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The Implications of Intra-Party Conflicts on Nigeria'S Democratisation

By Momodu, A. Jude & Matudi Gambo Ika

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Abstract- Incessant intra-party conflicts which come in varying magnitudes and intensities have become the hall-mark of party politics in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Some of these conflicts have led to the factionalisation of some major political parties and the consequence of decamping from one political party to the other by party members. Intra-party conflicts are engendered primarily because of the insatiable greed of the political elites for political power which creates the access for primitive accumulation of the commonwealth of the people. This negative trend in political parties has been having profound negative impact on the country's democratisation process, against the background that political parties are vehicles of representative democracy and a strong pillar for consolidating democratic governance. However, the ability of political parties to achieve this very important role is dependent on whether the relationship that exists between their members is harmonious or conflict ridden, owing to the fact that social groups exist by conflict and cooperation as it has been articulated in the theory of intra-group cooperation proposed in this paper. It is recommended therefore that political parties should ensure that they entrench internal democracy within their internal dynamics, especially with regards to selection of candidates for elections within and outside their parties. It is also obligatory on all members of political parties to subordinate themselves to their party constitution and not to the whims and caprices of power mongers in their parties. Finally, political parties should also orient their members to imbibe and exhibit values and ideals that would sustain the process of democratisation in Nigeria.

Keywords: *conflict, cooperation, democratisation, internal democracy and intra-party conflict.*

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The Implications of Intra-Party Conflicts on Nigeria'S Democratisation

Momodu, A. Jude ^α & Matudi Gambo Ika ^σ

Abstract- Incessant intra-party conflicts which come in varying magnitudes and intensities have become the hall-mark of party politics in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Some of these conflicts have led to the factionalisation of some major political parties and the consequence of decamping from one political party to the other by party members. Intra-party conflicts are engendered primarily because of the insatiable greed of the political elites for political power which creates the access for primitive accumulation of the commonwealth of the people. This negative trend in political parties has been having profound negative impact on the country's democratisation process, against the background that political parties are vehicles of representative democracy and a strong pillar for consolidating democratic governance. However, the ability of political parties to achieve this very important role is dependent on whether the relationship that exists between their members is harmonious or conflict ridden, owing to the fact that social groups exist by conflict and cooperation as it has been articulated in the theory of intra-group cooperation proposed in this paper. It is recommended therefore that political parties should ensure that they entrench internal democracy within their internal dynamics, especially with regards to selection of candidates for elections within and outside their parties. It is also obligatory on all members of political parties to subordinate themselves to their party constitution and not to the whims and caprices of power mongers in their parties. Finally, political parties should also orient their members to imbibe and exhibit values and ideals that would sustain the process of democratisation in Nigeria.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Nigeria's experience with party politics dates back to the colonial time, and the contemporary incidences of intra and inter-party squabbles associated with party politics in the country is nothing but a throwback to the past which was replete with schisms, bickering, backbiting, intrigues, violence, packing and sacking (Olaniyan, 2009:52). This scenario is borne out of the fact that party politics is about contestation for political power between or among the political elites. Therefore, the notion of contestation, according to Landman (2005: 52), "captures the uncertain peaceful competition necessary for democratic rule, a principle which presumes the legitimacy of some opposition, the right to challenge the incumbents...the existence of free and fair elections and a consolidated party system".

Essentially, the gamut of activities that take place in political parties make it needful for their members to articulate their common or divergent interests and this sometimes engenders intra or inter-party conflicts, which consequently create factionalisation within parties or some sort of intra-party conflict. As Harmel et. al. (1995:7) observes that "factions exist: 'factionalism is a fact of life within most political parties". Indeed, 'most parties in the world have wings or tendencies' (Chambers, 2008: 304), because factions hold different preferences and conflicting views about party platform (Debus and Brauningner 2009). Consequently, "political parties are driven by the spirit of faction...factions are ubiquitous" (Heller 2008: 2). Ultimately, factionalisation creates the incentive for the political elites to align and re-align their political interests.

Nigeria's Fourth Republic (May 29, 1999 to date) has been characterised more by recurring intra and inter party conflicts resulting in factionalisation of the major political parties at the national, state and local government levels, than bequeathing a legacy of progress and development on the nation. As Olaniyan (2009:53) observes that the Fourth Republic has "recorded bitter and acrimonious struggles within parties as well as violent inter-party (and intra-party) relations". The ubiquity of intra and inter political party conflicts in the country's democratic system can be attributed to the mindset and perception that politics is the most lucrative industry in the country. This perception is exacerbated by the increasing culture of impunity and flagrant disregard to the rule of law exhibited by the Nigerian political elites. Unfortunately, political parties have become veritable platforms for the political elites to capture power through elections that are often marred by fraud and other forms of malpractices. This is because the occupancy of political power gives the political elites the direct access to primitive accumulation of public wealth for their selfish gains and this has heightened the desperation for the acquisition of political power among the political elites. Nna-Emeka (2006) also corroborates this line of argument that politics in Nigeria is often "conceived as a big investment to be pursued with deadly seriousness". Tragically, O'Donnell (2004) has affirmed that "many new democracies have successfully installed competitive electoral regimes but their elites are corrupt and lack a commitment to the rule of law that is needed

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to enforce the civic freedoms that define democracy." By and large, the intense struggle for political power among the political elites has often fuelled intra and inter-party conflicts thereby creating ominous trajectories for the process of democratisation in the Nigeria's Fourth Republic.

Nevertheless, within the frameworks of the internal dynamics of political parties in Nigeria, the elites have always ensured that they strike a balance in resolving their incompatible interests whether by forming coalitions or cooperating to embrace the spirit of give and take in sharing or allocating political positions. As Maor (1997) observes "intra-party politics is a matter of conflict and cooperation with factions looking for equilibrium between the two". This is also necessitated by the fact that "party unity in fact enhances party strength in the electoral arena (e.g., McGann 2002; Snyder and Ting 2002). The incentives for parties to present a unified front in the wider political arena are strong' (Heller 2008: 2), primarily because "all group members benefit if the group acts collectively in defense of its shared interests, but even moderately sensible members might hesitate before joining a possibly fatal fray" (Gould, 1999: 359) and all political actors care, to some extent, about policy, office and votes (Muller and Strom 1999).

From the foregoing analysis, some very pertinent posers can be raised such as: Does intra-party conflict pose any threat to Nigeria's contemporary faltering democratization? If it really does, to what extent does it affect democratisation process in the country? This paper therefore strives to find answers to these posers. In addition, this paper will also focus upon examining the implications of intra-party conflicts on the process of democratisation in Nigeria.

II. TOWARDS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Intra-Group Cooperation Theory: The authors of this paper propose a theory of intra-group cooperation. The central thesis of this theory is that social groups exist through conflict and cooperation and this is because they are formed by association of individuals with divergent interests who agree to subsume their interests in the common interest of the group they belong to. As members of a group interact together, there emerge power relations in the internal dynamics of the group, which may polarise the group into two power blocs namely; the privileged and the less privileged power blocs. These power blocs compete for the control of the decision making machinery of the group with the aim of influencing the decisions of the group to their favour. This competitive relationship between the power blocs sometimes creates a communication dilemma within the group. Interestingly, the aspirations which bind the group members together ultimately creates the incentive for the privileged and the less privileged power blocs to strike a balance by cooperating to integrate

their incompatible interests in the larger group's interest so as to promote its corporate objectives. In order words, both power blocs break up in order to integrate their divergent opinions into the group's corporate objectives. This is why for instance, political parties are seen as organised groups of people working together to compete for political power so as to promote agreed-upon policies.

The above positions are toed by Alexander, Chizhik, Chizhik, and Goodman (2009), when they observed in their article that, "early on in the formation of groups, hierarchies of power and prestige become readily apparent. Such inequalities develop even in groups where members are of equal status at the outset of group interaction". Hierarchy within groups is not simply a status ordering of individuals; it often involves coalitions of group members (subgroups) and represents power differentials among these subgroups. Alexander et al. (2009) also reports that "once hierarchies of power and prestige are set into place, research suggests that they are viewed as legitimate and highly resistant to change...valid and helpful suggestions from low-status members are likely to be ignored, devalued, or discounted". However, members of disadvantaged group may challenge the imbalance so as to improve their group's position. The rivalry between the advantaged and disadvantaged groups within the larger group is often resolved by reaching of a compromise that would ensure that the interests of the two parties are integrated and articulated as the policy or position of the group. Framing the conflict as a step-level game (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986) has clear advantages from the perspective of the group, as it makes it rational for group members to contribute when they believe this is critical for their group's success (Kerr, 1992).

Similarly, realistic group conflict theory (LeVine & Campbell, 1972) posits that group members are driven by their desire to possess and maintain control over valued resources. Therefore, the disadvantaged group will compete to gain resources and status, whereas the advantaged group will act against any threat to their resources. However, far-reaching cross-cultural evidence demonstrates that such power disparities between subgroups are characteristic of human societies, regardless of their era, culture, or form of government (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In their article, Chizhik, Shelly, and Troyer (2009) posits that "conventionally, cooperation has been seen as adaptive in group problem solving, while conflict has been seen as maladaptive". King et al. (2009) also suggest that cooperation and conflict are best viewed as "processes" rather than outcomes and these processes make complementary contributions to group function and development.

Insko and Schopler found that group decisions were highly competitive—much more so than individual decisions under the same conditions. Insko and

Schopler (1987) offered two explanations for the observed competitiveness of groups. The "schema-based distrust" hypothesis explains group competitiveness in terms of fear. It postulates that group members compete because they expect the out-group to behave competitively and want to defend themselves against the possibility of being exploited. However, inability to channel competition within group to benefit all the group members may be counterproductive to the group interests. As Alexander et al. (2009:367) concludes, "Groups run the risk of losing out on valuable inputs and perspectives when the contributions of lower-status members are devalued or ignored. When group members fail to offer or consider unique information, group performance and decision quality are prone to suffer".

Research has however shown that "all group members benefit if the group acts collectively in defense of its shared interests, but even moderately sensible members might hesitate before joining a possibly fatal fray" (Gould, 1999 359). The issue of interest is typically not how groups overcome internal obstacles to collective action but rather why members of distinct social groups see their interests as conflicting in the first place....The transition from group interest to group action is often treated either implicitly as unproblematic, or explicitly as a function of response to conflict (Gould, 1999). The theory of intra-group cooperation proposed in this paper is therefore plausible for explaining why despite the power relations which exist within political parties and the varied interests usually pursued by party members which sometimes threaten the survival of the group; the party members still try to close ranks by integrating their incompatible interests in the larger interest of the party so as to forge a common and united front to articulate the corporate objectives of the party.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL EXPLORATIONS

Conflict: There is no consensus on the precise definition of conflict (Thomas, 1992b) and, according to Pruitt (1998); there are almost as many definitions of conflict as there are authors writing about this concept. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of the definitions of the concept of conflict, we shall be examining a few definitions of the concept in this segment. Rubin, et. al. (1994) defines conflict "as a perceived divergence of interests or beliefs that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously. It can manifest itself in many forms, some of which may be violent and inflict pain and suffering on both parties in conflict and to other people who may not be directly involved, due to its spillover effect". Wolff (2006:2) also observes that "conflict is a situation in which two or more actors pursue incompatible, yet from their individual perspectives entirely just goals". Conflict "is a process

that begins when one party perceives that another party has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affects, something that the first party cares about" (Robbins, 1998). The aim of every party in a conflict situation is to achieve values or goals dear to it. Hence, each of the party in conflict employ moves and counter-moves to displace each other as they both struggle to achieve the valued resources, which is/are the object/s of contention.

Furthermore, conflict occurs when individuals or groups are entangled in the pursuit of incompatible goals. However, conflict has the potential to assume functional or dysfunctional outcomes, depending on how the parties in a conflict perceive the conflict and respond to it. On one hand, if the perception of the parties to conflict is positive, then their response to the conflict would be constructive and positive - vice versa. Functional conflicts engender creativity, positive growth and development, mutual understanding and healthy relationship between individuals and groups. According to Tjosvold (1997), 'conflict may be perceived as inevitable in successful organizations', because conflicts serve as a mechanism for engineering social relationship in groups and organisations for positive growth and increased productivity. While on the other hand, dysfunctional conflicts causes disunity, hinder progress and development, affect decision making, create animosity and hatred between individuals and within or between groups.

For the purpose of this paper, it is important that an attempt is made to define intra-party conflict. From a political view point, Kenneth Boulding (1963: 5) defines conflict "as a situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions and in which each party wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the other". This definition vividly describes the nature of intra-party conflict. but it is still necessary to ask, what is intra-party conflict? Intra-party conflict can be defined as a conflict which occurs when members of the same political party pursue incompatible political goals or try to influence the decision making process of the party to their advantage. Intra-party conflict often plays out in the selection of members for elective positions both within and outside the party.

Political party as a social group cannot avoid conflict because where ever people come together to associate even when they do so to pursue common interest, tendencies are that members of such group would pursue their personal interests rather than the group's interest. However, what is important is that the group members' interests should be subordinated to the larger interest of the group. As Dudley (1973:8) argues that "one basic characteristic common to all human organization is the interaction and interdependence among their members." Usually, political parties try to

aggregate the varying interests of their members and articulate a unified front for achieving party's objectives.

Boucek (2009) identifies 'three types of intra-party conflicts or factionalism, which include cooperative, competitive and degenerative.' Looking at the nature of all the three, cooperative factionalisation is most preferable because it creates the incentive for the constructive resolution of conflicts between party members. As Boucek (2003) argue that 'repeated interactions between factions foster the emergence of cooperative norms', which may create the incentive for the parties in conflict to embrace compromise in settling their incompatible interests.

IV. FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTY

A political party refers to "any group of politically active persons outside a government who organize to capture government by nominating and electing officials who thereby control the operations of government and determine its policies" (Lemay, 2001). Political parties provide a veritable platform for conveying representation into elective offices in democratic systems. Essentially, political parties perform various functions in ensuring the growth and continuity of the democratisation process. According to a research conducted by The Friedrich Ebert Foundation Centre for Governance and Development (CGD) on institutionalizing political parties in Kenya published in (2010), political parties are the vehicles of representative democracy. They play several critical roles to make representative democracy a reality. These include:

- Representing societal interests within the state (by participating in Parliament);
- Socializing political leaders on the principles of democracy and democratic participation;
- Carrying out political education and communication (by providing information on which the voters may base their selection of candidates before them);
- Carrying out political mobilization and encouraging the public to cast their votes in elections;
- Recruiting political leaders;
- Aggregating and articulating interests;
- Promoting pluralistic debates by presenting alternative policy platforms; and
- Integrating the diverse groups within a country into a cohesive nation. In the same vein, the various functions of political parties are:
- Aggregate and articulate needs and problems as identified by members and supporters;
- Socialise and educate voters and citizens in the functioning of political parties and electoral system and generating general political values;
- Balance opposing demands and convert them into general policies;
- Activate and mobilise citizens into participating in political decisions and transforming their opinions into viable policy options;

- Channel public opinion from citizens to government; and
- Recruit and train candidates for public office. (Ace Electoral Knowledge Network, <http://aceproject.org>)

Furthermore, Almond (2000) argues that political parties have two major, but multifaceted, functions in any democracy, these are variables according to him are anchored on Input-Output functional variables and the historical method that provides a perspective background for discerning party politics vis-à-vis the problems associated with political instability in the Nigerian State (Omodia, 2010). Almond's Input-Output functions constitute seven functional variables which could be classified thus:

a) *Input Functions*

1. Political socialization and Recruitment – This refers to the introduction of individual citizens into different roles in the political system, as well as selecting them for membership in the organisation.
2. Interest Articulation – It refers to the process through which demands are injected into the political system.
3. Interest Aggregation – It involves the formulation of policies in which group interest are combined, accommodated and more or less committed to a particular pattern of public policy.
4. Political Communication – It is the channel through which political information is transmitted among the different groups and between the governed and their rulers and vice versa.

b) *Output Functions*

1. Rule Making – This is the process through which laws are made. In a democracy, the legislature is basically charged with this function.
2. Rule Application – This involve the process of implementing laws and governmental policies. This function falls within the Executive Arm of government.
3. Rule Adjudication – This function lies within the province of the judiciary in the sense that the institution performs the basic function of interpreting laws that guide persons and institutions of the state.

Generally, political Parties serve as an index through which democratic governance could be compared in States, in that, the structure and operation of party politics in polities tend to serve as measuring rod for determining the fragility or otherwise of democratic systems (Omodia 2010). These numerous functions performed by political parties in the democratic system make them vibrant and indispensable players in the democratisation process.

V. THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRATISATION

The concept of democratisation refers to a conscious, deliberate and committed attempt at entrenching enduring democratic values and ideals in political actors and the entire citizenry with a view to ensuring the continuity and sustainability of a democratic system. It can also be referred to as the process of engineering the behaviours and attitudes of the political actors and citizenry towards imbibing positive democratic ideals and values required for building and sustaining a democratic system. Such ideals and values include adhering to the tenets of the rule of law, equality, citizens' participation in democratic activities, respect for the rights of all including the rights of the majority and minority groups, tolerance for one another and creation of equal opportunities for all citizens among others. Democratisation is a gradual process of political growth often synonymous to emerging democracies that needs to imbibe and attain genuine democratic ideals and values necessary for building enduring democratic system.

More explicitly, Gunther et al. (1995) posits that the 'democratization process has three phases: the fall of the authoritarian regime, consolidation, and enduring democracy.' By these phases, it shows that democratisation is a gradual and developmental process. Grunther et al. (1995) also noted that "political party development and multiparty dialogue are necessary steps towards the creation of a stable, democratic political system that can be conducive to development, the protection of human rights and peaceful conflict prevention". Although it may take time for the positive effects of democratisation to manifest due to the fact that democratisation is a gradual and developmental process that requires a major ingredient like political parties to grow. As Dahrendorf (1990) observe that democratisation takes different amounts of time to accomplish different tasks: for instance, it has been observed that it takes a new democracy six months to complete the formal process of constitutional reform; at least six years to stimulate a general sense that things are moving up as a result of economic reform; and over sixty years to provide the social foundations which transform the constitution and the economy from fair-weather institutions to all-weather institutions which can withstand the storms generated within and without. Others believe that at least 20 years of democratic experience may be required for an egalitarian effect to be noticeable (Muller, 1988).

While we agree with the argument that democratisation process is developmental in nature and therefore requires some time to be nurtured, we would also like to argue that it is very necessary that emerging democracies should set some standards or parameters to really measure or determine whether the ideals and values of democracy, which are key ingredients of

democratisation are being entrenched in their democratic systems. We would therefore like to suggest the following questions, which if answered correctly could assist emerging democracies like Nigeria and others in appraising whether their democratisation process is making appreciable success in terms of entrenching democratic values and ideals in the political players and the electorates at large or not. These questions are as follow:

- Is the polity or democratic system witnessing increasing level of adherence to the rule of law by the political players and the citizenry?
- Is the electoral process open, accessible, free and fair?
- To what extent are the masses or citizens willing to participate in the democratic process?
- Are the public officers' accountable and transparent?
- To what extent do the citizens trust their elected officials?
- Do the electorates have trust on the political parties?
- To what extent are the policies of the government responsive to the needs and yearnings of the citizens?
- Are the political parties ideologically driven? and
- What is the degree of commitment of both the political leadership and citizens to the survival of the democratic system?

Predictably, if the above questions can be correctly answered by the countries under democratisation, then they would be able to determine whether they are really growing at an appreciable level of democratisation and if they are not growing appreciably, they would know the areas that would need to be addressed so as to be able to grow appreciably.

Political parties are essential institutions that drive the democratisation process. As Schattschneider (1942:1) famously asserted more than half a century ago, that political parties created democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the political parties. Political parties are also widely seen as a sine qua non for the organization of the modern democratic polity and for the expression of political pluralism (Dode 2010). The affirmation of the centrality of political parties in modern democracy is generally accepted both by contemporary scholars as well as policymakers charged with fostering the development of newly emerging democracies and those saddled with the task of improving the quality of democracy in established democratic polities (Biezen 2004). This analysis therefore underscores the crucial role that political parties play in the democratisation process as it provides the channel for changing of government and continuity of the democratic system through periodic elections. This is so because democratic stability cannot be super-imposed or predicated on a shaky, unstable

and unpredictable crises-ridden social and political environment (Ogundiya, 2005:381).

VI. CAUSES OF INTRA-PARTY CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA

Several factors can be posited as causes of intra-party conflicts in democratic systems. For instance, Shale and Matlosa (2008: 13) identifies the causes of intra-party conflict to be:

- Favouritism – promoting one's kith and kin;
- Unequal sharing of resources (leader's constituency gets a lion's share);
- Lack of regular meetings; and
- Centralized authority – power concentrated at the top.
- For Rubin et al. (1994), intra party conflict is triggered by factors such as:
 - i. Favouritism – promoting one's kith and kin;
 - ii. Unequal sharing of resources: (leader's constituency gets lion's share)
 - iii. Centralize authority: Power concentrated at the top.

In Nigeria for example, democratic process no doubt has been bedeviled by poor party politics as a result of not only ethnicization of party politics, poor political leadership, excessive westernization of the concept 'democracy', party indiscipline, lack of clear cut party ideologies, the politicization of the higher echelon of the military profession among others but also and more worrisomely, lack of internal party democracy (Ntalaja 2000). Similarly, Azazi (2012) has identified the zoning arrangement in the Peoples' Democratic Party, (which is the ruling party in Nigeria since the return to democracy in May, 1999) as one of the reasons for the rising level of insecurity in the entire country (The Punch April 28, 2012). One can therefore posit that the desperation for political power in the country is because "power seekers in Nigeria see politics as an avenue for making money, a sort of open sesame to wealth to be in power is to control state resources that are often converted to personal use" (Edoh, 2002). This probably implies that the acquisition of political power is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end and the ultimate end of course is economic power and the primitive accumulation of public wealth for personal use by the political elites.

Generally, our study reveals that there are many factors that cause conflicts within political parties in Nigeria, which include: leadership tussle, paucity of ideology, absence of internal democracy, interference by the executive arm in the domestic affairs of political parties, desperation for power as it guarantees opportunity for aggrandizement culture of impunity, ethnicity and religious brinksmanship. Two out of the above-mentioned factors are very fundamental to triggering off intra-party conflicts in Nigeria. These are paucity of ideology and absence of internal democracy.

Both factors are mutually reinforcing and each affects the other, in other words, if a political party is ideologically based, this would naturally bring about discipline and internal democracy in the party. These factors are fully discussed below:

a) *Paucity of Political Ideology*

Political ideology refers to the programmes and activities that a political party is committed to implementing when voted into office. Morse (1896:76) perceives ideology as being the durable convictions held in common by party members in respect to the most desirable form, institutions, spirit and course of action of the state, which determines the natural attitude of a party towards every public question (cf. Iyare, 2004:81). In the same vein, Strickler and Davies (1996:1025) argue that "ideology functions as planks", that is, single issue statements within the platform, the exact ideological orientation of which is often used as a bargaining chip in seeking party unity." Entrenchment of ideology in political parties gives them a sense of responsibility and commitment towards implementing the programmes and manifestoes they have articulated during their campaigns and the extent to which they are achieved while in the government, forms the basis upon which the electorates can assess the performances of elected officials' vis-à-vis their party ideology.

It behooves therefore that political parties must be able to connect their ideologies with the needs and yearnings of the citizenry and ensure that they are efficiently addressed. This is so because 'an ideology without a connection to the needs and yearnings of the masses is a fantasy.' It is only when this is done that political parties can claim to be ideologically based and the electorates can perceive them to be synonymous to the ideologies they so represent. It is important therefore to note that "at the very heart of the success or otherwise of a political party is the important question of political ideology" (Omotola, 2009), as research findings have indicated that political parties in all political systems attempt to build linkages to voters, try to develop mechanisms for representation and aspire to articulate a more or less coherent ideological profile (Kitschelt, 1995 & Kitschelt et al., 1999).

In Nigeria for instance, the major problem with political parties is that they lack political ideology. This is attributable to the fact that the political players and the electorates have very limited knowledge and understanding of the true meaning of political ideology and its usefulness in shaping the political culture and programmes of political parties. Perhaps, this is the reason why politics is largely perceived as the most lucrative industry in Nigeria because it guarantees opportunity for primitive accumulation of public wealth. This, in part, explains the reason why political parties in Nigeria are run like clientelist ventures, which are devoid of political ideologies. The inability of some political

elites to capture power in one political party; would immediately make them to dump the party for another party. Indeed, most and if not all the politicians in Nigeria are political prostitutes. Unarguably, a principled and focused political party is supposed to be driven by ideology. This is because ideology is the force that fires the spirit which controls the actions and programmes of political parties. It is also central to the existence of political parties to the extent that the lack of it predisposes political parties to internal squabbles, lack of sense of direction and makes them to be mere platforms for actualising personal interests of the few.

This promiscuous character of the Nigerian political elites is attributable to the fact that all the political parties in the country lack ideological beliefs, hence Simbine (2004) has pointed out this problem, that "political aspirants cross carpet from one party to another for the flimsiest and selfish reasons to satisfy their ambitions – a practice that has resulted in both inter and intra-party crises in the country". Thus, an African looks more at democracy in economic terms than political ideology (Saliu, 1999:199). This also explains the reason why most political parties in Nigeria are just mere platforms for the elites to ascend to power and wealth. Indeed, scholars such as Gallagher and Marsh (1988) and Mainwaring and Shugart (1997) have argued that the methods which a party employs in candidate selections and nominations have incontrovertible implications on those selected or elected and indeed how they behave in either party or public office.

b) Absence of Internal Democracy

According to Scarrow (2004), internal democracy describes a wide range of methods for including party members in intra-party deliberation and decision-making. Internal democracy articulates the basic tenets of democracy within political parties and the extent to which political parties subscribes to the basic democratic values within their internal structures, in terms of selection of candidates for elective positions, discipline of erring members, conduct of party congresses as well as the general conduct of all the party members. Intra-party democracy according to Gosnell (1968) is that which "provides necessary vertical linkages between different deliberating spheres and horizontal linkage between competing issues." Internal democracy also refers to the creation of a permissible climate within a political party which guarantees the participation of all party members in decision making as well as the general administration of the party. Such a climate fosters active involvement of every party member and not a few powerful rich.

The aim of internal democracy in political parties is basically to create a level playing-field for the active participation of every member in the party affairs and to build a cohesive party that is vibrant enough to

win elections and as such provide a strong government committed to quality service delivery that will meet the needs and yearnings of the citizens. This vibrant role of internal democracy is affirmed by Scarrow (2005), thus "internal democracy describes a wide range of methods for including party members in intra-party deliberation and decision-making." Toeing the same line Omotola (2010: 125-145) affirms that parties' decision making structures and processes should provide opportunities for individual citizens to influence the choices that parties offer to voters".

More importantly, internal democracy is most required in the selection of candidates for elective positions both within and outside elections, as it has been observed that what normally causes factionalisation or conflicts in most political parties is the issue of selection of candidates through party primaries for elective positions in the general elections. It is imperative therefore that each political party should create a level playing field for every party member that is interested in running for any elective office both within and outside the party. The importance of this is to keep the party united as well as throw-up credible and popular candidates that would guarantee the chances of the party in winning elections. Political parties that are inclusive in their decision making process enjoy active participation of their members in their affairs. As Scarrow (2005) opines that in the most inclusive parties, all party members, or even all party supporters, are given the opportunity to decide on important issues, such as the choice of party leader or the selection of party candidates. Due to the fact that inclusiveness is a matter of process and formal rule, more inclusive parties will offer more opportunities for open deliberation prior to the decision stage.

However, the absence of internal democracy in political parties in Nigeria has often created a scenario where some powerful elites in political parties would want to foist their own selfish ideas or in some cases their candidates or their candidatures on their party. As Metuh (2010) points out clearly that "one thing I have noticed in States where there are crisis, is that the governors don't want to let go their grips on the party structures and other stalwarts insist that there must be separation of party from government. The governors fund the party but I don't subscribe to it that the governors should run the party. The party should be the conscience of the people, the party should be able to control the governor and say, you haven't done enough roads, you haven't done this and that. But it isn't happening especially where the legislature isn't acting as checks and balances on the Executive abuse of power. It is only the party that can do that, but the party isn't doing that".

Interference of the political leaders, especially those in the executive in the internal affairs of political parties has been possible because they control the

resources of the state and in most cases they are the major financiers of political parties in most emerging democracies. As the saying goes "he who pays the piper dictates its tune". The power elites therefore use their money or political power to control and influence party decisions to their advantage. In some instances, they create factions and instability in political parties, especially when they find it difficult to influence party decisions. As Ceron (2010) argues that factions do matter indirectly, due to their influence on party strategy, and directly, through the impact on the whole party system whenever they decide not to follow the line (splitting during roll call votes or building a new rival party before the electoral campaign). Consequently, the struggle for political power fuels intra or inter-party conflicts which undermine the process of democratisation in Nigerian.

VII. METHODOLOGY

This study is survey research. The population of the study covers the members of the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP), bureaucrats, politicians and members of the public. A sample of 100 subjects were randomly chosen from the population, comprising 40 card carrying members of the PDP, 30 electorates and 30 civil servants. The subjects were accidentally selected at various locations such as: State House of Assembly Complex, State Civil Service Secretariat, Governor's Office complex and the two universities all in Adamawa State, Nigeria. Questionnaire was constructed as appropriate survey instrument. The data obtained through an open-ended questionnaire was analysed using simple percentage and extraction of relevant data for analysis.

VIII. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The following demographic data were obtained.

Table 1 : Demographic Data

Age		Education		Social Status		Sex	
Range	Frequency	Qualification	Frequency	Category	Frequency	Sex	F.
20-30	19 (19.0%)	Postgraduate	11 (11.0%)	Card carrying members of political party	40 (40.0%)	M	62 (62.0%)
31-40	31 (31.0%)	BSc./HND	30 (30.0%)	Electorates	30 (30.0%)	F	38 (38.0%)
41-50	29 (29.0%)	Diploma/OND	35 (35.0%)	Civil Servants	30 (30.0%)		
51-60	17 (17.0%)	School Cert.,	16 (16.0%)	-	-		
60 and above	4 (4.0%)	Others	8 (8.0%)	-	-		
Total:	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source : Field survey, 2013.

In the demographic data, 19 (19.0%) respondents were between the ages of 20-30, 29 (29.0%) respondents are between the age bracket of (31-40), 31 (31.0%) respondents are in the age bracket of (41-50), 17 (17.0%) respondents are in the age bracket of (51-60) and 4 (4.0%) respondents are in the age bracket of (61 and above). This indicates that politically active people concerned with political party affairs were mostly between the ages of 31–40 years, while interests in party affairs are found to be on the decline among those within the age category of 60 and above years with 4 members. Those with the highest educational qualifications are Diploma/OND holders while the lowest educational qualifications are those with other qualifications lower than school certificate. The social statuses include forty (40) each for card carrying members of political party, thirty (30) each for the electorates and Civil servant. Finally, males have the largest number with sixty two (62) and females are thirty eight (38).

RQ 1 : What are the causes of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria?

In determining the causes of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria with an open-ended question, which states thus: "What do you consider to be the causes of intra-party conflict in Nigeria?" Only 74, representing (74%) of the respondents responded to the questions out of 100. Twenty six (26) respondents left the answer space blank, which represent (26%). The following causes of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria were extracted:

- God-fatherism,
- Lack of internal democracy,
- Imposition of candidates,
- Non-inclusive decision making,
- Non-compliance of members to the party's constitution,
- Injustice and oppression within the party,
- Power or leadership tussle between or among members of a political party,

- Conflict of interests between or among members of a party,
- Materialism and aggrandizement,
- Interference of the political leadership of the executive arm of government in the affairs of political party,
- Bad leadership of political parties,
- Non-inclusion of members in the affairs of party,
- Concealment of vital information to party members, and
- Corruption among leaders of political parties.

RQ 2 : What are the effects of intra-party conflicts on the process of democratisation in Nigeria?

In determining the effects of intra-party conflicts on the process of democratisation in Nigeria with an open-ended question, which states thus: "What do you consider to be the effects of intra-party conflicts on the process of democratisation in Nigeria?" Only 69, representing (69%) of the respondents responded to the questions out of 100. Thirty one (31) respondents left the answer space blank, which represent (31%). The following effects of intra-party conflicts on the process of democratisation in Nigeria were extracted:

- Decamping of aggrieved members to other political parties,
- Distrust among members of political parties,
- Animosity and factionalisation of party members,
- Indiscipline among party members,
- Creates credibility problem and bad image for political parties,
- Creates the opportunity for opposition political party to criticize and factionalize the party in conflict,
- Results in waste of time and resources,
- Leads to divided loyalty among party members,
- Creates discontent among party members,
- Leads to breakdown of party activities,
- Creates instability in the party. and
- Over heating of the polity.

IX. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

From the foregoing discussions and analysis, the findings generated in this study are discussed below:

a) *Causes of Intra-party Conflicts in Nigeria*

The study for example found out that the causes of intra-party conflicts in Nigeria include: lack of internal democracy, god-fatherism, imposition of candidates, non-compliance of members to the party's constitution, injustice and oppression within the party, power or leadership tussle between or among members of political party, conflict of interests between or among members of party, desperation for materialism/aggrandizement, interference of the political leadership of the executive arm of government in the affairs of

political party, bad leadership of political parties, non-inclusion of members in the affairs of political parties, concealment of vital information to party members and corruption among leaders of political parties. On the whole, these factors have profound negative implications on the stability of political parties as well as the democratisation process in Nigeria. Therefore, these findings are in consonance with the observation of Ntalaja (2000) that party politics in Nigeria is bedeviled by factors such as poor party politics as a result of not only ethnicization of party politics, poor political leadership, excessive westernization of the concept of democracy, party indiscipline, lack of clear cut party ideologies, the politicization of the higher echelon of the military profession among others but also and worrisomely, lack of internal party democracy. This is why Maor (1997) argues that "intra-party politics is a matter of conflict and cooperation with factions looking for equilibrium between the two". The struggle for incompatible interests within members of political parties is normally engendered by what Riker (1980) noted as any type of institution that has an asymmetrical impact on political outcomes will be unstable, as actors will seek to modify it to suit their interests.

Similarly, Shale and Matlosa (2008:13) identifies the causes of intra-party conflict to include: favouritism – promoting one's kith and kin; unequal sharing of resources (leader's constituency gets a lion's share); lack of regular meetings; centralized authority – power concentrated at the top. Olaiya (2011) also identifies the following as causes of intra-party conflict in Nigeria: poverty of party ideology; candidate selection; party funding; zoning formula; primaries and party unity and party executive arrogance. Generally, intra-party conflict fractures party's cohesion and create instability in political parties and by extension in the democratic process. Cohesion and a constructive relationship among members of a political party are very critical factors for building a strong, committed and united party. The veracity of this statement is confirmed by Ogundimu (2010) in his argument that "for any party to brace up for election, it must not go into the election as a divided house." This is because a divided and conflict ridden party would never be able to mobilise its members to deliver in political contest.

b) *Implications of Intra-party Conflicts on Nigeria's Democratisation*

The study also found out the implications of intra-party conflicts on Nigeria's democratisation to include the following: decamping of aggrieved members to other political parties, distrust among members of political parties, animosity and factionalisation of party members, indiscipline among party members, credibility problem and bad image for political parties, opportunity for opposition political party to criticize and factionalize the party in conflict, waste of time and resources,

divided loyalty among party members, discontent among party members, breakdown of party activities, instability in the party and over-heating the polity.

Conflict prone political parties are likely to be unstable and this can threaten democratisation process. As Kellman (2004:13) observes concerning political parties, that 'while it is recognised that they can be crucial in the promotion of democracy, they can equally be a hindrance to its attainment as well'...true democracy has little chance of surviving'. Consequently, intra-party conflicts undermine the capacity of political parties to perform their key role of fostering democratic governance and ensuring that they are responsive to societal needs. Inability of political parties to perform this role would mean that "the whole democratic experiment can disintegrate" (Kellman 2004: 14–15). For instance, research findings have indicated that party conflicts, lawlessness and the devastating influence of godfatherism have continued to pose serious challenges to the sustenance of the country's democracy (Ogundiya and Baba, 2005).

Research findings have also indicated the centrality of political parties to both democratization and democratic consolidation (see Mohamed Salih, 2003 & Kadima, Matlosa and Shale 2006). Political parties are major players in the electoral process as they educate, mobilise and organise their members to participate in the political process, "they are teams composed by a variety of players that coordinate themselves to solve collective action dilemmas and coordination problems" (Aldrich, 1995 & Cox and McCubbins, 1993). Therefore, political parties are well structured to perform articulative, aggregative, communicative and educative functions; such a system is often associated with participant political culture which tends to ensure a stable democratic process (Almond 2010).

X. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The central thesis of this paper is that intra-party conflicts have been having its toll on Nigeria's faltering democratisation. This is occasioned by the fact that politics in Nigeria is conceived in pseudo terms to the extent that it is reduced to a mere investment making machine by the political class. For democracy to deepen in Nigeria, this negative misconception of politics as a means of acquiring wealth must be changed to a positive conception of politics as an art and science of delivering public good which tends towards improving the quality of life for the citizenry and not about satisfying the greed of a few privileged class of individuals. This political re-engineering process can be achieved through the organisation of deliberate and aggressive value reorientation programmes for members of political parties, other stakeholders in the political system as well as the electorates. Importantly, the gamut of activities that take place in political parties

makes it possible for their members to articulate their common or divergent interests and this sometimes engenders intra or inter-party conflicts, which consequently creates factionalisation within parties or some sort of intra-party conflict. This study therefore established that intra-party conflicts have profound negative implications on the process of democratisation as it is currently playing out in Nigeria.

In spite of the challenges of internal squabbles facing political parties in Nigeria currently, they remain a critical pillar for sustaining the process of democratisation in the country. It is imperative therefore that political parties should ensure that they entrench internal democracy within their internal dynamics such that would create the enabling environment for party members to actualise their political aspirations using the party as a platform. Political parties must also understand that they are indispensable institution in the democratic system because they form the essential link between voters and government by providing the platform for renewal and consolidation of democratic government through periodic elections. In the final analysis, the sustenance and continuity of Nigeria's Fourth Republic owes much to the ability of the political parties in the country to be able to aggregate freely, articulate their interests, resolve the some-times incompatible interests of their members through peaceful dialogue as well as inculcating the universal ideals and values of democracy in their members and the entire Nigerian citizens.

XI. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings generated in this study, the following policy recommendations are proposed with a view to ensuring that political parties become effective institutions that would promote the democratisation process in Nigeria.

- Political parties must entrench internal democracy within their internal structure and workings, especially in the selection of candidates within the party and for the general elections.
- Members of political parties should subordinate themselves to their party constitution.
- Political parties must evolve political ideologies and their activities must be guided by the ideologies they so represent.
- Political parties should organise regular capacity building programmes to orient their members to imbibe and exhibit values and ideals that would sustain the process of democratisation in Nigeria.
- The conduct of elections in political parties should be free and fair so as throw up credible candidates.
- Personal interests of party members should be subordinated to the larger interest of the political party.

- g. Members of political parties should be treated with equity and fairness through the creation of a level playing-field for the active participation of all their members.
- h. Political parties should ensure that they instill discipline in their members by enforcing the party constitution on every member.
- i. Political parties must endeavour to be inclusive in their decision making process.
- j. Political parties should employ dialogue in resolving conflicts between its members.

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Experiences Which Add Risk for Development of Suicidal Ideations

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Abstract- There are a number of known suicide risk factors. Nevertheless, these risk factors are not necessarily closely related in time to the onset of suicidal behaviors – nor does any risk factor alone increase or decrease risk. Population-based research suggests that the risk for suicide increases with an increase in the number of risk factors present, such that when more risk factors are present at any one time the more likely that they indicate an increased risk for suicidal behaviors at that time. Child maltreatment has been investigated as a suicide risk for decades. The aim of this study was to evaluate the prevalence of women from the general population with suicidal ideas or attempts and add to the actual literature a larger perspective of different types of maltreatment in regards to experiences such as neglect, psychological, physical or sexual abuse, and its association to risk factor for suicide ideas and attempts. Data were collected during a telephone survey held between March and May, 2012 among a sample of 1,001 female adult respondents from Kenyan Public Universities. Questions were selected to investigate childhood maltreatment as a risk factor for probable depression, and actual post-traumatic stress disorders, and suicidal behaviours in the course of their lives. Regression analysis indicates a positive association between sexual abuse and suicidal ideations, as well as a positive association between sexual abuse, psychological abuse, probable depression and suicide attempts. Respondents, who attempted suicide, were two to three times more likely to have experienced the presence of sexual or psychological abuse in the past and four times more likely to have been screened for a probable depression. Interventions that target the early reduction of sexual or psychological abuse, may translate into ulterior reduction in mental health and suicidal behaviours.

Keywords: *abuse, suicide attempt, suicidal ideas, child maltreatment, neglect.*

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1. INTRODUCTION

Suicide Latin suicidium, from *sui caedere*, "to kill oneself") is the act of intentionally causing one's own death. Suicide is considered a possible complication of depressive illness in combination with other risk factors because suicidal thoughts and behavior can be symptoms of moderate to severe depression. Suicide is a major public health concern and it ranks among the top ten causes of death for individuals of all ages in most countries [World Health Organization (WHO), 2005]. Suicidal ideas and attempts

have been found as more often associated with women. For example, in the Kenyan population of 2011, 14.4% of the people that are 15 years and older had been acknowledged to have suicidal ideas during their lives (12.6% for men and 16.1% for women), and 3.5% said they had made a serious suicide attempt in their lifetime. A suicide attempt is a cry for help that should never be ignored. It is a warning that something is terribly wrong. Chronic depression can lead to feelings of despair and hopelessness, and a suicide attempt is one way some people choose to express these feelings. Most people who attempt or commit suicide don't really want to die - they just want their pain and suffering to end. A suicide attempt is also not done to gain someone's sympathy, as those that attempt to take their life do it for internal reasons-they simply can't stand the pain they feel emotionally and/or physically. It isn't to try and get someone to feel bad for them, that's the last thing they would want. A suicide attempt must always be taken seriously. Without intervention and proper treatment, a person who has attempted suicide is at greater risk of another attempt and possible suicide.

In 2011, 1.9% of the Kenyan population that are 15 years old and older had seriously thought of suicide within the past 12 months: 1.8% for men and 2% for women; and 0.5% of the population had made a serious attempt: 0.4% for men and 0.5% for women (Kairouz et al., 2008). Over the past 40 years, numerous studies have examined the relationship between suicide and mental disorders (Barracough et al., 1974; Lesage et al., 1994; Zhang et al., 2003). These studies have identified numerous clinical risk factors for suicide completion: previous suicide attempts, male sex, a family history of suicide, presence of psychiatric problems, as well as inadequate treatment of mental disorders and addictive behaviours (Arsenault-Lapierre et al., 2004). Psychiatric problems that are most commonly associated with suicide, have been characterized as affective disorders (McGirr et al., 2007), dependence disorders (Séguin et al., 2006), anxiety disorders (Sareen et al., 2005), as well as the presence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which has been proposed to be associated with ulterior personality disorders (Oquendo et al., 2003; Vaiva et al., 2008). As for the presence of suicide ideation, a wide range of mental disorders have been found to increase the odds of experiencing suicide ideation, but the disorders have been characterized by anxiety and poor

impulse-control predict, which an individual with suicide ideation would act on such thoughts (Nock et al., 2010).

Besides the unequivocal importance of mental disorders, other experiential and environmental factors have also been supposed to contribute to the onset and persistence of suicidal ailing (Bruffaerts et al., 2010). In the wake of the interest in epigenetic and resilience (McGowan et al., 2009), some variables are again capturing the attention of researchers and clinicians. Early adversity, violence, and sexual abuse have been established to be among the most common risk factors, associated with ulterior mental health problems and suicide ailing (Kessler et al., 1997; McGirr et al., 2007; McGowan et al., 2009). The proportion of mental health outcomes attributable to physical abuse, sexual abuse, witnessing domestic violence or being a victim of domestic violence varies between studies. A study by Dube et al. (2001) have found that any one of these adverse childhood experiences: emotional, physical and sexual abuse; household substance abuse, mental illness, and incarceration; as well as parental domestic violence, separation or divorce, increased the risk of suicide attempted 2- to 5-fold. Molnar et al. (2001) noted that 7 to 12% of serious suicide attempts were attributable to rape or molestation in a nationally representative US sample.

More recently, a number of large-scale studies have investigated the link between specific types of childhood maltreatment, and future suicidal ideas and attempts (Afifi et al., 2008; Bebbington et al., 2009; Belik et al., 2007; Bruffaerts et al., 2010; Enns et al., 2006; Nock et al., 2010). Each study used a public dataset, including wide range of specific types of socio-demographic groups, and most studies have explored at least one or more type of childhood maltreatment and some additional traumatic experiences. The relationship between childhood past adverse events, and poor adult mental health and suicide attempts has been widely acknowledged in the clinical population (Bebbington et al., 2009), as well as in the general population (Belik et al., 2007; Bruffaerts et al., 2010). Enns et al. (2006) noted that childhood neglect, psychological abuse and physical abuse were strongly attempts. Other study has identified sexual and physical abuse (Hardt et al., 2008; Bruffaerts et al., 2010) as the strongest risk factor for onset and persistence of suicidal ailing. Other results suggested that a combination of exposure to three or more types of traumatic events were associated with suicidal ailing (Belik et al., 2007).

II. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to add to the actual literature a larger perspective on different types of maltreatment. First, our objective is to have a better understanding of the early environmental factors associated with the suicidal ideas in a Kenyan female

population, by detailing the individual types of childhood maltreatment, such as different degree of neglect, of psychological, physical or sexual abuse, and their relation to future suicidal ideas. Secondly, our goal is to explore the specific experience, or the cumulative experiences, which add risk for development of suicidal ideas and behaviours.

III. RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

We hypothesized

- a positive link between child maltreatment (neglect, psychological, physical, and sexual abuse) and suicide attempts or suicidal ideas; and
- sexual violence would be a predictor of suicidal ideas and suicide attempts among a general population of female respondent.

IV. METHODOLOGY

a) Procedures

Data were collected via a telephone survey, conducted between March 23 and May 21 of 2012, among a sample of 1,001 female adult respondents from public universities admission records in Kenya. Two steps were carried out to select without substitution of respondent. Universities were first selected by a technique called "random digit dialing" among those having a telephone number in the universities. Then, in each selected university, a woman was chosen using a random selection schedule among those aged 18 years and over, and who could complete the survey in either Kiswahili or English. No substitution of respondent was allowed. In 2011, 86.4% of the university students in Kenya owned a mobile phone, which suggests that majority of the population have been included using this methodology (Statistics Kenya, 2011). The responses rate was calculated using the methods proposed by MRIA1 (MRIA, 2011). Using this empirical method, we obtained a response rate of 45.5%, but taking into account the calculation of the estimation method, the response rate becomes 73%. This last rate gives a secondary measure to assess the quality of the survey data.

Verbal consent of respondents was requested at the time of the interview, and the study received approval from Kenya Science ethics review Board. Each interviewer received specific training regarding the study's objectives, the questions and possible answers from the researcher. In addition, a portion (around 10%) of the interview was subjected to an audio systematic review in order to check the quality of the interview.

b) Sample

Data from 1,001 university female respondents were weighted by education level and age. Adults aged 18 years and over. Afterward (Institut de la Statistique, 2001), a correction for design effect was applied. Design effect is equal to $1/(1 + \text{variance of weighting})$

coefficients), and each weighting coefficient was multiplied by 0.62 (or 1/1.61), in order to correct the weighting effect on statistical accuracy (Kish, 1965). The initial sample of 1,001 respondents corresponded, following this correction, to a sample of 620 respondents with the same characteristics of the population in terms of distribution by education level and age. This weighting and correction for design effect thus reduced disparities between characteristics of the sample and those in the population. It also prevented overestimating data.

c) *Measurements*

Socio-demographic variables were identified using questions regarding age, geographic region of residence and academic level. These variables were selected from a questionnaire, developed by Tourigny et al. (2006), for a previous prevalence study of child maltreatment. Other questions were selected to investigate early childhood abuse, as well as to screen for the presence of probable depression, actual post-traumatic stress disorders, and actual suicidal behaviours.

d) *Independent variables*

Neglect, psychological, physical and sexual abuse in childhood neglect

Neglect during childhood was measured using items from the Comprehensive Child Maltreatment Scale for Adults (CCMS) (Higgins and McCabe, 2001). These questions evaluated the lack of basic care (food, bathing, clean clothes, and medical attention) and the experience of being locked-up for a long period of time; or experience of being ignored for a long period of time. These questions were answered using a Likert's scale, ranging from "never" to "very often". Obtaining an above-average score was a positive indication of neglect.

e) Psychological abuse during childhood

Direct and indirect psychological abuse before the age of 18 years old was evaluated: direct psychological abuse aimed at the child (that is, being threatened, humiliated or ridiculed "often" or "very often" in childhood) and indirect psychological violence was defined as having witnessed inter-parental violence, respectively. Prevalence of psychological abuse was defined as having experienced either direct or indirect psychological abuse (Clément et al., 2000).

f) Physical abuse during childhood

Questions were used to evaluate childhood physical abuse (mild and severe), experienced by the respondent. Respondents indicated their answers on a four point Likert's scale, ranging from "no, never" to "yes, very often".

Mild physical abuse was defined as receiving a spanking "often" or "very often", while severe physical abuse was defined as being hit harder than a spanking

at least once (Clément et al., 2000). In Health Survey, mild physical abuse was defined as "adult conduct toward a child that aims to modify behaviours through the use of corporal punishment or physical force". These conducts may provoke discomfort or pain without hurting the child; they are generally admitted by law, and even, may be recognized as a right in the exercise of the parental role.

For severe physical abuse, Clément et al. (2000) referred to "[...] disciplinary conducts or corporal punishments of such a nature that they are likely to hurt the child. These conducts may be similar to abusive forms of conduct toward the child"). The prevalence of physical abuse is defined as having experienced either mild or severe physical abuse.

g) *Sexual abuse during childhood*

Items measured the presence of sexual abuse during early childhood. Questions concerning forced sexual relations (either complete sexual relations or fondling before the age of 18) were part of the interview. These items were selected from a study by Finkelhor et al. (1990), which permitted the identification of a dichotomized variable.

h) *Screening for symptoms of depression*

The screener included the items for assessing major depressive and dysthymic disorders from the 12-month Composite International Diagnostic Interview (CIDI), and items assessing depression symptoms in the past month (Essau and Wittchen, 1993; Pez et al., 2010). We defined people as having a probable disorder if they experienced at least two weeks of being depressed or having lost interest in pleasurable activities during the last year, or persistent depression over the year, plus having at least one week of depression within the last 30 days. Based on a sample of 1,485 study patients, who underwent the full CIDI affective disorders section, the positive predictive value of this self-administered screener is about 55%. In other words, in the population of patients identified by the screening questionnaire, about half have clinical depression.

i) *Symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorders*

Symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorders were screened using four questions in the Primary Care Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PC-PTSD). This screening has been used to identify the presence of symptoms by first-line clinicians (Prins et al., 2003). Questions, concerning flashbacks, dissociative reactions, hypervigilance and avoidance behaviours, were assessed. This measurement has had good psychometric properties and high test-retest fidelity (Prins et al., 2003). Its diagnostic validity has been good (Prins et al., 2003). With this screening test, three positive responses out of four were needed to be considered as a clinical threshold for the presence of PTSD.

i) *Dependant variables*

Suicidal behaviours : Questions regarding the presence of suicidal behaviours were based on questions taken from the Epidemiological Study (Kairouz et al., 2008). The questions were: (1) Did you ever think of committing suicide? (2) Have you ever made a suicidal attempt that did not require a visit to the hospital? (3) Have you ever made a suicidal attempt that did require a visit to the hospital? Other questions that were assessed focused on the age at which the first suicidal ideas appeared, the age of the first suicide attempt, the number of suicide attempts requiring a visit to the emergency unit of a hospital, as well as the number of attempts that did not require a visit to the emergency unit of a hospital.

j) *Statistical analysis*

Statistical analyses were performed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS), version 15.0. Chi-squared analysis was performed to analyze the demographics and to compare the proportion of the population against the presence of clinical variables. Logistic regression (odds ratio and 95% confidence interval) was used to identify the variables mostly associated with the presence of suicidal behaviours.

V. RESULTS

a) *Socio-demographic variables*

A sample of 621 respondents was selected from the initial population of 1,001 respondents in order to ensure representation of female respondents in the population by age, education and geographical region. Respondents were living in different parts of the province with 69.5%, in age between 25 and 64 years old. Their incomes varied from Ksh.20,000 to more than Ksh.80,000, and 31.8% had either their second or third year in the university.

b) *Prevalence of suicidal behaviours*

The results indicate rates of suicidal ideation and attempt similar to those found in epidemiologic studies for other population. The rates for women having experienced suicidal ideations alone is 15.0% when compared with 16.1% found in epidemiologic studies from other places (Kairouz et al., 2008). The rates for suicide attempts are slightly higher, reaching 8.2% when taking into account all types of suicidal attempts (with and without hospitalization), while the rates found in epidemiologic studies were closer to 5.3% (Kairouz et al., 2008).

The suicidal ideas or attempts were present at a relatively young age: 24.7 and 22.9 years old, respectively. When identifying suicide attempts that required a visit to an emergency room (ER) of a hospital, 5.0% of respondents indicated having gone at least once, compared with the 5.6%, who attempted suicide and did not need to go to an ER ($p = ns$). Suicidal

thoughts and behaviors (including suicide attempts and death by suicide) are commonly found at increased rates among individuals with psychiatric disorders, especially major depressive disorder, bipolar disorders, schizophrenia, PTSD, anxiety, chemical dependency, and personality disorders (e.g., antisocial and borderline). A history of a suicide attempt is the strongest predictor of future suicide attempts, as well as death by suicide. Intentional self-harm (i.e., intentional self-injury without the expressed intent to die) is also associated with long-term risk for repeated attempts as well as death by suicide.

c) *Prevalence of child maltreatment and mental health problems*

The results indicate a significant difference between the prevalence of people having experienced child maltreatment and mental health difficulties (neglect, psychological, physical and sexual abuse, as well as symptoms of depression and symptoms of PTSD) when compared with those with no experiences of these adverse situations. Respondents had experienced psychological abuse range from 11 to 18.5%: direct violence 11%, indirect violence 13%, and both types of violence 18.5%, respectively. Physical abuse ranged between 9.5 and 12.4%: mild 9.5%, severe 9.8%, and 12.4% experienced both types. Respondents, who were exposed to childhood neglect, were among 11.6% of the population. The range for sexual abuse varied between 6.5 and 21.2%. Respondents, who were victims of fondling, were among 20.2% of the population, and those who were victims of rape were among 6.5% of the population, respectively.

As for the presence of mental disorders, using a screening questionnaire, we identified that 12.6% of the population have been screened for probable depression, and 7.7% had three or more symptoms of PTSD. As for the respondents who attempted suicide, we found a positive association for the presence of all clinical variables. Those, who experienced one or more types of adversity, were significantly more at risk of a suicide attempt over their lives (psychological, physical and sexual abuse, neglect were screened for probable depression, and symptoms of PTSD). As for the respondents with lifetime suicidal ideas, we found a positive association for the presence of neglect, fondling and rape, and they were screened for probable depression.

d) *Predictors of suicide attempts and suicidal ideas*

Logistic regression analysis revealed that respondents who attempt suicide (with or without a medical visit) were more likely to have been exposed to the presence of specific clinical variables. Respondents who attempted suicide were two to three times more likely to have experienced the presence of sexual violence (OR = 2.93; CI95% = 1.074 – 9.020) or

psychological violence (OR = 2.72; CI95% = 0.999 – 5.827) in their earlier years. They were almost four times more likely to have been screened for probable depression (OR = 3.79; CI95% = 1.333 – 11.083).

A second logistic regression analysis revealed that respondents who had suicidal ideas were more likely to have been exposed to the presence of sexual abuse. They were 2.5 times more likely to have experienced the presence of sexual violence.

Besides that, Psychiatric co-morbidity (greater than one psychiatric disorder present at the same time) increases risk for suicide, especially when substance abuse or depressive symptoms coexist with another psychiatric disorder or condition. A number of psychosocial factors are also associated with risk for suicide and suicide attempts. These include recent life events such as losses (esp. employment, careers, finances, housing, marital relationships, physical health, and a sense of a future), and chronic or long-term problems such as relationship difficulties, unemployment, and problems with the legal authorities (legal charges). Psychological states of acute or extreme distress (especially humiliation, despair, guilt and shame) are often present in association with suicidal ideation, planning and attempts. While not uniformly predictive of suicidal ideation and behavior, they are warning signs of psychological vulnerability and indicate a need for mental health evaluation to minimize immediate discomfort and to evaluate suicide risk.

VI. DISCUSSION

Methodologically, many precautions were taken to make sure that the population investigated in the current study was representative of the female population (Kish, 1965). Our results indicate almost the same prevalence for suicidal ideas and attempts as those, found in epidemiologic studies in other places (Institut de la Statistique du Québec, 2010) and those, found in two literature review, who have concluded that 22.3 and 19.7% of women were sexual abuse as children, respectively (Gorey and Leslie, 1997; Pereda et al., 2009). Results from the presented study are consistent with results from other studies (Bebbington et al., 2009; Bruffaerts et al., 2010; Enns et al., 2006; Hardt et al., 2008). We observed the same association between the presence of violence, mental health problems and suicidal behaviour in a sample of the general female population.

We confirmed our hypothesis since the results indicated a positive association between the presence of suicidal attempts and of past adversity like neglect, psychological abuse, sexual abuse, as well as the presence of current mental health difficulties among a sample of the female population. Respondents, who had experienced sexual violence and psychological violence before 18 years of age and were screened for

probable depression, were two to almost four times more likely to have attempted suicide. The presented results suggest the co-occurrence of difficulties among women having attempted suicide, more so than for women having suicidal ideas.

VII. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Due to the methodology, there is no way of being certain that the current symptoms of depression and PTSD are directly linked to past violence, since other events may have triggered the episode of depression or PTSD. Further research would be necessary to confirm this causal link. The results from this study are not sufficient for establishment of a case for sequential developmental difficulties, however, it is clear that suicidal behavior does not happen “out of the blue” (Bebbington et al., 2009), but it also emerges from a sequence of events that may start with early adverse events with the presence of child maltreatment, whose impact on affective disorders may be long lasting and culminate at one or more times over lifetime of suicidal attempts.

VIII. LIMITATIONS

The presented study has the advantage of exploring all forms of family violence in childhood with a sufficient large representative sample of Kenyan university female participants. Nevertheless, there are some classical limits for this type of study, namely: 1) the sampling method by telephone number does not allow reaching respondents, who may have been particularly at-risk for childhood victimization and suicidal behaviours, such as homeless or institutionalized adults; 2) the reliance on a few questions to measure childhood victimization experiences does not permit a detailed description of the nature and severity of each form of violence, and 3) an empirical response rate of 45.5%, but an adequate estimative response rate of 75%. Even though, we used a number of best practices designed for the recruitment process in order to help maximize response rates, this empirical response rate seems to stay the same across studies.

Indeed, Gorey and Leslie (1997) noted that prevalence studies of sexual violence with adult populations showed an average response rate of 49%. However, a tendency for a lower participation rate in studies relying on phone interviews has also been observed internationally in the past years (Government of Canada, 2007). Finally, another limitation is a lack of knowledge about the sequential occurrence of different adversities in the lives of the respondents.

However, despite these limitations, the prevalence for suicidal behaviour and sexual abuse, identified in this research, are similar to those, found in epidemiologic studies. Unfortunately, lack of data

concerning the sequential occurrence of events, limits the possibility of elucidating the temporal relationship between presence of clinical variables, and the onset of psychopathology and suicidal behaviours.

IX. CONCLUSION

Results from this study, in agreement with the data from other studies, suggest a greater awareness for caregivers in order to investigate the presence of child maltreatment, especially psychological and sexual abuse, when evaluating suicidal behaviours or affective disorders, since the presence of these variables could warrant more specific and targeted interventions. Similarly, with a number of other studies (Bebbington et al., 2009; Enns et al., 2006; Kessler et al., 1997) that have suggested from a public health prevention perspective, interventions that target the early reduction in violence (sexual and psychological) may be translated into reduction in mental health, and, in this way, suicidal behaviours. Factors that may increase risk or factors that may decrease risk are those that have been found to be statistically related to the presence or absence of suicidal behaviors. They do not necessarily impart a causal relationship. Rather they serve as guidelines for the clinician to weigh the relative risk of an individual engaging in suicidal behaviors within the context of the current clinical presentation and psychosocial setting. Individuals differ in the degree to which risk and protective factors affect their propensity for engaging in suicidal behaviors. Within an individual, the contribution of each risk and protective factor to their suicidality will vary over the course of their lives. No one risk factor, or set of risk factors, necessarily conveys increased suicidal risk. Nor does one protective factor, or set of protective factors, insure protection against engagement in suicidal behaviors. Furthermore, because of their different statistical correlations with suicidal behaviors, these factors are not equal and one cannot "balance" one set of factors against another in order to derive a sum total score of relative suicidal risk. Some risk factors are immutable (e.g., age, gender, race/ethnicity), while others are more situation-specific (e.g., loss of housing, exacerbation of pain in a chronic condition, and onset or exacerbation of psychiatric symptoms).

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Baluchistan: British Rule, an Era of Political Awakeng and Merger

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Abstract- The British administration developed an immense interest in Baluchistan because of its geo-strategic significance. It had a desire to establish buffer states in extreme north-western regions to block the perceived Russian's intervention. The British authorities wanted to safeguard a line of communication with Afghanistan via Baluchistan. Their administration's efforts to make the Khanate as its vassal state under the treaty of 1841 met a stiff Baloch resistance. After the defeat of the British in the first Anglo-Afghan (War 1842), Kalat's independent status was recognized in the treaty of 1854. Afterwards, Closed Border Strategy (1854-72) was worked out towards Baluchistan, which was replaced by forward border policy.

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Baluchistan: British Rule, an Era of Political Awakeng and Merger

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Abstract- The British administration developed an immense interest in Baluchistan because of its geo-strategic significance. It had a desire to establish buffer states in extreme north-western regions to block the perceived Russian's intervention. The British authorities wanted to safeguard a line of communication with Afghanistan via Baluchistan. Their administration's efforts to make the Khanate as its vassal state under the treaty of 1841 met a stiff Baloch resistance. After the defeat of the British in the first Anglo-Afghan (War 1842), Kalat's independent status was recognized in the treaty of 1854. Afterwards, Closed Border Strategy (1854-72) was worked out towards Baluchistan, which was replaced by forward border policy.

The 20th century marked the on-set of the awakening of political consciousness in Baluchistan. Two Baloch icons, Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd and Yusuf Ali Khan Magsi brought an awareness of political issues in the Baloch society. Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Baluchistan was founded primarily for struggle to get the administrative unification and constitutional reforms introduced in Baluchistan. The convening of the All-India Baloch conferences was the high-water mark of the Anjuman's career. These conferences were Balochistani in character. Though, it was short lived but brought Pashtun and Baloch together to raise united voice for their common home land. The British administration brushed away the reform packages suggested on these occasions. The end of Anjuman-e-Ittehad Balochan wa Baluchistan led to the termination of Balochistani politics. Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai laid the foundation of his own political party (Anjuman-e-Watan) in 1938 and affiliated it with All-India National Congress. Kalat State National Party's tilt was also towards Indian nationalists and it backed the ideology of undivided India. Its leadership, Mir Anqa, Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizinjo and Gul Khan Nasir endeavoured to form representative government in Balochistan. Indeed, the constitutional status of Baluchistan and its merger into Pakistan is a topic of great interest. The Khan of Kalat submitted two memoranda's to the Cabinet Mission Plan in March 1946. He argued that Kalat enjoyed the legal status like that of Nepal and presented a strong case for its independence. He also claimed Kalat's supremacy over Las Bela, Kharan, Murri Bugti tribal areas and return of the leased areas. (Quetta, Nauhki, Nasirabad) The British administration appointed Shahi Jirga to decide the future of the British Baluchistan. It formally gave its verdict in favour of Pakistan. The validity of the verdict has been the matter of controversy. Given the precarious situation in and around the Khanate, the Khan signed an instrument of accession. The Baloch nationalists declined to accept the authenticity of the instrument of accession. The paper deals with the British rule in Baluchistan and political awareness during controversial

merger of Baluchistan into Pakistan. It also highlights political and constitutional developments during this period.

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the pre-partition British rule in Baluchistan in a historical perspective. Many political developments have been highlighted that ushered in an age of political awakening in Baluchistan. The paper has also discussed the controversial accession of Baluchistan in to Pakistan. The study focuses on some important issues.

- The British policies and strategies towards Baluchistan to achieve their geo-strategic and geo-political targets and the Khanate responses to these challenges.
- The role of different political organizations and personalities creating an environment of political, national and social awakening and informed public opinion.
- The stances of concerned quarters regarding the future of Baluchistan and its controversial merger in to Pakistan.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY OF BALUCHISTAN DURING BRITISH RULE

a) Demographic structure of Baluchistan

During British rule, Khanate of Kalat Comprised of four principalities of Las Bela, Kharan, Mekran and Kalat. (Foreign policy centre, 2006) The British Balochistan consisting of those areas that Afghan government had ceded to the British under the treaty of Gandamak in 1880. (Singhal, 1982). That is regarded as the most degrading one (Singhal, 1982). and the leased areas consisting the territories of Khan of Kalat which were leased to the British administration (Keltie, 1917).

b) Creation and Consolidation of the Khanate of Kalat

The Brahui Ahmadzai tribe founded the Khanate of Kalat in mid-seventeenth century. Its founder was Miro-Kambrani (Baloch, 1987). The Khanate asserted its independence during the period of Ahmad Khan (1666-95) (Baloch, 1987). Ahmadzai's regime also ushered in an era of territorial expansionism (Harrison, 1981). The 18th century witnessed the consolidation of the Baloch country. It also created a feeling of nationalism among the Baloch (Dashti, 2012). Abdullah Khan, the fourth khan (1714-1734) expanded it "from Kandahar what is

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now south eastern Afghanistan, across the Mekran area all the way to Bandar Abbas in what is now a Southern Iranian post and extended to his domain to embrace Dera Ghazi Khan district on the edge of Punjab (Axmann, 2008). Nasir Khan's rule is considered as the glorious age of Khanate. (1749-95) Military and economic gains of his period were equally remarkable. He captured Mekran, Las Bela and Kharan and many Indian Ocean ports (Harrison, 1981). He created unified Baloch army and brought the major Baloch tribes under unified military organization and recruitment (Axmann, 2008). Thus, he becomes the supreme commander of the well-organized and permanent army. He introduced internal hierarchy into a Sardari system. He established Sarawan and Jhalawan division under the supra-Sardar (Axmann, 2008).

c) *A Period of Chaos and Anarchy in the Khanate*

The death of Nasir Khan set in a period of crisis. It was said that there were different reasons that caused chaos and anarchy in the Khanate. The khans backed feudal system. The sardars were adamant to replace it with decentralized confederation (Baloch, 1985). Luxurious life style had been cited as another cause for the lawlessness (Awan, 1985).

d) *Geo-Political and Geo-Economic Importance of Baluchistan*

The British administration was waiting for ripe circumstances to intervene in the north-west extreme of the sub-continent due to its geo-political and geo-economic importance. It was believed that buffer states in these areas would help the British India from Russian's onslaught. Russian's invasion of India via Afghanistan and either the Khyber Pass or the Bolan Pass, was perceived as potential threat to the British India. Indian government dispatch Captain Grant, (1809) Colonel Henry Pottinger (1810) and finally, Mounstuart Elphinstone (1812) to collect information on the geographical and political existing situation in the vast north-western regions (Awan, 1985). Geo-political significance of Balochistan had played the most key factor in shaping British Indian government's policies towards it (Gulzad, 1991). The British Indian administration wanted to safeguard a line of communication with Afghanistan via Balochistan.

e) *An Agreement Between Mehrab Khana and the British*

In order to fulfil its strategic designs, it finally decided to install Shah Shuja's government in Afghanistan. He was living a life of exile. Mehrab Khan (1817-39) agreed to provide and facilitate safe passage and to purchase requirements for the British troops on their move to Afghanistan via Balochistan during first Anglo-Afghan war (1939-42). British troops, after withdrawal from Kandahar, invaded Kalat. The Khan was blamed of betrayal for not enforcing the treaty signed

with the British administration. Mehrab Khan I declined to give in to the British authorities and was killed in the battle field along with the hundreds of his men. Shah Nawaz, a fourteen year old distant relative of the deceased khan, was appointed khan of Kalat. Mustang and Kacchi were incorporated into the Afghanistan and Sindh respectively (Awan, 1985).

f) *Treaties of 1841 & 1854 Between the British and the Khanate*

The British authorities had to bow down to the stiff resistance from the Baloch tribes and appointed Nasir Khan II as the New Khan. The Khan, in turn, submitted to the British administration. The treaty of 1841 was inked between the two parties under it (Dashti, 2012). Kalat was regarded as a vassal state of Afghanistan and British troops could be stationed in any part of Kalat (Awan, 1985). The crushing defeat of the British in the first Anglo-Afghan war forced them to review their Fortier policy regarding Khanate (Awan, 1985). The treaty of 1854 recognized Kalat's independent status (Baloch, 1987).

g) *The closed border strategy*

Afterwards, two schools of thought emerged with regard to India's imperial strategy in dealing with the extreme north and the western regions of Indian sub-continent (Chopra, 2003). The closed border strategy school opined that British Indian Empire could be defended by establishing friendly states in its north-western regions. The designs of the foreign invaders could be foiled by establishing infrastructure and trade in these regions. The forwarded policy strategists had different views. They favoured the cultivation of friendly north-western states which would depend upon the British defence. They supported indirect British control over these states. The British Indian government followed closed border policy during 1854-72.

h) *The forwarded border policy*

The conservatives in Britain supported the forwarded border policy (Chopra, 2003). The government appointed Sandeman as the agent to the Governor General in Balochistan. It ushered in a new era regarding Baloch-British relationship (Axmann, 2008). Major Roberts Sandeman was assigned the task of consolidating indirect British influence in Balochistan. His administration made tireless efforts to pacify the territory and to protect roads and passes. He gained immense success in achieving targets of forwarded policy. Sandeman kept direct links with the sardars and the tribal chiefs and the Khan was bypassed. They were given financial assistance and political patronage in their respective areas. Jirgas and Shahi Jirga were created to settle inter-tribal feuds and subdued "anti-government's activities" Levy system, comprising of tribal forces, was introduced. The tribal chiefs were responsible for maintaining law and order. The levies were at their

disposal. The sandaman system has been criticized by the scholars. It tried to change the purely tribal system and used the institution as a weapon against rebellions (Axmann, 2008). Balochistan, in practice, came under the influence of the British administration. The Khan's status was weakened. The sardars began to act as feudal instead of elected chief.

The decentralized political structure emerged in the Khanate after the treaty of 1876. The so-called Sandaman system shifted the traditional position of the sardars and the Khan. The sardars's dependence on its own tribes reduced. Tribal chiefs enjoyed the strong backing of the British that raised their position and status (Baloch, 1987).

i) *The treaty of Gandamak*

After the second Anglo-Afghan war, Quetta came under direct control of the British administration. The British leased Quetta, Bolan pass, Chagai and Murri-Bugti areas. The district of Chaman, Peshin, Sibi were ceded to the British Empire as a result of the treaty of Gandamak signed between the Afghan government and Indian British government. British Balochistan was brought into existence by the combination of the leased areas and the Pashtun areas. The keystone of the British indirect rule was the Sardari system. The British administration was not ignorant of the centrifugal tendencies of the tribal Sardars. It crushed such kind of tendencies to keep integrity of the Khanate intact.

III. BEGINNING OF AN ERA OF POLITICAL AWAKENING IN BALUCHISTAN

The 20th century marked the beginning of political awareness in Balochistan. The long swing of events in and around Balochistan brought its people to face with the political issues. It was no longer possible to avoid politics. The march of new development had already pushed them to political and constitutional arena.

a) *Establishment of Young Baloch and Publication of Newspapers*

In 1920, a political organization was founded by Mir Abdul Aziz Kurd (1904-79), son of civil servant of Kalat, in Balochistan by the name of 'Young Baloch'. It vehemently advocated institutional and political reforms in Balochistan. This organization was composed of constitutionalists, western-educated and people having middle class background. They took the line of Indian nationalists (Awan, 1985). In 1927, Abdul Aziz Kurd and Nasirulwi together started a newspaper called "Balochistan" in Delhi. Its existence was short-lived.

At this time, a very remarkable and unusual man appeared on the Balochistan's scene. He was Yusuf Ali Khan, the son of Nawab Qaisar Khan, Sardar of Magsi tribe, who, in his boyhood, wrote an article for a Lahore newspaper in 1929. Which he entitled "Faryad-e-

Balochistan", the wail from Balochistan. He was detained for writing this piece of complaint. He sponsored a newspaper called "Azad" in Lahore. He appointed Abdul Aziz Kurd as its editor (Axmann, 2008).

b) *Formation of Anjuman-E-Ittehad-E-Balochanwa Wa Balochistan*

Upon his release, Yusuf Ali Khan and Abdul Aziz Kurd decided to form the political organization by the name of Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochanwa wa Balochistan. The organization launched a struggle for the administrative unification and introduction of constitutional reforms in Balochistan. Baloch Nationalists had differing views. They were of the opinion that it had been established to demand for an independent and united Balochistan under the elected government. It was in favour of 'Greater Baluchistan' (Amin, 1988). Abdul Aziz Kurd put forward an idea of a separate and an independent Balochistan (Baloch, 1987). It was secular, non-tribal and nationalistic movement (Baloch, 2004). Its manifesto was very progressive and modern. It proposed representative parliament and responsible cabinet under the Khan. It also wanted the abrogation of British indirect rule in Balochistan. The nationalists also attacked the "Sardari system". The sardars were not in their good books due to their alliance with the colonial administration (Janmahmad, 1988). The British used them as their weapon to silence the voice of opposition (Baloch, 1987).

Upon ascending the throne, Azan Jan promised to introduce constitutional government in Kalat. Given this commitment of Khan, an agreement was signed with Yusuf Ali Magsi. The Anjuman supported his claim on the throne against Muhammad Anwar Khan who had the support of Sir Shamas Shah, the prime-minister (Baloch, 1987). At last, due to support of the tribal chiefs and the Anjuman, Azan Jan became the Khan of the Khanate on 10th December, 1931.

It was, indeed, first great success of the Anjuman. However, it met a failure in persuading the Khan to act upon his promise. The Khan seemed to be reluctant to reduce his powers. The sardars also opposed the reforms and wanted to maintain status quo.

c) *First all India Baloch and Balochistan Conference*

The landmark gain of the Anjuman was the convening of the all India Baloch and Balochistan conference on 27 December, 1932 at Jacobabad. It is also important to observe that the conference was not only supported by the Baloch nationalists, but was also sponsored by the tribal chiefs. Another feature of the conference was the representation of Iranian Baloch led by Saeedi Baloch (Kausar, 1999). The Jacobabad conference was, indeed, Balochistani in character. It brought Pashtuns and Baloch close together to fight for their common interest of their home land comprising

majority Pashtun British Balochistan and predominately Baloch Khanate (Axmann,2008). Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, along with the Baloch delegates attended the conference. He chaired the first conference (Axmann, 2008). It was an unusual opportunity for both the Baloch and Pashtun nationalists to face the challenges posed to the Balochistani people in a broad perspective. The conference demanded the formation of the constitutional government in Balochistan and its unification. It also put forward the package of political, economic and educational reforms for Balochistan's progress and development (Dashti, 2012). The colonial administration opposed the proposed reforms of the conference on flimsy excuses. The Colonial administration did not consider Balochistan fit or mature for representative government due to its political backwardness and the disunited nature of the khanate, etc. The British administration reacted to the Anjuman's struggle for reforms and arrested Baloch nationalists including Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai and Abdul Aziz Kurd (Axmann,2008).

d) Second all India Baloch and Balochistan Conference

It was organized at Hyderabad in December, 1933. It stressed upon the un-met demands of the first conference Yusuf Ali was now upto his neck in politics. He sponsored a number of newspapers in Karachi which were all banned. In May, 1933 he produced a pamphlet called "Balochistan Ki Awaz". His struggle inspired self-respect and honour among Baloch against the British authorities. He also infused a spirit of nationalism and communism (Syed, 2008). He met Jinnah in February, 1934 during his visit to England. He passed away at the youthful age of 27 as result of the Quetta earthquake which occurred in May, 1935 (Axmann, 2008). Thereby, the nationalist struggle was deprived one of its great heroes. The unfortunate death of Yusuf Ali Magsi also led to the demise of Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Balochistan.

e) Launching of Anjuman-E-Watan and Parting of Ways

The Balochistani character, which was seen during All India Baloch and Balochistan conferences, came to an end at the demise of the Anjuman. Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, who worked with the Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Balochistan, formed his political organization by the name of Anjuman-e-Watan in 1938. The focus of its politics was predominately Pushtun British Balochistan. He affiliated Watan with All Indian National Congress. Indeed, Abdus Samad Khan was the sole distinguished pioneer of Pushtun Nationalism in Balochistan. He was also considered as the prominent spokesman of Congress's politics in Balochistan. He was arrested and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment time and again due to his "objectionable anti-state activities" Perhaps, Achakzai did not see eye

to eye with the radical wings of Anjuman-e-Ittehad-e-Balochan wa Balochistan which was working for independence. Anjuman-e-Watan demanded constitutional and administrative reforms in British Balochistan. Anjuman-e-Ittehad clearly faced split in 1937 between the two forces of constitutional reformers versus supporters of Independence. It was an unfortunate split along ethno-nationalistic fronts (Axmann,2008). The honeymoon period between the Pashtun nationalists and the Baloch nationalists was over and now began to look at their respective areas with their divergent interests. Achakzai established the Wrore Pak htoon in 1954. It demanded a Pashto-speaking province (Rehman,2006). That is considered as a wrecking factor for Baloch nationalist movement (Rehman,2006).

As a matter of fact, Pashtun British Balochistan was not part of the Khanate. It became the part of British Balochistan after the second Anglo-Afghan War. Its cultural and historical links were with Afghanistan rather than Balochistan. Pushtun had developed a lot of reservation about independent Balochistan. The Pashtun nationalists were not unaware of the Baloch-dominated Balochistan. The Anjuman-e-Watan looked towards their racial brothers living in Afghanistan and the North-west frontier Province. The Anjuman-e-Watan candidly followed Congress's politics in British Balochistan. Achakzai was also as supporter of the philosophy of non-violence. He is also known as Balochistan Gandhi (Axmann,2008). It is necessary to pinpoint that the idea of independent Balochistan was not born in Jacobabad Conference. If it had been so Achakzai would not chaired or supported it. Achakzai distanced himself from Anjuman-i-ltehad as reaction to the demand of separate and independent Balochistan by some radical elements. The Pashtun did not appreciate the idea of a separate Balochistan.

f) British Policy Towards the Demands of Constitutional Reforms In Baluchistan

The British administration declined to meet the demands of constitutional reforms in the areas on flimsy grounds. They argued that "small population" and "insufficient resources" were the major obstacles on this account. The British look down upon the "anti-administrative activities" of Anjuman-e-Watan. Achakzai was put behind the bars during 2nd World War. British regarded his political ideology as "Obnoxious" (Axmann,2008). Naturally, the British could not ignore the popular position of the Anjuman-e-Watan. It was of course, one among the popular organization functioning in Balochistan. The British administration looked upon the Anjuman-e-Watan as a qualified organization for representing the advisory council. That was proposed to help the AGG on constitutional reforms. It was given membership in the north-west frontier tribal committee established by the advisory committee of the constitutional Assembly (Axmann,2008).

IV. KAIAT STATE NATIONAL PARTY AND ITS POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The Anjuman-e-Itehad replaced by Kalat State National Party. Its chairman was Abdul Aziz Kurd. It attracted most of the young and middle class educated people, outstanding among them were Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Muhammad Hussain Anqa and Gul Khan Nasir. The KSNP was inclined towards the political thinking of the Muslim Nationalists. It even backed the idea of un-divided India. It struggled for getting political, social and economic reforms as reflected in the rivaj or custom of the area. It got fame among the masses and caused scepticism among the rulers (Awan, 1985).

a) *Divergence of Interest Pushed the Nationalists and the Khan Apart*

The Baloch Nationalists supported Ahmad Yar's succession in 1993. Ahmad Yar also seemed to extend support to the KSNP. It was a marriage of convenience between the Khan and the Baloch nationalists. The Khan wanted to re-establish the writ of the Khanate over leased and tribal areas which were under the control of the British. The Khan was also desirous to reduce influence the tribal elites. The KSNP could be very supportive in this connection. It was convergence of interests that brought the two forces together. The KSNP needed the backing of the Khan so as to form representative government in Balochistan and to get rid of Sardari System. However, coincidence of interests between the constitutionalists and the autocratic Khan did not last long. Divergence of interest pushed them apart. The Khan was not reconciled to the position of figurehead with its wings clipped by the representative government. The Khan was also unhappy over the blunt criticism of the Sardari system and British administration by KSNP. The axis of the Khan, tribal Sardars and British administration surfaced due to commonality of interests. The Khan, at last, banned it on 22 July 1939. It was declared an unlawful body. Its top leadership was exiled. The banning of KSNP proved to be counter productive and the graph of its popularity was raised. The party shifted its headquarter to Quetta,

b) *KSNP Affiliation with Congress*

Disillusioned by the Khan's behaviour, KSNP affiliated itself with congress. The ban, imposed by the Khan, was lifted after 2nd world war. It joined all India States People Conference, a sister organization of Congress in 1945 (Axmann, 2008). Despite the difference of views within ranks of Baloch Nationalists regarding merger with the Indian Union or demand for independence, yet they were united in their opposition to the Pakistan movement. Baloch Nationalists of today regard KSNP's brief affiliation with congress as a mistake. Their stance that Balochistan having separate identity and independent position in the subcontinent

was greatly damaged by KSNP's association with Indian National congress. (Axmann, 2008).

V. ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE SURFACED ON THE CHANGED POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF BALUCHISTAN

A Pashtoon lawyer, Qazi Isa of Pishin laid the foundation of the league in a Mosque without any proper organizational set-up (Pirzada, 1970). Qazi Isa visited Jinnah at Bombay in 1938. He was greatly impressed and inspired by Jinnah. Who had been demanding the constitutional and administrative reforms for Balochistan in his Delhi proposals (1927) (Aziz, 1967). These demands were repeated in 14 points (1929) (Sayeed, 1967). At its annual session held at Lahore in 1937, league demanded provincial autonomy for Balochistan and decided to organize the league (Talbot, 1990). Formal formation of the league happened in 1939 and its head quarter was opened in Quetta (Afzal, 2002).

Jinnah paid visit to Balochistan in late June 1943 and spent two-months there Jinnah tried to stir the party in to action (Ahmad, 2006). He also met the Khan of Kalat on his personal invitation. He spared no efforts in infusing new life into Muslim political movement in Balochistan. During his second visit to Balochistan in 1945, the people were greatly impressed and inspired by him (Awan, 1985). His message was the same that Muslim League, being a representative party of Muslim of India, demanding Pakistan (Wolpert, 1998). It was difficult task to assess the popularity graph of the league because of partisan literature. The most prominent Sardars, such as, Nawab Muhammad Khan Jogezei and Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali gave real backing and support to the Muslim League. They were the active supporter and sympathizers to the Pakistan movement in Balochistan. These two Muslims stalwarts were unhappy over Qazi's attitude towards the tribal Sardars. Qazi Isa, being a president of the league, was an obvious candidate for the Balochistan's representative to the Indian constituent Assembly. Jaffar Khan Jamali and most Sardars opposed his candidature due to his criticism of the Sardari system. According Awan, Muhammad Khan Jogezei was convinced by Jaffar Khan Jamali to contest the election for Balochistan's seat in the constituent Assembly. Jogezei took part in the election and defeated Abdus Samad Achakzai. (Awan, 1985). It was a great victory for the Muslim League in British Balochistan.

VI. CONTRVERSIAL CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF BALUCHISTAN

a) *Khan's stand on its constitutional status*

Indeed, the constitutional status of Balochistan is a topic of great interest. The Khanate of Kalat was given a sovereign status according to the first treaty signed between Mehrab Khan and the British government in 1839. The second treaty made the Khanate a vassal state of Afghanistan. The treaty of 1954 between Nasir Khan and the British restored the independent status of Balochistan. The final treaty (1876) looked forward to mutual friendship and reaffirmed the treaty of 1854. The status of the Khanate was unilaterally changed under the government of India Act. 1935. It led to the controversy. Ahmad Yar Khan strongly opposed the unilateral decision of the British administration. According to Khan, the treaty of 1876 had given independent status to the Khanate. The Khanate would be free to follow its own course in future in case of withdrawal of the British from India (Baloch, 1975). The Khan formally submitted two – memoranda to the Cabinet Mission plan in March 1946. The Khan presented a strong case for independence of the Khanate. He argued that Kalat enjoy the legal status like that of Nepal had been gained through the direct treaty. It could not be regarded as native state (Axmann, 2008). The Khan also claimed Kalat's supremacy over Las Bela, Kharan and Marri-Bugti-Tribal areas in the memorandum.

The second memorandum was related to the return of the leased areas (Quetta, Nushki and Nasir Abad). It was crystal clear that the Khan and the Baloch Nationalists wanted to get Kalat as an independent entity declared by the British before their departure. The Khan might have foreseen the increasing interest of the new-born states of Pakistan and India about the geo-strategic and geo-economic importance of the Balochistan. The Khan could not oversee the political penetration of the Congress and league in Balochistan.

b) *The government of India's point of view*

The government of India rebutted the Khan's arguments. According to the Article 3 of the treaty of 1854, the British government would respect the independence of Balochistan subject to its subordinate position. (Baloch, 1887). Undoubtedly the British regarded the Khanate as an independent state deprived of complete sovereignty. The British intervention increased in the internal affairs of the state with the passage of time. In theory, it claimed to be independent but practically it had become an ordinary state of the British India.

c) *Stance of Regional and National Leadership of the League*

Pakistan government considered itself the political, legal and constitutional successor of the British

under Article 4 of the agreement and seemed determined to maintain status quo to buy more time and wait for an opportune time to make it Balochistan a part of Pakistan. Perhaps, regional and national leadership of the league had already decided to leave no stone unturned in gaining access to the British Balochistan and the Khanate as the later events proved. Pakistani leadership being conscious of the geo-strategic and geo-economic significance of Balochistan seemed ambitious to make it a part of Pakistan upon the termination of The British rule.

VII. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS LEADING TO THE MERGER INTO PAKISTAN

The British administration appointed Shahjirga as an electoral college to decide the future of The British Balochistan. The Khan wanted to drive leased, tribal areas including Baloch Sardars of these regions out of the Shahjirga. His demand was not met. Eventually, in late June 1947, The Shahi Jirga formally gave its verdict in favour of Pakistan. The validity of the verdict has been a matter of controversy between Pakistani authors and Baloch Nationalists. They argued that a conspiracy was hatched between the British and the leaguers against the Baloch nation. They contested that decision of the Shahi Jirga come one day before the fixed date announced publicly. They further said that jurisdiction of the Shahi Jirga did not extend to legal parts of the Khanate (Axmann, 2008). Contrary to their perception, Pakistani authors like A. B. Awan, Inam Ul Haq Kausar and S. Abdul Quddus viewed 29 June a date set for referendum. According to them, The British and The Congress manipulated events in Balochistan against Pakistan movement. At last, British Balochistan joined the new state on 15 August, 1947. Upon the termination of the British rule, the Khan had three options to exercise either to join India or Pakistan or declare independence. There is no denying the fact that cordial relations existed between the Khan and Mir Jinnah. Awkwardly, it was Jinnah who put forward Kalat's memoranda to the Cabinet Mission plan in 1946. Thereby, its claim of being a non-Indian state and Khanate's independence was supported upon the British's withdrawal from India (Baloch, 1975).

Mountbatten, Mir Jinnah, Liaquat Ali, Ahmad Yar Khan and Sir Sultan Ahmad, as legal advisor of Kalat state agreed upon the independence of Kalat state during a meeting held at Delhi on 4 August 1947. According to it, Kalat would be restored to its original position his standstill agreement led to contradictory and confusing interpretation. The Khan and the Nationalists were gratified over its article-1st which stipulated the Khanate as an independent state as recognized in the earlier treaties signed between the Khans and the British government.

On the other hand, Ahmad Yar Khan was taking different measures to strengthen his position with in independent state of Kalat. He established bicameral legislature consisting of lower house (Dar-ul-Awam) and upper house (Dar-ul-Umra). The lower house would represent the interest of the masses where as the upper house was to be composed of hereditary tribal sardars. As a result of elections for the lower house, KNP won majority seats under the leadership of Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo.

Mir Jinnah and government of Pakistan made it clear to the Khan about their intention of unconditional accession of the Kalat state to Pakistan. The Khan referred the matter to the parliament to finally decide the issue of accession. Both The houses of the parliament voted against accession and expressed their determination to maintain the independence status of the state (Awan, 1985). Jinnah and government of Pakistan urged and tried to persuade the Khan on the occasion matter. The Khan was also using delaying tactics. The government of Pakistan took a different course. It exploited the long drawn hostility between the Khan and the states of Las Bela and Kharan. In practice, these states had gained semi-independent positions during last days of The British rule (Axmann, 2008). They wanted to keep their position and powers. Eventually, all the three states were formally given accession by the state of Pakistan. As a matter of reality, the states were approached by government of Khan and they expressed their willingness for accession. Pakistani administration succeeded in its policy of isolating Khan and depriving him of the most strategic territories of the Khanate. The Khan finally inked the instrument of accession to Pakistan on 30th March, 1948 after failure of its hope of receiving help from India and Afghanistan. He also did not stand up pressure from Pakistani forces (Amin, 1988). It is amazing to note that the Khan signed the documents of accession without taking the parliament into confidence which he always referred to as final authority in this regard. Accordingly, the Baloch nationalists regarded "The accession Matter" as illegal and unconstitutional (Axmann, 2008).

VIII. CONCLUSION

The British administration as colonial power pursued its own geo-strategic interests in Baluchistan. It had a desire to establish it as a buffer state in extreme north-western regions to block the perceived Russian's intervention. They tried to make the Khanate as its vassal state. The Baloch under the Khanate did their level best to protect their national interests and put up a stiff resistance. They succeeded to get some what independent status under the treaty of 1854. The 20th century marked the on-set of the awakening of political consciousness in Baluchistan. Different political parties under the dynamic leadership were founded primarily struggled to get the administrative unification and

constitutional reforms introduced in Baluchistan. They played a significant role in developing political, national and social awakening among the people of Baluchistan against the hegemonist designs of imperialist forces.

When the Khan of Kalat visualized British withdrawal, he decided to plead the case of his state independence on legal grounds. The Khan also asserted again over the leased areas and the states of Lasbela, Kharan and Mekran. Surprisingly, it was Jinnah who supported Khan's stance before the Cabinet Mission (1946). Top Pakistani leadership seemed ambitious to make the Kalat state as its part due to its geo-strategic and geo-economic significance. It changed its mindset and expressed the intention of unconditional accession of the Kalat state to Pakistan. In order to exert pressure and isolate the Khanate, the government of Pakistan decided the accession of the states of Kharan, Mekran and Lasbela. The Khan succumbed to the pressure tactics and finally signed an instrument of accession. Afterwards it became a controversial issue. Given the track record of the Baloch stiff resistance to the British authorities and controversial nature of the Khanate's accession, the ruling class in Pakistan should have been cautious to deal with the Baluchistan crisis. Ironically, setting aside the ground realities, the civil-military establishment and political leaders made solo flight in shaping the political and constitutional making history of Pakistan.

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Liberal Multicultural Theory in Cases of Macedonia and Croatia

By Dr. Vesna Stanković Pejnović

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The most important things that need to be reconciled in both Croatia and Macedonia are the desires of national minorities for cultural autonomy and the territorial integrity of the national state. The arguments for introducing territorial autonomy are limited under the conditions that the minority group is large enough and territorially concentrated, and where the differences between the minority and the majority are significant. Although these countries accept the western pluralistic principles as a prerequisite for joining the EU, these principles do not automatically secure just reconciliation of ethnic and cultural diversity. The political practice has shown that the South East of Europe cannot decently copy the western-European liberal type of democracy, but can achieve a specific liberal type of democracy conditioned by the historical-political and cultural heritage, the present structural and cultural state of society and different international influence of that state. The cases of Croatia and Macedonia are examples that the western model of liberal multiculturalism could not just be transplanted into the societies, which did not have the same or even similar historical development as west, nor similar social structure.

Keywords: *liberal multiculturalism, minority rights, cultural diversity, Croatia, Macedonia.*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Ethnic conflicts have seriously affected the process of democratization in both countries, Macedonia and Croatia. Macedonia and Croatia have a similar past, because they were both former SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) members and experienced sudden regime breakdowns and both signed a Stabilization and Association Agreements (SAA) with the EU in 2001. However, they followed quite different developments which resulted so far in substantially different outcomes. The countries with ethnic and language problems have had difficulties establishing a democratic and civil society (Slovakia, Ukraine, Romania, and Macedonia); while in other, ethnic conflicts have led to civil wars (Croatia, Serbia, Georgia, Chechnya). In these countries conflicts are the

source of injustice in the ethno-cultural field. If there are no open conflicts, there have often been demands for language rights, political representation, various forms of autonomy, better education programs, on the part of those who are in the minority, because they do not view the existing solutions as just. The treatment of national minorities is no longer considered to be a matter of internal politics, but of legitimate international monitoring, or, in the words of the OSCE, minority rights are a matter of legitimate international concern, i.e. everything is headed for the internationalization of minority rights, with the goal of providing minorities with the rights to live and work inside their cultures. The international frame has been established so that the Western models of solving the problem of minorities could be applied to the newly-democratized countries of the Southeast of Europe.

Macedonia and Croatia have many difficulties to solve the problem of minorities in an adequate way because they focused the attention on the territory and security. The process of nation building has been offered the possibility of equal opportunity, equal access to education and economic resources, as well as legal institutions and civil services.

II. LIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM

Pioneering moves of liberal multiculturalism are made by three leading political philosophers, John Rawls, Joseph Raz and Will Kymlicka, revising liberal theory to make it accommodate for cultural and moral pluralism of the contemporary western society.

Multiculturalism is an umbrella for covering many different ideas, and there is no consensus among political philosophers about the meaning of the term. The common denominator that binds different multiculturalists are unease about the way mainstream liberal thinking treats the issues of diversity and pluralism. Liberal multiculturalism is a complex ideological phenomenon with an attempt by liberals to distance themselves from universalism and, as far as possible, embrace pluralism and embracing the idea of modern neutrality, the notion that liberalism does not prescribe any particular set of values but allows individuals and groups to make their own moral decisions.

Most countries today are multicultural societies, but not all of them are multiculturalist. 'Multicultural' refers to the empirical fact of diversity, 'multiculturalism'

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to a normative response to that fact. Multiculturalism is a policy based on a philosophy of saying 'yes' to the fact of diversity. (Raz, 1994: 173). Liberal multiculturalism is the key term for Kymlicka and for him it's "rests on the assumption that the policies of recognizing and accommodating ethnic diversity can expand human freedom, strengthen human rights, diminish ethnic and racial hierarchies, and deepen democracy." (Kymlicka, 2007: 18)

But the idealization or absolutisation of the liberal way of life for multicultural society is problematic and untenable because the base is assumed that "culture helps individuals to develop their capacity for autonomy, which then transcends it." (Parekh, 2000: 110) But we must be aware of the fact that such transcending being do not exist in the world because every human being live as culturally embedded self. Any absolutisation of liberalism as a multicultural political theory for the contemporary western society would fail to do justice of living political culture. Taylor complains that the egalitarian liberal position is 'inhospitable to difference', and Young writes that the liberal principles of equal treatment are bound up with 'the ideal of assimilation'. The charge is that the (implicit) aim of liberalism is to exclude or homogenize difference (Taylor, 1992: 43; Tully, 1995: 58–62; Young, 1990: 158). The multiculturalists have been seriously criticized by their (liberal) opponents being anti-universalistic and anti-liberal, and of denying the ideals of the Enlightenment. Multiculturalists are accused to unjustly support the politicization of cultural group identities, there by paradoxically, obstructing the integration of minorities (Barry, 2001: 5). Many critics of liberalism seem to forget that liberalism is in fact a theory of pluralism. And in as far as multiculturalism is a species of pluralism; liberalism is "fundamentally a theory of multiculturalism" too. (Kukathas, 1998: 690) Liberalism is indeed the response of the modern world to the fact of moral, religious, and cultural diversity.

The aim of liberal multiculturalism is to protect minority cultures against assimilationist and homogenizing intrusions of the majority. When members of minorities face disadvantages with respect to the good of cultural membership, those disadvantages may require the rectification by special group-based measures. Kymlicka is using the term 'collective rights', because the individual is the only recognized bearer of moral and political rights in liberal thinking. (Kymlicka, 1989: 138–40; 1995: 45–48; 2001: 71–82) Differential treatment of cultural groups can, under well-defined circumstances, be a way to achieve a desirable level of equality (Miller, 2002; Kymlicka, 1995: 114). In this context, multicultural measures should always be temporary – as long as the unfair inequality persists. Once the inequality ends, or is no longer unfair, there is no longer any valid reason to give the group special treatment.

The concept of multiculturalism, promoted by the international organizations is morally progressive and it has been built on top of the existing human rights. For Kymlicka, application of liberal multiculturalism is the only way for societies (mostly Eastern and post-colonial) to protect human rights, because those societies are facing with many problems with ethnically motivated violence. Because of this the international community finds out that liberal multiculturalism as a reasonable tool of preventing this kind of violence.

So far the international organizations were mostly trying to promote tolerance and prevent violence, which is only a precondition for the slow rooting of liberal multiculturalism. Limited by the practically achievable goals, sometimes by doing so, the international organizations had contradicted certain values of liberal multiculturalism.

The role of the international and intergovernmental organizations, which are formed either at the global (UN and related organizations) or at the regional level (such as OSCE or the EU) is to promote certain standards of behavior by using a variety of "carrots and sticks" at their disposal. "This change in the international discourse of what a normal state looks like is not merely rhetorical. It has implications for the legitimacy of minorities as political actors" (Kymlicka, 2007: 43). But the process of national majority domination, which is vivid today in the Post-Communist and Post-Colonial countries, is a late copy of the same processes which had occurred in the West some decades and centuries before because every Western democracy has pursued ideal of national homogeneity at and has ought to define itself as a mono-national state." (Ibid, 64) It is naïve of the West to think that the post-colonial and post-communist countries would "peacefully move towards significant minority rights through their own domestic democratic processes" (Ibid, 296). Two kinds of policies should be applied – the short term and long term policies. Short-term policy must be based on allaying a certain minimum of standards, where the poor states would have to explain what they are doing for the fulfillment of these; the long-term policy would be a global diffusion of multiculturalism. It is necessary to established regional organizations which would better develop the appropriate categories of minorities, instead of just copy western model.

III. MINORITIES IN MACEDONIA

a) *Political Minority Rights*

The history of the Macedonian nation proves the theories of the modern nation theorists, that nations are not the cause, but the result of the creation of modern nation states and their specific political aspirations towards national integration and cultural homogenization. (Hobsbawm, 1990) The constitutions of the

Republic of Macedonia, before and after 1991, expressed the multicultural particularity of the country, but the state politics as directed towards the development of the Macedonian national identity. (Troebst, 1992, pp. 423-442, Willemsen, H. and Troebst, 2001, pp. 299-315) The Albanian minority remained in the rural parts of the country and therefore they predominantly went away to work in the countries of Western Europe. Apart from that, the Albanian politicians and intellectuals did not gravitate towards Skopje, but towards Pristine, where the majority of Albanians studied. The strong emotional tie to Kosovo was explained thus: "The Albanians in Macedonia may feel ethnically tied to Albania, but there is a great emotional tie to Kosovo. To us, Kosovo is the cultural and intellectual foundation. Writers, journalists, pedagogues, they all come from Kosovo; everything that is valuable is there."¹ Politically active Albanians did not strive towards the incorporation of the Albanian parts of Macedonia into the autonomous region of Kosovo; they strived towards the realization of their rights within the Republic of Macedonia. (Palmer, King, 1971:181; Poulton, 1995: 126) The revolt of the Albanian nationalism in Macedonia in 1968 and 1981 saw Kosovo as a free area of its action. (Poulton, 1995: 127-129) In the 80's of the 20th century, the Macedonian government utilized repressive measures against the Albanian population, and encouraged the Albanian claims of discrimination by the Macedonian state². (Poulton, 1995: 127) The representatives of the Albanian minority did not accept the position of a minority, since they considered to make up between 30 and 40% of the population, although there were only 22, 9% of them, according to the census in 1994³. According to the census in 2004, the Albanian minority occupies 25, 17% of the total population in Macedonia, which marks a few per cent increase in relation to the census in 1994⁴. The number of the members of the Albanian minority has been constantly increasing since 1961⁵.

The primary goals of the political programs of the Albanian parties have been to obtain and expand

collective rights. Their actions are directed towards acquiring a different constitutional status of their minority (redefining Macedonia as a two-nation state), expanding linguistic rights (the recognition of the Albanian language as the second official language), education in the mother tongue at all levels, proportional representation of Albanians in all political and public spheres (especially in the police and military), and the development of a greater autonomy in the local self-government. In order to prevent a war, the international community decided to break the connection between the Albanians in Kosovo and those in Macedonia, pressuring the Macedonian Government to guarantee minority rights for the Albanians in Macedonia, and prevent internal destabilization of inter-ethnic conflicts within Macedonia. The international community produced the opposite effect; it triggered the assertion of the territorial demands of the Albanian radicals. Just as in other republics, pushing particular ethnic groups into the foreground, rather than separating stable democratic political institutions or helping economic reforms and development, was counterproductive in Macedonia⁶.

In essence, the advancement in the Albanian – Macedonian relations are a step forward towards the European integrations for both the countries which have undoubted economic and political interests in close cooperation, and common interest in regional stability. Since Macedonia has gained independence to this day, the Albanian political parties have been regularly included in the Government, regardless of the election outcome. This is a sign that Macedonia has practiced consociational democracy, i.e. a cooperation of the political elites of the Macedonian and Albanian political bloc for a long time.

b) Specific Minority Rights

Before the Ohrid Agreement was signed, there had been nationalities in Macedonia as synonyms for national minorities. National minorities did not have a constitutional status, but they did have certain collective rights (the right to use mother tongue and preserve minority cultural traditions).

In the area of education, apart from the equal approach to the educational institutions for all citizens, minority members have the right to education in their mother tongue in primary and secondary schools. Children are taught in Albanian and Turkish in secondary schools. There has been a rise in the number of students of Albanian nationality in this field as well. The number and the percentage of the students studying in Turkish, after the oscillations of the past years, have increased two times⁷. On the level of higher

¹ The Albanian Questions in Macedonia: Implications of the Kosovo Conflict for Inter-Ethnic Relations in Macedonia, the Report of the International Crisis Headquarters, 08/11/1998, 2.

³ The 1994 Census. The Census of the Present and the Future: First results (Skopje, Republic Bureau of Statistics, 1994).

⁴ According to the census in 2004, there were 509.082, or 25,17% of Albanians in the total number of 2 040 929 people, and according to the census in 1994, in the total number of 1 288 330 people, there were 442 914 Albanians, or 22,7%, from Book I – Total Population, house lands and dwellings, Republic of Macedonia State, Statistic Office, Skopje, February, 2004, 137

⁵ According to the state census in 1961, the Albanian minority constituted 13% of the population, in 1991 it was 17%, in 1981 it was 19, 8%, and then 21, 7% in 1991, 22, 7 in 1994, and 25,17 in 2004., Shadow Report on the Situation of National Minorities in the Republic of Macedonia, Prepared by the Working Group for Minority Issues, March, 2004, 7.

⁶ Ibid. 393-394.

⁷ There were 4% of Albanian children in 1991, 5,9% in 1992, 7,4% in 1993, and 9,8% in 1994, Ibid. p. 217

education, there has been a considerable growth in the number of national minority members as well⁸.

To Albanians, university education in mother tongue represents the key way to accomplish social and economic parity with the Macedonian majority. As the members of the Albanian minority forced the foundation of the university, and the Government proclaimed it unconstitutional, the question of the university was posed as political, not an educational one. In 1999, the High Commissioner on National Minorities, Max Van der Stoep, (1999) suggested that the Albanian minority should be more present in the public government. He suggested, via the agreement of cooperation, the establishment of a separate state college in Albanian to train professors to the University of Skopje, which would complement the work of the Faculty of Pedagogy. He also recommended that a three-language (English-Macedonian-Albanian) higher education center should be founded as a private institution for the affairs of public and business management, the University of Stul, the University of South Eastern Europe in Tetovo, which would be funded from the international financial aid. Quotas for easier access by minorities to higher education in Macedonian language at state universities have been introduced.

Since it gained independence, Macedonia has made significant effort to improve the position of the national minorities in all fields of state government.⁹ It is traditional, not formalized agreement that the governments in Macedonia are ethnic coalitions. The party system is multi-party and multi-dimensional, because ethnic communities of Albanians, Turks, Roma, Serbs and Bosnians have their political representatives in the Parliament. The electoral system has changed from a majority and mixed (majority-proportional) to pure proportional representation in order to prevent sub-representation of smaller ethnic parties. Albanian ethnic community is providing greater influence on a local level, because of the dispersion of authority. Under the influence of the Ohrid Agreement, the number of employed Albanians has been constantly increasing. This trend will have to continue, since there is still a great discord between the number of the employed and the number of the members of the Albanian community. This is a hard and painful process for DUI and the Government of Macedonia, as well as for VMRO and DPA. (Xaferi, 2001)

⁸There were 3, 4% of students of Albanian nationality in 1992, and 7,7% in 1997. there were 0,8% of Turkish students in 1992, and 1,2% in 1997, Ibid., 218.

⁹There are 8,7% of national minority members in the total number of the employed in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which is almost twice as many as in the period 1993-1996. In the Ministry of Defence are employed 8, 16% members of national minorities. They are also present in judiciary: in the Constitutional Court, 3 to 9, and in the Council of the Republic 2 to 9 members. 4 to 25 judges in the Supreme Court of the Republic of Macedonia are Albanian, and one member belongs to the Vlachos national minority

Albanians use their language, both in plenary sessions and in the sessions of the operating bodies of the Parliament. The Turkish community, occupying 3, 85% of the total population, has had certain negative oscillations¹⁰. This community has 3 representatives in the Parliament. The members of the Turkish minority have the right to use their language official in 4 municipalities. According to the Law of the Territorial Organization of Local Self-Government in 2004, the Albanian became the official language in all municipalities where Albanians comprise more than 20% of the total population of the municipality. The Albanian language is official in 30% of the total number of 84 municipalities.

c) *The Implementation of the Ohrid Agreement*

International engagement has, since the 2001 conflict, brought progress in integrating Albanians into political life. This has been underpinned by the promise of the European Union and NATO integration, goals that unite ethnic Macedonian and Albanians. Macedonians' sense of identity has been challenged by the necessary concessions they have made to their compatriots pursuant to the Ohrid Framework Agreement that ended the 2001 conflict. These seek to turn the country into a "civic state", by bolstering the rights of the Albanian and other ethnic minorities, but they also dilute its essence as the homeland of the Macedonian people. But peace agreement that puts an end to the war conflict admits the division of the society along the ethnic lines.

The Framework Agreement contains three parts: the far-reaching amendments of the Macedonian Constitution, the change of the existing legislation and the plan of hostility ending. The main changes made in the implementation of the Agreement are directed towards the change in the Constitution according to which Macedonia becomes a state of its citizens. The main purpose of the Ohrid Agreement is the existence of the Macedonian state through respect of ethnic identity of each Macedonian citizen and the development of a civil society as its perspective. In this context, minority rights obtain greater attention, especially those of the Albanian minority, bearing in mind that other minorities must not be marginalized. Ethnic identity becomes more important by the strengthening of the identity of ethnic communities in Macedonia, through a broader participation of their members in the state government and the public life of the country, proportionally to the number of members of the total number of the population, and through the expansion of the cultural rights of national minority members. We are dealing with the transformation of Macedonia from a national into a

¹⁰According to the census in 1953, there were 9, 4% of them, 6,6% in 1961, 4,5% in 1971, 4,5% in 1981, 3,8% in 1994, and 3,85% in 2002. A great number of the Turkish minority members went to Turkey in the 50's of the 20th century, on the basis of the Republic of Turkey and Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

multinational state. (Škarić, 2003: 157-176.) Agreement was a compromise: Macedonia will stay unitary state, but ethnic Albanians are increasing their influence, especially on the local level and have obtained the large right of veto in the Parliament. A new territorial division has been adopted, by which the Albanians obtain greater autonomy on a local level, in the municipalities. The Law of decentralization reinforced their role further and percentage of minorities has been increased in the army, police, public administration, which strengthens loyalty of these communities in regard to the state.

Despite considerable progress, Ohrid Agreement has not been fully implemented. Inter-ethnic tensions and a risk of instability remain. Ohrid Agreement does not answer the ethnic questions on a territorial basis, and it does not allow the establishment of territorial autonomy. The basic principle in the Ohrid Agreement is that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Macedonia, as well as the Unitarian character of the state are inviolable and must be preserved. There are no territorial solutions to ethnic questions.

The Ohrid Agreement has largely changed the constitutional framework of the previous political system. So –called Westminster democratic political framework established 1991 has been abandoned and a new model has been set-up, known in political theory as power-sharing. The Ohrid Agreement finds the solution to the ethnic problems in the integration of national minorities into the Macedonian society, preserving multiculturalism and not questioning the Unitarian character of Macedonia. The Unitarian character involves a higher level of decentralization of the authority and expanded local self-government in relation to the Constitution of 1991. The whole process of Ohrid Agreement implementation is monitored, supported and occasionally intervened into by the international community, which is of crucial significance to the reforms since, without international mediation, the political parties would hardly be able to reach a compromise on these important questions. (Brunnbauer, 2002) There have been a few problems related to the practical implementation of the Ohrid Agreement. The first was related to the widely accepted understanding of the ethnic Macedonians that the Agreement was signed under the pressure of the 'pro-Albanian' western powers, and as a result of terrorist activity, (Damovski, 2001) which had a negative effect on the ratification of the Agreement in Parliament. As the implementation of the Agreement demanded a series of constitutional and legal measures, the success or failure was greatly in the hands of Parliament. The second important issue was directed towards the type of state that would be created by the Agreement. There was a striving towards the creation of a symmetrical state authority between Macedonians and Albanians, with little attention dedicated to other national minorities living in Macedonia. The implementation of the

Agreement was headed towards the creation of de facto bi-national state where Macedonians and Albanians would constitute two ethno-political elites, while other minorities would hardly participate in the political life at all. (Engström, 2002) The Ohrid Agreement has not managed to develop the multicultural democratic system, since it has strived towards the promotion of only one national minority. Paradoxically, the Agreement has been directed towards the development of a civil state through ethnically defined measures.

d) The Republic of Macedonia After the Ohrid Agreement

The resulting Ohrid Framework Agreement was a notable success. A wider conflagration was avoided, and it laid the foundations for a long term settlement of the grievances of the ethnic Albanian community, and for its full integration into political life. Much progress has since been made in implementing the agreement. The European Commission recently cited more equitable representation of Albanians in the civil service and the passing of a law on languages as key accomplishments. ¹¹ Ohrid Agreement was incomplete in an important respect, addressing only the grievances of the ethnic Albanian community, without corresponding measure to reassure the ethnic Macedonian majority and shore up its fragile and threatened identity. ¹² It redressed the long-standing, legitimate grievance of the Albanian minority in ways that the Macedonian majority perceived as being at its expense. Turning Macedonia into a "civic state" diluted its essence as the homeland of the Macedonian people. Resentment among ethnic Macedonian at what was widely perceived to be unjust agreement has not disappeared. The great majority of Macedonians considered Agreement an unjust act, the product of violence on the side of ethnic Albanians supported by "international community" against Macedonian national state and against the interest of the Macedonian nation.

The report on Macedonia written by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament (EP) in 2007¹³ has established that the Ohrid Agreement secures for the population belonging to two different language group community life in unity and peace via municipal organization and the means of qualified multiplicity (Badenter majority) which protects the position of ethnic minority in the process of decision making of the Parliament.

¹¹"The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Republic of Macedonia, 2012 Progress Report"; Brussels, 5 November 2012, http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/press_corner/key-documents/reports_nov_2008/the_former_yugoslav_republic_of_macedonia_progress_report_en.pdf

¹²Crisis Group Report, Macedonia's Name, op.cit., 2009

¹³Draft Report on the 2009 Progress Report on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (2006/2289 INI), European Parliament, Committee on Foreign Affairs, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/committees>

It is recommended that we should learn from the experience of Belgium, Spain, Italy, and Switzerland that managed to build the system of government and education taking care of regional language differences. The representatives of the EU hope that a future agreement will be made in which the two largest nationalities and different minorities (including the Turks, Roma, Serbs, Bosnians and Vlachs) will live with each other in equality and harmony and that the government (authority) will be equal to the number of different populations. In the latest progress report in 2012 Committee on Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament (EP)¹⁴ welcomes the fact that, eleven years after the Ohrid Agreement, the country's Parliament adopted the law on the use of languages in administration and education; welcomes in particular the extended possibilities for higher education afforded by the opening of new faculties in various towns, including those with curricula in different languages; notes the improvement of the equitable representation of members of non-majority communities, notably in the public administration, the police and the military forces.

Nevertheless, the Ohrid Agreement is not fully implemented, and the integration of Albanians into Macedonian political life remains imperfect. Strains between the two ethnic groups remain. A crucial factor underpinning Ohrid Agreement was the promise of NATO and EU integration, the key national goal behind which Macedonians and Albanians are united. The DUI vice-president, Teuta Arifi said: "NATO and EU integration keep the country together"; they are "the light at the end of the tunnel"¹⁵ without which Macedonia would not easily progress as a democracy. If NATO and EU integration were to be delayed indefinitely over an issue which is of no concern for ethnic Albanians, it is questionable how long their patience would last¹⁶.

Today, feeling of insult, humiliation and lost dignity is gradually changed. Now Macedonians say that "consociational democracy is our future." (Maleska, 2005) Political elites must want to develop such democratic model of state and the effort will be successful if all sides are truly committed to. Comparative research in similar conflict reveals that "the main obstacle toward the implementation of peace agreements following internal, violent conflict lies more in refusal by, than in the sincerity of the government to implement what has been agreed, and often in the incapability of the state institutions to do in the proper way." (Trifunovska, Varennes, 2001) There are several reasons for this: mutual mistrust, pressure from radicalized public opinion considers cooperation with

former "terrorist" as "treason of national cause" and fear that future elections will be lost due to the accepted compromise. It is easy to predict that this kind of situation will produce strengthening of minority nationalism and in Macedonian side need to strengthen their own identity. It is important to overcome this because Ohrid Agreement installed a mechanism that can lead to a multi-ethnic balance and accommodation in the process of decision-making. Regarding several uncompleted commitments from the Ohrid Framework agreement, the International Crisis Group finds that frustration and more radical political attitudes among Albanians are on the rise (International Crisis Group, 2011: 20).

IV. MINORITIES IN CROATIA

During the war and unstable peace, there was no political will to resolve the emerged problems of national minority rights for a long time. The international community swiftly identified the violation of minority rights and constantly pressured and offered various forms of aid with the goal of improving the state. As the realization of particular minority rights is an important criterion in the democratization of a society, and as the successful solution to this problem is one of the conditions of economic and political integration into European institutions, Croatia began to work on the definition of a new model of minority right realization, which was supposed to include the 'new' minorities. The problems emerged in the attempt to define the status of Serbs and their rights, which turned into an open conflict. In the beginning of the democratic transition, changing the government in 2000, important steps was made in the protection of human and minority rights.

If we compare the records of the census in 2011¹⁷ with the census in 1991, all minorities except for Albanians, the Roma and Germans have decreased in number. During this period the minority population has decreased from 22% to 8%. The records of the number of Croats between the two censuses lead to the conclusion that numerous national minority members have changed their national belonging. This conclusion can be somewhat accounted for on the basis of the increase in the number of Croats between the two censuses¹⁸ which cannot be merely explained by population growth, since the population decreased in this period¹⁹. This increase in the ethnically declared

¹⁴ European Parliament resolution of 12 March 2009 on the 2008 progress report on the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia The European Parliament, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/ge>

¹⁵ Crisis Group interview, October 2008

¹⁶ Crisis Group interview, October 2008

¹⁷ The most drastic decrease is recorded in the largest minorities, Serbs, Hungarians, the Czech and Italians. The number of national minority members has decreased in relation to the records in 1991 by 72% of Serbs, 43% of Slovenians, 30% of Rusyns, 28% of Hungarians, 23% of Ukrainians, 18% of Slovaks, 7% of Italians, while the number of Roma has increased by 41%, Albanians by 25% and Germans by 10%.

¹⁸ According to the census of 1991.

¹⁹ According to the rough demographic estimates, around 45 000 people died more than were born in this period.

Croatians can partly be explained by the Croatians who moved from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the diaspora in the 90's of the 20th century; a certain number of citizens from mixed marriages declared themselves as Croatians in the census of 1991, 106 141 citizens declared themselves as Yugoslavians in the census of 1991, while this possibility did not exist in the subsequent census, a certain number of different minority members declared themselves as Croatians in the census.

The reasons for the decrease in the number of national minority members can be found in the results of the war, the migrations towards the urban centres which resulted in the weakening of rural communication, the violation of traditional ties to the minority cultural heritage, inter-regional and over-sea migrations, especially during and after the war of 1991-1995, a higher level of education which lead to social movement of national minority members; the increased number of nationally mixed marriages; the weakening of the cohesive elements of ethnicity, which was replaced by the identification with the professional or social group, or regional belonging. One of the main reasons for this act is the estimation that it will be harder to live in the Croatian society in the future as a national minority member than as a member of the majority nation. (Malenica, 2003, 46)

This significant change in the demographic structure has resulted in other changes relevant to the problem of minorities. In Croatia today, minorities are dispersed – there are no territorially homogeneous national minorities. No minority can ask to participate in the government (power-sharing) as a form of the solution to their status. Minorities that have a certain level of territorial autonomy insist on the realisation of their rights, preferring the protection of identity, rather than the participation in the government²⁰.

Republic of Croatia inherited from the legislation of SFRY the regime of human rights protection which was only relevant to certain minorities. Croatia acknowledged these inherited rights, but the problem of newly formed minorities remained. One of the preconditions of the international recognition was to pass legal acts concerned with national minority protection, especially the protection of the Serbian minority which had had the status of a constitutional nation in the preceding legislation. In order to realise the rights of national minorities, it was very important to adopt the General Convention on National Minority Protection in 1998. This was the first multilateral instrument of legal character which was related to the protection of national minorities. As a complement to the General Convention, Croatia accepted the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, on the

basis of which the Law of the Use of Language and Writing of National Minorities was passed. On the basis of the European Charter, the contracting parties are obligated to enable the realisation of rights in mother tongue as regards education, the judiciary, administration and public services, public media, cultural activities, economic and social life in the areas where mother tongues (Italian, Hungarian, Serbian, Czech, Slovakian, Rusyns, and Ukrainian) are used as official.

In 1991 the Parliament passed the Constitutional Law of Human Rights and the Rights of Ethnic and National Minorities. Accepting international standards, Croatia built a high level of minority protection into its legislation. The Constitutional Law of National Minority Rights in Croatia has the key role in the realisation of the general outline of specific minority rights protection, including the question of the participation of minorities in the processes of deciding at the local, regional and state level. The right of national minority members to use their mother tongue, as well as to be educated in mother tongue, was elaborated on in two specific laws. In 2002, the new Constitutional Law of National Minority Rights was passed²¹, as the fulfilment of the Republic of Croatia's obligation in the Agreement of Stabilisation and Joining the EU. Its passing finished the process of the formation of a complete normative outline of the realisation of national minority rights. According to it, the state secures the realisation of the specific rights and freedoms for the members of national minorities, through the realisation of individual and group rights. Its key elements include the protection from direct and indirect discrimination, and the promotion of the following minority rights: the employment of minority language in the public and official use; the upbringing and education in the language and writing used by the minority; the use of their own signs and symbols; cultural autonomy – preserving, developing and expressing their own culture, and preserving and protecting their cultural goods and tradition; the right to declare their own faith; the access to the means of public informing; self-organization and association for the purpose of satisfying common interests; the participation in representative bodies at the state and local levels, and in the administrative and judiciary bodies; the protection from any action that threatens or might threaten the realisation of the rights and freedoms of national minorities.

²⁰Minority rights group international report, Minorities in Croatia, 2003, 12, www.minorityrights.org/adm/Croatia.

²¹The Constitutional Law of Human Rights and Freedoms and of the Rights of Ethnic and National Communities or Minorities in the Republic of Croatia, *Narodne Novine*, no 65/1991, 27/1992 – edited text, 51/2000 – edited text.

a) *Specific Minority Rights*

The Constitutional Law and bilateral agreements²² with neighbouring states support the connection between minority groups and their native lands in order to secure the development of common national, cultural and language heritage.

Parliamentary representation. Croatia is one of the rare countries, such as Slovenia and Romania, which secures for members of national minorities not only protection of their national and cultural identity, but also separate places in Parliament; therefore, they have the right to political representation and coordination of their specific interests. The Serbian minority has three places, Italians have one, the Czech and Slovaks have one, Albanians Bosnians, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Slovenians one, and Austrians and other small minorities one.

Parliamentary committees. Within the Parliament, there is the Committee for Human Rights, with the Subcommittee for Ethnic Minority Rights, which is determined by the implementation of minority politics into the procedure of passing new laws.

Participation in the units of local government and self-government. It is most significant for minorities to be represented at all levels. The new Constitutional Law involves proportional representation at all levels of local government, it also regulates the establishment of the National Minority Council at the local, regional, and state level, as well as consultative bodies to give opinion on relevant subjects related to national minorities and work towards the improvement of the relation between minorities and governmental bodies at all levels.

The National Minority Council was founded in 1998 as a non-governmental, coordination and consultative body of all recorded minorities in Croatia, with the purpose of promoting all minority communities.

The Croatian legislation allows national minority members to be educated in their mother tongue with the curriculum related to the minority culture, history and language²³. Certain national minorities (Italians) choose only those curricula which are completely in the minority language, while others choose curricula in which they study the minority language, history and culture (Russians and Ukrainians). The Czech minority has complete teaching organized in the mother tongue, or bilingual teaching, or teaching the mother tongue, history and culture in certain schools.

V. THE OPINION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR THE REALISATION OF MINORITY RIGHTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

The passing of the Constitutional Law of National Minority Rights was a political obligation that Croatia had according to the Agreement on Stabilization and Joining, and only by its passing was the way towards the submission of candidacy for full membership in the EU open. In the opinion on the application of Croatia for the membership in the EU – avis, which was made by the European Commission on the basis of the answers of the Croatian Government, it was important to pass a Constitutional Law as a legal outline for minority rights in Croatia²⁴. The members of the European Commission consider it particularly important that minorities be represented in the Croatian Parliament, as well as their right to be represented in the representative bodies of the local self-government, the executive and the bodies of the judiciary.

It has been found that national minority members are insufficiently present in the state administration and judiciary. A warning has been issued that the Government has not created a specific mechanism to secure a long-term solution to this problem.

The European Commission has a critical attitude towards the media picture of Croatia, in relation to the realization of the Constitutional Law of National Minority Rights.

The Serbian national minority, as the largest minority, has a specific position. The European Commission mentions the significant decrease in the number of members of this minority²⁵. The avis does not discuss the violated relations between the state and the Serbian national minority during the war, the change of status (the loss of the position of constitutional people and becoming a national minority), the problem of refugees, the restoration of property, and the question of the former right to occupy an apartment. Although it is established that the institutions of the Serbian minority – from political parties, to schools, to cultural societies – are free to act, the general opinion of the European Commission is that there is a lack of the integration of the Serbian minority into the Croatian society at all levels.

The level of minority protection that Croatia has reached up to now is a good start for the coordination between the Croatian and the European legislation, but also for domestic legislation initiatives for the

²² Croatia has signed 5 bilateral agreements, with Hungary, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro, and Austria.

²³ The Law of the Right to be Educated of Ethnic and National Minorities, Narodnenovine, no 51, 2000, Article 6.

²⁴ The Opinion of the European Commission on the Application of Croatia for the Membership in the EU, the Commission of European Communities, Brussels, 2004, 24-29

²⁵ According to the census in 1991, the percentage was 12, 1%, whereas in 2001 census the percentage had decreased to 4, 5%.

improvement of national minority position in Croatia. The position of national minorities has been improved due to the political, administrative and social changes in Croatia, but also because of the taking of a growing responsibility by national minorities for their own position, which are the activities directed towards the strengthening of social organisation and self-organization of the members of national minorities within non-governmental organizations and their growing participation in the work of the bodies of authority at the state, local and regional level. The right to cultural autonomy, due to organisation, is most fully realised by the members of the national minorities which had these rights in the SFRY.

In the latest progress report the²⁶ European Parliament is pleased with the Croatian Government's adoption of an action plan for the implementation of the constitutional law on national minorities and with the increase in funding; urges the Croatian authorities to implement the plan in close consultation with non-governmental organizations representing the minority communities; emphasizes the need to concentrate on the economic and social rights of minorities, in particular their access to employment, and to devise a long-term strategy for employment of members of minorities in public administration and the judiciary, and recommendation for the Councils on National Minorities to enjoy budgetary autonomy from the local authorities they are expected to advise, so that they can exercise their mandate in full independence. EP welcomes the achievements made in the area of the policy on minorities in Croatia, in particular the fact that both educational opportunities and parliamentary representation have been secured for the minorities in the country. They are satisfied with the continuing progress as regards the education of minorities; is concerned, however, that current structures maintain segregation rather than aiming at integration of different ethnic groups (e.g. by means of shared classes); is also concerned, particularly in the case of Roma, that these arrangements might lead to a quality of education inferior to that in mainstream classes. But Commission's opinion is that Croatia needs to continue to foster a spirit of tolerance towards the Serb minority in particular and to take appropriate measures to protect those still potentially exposed to threats or acts of discrimination, hostility or violence. Minorities continue to face difficulties in the area of employment, in terms of under-representation in the State administration, the judiciary and the police and in the wider public sector. There has been no improvement in the level of employment of minorities in bodies covered by the Constitutional Law on the rights of national minorities. Monitoring of implementation of recruitment plans for national

minorities has been weak. Challenges also remain in the areas of education, social protection, health care, employment and access to personal documents.

But Commission has no relevant competency towards the actual member states because of a lack of clear benchmarks in the area of minority rights (Sasse, 2005) Effects of legal-political instruments employed by the Commission depend on the respective policy areas. As Croatia on 1 July 2013 becomes 28th member of EU, its accession is seen by non-governmental organizations as an opportunity for the government to show its commitment to safeguard human rights and to "properly address outstanding abuses in the country." The Roma minority face difficulties in accessing the most basic state services. Serb minority in Croatia continues to face obstacles in relation to the right to housing. In particular, Serbs who were stripped of tenancy rights during the war face on-going difficulties benefitting from the 2010 government program that permits the purchase of property at below market rates because of the cost of making an application and cumbersome administrative procedures. (Human Rights Watch, Croatia, 2013)

VI. CONCLUSION

The most important things that need to be reconciled in both Croatia and Macedonia are the desires of national minorities for cultural autonomy and the territorial integrity of the national state. The arguments for introducing territorial autonomy are limited under the conditions that the minority group is large enough and territorially concentrated, and where the differences between the minority and the majority are significant. The value of the liberal multicultural theory of minority rights is not in providing possibilities to participate in the political domain, but in respecting their demand for the recognition of equality, cultural differences with the right to participate in the process of decision making and the right of self-government.

The countries of South Eastern Europe, and among them Croatia and Macedonia, have shown openness towards the liberal-pluralistic principles. However, although forms of liberal pluralism are not new in this region, the region strives towards ethno-cultural neutrality, which is not in accord with cultural pluralism. There is still a long way to go, since the democratic processes do not automatically secure just reconciliation of ethnic and cultural diversities. The new 'pro-European' structures simply create new sets of possibilities and limitation in the process of establishing models of ethnic balance in a new political environment. Although these countries accept the western pluralistic principles as a prerequisite for joining the EU, these principles do not automatically secure just reconciliation of ethnic and cultural diversity. The justice demanded by minority communities is a step away from the model of

²⁶ European Parliament resolution of 12 March 2010 on the Croatia 2010 progress report, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides>

national state towards the model of multinational states, i.e. from the model of exclusive authority to the model of local autonomy.

The political practice has shown that the South East of Europe cannot decently copy the western-European liberal type of democracy, but can achieve a specific liberal type of democracy conditioned by the historical-political and cultural heritage, the present structural and cultural state of society and different international influence of that state. The help and support of reforms coming from the EU are followed by the demands that will protect the minorities from being subjected which are what would otherwise take place as a result of nation-building. In order to secure real equality for all citizens, minorities need to be given the rights that secure their protection from the outside. This way, minorities have equal possibilities as majorities, work and life within their own culture. All minorities face certain structural vulnerability within the system of nation-building, whether they are in the western countries of the EU, or the candidate countries for membership in the EU.

The EU is not an ideal community of states. It faces many disputes in many regions, slowness in decision making and their realization, bureaucracy, inequality between the rich and the poor countries. Adopting the European values and legal standards brings into question the ethnic and cultural interests of the small countries of the Union. For political elite, there is no alternative, since, at the beginning of negotiations, the EU requires the fulfilment of the political democratic standards, economic prosperity, political stability, security, choice of modernization and international peaceful cooperation, primarily with the neighbouring countries. The fulfilment of the much more difficult economic standard comes after the admission into the EU.

Minority rights are political rights, and their effective exclusion from the basic rights is not immanent only in the countries of Eastern and South Eastern Europe. It applies to a wider range, and should include the countries of the old western democracy. The former group of countries needs to learn that rights must be provided for all, and not treated as a privilege given to minorities, while some of the countries of liberal democracy need not be afraid of minority rights, since their development leads to the stability and progress of minorities, as well as the majority. The recognition, protection and promotion of minority rights are important in avoiding being a constant threat to the international security, and preventing a humanitarian crisis. In order to prevent conflict is important to build a democratic state in which all ethnic groups will not increase their own security, political and economic advantage at the expense of the security, political and economic interests of other groups in society. A precondition for this is a mutual agreement.

The position of the minorities in this region is related to the fact that the minority question is the key problem in the organization of the political, cultural and economic life, and not a side phenomenon that can be resolved by technical adjustments. Facing the minority question, the society deals with the crucial questions of its structure. The position of the minorities in Croatia and Macedonia needs to be analysed in the general European context. The West had the illusive expectation that democratization, the multiparty system and being oriented towards economic prosperity would automatically solve the problem of the South East of Europe together with the minority in question. This approach is based on the opinion that the pattern of states forming can be applied in this part of Europe as well, and that an institutionalized system can be created, within which ethnic differences are free to continue. In Macedonia, there is a tendency of the increase in the number of one minority, unlike Croatia, where the number of minority members is decreasing. The implementation of the Ohrid Agreement has, in the change of the legislation that it involves, expanded the space of minority rights, especially for the Albanian minority, promoted and influenced the development of a civil society, influenced inclined instead influenced of the local self-government, the decentralization of the state authority, and the further development of the multicultural society. Thus, the national state is being transformed into a multinational one. The implementation of the Ohrid Agreement has significantly improved the minority question, without providing territorial autonomy, although only the largest minority is involved, rather than all of them. In the policy and constitutional history of the country a new page was opened because exclusive majoritarian democracy was replaced with a new constitutional and political arrangement called power sharing. This kind of political arrangement produced greater security and stability in the country. The key role that made the "power – sharing" model successful was pressure, presence and support of the international community. One of the basic critics for this model is reducing democracy to consent among the ruling elites. In this area politics is more about usurpation of power than a "democratic game". There is no will to play fair and give power to institutions because the juridical system is often too weak (politically dependent or sometimes corrupted) to impose justice. The institutions are self-sustaining. Other problems in securing minority rights are high rate of unemployment and difficulties of securing loyalty in an environment where majority creates a nation state.

By a number of legal acts, Croatia has provided a high level of protection for the minority members, and the state participates in the development and preserving of the cultural autonomy of all minority communities in Croatia. However, although there has been a more intense development of the civil society, there is a lack

of minority integration into the Croatian society at all levels. Both the states have arranged their minority question in accordance with the special regulations resulting from the Constitution (Croatia - through the Constitutional Law of Minority Rights, Macedonia - through the Ohrid Agreement). But for ten years Constitutional Law had not been fully implemented in praxis. Nonetheless, the best form of the minority status arrangement is secured by a bilateral agreement. Croatia, for example, has bilateral agreements with 5 countries, Hungary, Italy, Serbia, Montenegro and Austria, while Macedonia has signed only one, with Serbia, and is preparing another, with Croatia. It is evident that bilateral agreements arrange the two most significant questions related to the status of minority communities: cultural autonomy, the use of minority language and writing, the right to political representation.

Liberal multiculiculturalism theory can be adopted by countries where the national building process has been finished; Macedonia is not quite an example, or in countries where minorities are not seen like some kind of enemies, which is not the case in Croatia. The liberal multicultural theory has a chance in countries which can provide equal opportunities for all citizens and where differences can be accepted and not seen like hostile ones. In both Croatia and Macedonia minorities must fight for their position, necessary by participation in the political domain. Both countries are giving "special rights" under the pressure of the international community, not because they realize it as the right thing to do or it is fair because of the equality of all citizens. In both countries the opinion is focused on losing position or opportunities for majority nation if it is given to minorities. Although in the last 5 years national minorities are part of ruling coalition, it doesn't form of power sharing, because it is a fragile coalition in which minority representatives try to achieve better position for their own minority. In 2008 Croatian government prepared Action plan for implementation in the Constitutional Law about national minority rights. Why is it necessary for Croatia to bring the Action plan after six years of Law existing? Does it mean that Constitutional Law has not been implemented? The biggest problems concerning minority rights are employed in public administration. The Action plan did not improve this situation.

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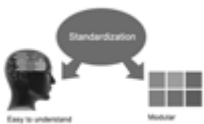
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The recommended size of original research paper is less than seven thousand words, review papers fewer than seven thousands words also. Preparation of research paper or how to write research paper, are major hurdle, while writing manuscript. The research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

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

- (a) Title should be relevant and commensurate with the theme of the paper.
- (b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.
- (c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
- (d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.
- (e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.
- (f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;
- (g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.
- (h) Brief Acknowledgements.
- (i) References in the proper form.

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



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

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

Format

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

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

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

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

Structure

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

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

Abstract, used in Original Papers and Reviews:

Optimizing Abstract for Search Engines

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

Key Words

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.

References

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

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

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

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

Tables, Figures and Figure Legends

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

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

Preparation of Electronic Figures for Publication

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

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



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

6. AFTER ACCEPTANCE

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

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

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

(Free of charge) from the following website:

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

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

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

TECHNIQUES FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY RESEARCH PAPER:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

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

Final Points:

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

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



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

General style:

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

To make a paper clear

- Adhere to recommended page limits

Mistakes to evade

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

In every sections of your document

- Use standard writing style including articles ("a", "the," etc.)
- Keep on paying attention on the research topic of the paper
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)
- Align the primary line of each section
- Present your points in sound order
- Use present tense to report well accepted
- Use past tense to describe specific results
- Shun familiar wording, don't address the reviewer directly, and don't use slang, slang language, or superlatives
- Shun use of extra pictures - include only those figures essential to presenting results

Title Page:

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



Abstract:

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

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

Approach:

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



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

Procedures (Methods and Materials):

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

What to keep away from

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

Results:

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

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



Content

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

What to stay away from

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

Approach

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

Figures and tables

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

Discussion:

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

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

Approach:

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



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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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