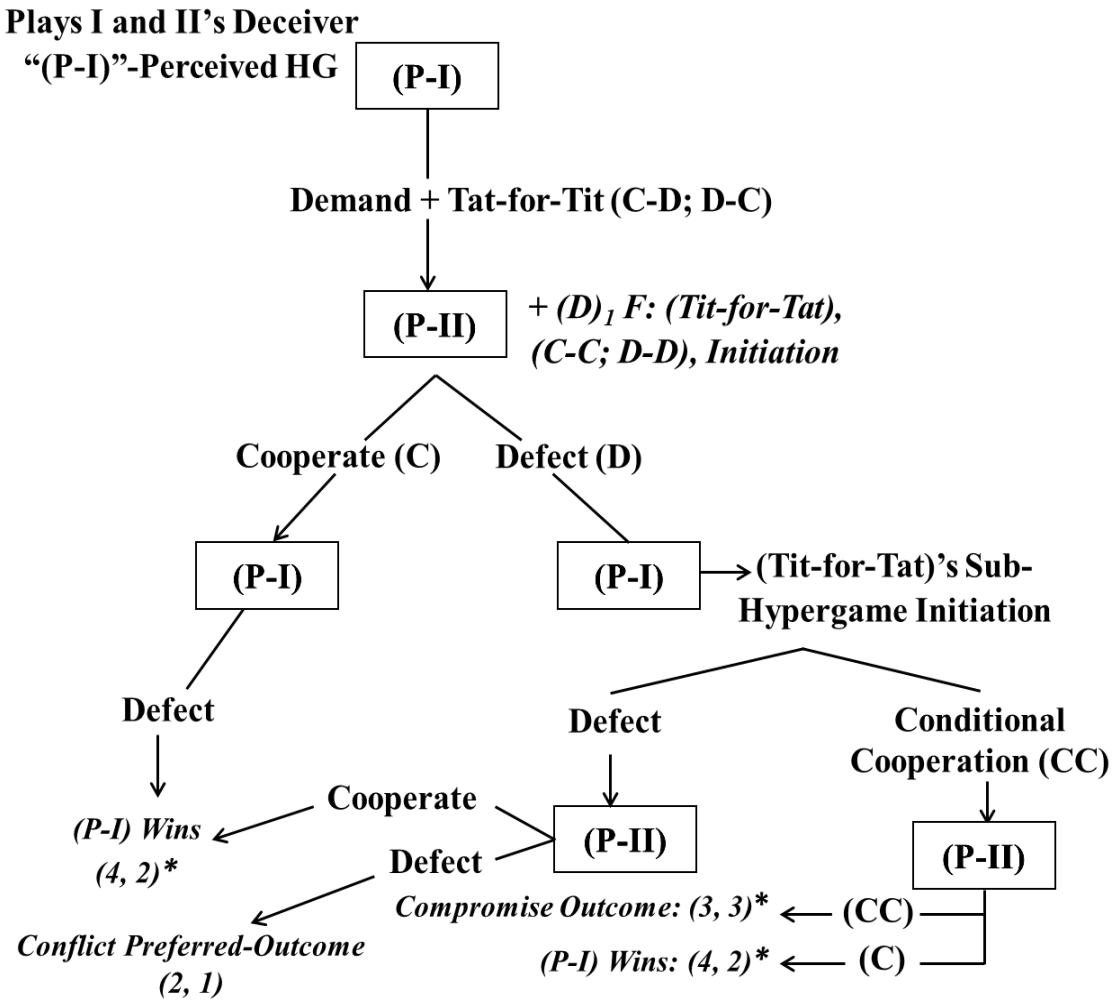


Figure 1: Plays I and II's Deceiver "(P-I)"-Perceived HG

The $(HG)_1$'s perceived interactions-course: (P-I) understands that it starts the game, employing a Deception Factor {(+ D) F} versus (P-II). The first makes a demand for altering the status quo, moving to play the (Tat-for-Tit), and deceiving (P-II) about its perceptions and beliefs of the reality of conflict _ while the misled information and misunderstanding about its actual actions (i.e., decisions) and moves exist.

Also, (P-I) realizes that (P-II) would move sequentially to either (Cooperate) or (Defect) actions under the mentioned uncertainty. Given that it is a game played among powers ofthe international system, where a conflict takes place, (P-I) perceives that (P-II) is *rationally* better off if it chooses to (Cooperate). Namely, (P-II) would understand that theother clashing/conflicting power in the system (i.e., P-I) is also better off by the (Compromise Outcome) _ if it preferred the (Cooperate) choice, first, to (Defect), stabilizing relations among super, great, or middle powers within this system. (P-I) would pick the (Defect) action, however, in a sequential move, deceiving (P-II) about its (Tat- for-Tit) strategy preference. Thus, the first perceived equilibrium by (P-I) in $(HG)_1$ occurs, resulting in its *"Victory Outcome"* with payoffs: (4, 2).

Another possibility exists in the $(HG)_1$, within which (P-I) understands that (P-II) may reveal the

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Deception Factor {(+ D) F} and decide to choose the (Defect) action under *uncertain certainty* conditions (i.e., when the Deception Factor is exposed), not *certain uncertainty* ones (i.e., when the Deception Factor exists implicitly). Accordingly, (P-I) initiates a sub-hypergame, correcting the previous deception it practiced and moving to a (Conditional Cooperation "CC") choice. So, it leaves no rational choice to (P-II) other than picking the (Conditional Cooperation "CC") action, or the (Cooperate "C") one, in a sequential move. Therefore, the "*Compromise outcome"* arises, with payoffs: (3, 3), if (P- II) chooses the (Conditional Cooperation) same strategic preference. Rather, it is the *"(P- I) Wins"* outcome that occurs where the payoffs are: (4, 2), should (P-II) move to the "*unconditionally*" (Cooperate) action. The last outcomes are the second and third perceived equilibriums by (P-I) within $(HG)_1$.

Under other circumstances, (P-I) may perceive that (P-II) would prefer to (Defect) than to (Cooperate) after revealing the deception factor (if it occurred), reasoning about the (P- I)'s preference of moving to compromise by cooperation. Alternatively, (P-I) may acquire information or reasons that (P-II) *rationally* will (Defect) if it chooses (CC), for whateverreason. In either case, (P-I), that initiated the hypergame, perceives an expected utility of choosing to (Defect) first in the sub-hypergame, which results in:

a. The *"Conflict Preferred-Outcome"* with (P-II)'s choosing the (Defect) action in a played-(Tit-for-Tat) strategy, sequentially, so that (P-I) alters the status quo through war rather than peace (i.e., compromise).

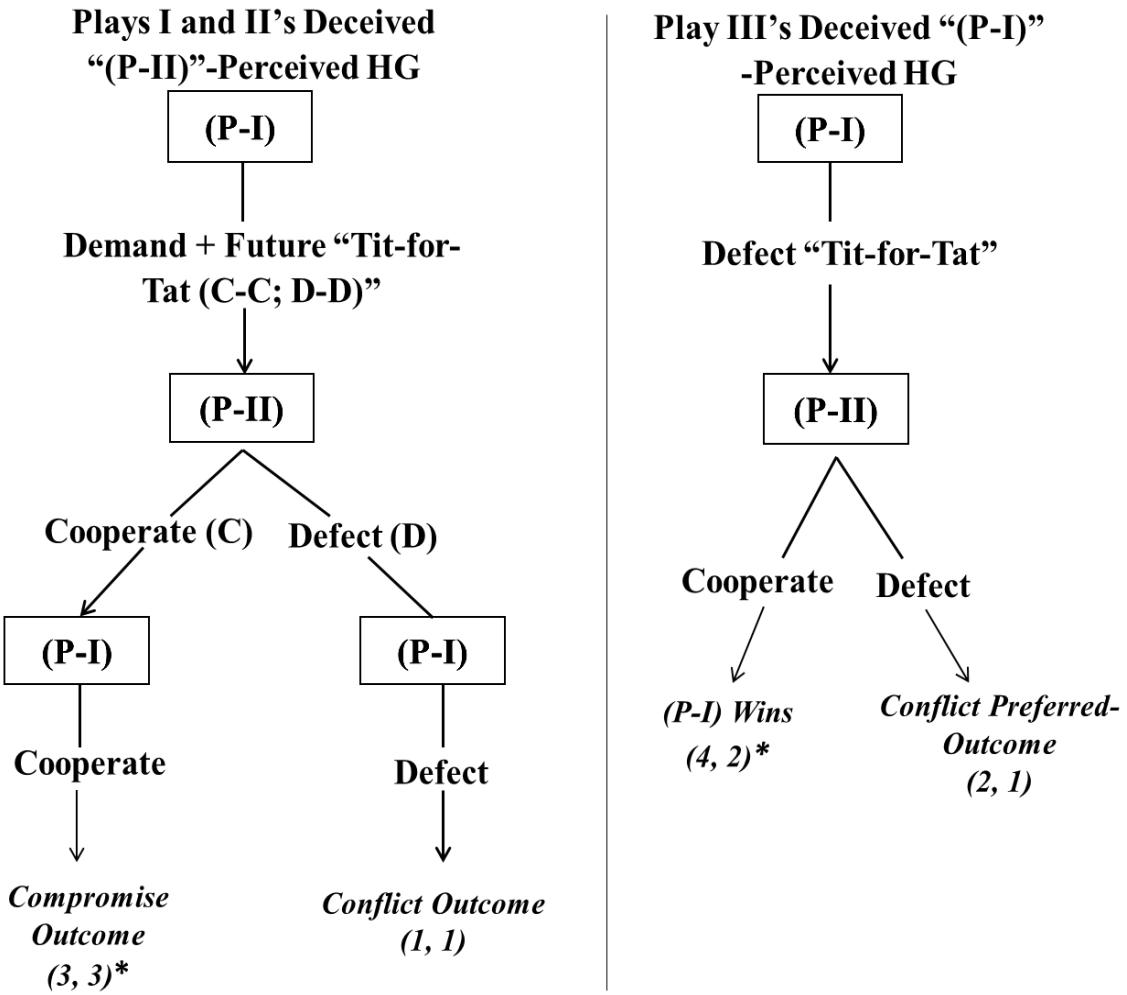


Figure 2: Plays I and II's Deceived "(P-II)"-Perceived HG, and Play III's Deceived"(P-I)"-Perceived HG

b. *Play III's Deceived "(P-I)"-Perceived HG*

In the third play of the actual hypergame, (P-I), not perceiving that there is a hypergamebeing played or that it has misperceptions in the game, understands that once it plays (Defect in the Tit-for-Tat) as a war stratagem, (P-I) has but only two strategic choices: a. (Cooperate), avoiding the credible possibility of conflict, where (P-I)'s perceived equilibrium occurs

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(i.e., *(P-I) Wins*) with payoffs: (4, 2); or b. (Defect), where the *"Conflict Preferred Outcome"* results with: (2, 1) as perceived numerical gains. In the latter case, (P-I) realizes that altering the status quo is better achieved by war, not diplomacy, in terms of *"defecting first"* in a (Tit-for-Tat)'s sub-hypergame it initiated; see *Figure 2.* Despite being part of its perceived Play II, the perceived Play III, with a repetitive or almost unchanged perception about (P-II)'s played-game, would prove to be misinterpreted by (P-I), as to come below.

ii. *The (P-II)-$(HG)_2$*

The $(HG)_2$ here is the hypergame perceived by (P-II), indicating how this player reasons about the other player's game or the (P-I)'s $(G)_1$. Under the general (DHMIC), the (P-II)-$(HG)_2$ is composed of: a. "Plays I and II's Deceived "(P-II)"-Perceived HG;" and, b. "Play III's Deceiver "(P-II)"-Perceived HG." Both we explain as follows:

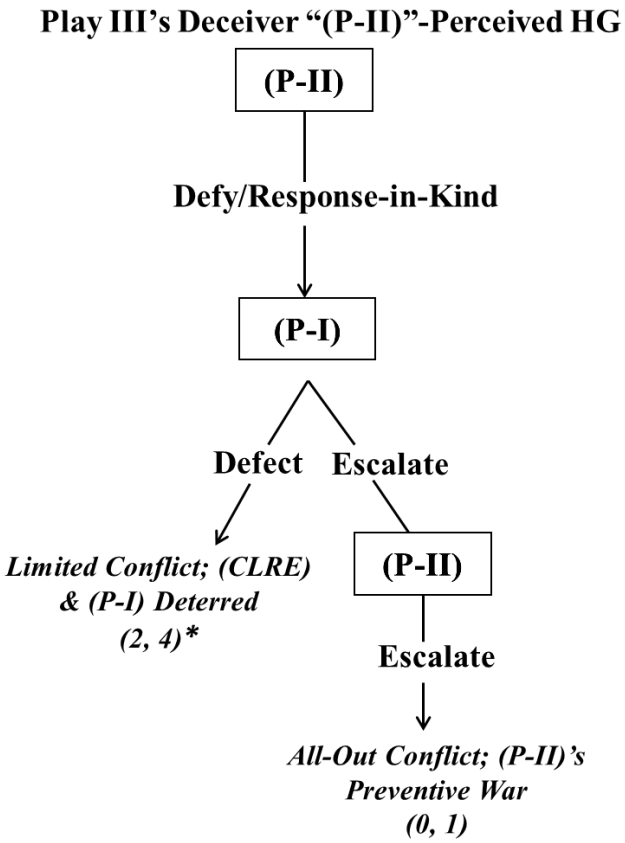


Figure 3: Play III's Deceiver "(P-II)"-Perceived HG

a. *Plays I and II's Deceived "(P-II)"-Perceived HG*

Within the $(HG)_2$'s Plays I and II, Power II or (P-II) has no knowledge that there is a. a hypergame being played, or b. a deception or misperception in the game. (P-II) understands that (P-I)'s (Demand) action means no more an act to move to a diplomacy track between both powers. Accordingly, (P-II) perceives that the (P-I)'s preference vector includes: the (Demand) and (Future "Tit-for-Tat (C-C; D-D)") strategic choices in terms of witnessing no aggressive action picked by (P-I) first that may refer to an earlier possibility of the war outcome. Based on that, (P-II) has a preference vector composed of the (Cooperate) or (Defect) actions in a (Tit-for-Tat) used strategy.

Under this stage of the hypergame, (P-II), misperceiving the actual actions or moves of (P- I), prefers to (Cooperate), understanding it as the rational choice rather than defecting. It perceives, therefore, that (P-I) is better off by the *"Compromise Outcome"* so that it will choose to (Cooperate) sequentially. That is the (P-II)'s only perceived equilibrium in "Plays I and II" of $(HG)_2$ with payoffs (3, 3), avoiding the *"Conflict Outcome,"* which results in the zero-state worst payoffs for both: (1, 1) if all moved to the (Defect) choice in the game; see *Figure 2*.

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b. *Play III's Deceiver "(P-II)"-Perceived HG: The aneuvering Sub- Hypergame*

Following the previous Play I and Play II, (P-II) being strategically surprised by (P-I)'s (Defect) choice in a (super, great, or middle) powers (perceived) game, chooses to neither(Cooperate) nor to (Defect), escaping the *"(P-I)'s Victory"* perceived outcome with payoffs: (4, 2), as well as the "*Conflict*" one with the (1, 1) realized worst-gains. Strikingly, (P-II), in an initiated sub-hypergame, perceives that it can move to (Defying or response- in-kind) choice, where the *"(P-I) Deterred"* outcome takes place, with the payoffsreversed: (2, 4), if (P-I) backed down and chooses to (Defect) only, not to escalate. Thence, (P-II)'s perceived equilibrium of the $(HG)_2$'s "Play III" occurs. Otherwise, (P-II) may rationally prefer the (Escalate) choice, expecting a *"Preventive War Outcome"* and confronting an aggressive actor (i.e., (P-I)) in the system _ if this actor/power chooses to (Escalate) first; see *Figure 3.* The payoffs received, in that case, are: (0, 1), where (P-I) gets its minus-state worst payoff or the most-worst at all, granting (P-II) the legitimate justification when escalating first to rally against it in a collective or common-good security-necessitated war.

c) *The (DHMIC)'s Actual Interactions and Equilibria in a Mapping Function Relates Outcomes between Individual Games*

Under this hypergame model, (Power II) can never reveal the Deception Factor {+(D) F} but makes its choices with existing *certain uncertainty* about (Power I)'s actual actions and moves or its real played-game _ the player who started the deception hypergame. Namely, this model simulates real-world circumstances of conflict interstate under different information, beliefs, perceptions, understandings, and interpretations conditions. Within these actual interactions, the (Power I)'s strategic preference vector includes not only the actions perceived in its understood hypergame but also, it is composed of a more diverse set of strategic actions. These are: "(Not Demand); (Demand + Tat-for-Tit (C-D; D-C)); (Defect (D)); (Cooperate (C)); (Conditional Cooperation (CC)); (Cooperate Only); (Defect Only); (Escalate)." Likewise, (Power II)'s set of strategic preferences is consistedof: "(Cooperate (C)); (Defect (D)); (Conditional Cooperation (CC)); (Cooperate Only); (Defy/Response-in-Kind); (Escalate); (Defy Only/Retreat)" actions. In each play, the *arrow* drawn at a node's end refers to the rational choice preferred to the other for a given player at that move. Sometimes two reasonable actions at the same move become preferredunder different conditions explained.

i. *The (DHMIC)'s Play I: Deception Hypergame*

- "Play I" begins with (Power I) or (P-I) choosing to alter the status quo, which is the rational choice for this player, at this move, initiating a deception hypergame. Given that the expected utility for both players at the *"Status Quo Outcome"* is: (2, 2), if (P-I) prefers the (Not Demand) choice, (P-I) moves first, making a (Demand) for a higherutility to result at another position of the game. The probability (p) of (P-I)'s preferring of that rational choice, (Demand), is: $(0.5 < p \leq 1)$, whereas it is: $(0 \leq p < 0.5)$ of the (Not Demand) action.
- Having the first-play advantage, (P-I) prefers to use the (Tat-for-Tit) strategy, (C-D; D-C), while deceiving (P-II) of future using of the (Tit-for-Tat) one, (C-C; D-D), to act likewise.

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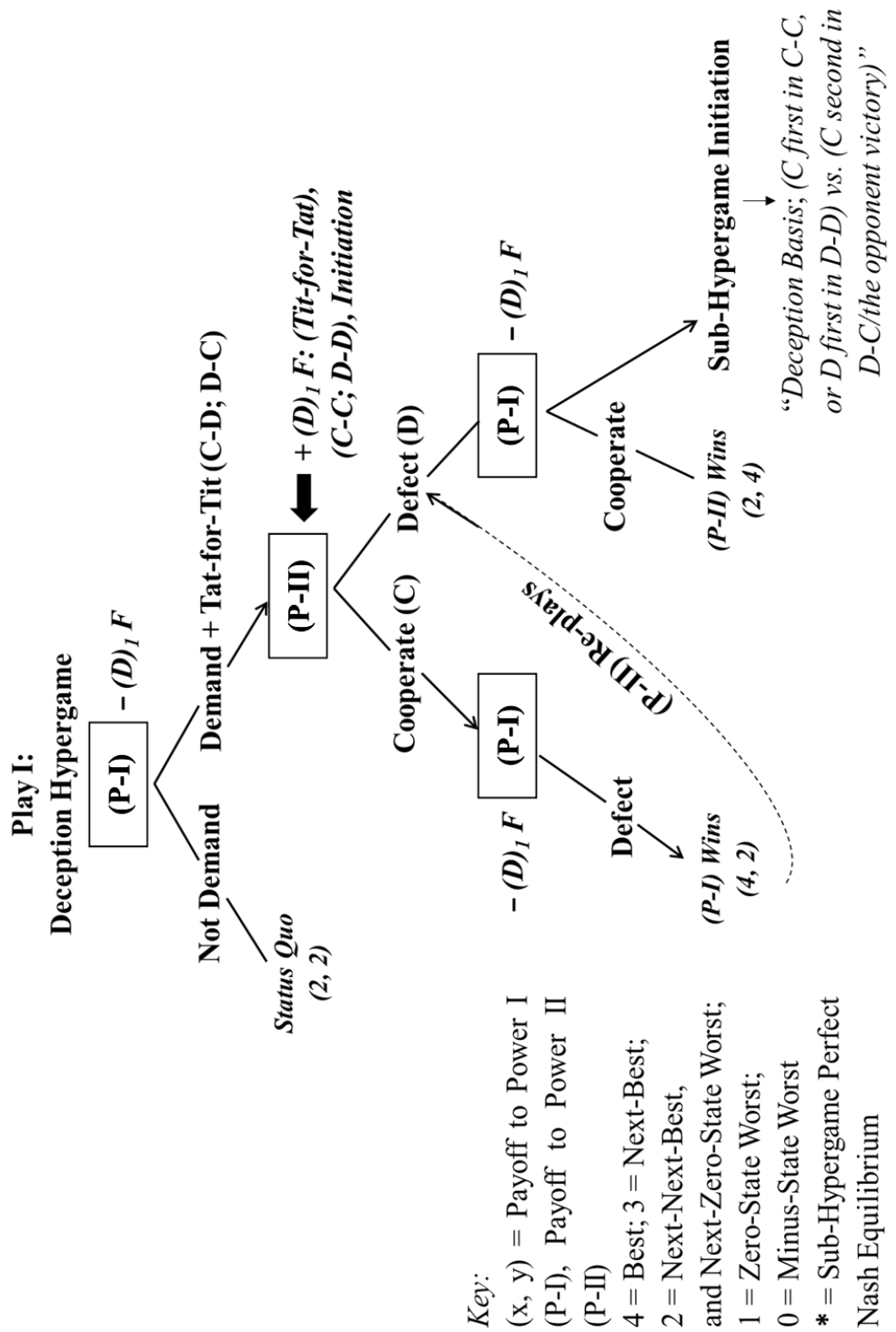


Figure 4: Play I; Deception Hypergame

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- Being deceived in the game _ by considering the lack of (correct) information about (P-I)'s actual beliefs and perceptions, (Power II) or (P-II) moves to the (Cooperate) action sequentially. That is the (P-II)'s perceived rational choice, expecting the *"Compromise Outcome"* equilibrium to occur instead of a would-be ensuing conflict situation if both defect under a *(misperceived)* (Tit-for-Tat)-strategy.
- In a sequential move, (P-I) chooses its second-perceived rational choice in "Play I," that is: (Defecting) where ($p = 1$), after deceiving (P-II) about its actual moves or the game played. So, the "(P-I) Wins" outcome occurs out of the (Cooperate, Defect) used strategies _ where the first is made in a (Tit-for-Tat) misperceived game by (P-II) while the second is made in a deceiving (Tat-for-Tit) one by (P-I).
- (P-II) as super, great, or middle power prefers to re-play, changing the payoffs' position reached, picking the (Defect) action where ($p = 1$) under *certain uncertainty* conditions. Thus, (P-II) understands that (P-I) might prefer the (Defect) choice in a sequence if its played strategy is (Tit-for-Tat) or the (Cooperate) one if the used strategy is the (Tat-for-Tit). (P-II) reasons, therefore, that it will be either the "ConflictOutcome" with both are worst off, or the "(P-II) Wins" equilibrium with its victory resulting.
- After (P-II)'s move, (P-I), who is the deceiver in this hypergame's level, reasons that it is better off to start a sub-hypergame from the (P-II)'s (Defect) choice's node more than when choosing to (Cooperate) under its played (Tat-for-Tit) deceiving-strategy; see *Figure 4.* So, the deceiver's "(P-I)" deception basis is to choose (C) first (i.e., conditional) in a (C-C) game with the *"Compromise Outcome"* results or (D) first in a (D-D) one. That is rather than a. picking (C) second in a (D-C) game allowing the *"Opponent Victory/(P-II) Wins"* outcome to occur with payoffs: (2, 4); or b. choosing (D) second in a (D-D) game, when the conflict output takes place to which it is not prepared yet or perceiving at this exact stage of its deceiving played-hypergame.

ii. *The (DHMIC)'s Play II: Deception-Derived Sub-(HG)*

In this sub-hypergame, (P-I) having no misperception, or (Deception Factor)'s impact of (Play I) that we denote as: *(− (D)1 F)*, can either choose the (Defect "D") strategic preference or the (Cooperate/ Conditional Cooperation "C/CC") one, where ($0.5 < p \leq 1$) in the two cases. Restoring the (P-II)'s previously perceived (and played) course of the game under the (Tit-for-Tat) strategy, (P-I) chooses any action (i.e., "C/CC" or "D") where both are rational-choice tracks under given circumstances.

A. *Case I: (P-I) Reasoning About "Cooperated (CC) Strategy"*

Track I of Case I

- (P-I) reasons that if it moves to the (Conditional Cooperation) choice, (P-II) becomes better off by choosing the (Conditional Cooperation) or (Cooperate Only) action sequentially. The *"Compromise Outcome"* occurs with payoffs: (3, 3), if (P-II) acts likewise, moving to the (Conditional Cooperation) choice. The probability of "(P-II)'s preferring to the (Conditional Cooperation "CC") action after (P-I)'s (CC) one" is ($0.5 < p \leq 1$), which is the rational choice of this interaction track. The resulting *"Compromise Outcome"* is the *first Nash equilibrium of the entire hypergame*.Considering that both players reach this solution point through an emerging sub- hypergame, we call that *"sub-hypergame perfect Nash equilibrium."* Here, each player made the best response to the other's strategy choice simultaneously, where no one may have the incentive to deviate from the reached position or the best payoffs it could achieve in the game.
- In another possibility, (P-II) being deceived in this sub-hypergame may move to the (Cooperate Only) action. Accordingly, the "*Disguised Compromise; Disguised Opponent-Victory*" outcome occurs, where the *"actual"* payoffs (i.e., not the misperceived ones) are: (4, 2). The probability of preferring the (Cooperate Only) possibility by (P-II) after (P-I)'s (CC) action is ($0.5 < p \leq 1$). Still, it is not an equilibrium in the entire hypergame since (P-II) would rationally prefer to deviate from this reached position once the deception is revealed.
- Namely, this outcome is *not stable* with (P-II) misperceiving that both achieve the "Compromise Outcome" payoffs (i.e., "3, 3"), while they are not. In sum, the last hypergame-situation occurs when the second actor or (P-II) concedes more or non-equivalently in an extended level or scale for the first actor or (P-I)'s interests in an "unbalanced or semi-balanced deterrence" relation. Further, the "*Disguised Compromise or Disguised Opponent-Victory*" outcome becomes in play when the first actor (i.e., deceiver), deceiving the second, cripples this deceived, under a disguised extended "extreme or limited"-threat case, whereas the second (i.e., deceived) does not act likewise in a symmetrical level or scale.

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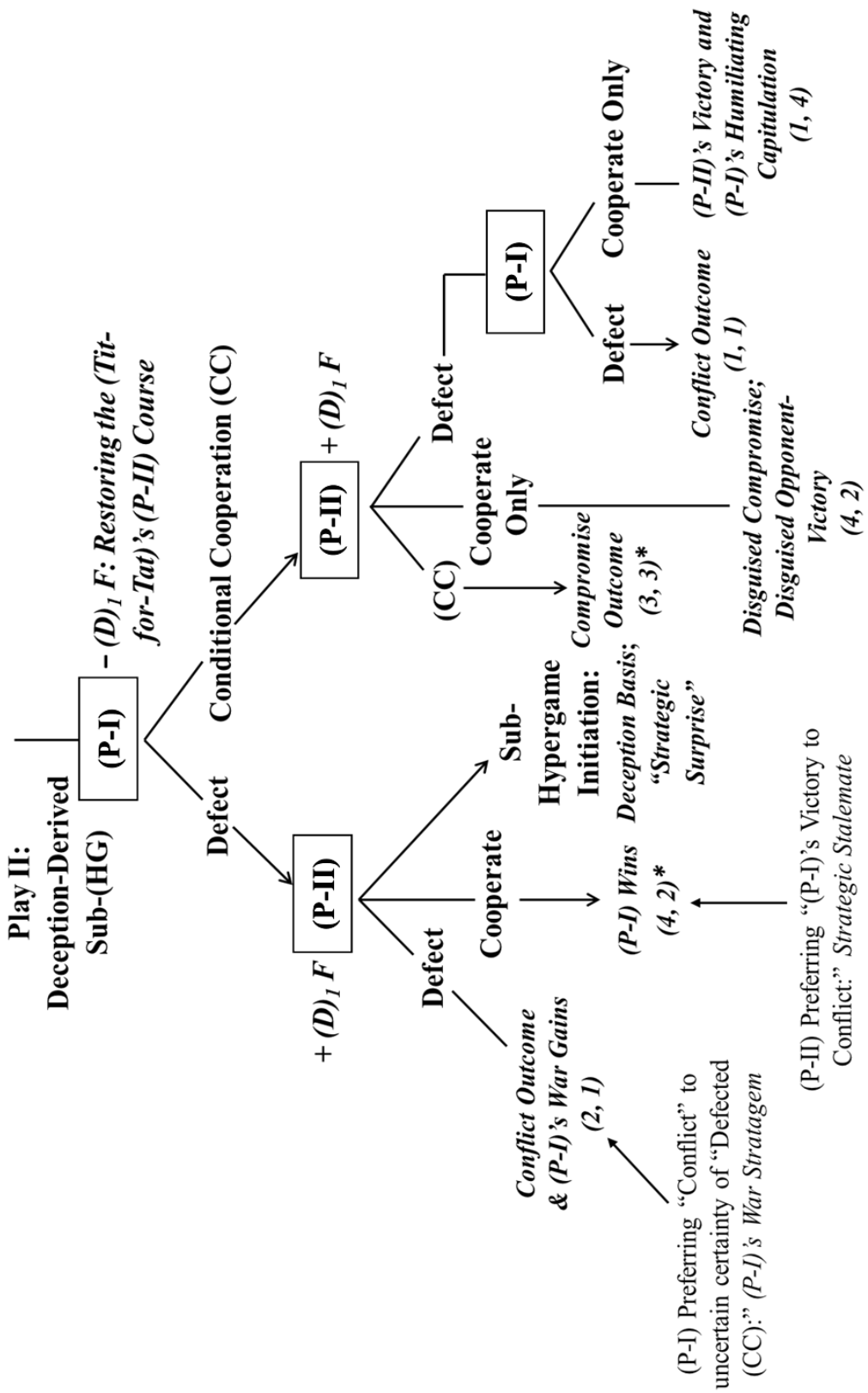


Figure 5: Play II; Deception-Derived Sub-(HG)

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Track II of Case I

- (P-II) reasoning that (P-I) is better off by the (Compromise Outcome) if it picked a cooperation choice sequentially may move to the (Defect) action instead, where ($0 \leq p < 0.5$). However, (P-II) makes a risky choice, perceiving that it maximizes the expected utility of the game using the (Tat-for-Tit) strategy rather than the (Tit-for-Tat) one. Atthe same time, (P-II) is still deceived due to the Deception Factor's impact of "Play I" or the (+ *(D)1 F*), while acquiring no (correct) information for revealing the deception, and still not having a knowledge that there is a hypergame being played or that it has misperceptions in the game. So, with (P-II) understanding that it leaves, but only one rational choice to (P-I) to move to (i.e., the (Cooperate) action) in a sequence, (P-II) gives (P-I) under this interaction-track the *impulse* to go to conflict, alternatively.
- The deceiver (P-I) perceives that (P-II)'s (Defect) move, following its (CC) action made first, means that this player (i.e., "P-II") seeks *relative gains* at the expense of (P-I)'s losses, if the last chooses (C) second in a (D-C) formula, contradicting its deception basis of the sub-hypergame it initiated. The probability of (P-I)'s choosing to (Cooperate Only) second here is ($0 \leq p < 0.5$). If picked, (P-II)'s (Defect) choice results in the *"(P-II)'s Victory and (P-I)'s Humiliating Capitulation Outcome,"* in terms of defeating (P-I) twice now in the entire hypergame after (P-I)'s preferring to initiate a sub-hypergame than to (Cooperate) in Play I, and then playing the (CC) strategy in Play II losing conflict gains it sought to seize through mutual-cooperation and (misperceived) "Compromise Outcome." Based on that, the payoffs achieved by (P-II)'s second (Defect) choice and (P-I)'s second cooperation action (i.e., "CC" first and "Cooperate Only" second) become: (1, 4), so that (P-I) gets its zero-state worst payoff in the hypergame, with (P-II) getting its best.
- Moving from the previous configuration, the deceiver (P-I) is better off by preferring to (Defect) second, as a *rational choice*, in response to the strategic surprise made by (P-II) _ when the latter moved to the (Defect) action rather than a cooperation move of ("CC," or "Cooperate Only"), responding otherwise to the (P-I)'s (CC) choice made first. Therefore, (P-I) now does not only avoid the outcome: *"(P-II)'s Victory and (P-I)'s Humiliating Capitulation"* but also it responds-in-kind, answering the strategic surprise by another and achieving the conflict gains by the war (even if unexpected) instead of diplomacy; at a time when (P-II), the deceived, misperceived that it would be the occurrence of "Conflict Outcome." The probability of picking (Defect) action by (P-I) under this context is: ($0.5 < p \leq 1$). Rationally, (P-I) brings, at this position, the worst utility not to itself alone, but defeating (P-II) strategically with payoffs: (1, 1) for both. Thus, (P-I) makes (P-II) also get what would-be (P-I)'s worst gains only, (1), if this player (i.e., "P-I") picked (Cooperate Only) action or cooperation second after (P-II)'s (Defecting) second; see *Figure 5*.

B. *Case II: (P-I) Reasoning About a "Defected-(CC) Strategy"*

- Under this case, the deceiver (P-I) reasons that (P-II) is rationally better off by moving to the (Defect) strategic choice sequentially if it chooses the (Conditional Cooperation) one. Given that (P-I) gets its zero-state worst payoff, (1), in both cases, suppose that (P-II) chooses to (Defect) in response to (P-I)'s (CC) if picked, (P-I) moves first to the (Defect) choice, under *uncertain certainty* of "Defected Conditional Cooperation Strategy," starting the sub-hypergame and expecting maximized utility to result.
- (P-I)'s move of (Defecting) first is a war stratagem that left no *perceived* rational choice to (P-II) except opting for the (Cooperate) action, while causing a strategic stalemate to this player where the *"(P-I) Wins Outcome"* occurs with payoffs: (4, 2). That is the *"second sub-hypergame perfect Nash equilibrium"* of the entire hypergame. Here, (P-II) changes its previously perceived and used (Tit-for-Tat) strategy, playing the (Tat-for-Tit) one under *certain uncertainty* conditions with the Deception Factor (+ *(D)1 F*) still in play. The probability of (P-II)'s moving to the (Cooperate) choice here is: ($0 < p < 1$).
- If (P-II) moves to (Defect), then it is the (P-I)'s war stratagem success when leading (P-II) to the war or conflict choice after preparing for this war, using the (D) strategy first in a re-played game (i.e., the sub-hypergame). Under this condition, (P-I) can achieve its *conflict gains* through war rather than compromise with complete readiness for the action. The probability of the (P-II)'s (Defect) action is: ($0 \leq p < 0.5$), with payoffs: (2, 1). Namely, (P-I) becomes slightly better off, getting its next-next-best in the hypergame, and (P-II) is worse off.
- Dealing with *certain uncertainty* about (P-I)'s actual game, actions, and moves, (P-II)has another *rational choice*'s track, that is, the (Sub-Hypergame Initiation), see *Figure 5,* where ($0.5 < p \leq 1$).

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- Still deceived and misperceiving (P-I)'s actual beliefs and perceptions about the gameand the reality of conflict under the lack of (correct) information, (P-II) chooses to move to initiate a *strategic surprise* versus (P-I) as a deception basis in a re-played(hyper) game.

iii. *The (DHMIC)'s Play III: The (DTD-AE)'s Deception Sub-(HG)*

(P-II) is the deceiver in this hypergame or Play III, and the only one who knows that there is a hypergame being played or that (P-I) has misperceptions about it. (P-II) has two strategic preferences starting the sub-hypergame; either to (Defy/Respond-in-Kind) or (Escalate) first. Given Play II's moves' order, the rational choice for (P-II) in Play III becomes the (Response-in-Kind), where $(0.5 < p \leq 1)$. At the same time, the other possible action's (i.e., the (P-II)'s (Escalate "first") choice) probability is: $(0 \leq p < 0.5)$. In Play III, there is no *new* Deception Factor that affects (P-II), but it is still deceived due to Play I's Deception Factor, where we denote this relation as: $\{-(D)_3 F \ \& \ (+(D)_1 F)\}$. Simultaneously, there is a Deception Factor operated versus (P-I) by (P-II) in Play III, while (P-I) is not influenced by the Deception Factor that existed in Play I _ since it was the deceiver within; we refer to this as $\{+(D)_3 F \ \& \ (-(D)_1 F)\}$. Also, Play III of the (DHMIC) reflects a "Decision Theoretic-Deterrence and Asymmetric Escalation's Deception Sub-Hypergame," which we abbreviate as "(DTD-AE)'s Deception Sub- (HG)."

a. *Case I: (P-II) Responding-in-Kind*

Play III begins with (P-II) choosing the (Response-in-Kind) action, defying (P-I) in the hypergame; see *Figure 6.* The deceived (P-I), in this play, understands that such a strategic surprise may not secure its victory if the "Conflict Outcome" occurs. Under this condition, (P-I) has two preferences. The first is to (Defect Only), avoiding the escalation of conflict, where the outcome: "*Limited Conflict and (P-I) Deterred"* occurs, representing the *"third sub-hypergame perfect Nash equilibrium"* in the entire hypergame. That equilibrium indicates the first position of a *Constrained Limited Response Equilibrium* or $(CLRE)_1$ in the (DHMIC), where the payoffs are: (2, 4). The (CLRE) concept, as well as the basic modeling of Play III, are borrowed from the Asymmetric Escalation Game of Perfect Deterrence Theory, which we adjusted, refining it to use under different circumstances.

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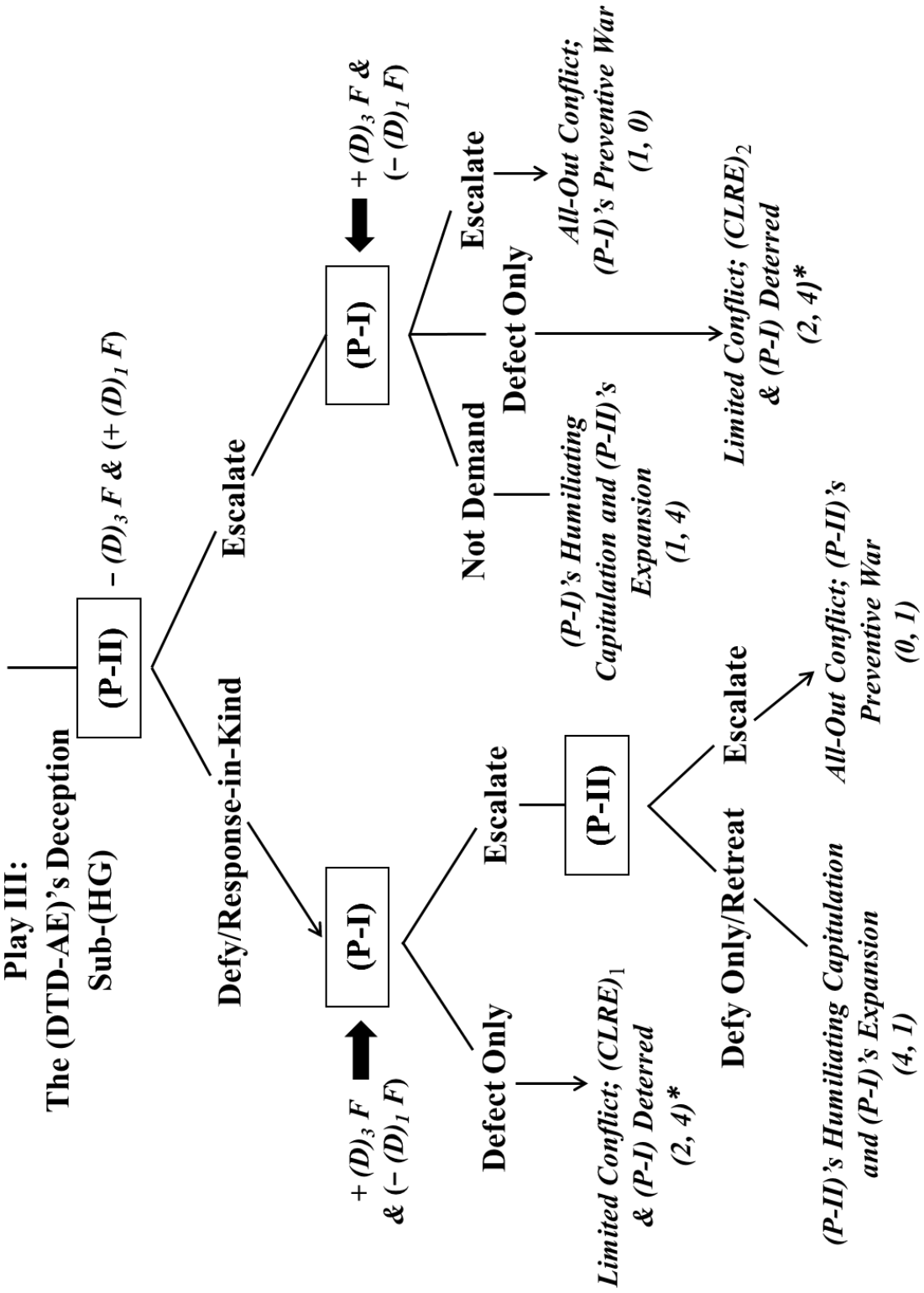


Figure 6: Play III; the (DTD-AE)'s Deception Sub-(HG)

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- Thus, within Case I, (P-I) that defected in Play II, threatening (P-II) by a war gains' military seizure-directed-(Defect) choice, is surprised by (P-II) maneuvering it in Play III, moving to a deterrence-choice, and threatening further a capable and credible counter-escalation if (P-I) escalated first. The probability of (P-I)'s moving to the (Defect Only) choice is: $(0.5 < p \leq 1)$, which is the *rational choice* for this player consequently.
- A possible sequential *"non-rational choice"* may take place when (P-II) picks the (Defy/Response-in-Kind) action in Play III. That is, (P-I)'s moving to (Escalate "first") preference of probability: $(0 \leq p < 1)$, considering that this player chose to (Defect) first in Play II. Therefore, the *rational* choice for (P-II) is to (Counter- Escalate/Escalate) where $(0.5 < p \leq 1)$ and the outcome *"All-Out Conflict; (P-II)'s Preventive War"* occurs; simultaneously, the payoffs become: (0, 1).
- The last possibility explains that (P-I) provides (P-II) with the legitimate justification to rally against it in a preventive necessitated war. Either a collective security war (i.e., on a global level initiated through states-coalition against a system's aggressor(s)) or another for the common good (i.e., on a regional level waged by one nation or/and with the participation of some regional nations). Thence, if (P-II) gets its zero-state worst payoff (i.e., "1") in the entire hypergame, now, (P-I) becomes more severely worse off, accumulating its minus-state worst payoff _ or *zero* according to the used numerical-utility values, while being struck by a deterrence maintaining-waged- war/all-out conflict directed against it.

That reflects in part the old philosophy of preserving deterrence via wars _ not only to use deterrence strategy for preventing wars (i.e., the contemporary perspective) _ underthese conditions:

a. If pre-efforts of keeping deterrence for avoiding wars failed.
b. If this waged war/conflict is swept away from the homeland of any super/great power (i.e., the initiator power) and the (via war/conflict) deterrence-practicing-power(i.e., the responding anti-power).
c. If this deterring war/all-out conflict is waged *collectively*.

- Under a less probability when $(0 \leq p < 0.5)$, (P-II) may opt for the (Defy Only/Retreat) *non-rational choice* in response to (P-I)'s (Escalate "first") action. In that case, the resulting outcome is: *"(P-II)'s Humiliating Capitulation and (P-I)'s Expansion,"* with payoffs: (4, 1). Thus, (P-I) gets its best utility, and (P-II) accumulates its zero-state worst yield so that the first wins (i.e., (P-I)'s Expansion) at the expense of the second'slosses (i.e., (P-II)'s Capitulation) in a relative gains' hypergame-situation.

b. *Case II: (P-II) Escalating*

While (P-II) is the deceiver in Play III and still deceived about (P-I)'s Deception Factor ofPlays I and II, it may prefer to (Escalate) first. That would be a non-rational move, contradicting that of the (Defy/Response-in-Kind) rational choice _ given the last's highly probable *(sole)* rational choice of (P-I)'s (Defecting Only) sequentially, accompanied by high probability-equilibrium occurring, therefore. Comparingly, the (Counter- Escalation/Escalate) action competes as a *rational choice* with the (Defect Only) one if (P-II) chooses to (Escalate) first, starting the sub-hypergame. According to that, (P-I) has three strategic preferences, illustrated in *Figure 6;* these are:

a. (P-I) may concede its (Demand) of altering the status quo made at the beginning of the entire hypergame in Play I; however, (P-I) loses severely choosing to (Not Demand) at this game's stage. The outcome that occurs, in this case, is *"(P-I)'s Humiliating Capitulation and (P-II)'s Expansion,"* with payoffs: (1, 4). The (Not Demand) preference is *not* the rational choice for (P-I) in Play III if (P-II) preferred to (Escalate) first than to (Respond-in-Kind). The probability of (Not Demand) action is: $(0 \leq p < 0.5)$.
b. The first *rational choice* for (P-I) if (P-II) escalated first is to (Defect Only) where $(0.5 < p \leq 1)$. Consequently, the "*Limited Conflict; (P-I) Deterred"* outcome occurs, with payoffs: (2, 4), which is the *"fourth sub-hypergame perfect Nash equilibrium"* in the entire hypergame. This equilibrium represents the second position of the *Constrained Limited Response Equilibrium* or $(CLRE)_2$ in our (DHMIC). Needless to say, if (P-II)initiates this sub-hypergame or Play III from the other node of Play II (i.e., the (P-I)'s (CC) node, not from the (P-I)'s (Defect) choice's one), this sub-hypergame's equilibriums would be the same, as long (P-II) or the initiator uses the same mixed- strategy choices of (Defy/ Response-in-Kind) and (Escalate).
c. The second *rational choice* for (P-I) if (P-II) preferred to (Escalate) first is to (Counter-Escalation/Escalate), where $(0.5 \leq p < 1)$. That is if we consider that both are (equivocally or equivalently) powers in the international system, and anyone's escalation is seen as a violation of the other's prestigious position among the system's actors (i.e., states) under another alliance sub-system that protects each in case of the war is initiated against it (i.e., the war against one in a given security alliance is considered a war against all). Therefore, the *"All-Out Conflict; (P-I)'s Preventive War"* outcome becomes in play, with payoffs: (1, 0) _ that are reversed from those resulting if (P-I) escalates first and (P-II) counter-escalates _ where both are worse off but

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(P-II) becomes more *severely* worse off. So, inversely, it is (P-II) now that provides (P-I) with the *legitimate justification* for waging a preventive, deterring war/all-out conflict against it.

iv. *The (DHMIC)'s Conclusion: Initial Stability in the System-Powers' Conflict and Deterrence Relation (ISPCDR)*

This section focuses on setting two general conclusions of the (Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict) and its application, paving one way among many others that can be provided in further research for stabilizing the international system's structure. Whether or not the deception exists in multiple games of an unbalanced model played by and between states, the aim here is not to reveal a new facet of reality insofar as it is to set the facts (more) solid, avoiding the occurrence of potentially similar conflicts in the future. This part introduces two equations we inferred from our built model and its application, which are applicable under certainty and uncertainty conditions. We admit and recommend that too many works are needed in this field, exploring and constructing a more solidified structure of one integrated theoretical body in conflict management or, fairer to say, *conflict impediment*.

a. *Equations' Assumptions*

Through using abbreviations of some terms needed, it can be said that:

- The international system's Power I is (A_1), which is the most powerful or (para-) equal in power to "Power II."
- The international system's Power II is (A_2), which is less powerful than or (para-) equal in power to "Power I."
- Both (A_1) and (A_2) are aggressive or competitive actors, or that one actor is cooperative, and the other is aggressive or competitive.
- The international system is bipolar or multipolar, where other powers of a multipolar system competing against one another might be integrated under the same equations, given that the reasoning followed is kept static.
- (T_{A2}) is the Threat (T) practiced by (A_1) versus (A_2) so that it is the "(A_2)-directed- Threat."
- (T_{A1}) is the Threat (T) practiced by (A_2) versus (A_1) so that it is the "(A1)-directed- Threat."
- {(± D) F_n} is the (Deception Factor) that may exist or not in real-world circumstances within inter-nation competitive or conflictual relations, which can be used by (n) or (Number) of actors, either (A_1), (A_2), or both. Here, {(+D) F_n} refers to existing a *"Deception/Uncertainty-Condition/State"* in given interstate-interactions, while the {(−D) F_n} indicates that there is a *"Perception/Certainty-Condition/State"* in the same context.
- $(Ea)^{-1}$ is the "Equilibrium (E) achieved for (A_1) or (a)," which is an "unstable outcome," denoting the instability of an outcome as (−1).
- $(T_{A2})^2$ is a Multiplied Threat (T^2) practiced by (A_1) versus (A_2) so that it is the "(A_2)- directed-Doubled Threat."
- {(A-M)A_1} is the "Action(s) and Move(s)" made by (A_1) and directed towards (A_2) or other powers/states in the system.
- {(A-M)$_{A2}$} is the "Action(s) and Move(s)" made by (A_2) and directed towards (A_1) orother powers/states in the system.
- (− T_{A1}) is the "Non-Threat (−T) practiced by (A_2) versus (A_1)," so that it is the "(A_1)- directed-*Disabled* Threat."
- $(Ea)^{+1}$ is the "Equilibrium (E) achieved for (A_1) or (a)," which is a "stable outcome," denoting the stability as (+1)."
- $(Eb)^{+1}$ is the "Equilibrium (E) achieved for (A_2) or (b)," which is a "stable outcome: (+1)."
- {(CC)F} is the (Capability and Credibility Factor of Threat T).
- {(CC)F1} is the (Capability and Credibility Factor of Threat T) for (A_1).
- {(CC)F2} is the (Capability and Credibility Factor of Threat T) for (A_2).
- {B_{A1}} is the "Balance of Powers Relations" achieved for (A1) in the international system.
- {B_{A2}} is the "Balance of Powers Relations" achieved for (A_2) in the international system.
- $\{(Ea+b)^{+2}\}$ is "(A_1) and (A_2)'s Equilibrium," simultaneously occurring in interstate conflict or deterrence relation within a bipolar or multipolar international system, which is "stable for both," denoting this as: (+2).
- $\{(B_{A1+A2})^{(CC)F1+F2}\}$ is the "Mutually Balance of Powers Relations" achieved for (A_1)and (A_2) simultaneously within a bipolar or multipolar international system, where the {(CC)F} takes place by both (A_1) and (A_2).

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b. *Initial Stability in the System-Powers' Conflict and Deterrence Relation (ISPCDR): The Equations and Proving the Validity of the (DHMIC)'s Hypothesis*

A. *Equation I: Defection and Revisionism-State in One-Sided Deterrence Relation*

$$\{A_1\,((A\text{-}M)_{A1} + (T_{A2})^{(CC)F1})\} + \{A_2\,((A\text{-}M)_{A2} + (-T_{A1}))\} + \{(\pm D)\,F_n\} \cong$$

$$(E_a)^{-1}\,((A_1) + (T_{A2})^{(CC)F1}) + \{((T_{A2})^{2\,\{(CC)F1\}} \times (A\text{-}M)_{A1}) \div A_2\,((A\text{-}M)_{A2} +$$

$$(-T_{A1}))\}$$

Explanation: Taking the numerical language aside, we can explain "Equation I" as follows: a. any action (i.e., decision) made concerning deterrence relation interstate or conflict among powers of the international system, and followed by a move (i.e., applied decision), by (A_1) _ that is conditioned by a threat practiced by (A_1) versus (A_2), which must be capable and credible; accumulating to that b. any action made in a similar trajectory and followed by a move by (A_2) where no threat can (ever) exist (actively/used at the moment, or non-actively/unused at the moment) versus (A_1); provided that c. there is uncertainty/deception and misperception, or certainty/non-deception and perception, conditioned by any (deterring/conflicting) power towards the other. Those assumptions lead or are approximately equal to these results: a. *unstable* equilibrium occurring in favorof (A_1) where a capable and credible threat it practices versus (A_2) exists (actively or non- actively) as a condition; accumulating to that b. a doubled or multiplied capable and credible threat manifests (actively or non-actively) in any action made, and followed by a move, by (A_1), that it is directed versus/divided into any action made, and followed by a move, by (A_2), in the same course, where *no* threat can (ever) exist (actively or non- actively) versus (A_1) under the given context.

B. *Equation II: Corrected-Defection and Anti-Revisionism-State in MultipleSides-Oriented-Deterrence Relation*

$$\{A_1\,((A\text{-}M)_{A1} + (T_{A2})^{(CC)F1})\} + \{A_2\,((A\text{-}M)_{A2} + (T_{A1}))^{(CC)F2}\} + \{(\pm D)\,F_n\} \cong (E_a)^{+1}\,((A_1)$$

$$+ (T_{A2})^{(CC)F1}) + (E_b)^{+1}\,((A_2) + (T_{A1})^{(CC)F2}) + \{B_{A1}\,((T_{A2})^{(CC)F1} \times (A\text{-}M)_{A1}) \div A_2\,((A\text{-}M)_{A2}$$

$$+ (T_{A1})^{(CC)F2})\} + \{B_{A2}\,((T_{A1})^{(CC)F2} \times (A\text{-}M)_{A2}) \div A_1\,((A\text{-}M)_{A1} + (T_{A2})^{(CC)F1})\}$$

Explanation: Assuming that: a. any action made concerning deterrence relation interstate or conflict among powers of the international system and followed by a move, by (A_1) where a capable and credible threat exists (actively or non-actively) versus (A_2); b. any action made in a similar trajectory, and followed by a move by (A_2) where a capable and credible threat exists (actively or non-actively) versus (A_1); provided that c. there is uncertainty/deception and misperception, or certainty/ non-deception and perception, conditioned by any (deterring/conflicting) power towards the other. Those assumptions lead to or are approximately equal to these results:

a. A *stable* equilibrium occurs in favor of (A_1), wherein (A_1)'s capable-and credible threat versus (A_2) exists (actively or non-actively).
b. A *stable* equilibrium occurs in favor of (A_2), wherein (A_2)'s capable-and credible threat versus (A_1) exists (actively or non-actively).
c. A balance achieved for (A_1) occurs within a deterrence relation interstate or conflict among powers of the system, where (A_1)'s capable-and credible threat versus (A_2) exists (actively or non-actively) in any action made and the followed move by (A_1). That is to be directed versus or/and divided into any made action and the followed move, by (A_2), in which (A_2)'s capable-and credible threat *parallelly* exists (actively or non-actively) versus(A_1).
d. A balance achieved for (A2) occurs within a deterrence relation interstate or conflict among powers of the system, where (A2)'s capable-and credible threat versus (A1) exists (actively or non-actively) in any action made and move followed by (A2). That is to be directed versus or/and divided into any made action, and the followed move by (A1), in which (A1)'s capable and credible threat *parallelly* exists (actively or non-actively) versus (A2). That is to say that: a. both parallel capable and credible threats are *"directed versus, and divided into"* whenever a *"severe-clashing/conflictual relation"* interstate becomes in play, in the given context; b. they are *"directed versus"* only in a *"normal or non- conflictual relation"* interstate where the competition or a renewed clash principle may exist; c. they are *"divided into"* only in a *"normal clashing/conflictual relation"* interstate, considering the explained circumstances.

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C. *Conditionality Cases of the (ISPCDR)*

The Initial Stability in (the system) Powers' Conflict and Deterrence Relation or the (ISPCDR) can be specified, based on Equations I and II's outputs, where the "Bipolarity or Multipolarity, (B-MP)" defines the international system's structure, as follows:

$$\textbf{(ISPCDR)}_{\textbf{(B-MP)}} \cong \{(E_a)^{+1} + (E_b)^{+1} + (B_{A1})^{(CC)F1} + (B_{A2})^{(CC)F2}\}$$

$$\cong \{(E_{a+b})^{+2} + (B_{A1+A2})^{(CC)F1+F2}\}$$

Supposing that: a. each element mentioned above has a numerical, denoting, or indicating value, where we refer to this value as (*v*);" b. both system's powers, either (A_1) or (A_2), have capable and credible threats versus each other, that might be active and in use or non-active and in non-use by any or all under an observed context. Thence, the conditionality of *(ISPCDR)* can be formulated through these three cases:

Case I: The Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR) in a One-Sided Extreme or Limited-Threat State:

$$\text{If } \{(E_{va})^{\pm 1}\} \neq \{(E_{vb})^{\pm 1}\}, \text{ where: } \{(E_{va})^{\pm 1}\} > \{(E_{vb})^{\pm 1}\}, \text{ or } \{(E_{va})^{\pm 1}\} < \{(E_{vb})^{\pm 1}\}; \text{ then:}$$

$$\{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} \neq \{(B_{v(A2)})^{(CC)F2}\}, \text{ where: } \{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} > \{(B_{v(A2)})^{(CC)F2}\}, \text{ or}$$

$$\{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} < \{(B_{v(A2)})^{(CC)F2}\}.$$

Under this case, (A_1)'s capable and credible threat becomes *"active and in use"* while (A_2)'s capable and credible threat is *"non-active and in non-use,"* when $\{(E_{va})^{\pm 1}\} > \{(E_{vb})^{\pm 1}\}$; or vice versa when $\{(E_{va})^{\pm 1}\} < \{(E_{vb})^{\pm 1}\}$. Based on that, the equilibrium occurring might be permanently stable or not. The $\{(E_{va})^{+1}$; or $(E_{vb})^{+1}\}$ is a permanently *stable* equilibrium for Actor I or Actor II, respectively, under the "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)," occurring in *perception* and (complete/incomplete) certainty conditions. In contrast, the $\{(E_{va})^{-1}$; or $(E_{vb})^{-1}\}$ is a permanently *unstable* equilibrium, namely, a temporarily *stable* one, for both under the "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)," taking place in *deception* and misperception or certain uncertainty conditions, since the deceived or misperceiving actor, whoever is, would have the incentive to deviate from a reached position under such uncertainty, once the deception or misperception becomes exposed. Comparingly, all actors rationally agree on known and correctly perceived (different) values of another equilibrium achieved under perception and (complete/ incomplete) certainty conditions, as long each stand on the best position of utility they could ever obtain within a "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)."

Case II: The Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR) in an Equally or Equivalently Non-activatedThreat-State:

If $\{(E_{va})^{+1}\} = \{(E_{vb})^{+1}\}$, and then $\{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} = \{(B_{v(A2)})^{(CC)F2}\}$, where the equilibriumis *stable*, referring to that by (+1), under whatever conditions (i.e., perception/certainty, or deception/uncertainty). Within that case, both actors' capable and credible threats are *"non-active and in non-use*."

Case III: The Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR) in a Mutually Extreme or Limited-ThreatState:

If $\{(E_{va})^{-1}\} \geq \{(E_{vb})^{-1}\}$, or $\{(E_{va})^{-1}\} \leq \{(E_{vb})^{-1}\}$, and then $\{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} \geq \{(B_{v(A2)})^{(CC)F2}\}$, or $\{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} \leq \{(B_{v(A2)})^{(CC)F2}\}$, where the equilibrium occurring in this case is permanently ***unstable***, that is, temporarily ***stable*** only, referring to that by (−1), under perception or deception conditions. Namely, any actor, under perception and certainty or deception and uncertainty circumstances, may have the incentive to deviate from a status quo of being *"threatened"* if not reached *reasonably* in a relative balance's perception state. In that case, both actors' capable and credible threats become *"active andin use."*

D. *Proving the (DHMIC)'s Hypothesis*

According to Equations I and II, the *"absolute gains"* obtained by state-actors (i.e., the system's powers under the illustrated manner) of cooperation or joint understandings and agreements-based-Liberalist perspective of interstate relations manifest and defy strongly the *"relative gains"* that define a conflict and competition-dominated-Realist view of self- interested states seeking the power-accumulation goal at each other's expense. Thus, this work reflects a re-balanced view of the balance of power relations in interstate conflicts where the deterrence relationship stability becomes under question. Still, further research is necessitated in the field. Lastly, we prove the validity of our "Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict" hypothesis: "The initial stability in the system powers' conflict and deterrence relation is achieved through joint equilibria simultaneously occurring and the opponent-directed-capable and credible threat-existing in a mutual deterrence relationship, under certainty and perception, or uncertainty and deception conditions."

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III. The Conflict or War Impediment Strategic Approach, Part II: A Deterrence Entanglement Law (DEL) in Global Politics

a) Theoretical Roots and Assumptions

- This study's developed (Deterrence Entanglement Law) is based on a (Threat-for- Deterrence) modeling, which partially uses game theory assumptions of rationality and the expected utility in explaining the interactions among two rational powers or actors conflicting in a regional or international system.
- The modeling depends on describing the system powers/actors' moves and countermoves during a crisis, clash, conflict, or war within extended or immediate deterrence relations, considering both perception and (complete/incomplete) certainty or deception and certain uncertainty conditions.
- Further, the (Threat-for-Deterrence) modeling reconciles the misperception and deception factors with the rationality argument. The factors that distinguish hypergame models under complex-conflict situations where the difference in information, understandings, and perceptions exists among players. The players, therefore, might be deceivers or deceived within given generalizable-reasonable interactions.
- Our modeling differs in its basics, purpose, and application from the *theory of moves*, which explains an interplay of moves and countermoves of players in a sequential nature's rational-choice modeling under apparent perception conditions.
- Mainly, our (Threat-for-Deterrence) modeling is a simulation of what we call a "Deterrence Entanglement Law" in global politics, within which the *firm premise* is:

The (Matter) at a move is an (Anti-matter) at this move's countermove, and the (Anti-matter) at a move is a (Matter) at this move's countermove; where:

a. The (Matter) for one actor/power is an (Anti-matter) for the other at the same move and countermove, and likewise, the (Anti-matter) for one actor/power is a (Matter) for the other at the same move and countermove.
b. Both the (Matter) and the (Anti-matter) are the (same "Matter or Threat-Object") at the (same "mutually move and countermove"), while they are (different "Matters or Threat-Objects") at (different "mutually moves and countermoves").
c. The moves of one movement of (Matter and Anti-matter) by an actor/power, and the countermoves of its opposite movement of (Anti-matter and Matter) in the same direction by the other actor/power, are made simultaneously or sequentially.
d. A (move) and (countermove) occur in opposite ways of the same direction, composing a comprehensive (Threat-for-Deterrence) modeling of a (Deterrence Entanglement Law).

That is to say, the modeling cases' interrelated relations are about: {Threaten ⟷ Threatened}; and {Not Threaten ⟷ Unthreatened} sub-cases. Obviously, those relations are ***not*** about: {(Threaten, Threaten); (Not Threaten, Not Threaten); (Threatened, Threatened); or (Unthreatened, Unthreatened)} strategic preferences of two actors/ powers of the system if a conflict exists. Thus, the modeling defines (Deterrence Entanglement Law) thorough cases for the conflict/war impediment purpose _ when a movement of moves and its opposite movement in the same direction of countermoves address an observed context of conflict interstate and/or deterrence relation. Therefore, the (DEL) does *not* focus on the interactive decision-making's possible strategic actions of separate situations in a conflict, which is considered a *general law* for conflict management through governing the conflict/war impediment possibilities and equilibria first.

e. The first (Matter and Anti-matter), as well as the second, reflect two different (Threat Objects), existing in opposite ways of the same direction, that must be *equivalently* equal in *"level"* and/or *"scale."* Based on that, a *"deterrence sufficiency"* condition in line with the "(Threat Objects) capability and credibility criteria" becomes partially or entirely fulfilled for reaching a state of balance of an "Initial Stability in (the System) Powers' Conflict and Deterrence Relation (ISPCDR)."

- Within this modeling, "Power I or (P-I)" is an actor (i.e., state) in the international system that is in a state of clash/conflict/war with "Power II." Similarly, "Power II or (P-II)" is the system actor that is in a state of clash/conflict/war with "Power I." We refer to both (P-I) and (P-II) as {(Actor I), (A1), or (a)}, and {(Actor II), (A2) or (b)}, respectively. Both are clashing, or conflicting, powers/actors in a regional or international system, where any can be (para-) equal in military, economic, political, or/and technological power to the other, or that one is more powerful than the other. Again, the (ISPCDR) is the abbreviation of "Initial Stability in (the System) Powers' Conflict and Deterrence Relation."
- The built (Threat-for-Deterrence) modeling is considered the extension and advanced development of the (Deception Hypergame Model of Interstate Conflict "DHMIC") and its related (Initial Stability in the System Powers' Conflict and

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Deterrence Relation "ISPCDR")'s conditionality cases. Thence, the (Deterrence Entanglement Law) addresses:

a. Case I of Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR) where $\{(Eva)^{\pm 1}\} \neq \{(Evb)^{\pm 1}\}$; namely, $\{(Eva)^{\pm 1}\} > \{(Evb)^{\pm 1}\}$, or $\{(Eva)^{\pm 1}\} < \{(Evb)^{\pm 1}\}$.
b. Case II of Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR) where $\{(Eva)^{+1}\} = \{(Evb)^{+1}\}$.
c. Case III of Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR) where $\{(Eva)^{-1}\} \geq \{(Evb)^{-1}\}$, or $\{(Eva)^{-1}\} \leq \{(Evb)^{-1}\}$.
d. *Three conditions:* 1) The (Eva) or (Evb) is the *"value of an equilibrium"* for each power/actor within the (DEL)'s cases, where both include capable and credible threats versus each other. 2) The ("Capability and Credibility of Threat" Factor, "CC(F)") under (Balance of Deterrence, "B") might be considered if the (Threat Object) is *"in use, active*, and *enabled*," or *not* if the (Threat Object) is *"in non- use, inactive, and disabled*." 3) The (Balance of Deterrence, "B") of one power/actor might be *negative* (−1) if it *cannot* counter the other power/actor's (B), or *positive* (+1) if it *can* counter it, in either the level or/and scale of deterrence. We abbreviate the ("Capability and Credibility of Threat" Factor) as the "CC(F1)" for (A1) and "CC(F2)" for (A2), given that the definition providedfor Actor I and Actor II under the "Threat-for-Deterrence" modeling is employed.
e. Deterrence; as a term that means that the war or the all-out conflict is avoidable. The deterrence explained within the confines of "Threat-for-Deterrence" modeling fails should the war or all-out conflict ensue. The occurrence of limitedconflicts is seen under the (Deterrence Entanglement Law) as one way to hinder the war or all-out conflict possibility in some actual complex-conflict situations. Thus, this view agrees in part with the old perspective of deterrence as an instrument of broader (national/international) security strategy for avoiding wars via (not wars as it had been seen before World War II but) limited conflicts. If the (Threat Object I) or (Threat Object II), which are both capable and credible and can be active or inactive, in use for deterrence or in a non-use, and enabled or disabled within the (DEL)'s cases, is shifted to be applied in a state of *active* war or *active* all-out conflict, once again, the deterrence meant under the (DEL) is failed, and no "Balance of Deterrence (B)" positions either relative, outright, or incomplete are to be detected. That is why implementing the (DEL) is a vital linebetween impeding the war or all out-conflict possibilities, which is the essential purpose, if correctly its rules are employed, or witnessing them.

- Therefore, the aim of our advanced modeling is enhanced further to answer what if the "All-Out Conflict or War Outcome" was to be avoided before any actual-game situations occur, perception or deception ones? Namely, what if there was a *"law"* that governs the human flawed or flawless actions and behaviors, whether the actors were rational and completely or incompletely perceiving the other actors' strategic preferences in perception cases, within a regional/international system, or they were deceived or deceivers under intentional misperception-situations?
- Accordingly, the "Threat-for-Deterrence" modeling differs from other (hyper)game- theoretic models in considering *"comprehensive cases of mutually dual moves and countermoves"* rather than *"actions in one/multi-situation(s) of conflict in a (hyper)game"* played by actors of the system. Thus, it expresses *"systemic cases for stabilizing relations"* among clashing/conflicting actors under "Deterrence Entanglement Law," which is a deterrence instrument needed where the peace becomes inferior to a superior state of war. If correctly applied, we assume that the all-out conflict or war is avoidable even in cases where an extended deterrence applied along with a long period of time fails and an immediate deterrence of an aggressive actor is necessitated before the war ensues.
- Ultimately, the "Threat-for-Deterrence" modeling, which is a simulation of "Deterrence Entanglement Law," primary assumption is: "The conflict or war among powers or actors (i.e., states) of the international system is avoidable and maneuverable within extended or immediate deterrence spheres if the actors' conflict-position regionally or internationally is *preemptively* amended under perceived-relative, absolute, or incomplete gains' environment." That is what we move from and prove under "Relatively, Outrightly, and Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR)" cases, where each case might be an equilibrium for impeding a war or conflict interstate consideringgiven conditions.

b) The (Deterrence Entanglement Law) Explanation in a (Threat-for-Deterrence)Modeling: Three Key Cases of Mutually Dual Moves and Countermoves

i. *Preliminary*

There are some assumptions on which our "Threat-for-Deterrence" modeling is built, as follows:

a. A (Threaten) move or countermove made towards (Power II) by (Power I) equals (P-II's Uncontained Matter).
b. A (Threatened) countermove or move made by (Power II) in interaction with (P-I)'s (Threaten) move or countermove respectively, equals: (P-II's Uncontained Anti-matter).
c. A (Threaten) move or countermove made towards (Power I) by (Power II) equals (P-I's Uncontained Matter).

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d. A (Threatened) countermove or move made by (Power I) in interaction with (P-II)'s (Threaten) move or countermove respectively, equals: (P-I's Uncontained Anti-matter).
e. A (Not Threaten) move or countermove made towards (Power II) by (Power I) equals (P-II's Contained Matter).
f. An (Unthreatened) countermove or move made by (Power II) in interaction with (P-I)'s (Not Threaten) move or countermove consecutively equals: (P-II's Contained Anti-matter).
g. A (Not Threaten) move or countermove made towards (Power I) by (Power II) equals (P-I's Contained Matter).
h. An (Unthreatened) countermove or move made by (Power I) in interaction with (P-II)'s (Not Threaten) move or countermove consecutively equals: (P-I's Contained Anti-matter).
i. In the eight assumptions mentioned above, the (DEL)'s fundamental premise is a given, which is: "The (Matter) and (Anti-matter) are the *same* (Matter or Threat-Object) at the *same* (mutually move and countermove) _ where the (Matter) for one power/actor is an (Anti-matter) for the other at the *same* move and countermove, and vice versa. Simultaneously, the (Matter) and (Anti-matter) are *different* (Matters or Threat-Objects) at *different* (mutually moves and countermoves)."

ii. *The Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR) Where* $\{(Eva)^{\pm 1}\} \neq \{(Evb)^{\pm 1}\}$*: Yes-No/No- Yes Case*

In the Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR), the *first* (mutually move and countermove) is {(Threaten) ⟷ (Threatened)}, where the *(Threat-Object I)* of "one power/actor" exists, *actively* or in an *enabled* manner. Similarly, the *second* (mutually move and countermove) is {(Unthreatened) ⟷ (Not Threaten)}, where the *(Threat-Object II)* of the "otherpower/actor" takes place, simultaneously, in an opposite way of the same direction, however *inactively* or in a *disabled* mode.

a. *Under the Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR), Where* $\{(Eva)^{\pm 1}\} > \{(Evb)^{\pm 1}\}$*, There Are Two Sub-cases:*

- *Sub-case I:* Power I's movement is defined by the {(Threaten); (Unthreatened)} moves, while Power II's opposite movement, in the same direction, becomes determined by the {(Threatened); (Not Threaten)} countermoves, consecutively; see *Figure 7.*
- *Sub-case II:* Power II's movement is defined by the {(Not Threaten); (Threatened)} moves, whereas Power I's opposite movement, in the same direction, becomes determined by the {(Unthreatened); (Threaten)} countermoves, respectively.

Under *"perception and complete/incomplete certainty"* conditions, the utility is: $\{(S4, S2)^{+}\}$ _ given that (x, y) is the payoff to (Power I), the payoff to (Power II), respectively. That outcome represents the "Opponent Victory Equilibrium," which is *stable* since no power/actor may have the incentive to deviate from such an equilibrium or solution point occurring rationally, achieving the best position for all simultaneously and *correctly* perceived within the movement and opposite movement of both in a reasonable order. In contrast, under *"deception and certain uncertainty"* conditions, where (P-I) is the deceiverand (P-II) is the deceived, the utility is: $\{(S4, S2)^{-}\}$ of a "Disguised Opponent-Victory Equilibrium;" see *Figure 9.* The latter outcome is temporarily *stable* only, which cannot be permanently stable because the deceived (P-II) misperceives it; therefore, this player may have the incentive to deviate once revealing that (P-I) misled it under a *deception/intentional misperception* state of the Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR) case.

Within the Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR) case of the Deterrence Entanglement Law, the "Central-Deterrence Point I" exists where: $\{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} > \{(B_{v(A2)})^{-1}\}$, given that (-1) means that the last is a "Negative Balance of (A_2)" with a value that cannot counter-balance the (A_1)'s (B) in either the *level* or/and *scale* under a given context of observation and its relevant factors. However, the mentioned (B) positions do not affect the validity and stability of the "Opponent Victory Equilibrium" if it existed in perception and complete/incomplete certainty conditions.

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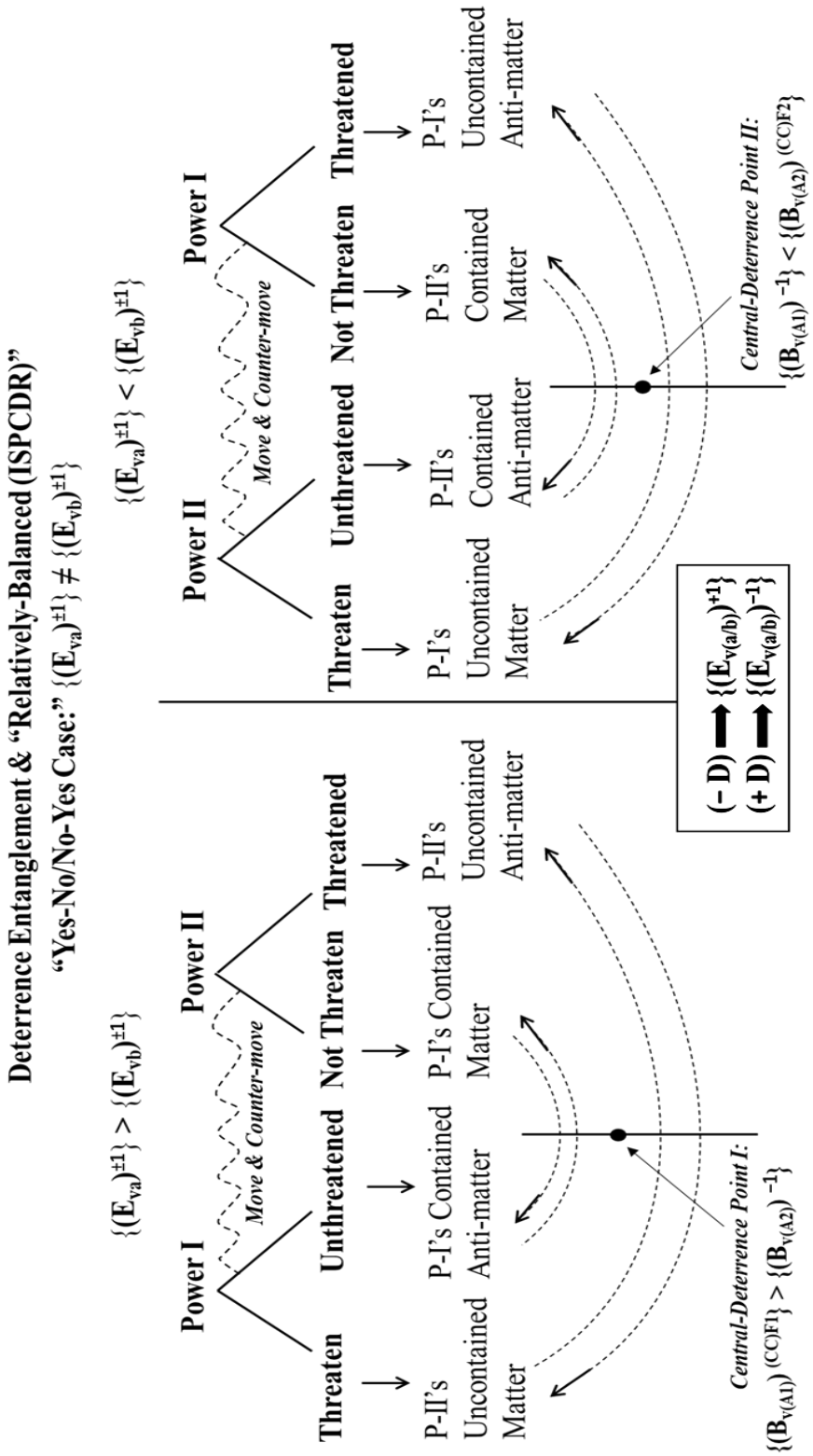


Figure 7: Deterrence Entanglement Law and the "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)" Case

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The reason is that both positions of balance now include (A_1)'s capable and credible- (Threat Object) active and enabled, and (A_2)'s capable and credible-one, in an opposite way of the same direction, inactive and disabled, simultaneously, while all actors are awareof that.

b. *Under the Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR), Where* $\{(Eva)^{\pm 1}\} < \{(Evb)^{\pm 1}\}$*, ThereAre Two Sub-cases*

- *Sub-case I:* Power II's movement is defined by the {(Threaten); (Unthreatened)} moves, while Power I's opposite movement, in the same direction, becomes determined by the {(Threatened); (Not Threaten)} countermoves, consecutively.
- *Sub-case II:* Power I's movement is defined by the {(Not Threaten); (Threatened)} moves, whereas Power II's opposite movement, in the same direction, becomes determined by the {(Unthreatened); (Threaten)} countermoves, respectively; see *Figure 7.*

Under *"perception and complete/incomplete certainty"* conditions, the utility is: $\{(S2, S4)^{+}\}$, of an "Opponent Victory Equilibrium," that is a *stable* outcome, where no power/actor may have the impulse to deviate from this position that occurs depending on all players' rationality, and correctly perceived, within the movement and opposite movement of both in a reasonable order.

In *"deception and certain uncertainty"* conditions, where (P-II) is the deceiver and (P-I) is the deceived, the utility is: $\{(S2, S4)^{-}\}$ of another case of "Disguised Opponent-Victory Equilibrium;" see *Figure 9.* This equilibrium is a *temporarily* stable outcome only (namely, it cannot be permanently stable like the other above case) because the deceived (P-I) misperceives it. Thus, (P-I) may have the incentive to deviate if it reveals that (P-II) misled it under such a deception/intentional misperception state of the Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR) case.

Within the "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)" case of the Deterrence Entanglement Law, the "Central-Deterrence Point II" exists where: $\{(Bv(A1))^{-1}\} < \{(Bv(A2))^{(CC)F2}\}$, given that (-1) means that the first is a "Negative Balance of (A_1)" _ including (A1)'s *"inactive anddisabled"* capable and credible threat, which cannot counter-balance the (A_2)'s (B) in either the *level* or the *scale,* considering this given context.

iii. *The Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR) Where the* $\{(Eva)^{+1}\} = \{(Evb)^{+1}\}$*: 4 Noes Case*

In the Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR), the *first* (mutually move and countermove) is {(Not Threaten) ⟷ (Unthreatened)}, where the *(Threat-Object I)* of one power/actor exists, *inactively* or in a *disabled* manner. Similarly, the *second* (mutually move and countermove) is {(Unthreatened) ⟷ (Not Threaten)}, where the *(Threat-Object II)* ofthe other power/actor takes place, simultaneously, in an opposite way of the samedirection, also *inactively* or in a *disabled* mode. It is explained as follows:

- *Sub-case I:* Power I's movement is defined by the {(Not Threaten); (Unthreatened)} moves, while Power II's opposite movement, in the same direction, is shaped through the {(Unthreatened); (Not Threaten)} countermoves, consecutively.
- *Sub-case II:* Power II's movement is defined by the {(Not Threaten); (Unthreatened)} moves, whereas Power I's opposite movement, in the same direction, becomes determined by the {(Unthreatened); (Not Threaten)} countermoves, respectively; see *Figure 8.*

In both sub-cases, the "Compromise Equilibrium" becomes in play, where the utility is: $\{(S3, S3)^{+}\}$, see *Figure 9,* under perception and complete/incomplete certainty, or deception and certain uncertainty conditions. This equilibrium is *stable* either correctly or incorrectly perceived, since no power/actor during a crisis, clash, conflict, or war arising among both may have the incentive to deviate from this position, once reached, of the highest and most stable utility for all when making their movement and opposite movement in a *rational* order, simultaneously or sequentially.

Within the Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR) case of the Deterrence Entanglement Law, the "Central-Deterrence Point III" exists where $\{(B_{v(A1)})^{+1}\} = \{(B_{v(A2)})^{+1}\}$, coinciding with the occurrence of mutually "Positive Deterrence-Balance of (A1) and (A2)." The positivity that we refer to by $(+1)$, under which no power or actor might threaten the other by the capable and credible (Threat Object I or II), which both become *inactive* and *disabled*.

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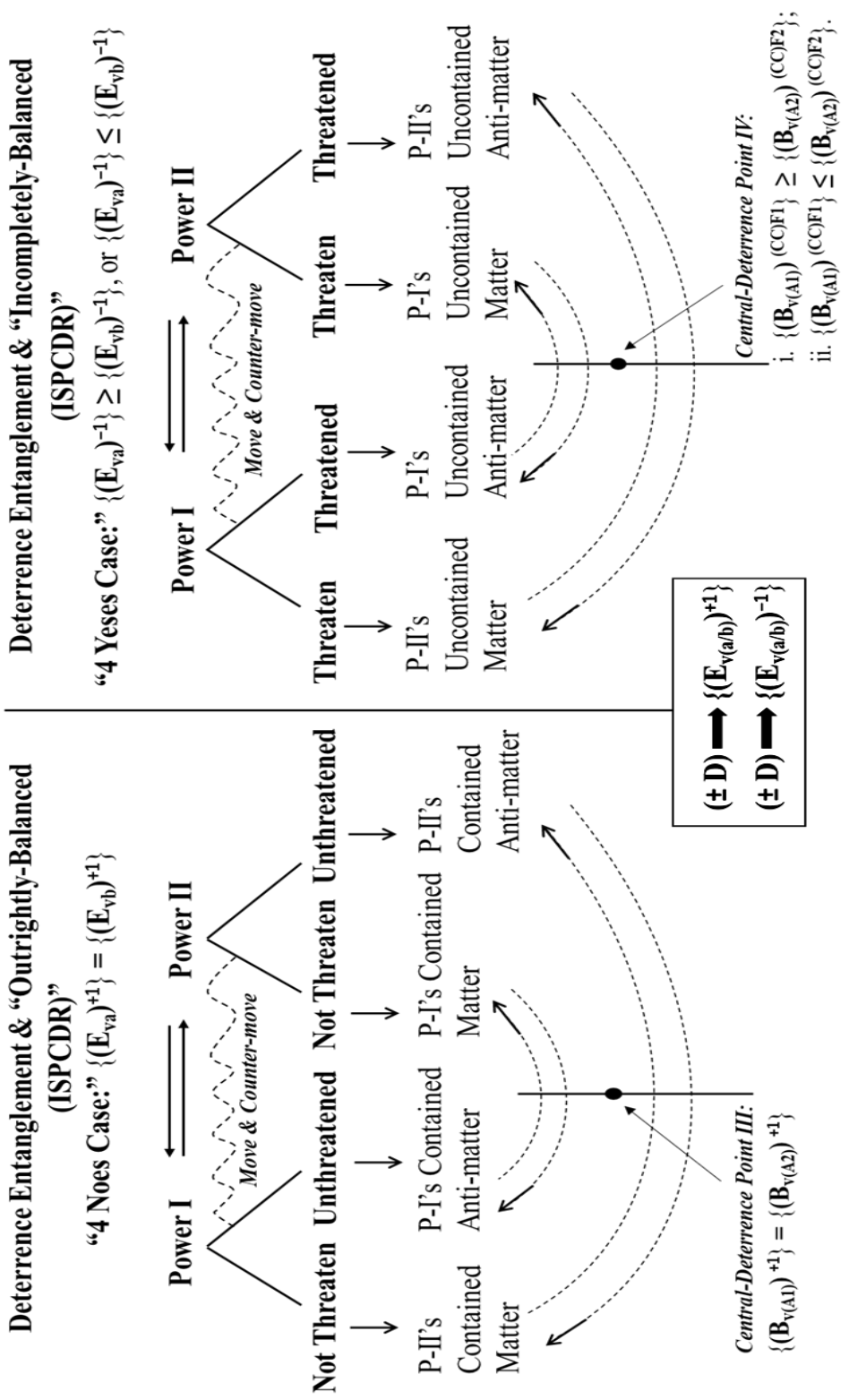


Figure 8: Deterrence Entanglement Law and the "Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR)" &"Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR)" Cases

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Considering that positivity, each *"Balance of Deterrence"* position can counter the other regarding the level and/or scale _ in a given context of observation. So, comprehensively,the *perfect* or most optimal state of balance of the (ISPCDR) achieves here.

iv. *The Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR) Where* $\{(Eva)^{-1}\} \geq \{(Evb)^{-1}\}$, *or* $\{(Eva)^{-1}\} \leq \{(Evb)^{-1}\}$*: 4 Yeses Case*

In the Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR), the *first* (mutually move and countermove) is {(Threaten) ⟷ (Threatened)}, where the *(Threat-Object I)* of one power/actor exists,*actively* or in an *enabled* manner. Similarly, the *second* (mutually move and countermove) is {(Threatened) ⟷ (Threaten)}, where the *(Threat-Object II)* of the other power/actor takes place, simultaneously, in an opposite way of the same direction, also *actively* or in an *enabled* mode. Thus, the sub-cases of this specific case are:

- *Sub-case I:* Power I's movement is defined by the {(Threaten); (Threatened)} moves while Power II's opposite movement, in the same direction, becomes determined by the {(Threatened); (Threaten)} countermoves consecutively.
- *Sub-case II:* Power II's movement is defined by the {(Threaten); (Threatened)} moves, whereas Power I's opposite movement, in the same direction, becomes determined by the {(Threatened); (Threaten)} countermoves, respectively; see *Figure 8.*

In both sub-cases, the "Status Quo Equilibrium" occurs, which is *unstable*, (−1) under perception and (complete/incomplete) certainty or deception and certain uncertainty conditions. The reason is that any power/actor during a crisis, clash, conflict, or war arising among both may have the impulse to deviate from a position of being *"threatened"* in a status quo situation if not reached *rationally* within a perception state of relative balance case. Should a deviation to the "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)" equilibrium be the case rationally and in a reasonable order where one actor's movement is shaped by the {(Not Threaten); (Threatened)} moves, or opposite movement of the same direction is defined by the {(Threatened); (Not Threaten)} countermoves, the equilibrium occurring, therefore, becomes stable under perception conditions.

The utility possibilities here are: $\{(S2, S2)^{-}\}$ and $\{(S3, S2)^{-}\}$ if $\{(Eva)^{-1}\} \geq \{(Evb)^{-1}\}$, or $\{(S2, S2)^{-}\}$ and $\{(S2, S3)^{-}\}$ if $\{(Eva)^{-1}\} \leq \{(Evb)^{-1}\}$. The "Status Quo's Deviations I and II" directions are illustrated in *Figure 9,* where the "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)" equilibrium becomes the first preferred deviation-line rationally in a "Threat-for- Deterrence" modeling. Then, the "Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR)" equilibrium comes second according to the probability assumptions shown: $\{P1 < P2 \leq P3\}$.

Within the Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR) case of the Deterrence Entanglement Law, the "Central-Deterrence Point IV" exists where: i. $\{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} \geq \{(B_{v(A2)})^{(CC)F2}\}$ if $\{(Eva)^{-1}\} \geq \{(Evb)^{-1}\}$, or ii. $\{(B_{v(A1)})^{(CC)F1}\} \leq \{(B_{v(A2)})^{(CC)F2}\}$ if $\{(Eva)^{-1}\} \leq \{(Evb)^{-1}\}$, given that both "Balance of Deterrence" positions include *"active and enabled"* capable and credible-(Threat Objects I and II).

Accordingly, the "Status Quo Equilibrium" is a crucial solution-point for achieving an incompletely-balance of some challenging deterrence relations and complicated conflicts,avoiding the war possibility further through a *(Backward Induction Mechanism)*. Within this mechanism, it can be transformed a (Deterrence Entanglement) state from a "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)" to an "Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR)" for reaching an "Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR)" third, given that shifting the Relatively-Balanced case to an Outrightly-Balanced one necessitates the Incompletely-Balanced connecting- state to take place first. Although the $\{P1 < P2 \leq P3\}$, still transforming (P3) into (P2) requires moving back by a transition to (P1) first. That is because of the stability in utility achieved within the (P3) case in perception and certainty conditions (or even in some deception and uncertainty cases as long the deception is not exposed) _ since the opponent is reasonably better off by securing relative gains (i.e., "S4" vs. "S2") it could acquire at the expense of the other under an equilibrium correctly (or incorrectly) perceived. In sum, the destabilization of (P3)'s relative balance is to occur first by (P1)'s incomplete-balance interference for achieving a rational movement to (P2)'s outright-balance second once (P3) is disrupted. In that case, both actors become rationally better off by deviating from the recently reached position of incomplete-balance but to the outright-balance position, not the relative-balance one, under the *Backward Induction Mechanism*.

The Backward Induction Mechanism can also be used as a *transformation bridge* between two states of status quo if one of them is most likely to be avoiding the war possibility with a successful deterrence impeding the war/all-out conflict, which represents the (Status Quo Equilibrium) within the (DEL). Comparingly, the other state of status quo is chaotic, which takes place second after an active war or active all-out conflict occurring in the same context once the deterrence fails. In that case, both positions still reflect an unstable outcome, but the future one is more destructing than stabilizing. At the same time, the past position becomes the most stabilizing force of an instability accompanying a status quo, to which the Backward Induction is being made, restoring the "Balance of Deterrence (B)" under the Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR) case.

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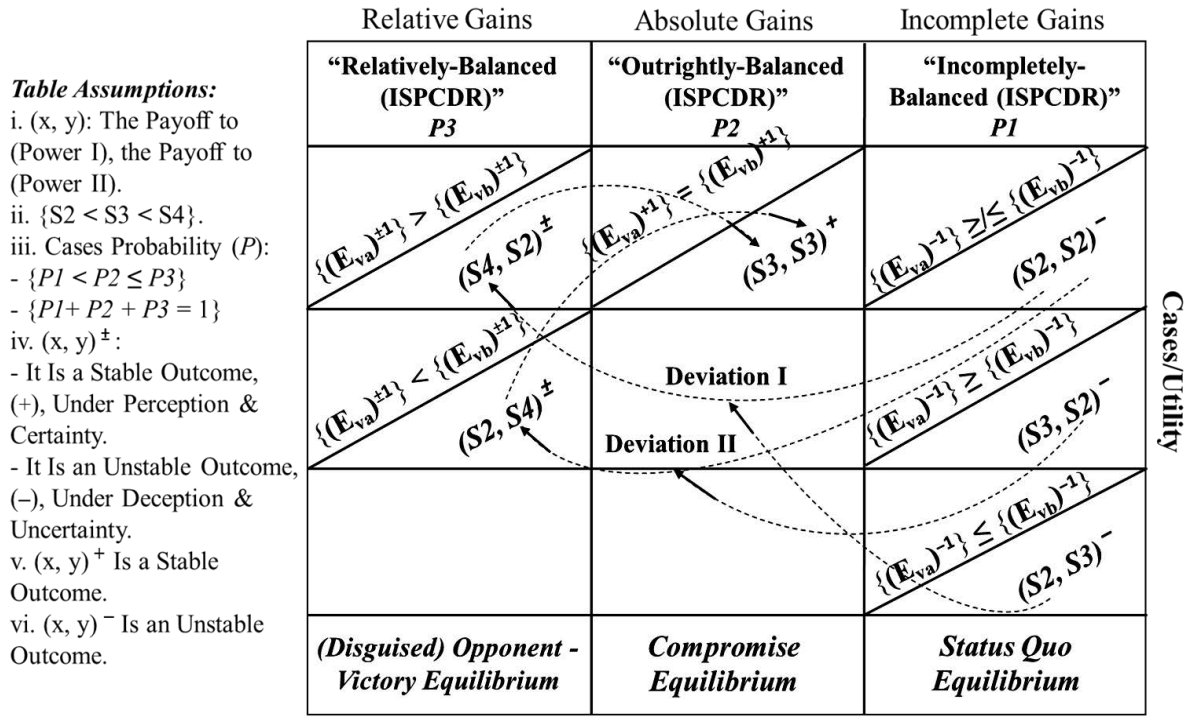


Figure 9: The Utility and Probability of the Deterrence Entanglement Cases

Ultimately, we can interpret the (Mutually Assured Destruction "MAD") strategy under the "Incompletely-Balanced (ISPCDR)." The (MAD) entails that if one nuclear power attacks the other through a first nuclear strike, a second capable and credible nuclear strike will follow by the attacked nation against the aggressor from other lands than the attacked ones, should the first attacked homeland be overwhelmingly destroyed. Under a case of movement of {(Threaten); (Threatened)} and opposite movement of {(Threatened); (Threaten)} in the same direction, by both the US and Soviet Union, no matter who has what sort of movement, a deviation from this status quo outcome became a possibility more significantly after the Cold War ended. Such a swerve took a solid shape in accordance with developing debates over (Ballistic Missile Defense Systems, BMDs)[8] that are supposed to operate by relying on obstructing or disrupting nuclear missiles in case thehomeland is being attacked through a nuclear strike. Here, assuming that the US deviates from the status quo outcome by acquiring the (BMDs) technology, while Russia misperceives that its old rival would move from the (MAD) equilibrium position. Rationally, Russia, in this case, will have the incentive to change a would-be (Disguised Opponent-Victory Equilibrium) once being aware that the US shifted from the Cold War's (incomplete) balance of nuclear deterrence; and vice versa.

In general, both actors, who are the international system's old competing poles (i.e., the US and Russia as the Soviet Union's successor), would have had the impulse to deviate from the (Status Quo Equilibrium) either the surrounding factors, such as the existence of the Soviet Union, remained unchanged or not, due to the instability of this outcome itself. Furthermore, the system's two powers might reach a state of Outright Balance after the Cold War, concerning the nuclear deterrence theme, by mutually acquiring the (BMDs). In the latter case, and from the (DEL)'s perspective, the (Threat Object I or the first/initiating-nuclear strike) and (Threat Object II or the second/responding-nuclear strike), which both are capable and credible, become all *inactive* and *disabled*. In sum, the (MAD) strategy equilibrium will no longer be in play if the "Relatively-Balanced (ISPCDR)" case under perception, or deception/ intentional misperception state, or another case of "Outrightly-Balanced (ISPCDR)," is reached as courses of deviation from the (Status Quo Equilibrium) that framed the nuclear deterrence nature among both powers for decades.

[8] Ballistic missile defense (BMD) system is a defense system designed to intercept and destroy ballistic missiles that first emerged through President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), which is a program to use a space-based technology to strike down incoming strategic ballistic missiles (Juliet Kaarbo and James Lee Ray, *Global Politics*, 10th ed., (The USA and Canada: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2011)). However, it was not until the US decision, announced in 2001, to withdraw from the 1972 Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty when this withdrawal allowed the United States to conduct tests, without anyconditions, for a missile defense system (ibid).

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c) The Deterrence Entanglement Law Rules

The Deterrence Entanglement Law includes three rules, considering these assumptions:

a. The {(Tn), (UT), (NT), (Td)} are the abbreviations to the {(Threaten); (Unthreatened); (Not Threaten); (Threatened)} moves/countermoves, respectively.
b. The (Bab) is the "Balance of Deterrence (B)" for Power I/Actor I or (a/A1), and Power II/Actor II or (b/A2), in the "Threat-for-Deterrence" modeling, where both sides are *opponents* in the international system.
c. The (+D) indicates a (deception (D) case of inter-state conflict situations or an intentional misperception employed by one opponent versus the other, and certain uncertainty) factor. At the same time, the (−D) points out a (perception (or non- deception/D) case of inter-state conflict situations and complete/incomplete certainty) factor.
d. The {(CC)F1} and {(CC)F2} are the (Threat-Capability and Credibility Factor 1) of (A1) and the (Threat-Capability and Credibility Factor 2) of (A2), consecutively.

i. *Rule I of the Deterrence Entanglement Law: Relative-Balance Rule*

$$((Tn)^{(CC)F1} + (UT))_{A1} + ((Td)^{(CC)F1} + (NT))_{A2} = B_{ab}((E_{va}) > (E_{vb}))^{+1} + (-D)$$

$$= B_{ab}((E_{va}) > (E_{vb}))^{-1} + (+D)$$

$$((Tn)^{(CC)F2} + (UT))_{A2} + ((Td)^{(CC)F2} + (NT))_{A1} = B_{ab}((E_{va}) < (E_{vb}))^{+1} + (-D)$$

$$= B_{ab}((E_{va}) < (E_{vb}))^{-1} + (+D)$$

The Balance of Deterrence in the system powers-conflict and deterrence relation exists, *relatively*, if one actor/power's movement of {(Threaten); (Unthreatened)} moves, and the other actor/power's opposite-movement, in the same direction, of {(Threatened); (Not Threaten)} countermoves, and vice versa, take place regarding the (Matter and Anti- Matter) for each, or two opposite Threat-Objects, within either movement. Contextually, the first's equilibrium (E) value (v) exceeds the second's, with permanent stability under perception and (complete/incomplete) certainty conditions, and permanently instability or temporal stability under intentional deception or misperception and certain-uncertainty ones.

ii. *Rule II of the Deterrence Entanglement Law: Outright-Balance Rule*

$$((NT) + (UT))_{(A1)} + ((UT) + (NT))_{(A2)} = B_{ab}((E_{va}) \approx (E_{vb}))^{+1} + (\pm D)$$

The Balance of Deterrence in the system powers-conflict and deterrence relation *outrightly* exists if one actor/power's movement of {(Not Threaten); (Unthreatened)} moves, and the other actor/power's opposite movement, in the same direction, of {(Unthreatened); (Not Threaten)} countermoves, and vice versa, occur regarding the (Matter and Anti-Matter) for each, or two opposite Threat-Objects, within either movement. Explicitly, the first's equilibrium value *equivalently* equals the second's, with stability under intentional deception or misperception and certain uncertainty conditions or perception and (complete/ incomplete) certainty circumstances.

iii. *Rule III of the Deterrence Entanglement Law: Incomplete-Balance Rule*

$$((Tn)^{(CC)F1} + (Td)^{(CC)F2})_{(A1)} + ((Td)^{(CC)F1} + (Tn)^{(CC)F2})_{(A2)}$$

$$= B_{ab}((E_{va}) \geq (E_{vb}))^{-1} + (\pm D)$$

$$= B_{ab}((E_{va}) \leq (E_{vb}))^{-1} + (\pm D)$$

The Balance of Deterrence in the system powers-conflict and deterrence relation *incompletely* exists if one actor/power's movement of {(Threaten); (Threatened)} moves, and the other actor/power's opposite-movement, in the same direction, of {(Threatened); (Threaten)} countermoves, and vice versa, happen regarding the (Matter and Anti-Matter) for each, or two opposite Threat-Objects, within either movement. In this given context, the first's equilibrium value might exceed or equal, or be less than or equal, the second's, with *instability* permanently or temporal *stability* under intentional deception or misperception

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and certain uncertainty conditions, or perception and (complete/incomplete)certainty ones.

IV. Conclusion

Following the development of the (Deception Hypergame Model of Inter-state Conflict "DHMIC"), two general conclusions have been given, paving one way among many others that can be provided in further research for stabilizing the international system's structure. Whether or not the deception exists in multiple games of an unbalanced hypergame model played by and between states, the aim was not to reveal a new facet of reality insofar as it was to set the facts (more) solid, avoiding the occurrence of potentially similar conflicts in the future. More specifically, we introduced two equations inferred from that built model and its application, which are applicable under certainty and uncertainty conditions. Sequentially, the explained *Conditionality of (ISPCDR)* was highlighted, upon which our subsequent development of (Deterrence Entanglement Law) took place. The Initial Stability in the System Powers' Conflict and Deterrence Relation or the (ISPCDR) can be determined based on the previously given Equations I and II's outputs, where the (Bipolarity or Multipolarity "B-MP") defines the international system's structure. Moving further, we set a Deterrence Entanglement Law, under which there are three rules; Relative-Balance Rule, Outright-Balance Rule, and Incomplete-Balance Rule, shown theoretically as well as strategically in a (Threat-for-Deterrence) modeling and the consequently relevant equations.

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The Effect of Corruption on Economic Development in Nigeria

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Abstract- The study examines the effects of corruption on economic development and growth in Nigeria. Corruption is conduct that deviates from the normal duties of public trust due mainly to the expectation of private pecuniary reward. The study purposes that corruption is the bane of economic development and growth in Nigeria. The study adopted the historical/descriptive method and sourced materials primarily from secondary sources. The study also adopted the prebendal theoretical framework. Findings from the study show that corruption retards economic development and growth, promotes bad governance, poor service delivery, uncoordinated policies and programmes decayed infrastructures, impunity by officials of government, brain drain, moral decadence and encourages leadership ineptitude. The study, therefore, recommends massive attitudinal re-orientation and public enlightenment, compulsory declaration of assets and liabilities of government officials before and after office, plugging of leakages, greater operational autonomy to anti-corruption agencies, the establishment of a special court to handle corruption cases and the development of the strong institution and people-oriented and visionary leadership as the panacea for tackling corruption frontally in the country.

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The Effect of Corruption on Economic Development in Nigeria

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Abstract- The study examines the effects of corruption on economic development and growth in Nigeria. Corruption is conduct that deviates from the normal duties of public trust due mainly to the expectation of private pecuniary reward. The study purposes that corruption is the bane of economic development and growth in Nigeria. The study adopted the historical/descriptive method and sourced materials primarily from secondary sources. The study also adopted the prebendal theoretical framework. Findings from the study show that corruption retards economic development and growth, promotes bad governance, poor service delivery, uncoordinated policies and programmes decayed infrastructures, impunity by officials of government, brain drain, moral decadence and encourages leadership ineptitude. The study, therefore, recommends massive attitudinal re-orientation and public enlightenment, compulsory declaration of assets and liabilities of government officials before and after office, plugging of leakages, greater operational autonomy to anti-corruption agencies, the establishment of a special court to handle corruption cases and the development of the strong institution and people-oriented and visionary leadership as the panacea for tackling corruption frontally in the country.

I. Introduction

Corruption, a social menace that has eaten into the fabric of the nation, has become a common denominator in Nigeria. Its prevalence has become so pronounced that no day passes without a case of corruption against a highly placed Nigerian being reported (Uji, 2015). In other words, generally, the global perception about graft in Nigeria is that of a pervasive phenomenon. It has been acknowledged that corruption is endemic and systematic in both public and private sectors of the Nigerian economy and its debilitating effects on the country are enormous. It affects the routine processes of governance both in public and private sectors and pollutes the business environment generally. It also undermines the integrity of government and public institutions. Corruption in Nigeria has been responsible for the political instability of successive governments since the First Republic. Former Nigeria's president Obasanjo (2006) identified corruption as the number one enemy of development and progress that has eaten deep into the fabric of our society at all levels, maintaining further that it has caused decay and dereliction of the infrastructure of government and the society in physical, social and human terms. The President also said with corruption there can be no sustainable development nor political stability. By breeding and feeding on inefficiency, corruption invariably strangles the systems of social organization. Corruption is the antithesis of development and progress. Every coup since then has been in the name of stamping out the disease called corruption. Unfortunately, the cure turned out to be worse than the disease and Nigeria has been worse for it.

It has been asserted that Nigeria's external image has taken a serious bashing over time, as the country is a permanent feature on every corruption index, depicting the commonality of corruption in Nigeria which has permeated all the sectors of the economy, or aspects of the society. The family, the church and even the traditional institutions are not left out of this contagious disease. For instance, beyond the mere enjoyment of public funds, the amassing of wealth by illegal means does not seem to trouble Nigerians. Today, Nigerians applaud and celebrate ill-gotten wealth which in reality is money stolen from public coffers. This is a pointer to the fact that corruption is endemic in Nigeria, culminating in the non-completion of projects and programmes that would have helped in alleviating the sufferings of Nigerians.

The return of democratic rule in Nigeria in 1999, more than ever before, aroused citizens' quest to combat corruption and instil accountability and transparency. According to this, the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC), the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), and Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP) were established. These are in addition to existing institutions such as the Code of Conduct Bureau (CCB) and its Tribunal, but despite the establishment of these impressive arrays of institutional mechanisms aimed at combating corruption, the Vice is still rife.

The nation is indeed turned into a pariah state. In the comity of nations, Nigerians are treated with suspicion and embarrassment, and foreigners are wary of making Nigeria their investment destination (Iorhemen 2008). Amujiri (2002) remarks that public accountability is never a priority in Nigeria. Despite the brave letters of

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the Constitution and the expansive noise of the anti-corruption crusade, it has been observed that the more government devise complex and ambitious ways of combating corruption and plans for the socio-economic and political development of this country, the more their implementation is frustrated by the evolution of an ever more effective and sophisticated method of corruption so that in the end the only development we see is the development of corruption" (Smith 1976).

Ogundiya (2009) observes that corruption is a huge challenge in public administration in Nigeria. It is at the core of the crisis of governance and legitimacy, the establishment of stable democratic order, rule of law, development and the welfare of citizens. Of all forms of corruption, political corruption has posed a major obstacle to national progress in Nigeria. Indeed, the current crisis of development in Nigeria can be attributed to a history of poor governance characterized by corruption, social injustice and political instability.

Corruption also promotes economic decay and social and political instability, perverts the ability of a state to foster rule of law and eventually corrodes trust and undermines legitimacy (CDD, 2001). In Nigeria, the impacts of corruption on national development are bad governance, poor service delivery, inadequate infrastructural amenities, poor management of the public enterprise, brain drain of professional skilled manpower, lack of respect for rule of law, impunity, lack of critical infrastructure, ineffective leadership, moral decadence and general underdevelopment.

It has also been observed that corruption naturally weakens or perpetuates the weakness of government bureaucracy. In this respect, it is incompatible with political and economic development. It is also believed to be counter-productive because corrupt practices by public office holders such as embezzlement of public funds, the offer of bribes for legitimate activities, falsification of documents, nepotism perversion of justice, shielding of certain people from paying taxes and prosecution from a criminal misdemeanour, inflation of government contract, tend to slow down progress, attainment of the goals of government in terms of social service delivery and act as a cog in the wheel of economic development of the country (Adam, 2001).

It also inhibits the operation of strict market factors in the economic sphere, causes bureaucratic opportunities to slow down and pervert planning objectives, introduces irrational elements into development programmes, leads to honest officials shirking of responsibilities, and wastes resources by distorting government policies against the interest of the majority and away from its proper goals. It directs energies and efforts of public officials and citizens towards easy money instead of productive activities, hampers the growth of competitiveness, frustrates effort to alleviate poverty, general apathy and cynicism, makes structures and individuals less rigid and threatens system capacity to function effectively.

Generally, corruption diverts financial resources from building roads, hospitals, schools and investing in infrastructures that would serve business, attract foreign investment and create jobs. It serves to promote criminal and extremist activity by creating barriers to legitimate economic endeavours. Corruption often involves government officials ignoring their responsibility or acting in violation of them for personal and material gains, bribe-taking whereby government officials and others (including those in the private sector) are bribed to encourage or facilitate their action to arrive at a speedier or more favourable outcome to the agent or individual offering the bribe. For instance, an increase in militant attacks and stalling of the passage of a bill that will change the way the oil industry is regulated led to a 45% slump in FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) to N393 billion in the 1st half of 2012 compared with 2011 (Adam, 2011).

Much of money stolen through bribery, massive capital fight arising from the sharp practices of multinational corporations and their local collaborators, paddling of annual budgets which are long in figures but short in actual delivery, immunity clause which shields the president, Vice President, Governors and Deputy from prosecution as well as the nebulous security vote provide the cover to fleece public resources and foster the process of under-development, over-invoicing, dealing below the table, the pervasion of institutional processes and other variants of corruption. The implication is that the money that ought to be used to build schools, hospitals homes, roads, water schemes and to provide adequate transportation systems, propel industrialization and ensure a good life for the people has been systematically stolen by the elites.

Unlike the South Korean elite who stole funds and reinvested the same in the country thereby enhancing its massive industrialization programme, the Nigerian elite is said to be scornful of their country and prefer to invest the looted funds abroad, leaving the country in double jeopardy. The fact that these corrupt officials found willing accomplices in the private sector and corporate organizations to transfer scourge and the complex linkages between the public and private sectors in the matter of corruption and decadence of national values.

The ultimate negative import of corruption is that it provides public and private workers with the opportunity to reuse their emoluments or benefits above what the law prescribes, promote monopoly of the economy, politicians who serve as wealth brokers obtain the resources with which they purchase security and influence legislative processes, allows inefficient producers to remain in business, encourages the government to pursue perverse economic policies, provides opportunities to enrich people through

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extorting money from those seeking favour, distorts economic incentives, discourages entrepreneurship and slow down economic growth (Iyare, 2008)

Given the narrative above, what is corruption? Does corruption affect national development? How effective are institutional and legal frameworks put in place by governments to check the incidence of corruption; what are the ways forward;

This study which seeks to critically assess the effects of corruption on socio-economic development in Nigeria, will provide invaluable input for policy-making and research and contribute to the body of literature on the fight against corruption.

The work adopts the theory of prebendalism as postulated by Richard Joseph (1996). According to the theory, state offices are regarded as prebends that can be appropriated by an officeholder who use them to generate material benefit for themselves and relations to the detriment of the general society. In Nigeria, prebendal politics by political office holders are the order of the day as they perpetrate corruption with impunity, with the society at the receiving end. Inevitably, the prebendal nature of the Nigerian system allows corruption to thrive, which undermines and stagnates development. The theory argues that people engage in crime to amass wealth. In other words, people's consciousness determine their well-being; i.e the way that the society organizes its production, distribution and exchange of goods and services determine their material condition.

Although clientelism and prebendalism might be mutually reinforcing, these concepts have separate meanings. Clientelism defines the nature of individual and group relationships within the broader social and political space, but prebendalism essentially is a function of the competition for, and appropriation of the offices of the state (Seteolu 2005). Clientelism assists to understand the mechanism of how a few privileged individuals' control and legitimize the lopsided distribution of resources in the society. Consequently, Nigerian political culture is hinged on clientelism and prebendal politics. The pursuit of politics is intended to appropriate the political space and resources among fractions of the political elite (Seteolu 2005)

Corruption also manifests in patrimonial and neo-patrimonial character which makes the distinction between the public and the private domains blurred and power, which is a major source of wealth, has become personalized. Within this framework of analysis, the behaviour of the political elite in Africa is linked to a traditional value system. The African society is patriarchal where political power is personalized, and leadership is permanent in the context of self-recruited oligarchy. According to Seteolu, these socially imbibed values are replicated in the political terrain and expand fellowship in the context of power politics. The fierce struggle in the public space is linked to conflicts that characterized leadership succession in traditional political systems and the attraction of political control where party politics guarantees access to wealth and economic power. Therefore, the political elite uses social identities such as ethnicity for particularistic purposes. The ethnic identity becomes a mobilizing mechanism to access political power and consolidate dominance and economic control (Dudley 1973; Osaghae 1995). Consequently, power can be used for personal or group aggrandizements. In patrimonial societies, corruption seems to be intrinsically part and parcel of the political culture.

Neopatrimonialism, a related term to prebendalism is used to describe and explain state failures in Africa. It is used to describe patrons using state resources to secure the loyalty of clients in the general population and is indicative of informal patron-client relationships that can reach from the very high up in state structures down to individuals in the lower levels. As a result of that kind of patron-client or identity politics, Nigeria has regularly been one of the lowest-ranked nations for political transparency by Transparency International (TI) in its corruption perception index.

With the politicization of primordial rivalries, the political class and opportunistic bureaucrats found a safe sanctuary to embezzle and squander state resources. The problem of corruption, therefore, is inextricably tied to the problem of identity and citizenship. It is rooted in the psycho-political perception of Nigeria by an average Nigerian, and history.

II. Conceptual Clarifications

Corruption: As real and pervasive as corruption is, it defies precise definition and Scholars and Practitioners have therefore advanced different definitions of the concept based on their orientation. Transparency International (TI) (1999:1, 2002:6), the world most reputable non-governmental anti-corruption watchdog, defines corruption "as the abuse of public office for private gain".

Amujiri (2002:69) defines corruption as a term commonly applied to self-benefiting conduct by public officials and others who are expected to be dedicated to public service. Werner (1983:27) categorized the definition of corruption into three groups; the public office-centred definition, which involves deviation from legal and public duty norms for the sake of private benefits, be it for pecuniary or state gains or influence. The second group, according to this scholar, is the marked-centred definition, which views corruption as maximizing pecuniary gain according to supply and demand and exists in the marketplace of their official domains. The third group in the opinion of this scholar is the public-centred definition, which emphasizes the betrayal of public interest by the preference of particular or private interest.

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Corruption, therefore, is a social phenomenon that manifests in various human actions, such as dishonesty, wickedness, selfishness, embezzlement, moral degeneration, bribery, insatiability, covetousness, and so on. Hence Momoh (1991) stated that a corrupt act can be characterized by immoral but non-violent action on the stronger party (the person in a position of authority) to accept or on the part of the weaker party (the person in want of favour) to give extra-official gratification in cash or in-kind to induce wrong or right action. The scholar explains that there are low grades, medium grade and high-grade levels. These three levels of corruption correspond to the three classes in society, the low class, the middle class and the high class. However, these classifications of corruption are also reflected in the way and manner in which people carry out their official duties.

Corruption, according to Nye (1967), is a behaviour that deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private pecuniary or status gains; or it violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private influence. This includes such behaviour as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgment of a person in the position of trust); nepotism (bestow of patronage because of inscriptive relationship rather than merit); and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private use). In Johnston's (1991) view; it "is a behaviour that abuses societal legal or social standards as well as public interest or recourse for private benefit". Corruption exists where there is a diversion of government revenues and national income flow to augment the currently entitled government officials private wealth when the latter is not legally entitled to do so. It involves giving undue favour to other people with whom government officials have a clientele relationship. In a related definition, Idris (2008) defines corruption as an act that deviates from the rules of conduct governing the action of someone in a position of public authority because of private motives such as wealth.

The African Development Bank Group (ADB 2006) defines corruption as the misappropriation of public assets or public office/trust for private gain. Goyegfa (2000) identifies two variant definitions of corruption, traditional and political. The traditional connotations of corruption involve the giving and taking of bribes or illegal acquisition of wealth using the resource of a public office including the exercise of discretion. The political definition is any decision, act or conduct that can subvert the integrity of people in authority or institution charged with promoting, defending or sustaining the democratization process thereby undermining its effectiveness in performing its assigned role.

Economic Development: Development means different things to many countries. In many nations, it means attainment of self-governance, to others, it signifies the provision of essential infrastructure that create a healthy atmosphere, provision of quality education, communication and the ability to evolve an amicable business environment for the citizenry while some see it as an achievement of technological advancement. (Akanji and Akosile, 2001).

Gboyega (2003) captures development as an idea that embodies all attempts to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications. Naomi (1995) explains that development involves not only economic growth but also some notion of equitable distribution, provision of health care, education, housing and other essential services, all intending to improve the quality of life of individuals and collectivities. Charisma (1984) believes that development is a process of societal advancement where improvement in the well-being of people is generated through a strong partnership between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. It is, therefore, true that development seeks to achieve improvement in the material well-being of all citizens, provide a sustainable way to ensure that today's consumption does not imperil the future, demand that poverty and inequality of access to good things of life be removed or drastically reduced and seeks to improve personal, physical, security and livelihood as well as life expectancy (Lawal and Abe, 2011). Inferring from the above definitions, national development means concrete improvement in socio-economic, political, technological levels of a society and its citizens and these are best achieved through strategies mapped out by the government as contained in the nation's development plans.

For instance in Nigeria, since independence in 1960, successive governments have made frantic efforts towards concrete development by putting in place a series of economic development plans. The first National Development Plan Policy was designed to cover 1962-1968 and the focus was on health, education and employment. The second National Development Plan Policy was to cover 1970-1974 and its priority was on agriculture, industry, transport, manpower, defence, electricity, water supply, communication and provision of social services. The third National Development Plan Policy was to cover 1975-1980 and emphasis was on Agricultural and rural development. The fourth National Development Plan Policy was to cover 1981-1985; it focused on employment improving the standard of living, even distribution of income among individuals and socio-economic groups (Ogwumike, 1995). Aside from these national development plan policies, there had been other strategies such as Green Revolution, Operation Feed the Nation (OFN), Economic Stabilization Acts popularly known as Austerity Measures, Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), National Economic

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Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), Vision 2010 and Seven Point Agenda with Vision 2020, deriving their names from what they were designed to achieve.

Despite these series of development strategies earmarked by successive governments with good intentions to generate and create meaningful development, the current state of development in the country is far from being realised. This is because of the high level of corruption and indiscipline exhibited by the leadership of the country. There is no leadership commitment to stirring plan from formulation to full implementation coupled with the monolithic economy which makes the government depend on a single product (crude oil) for survival to the detriment of agriculture and solid mineral development. Mimiko (1998) avers that a very good development plan supervised by a thoroughly corrupt state can hardly do a good job. However, the fact remains that development is contingent upon leadership i.e leadership plays a significant role in national development.

The concept of development is the efforts aimed at improving the socio-economic and ecological status, exploiting and processing the environmental or natural resources to improve the quality of human life in such a way that the needs of future generations are not jeopardized.

Mohammed (2002) looks at development as;

i. Increasing the availability and widening the distribution of basic life sustenance, such as food, shelter and protection;
ii. Raising the level of living in addition to higher income, provision of jobs, better education and greater attention to cultural and humanitarian values, all of which serve to enhance material well-being, but also to generate greater individual and national self-esteem, and
iii. Expanding the range of economic and social choice to individuals and nations by freeing them from servitude and dependence.

According to the scholar, development means an improved standard of living in terms of availability of decent accommodation, improved nutritional standards, qualitative health care and educational services to the majority, life expectancy which is mainly influenced by the standard of living, literacy level and income of people.

Seers (2006) defines economic development in terms of what has been happening to poverty, unemployment, inequality and concluded that it is only when there is a decline in poverty, unemployment, inequality, that development can take place.

This implies that economic development has to be redefined in terms of the reduction or elimination of poverty, inequality and unemployment within the context of a growing economy (Brinkiman, 1996, Goulet, 1971 and Amargya, 1999). Components or core values serve as a conceptual basis and practical guidelines for understanding the inner meaning of development. These core values, sustenance; self-esteem and freedom, represent common goals sought by all individuals and societies.

Sustenance – the ability to meet basic Needs: All people have certain needs without which life would be impossible. These life-sustaining basic human needs include food, shelter, health and protection (Ghosh, 2009). When any of these is absent or is critically in short supply, a condition of absolute underdevelopment exists. A basic function of all economic activity, therefore, is to provide as many people as possible with the means of overcoming the helplessness and misery arising from lack of food, shelter, health and protection. Without sustained and continuous economic progress at the individual as well as the societal level, the realization of human potential would not be possible; one has to have enough to be more effective (Goulet, 1971). Rising per capita income, the elimination of absolute poverty, greater employment opportunities, and lessening income inequalities, therefore, constitute the necessary but not sufficient indicators for development (United Nations 1994).

Self-Esteem (To be a person): A second universal component of the good life is self-esteem, a sense of worth and self-respect, of not being used as a tool by others for their ends. All people and societies seek some basic form of self-esteem, although they may call it authenticity, identity, dignity, respect, honour, or recognition. The nature and form of this self-esteem may vary from society to society and from culture to culture. Esteem is conferred only on countries that possess economic wealth and technological power. This is because development is an indispensable way of gaining esteem.

Freedom From Servitude (To be able to Choose): A third and final universal value that analysts suggest should constitute the meaning of development is the concept of human freedom. Freedom here is to be understood in the sense of emancipation from the alienation of material conditions of life and from social servitude to nature, other people, misery, oppression, institutions and dogmatic beliefs especially that poverty is predestination.

III. Types of Corruption

Five major types of corruption society have been identified and these include political, economic, bureaucratic, judicial and moral corruption (Otite, 1986): The two areas in which political corruption is manifest are the activities connected with election and succession, the manipulation of people and institutions to retain power and office. Political positions are scarce and the prices of offices are high. Hence the

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competition for such a resourceful position involves every possible and extra-legal means – through corruption– to overcome obstacles and opposition. Ugwu (2002) has pointed out that the principal attraction in politics is to have access to power. For Ngwuoke (2001) in Nigeria, emphasis is self-centeredness, egoistic tendencies, corruption and bribery.

This lends credence to Achebe's (1983) assertion that "the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely the problems of endemic corruption and failure of leadership, the unwillingness of our leadership and personal example".

Generally, economic indiscipline and social drift have always been the reason for the takeover of government by the military in Nigeria. This was the reason advanced by General Babangida and General Sani Abacha at the in-house coup of November 18, 1993, which took over from Chief Ernest Shonekan that they came to "redeem the image of Nigeria" and "Savage" her from economic mismanagement.

In the banking sector, bank officials have been known to use their position to manipulate customers' accounts, suppress cheques and steal foreign currency. They also defraud customers in cash lodgment, forge transfer, grant unauthorized credit and dry post friction credits using the computer. The bank credit reports that 723 cases of fraud and forgeries were identified (Essien 2000).

Generally, corruption manifests in the forms of forgery of some trade names to make the product look similar to the original products, for example, Borunvita or Bonita in the place of Bournvita. The unsuspecting buyer hardly looks at the difference.

Bureaucratic corruption involves buying favour from bureaucrats who formulate and administer government economic and political policies. Politically in the area of acquisition of foreign exchange, tax evasion (Otite 1986) and payment of bribes to officials thus tempting them away from the path of probity". In some cases, officials expect to be bribed for almost everything, they use delaying tactics to force people to bribe them.

Salaries are deliberately delayed and at times denied, night allowances, hospital bills, mileage claims, approved salary scale, leave allowances are withheld. Sometimes they are fixed in banks for it to yield interest to individuals. Also commonplace in the civil service is victimization such as punitive transfers "sitting on one's file, sex scandal, favouritism such as employment of a brother or village member, peer group, classmate, society or church members, in-laws, etc.

Allegations of corruption are rife against enforcement agencies and the courts. According to Amujiri (2002:76), corruption is equally rampant in the judiciary. Money is used to secure police attention and bails and even to pervert the administration of justice. A shameful revelation showed that there have been the incident of judges refusing to give exparte order or interlocutory orders in a matter of grave urgency unless gratified" (Ezeme, 2002).

Existing orders have been wantonly vacated under highly questionable judicial authorities; some judges are more pro-executive than dispensing impartial justice. Every step in filing, processing and assessing an application or in getting a court order executed or obtaining a copy of a ruling involves money that is always paid for. (Amujiri, 2002)

There is also long-scale corruption among the electoral tribunals adjudicating over a series of electoral disputes and this has dented the image of the Nigerian judiciary. Many have often doubted the objectivity and neutrality of most Nigerian Judges who are perceived as corrupt and often subvert justice (Alabi and Fashagba 2010). By this, court rulings are occasionally believed to go the way of the highest bidder.

Religious organizations are also involved. Acknowledging the existence of corruption within the religious organization, the Catholic Bishops Conference of Nigeria (CBCN) in a communiqué issued at the end of their assembly in 2000, remarks that; corruption has passed for official policy in both the public and private sector of our national life. The socio-economic and political system itself appears to be built on corruption and thrives in it. Even the church and other religious organizations are themselves not completely free from corruption (Ezeme 2002: 266).

Corruption in contemporary societies, particularly in urban and cosmopolitan centries, has worsened, or in some cases created, conditions that favour moral depravity. The desire for employment, the wish to show wealth through the acquisition of women, the flamboyant demonstration of individual materialistic possession amid social poverty, and the exploitation of man by man – the powerless poor by the powerful rich, are all indices of corruption. Lust, incest, avarice, covetousness are now rampant in churches.

IV. Causes and Effects of Corruption on Nigeria's Development

Many reasons have been adduced as probable causes of the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria. This range from non-conformity to religious tenets, impaired values and ideas alien to our culture, ethnicity which encourages favouritism and nepotism, a weak legal system which is honoured in the breach than the observance.

The quest for excessive materialism inherent like the present-day society which emphasizes personal wealth without regard to the sources of such wealth collective interest and welfare of the larger society, poverty, illiteracy, get-rich syndrome, statism, wrong attitude to public property, absence of welfare scheme to cushion effects of unemployment, retirement, large

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families, the struggle for power, double standards and low level of patriotism. It does appear that poverty is not the only factor that promotes the widespread of giving and taking bribes i.e illegal financial inducement in the country. This is attested to by the fact that in Nigeria rich people are more corrupt than poor persons.

According to Maduegbuna (2005), the benefits of corruption are greater than the consequences of being caught and disciplined. However, generally, a high incidence of poverty which, according to the National Bureau of Statistics (2005), is put at 54.1% contributed in no small measure to the desperate to acquisition or wealth through any means. In Nigeria, the unemployed are mostly the youths who engaged in anti-social activities such as cyber-crime, drug peddling, prostitution, political thuggery, paid assassins, oil bunkering, kidnapping, militancy among others, all to eke a living.

Jimo (2001) attributes corruption within Africa's public administration to over-centralization of power, lack of media freedom to expose scandals, the impunity of well-connected officials and absence of transparency in public management, clienteles and low salaries. Danago (2008) observes that the poor salary levels of most public servants have not kept pace with inflation, which has eroded their purchasing power. It is also clear that the process of gaining power in Nigeria is either through force or the influence of money.

Chobal and Daloz (1999) reason that in Africa, such factors as the obligations of mutual support, the imperatives of reciprocity, the importance of gift exchange, the payment of tribute, the need to redistribute cattle rustling or, more generally, plundering others, all have a negative bearing on the continent today. Some believe that modern bribery may not be seen as cognate with traditional gift-giving since it takes place outside the context of a patron-client relationship. Ethnically, the poor man's bribe to the faceless power broker he will never meet again is completely distinct from his traditional gift to a patron.

Ogundiya (2009) observes that corruption is a huge challenge in public administration in Nigeria. It is at the core of the crisis of governance and legitimacy, the establishment of stable democratic order, rule of law, economic development, growth and the welfare of citizens. Of all forms of corruption, political corruption has posed a major obstacle to national development in Nigeria. Indeed, the current crisis of development in Nigeria can be attributed to a history of power governance characterized by corruption, social injustice and political instability.

Corruption promotes economic decay, social and political instability, perverts the ability of the state to foster rule of law and eventually corrodes trust and undermines legitimacy. In Nigeria, the major impacts of corruption on national development are bad governance, poor service delivery, inadequate infrastructural amenities, poor management of the public enterprise, brain drain of professional/skilled manpower, lack of respect for lawful orders and rule of law, impunity moral decadence and general underdevelopment, unemployment. These impacts are further elucidated below

a. *Bad Governance:* The World Bank (1992) contends that bad governance has many features, among which are failure to make a clear separation between what is public and what is private, hence a tendency to divert public resources for private gain; failure to establish a predictable framework for law and governance, enthrone behaviour that is not conducive to development or arbitrary rules, regulations, licensing requirements and these impede the functioning of markets and encouragement of rent-seeking; priorities that are inconsistent with development, thus, resulting in a misallocation of resources and excessively narrow base for, or non-transparency, decision making. Obadan (1988) maintains that when these features occur together they create an environment that is hostile to development. And also bad governance orchestrated endemic corruption, lack of accountability and transparency provides opportunities for the well-connected elite and interest groups in the society to corner for themselves a sizeable proportion of the society's resources at the expense of the masses.

b. *Unemployment:* Unemployment is a social menace in which the available labour force in a state outstrips the jobs that exist. This usually sets in when there is a persistent trend of policy summersault, abandonment of agriculture, much emphasis on paper qualifications to the detriment of technical and vocational training, natural disaster/climate change. The consequences of unemployment in any nation is better imagined than described. Unemployment has led to various forms of criminality (kidnapping, militancy, banditry, armed robbery, piracy, paid assassination), instigations of ethnic and religious crisis, frustration, rural-urban drift, election malfeasance masterminded by politicians who manipulate youth to commit such crimes as killing and maiming of the political opponents, snatching of ballot boxes and election materials and falsification of election results.

c. *Poor service delivery:* According to Adebayo (1985) poor service delivery manifest when staff use official stationery, envelopes, papers, government drug, hospital equipment, government labour and time for private work. A lot of government functionaries use government documents, equipment, vehicles, for private purposes and divert government labour and time for their gain. This attitude precipitates poor service delivery in government and serves as an

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obstacle to national development. Taking bribes or extortion from applicants and demanding sex from female applicants for the job is not only common in the public service but also security agencies. The most disheartening one is the purchase of an offer of appointment with a certain amount of money. It was reported that most of the youths who joined the security services such as the military, the police, immigration and customs services give bribes to the recruitment officers or use the philanthropic connection to be employed in the system, thereby engaging the services of unskilled and incompetent manpower to run the public and security services which would, in turn, lead to poor service delivery in the government.

Many of the projects financed by loans were either uncompleted or partly completed, and where they had been completed, they were abandoned. Some of the affected projects include the Iron and Steel complex at Ajaokuta, the machine tools factory at Osagbom Paper Mill Factory at Oku Iboku, Katsina Steel Mill, Jos Steel Mill, Delta Steel Mill, Iwopin Paper Mill. These projects have not invariably contributed to the repayment of the principal and interest on loans, and neither have the expected benefits materialized. There is gross mismanagement of public corporations and enterprises in Nigeria, due to inefficiency and poor service delivery which affects most public enterprises since the inception of civilian administration in 1999. Nigerian telecommunication (NITEL) and Mobile Telecommunication (MTEL) were paralyzed and now dead, National Electric Power Authority (NEPA) changed its nomenclature to Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) under the notion of privatization. Notwithstanding the recent efforts at reviving rail services in the country, the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) is operating at a chameleon speed due to corrupt practices by those who are entrusted to handle them for effective service delivery.

d. *Uncoordinated Policies and Programmes:* Nigeria has been, and is still an active player in the quest to ensure that its citizens approximate or compare with other nations of the world in terms of ensuring a better quality of life. This is attested to by the numerous, if not uncountable, development strategies or models already embarked on since 1960 when she politically became Independent from Britain (Omorogbe, 2011). In the strictest sense, it is difficult to identify Nigeria with what obtains in countries like China or Japan. These countries have established models of development that have become the envy of the entire globe because of the way such models or strategies were planned and meticulously implemented, with occasional revision when the input-output loop (feedback) indicates the need to do so. In the case of Nigeria, the practice has been a mixed grill.

A development model has certain identifiable features. Firstly, it is rooted in a given ideology or a set of shared definitions that provide interpretation and solution as to the definition of a people, group or collectively. Secondly, such ideology derives from and reflects the historical context of the nation or society in question. Thirdly, there are usually clear parallels between development models. Often and most expectedly, new models emerge from the ruins of older ones. In other words, newer models are perceived as more efficient and effective strategies that can launch the nation or society to its desired destination. The last is that development models take cognizance of the overall stock of human and material resources needed to actualize goals and objectives.

What probably approximated as models of development in Nigeria were programmes or packages many of which were bogus in scope, ill-conceived, uncoordinated and haphazard in nature entrusted to certain individuals, the majority of which were chosen based on ethnic and primordial sentiments. That is not to say that Nigeria lacked quality human resources, not at all, rather the point being made is that those who were given the responsibility of implementing government policies were chosen by those who had political power and therefore extended such privileges to the individual they favoured.

It is necessary to point out at this juncture that packages or reforms designed for implementation did not reflect the will of the people/neither did they lead to a destination that is in any way close or near the collective aspiration of a nation struggling to be united as one indivisible entity, a people who on several occasions have been battered by the forces of imposed destiny. In concrete terms, one can concede the fact that Nigeria's efforts at accomplishing the desired level of socio-economic and welfare changes have been salutary. What probably have been lacking is accomplishing the desired changes.

e. *Decayed Infrastructures:* Vision 20:2020 represents our aspiration to be among the top 20 economies in the world by the year 2020. The Blueprint was built upon the key principles and thrusts of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS), thereby providing a common reference for efforts targeted at achieving Nigeria's development objectives over the next 10 years.

The broad objectives of the National; Vision 20:2020 are articulated in four dimensions, institutional,

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economic, social and environmental dimensions. The institutional dimension seeks to promote responsible leadership, deepen transparency, accountability and rule of law and guarantee adequate security of lives and property of Nigerians.

The economic dimension aims at enhancing productivity, diversification of the economy and a competitive business environment that will open new business opportunities for Nigerians.

The social dimension, on the other hand, seeks to improve the nation's prospects for achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and expand opportunities for sustainable employment generation and Environmental dimension is intended to halt environmental degradation, promote the use of renewable energy and enforce regulations on climate change mitigation and adaptation. Nigeria has critical development challenges. Overcoming these challenges are undaunted tasks. It is however hoped that the Vision 20:2020 will address death of critical infrastructures such as power and transportation network to support rapid economic development, outdated educational curriculum that does not equip Nigerians to be job creators, overdependence on oil as a major source of national income, which is a political threat to sustainable development, poor accountability in government which impacts the value Nigerians get for money spent by government agencies, uncoordinated approaches to addressing the development needs of the people, which accounts for the gap between planned and actual project outcomes, sub-optimal value creation in productive activities such as agriculture, oil and gas and manufacturing, relatively high cost of production for manufactured goods partly due to the absence of a robust import substitution programme to support local sourcing of manufacturing input, and weak research for development and innovation culture across public and private institutions. Most Nigerians have expressed reservations on the feasibility of vision 20:2020. According to Obadan, (2013), the vision cannot be achieved because of poverty, poor implementation of agriculture and manufacturing policies, and the circumstances of the blueprint which came amid a deep economic recession.

According to him, poverty has increased from 54.4% in 2012 meaning that 112,518,507 Nigerians now live in poverty and noted that Nigeria's Human Development Index was 0.471 in 2012, placing the country as a low human development nation with the rank of 153rd out of 186 countries. The relatively strong growth has not translated into broad-based economic and social development needed to lift millions of people out of poverty and reduce inequality. Also, unemployment is high and the increasing inequality Index is high and worsening while human development is low.

f. *Maladministration:* Nigeria has since independent been engulfed in gross mismanagement of the natural resources which gave rise to ethnic and religious rivalries, coup and counter-coup, policy inconsistencies (Nebo, 2012) Governance in Nigeria has always been leadership concerned mainly with the promotion of self-enrichment, marred by converting the commonwealth, manipulating ethnic diversity and institutions with little or no respect for due process, rule of law, accountability and transparency. The welfare and well-being of the citizens are of no essence. Good governance, according to Onyishi (2009) strives on respect for the rule of law, fundamental rights, transparency and accountability, quality and effective institutional performance, participation in the political and decision-making process by the citizens and cooperative action as well as environmental sustainability. Maladministration results where these attributes are lacking and corrupt society is the antithesis of good governance, where public resources are stolen by public officials, justice is for the highest bidders, impunity reigns supreme, the public treasures are looted, life touching projects are abandoned and service delivery is only on pages of paper.

g. *Impunity:* Due process is fundamental to quality service delivery and where this is lacking, impunity reigns supreme. Generally, in Nigeria, there is that culture of impunity where mainly politicians who are power-drunk and want to remain in office for life, treat state issues as personal issues and show little or no regret to due process. This explains the position of political competitions in which people seek political power by all means. Most officials of government and politicians leave in the habit of disobeying lawful courts orders and judgment. In the electoral process, wealthy individuals who do not hold public office control the political process by installing their protégés in office and have the power personally to determine who gets nominated to contest and win in all elections. (Ebohom & Obakhedo, 2010). There is always gross disrespect of rule of law, and extant regulations of the state, by politicians and executive lawlessness, the complacency of the legislature, incapacitation of judiciary and politicization of public service.

h. *Leadership Pathology:* Ineffective leadership is the bane of Nigeria's economic development. Nigeria's problems had never been the paucity of funds and resources, but lack of political will to do the right thing. Despite being blessed with abundant natural and human resources, Nigeria has not got it right in

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leadership (Cole 2013). While other nations which may not be as economical blessed as Nigeria are progressing due to purposeful and committed leadership, Nigeria has stagnated in almost all facets of its national life due to leadership ineptitude, widespread corruption and other social vices that stall every attempt aimed at effective leadership and economic development. Recently, there had been a sudden rise in Nigeria's debt profile. For instance, in 1983, the debt stock of Nigeria stood at $17.755bn and by 2005, the total external debt of Nigeria rose to $34bn (Punch, 2005). Today Nigeria's debt is claimed. This is attributable to the crisis of political leadership, lack of accountability and transparency in the public sector, over-bloated bureaucracy, weak government revenue base, accumulated debt arrears, unstable exchange rate in the international market and fluctuations in raw material prices (Akpan, 1999)

i. *Inadequate Infrastructural Amenities:* Social infrastructure in health, education and transportation sectors were in shambles, basic amenities such as potable water and electricity became scarce, rural-urban drift increased and with it came crime and insecurity. As rightly observed by Abdulraheem (2009), we should regard public officials and their private sector collaboration as mass murderers, killing millions of our people through inadequate public service delivery compromised by corruption. Monies meant for drugs, roads, hospitals, schools, public security are siphoned, making the people vulnerable to premature death. An eloquent example was the squandering of $16 billion invested on a national integrated power project just between 2006 and 2007. More so, the misappropriation of over N6 billion for rural electrification project in 2009 under Elemelu economic committee on the said project.

j. *Brain Drain:* Brain drain or human capital flight is an emigration of trained and talented individuals (human capital) to other nations or jurisdictions, due to conflicts, lack of opportunity, health hazards where they were living or other reasons. These talented individuals or professionals include medical doctors, engineers, academics. These professionals complain of brain waste, poor conditions of service seeking better opportunities in Europe, North America and the Middle East. Political and bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria has eroded welfare service to professionals/technical workers in public service. Currently, some states are yet to implement the minimum wage, while, the retirement benefits are also diverted by a few undesirable elites for their self-enrichment. The scandals of almost N3 trillion over police pension scheme was a good example at a point in time.

k. *Moral Decadence:* Corruption destroys morals values, removes the idea of meritocracy and enhances all sorts of atrocities such as prostitution, robbery, nepotism, tribalism, broken homes, juvenile delinquency, as well as breeds unproductive generation to man our organization which has a negative effect to our future sustainable human development.

l. *General Underdevelopment:* Corruption breeds underdevelopment in all sectors. Indeed, most public policies are not made for the sake of the public but rather for the benefit of elites to the detriment of the populace. This issue has accelerated poverty, inequality and underdevelopment and prevented the country from attaining an impressive level of national development.

V. The Fight Against Corruption

Before the advent of the present fourth republic in May 1999, preceding regimes had successively instituted instruments, measures and policies designed to prevent and combat corruption in the country, notably, Corrupt Practices Decree 1975 (which established the Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau), President Shehu Shagari's Ethical Revolution, War Against Indiscipline of the Buhari/Idagbon Administration, Mass mobilization for social Justice, self-Reliance and Economic Recovery (MAMSER) of the Babangida Administration, Recovery of Public Property (Special Military Tribunal Act Cap 387 Law of the Federation of Nigeria 1990, Criminal Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Decree 1996. (Ahmed, 2007). These institutions could not do much, as they instead institutionalized corruption. The nation is indeed turned into a pariah state. In the comity of nations, Nigerians are treated with suspicion and embarrassment, and foreigners are wary of making Nigeria their investment destination (Iorhemen 2008). Amujiri (2002:68) remarks that public accountability is never a priority in Nigeria. Despite the brave letters of the constitution and the expansive noise of the anti-corruption crusade… It has been observed that the more government devise complex and ambitious ways of combating corruption and plans for the socio-economic and political development of this country, the more their implementation is frustrated by the evolution of the ever more effective and sophisticated method of corruption so that in the end the only development we see is the development of corruption" (Smith 1976).

1999 marked a turning point in the history of Nigeria's anti-corruption campaigns. Specifically, following his election in 1999, former President Olusegun Obasanjo initiated certain policy reforms that were specifically targeted at tackling corruption. Two major anti-corruption bodies were established, the

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Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) in 2000 and 2003 respectively. While the ICPC appeared to be more deliberate in its approach to fighting corruption, the EFCC was more aggressive and proactive and thus gained as much popularity as notoriety (Adebanwi and Obadare 2011). The establishment of the EFCC in 2003 was a response to the perceived inefficiencies of the ICPC, although in many ways their responsibility appears to be the same.

Over the years since then, for virtually the first time in Nigerian history, these anti-corruption agencies have successfully prosecuted corrupt powerful government officials. They have identified and recovered ill-gotten wealth from prominent Nigerian officials and have prosecuted and removed about five former ministers and former governors from office.

The power of the EFCC is to: prevent, investigate, prosecute and penalize economic and financial crimes and it is charged with the responsibility of enforcing the provisions of other laws and regulations relating to economic and financial crimes. Consequently, the major laws that deal with corruption in Nigerian are:

a. EFCC Establishments Act 2004
b. Independent Corrupt Practices & Other Related Offences Act 2000
c. Advance Fee Fraud and Other Related Offences Act 2006
d. Money Laundering (Prohibition) (Amendment) Act 2012
e. Miscellaneous Offences Act
f. Code of Conduct Act
g. Nigerian Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative Act
h. Freedom of Information Act 2011
i. Fiscal Responsibilities Act 2015
j. Penal Code Laws of Federation of Nigeria 2004
k. Criminal Code Law of Federation of Nigeria 2004
l. Banks and Other Financial Institutions (Amendment) Act 1991
m. Failed Banks (Recovery of Debts) and Financial Malpractices in Banks (Amendment) Act 1994

VI. Conclusion

In Nigeria, the source of a man's wealth is of no concern to his neighbour, the public, or the government. Wealthy people who are known to be corrupt are regularly courted and honoured by communities, religious bodies, social clubs and other private organizations. This implies that people who benefit from the largesse of these corrupt people rarely ask questions. Studies have also shown that traditional chieftaincy titles and membership of boards of directors of government-owned corporations are only for the "influential" individual in the society who have "made it" economically or politically. Most of these people "made it" through enriching themselves fraudulently, but enjoy public respect and accolades. Honest and dedicated public servants, who have not accumulated dirty wealth, do not command much respect from society. These attitudes serve to encourage a new breed of public servants to engage in corrupt practices.

Corruption in Nigeria is greatly influenced by a high degree of poverty, greed, unemployment, ostentatious lifestyle, weak government institutions, lack of morals, poor pay and lack of incentives.

Corruption has inadvertently affected development efforts at both the state level and the national level as it is responsible for the lack of social infrastructure such as electricity, water, medical facilities, roads, housing etc. in a nutshell. It has affected the well-being of Nigerians.

Even though successive governments have made the fight against the hydra-headed monster a priority, they have however failed in showing genuine commitment towards exterminating corruption in the country. The government through its anti-corruption agencies (EFCC, ICPC, CCB, NEITI), rather than being dogged and unyielding is biased as it is allegedly used by the executive to either witch-hunt or victimize political opponents and political allies.

Corruption is now a universal disease that afflicts not only developing nations but also the developed world. European Union recently expressed great concern over the alarming rate of corruption in Europe, the EU countries. It was asserted that EU countries lose $120bn annually due to corruption. The EU commissioner Cecilia Maimstron has therefore advised EU countries to do everything humanly possible to tackle the monster corruption, saying it was undermining confidence, trust and democracy (BBC TV News 8.15 pm Monday, February 3, 2014).

According to the commissioner, corruption in 28 EU countries was costing European taxpayers about $ 120bn (€ 100bn) a year, the equivalent of the union annual budget, that there is no corruption-free zones in Europe, that declared intentions to combat corruption in EU Countries had not produced concrete results and that the political will to eradicate it was lacking, that EU does not provide sanctions at all against corruption in the Region (Dare, 2014). That Europe, fond of questioning developing Countries and teaching them to religiously adhere to the principles of accountability, transparency and good governance, exhibits double standard in the face of such monumental corruption in EU countries. Corruption is also one of the scourges ravaging the developed world including the USA, the EU and even the eastern world (Dare, 2014).

Recommendations: Given the research findings, the following recommendations are made as measures to enhance the fight against corruption.

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1. There should be a massive orientation exercise for all Nigerians through various enlightenment programmes by the National Orientation Agency and other related institutions to intimate them on the need to shun all forms of corruption and to treat corrupt government officials as common thieves, rather than revere and bestow them with chieftaincy titles and awards.
2. The church and other institutions should be involved in the advocacy against corruption by querying and rejecting huge financial donations by corrupt public servants and politicians, instead of turning a blind eye to the source of their funds.
3. There should be an explicit compulsory public declaration of assets and liabilities of public office holders, including civil servants in the Code of Conduct of Bureau as a way of checkmating ill-gotten wealth while they are in office and after they leave. Consequently, this calls for a review of the law establishing the CCB and the 1999 Constitution as amended.
4. The government should ensure that financial leakages in ministries, departments and agencies are blocked by making sure that public office holders are more accountable and transparent in the discharge of their duties.
5. Anti-corruption agencies (e.g EFCC, ICPC, CCB, NEITI etc) need greater operational autonomy to be set loose from the undue control and interference of the executive. This will enable them to discharge their duties more effectively and also prevent them from being used as a tool to witch hunt political opponents.
6. Similarly, the provision that the Attorney General of the Federation (AGF) makes rules and regulations in respect to the functions and duties of the agencies should be revisited. All corruption cases should be investigated and prosecuted by anti-corruption agencies without recourse to the AGF as an individual.
7. The government should set up specialized courts to try corruption cases, as there are usually unnecessary delays in the conventional courts due to a plethora of litigations.
8. Furthermore, the judiciary should be reformed to make it more effective and vibrant by ridding judges that have put its integrity into jeopardy, as it is no longer seen by Nigerians as the last hope of the common man, but the last hope of the highest bidder.
9. The public Procurement Act also needs to be amended to extend its cope to other levels of government (state and local governments). This will make the fight against corruption more encompassing.
10. There should be reforms of civil society organizations and the mass media. Timely enforcement of the Freedom of Information Law is needed to make these organizations more effective as potent weapons of the anti-corruption war.
11. There should also be strong political leadership at all levels that are committed to fighting corruption. Strong legislature and judiciary are needed to enforce sanctions. Strict rules and funding of political parties and electoral campaigns should be put in place so that money cannot buy power any longer in Nigeria.
12. The fight against corruption should be sustained since the positive result can only be achieved with continuous effort.

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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.

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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.

.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

General style:

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

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

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

Title page:

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

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

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

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

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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



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Results:

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

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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

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

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