Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X

Global Journal

of Human-Social Sciences: F

Political Science

Highlights

Corruption in Nigeria

Geopolitics in Amazon

Political Power Alternation

Democratic Peace Theory

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

Volume 14 Issue 7 Version 1.0

© 2001-2014 by Global Journal of Human-Social Sciences, USA

Volume 14 Issue 55 was originally issued as F7

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F
Political Science

Volume 14 Issue 55
Originally issued as F7

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F

Political Science

Volume 14 Issue 7 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

© Global Journal of Human Social Sciences. 2014.

All rights reserved.

This is a special issue published in version 1.0 of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences." By Global Journals Inc.

All articles are open access articles distributed under "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences"

Reading License, which permits restricted use. Entire contents are copyright by of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences" unless otherwise noted on specific articles.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission.

The opinions and statements made in this book are those of the authors concerned. Ultraculture has not verified and neither confirms nor denies any of the foregoing and no warranty or fitness is implied.

Engage with the contents herein at your own risk.

The use of this journal, and the terms and conditions for our providing information, is governed by our Disclaimer, Terms and Conditions and Privacy Policy given on our website http://globaljournals.us/terms-and-condition/menu-id-1463/

By referring / using / reading / any type of association / referencing this journal, this signifies and you acknowledge that you have read them and that you accept and will be bound by the terms thereof.

All information, journals, this journal, activities undertaken, materials, services and our website, terms and conditions, privacy policy, and this journal is subject to change anytime without any prior notice.

Incorporation No.: 0423089
License No.: 42125/022010/1186
Registration No.: 430374
Import-Export Code: 1109007027
Employer Identification Number (EIN):
USA Tax ID: 98-0673427

Global Journals Inc.

*(A Delaware USA Incorporation with "Good Standing"; **Reg. Number: 0423089**)*

Sponsors: Open Association of Research Society
Open Scientific Standards

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals Headquarters
301st Edgewater Place Suite, 100 Edgewater Dr.-Pl,
Wakefield MASSACHUSETTS, Pin: 01880,
United States of America
USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392
USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated
2nd, Lansdowne, Lansdowne Rd., Croydon-Surrey,
Pin: CR9 2ER, United Kingdom

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

Global Journals
E-3130 Sudama Nagar, Near Gopur Square,
Indore, M.P., Pin:452009, India

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

To find nodal officer of your country, please email us at *local@globaljournals.org*

eContacts

Press Inquiries: *press@globaljournals.org*
Investor Inquiries: *investors@globaljournals.org*
Technical Support: *technology@globaljournals.org*
Media & Releases: *media@globaljournals.org*

Pricing (Including by Air Parcel Charges):

For Authors:
22 USD (B/W) & 50 USD (Color)
Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional):
200 USD (B/W) & 250 USD (Color)

Integrated Editorial Board
(Computer Science, Engineering, Medical, Management, Natural Science, Social Science)

John A. Hamilton,"Drew" Jr.,
Ph.D., Professor, Management
Computer Science and Software Engineering
Director, Information Assurance Laboratory
Auburn University

Dr. Henry Hexmoor
IEEE senior member since 2004
Ph.D. Computer Science, University at Buffalo
Department of Computer Science
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale

Dr. Osman Balci, Professor
Department of Computer Science
Virginia Tech, Virginia University
Ph.D.and M.S.Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York
M.S. and B.S. Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey

Yogita Bajpai
M.Sc. (Computer Science), FICCT
U.S.A.Email:
yogita@computerresearch.org

Dr. T. David A. Forbes
Associate Professor and Range Nutritionist
Ph.D. Edinburgh University - Animal Nutrition
M.S. Aberdeen University - Animal Nutrition
B.A. University of Dublin- Zoology

Dr. Wenying Feng
Professor, Department of Computing & Information Systems
Department of Mathematics
Trent University, Peterborough,
ON Canada K9J 7B8

Dr. Thomas Wischgoll
Computer Science and Engineering,
Wright State University, Dayton, Ohio
B.S., M.S., Ph.D.
(University of Kaiserslautern)

Dr. Abdurrahman Arslanyilmaz
Computer Science & Information Systems Department
Youngstown State University
Ph.D., Texas A&M University
University of Missouri, Columbia
Gazi University, Turkey

Dr. Xiaohong He
Professor of International Business
University of Quinnipiac
BS, Jilin Institute of Technology; MA, MS, PhD,. (University of Texas-Dallas)

Burcin Becerik-Gerber
University of Southern California
Ph.D. in Civil Engineering
DDes from Harvard University
M.S. from University of California, Berkeley & Istanbul University

Dr. Bart Lambrecht
Director of Research in Accounting and FinanceProfessor of Finance
Lancaster University Management School
BA (Antwerp); MPhil, MA, PhD (Cambridge)

Dr. Carlos García Pont
Associate Professor of Marketing
IESE Business School, University of Navarra
Doctor of Philosophy (Management), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)
Master in Business Administration, IESE, University of Navarra
Degree in Industrial Engineering, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Dr. Fotini Labropulu
Mathematics - Luther College
University of ReginaPh.D., M.Sc. in Mathematics
B.A. (Honors) in Mathematics
University of Windso

Dr. Lynn Lim
Reader in Business and Marketing
Roehampton University, London
BCom, PGDip, MBA (Distinction), PhD, FHEA

Dr. Mihaly Mezei
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
Department of Structural and Chemical Biology, Mount Sinai School of Medical Center
Ph.D., Etvs Lornd University
Postdoctoral Training,
New York University

Dr. Söhnke M. Bartram
Department of Accounting and FinanceLancaster University Management SchoolPh.D. (WHU Koblenz)
MBA/BBA (University of Saarbrücken)

Dr. Miguel Angel Ariño
Professor of Decision Sciences
IESE Business School
Barcelona, Spain (Universidad de Navarra)
CEIBS (China Europe International Business School).
Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen
Ph.D. in Mathematics
University of Barcelona
BA in Mathematics (Licenciatura)
University of Barcelona

Philip G. Moscoso
Technology and Operations Management
IESE Business School, University of Navarra
Ph.D in Industrial Engineering and Management, ETH Zurich
M.Sc. in Chemical Engineering, ETH Zurich

Dr. Sanjay Dixit, M.D.
Director, EP Laboratories, Philadelphia VA Medical Center
Cardiovascular Medicine - Cardiac Arrhythmia
Univ of Penn School of Medicine

Dr. Han-Xiang Deng
MD., Ph.D
Associate Professor and Research Department Division of Neuromuscular Medicine
Davee Department of Neurology and Clinical NeuroscienceNorthwestern University Feinberg School of Medicine

Dr. Pina C. Sanelli
Associate Professor of Public Health
Weill Cornell Medical College
Associate Attending Radiologist
NewYork-Presbyterian Hospital
MRI, MRA, CT, and CTA
Neuroradiology and Diagnostic Radiology
M.D., State University of New York at Buffalo,School of Medicine and Biomedical Sciences

Dr. Roberto Sanchez
Associate Professor
Department of Structural and Chemical Biology
Mount Sinai School of Medicine
Ph.D., The Rockefeller University

Dr. Wen-Yih Sun
Professor of Earth and Atmospheric SciencesPurdue University Director
National Center for Typhoon and Flooding Research, Taiwan
University Chair Professor
Department of Atmospheric Sciences, National Central University, Chung-Li, TaiwanUniversity Chair Professor
Institute of Environmental Engineering, National Chiao Tung University, Hsin-chu, Taiwan.Ph.D., MS The University of Chicago, Geophysical Sciences
BS National Taiwan University, Atmospheric Sciences
Associate Professor of Radiology

Dr. Michael R. Rudnick
M.D., FACP
Associate Professor of Medicine
Chief, Renal Electrolyte and Hypertension Division (PMC)
Penn Medicine, University of Pennsylvania
Presbyterian Medical Center, Philadelphia
Nephrology and Internal Medicine
Certified by the American Board of Internal Medicine

Dr. Bassey Benjamin Esu
B.Sc. Marketing; MBA Marketing; Ph.D Marketing
Lecturer, Department of Marketing, University of Calabar
Tourism Consultant, Cross River State Tourism Development Department
Co-ordinator , Sustainable Tourism Initiative, Calabar, Nigeria

Dr. Aziz M. Barbar, Ph.D.
IEEE Senior Member
Chairperson, Department of Computer Science
AUST - American University of Science & Technology
Alfred Naccash Avenue – Ashrafieh

President Editor (HON.)

Dr. George Perry, (Neuroscientist)
Dean and Professor, College of Sciences
Denham Harman Research Award (American Aging Association)
ISI Highly Cited Researcher, Iberoamerican Molecular Biology Organization
AAAS Fellow, Correspondent Member of Spanish Royal Academy of Sciences
University of Texas at San Antonio
Postdoctoral Fellow (Department of Cell Biology)
Baylor College of Medicine
Houston, Texas, United States

Chief Author (HON.)

Dr. R.K. Dixit
M.Sc., Ph.D., FICCT
Chief Author, India
Email: authorind@computerresearch.org

Dean & Editor-in-Chief (HON.)

Vivek Dubey(HON.)
MS (Industrial Engineering),
MS (Mechanical Engineering)
University of Wisconsin, FICCT
Editor-in-Chief, USA
editorusa@computerresearch.org

Sangita Dixit
M.Sc., FICCT
Dean & Chancellor (Asia Pacific)
deanind@computerresearch.org

Suyash Dixit
(B.E., Computer Science Engineering), FICCTT
President, Web Administration and
Development , CEO at IOSRD
COO at GAOR & OSS

Er. Suyog Dixit
(M. Tech), BE (HONS. in CSE), FICCT
SAP Certified Consultant
CEO at IOSRD, GAOR & OSS
Technical Dean, Global Journals Inc. (US)
Website: www.suyogdixit.com
Email:suyog@suyogdixit.com

Pritesh Rajvaidya
(MS) Computer Science Department
California State University
BE (Computer Science), FICCT
Technical Dean, USA
Email: pritesh@computerresearch.org

Luis Galárraga
J!Research Project Leader
Saarbrücken, Germany

Contents of the Issue

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Contents of the Issue

1. Implementation of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 - Case Study of India. *1-10*
2. Political Power Alternation and the Challenge of Democratic Stability in Nigeria: Focus on Fourth Republic 1999 – 2013. *11-20*
3. Geopolitics in Amazon Geographic System in Xxi Century. *21-29*
4. Corruption in Nigeria: The Possible Way Out. *31-38*
5. The Rot in the State–Owned Enterprises in Zimbabwe: A Cause for Great Concern (2014). *39-43*
6. Organisation Theory: The Principal-Agent Perspective. *45-51*

v. Fellows and Auxiliary Memberships
vi. Process of Submission of Research Paper
vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
viii. Index

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 14 Issue 7 Version 1.0 Year 2014
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Implementation of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 - Case Study of India

By Ms. A. Srija

Abstract- One of the earliest labour legislations in India, the Minimum Wages Act was enacted in 1948 immediately after India attained Independence. But even today a large section of the workforce remains outside the purview of the Minimum Wages Act. This paper takes a look at the efforts made by the Government of India since the enactment of the Act to improve the relevance of minimum wages, its impact in bringing the workers out of the poverty line, the issues that still persist and the way forward.

Keywords: minimum wage, average daily wages, mahatma gandhi national rural employment guarantee act (MNREGA), national floor level minimum wage (NFLMW).

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699

IMPLEMENTATIONOFTHEMINIMUMWAGESACT,1948-CASESTUDYOFINDIA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2014. Ms. A. Srija. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Implementation of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 - Case Study of India

Ms. A. Srija

Abstract- One of the earliest labour legislations in India, the Minimum Wages Act was enacted in 1948 immediately after India attained Independence. But even today a large section of the workforce remains outside the purview of the Minimum Wages Act. This paper takes a look at the efforts made by the Government of India since the enactment of the Act to improve the relevance of minimum wages, its impact in bringing the workers out of the poverty line, the issues that still persist and the way forward.

Keywords: minimum wage, average daily wages, mahatma gandhi national rural employment guarantee act (MNREGA), national floor level minimum wage (NFLMW).

I. Introduction

The Indian economy is dualistic characterized by the existence of a comparatively well organised sector along with an unorganized sector with a pre-dominance of self-employment. According to the NSSO [1]Employment-Unemployment Survey of 2011-12, 92 [2] percent of the workers out of the total workforce of 474.23 million are informal workers. These workers contribute to more than 60 per cent of India's GDP growth. Various studies hinted at jobless growth that had taken place in India during the late 20th and early 21st century. While the economy grew at an annual average of 5-6 per cent the net addition to employment was only 0.2 million in 2009-10 over 2004-05 as per NSSO Employment and Unemployment Survey of 2009-10. The employment generated was mainly low skilled in the construction sector and of an informal nature. The workforce in the informal sector has no assurance of wage protection, social security, occupational safety or employment stability not to talk of decent wage. In order to address the issue of decent job, the Government of India has been focusing on inclusive strategy in terms of skill development, social protection and labour reforms including stricter enforcement of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948.

The Minimum Wage Act,1948 derives its principle from Article 43 enshrined in the Directive Principles of the Constitution of India which mandates that "The state shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life, and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities in particular" to ensure a fair deal to the labour class. Further, Article 39 of the Constitution of India also reinforces that the State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing (a) that the citizen, men and women equally shall have the right to an adequate livelihood and (b) that there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women.

The question that therefore arises is how India has operationalised the implementation of the above-mentioned Article 39 and 43 through the prism of the Minimum wages Act, 1948. The initiative for determination of minimum wages was started in 1920 when a proposal for setting up Boards for determination of minimum wages in each industry was mooted. The International Labour Organisation adopted in 1928 Convention No.26 and Recommendation No. 30 relating to wage fixing machinery in trades or parts of trades. Subsequently in 1943 on the recommendation of the Standing Labour Committee and Indian Labour Conference, a Labour Investigation Committee was appointed to investigate into the question of wages and other matters like housing, social conditions and employment. The Indian Labour Conference considered a draft bill in this regard in 1945.The Standing Labour Committee in 1946 recommended enacting a separate legislation for the unorganized sector including working hours, minimum wages and paid holidays. Accordingly, a Minimum Wages Bill was introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly to provide for fixation of minimum wages in certain employments which was passed in 1946 and came into force in 1948.

In the meanwhile deteriorating industrial relations forced the Government to appoint a Central Advisory Council to advise the Government on issues relating to payment of fair wages to labour and fair return on the capital employed. The Central Advisory

Author: The author is from the Indian Economic Service and presently posted as Director in the Labour, Employment & Manpower Division of Planning Commission, Government of India, New Delhi. The other published articles of the author on Labour & Employment sector include Youth Unemployment in India published in 'CII Economy Matters', Employment Trends among Religious Communities of India published in the Economic & Political Weekly, An Analysis of the Informal Labour Market in India published in the CII Economy Matters. The author has also presented a paper on Higher Education and International Mobility of Graduates- India's experience at the Fourth ADBI-OECD-ILO Roundtable on Labour Migration in Asia: Building Human Capital Across Borders held in Tokyo in January 2014. e-mail: srija.a@nic.in

[1] NSSO-National Sample Survey Organization
[2] Calculated using unit level data of NSSO

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Council appointed a tripartite committee called the 'Fair Wages Committee' to 'determine the principles on which fair wages should be based and to suggest the lines on which these principles should be applied.' The report of this Committee was a major landmark in the history of formulation of wage policy in India as it gave the definition for three levels of wages viz; a minimum wage, a fair wage and a living wage. Minimum wages means legally enforceable lowest limit of wage in a given industry in a given State fixed by a process invoking the authority of the State[3]. Minimum wages are usually fixed for occupations in industry where workers are not protected by collective bargaining, or statutory backing in wage fixation.

The Committee recommended that the "The minimum wage must provide, not merely for the bare sustenance of life, but also for the preservation of the efficiency of the worker by providing for some measure of education, medical requirements and amenities[4]."The definition of minimum wages got further refined by the 15th Indian Labour Conference which laid down the norms for fixing need based minimum wages to include: a standard working class family to comprise of three consumption units i.e. wife and two children apart from the earning worker, net intake of 2700 calories per day per consumption unit, per capita consumption of 18 yards per year, minimum housing rent charged by the government for low income groups, fuel, lighting and other miscellaneous items of expenditure to constitute 20 per cent of minimum wage. But these norms were criticised as being too idealistic giving little consideration to the capacity of the industry to pay and the standard of living of other similar groups of people in the community (Dr. Shanta A. Vaidya). The National Commission on Labour, 1969 held that in fixing the need based minimum wages the capacity of the industry to pay will have to be taken into account. "The need based minimum which is in the range of lower level of the fair wage, attracts in its determination, the employers' capacity to pay."

The Study Group on Wages, Incomes and Prices (Bhootlingam Committee 1978) attempted to quantify a 'National Minimum Wage' thereby laying down the lowest limit of minimum wage, which will be uniform all over the country. The Committee arrived at a National Minimum Wage of Rs.150 per month at 1978 prices by taking into consideration the national per capita income, per capita consumption expenditure of the working class etc. To begin with the Committee suggested a National Minimum of Rs.4 per day or Rs.100 per month below which no employment should be permitted. The Committee also recommended that efforts should be made to achieve the target of Rs.150 per month within a period of seven years. However it was based on the recommendations of the National Commission on Rural Labour that the concept of a uniform National Floor Level Minimum Wage (NFLMW) was mooted in 1991. The NFLMW was initially fixed at Rs.35 per day in 1996. Based on the increase in the Consumer Price Index (Industrial Workers), the Government of India has revised the NFLMW from time to time. The NFLMW was raised to Rs.80 per day in 2007, further raised to Rs.100 in 2009 and to Rs.115 per day w.e.f 1st April, 2011. However the NFLMW is at present only advisory though proposals are being examined for making the NFLMW statutory.

As of today minimum wages varies across different industries in the same State and across States for the same industry. This raises the question of how have the introduction of National Floor level Minimum Wages influenced the trend of minimum wage fixation in general as well as the actual wages. This Paper first tries to analyse the evolution of the minimum wages policy in India, introduction of NFLMW, the trend in actual wage levels of the lowest paid viz; the agricultural and rural workers and influence of statutory minimum wages in poverty reduction, gender pay gap and the influence of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act.

This Paper has six sections. Section I provides an Introduction to the topic. Section-II gives a background of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 covering up to the latest developments. Section III is on the literature review. Section IV on the empirical analysis, Section V on the issues in implementation, and Section VI on policy conclusions.

II. Minimum Wages Act 1948

The Minimum Wages Act, 1948 in India is a welfare Act applicable to the workers in the unorganised sector who lack the collective bargaining and are likely to be exploited. Apart from the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, the other relevant Acts that have a bearing in influencing the wage level as well as the structure of wages for the unorganized sector workforce is shown in Box-1.

[3] 'Minimum Wages in India Concepts and Practices' page 2-3

[4] Report of the Fair Wages Committee

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Box-1

Labour Legislation	Type of Intervention
The Trade Unions Act, 1926	To enable workers of a number of small units to form unions, who can bargain wages and other condition of work.
The Industrial Disputes Act, 1947	To enable unions to raise industrial disputes on wages and the conciliation machinery to intervene.
The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976	Assure equal wage to women for same or similar work.
The Payment of Wages Act,1936	To regulate the manner of payment of wages and their realisation in case of non-payment.
The Contract Labour (regulation & Abolition) Act,1970	The contractor is required to pay wages and in case of failure on the part of the contractor to pay wages either in part or in full, the Principal Employer is liable to pay the same.

Source: Minimum Wages in India: Issues and Concerns by Prof. BijuVarkkey and Khushi Mehta

The Minimum Wages Act, 1948 provides for fixation of minimum wages by the appropriate governments at the Centre and State for the different scheduled employments under their respective domains for different time periods. The Act lists out the schedule of employments where minimum wages are applicable and are notified by the Central/State Government respectively. There are two parts of the Schedule. Part I has non-agricultural employments whereas Part-II relates to employment in agriculture. As of now there are 45 scheduled employments at the Centre and as many as 1679 employments at the State level (Annexure-I). All the list of industries mentioned in the schedule of the Act may not be applicable to all the States. The States may notify minimum wages only if there are more than 1000 workers working in the State in a particular employment.

The Act mandates revision of the wages by respective Governments at an interval of every five years. The minimum wage fixed has two components the basic wage and the variable dearness allowance which is adjusted to the Consumer Price Index every two years. The Act also provides for overtime allowance wherein a worker who works more than the stipulated hours of work is entitled to overtime wages fixed according to the rules framed by the State Government.

Source:

In India, there is no uniform nationally applicable minimum wage. The minimum wage is sector/ occupation driven and varies across States for the same occupation/industry. The Minimum Wages Act 1948 does not define minimum wages nor does it lay down the criteria for fixing minimum wages. The criteria arrived at in the 1957 Indian Labour Conference forms the basis. The 1992 Supreme Court judgment in the Reptakos & Co. vs its workers laid down that children's education, medical requirement, minimum recreation including festivals/ceremonies, provision for old age, marriage etc should further constitute 25 percent of the minimum wage and be used as a guide in fixation of minimum wages.

The Minimum Wages is indexed to inflation by having a provision called Variable Dearness Allowance (VDA) in addition to the basic minimum wages. The VDA is indexed to Consumer Price Index of Industrial Workers. Nearly 26 States/Union Territories have included VDA as a component of their minimum wages. The Central Government revises VDA twice a year effective from 1st April and 1st October in the occupations notified by it.

The Minimum Wages Act also entrusts the appropriate government to lay down the hours of work for the scheduled employments as under: (a) fix the number of hours of work which shall constitute a normal working day, inclusive of one or more specified intervals; and (b) provide for a day of rest in every period of seven days which shall be allowed to all employees or to any specified class of employees and for the payment of remuneration in respect of such days of rest; and provide for payment for on a day of rest at a rate not less than the overtime rate. Even remuneration for piece rate work is fixed in MW Act.

Time and again there has been demand for evolving a National Wage Policy. But as fixation of wage depends on a number of criteria like local conditions, cost of living and paying capacity also varies from State to State and from industry to industry, it is difficult to maintain uniformity in wages. However to bring some degree of uniformity in the minimum wages fixed across States and occupations, the Central Government had formed five Regional Minimum Wages Advisory Committees as shown in Box2.

Box-2 Regional Minimum Wages Advisory Committees

Region	States/UTs covered
Eastern Region	West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Andaman & Nicobar Islands
North Eastern Region	Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Tripura and Sikkim

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Southern Region	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Pondicherry and Lakshadweep
Northern Region	Punjab, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Delhi and Chandigarh
Western Region	Maharashtra, Gujarat, Goa, Madhya Pradesh, Dadra & Nagar Haveli and Daman & Diu.

Source: Ministry of Labour & Employment, Government of India- Annual Report

In 1991 the National Floor Level Minimum Wage was introduced which is only advisory. The experience of countries like USA, Canada, France, Netherlands, Japan etc who have introduced the concept of a floor for wages, is that the number of workers getting this lowest wage varies a great deal from country to country and from year to year.

In 2005, the Government of India came up with a legislation titled the 'National Rural Employment Guarantee Act' later known as the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA) which provides for the enhancement of livelihood security of the households in rural areas of the country by providing at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in every financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. The Act also lays down the wage rate as distinct from the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 wherein Section 6 of the MNREGA says that the Central Government may by notification specify the wage rate and that different rates of wages maybe specified for different areas and the wages rate fixed at any time shall not be less than Rs.100 per day. Anything higher than this shall be met by the State Governments.

The Parliamentary Standing Committee on Labour that examined the Ministry of Labour's Demand for Grants for 2012-13 recommended that the criteria for fixation of minimum wages should be defined in the Act. And also a concept of "Fair Wages" should be simultaneously evolved and it must be ensured that the contract/casual/outsourced workers engaged by the profit earning PSUs/ organizations /autonomous bodies are paid fair wages.

Among the recent amendments to the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, *inter-alia*, include making National Floor Level Minimum Wage (NFLMW) *statutory* and making the Act applicable to *all employments* across the states irrespective of the size of the workforce in that employment. This amendment is a welcome measure in ensuring that the informal sector workers get wages that is not below the statutory floor level which at present is Rs.115 per day or Rs.3450 per month. Further it will be applicable to the contract/casual workers employed in the organized sector. Some of the perceptions about raising minimum wages are that higher minimum wages reduce the employment of less-skilled workers. Higher minimum wages encourage employers to replace less-skilled workers with more productive employees. Higher compensation costs without corresponding increases in productivity cause employers to hire fewer workers. (James Sherk) But in developing countries with dual labour markets, it is highly unlikely that a minimum wage increase would lead to increase in unemployment, but rather shift in labour from one sector to another (Belser & Rani).

III. Literature Review

In many States while fixing the minimum wages, they are not linked to the payment of dearness allowance. As a result, real wages of workers keep eroding due to inflation, pushing them below the poverty line (Prof. BijuVarkkey and Khushi). The criterion for inclusion of an employment in the Minimum Wages Act viz; the stipulation of 1000 workers has left a very large number of workers in the unorganised sector outside the purview of the Act (ibid). Enforcement of the minimum wages is done by both the Centre and State Governments within the respective spheres where they notify the minimum wages. Inspecting officers of the Labour Department at the Centre and State conduct regular inspections and in the event of detection of non-payment or under-payment of minimum wages advise the employers to take corrective action. In case of non-compliance, penal provisions prescribed in the Act are taken recourse to. The general observation is that workers get less than the minimum wages. Among the reasons mentioned for poor enforcement include inadequacy of the inspecting staff compared to the number of establishments covered by the Act, the scattered nature and small size of the establishments, insistence of authorities of fulfilling the target number of inspections without insisting on the quality of work, rampant bribery and corruption, ignorance of workers(and often employers also) regarding their rights and privileges, delays in justice when claims for non-payment are filed etc. Above all the workers being in a state of working poor are prepared to work for any wage rather than being unemployed. (Shanta et al)The survey of prosecutions and convictions made under the Act reveals that very few cases have been taken up under the Act so far.

The calculation of minimum wages is a cumbersome exercise often beyond the capability of the small scale unorganised sector employer and most often beyond the awareness level of the employee. Simplicity and uniformity in the calculation of minimum wages will go a long way in the enforcement of minimum wages. Implementation of minimum wage is

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

not uniform across States as the variable dearness allowance is not clubbed with minimum wages, like for instance agriculture is not covered under the VDA in most States.

Nearly 50 percent of the workforce consisting mainly of women is outside the purview of this Act even after nearly 66 years of enactment of the Act. Further women are working in piece rated jobs or as helpers in own account enterprises where they are either paid much below the minimum wages or no wages (National Commission on Rural & Self-Employed Women).

Payment of minimum wages cannot be evaded on the grounds of the financial capacity of the industry to pay. The Supreme Court of India has passed the judgement that the Minimum Wages Act is a piece of social legislation, which protects the day to day living conditions of sweated labour.

IV. Empirical Analysis

a) Role of Minimum Wages in Poverty Reduction

Though it is believed that minimum wages reduce poverty in developed countries [5] this is not considered true of developing countries where the dominant view is the one outlined in the World Development Report on labour markets, "Minimum wages may help to protect the most poverty-stricken workers in industrial countries, but they clearly do not in developing nations."((Lustig and McLeod). The reasons attributed for this are among other things coverage of minimum wage laws in developing countries is restricted to the formal sector which forms a small segment of the total workforce, and therefore workers who benefit from the minimum wages are not the poorest of the poor, and lastly a large section of the working poor is employed in the self-employed sector which remains outside the purview of the Minimum Wages Act. However as the working poor are mostly concentrated in unskilled work the impact of minimum wages on wages paid for the unskilled labour could be looked at.

An alternative theory of how minimum wages could impact the wage levels in the informal sector is that, the general equilibrium analysis models of Alan Carruth and Andrew Oswald and Edward Learner show that in small open economies a rise in formal sector wages always raises wages in both the formal and informal sector. This is because a rise in minimum wages in the formal sector cannot be passed along in higher prices. Therefore, profits fall, leading to migration of capital, rather than the labour, out of the formal sector. Capital moves to the informal sector, driving up wages and employment in that sector. (ibid)

In Table-1 a comparison is made of the NSSO 2011-12 Employment-Unemployment data on Wages paid to the Casual Labour engaged in MNREGA public works, other public works and non-public works in rural areas with the Minimum Wages fixed for Agriculture Sector across States. Under the Minimum Wages Act 1948 which is applicable only to those occupations where more than 1000 employees are employed in a State, the Minimum Wage fixed for agricultural workers is taken as the closest proxy for rural wages. Further an attempt has been made to compare these wages with 2011-12 poverty line worked out for per day.

[5] In the United Kingdom, where minimum wages were introduced at the beginning of the twentieth century, abolished in the 1980s and reinstated in the 1990s, a survey of political experts has identified the national minimum wage as a successful Government policy. In the United States, too, a higher minimum wage has come to be seen by many as a way to reduce poverty and inequality and provide a stimulus to the economy with potentially favorable fiscal effects, including through reduced costs of anti-poverty programs and increased tax revenue. *(Source: World of Work Report 2013: Repairing the economic and social fabric)*

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Table 1 : State-wise Average Wages for Casual Labour engaged in Public and Non-Public Works in Rural Areas in comparison with Minimum Wages for Agriculture & Rural Poverty Line

(in Rupees Per Day)

States/UTs	MGNREGA public works	Public Works other than MNREGA	Works other than public works	Minimum Wages for Agriculture as on 31-12-2011	Poverty Line
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Andhra Pradesh	101.02	100.8	141.53	112	143.33
Arunachal Pradesh	-	147.09	209.89	80	155.00
Assam	168.57	171.43	135.65	115.6	138.00
Bihar	110	133.23	125.98	120	129.67
Chhattisgarh	125.17	124.44	83.85	113.76	181.67
Gujarat	100.56	130	112.84	-	155.33
Haryana		128.27	196.89	178.61	169.17
Himachal Pradesh	119.66	127.4	178.43	120	152.17
Jammu & Kashmir	116.31	154.44	209.51	-	148.50
Jharkhand	-	145.62	132.04	138.23	124.67
Karnataka	-	135.51	142.4	157.34	150.33
Kerala	148.74	147.49	314.88	150	169.67
Madhya Pradesh	120.89	100.58	105.22	175	128.50
Maharashtra	-	142.92	117.36	120	161.17
Manipur	115.24	112.29	202.64	122.1	186.33
Meghalaya	114.67	119.2	173.52	100	148.00
Mizoram	120.14	128.3	297.52	170	177.67
Odisha	125.26	131.66	117.43	92.5	115.83
Punjab	130	-	198.64	160.48	175.67
Rajasthan	90.17	116.84	159.45	135	150.83
Sikkim	118.11	152.82	214.97	130	155.00
Tamil Nadu	88.78	94.73	169.93	100	146.67
Tripura	118.47	118.76	164.21	100	133.00
Uttarakhand	104.69	148.76	174.4	124.66	146.67
Uttar Pradesh	117.14	132.01	133.06	100	128.00
West Bengal	127.27	124.93	120.92	167	130.50

Source: NSSO 68th Round Report on Employment-Unemployment 2011-12, Minimum Wages Report 2011, Labour Bureau & Poverty Estimates from RBI Database

In India with about 50 per cent of the workforce engaged in self-employment and another 30 per cent engaged in casual employment, the applicability of Minimum Wages Act is limited to less than 20 per cent of the workforce. Therefore while comparing the minimum wages stipulated for agriculture with the average daily wages of casual workers engaged in 'MNREGA public works', 'public works other than MNREGA' and 'other than public works' the following results emerge:

The wages received under MNREGA is lower than the minimum wages prescribed for agriculture except in the States of Assam, Chhattisgarh, Meghalaya and Uttar Pradesh. The MNREGA scheme is for the unskilled workers who report themselves as unemployed, the guarantee of right to work under the scheme emanates from the need to avoid distress migration to urban areas. Under the Act a minimum of 100 days employment is guaranteed by the State. The duration of the work is more in the nature of a subsidiary activity than a principal activity. Hence a wage rate above the minimum wage rate fixed for agriculture will encourage the labour force to prefer MNREGA work over agriculture labour.

The comparison of average daily wage rates of casual labour with the minimum wages of agriculture gives a mixed picture. In some States the average daily wages are higher than the minimum wages while it is the vice versa in other States. The MNREGA wages are higher than the average daily wage rates of casual labour in some States. In most of the States the average daily wages received under works other than public works is more paying than that received under the public works programme where Government is the employer.

The wages received under all three kinds of work is lower than the poverty line of the respective States in the case of major States like Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. In Bihar and Madhya Pradesh being poor States the wage

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

levels in rural areas could be lower due to illiteracy, lack of awareness and weak bargaining power of the labour force and also because they are labour surplus States. But in the case of major States like Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, it is quite surprising and the possible explanation could be the influx of unskilled migrant labour from neighbouring States have enabled the employers to keep the wage levels low.

Kerala is an exceptional State where the wages received under works other than public works is more than double the minimum wage prescribed for agriculture, probably due to Kerala being a labour scare State.

b) Gender Pay Gap

In Table-2 the wages of unskilled labourers across States has been compared with the Minimum Wages prescribed for Agriculture which can be taken as the closest proxy for a comparable government fixed wage level in the rural sector. It is seen that in majority of the States wages of male unskilled labourers is higher than the minimum wages while the wages of female unskilled labour in most of the States is less than the minimum wages. In the State of Kerala the wage rates of the male and female unskilled labourers is much higher than the national average wage as well as the minimum wage prescribed for the State. Secondly, except in the case of Himachal Pradesh, the average daily wage rates of female workers is less than the male workers in all the States where female wages have been reported (Table-2). The reason given by the employers for this disparity is difference in the nature of work performed by both the male and female workers. It could also be due to the cultural mind set where women's output contribution is considered as assisting the male worker, therefore paid less wages, and in female dominated occupations like domestic work, it could be due to weak bargaining skills, lack of alternative employment opportunities etc.

Table 2 : Average Daily Wage Rates of Unskilled Labourers in Rural India during July 2011 (in Rupees)

States	Unskilled labourers		Minimum Wages Agriculture	Difference in Wages (Col 2-Col 4)	Difference in wages (Col 3- Col 4)
	Men	Women	Basic + DA		
1	2	3	4	5	6
Andhra Pradesh	139.53	104.08	112	27.53	-7.92
Assam	128.27	101.67	115.6	12.67	-13.93
Bihar	110.64	102.86	120	-9.36	-17.14
Gujarat	94.96	91.89		94.96	-
Haryana	199.73	196.33	178.61	21.12	17.72
Himachal Pradesh	188.89	200	120	68.89	80
Karnataka	108.44	76.58	157.34	-48.9	-80.76
Kerala	331.58	239	150	181.58	89
Madhya Pradesh	81.28	71.06	175	-93.72	-103.94
Maharashtra	118.24	78.62	110	8.24	-31.38
Manipur	97.78	92.78	122.1	-24.32	-29.32
Meghalaya	111.43	80	100	11.43	-20
Orissa	124.17	113.11	92.5	31.67	20.61
Punjab	194.85	-	160.48	34.37	-
Rajasthan	171.19	157.86	135	36.19	22.86
Tamil Nadu	189.13	138.66	100	89.13	38.66
Tripura	113.33	-	100	13.33	-
Uttar Pradesh	131.75	110	100	31.75	10
West Bengal	113.29	100.12	167	-53.71	-66.88
All-India	136.36	105.37	165	-28.64	-59.63

Source: Wage Rates in Rural India (2011-12) & Report of the Working Group for the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 for the year 2011, Labour Bureau, Govt. of India

c) Impact of MNREGA on poverty reduction

In order to provide wage employment at a binding minimum wage the government had to act as the "employer of last resort" and in 2005 enacted the Right to Work Act called the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005. Under this the BPL households reporting themselves as unemployed were to be provided unskilled job by the Government at stipulated wage rate within a period of 15 days of registering with the Gram Panchayat. The government guarantee of providing jobs as the 'employer of last resort' was not to exceed 100 man days a year per BPL household. One of the objectives of the scheme was to arrest distress migration by guaranteeing 100 days of

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

wage employment to the unskilled & unemployed. But in the survey conducted by IAMR[6], 100 days of wage employment were not provided to the households and distress migration continued. The feedback from the respondents of the survey was that migration is only for just wages and not for better wages. The respondents were of the view that the Gram Panchayat responsible for implementing the scheme at the grassroots level were not taking any measures to create sustainable assets to create wage employment and stop the distress migration[7]. Further on MNREGA's impact on poverty it is mentioned that the 'type of activities for which work can be funded-e.g. water conservation, land development, afforestation, provision of irrigation systems, construction of roads, or flood control-are prone to being taken over by wealthier sections of society' (Sjoblom & Farrington). Though MNREGA is a 'self-targeting scheme' i.e. they attract only those willing to work at basic wage rates, there are reports of errors of inclusion and exclusion under MNREGA. The requirement of the beneficiaries to register with the Gram Panchayat for job cards is substantially contributing to exclusion. In Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand it has been found that the bribe demanded by local officials for an application form for a job card may range from Rs.5 to Rs.50. Instances of discrimination with regard to caste, age and gender have also been observed, with some evidence that single-woman headed households are being denied registration (ibid).

V. Issues in Implementation of Minimum Wages Act, 1948

1. Multiplicity of minimum wage rates across Centre and States, and across occupations. For the most common occupation, say agriculture, 33 States/UTs have reported different rates, wherein Delhi has the highest minimum wage of Rs.279 and the Union Territory of Puducherry (Yanam region) the lowest wage of Rs.55[8]. Similarly, the State of Assam has the maximum number of minimum wage rates fixed for 104 scheduled employments while Mizoram has one minimum wage fixed for all employments[9]. As a result there is divergence in minimum wages within a State like in the State of Andhra Pradesh, the lowest minimum wage fixed is Rs.69.27 and the highest minimum wage fixed is Rs.298.59[10]. The wide difference in range between the minimum and maximum minimum wages fixed among States/UTs is observed only in certain States like Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Tripura etc. Fixing of minimum wages below the National Floor Level Minimum Wage for certain occupations by the States/UTs is surprising.
2. The criterion for inclusion in the list of scheduled employments viz. more than 1000 workers in a State has resulted in exclusion of many activities from the list and huge number of workers from the purview of the Minimum Wages Act. As per World of Work Report 2013 only about 60 per cent of the wage earners, excluding public-sector workers, were covered by minimum wage legislation in India in the mid-2000s.
3. The Act provides for time bound revision of basic minimum wage at least once in 5 years. However, this is not happening perhaps due to the provision of continuation of existing rates and linking it with VDA.
4. Lack of awareness[11] about the Minimum Wages Act among employers and workers is also an issue which has been highlighted in the Evaluation Studies on Implementation of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 conducted by the Labour Bureau under the Ministry of Labour & Employment. On the other hand despite being aware about the minimum wages the willingness of workers to accept lower wages is influenced by other compelling factors such as weak bargaining power, the rural push induced by conditions of drought, non-availability of work, loss of income yielding assets, indebtedness etc.
5. There is problem of non- linking of payment of minimum wages to variable dearness allowance eroding the real wages of the workers and keeping them as working poor.
6. Compliance rate to the Minimum Wages Act is very low due to poor implementation including exemptions provided under the Act. Out of a total of 76, 98, 033 establishments covered under the Act the number of establishments that submitted their annual returns was just 2, 21, 110 i.e about 3 per cent in 2012.
7. Penalties for non- compliance are very low. They need to be high to dissuade employer to contravene the provisions of the Act. Also the procedure for imposing the penalty is cumbersome.

[6] Institute of Applied Manpower Research
[7] All India Evaluation of NREGA-A Survey of 20 districts, Institute of Applied Manpower Research, (IAMR 2007)
[8] Report on the Working of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 for the year 2012
[9] ibid
[10] ibid
[11] In the Evaluation Study on the Implementation of Minimum Wages Act, 1948 in Stone Breaking & Stone Crushing Industry in Karnataka 2007-08 among the units surveyed only 30 per cent of the units and 8 per cent workers reported awareness about the Act.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

VI. Way Forward in Improving the Implementation

It cannot be concluded as James Sherk said that 'despite the best of intentions, the minimum wage has proved an ineffective-and often counterproductive-policy in the war on poverty. In India though many policy improvements were made in the Minimum Wages its effect on raising the average daily wages of the unskilled workers is yet to set in. Though there were reports of the MNREGA wage rates setting in a rise in the average daily wages in the rural sector it was a short-run phenomenon resulting in rise in Consumer Price Index of Rural & Agricultural Labourers and rate of increase in nominal agriculture and rural wages decreased since 2011.

1. The need of the hour is to fix the basic minimum wage especially for low skilled activities like agriculture, domestic work, stone crushing etc compatible with the living wage of the respective State/ Union Territory so that the workers earning minimum wage are able to lead a decent life.
2. The Dearness Allowance (DA) should form a part of the minimum wages in all occupations and in all States and the DA be linked to the Consumer Price Index to enable timely updation and the worker remains protected from inflation.
3. The compliance under Minimum Wages can be improved if the employers are given a single window clearance for filing all labour law related returns.
4. The latest amendment to the Minimum Wages Act which is yet to come out as a legislation viz; making the National Floor Level Minimum Wage statutory, extension of the Minimum Wages Act to all employments irrespective of the size of the workforce in that employment; inter alia are some of the outstanding amendments that could bring about a remarkable change in the implementation of the Minimum Wages Act in India.
5. The penalties for contravention need to be hiked for better compliance.
6. In addition what is also essential is awareness creation among the employers and most importantly the labour force about the statutorily determined reward for 'sweated labour'.

Bibliography

1. Anup K. Karan & Sakthivel Selvaraj (2008): 'Trends in wages and earnings in India: Increasing wage differentials in a segmented labour market', ILO Asia-Pacific Working Paper Series.
2. Dr. Shanta A. Vaidya (1989): Minimum Wages in India Concepts and Practices, Maniben Kara Institute, 167, P. D'Mello Road, Bombay 400 038.
3. Disa Sjoblom & John Farrington (2008): The Indian National Rural Employment Guarantee Act: Will it reduce poverty and boost the economy?
4. Labour Bureau (2007-08) Evaluation Study on the Implementation of Minimum Wages Act, 1948 in Stone Breaking & Stone Crushing Industry in Karnataka.
5. Labour Bureau (2013): Report of the Working Group of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 for the year 2011.
6. Labour Bureau (2014): Report of the Working Group of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 for the year 2012.
7. Labour Bureau (2013): Wage Rates in Rural India 2011-12.
8. Minimum Wages and the Working Poor: Global Wage Report 2012/13.
9. James Sherk (2013): What is Minimum Wage: Its History and Effects on the Economy, Testimony before Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee, United States Senate on June 25, 2013.
10. Nora CaludiaLustig and Darryl McLeod (1997): Minimum Wages and Poverty in Developing Countries: Some Empirical Evidence.
11. Patrick Belser and Uma Rani (2010): 'Extending the Coverage of minimum wages in India: Simulations from household data' Conditions of Work and Employment Series No.26, International Labour Office Geneva.
12. Prof. BijuVarkkey and Khushi Mehta: 'Minimum Wages in India: Issues and Concerns'.
13. World of Work Report (2013): Repairing the economic and social fabric.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Annexure-I

Original Schedule of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948

Part 1

i. Employment in any woollen carpet making or shawl weaving establishment.
ii. Employment in any rice mill flour mill or dal mill.
iii. Employment in any tobacco (including bidi making) manufactory.
iv. Employment in any plantation that is to say any estate which is maintained for the purpose of growing cinchona rubber tea or coffee.
v. Employment in any oil mill.
vi. Employment under any local authority.
vii. Employment on the construction or maintenance of roads or in building operations.
viii. Employment in stone breaking or stone crushing.
ix. Employment in any lac manufactory.
x. Employment in any mica works.
xi. Employment in public motor transport.
xii. Employment in tanneries and leather manufactory.
xiii. Employment in gypsum mines.
xiv. Employment in barytes mines.
xv. Employment in bauxite mines.
xvi. Employment in manganese mines.
xvii. Employment in the maintenance of buildings and employment in the construction and maintenance of runways.
xviii. Employment in china clay mines.
xix. Employment in kyantite mines.
xx. Employment in copper mines.
xxi. Employment in clay mines covered under the Mines Act 1952 (35 of 1952).
xxii. Employment in magnesite mines covered under the Mines Act 1952 (35 of 1952).
xxiii. Employment in white clay mines.
xxiv. Employment in stone mines.

Schedule

Part 2

(1) Employment in agriculture that is to say in any form of farming including the cultivation and tillage of the soil, dairy farming, the production, cultivation, growing and harvesting of any agricultural or horticultural commodity, the raising of live-stock, bees or poultry and any practice performed by a farmer or on a farm as incidental to or in conjunction with farm operation (including any forestry or timbering operations and the preparation for market and delivery to storage or to market or to carriage for transportation to market farm produce).

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 14 Issue 7 Version 1.0 Year 2014
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Political Power Alternation and the Challenge of Democratic Stability in Nigeria: Focus on Fourth Republic 1999 – 2013

By Ereke Ernest & Okoli, Rowland Chukwuma
University of Abuja, Nigeria

Abstract- The wave of democratization in the post cold war era has contributed to democratic transition in most African states. However, stability remains scarce in most of these nascent democracies. Borrowing from the experience of Nigeria in the fourth republic, the study examined whether lack of political power alternation undermines democratic stability. Using secondary data collected from documentary sources, a qualitative descriptive method of analysis, the study argues that lack of governmental turnover undermines democratic stability. Relying on the theory of post-colonial state, we demonstrated that the limited autonomy of the Nigerian state and its employment as a means of primitive accumulation by the ruling elite has led to intense struggle on the one hand by the ruling party to retain itself perpetually in power and a corresponding struggle on the other hand by the opposition to change the status quo. As a corollary, we note that while the ruling party uses the instrument of the state to repress the opposition and manipulate electoral processes in order to remain in power, the opposition struggle to liberate itself from repression and to capture state power. We noted that Nigeria's experience in the period under investigation depicts lack of governmental turnover because the incumbent party has limited the political space by manipulating electoral processes and emasculating the opposition with the aid of state apparatus. We argue that this has heated up the polity and ignited vulgar politics expressed in political assassinations, pre and post electoral crises and rise in activities of insurgents in the country.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 360199

POLITICALPOWERALTERNATIONANDTHECHALLENGEOFDEMOCRATICSTABILITYINNIGERIAFOCUSONFOURTHREPUBLIC19992013

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2014. Ereke Ernest & Okoli, Rowland Chukwuma. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Political Power Alternation and the Challenge of Democratic Stability in Nigeria: Focus on Fourth Republic 1999 – 2013

Ereke Ernest [α] & Okoli, Rowland Chukwuma [σ]

Abstract- The wave of democratization in the post cold war era has contributed to democratic transition in most African states. However, stability remains scarce in most of these nascent democracies. Borrowing from the experience of Nigeria in the fourth republic, the study examined whether lack of political power alternation undermines democratic stability. Using secondary data collected from documentary sources, a qualitative descriptive method of analysis, the study argues that lack of governmental turnover undermines democratic stability. Relying on the theory of post-colonial state, we demonstrated that the limited autonomy of the Nigerian state and its employment as a means of primitive accumulation by the ruling elite has led to intense struggle on the one hand by the ruling party to retain itself perpetually in power and a corresponding struggle on the other hand by the opposition to change the status quo. As a corollary, we note that while the ruling party uses the instrument of the state to repress the opposition and manipulate electoral processes in order to remain in power, the opposition struggle to liberate itself from repression and to capture state power. We noted that Nigeria's experience in the period under investigation depicts lack of governmental turnover because the incumbent party has limited the political space by manipulating electoral processes and emasculating the opposition with the aid of state apparatus. We argue that this has heated up the polity and ignited vulgar politics expressed in political assassinations, pre and post electoral crises and rise in activities of insurgents in the country. The study avers that strengthening of state institutions would reduce impunity, increase possibility of power alternation and ipso facto enhance democratic stability in Nigeria.

I. Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, there has been growing acceptance of liberal democratic principles as the solution to the political woes of the third world countries. Meanwhile, democracy is a progressive form of governance and philosophy that has moved from its classical formulation as practiced in Athens to its modern formulation that emphasizes personal liberty, inclusiveness and representative government with checks and balances to eliminate arbitrariness (Jega, 2007).

Meanwhile, scholars agree that periodic election remain an indispensable feature of every democratic polity because it grants the electorates the political space to choose their representatives periodically via free and fair election (see Appadorai, 2004; Alumona, 2007). More so, free and fair elections increase the chances of alternating political power – a situation where the opposition political party take over power from the incumbent democratically. Similarly, recent studies have argued that alternation in power institutionalizes democracy and differentiates democratic societies from authoritarianism (Przeworski et al. 2000; Huntington, 1991; Joseph, 2010).

Elsewhere, Milanovic, Hoff & Horowitz (2008) examined whether political power alternation fosters establishment of the rule of law, using data from 27 post-communist states, they investigated the effect of political power alternation on the quality of governance in the selected countries and noted that alternation in power breaks the vicious circle of weak institutions and strong particular interests. Conversely, Wahman (2010) argued persuasively that victory of opposition does not guarantee democracy because newly elected government also concerned with future re-election would not abolish incumbent advantages so as not to undermine future prospect of re-election. He noted that governmental turnover may be a window of opportunity for political liberalization only if new government is will to sacrifice the institutions that might give them electoral advantage in future elections. Citing Senegal and Kenya as example, he warned that if opposition political parties are used as means of achieving personal ambitions among state elites, it will be difficult to build stable ruling coalitions that could implement democratic improvements.

In Africa, there is increase in the number of countries transiting to democracy, for instance, between 1990 & 1994, thirty-one of the forty-one countries that had not held multiparty elections did so (Diouf 1998 cited in Ibrahim 2003). Paradoxically, despite the transition, the continent is still characterized by abuse of power especially by the incumbent, massive electoral malpractice and political repression especially of the opposition parties, alternation in power has remained difficult if not impossible in most countries and instability has continued to pervade most of the countries of Africa.

Author α: Ph.D, Department of Political Science, University of Abuja, Abuja. e-mail: mrereke@yahoo.com
Author σ: Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. e-mail: chukwumaroland@yahoo.com

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

In West Africa, a number of countries have experienced alternation in power, for example Senegal in 2000, Ghana in 2000 and 2008, Mali in 2002, Benin in 1996 and 2006, Cape Verde in 2001, Liberia and Niger in 2005 and 1996 respectively. Conversely, in Nigeria, alternation in power has remained elusive since the country's transition to democracy in 1999, political instability has remained the order of the day and the country appears to be at the brick of collapse. Against this backdrop, the study seeks to examine whether alternation in power enhances democratic stability. Specifically, the study provokes the following question: has the non-alternation in political power undermined democratic instability in Nigeria?

II. Theoretical Perspective

The study is anchored on the theory of post colonial state, originally developed by Hamza Alavi (1972), the theory is premised on the historical specificity of post-colonial societies, which arises from structural changes brought about by the colonial experience and alignments of classes, and by the superstructures of political and administrative institutions which were established in that context, and secondly from radical realignment of class forces which have been brought about in the post-colonial situation. Ake (1985) traced these political conditions to the political legacy colonialism bequeathed on Africa. Colonialism in Africa he said was unusually statist because the colonial state was called upon by the peculiar circumstances of the colonial situation to carry out so many functions – indeed to do everything – it was all powerful. The power of the colonial state was not only absolute but also arbitrary. These two features of the state power, its absolutism and its arbitrariness, framed colonial politics. Although political independence brought some changes to the composition of the state managers, the character of the state remained much as it was in the colonial era; state power remained essentially the same. At independence therefore, the political environment was hostile and the struggle for power was so absolute.

As a corollary, Ibeanu (1998) conceived of the state as 'the totality of the materiality of political class domination in a society', and surmised that since the postcolonial state is all-powerful and there are few safeguards on how its tremendous power is to be used in a moderate and civil manner, groups and individuals take a great stock in controlling the power of the state. So it is characteristic of the postcolonial state that its members put a premium on politics. Thus, politics is everything and everything is politics, including life and death (Ibeanu, 1998:11). He further argued that the role of the Nigerian state in democratization has to be understood in the light of the inner characteristics of that state, rather than more transient factors like ethnicity. These characteristics, he said, are conducive to the negation of democracy. Similarly, Ake (1985) noted that post-colonial African states have limited autonomy resulting in the personalization of the resources of physical coercion by the hegemonic factions of the ruling class, right tends to be coextensive with power and security depends on the control of power. The struggle for power is everything and is pursued by every means, formal freedom, equality and competitive politics are inhibited. Thus, government lacks objectivity and legitimacy. Consequently, the possibility of resolving contradictions is severely limited and groups struggle brutally with little confidence of peaceful resolution of conflict which exacerbates the problem of political instability.

In the light the above, we shall apply the tenets of this theory in explicating how the state grew so powerful in Nigeria such that so much premium has been placed on capturing state power essential for accumulation of wealth by the ruling elite. Again, the theory will assist in explaining how the limited autonomy of state institutions impacts on political struggle and the outcome.

Against this backdrop, we make the following proposition which will be verified in the study.

a) Proposition

Non-alternation in political power tends to undermine democratic instability in Nigeria.

b) Nature of Politics in Pre-Independence Nigeria

The limited autonomy of most African states expressed in the existence of strong incumbents in elected offices is one of the bequests of colonialism. The colonial lords employed violence, repression and intimidation as a means of legitimizing their rule and avoiding resistance of any form. As a result, democratic institutions of governance were not developed neither was any form of opposition allowed to thrive. In fact, even the colonial legislative council functioned mainly as a ratificatory body giving formal approval to executive directives by the governor (Nwosu, 2007). The monopolization of the instrumentalities of the state for the protection of the colonial lords was so intense that Indirect Rule was employed as an instrument to extinguish every form of opposition, limit the political space and emasculate any opposition to the incumbent. Consequently, high premium was placed on state power such that at independence the emergent political elites struggled profusely for state power which would be employed as a means for primitive accumulation and suppression of political opponent. Hence, the political elites who inherited power from the colonial masters retained the state apparatus for the pursuit of their sectional interest, political opponents were silenced with the instrumentalities of the state to ensure that the incumbent remains in power in perpetuity. As noted by Ogban-Iyam (2005), the colonialists left authoritative decision making in the hands of the minority urban elites

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

who they created and these elites have continued to use the government apparatus (the armed forces, police etc) to dominate the country and rule in their own interest.

It is against this background that politics in Nigeria developed its character. We shall briefly examine the dynamics of political struggle in the country prior to the emergence of the fourth republic.

c) Nigeria before the Fourth Republic

There were four regional governments in Nigeria at independence – the Northern Region, the Western Region, the Eastern Region and the Midwestern Region. Meanwhile, there was intense struggle by different factions of the political elites to control the central government as those who captured it used it to acquire wealth and repress the opponent. Hence, the major political parties of the First Republic developed along ethnic lines, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) drawing its support from the Hausa/Fulani of the North, the Action Group (AG) drawing its support from the Yoruba people in the West and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC) drawing its support from the Igbo people in the East.

It is instructive to note that each of these parties dominated political activities in their respective region without any tolerance for opposition parties in any of the region. Consequently, after the 1959 election, the alliance of NCNC and NPC controlled the central government while the AG became the dominant opposition party. The instruments of the state were used to repress and emasculated the opposition to the extent that the leaders of the opposition were tried for treason and Chief Obafemi Awolowo sentenced to ten years imprisonment thereby bringing about the collapse of the opposition party. The ruling faction of the elite monopolized all machineries of the state and inflicted all forms of harassment on any opposition such that as the country prepared for January 1965 election, in Bauchi South-West, the constituency of the Prime-Minister Alhaji Tafawa Balewa, there was no opposition. The first time the opposition tried to nominate a candidate, the nominators were arrested, on the second attempt, the opposition were carted off and on the third attempt, they were held until the time for nomination lapsed. Two other opposition candidates for Binji-Tangza-Silame and Gwadabawa were assassinated (Ake, 1985). All these were in the bid by the incumbent to remain in power and ensure power was not captured by the opposition. These attempts to silence the opposition gave rise to disorder in the polity which eventually led to the collapse of the First Republic with the takeover of government by the military in a bloody coup on 15th January 1966.

With the return to civil rule in 1979, the political parties and ethnic groups who felt marginalized in the First Republic saw it as an opportunity to take over control of the government. Hence parties were again built along ethnic lines, the 1979 Presidential Election was however won by Shehu Shagari a Hausa/Fulani from Northern Nigeria who contested under the platform of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN). The repression and emasculation of the opposition continued and the plan by the incumbent to remain in power manifested in the 1983 General Election where the incumbent won the Presidential election and his party – NPN also got majority of the seats in the National Assembly. The state-sponsored malpractice witnessed in the election led to widespread protest and socio-political unrest in the country. This chaos led to the collapse of the Second Republic with the takeover of government by the military in the coup of 31st December 1983.

Essentially, up to the end of the 2nd Republic, politics in Nigeria was characterized by intense struggle among the political elites to capture the central government and more fundamentally, we saw the abuse of government machinery especially the police and electoral body by the incumbent to remain perpetually in power.

A two party system was experimented in the Third Republic, the result of the election organized by the Babangida led military was equally annulled by same regime and an Interim National Government installed which was overthrown by the military led by Gen. Sani Abacha. The death of General Sani Abacha paved way for the emergence of the Fourth republic with the inauguration of a democratically elected government on 29th May 1999.

d) Nigeria's Fourth Republic and Elusiveness of Power Alternation

The advent of the Fourth Republic brought about great expectation and rising hope to the Nigerian populace and the political elites. For the masses, the return to democracy would improve standard of living, create jobs etc, for the political elites, the political space would be widened to enable them pursue their political ambition in the country. Again, not only was a civilian regime inaugurated in 1999, a new constitution was also handed over by the military. It is instructive to know that the 1999 Presidential election was keenly contested between Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo (Rtd) of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and Olu Falae of Alliance for Democracy (AD), Obasanjo emerged winner with a total vote of 18,738,154 (62.78%) (http//:www.electiontripod retrieved 15/01/2014).), the PDP also emerged majority in the Federal House of Representative and the Senate by winning 206 seats (57.49%) out of 360 seats and 59 seats (56.4%) out of 109 seats respectively.

The 2003 Presidential election was a replay of the incident that characterize the 1999 General elections. Though the election was organized by a civilian government, it turned out to be one of the worst elections in the history of Nigeria. The Executive demonstrated its power of incumbent and retained itself in power by ensuring that Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo (Rtd) of the PDP swept the votes at the poll while the

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

PDP also got majority seats in the National House of Assembly (see table 1).

Similarly, in the 2007 General elections, having completed the maximum two terms of four years each, the incumbent President Obasanjo saw to it that his anointed successor, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua of the PDP won the Presidential election. Despite the strong internal crises in the party and the breakaway of Atiku Abubakar led faction to contest under Action Congress (AC), the PDP still won 87of the 109 seats in the Senate and 263 out of 360 seats in the Federal House of Representatives. The 2007 General election was characterized by serious irregularities and inadequacies and condemned by various election observers both local and International (see Alumona 2007). It is pertinent to state that the untimely death of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua paved way for his deputy – Vice President Goodluck Jonathan to become the President of the Federal Republic in order to complete the four year tenure.

The 2011 General Elections was a watershed in the history of Nigeria. The untimely death of Umaru Musa Yar Adua and the assumption of President Goodluck as the President led to widespread dissatisfaction among the Northern elites who felt that the North has not completed its turn in the Presidency and should be given another opportunity in 2011 to enable it complete its turn of at least eight years before power shifts to another region, ethnic or religious group. Nevertheless, Goodluck Jonathan got the PDP ticket to contest the Presidential election. Although, the 2011 General Elections were adjudged by many observers as the most credible election organized by INEC since 1999 (Orji & Uzodi, 2012), there was widespread dissatisfaction by the opposition parties in the country who felt frustrated and cheated by the incumbent who has been ruling the country since transition in 1999. Be that as it may, the fundamental issue remains that power was still not alternated as the ruling party (PDP) remained in power.

Table 1 below presents statistics of Presidential election results in Nigeria from 1999 – 2011 and how the ruling PDP has continued to win all elections to retain itself in power to the frustration of the opposition.

Table 1 : Nigeria's Election Results 1999 – 2011

Year	Contestants/Parties	Number of votes	% of votes	Remarks
1999	Olusegun Obasanjo (PDP)	18,738,154	62.78%	
	Olu Falae (AD/APP)	11,110,287	37.22%	
2003	Olusegun Obasanjo (PDP)	24,456,140	61.94%	No Alternation in Power
	Muhammadu Buhari (ANPP)	12,710,022	32.19%	
	Odumegwu Ojukwu (APGA)	1,297,445	3.29%	
	Jim Nwobodo (UNPP)	169,609	0.43%	
	Gani Fawehimi (NCP)	161,333	0.41%	
	Sarah Jubril (PAC)	157,560	0.40%	
	Ike Nwachukwu (NDP)	132,997	0.34%	
	Christopher Okotie (JP)	119,547	0.30%	
	Balarabe Musa (PRP)	100,765	0.26%	
2007	Umaru Musa Yar'Adua (PDP)	24,638,063	69.60%	No Alternation in Power
	Muhammadu Buhari (ANPP)	6,605,299	18.66%	
	Atiku Abubakar (AC)	2,637,848	7.45%	
	Orji Uzor Kalu (PPA)	608,803	1.72%	
	Attahiru Bafarawa (DPP)	289,224	0.82%	
	Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu (APGA)	155,947	0.44%	
2011	Goodluck Jonathan (PDP)	22,495,187	58.89%	No Alternation in Power
	Muhammadu Buhari (CPC)	12,214,853	31.98%	
	Nuhu Ribadu (ACN)	2,079,151	5.41%	
	Ibrahim Shekarau (ANPP)	917,012	2.40%	

**Table contains results for major political parties and candidates which obtained minimum 100,000 votes*

Source: http//:www.electiontripod.org retrieved 15/01/2014)

e) Factors Accounting for Non-Alternation in Power in Nigeria, 1999 – 2011

Several factors interact to make alternation of power elusive in Nigeria in the fourth republic. Although none of these factors should be taken *sui generis*, emphasis is placed on how the following factors undermined power alternation in the country.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

III. Weak and Inefficient Electoral Institution

The existence of a strong electoral institution is critical for organizing a free and fair election. As a corollary, if alternation of political power must take place in a democratic polity, then there must be in place an independent and efficient electoral body to ensure that the votes of the opposition and its supporters count. The electoral institution in Nigeria has remained an instrument in the hands of the incumbent for the frustration of the opposition at the polls and for self-succession of the incumbent political party. The Fourth republic is not an exception. The history of electoral authorities in Nigeria depicts a tale of interference and control of the authorities by the incumbent Executives. Ibrahim & Garuba (2010) gave incisive historical analysis and the trajectory of electoral authorities in Nigeria from independence and noted that the country's electoral authority has not been independent as it has been marred by fundamental structural and institutional constraints.

The Fourth republic elections have been organized by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) which was created by Decree 17 of 1998, incorporated into the 1999 Constitution and bequeathed to the civilian government by the military. Despite the inadequacies of INEC, successive incumbents have only paid lip service to electoral reforms and at addressing these inadequacies. The experience of election in the Fourth republic exposes the weakness of Nigeria's electoral institution and its constant use by the ruling PDP to its advantage. The legal framework under which INEC operates is provided by the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, INEC Establishment Act 1998, INEC (Amendment) Act 1998 and the Electoral Act 2006. A lot of sections of these acts compromises the autonomy of INEC. For instance, the Chairmen of INEC are being appointed by the President and they are bound to report back to him. Section 154(1) of the 1999 Constitution empowers the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, subject to confirmation by the Senate to appoint the Chairman and members of INEC. This has been considered as one of the sections compromising the institutional autonomy of INEC (see Ibrahim & Garuba, 2010).

There is no doubt that various Presidents have continued to pick and drop chairmen for the Commission as they dim fit. Between 1999 and 2012, the Commission has been chaired by four different Chairmen – an average of one chairman per four year term. Table 2 shows the tenure of various Chairmen of INEC from 1998 to date.

Table 2 : Changes and Names of INEC Chairmen 1998 - 2012

S/N	NAME	PERIOD
1.	Justice Ephraim Akpata	1998 – 2000
2.	Dr. Abel Guobadia	2000 – 2005
3.	Professor Maurice Iwu	2005 – 2010
4.	Professor Attahiru Jega	2010 – Date

Source: Culled from Ibrahim & Garuba, 2010

The weakness of INEC as an institution is well encapsulated in the statement by The Chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission, Professor Attahiru M. Jega. According to him:

The issue of electoral offences and the impunity with which they are committed is also something that we have to deal with. We have done our best since we came in as a new Commission to prosecute electoral offenders, both during the registration exercise and the elections. And we recorded quite a few number of successful prosecutions, even though these are relatively few compared with large number of offenders. One of the major challenges we have, obviously, has to do with institutional weaknesses, such as inadequacy of legal capacity to prosecute such large numbers successfully within a short period… (Jega, 2011)

The failed elections of the fourth republic in Nigeria are therefore symptoms of these inherent weaknesses identified. Consequently, elections in Nigeria have been characterized by poor organization, widespread rigging, procedural irregularities, significant evidence of fraud, voter disenfranchisement, late arrival of voting material and polling officials, stealing of sensitive polling materials to mention a few (see Alumona, 2007).

IV. Weak State Security Apparatus and Culture of Impunity

The state security apparatus and law enforcement agencies have been unable to forestall electoral frauds or violence, they have also failed to apprehend perpetrators of these electoral frauds or violence, protect life and property of the masses especially members of the opposition. This weakness of the state security apparatus correlates with the culture of impunity among the political elites who indulge in and sponsor all forms of fraud and irregularities in the political process knowing too well that the security apparatus cannot apprehend them. This is also reflected

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

in the raising cases of political assassinations in the country, the fourth republic alone accounts for the highest number of political assassinations in Nigeria's history (see Igbafe and Offiong, 2007). More so, the incumbents in some occasions have been accused of using the law enforcement agents to harass and intimidate political opponents.

The inability of the state security agencies to resolve the numerous cases of political assassinations in the country depicts the weakness of these agencies as institution of government, this in turn stifles opposition in the polity. Below is a list of some cases of unresolved political assassinations that has taken place in the fourth republic Nigeria.

Table 3 : Selected Cases of Unresolved Political Assassinations During the Fourth Republic in Nigeria

S/N	Names	Date	Location	Mode	Outcome
1	Patrick Okoye	January 31, 1999	Lagos	Shot	Unresolved
2	Sunday Ugwu	September 9 1999	Enugu	Shot	Unresolved
3	Igwe Francis Nwankwo	February 15, 2000	Anambra	Shot	Unresolved
4	Nicholas Okhuakhua	June 2000	Lagos	Shot	Unresolved
5	Mohammed Shuaibu	September 2000	Lagos	Shot	Unresolved
6	Obatou Mumbo	October 17, 2000	Onitsha	Shot	Unresolved
7	Idowu Braimoh	November 5, 2000	Ondo	Shot	Unresolved
8	Joseph Osayande	December 4, 2000	Benin	Shot	Unresolved
9	Chief Layi Balogun	December 10, 2000	Lagos	Shot	Unresolved
10	Monday Ndor	August 19, 2001	Port Harcourt	Shot	Unresolved
11	Onyebuchi Ede	August 23, 2001	Ebonyi	Shot	Unresolved
12	Chibueze Idah	August 23, 2001	Ebonyi	Shot	Unresolved
13	Ogbonna Odimbaiwe	August 23, 2001	Ebonyi	Shot	Unresolved
14	Ifeanyi Nnaji	August 23, 2001	Ebonyi	Shot	Unresolved
15	Odunayo Olagbaju	December 20, 2001	Ife	Shot	Unresolved
16	Chief Bola Ige	December 23, 2001	Ibadan	Shot	Unresolved
17	Mr. S. A. Awoniyi	January 7, 2002	Abuja	Stabbed	Unresolved
18	Eyo Eyo	April 2002	Calabar	Shot	Unresolved
19	Ifeanyi Igbokwe	April 18, 2002	Lagos	Shot	Unresolved
20	Musa Dayo	May 9, 2002	Bauchi	Shot	Unresolved
21	Christopher Ogbonna	May 26, 2002	Nsukka	Shot	Unresolved
22	Maria-Theresa Nsa	June 11, 2002	Cross River	Shot	Unresolved
23	Chief & Mrs Barnabas Igwe	September 1, 2002	Onitsha	Shot	Unresolved
24	Mr. Ogbonnaya Uche	February 8, 2003	Owerri	Shot	Unresolved
25	E. Emenike	February 13, 2003	Imo	Shot	Unresolved
26	Theodore Agwatu	February 22, 2003	Owerri	Shot	Unresolved
27	Emily Omope	March 3, 2003	Ibadan	Shot	Unresolved
28	Marshal Harry	March 5, 2003	Abuja	Shot	Unresolved
29	Bala Mai-Haice	March 17, 2003	Yamal tu Deba	Shot	Unresolved
30	Ajibola Olanipekun	June 21, 2003	Ibadan	Shot	Unresolved
31	Aminosoari Dikibo	February 6, 2004	Delta	Shot	Unresolved
32	Lateef Olaniyan	July 16, 2005	Ibadan	Shot	Unresolved
33	Peter Eboigbe	August 11, 2005	Benin	Shot	Unresolved

Source: Adapted from Igbinovia, P. E. as cited in Igbafe & offiong (2007:18 – 19)

As observed in the table above, the gruesome assassination of some notable opposition party stalwarts like Marshall Harry of the All Nigeria's Peoples' Party (ANPP), Bola Ige of Alliance for Democracy (AD), the inability of the state security to unravel the mystery behind these cold-blooded assassinations raises eyebrows.

V. Systematic Disenfranchisement of Electorates

A direct consequence of weak electoral institution and security apparatus is the systematic disenfranchisement of the electorates. Situation where the ballot papers arrive very late to polling centers when most voters must have left after waiting for long hours, where names of some registered eligible voters are omitted in voters' register tantamount to systematic disenfranchise of electorates. For instance, INEC indicated that it needed 30,000 data capturing machines for registration of voters during the 2007 elections but only about 10,000 were eventually provided and were being rotated around polling stations for registration. Most Nigerians were disenfranchised in this process because they were not aware of when INEC officials

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

came to their neighbourhood (NBA, 2007). Again, the weakness of the state security apparatus expressed in its inability to protect most of the electorates from intimidation and to secure the ballot boxes from theft translates to voters' disenfranchisement. The Centre for Environment Human Right and Development (2007) noted that the INEC, security agencies and party members were responsible for the 110 reported incidents of electoral violence in the South-South region of Nigeria during the 2007 elections. These acts of violence led to disenfranchisement of most voters who had to stay back at home because they were psychologically intimidated by the terror gangs. As a corollary, the inability of the electorates to speak through their votes during elections thwarts any attempt to change the incumbent via the polls even when the electorates are not satisfied with the incumbent and are willing to give the mandate to alternate party.

VI. Primitive Accumulation

Primitive accumulation implies the use of state power for accumulation of private wealth. Ake (1985) noted that primitive accumulation is the appropriation of means of production of the society by few through the use of force. As accumulation with state power becomes the norm for the political elite, the premium on political power has increased. He added that:

The use of state power for accumulation means of course the abuse of state power; above all, it means corrupt practices – the award of contracts to those who will pay the highest kickbacks – the inevitable nonperformance in the execution of the contract, the sale of jobs to the people who are too incompetent to carry them out successfully, the sale of import and export licenses to the highest bidders to the detriment of national interest, the evasion of exchange controls, quality standards, administrative procedures, import and export duties on the payment of the appropriate fees to officials etc.

Primitive accumulation plays dual role in thwarting political power alternation – it induces the incumbent and opposition parties to want aspire for state power by all means, it also empowers the incumbent party with the economic resources used in financing and manipulating the electoral process to their favour.

Primitive accumulation has been a feature evident in Nigeria since independence. For instance, the Forster-Sutton Tribunal indicted key public officials of the former Eastern Region for using political positions to divert public resources into African Continental Bank (ACB) which is a private business in which they had interest. Similarly, the Coker Commission of Inquiry revealed how political elites of the defunct Action Group party diverted public funds to the tune of 7,200,000 pounds to private firm (National Investment and Property Corporation) in which Chief Obafemi Awolowo – the leader of Action Group party and premier of Western Region – had interest (see Ibeanu & Egwu, 2007; Ojukwu & Shopeju 2010).

Lamentably, the situation has not changed in the fourth republic. Ojukwu & Shopeju (2010) chronicles the incidence of primitive accumulation in Nigeria's fourth republic, the authors argued that conversion of public funds to private resources has remained the order of the day. This is also encapsulated in the words of Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, who asserted that:

Every month immediately after the sharing of federal allocation, governors and/or their aides to abroad to stash away a good chunk of their states money in coded accounts. Some who are smart siphons the money away through companies which are awarded contracts whose components are sourced abroad…(Agbo, cited in Ojukwu & Shopeju, 2010).

Beyond these looting and privatization of public fund is the fact that these stolen fund are plowed back into politics by the political elites especially the incumbent to ensure they remain in control of state power. Thus state power which has become the umbilical cord between the political elite and their wealth is held onto tenaciously by the incumbent party to ensure the opposition does not capture power as power shift to the opposition will not just amount to loss of political power but will also automatically lead to severance of members of incumbent party from their wealth.

VII. Implication of Non Alternation of Power for Democratic Stability in Nigeria

Democratic stability has remained a scarce attribute in Nigeria. Consequently, successive leaders have had to face the challenge of implementing its programmes in the unstable political environment. In most cases, government development programmes and policies have been modified or even abandoned in the face of instability in the polity.

The political system in Nigeria's Fourth republic is characterized by a situation where the ruling party continues to seek strategies to retain itself in power through all possible means, while the opposition has equally continued to initiate its own tactics to take over power. The result, on the one hand is the frustration of the opposition resulting from its inability to capture power, the refusal to accept election results due to perceived widespread malpractice sponsored by the incumbent, the use of state security apparatus to repress political activities of the opposition, the hopelessness that future elections would not be free and fair due to the fear that no objective reform has been carried to ensure independence of electoral authorities etc. Conversely, the incumbent strives to consolidate its control of state power by using state

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

machinery to appropriate resources and to extinguish any form of opposition. In the face of this stiff competition, both the incumbent and the opposition have continued to exploit the interstices in the polity and in most cases employs various tactics including ethno-regional and religious manipulation of the populace, using militant and extremist groups to perpetrate all kinds of violence in the struggle for power and control of resources. This struggle by the incumbent and the opposition make political leaders loose sight of the needs and aspiration of the masses whose poverty, exclusion and deprivation are intensified as resources meant for national development are misdirected for sponsoring political thugs and build up of weapons of violence by the political class. In line with this, Danbazua (2013) noted that many of the thugs used by politicians to either grab or retain power are those who formed the nucleus of Boko Haram members; militants in the Niger Delta; Ombatse in Nasarawa; and increased the strengths of armed robbers and kidnappers on our highways. Consistent with this view, Ogban-Iyam (2005) noted that the formation and emergence of groups like Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Odua People's Congress (OPC), Arewa People's Congress (APC), the Movement for the Actualization of the Republic of Biafra etc., is directly linked to the failure of the rulers to deal meaningfully with various demands made by the masses.

Meanwhile, the emergence of these militant and extremist groups has been turned into opportunity by the ruling elite who manipulate and instigate these groups to destabilize the country in order to satisfy their selfish political ambition and further loot the national treasury. This is especially as more elections take place in the country and the struggle to capture and/or retain state power intensifies. For instance, the political environment after the 2011 General elections has been characterized by some of the worse forms violence in most parts of the country, Orji & Uzodi (2012) documented some of these incidence of post election violence most of which were linked to both the ruling party and the opposition parties.

Related to the above is the issue of ethnicity and religion in Nigerian politics. The manipulation of the various ethnic and religious groups by the political elites have contributed in no small measure to the current instability in the country. For instance, the demise of President Umaru Musa Yar'dua, and the assumption of office by the Vice President Goodluck Jonathan has created opportunity for some political elites to fan the embers of ethnicity and religion by mobilizing political thugs to cause mayhem in parts of the country under the guise that the northern Nigerians have not completed their eight-year tenure and should be given the opportunity to take back the Presidency. Similarly, beneficiaries of the incumbent have continued to argue it is the first time the Presidency to getting to someone from the South-South region of the country and he should be allowed to complete two-terms of four years each in the office. All these are struggles and strategies by both the incumbent and opposition parties to get hold of state power and have led to political statements and messages made by political elites capable of destabilizing the country.

Again, the escalation of the activities Boko Haram in Nigeria in recent times has been used as an opportunity by both the opposition and the incumbent to seek political goals and further heat up the polity. Both the incumbent and the opposition have continued to blame eache other for the failure of the state security to curb the activities of Boko Haram. In the midst of these fissures, the activities of the extremists have continued to escalate. Although Boko Haram has been described as an Islamist movement which opposes Western civilization, the involvement of the group in the series of bombing, assassination of innocent civilians (irrespective of their religious belief and ethnic group), attacks on state security personnel/installations and the disruption of government political activities are indicative of the failure of political elites to unite in the fight against the menace. Hence, the sect is exploiting the heated political scene to unleash violence and cause untold hardship to the masses all of which destabilize the polity.

Apparently, the non-alternation of power, the struggle by the opposition to capture power by all means and the fight by the incumbent to retain its hold on state power has undermined the democratic stability of Nigeria. Thus, the country has performed poorly in terms of democratic stability, this is further buttressed by the 2012 Freedom House rating which rated the country 'Partially Free' as seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5 : Freedom House Rating For Nigeria and Ghana 2012

	Nigeria
Political Rights	4
Civil Liberties	4
Status	Partially Free

Source: www.africanelections.tripod.com/gh.html

VIII. Conclusion/Prognosis

Democracy entails inclusiveness which ensures that the people become the object and subject of good governance. Meanwhile, democracy cannot thrive without stability in the polity. Unfortunately, despite the transition to democracy, most African states are still plagued by instability. Focusing on Nigeria, the study

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

investigated how lack of alternation in power undermines democratic stability, it demonstrated that governmental turnover via free and fair elections can enhance stability in democratic societies since it promotes inclusiveness, reduces the chances of frustrated opposition resorting to violent means to emancipate itself from incumbent party's repression and builds trust in institutions of the state. We noted that post colonial African states are interventionist as state power is virtually the only means for wealth acquisition and sustenance, as a result, so much premium is placed on state power. Nigeria has not been able to alternate power in its fourth republic and the polity is characterized by instability and chaos as the opposition has lost faith in government institution. The intense struggle by both the opposition and incumbent capture and/or retain state power has heated up the polity.

The study avers the need to strengthen state institutions especially the electoral body and state security apparatus. This will enhance level playing ground and fair competition, and guarantee that the votes of electorates counts thereby preparing the polity for possibility peaceful alternation in power especially considering the fact that Nigerians yawn for a government that can deliver the cargo promised by democracy which includes provision of basic amenities, employment, food, clean water etc.

References Références Referencias

1. Achebe C. (2012). *There Was A Country: A Personal History of Biafra.* Penguin Press: USA.
2. Ake, C. (1985). "The Nigerian State: Antinomies of A Periphery Formation". in Ake (Ed.) *Political Economy of Nigeria*. United States: Longman Publishers.
3. Ake, C. (1985). "The State in Contemporary Africa" in Ake (Ed.) *Political Economy of Nigeria*. United States: Longman Publishers.
4. Alavi, H. (1972). "The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh". *New Left Review,* 74, 59 – 81.
5. Alumona I. M. (2007). "The 2007 General Elections and the Future of Democracy in Nigeria". *Journal of International Politics and Development Studies*. 3(1).
6. Ani, C., Omeh, E., Ike, C. (2013). "Electoral Fraud in Nigeria: A Philosophical Evaluation of the Framework of Electoral Violence" Open Journal of Political Science Vol. 3 No. 4 pp. 167-174.
7. Boafo-Arthur K. (2008). "Democracy and Stability in West Africa: The Ghanaian Experience." *Claude Ake Memorial Papers No*. 4. Uppsala: DPCR, NAI.
8. Centre For Environment, Human Rights And Development (2007). Bi-Monthly Report On Incidence Of Election Related Violence Monitored In The South-South Zone. April 1, - April 30, 2007.
9. Danbazau A. (2013). "Overcoming Nigeria's Security Challenges" *Guardian,* Tuesday, December 17, 2013, Vol. 30 No. 12,773.
10. Egwu, S. G. (1993). "Ethnicity, Economic Crisis and National Development". In Nnoli (Ed.) *Dead-End to Nigerian Development*. Senegal: CODESRIA.
11. Ekekwe, E. N. (1985). "State and Economic Development in Nigeria". in Ake (Ed.) *Political Economy of Nigeria.* United States: Longman Publishers.
12. Hoff K., Horowitz S., Milanovic B. (2005). *Transition from Communism: Political Alternation as a Restraint on Investing in Influence.* Paper presented at Conference Organized by UN Economic Commission for Europe.
13. Hoff, K., Horowitz S., Milanovic B. (2005). "Political Alternation, Regardless of Ideology, Diminishes Influence Buying: Lessons from Transitions in Former Communist States". *Policy Outlook*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
14. Hoff, K., Horowitz S., Milanovic B. (2008). "Political Alternation as a Restraint on Investing in Influence: Evidence from the Post-Communist Transition". *MPRA Paper No*. 11829 available online at http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/11829/ retrieved 14/01/2014
15. Huntington, S. (1991). *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the late Twentieth Century.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
16. Ibeanu, O. & Egwu, S., (2007). "Fighting Corruption in the Political Sphere" in Ibeanu, O. & Egwu, S., *Popular Perceptions of Democracy and Political Governance in Nigeria*. Abuja: Centre for Democracy & Development.
17. Ibrahim J. (2003). *Democratic Transition in Anglophone West Africa*. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA.
18. Ibrahim J. and Garuba D. (2010). A Study the Independent National Electoral Commission of Nigeria. *CODESRIA Research Reports No. 1. 2010.* Dakar: CODESRIA.
19. Igbafe A. A. and Offiong O. J. (2007). "Political Assassinations in Nigeria: An Exploratory Study 1986 – 2005." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations.* 1(1) pp. 009-019.
20. Jega A. M. (2007). *Democracy, Good Governance and Development in Nigeria.* Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd.
21. Jega, A. M. (2011). "Elections, Democratic Transition and Conflict Management in Africa." A Keynote Address at Managing Conflicts in Africa, organized by the Centre for Conflict Management, Kennesaw State University, Georgia, U. S. A. May 13, 2011.
22. Little A. T., Tucker J. A. and LaGatta T. (2013). "Elections, Protest, and Alternation of Power". *Paper presented at the 2nd Annual Meeting of the European Political Science Association and the Elections and Political Order conference.* Emory University.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

23. Mustapha, A. R. (1993). "Ever Decreasing Circles: Democratic Rights in Nigeria" In Nnoli (Ed.) *Dead-End to Nigerian Development.* Senegal: CODESRIA.
24. NBA (2007). "Reform of Nigerian Electoral System" A Strategy Paper Prepared by Nigerian Bar Association. June, 2007.
25. Nwosu, O. S. (2007). "Executive Power and Presidential Democracy: Issues and Lessons". *Journal of International Politics and Development Studies.* 3(1).
26. Ogban-Iyam O. (2005). "Social Production and Reproduction, Societal Conflicts and The Challenge of Democracy in Nigeria". *University of Nigeria Journal of Political Economy,* 1(1). P 1-51.
27. Ojukwu, C. C. & Shopeju, J. O. (2010). "Elite Corruption and the Culture of Primitive Accumulation in 21st Century Nigeria" *International Journal of Peace and Development Studies* Vol. 1(2).
28. Onuoha J., Odoh S.I. and Chilaka F. C. (2012). "Boko Haram Threats and Global Security: Exploring the United States Interest". *Anambra State University Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, 1(1). p. 1-18.
29. Orji, N. and Uzodi, N. (2012). *The 2011 Post Election Violence in Nigeria.* Nigeria: Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC).
30. Prezeworski, A. M. et al (1996). "What Makes Democracy Endure?" *Journal of Democracy, Vol.7, No.1pp.39-59*.
31. Soludo C. C. (2005). "The Political Economy of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria". *Lecture delivered at the 2005 Democracy Day.* ECOWAS Secretariat, Abuja. May 29, 2005.
32. Wahman M. (2012). *Democratization and Electoral Turnovers in sub-Saharan Africa and Beyond*. Available online at http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2012.732572 retrieved 18/01/2014
33. Wahman M. (2012). *Opposition Coalitions and Democratization by Election. Government and Opposition*. p.1-30 available online at http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0017257X1200005X retrieved 18/01/2014
34. Wahman M. (nd). "Democratization through Alternation? Comparing the cases of Ghana, Kenya and Senegal" *Paper prepared for delivery at the Annual Meeting of the Swedish Political Science Association, Gothenburg, Sept.* 30th – Oct 2nd.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 14 Issue 7 Version 1.0 Year 2014
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Geopolitics in Amazon Geographic System in XXI Century

By Wendell Teles De Lima, Nilson César Fraga, Ana Maria Liborio de Oliveira Sammya Christina de Oliveira Alves & Iatiçara Oliveira da Silva

University of Paraná - UFPR, Brazil

Abstract- The resuming of Brazil's geopolitical process is part of a policy in international ascension of the country in search of affirmation to the emergence of a new world power hub in view of the current World Order context. It is still ongoing, in this sense, the repercussion of the theory of Brazilian political geographer Mario Travassos, published in 1930s, having a great impact on the South American continent, of the recovery through the formation of large territories throughout the country consists in Integration and Development (RIE), in which Amazon is highlighted by its strategic importance within what we call geographic systems. These lines will be superimposed on the formation of these large areas. On the interpretation of these facts, one has as a goal to understand spatial systems logic within Travassos and geopolitical perspectives, considering the axes of Integration and Development EIDs in Northern Frontier inside current Brazilian Geopolitics Perspectives. Therefore, understanding the Amazon key role in the geopolitical scenario correlate and interpreting the constitution of borders and territorial policies of Travassos' EID theory with a current perspective and at the same time, demonstrate the current geopolitical framework of the northern border and the pursuit of global projections of the country and at the same time understanding geopolitical functioning of the South American subcontinent.

Keywords: amazon, geopolitical, geographic systems.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699p

GEOPOLITICSINAMAZONGEOGRAPHICSYSTEMINXXICENTURY

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2014. Wendell Teles De Lima, Nilson César Fraga, Ana Maria Liborio de Oliveira Sammya Christina de Oliveira Alves & Iatiçara Oliveira da Silva. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Geopolitics in Amazon Geographic System in XXI Century

Wendell Teles De Lima [α], Nilson César Fraga [σ], Ana Maria Liborio de Oliveira [ρ]
Sammya Christina de Oliveira Alves [ω] & Iatiçara Oliveira da Silva [¥]

Abstract- The resuming of Brazil's geopolitical process is part of a policy in international ascension of the country in search of affirmation to the emergence of a new world power hub in view of the current World Order context. It is still ongoing, in this sense, the repercussion of the theory of Brazilian political geographer Mario Travassos, published in 1930s, having a great impact on the South American continent, of the recovery through the formation of large territories throughout the country consists in Integration and Development (RIE), in which Amazon is highlighted by its strategic importance within what we call geographic systems. These lines will be superimposed on the formation of these large areas. On the interpretation of these facts, one has as a goal to understand spatial systems logic within Travassos and geopolitical perspectives, considering the axes of Integration and Development EIDs in Northern Frontier inside current Brazilian Geopolitics Perspectives. Therefore, understanding the Amazon key role in the geopolitical scenario correlate and interpreting the constitution of borders and territorial policies of Travassos' EID theory with a current perspective and at the same time, demonstrate the current geopolitical framework of the northern border and the pursuit of global projections of the country and at the same time understanding geopolitical functioning of the South American subcontinent. The methodology was based on an interpretive view of the facts and arguments made by reflections of the Research Group Geographical Studies (GPEG) and the literature review in the final results revolves around of Brazilian government rise and strategy based on geographical systems of Travassos' theory.

Keywords: amazon, geopolitical, geographic systems.

I. Introduction

Analyzing Amazon geographic system as geopolitical strategy in the early twenty-first century requires an comprehension of facts that underlie Brazilian reality falling in the context directly linked to Amazon and a set of scenarios in which these universes are inserted, i.e., within south American subcontinent need to understand their relationships, interactions and realities that specify them for geopolitical strategic actions.

Scrutinizing this partial perspective way Amazonian geographical conditions characterize the region of odd shape within the whole country and in South America which can emphasize your own geographical setting in the sense of their own uniqueness before a landscape analysis comparing with the other regions of the subcontinent.

A lot of rivers and forests are to finish well this image that is often a sacralized landscape, but at the same time it is also defiled under its essence from which it emerges as a strategic region for state actions.

Still within the introductory analysis of facts has been the process of their formation at first inserted into the world-system theory of Immanuel Wallerstein place where the Amazon is placed to the periphery of the periphery process reinforced in the constitution of a country model prepared to enter into the modern world system or modern atlanticism which has been the center of power the United States to Brazil would fit within new and old order and an intermediary role as Becker, Egler (1994), in this sense, the project emerge modern geopolitical to the country tied to a sub-regional leadership based on the Regional Power.

Models designed to Amazon at 1970s were always of contention based in concerns of safeguarding the frontiers and at the same time thinking about the geopolitics of the region as an area set aside for a potential possible exploitation of the region. The model region which safeguards the future geopolitical maneuver has its origin in the process of colonization in the region with the arrival of the Portuguese and the installation in the region of strong geographic features that were essential in the development process for territorial geopolitical strategies which will also result mode of action of the Brazilian state in modern times.

Amazon's configuration presents crucial points in the geopolitical strategies which should be designed in such set of possibilities that are part of something larger thought within Travassos' theory (1935) which call for geographic systems has often been neglected by modern scholarship and they have always been present in the territorial politics of the country understood here as internal and external geopolitical Brazilian state.

By elaborating a territorial reading of Brazil and America, Travassos (1935) have noticed the importance of the Amazon as a key dispute in the hegemonic

Author α: PhD in Geography from the Federal University of Paraná - UFPR, Professor at the Amazonas State University - CESTB / UEA. e-mail: wendelltelesdelima@gmail.com
Author σ: Doctor of Geography, Graduate Program Professor in Geography at UFPR. e-mail: nilsoncesarfraga@hotmail.com
Author ρ: Master of Amazonian Studies by UNAL, Paraná Federal Institute Professor - IFPR / Campus Foz do Igauçu. e-mail: analiborio@gmail.com
Author ω: Professor of Higher Education Scientific and Research Institute of Brasilia.
Author ¥: PhD in Environmental Education from the Federal University of São Carlos - UFSC, Professor at the Amazonas State University - CESTB / UEA. e-mail: iaticara@gmail.com

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

system time that the continent should be contextualized with constant competition between Brazil and Argentina by the leadership of the continent. The antagonism seen by this geopolitical between geographic systems consist in internally and externally representation by Amazons vs. Silver vs. Pacific and Atlantic which could be counterbalanced Brazil's favor towards an effective strategy directed to Amazon.

Being one of the pioneers of modern Brazilian geopolitics, his analysis of the geographical and geopolitical reading of the continent fits the Amazon not as a peripheral region which their predecessors has done, so it should be seen as an important area for geopolitical developments on the continent and the country capturing the remaining systems toward Brazilian aim of neutralizing Argentina, so has the role of geopolitical importance.

In Brazilian contemporary one tries to understand, analyze this role by the resumption of spatial systems' theory and its geopolitical importance contextualized according to the project of Brazilian global rise in progress since the late twentieth century that gained strength in the replacement of Regional Power Project. And Amazon seems to once again be decisive in the geopolitical game having an impact in what seems to be the more vital than at the time of offset and neutralize the influence of the Plata, in other words, does not constitute a more conciliatory antagonistic geographic projection system. It is hypothesized that this reflection works, at the prospect of the geographic systems' theory and current regional policies designed for Amazon as the case of Integration and Development (EID)

To understand these facts one has a structuring for the development of our interpretation as regards the geographic systems which they understood as a set of geographical conditions established within or outside the concept, therefore, can be thought of as maritime spatial systems example cases of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans as the analysis of Travassos (1935) describe the importance of these two basins in the constitution of the American subcontinent as geopolitical strategy. These systems inside an internal design which can be continental terrestrial factors are critical for development of regional policies may be of mixed type that may be characteristic of all cases placed here.

Geographic systems are largely stimulated by the actions of states and other actors syntagmatic when used as a target for an action and its purpose is more representative of the territorial policies of states that due to its strength and action are transformed them in geopolitical stimuli which are therefore not determinable in determining their use while they are boosters and boosted with the construction of territorial prostheses Santos (2006) who come to strengthen these systems, so they may not consist only natural elements are more in reality the result of an intricate plot complexity that serve the geopolitical action by states.

This guideline has the methodological analysis of Amazonian geographic system understood as a great enhancer in Brazilian stocks in South America being used for projection of this country before its regional and international claims. The region therefore is characterized as an area of geopolitical maneuvering that term was coined by Mattos (1980) and his process of regionalization of the country in 1980 which is featured on Amazon.

Our interpretive design goes beyond the presence of reaction power of the military in the face of a possible aggression against our country by this geopolitical view, being broader in that sense still picking up the ideas of Travassos (1935) before our conception adopted in Amazon's interpretation which is not as a peripheral region of a military guard, but as a pivot in this region here in the sense used by decision nodes in the geopolitical game for the pretensions of Brazil in its constitution as a world power.

South America will be considered, therefore, as a set of possibilities consisting of geographic areas that are key systems for the design process of the country, however, will be interpreted according to a logic of not only passive, but resistors roughness as the design of Santos (2006)[1]. Brazilian claims not surfaced due to the real political game made up of all of these forces often perceived as reactionary pretensions of the country is in its Brazil power project for regional leadership as the current claims that climbs before a hegemony in the world. Within this context has been based on the geopolitical game caught by Brazil and its actions via Amazon geographical system for your project.

In summary one can then put into our analysis will be focused on a methodology based on critical realism and structural dynamics principle as having the world system consisting of several actors being the main and largest magnitude which have states that are represented as subunit geopolitical system (geographic systems) which attempt to use to search for your interests and hegemony based on ideals exposed on the realist theory Nogueira, Messari (2005) as having geographic cutouts support taking action as a stimulus geopolitics.

The fonts to be used in the research will support as geopolitical wrought Mario Travassos' Continental Projection of Brazil (1935) and other books related to the themes demonstrated the importance of the Amazon in Brazil as a geopolitical interpretation in A New Regional Power Becker, Egler (1994) among others, the authors of articles like Lima, Fraga Oliveira Silva (2014) when

[1] "Call it the roughness that is past as a way, the built landscape that remains of suppression, accumulation, overlapping process with things to replace and accumulate everywhere. The roughness those present as isolated forms or arrangements as." (SANTOS, 2006,p.140).

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

dealing with geographic, as theses that will assist in the development of ideas aimed porting systems being characterized as a search for bibliographic support for the interpretation of the facts.

II. Amazon Geographical and Geopolitical Systems in Travassos' Characterization

In his Continental Projection of Brazil (1935) Mario Travassos managed to understand Brazilian and South American territory as a spatial arrangement Santos (2006)[2]. The geographical reality was understood by Travassos (1935) not only as a set of layout objects here refer to both natural objects like humans.

By analyzing the importance of watersheds and Amazon Platinum focused demonstrates the political potential as part of a state policy dating back to natural elements such as enhancers of geopolitical practices for certain purposes and goals part.

The no less important in his work artificial factors also deserve attention when you put, for example, the importance of the railroad linking Buenos Aires to La Paz which is a major prosthesis territorial system that streamlines the platinum toward Argentina. On the Brazilian side and feeling in the Amazon to counteract this influence suggests the continuation and completion of the Madeira-Mamore in his analysis that can capture Bolivia to Brazil's sphere toward the Amazon.

Within this analysis deepens one can reach the following consideration as Lima, Fraga, Oliveira y Silva (2014) that the formation of two compounds geographic systems for internal basins of the Amazon and Prata, and external influences strictly connected ocean basins of the Atlantic and the Pacific, are designed as geographic stimuli that are willing to constitute the territory and through state action, are transformed into geopolitical designs, establishing a set of force inside and outside the continent.

These geographic factors are determinant (not geographical determinations) because they are related to power relations established by individual countries that comprise each system. Friedrich Ratzel knew how to analyze the importance of geographical features in territory, towards essential component in territorial policies.

Watersheds, seen by Travassos (1935), were not only understood as a set of rivers (drainage network), but part of what we have observed and characterized how geographic systems that are blends of natural and human component potentiated by the action of the State that constitute its territorial policies and at the same time are exacerbated by geopolitical action as it is also booster of this action, therefore, is not just a physical or even a policy domain but geographical regionalization system that covers many spheres of human and physical context that enhance the activity of geopolitical States.

On Spanish side, before a conception of the process of regionalization in South America, has been the ideal Malagrida. The analyzes by Carlos Badia Malagrida of geopolitical strategy aimed at units in South America while strengthening Hispanic ideology in the constitution of a new empire on the continent, this fact is related to the very national origin geopolitical, so repeating the actions of all other states in the world that had as its starting point geopolitical strategies in your country of origin, therefore, related to the needs of the Spanish state, the temporality of the development of these ideas is the beginning of the twentieth century through his work the Geographic Factor in South American Politics (1919) is that the first edition.

As Malagrida apud Martins (2011) the process of geopolitical perception occurs through the regionalization of the continent or in your subdivision, in addition to the division of the continent which have been other factors that are components for development parts in accordance with the geopolitical project placed as an extension territorial location, outstanding presence of economic goods or economic power can be boosted with a new form of countries organisation.

He highlights that the conditions that determine the development of its geopolitical National or State projects are existing in the territory stimuli that are intensified by regional policies and a set of natural and political factors. Ratzel cited Pfrimer (2011) in the nineteenth century who had already pointed to the important development of these "stimuli" physical in nature or not directly linked to the soil so that the basis for the development of any action by the United assumptions which we interpret as a component part of geographic systems.

Malagrida (1946) had observed as well as Travassos (1935) had that the importance of geographic systems in the geopolitical game in South America has shown that territorial disputes are laid on top of these factors should be the basis for the regionalization process and while its importance which was decisive for the development and performance of countries that should align itself to its former Spanish colony that featuring a Hispanic world, therefore, has a territorial analysis based on fundamental geographical and geopolitical strategy systems for both Malagrida (1946) as well as Travassos as being differentiated by the world view of each country.

Analyzing the limits of the constitution and South American countries Malagrida (1946) propose the unification or back of the incorporation of smaller countries and strengthening States Protos. Based on the concept that geographical system are worth

[2] Understood as established order of objects in space that can be both artificial manmade and natural.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

mentioning that even without using the Catalan term geopolitical and even Travassos (1935) do this in their geographic analysis before a reading on the geopolitical territory.

Malagrida (1946) claims that Bolivia can be placed as a good example of an improper regionalization in terms of its territory consists of three geographic systems that fragment the country in the play of forces, which are the Amazon, platinum and Andean influences still suffering from its proximity with Pacific system fact that it receives attention as seen by Travassos (1935) as a pivot state, however, this phenomenon was not only characteristic of the Bolivian state he also extended to other countries in reading this geopolitical Paraguay and Uruguay as the constitution and deleting some states could bring internal peace to every continent these facts are mentioned by geopolitical fruits of the colonial process that occurred in America giving rise to such distortions.

The same way Travassos (1935) his analysis was not restricted only to countries that were former colonies of Spain and Brazil which occurred before the notice which consisted on various geographic systems, being named by him as Brazils for the dynamic plural which was settled in the country, realized that could occur later as an Independent Brazil Amazon Platino as well as Bolivia and independent these antagonistic forces which were reinforced by large size of the country which could lead to its fragmentation fact disagreed by Travassos (1935).

Travassos' idea (1935) may be seated as played by Brazilian geopolitical remaining an indivisible homeland that perhaps due to the creation of the myth of the island Brazil Magnoli (2003) existing before the Portuguese arrived in Brazil was spent towards always understand the territory of a single way though made by the establishment of three large systems the Amazon, Plata and the Atlantic.

Given these circumstances it can be concluded accordingly that the composition of geographical factors are determinable (not geographic determinants) because they are related to the balance of power established by individual countries that comprise each system. Ratzel cited in Moraes (1990) observes the importance of geographical features in the territory, their understanding is essential component for territorial policies giving a current read more pretentious fundamental to the specific actions of each geopolitical states.

III. The Revival of Geopolitics on the Big Territories and Travassos' Geopolitics Current Analysis of Amazon to Understand the XXI Century

Facing the new reality and with varying degrees of integration, the countries of Latin America are beginning to produce flux space driven to large corporations by increasing the space performance, reflecting their transnationalization. In this sense, the infrastructure and logistics become cornerstones in the formation of large territories, as well as geographic factors which in reality is the rediscovery of geographic systems.

In the constitution of this idealization and that context in the 1990s have risen Integration and Development (EID) which has in principle and in order to, at first, relieve the "Brazil cost"[3] causing Brazilian Cerrado commodities become attractive in the international market.

During President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) term would be created a program of nationwide first called "Brazil in Action" which has been renamed after the reelection of President is calling from then "Advance Brazil", whose formation will be created the Integration and Development (EIDs).

Made in the spatial patterning of the previous form predominated the import-substitution model, maintained by the domestic market and high investments coming from the state having as partners the National Capital and International. The external debt and the crisis of capital generated by the Great Recession exhausted the shape of this pattern.

The new standard is based on stability and economic openness and the recovery of the state executive capacity, investments are made jointly by both the government and the national and international private sector as having targets north of the state, being its guideline governed by neoliberal precepts.

It is from that principle that the axes arise integration and development (EIDs), having as purpose the flow of commodities in the Central Plateau. Thus it has been created an Executive Group for Integration of Transport Policy (GEIPOT), and developers possessing the Brazilian Government and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) sponsoring a "loop" flow of products to cutting spending "Brazil Cost", one of the objectives of the establishment of large territories towards the international markets as deployed on Amazon.

Given this new geopolitical conception while concerned about the territorial unity in the course of its development, was crafted by the Secretariat for Strategic Affairs of the Presidency of the Republic (SAE-PR) in Fernando Henrique Cardoso, in addition to the flow of production productive link territory resulting in regional integration.

Another process was stipulated by the multiannual plan[4] that directs investments to these large

[3] The Cost Brazil is the expression used to show that there is a set of logical and infrastructural factors which increase Brazilian products, thus, making them more expensive on the international market competition, therefore, a major concern for commodity market.

[4] Plan stipulated by the Federal Government's policy is to action-investment in certain areas of the country, is also regarded as a

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

territories, as their objective expertise. Differentiations of the axes were again reworked in the second administration of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, and there is more national and international axes, although all of them are considered as priorities for the projection of the country. This is now the program called Pra Frente Brazil.

The operation of premeditated actions by state action occurs - and Private Partnerships (municipal governments and other multilateral organizations) Initiative through economic infrastructure projects within the areas of transport, energy, telecommunications, water infrastructure, social development, education, housing, sanitation basic production of information, knowledge and the environment. Ecotourism, biotechnology, agriculture, agribusiness, mining and services, however, the axes for the Amazon the following potential uses of forests are processed.

The choice of selected "territories" took into account the following requirements: a multimodal network of transportation (this is important for make flow easier and improve its connections), functional hierarchy of cities based on their logistics and infrastructure, identification of dynamic centers (the importance of cities as polarizing agents for information and flows of economic dynamics, a set of geographical conditions).

The structural factors are fundamental to the process of incursion of state action based on them being renewed territorial planning from the 2000s to the present to the process of international integration of the country. Process initiated by the government Luís Inácio da Silva (Lula) before his term from 2003 to 2011 and even replaced by the continuity of that policy by the current president Dilma Rousseff.

The neoliberal model was in crisis due to low investment by private enterprise and the state itself being strengthened with the return of developmentalist governments where this happens to be one of the major developers in the development of the capital. However, we must emphasize that the process of internationalization of the country or the beginning of a search for a global leadership begins in neoliberal governments, the difference between the two is the weight and direction that it will receive from state and geographical factors (Figure1). Both policies were instrumental in the process of revival of geopolitics.

Source: IIRSA

Figure 1 : Geographic Systems in Transnational Territories

IV. Geographic Systems Travassianos

Large areas (Figure 1) are integral parts of the "natural route" established by Travassos (1935) to analyze the conditions of Brazilian territory in his book recognized in South American level projection called Mainland Brazil, which aimed to define strategies Brazilian on a geographic scenario where the formation of two large systems, Silver and Amazon, are critical sources for the hegemony of the continent representing internal forces on an external scenario has become Atlantic versus Pacific as described by Travassos own (1935).

These antagonisms manifest diverse range seconds:

- A spanning the continent, its causes and effects - is reflected by the opposition of the two continental slopes, the Atlantic and the Pacific;

- Another interested party directly by the Atlantic slope - is the opposition of two large basins that imbed it in the Amazon and La Plata, and can be easily observed at the brief glimpse on a geographic map of South America (TRAVASSOS, 1935, p. 19)

By Travassos (1935), geographic systems have lived in the antagonisms due to its own nature that could be targeted by the actions of the State representing the enhancement of existing resources in the territory and manmade. The paths are called natural areas of

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

strategic interests that are appropriated geopolitical action on the existence of their own geographical conditions established in the territory.

Under this geopolitical imbalance of forces that can be harmonized depending on the states in its context. This was represented in the struggle for hegemony on the continent between Brazil and Argentina. However, he did not fail to present other existing conflicts in Brazil itself and, especially, understand the importance and geographic systems that comprised not only the country but the entire South American continent.

The back of renewed Travassos' theory is directly linked from the beginning to the geopolitical designs of the country, thus being the paths and directions on the South American continent as a project which has now surpassed Brazil Power International to issue a regional hegemony that is important as part of the complement of Brazilian claims to be a center of world power.

As Travassos (1935), in its geopolitical interpretation of the Brazilian territory, the Amazon becomes a key piece for insertion in the Caribbean geographic system in terms of location and its geographical setting, as well as toward the Pacific system. Lima et al. (2014) make the following remarks on this subject:

The formation of two compounds geographic systems for internal basins of the Amazon and Prata, and external influences closely linked to ocean basins of the Atlantic and Pacific, are conceived as spatial stimuli that are arranged in the constitution of the territory and, through the action of the State are transformed into geopolitical designs, establishing a set of force into and out of the continent.

These geographic factors are determinable (not geographical determinations) because they are related to power relations established by individual countries that comprise each system. Friedrich Ratzel knew the importance of geographical features in the territory, towards essential component in territorial policies (LIMA et al., 2014, p.98).

Within Travassos' context lived by geopolitical, which has the vision of the centripetal forces that Brazil's power is dominant in much of the watershed, especially the navigability that occur within the Brazilian territory, which thus establishes the dependence of flow Amazonian countries converge to our country.

This natural tendency is reinforced by the creation of prostheses such as the Madeira-Mamore, who early last century was tried turning point by consolidating Amazon domain and neutralizing satellization of Bolivia and Argentina itself. There have been, however, some current needs, as the continuation of the North Iron extending to Acre, the project has not yet materialized, paving of Old Highway Manaus-Porto, linking the city of Manaus with this highway and the insertion of good part of western Amazonia, particularly the western and northern part of the state of Amazonas requiring an infrastructural process that takes into account their empowerment in the geographic system.

Concerning the inclusion of new areas within this project implemented by these large territories which has become the great "runner" represented by Axis Integration and Development Manaus - Caribbean (Figure 2) while the vertebra Federal Highway Manaus - Boa Vista toward the city of Caracas in Venezuela, representing the integration of important geographic systems.

Source: GeoSur

Figure 2 : Shaft Manaus - Boa Vista via Caracas

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

One has as constitution of this important Axis Integration and Development, a perspective of the geographical system, as shown in Figure 02, the federal highway connecting Manaus - Boa Vista to the capital of Venezuela (Caracas) projecting the country toward the Caribbean Sea where it is observed intensification of the actions of the country in the 2000s in diversifying their political potential for economic, military and political actions.

The incorporation of Venezuela to the Southern Cone Common Market (MERCOSUR) increases the importance of this great land due to economic and political transactions possible, making it an important economic market in this block through the opening of the Venezuelan ports to Brazil via the Amazon system. Thus, widening a large number of multiple actions within the axis of greater integration which that territory belongs, projecting the country toward the Caribbean, Europe and the Pacific Geographic System.

It still has the central point or node of the system (Figure 2) represented by the city of Manaus, which is the point of connection to other systems, projecting toward the rivers system Solimões/ Amazonas reaching the city of Tabatinga, which can reflect the image snapshot from Amazon Colombian and Peruvian.

Points that General Golbery Couto Silva in the 1980s called the key points in the process of settlement and, we add, besides being structural parts of the armor are territorial bases of projection to be stimulated into other systems, such as pole of Tabatinga toward the capture of Geographic System Pacific and Caribbean via Colombia.

The city of Manaus, as a nodal point, opens possibilities towards the northernmost region of their state toward the Upper Rio Negro, aiming southern Venezuela as expansion area and at the same time, greater proximity to the System geographic Andino which this country allows us the presence of the country. The incursion of these systems are still in accordance with the policy designed by Mattos (1935), in being equal of US interests while advancing the interests of the international projection platform as having the northern part of South America.

In the composition of this mosaic is yet to make inclusion policies, with a view to horizontal space, as Santos (2006), we included a rich mosaic of realities as small farmers, indigenous peoples, river, etc. that make up the vast territory Manaus - Boa Vista - Caribbean and, therefore, the fundamental process of production chains linked to large chain enterprises and actions of the Brazilian state.

The Integration and Development, established in the 1990s in full neoliberal government, were is the inside of a macro-regional perspective. As Lima et al (2012), the Initiative for the Integration of South American Regional Infrastructure (IIRSA) is based on the prior project of clipping regional Integration and Development (EIDs), both are great territories established superimposed to form territories of South American countries, namely transnational territories. These territorial policies were developed in the Strategic Affairs Secretariat of the Federal Government.

With the election of Luis Inacio da Silva (Lula) in the governments of 2003-2005 and 2006-2010, a new design is generated aiming not only to the increment of economic flows. The geopolitical bias is resumed with the goal of increasing the country's leadership in the South American continent and the world, being seated on a hybrid approach between military ideals "Brazil Power Project" and increasing economic presence in the sub-region and the world having reflecting the integration process among countries on the continent.

The Amazon is now an integrative geopolitical project before the Brazilian needs towards their goals facing the Caribbean Sea and the pursuit of capturing the South Pacific. As pointed Steps (2013), with the emergence of a large extended territory of the Manaus Caribbean and the consolidation of these goals, the pursuit of physical integration is necessary due to the current reality, hence the importance of spatial enhancers, ie, the physical reality of the territory, as pointed out by Brazilian geopolitical demonstrated many times how disparate forces its constitution.

Travassos (1935), in his analysis of the geographic antagonisms and the constitution of South America, portrays the importance of consolidating the Amazon by Brazilian territorial policies based on the theory of the geographical system, which means the physical geographical elements of the drainage basins should be stimulated by the action of the State as the State strategy on increasing the influence and projection within the south American continent.

In the case of the Amazon system, it still represents the old key to the expansion of economic and political power of the country toward the Caribbean and Pacific.

An internal territorial analysis has been the creation of a new area of political and economic synergy enhancing the dynamism of the border and its new conception towards Venezuela, being based in the city of Manaus, but specifically the Manaus Free Zone, established in 1967 and the great artery, the federal highway Manaus-Boa Vista, launching himself toward the capital of Venezuela, Caribbean Sea warehouse.

Travassos' vision has become an Amazon system connected to the northern continental system toward the city of Boa Vista, in turn, leads us toward the marine systems of the Caribbean and the Pacific, that is, the Yankee neutralization and, at the same time, the influence of Brazil on systems that could dramatically, according to Mario Travassos (1930), reflect the image snapshot of the Amazon by external forces.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

The constitution of this great land down two perspectives: at first, before the new output port of Brazilian economic flows actually still in consolidation with Venezuela's entry into the Common Market of the South (Mercosur) protruding toward the West Indies, Central America and North Pacific, that is, framing plans of the country from a global perspective. Secondly, inviolability of the Amazon on the insider threat and resumed the dream of integration with the national economy due to these large territories are connected to the national whole.

The Eids had as starting point a transnational character related to IIRSA and, at first, intended for export corridors. However, the stimulus to mainstream policies by Brazilian leadership and the resumption of the project projection country in the world and the search for greater consolidation in South America resulted in a new approach in the establishment of these territories, however, establish the old directions as stated in the dreams of Brazilian geopolitical aspirations in the American continent and the world.

It may point out, that feeling, that the constitution of the northern territory that extends from Manaus to Caracas in Venezuela is complex due to his seated area spanning across multiple territories and the presence of indigenous people, small farmers, marginal population. Gonçalves (2001) agreement, the territorial diversity is seen only through the prism of large external territorial policies. The reality of living space, as was done in the 1960s and 1970s, the envisaging of Great Projects to Amazon resulting in social, environmental and economic impacts to existing populations.

Thus, there have been major types of nuances observed a superposition of territoriality, in which geopolitical and social vectors still prevail in the territories designed to Amazon. Travassos (1935) concerns were established in macro policies of containment external influences via Amazon as well as the geographic system design process before the Amazonian north northerly border.

Travassos' geographic system designed in the 1930s, therefore, assumed a static analysis of territorial reality from the standpoint of physical geography that only exists in natural factors of space. The state became the only actor placed in territorial planning, economic and geopolitical their needs remain. A single view of the point of view of state still seems to be an obstacle to overcome and mediated by the existence of territoriality existing even before the arrival of large directed to Amazon policies.

Becker (1999) demonstrates that the process of integration in Amazonian different spatial scales should be taken into account in the policies of EIDs, causing irradiation and active participation in current political and territorial component part of its insertion in the world and while its success.

The complexity of the facts on the border due process is a step to be faced because of its geopolitical, economic and population constitution reflecting various interests in their great majority divergent. The need to keep up the dialogue while the inclusion of territoriality are constituent parts of the new understanding of what's territory, now with social profile not only the physical point of view or authoritative support and unique state.

The directions look the same, but with greater intensity displayed by geopolitical Mario Travassos (1935) toward the Caribbean and the Pacific in search of a Brazilian, especially in economic and geopolitical resumption of territorial policy projection of the viewpoint from the 1990s until the current period. It is also the design of space as understood only from an economic perspective and the State, however, with the emergence of existing territorialities this game starts to be established by the clash as requiring mediation policy dialogue and inclusion policies in the territorial.

References Références Referencias

1. BECKER, Bertha K.; EGLER, Claudio. A. G. BRAZIL: a new regional power in the world economy. 2nd Ed São Paulo: Bertrand Brazil, 1994.
2. BECKER, Bertha K. Shafts integration and development and the Amazon. **Territory Magazine**, Year IV, No. 6, January / June 1999. Available at www.revistaterritorio.com.br/pdf/06_4_becker.pdf. p. 29-42. Accessed on: 06/05/2014
3. GONÇALVES, Carlos Walter Porto. **Amazon Amazons**. 1. Ed São Paulo: Context, 2001.
4. LIMA, Wendell Teles; FRAGA, Nilson César; OLIVEIRA, Ana Maria Libório; SILVA, Iatiçara Oliveira. Geographic and systems Geopolitics of Amazônia. **Journal of Geopolitics**, vol. 5, No. 2, p. 97-108, July / December 2014.
5. MAGNOLI, Demetrius. The state in pursuit of its territory. **Terra Brasilis** (New Series), n. 4 - 5. p. 2-9, 2003.
6. MALAGRIDA, Carlos Badia. **El geographical factor en la sudamericana policy**. 2nd ed. Madrid: Instituto Editoral Defendants, 1946.
7. MARTINS, Marcos Antônio Favaro. **Mario Travassos and Carlos Badia Malagrida**: Two Models Geopolitical About South America 2011. Thesis (Ph.D. in Latin America) - the Post - Graduate Integration of Latin America at the University of São Paulo - PROLAM, USP, São Paulo - SP.
8. MATTOS, Carlos de Meira. **A Geopolitics Pan-Amazonia**. Rio de Janeiro: Army Library, 1980.
9. MORAES, Antônio Carlos Robert. **Ratzel**. São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1990.
10. PFRIMER, Matheus. The relationship between the soil and the State - Chapter IO State as a body connected to ground [p. 59] Ratzel. **GEOUSP - Space and Time**, n.29. p. 51 - 58, 2011.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

11. SANTOS, Milton. **The Nature of Space**: Technique and Time, Reason and Emotion. 4th Ed. São Paulo: Editora Universidade de São Paulo, 2006.
12. TRAVASSOS, Mário. **Continental projection of Brazil**. 2nd Ed São Paulo: National Publishing Company, 1935.
13. WALNUT, John Bridges; Messari, Nizar. **International Relations Theory**. 18th. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2005.

Websites Visited

1. AVANÇA BRASIL. Available at: <www.abrasil.gov.br/anexos/anexos2/fr_eixos.htm>.Accessed on: 02/03/2014.
2. IIRSA. Available at: <www.iirsa.org/>. Accessed on: 06/05/2014.
3. MINISTÉRIO DO PLANEJAMENTO. Available at: www.planejamento.gov.br/ministerio.asp?index=10&ler=s1086. Accessed on: 15/07/2014.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 14 Issue 7 Version 1.0 Year 2014
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Corruption in Nigeria: The Possible Way Out

By Philips O. Okolo & Akpokighe Okiemute Raymond
Niger Delta University, Nigeria

Abstract- This paper analyzed corruption in Africa using Nigeria as a case study. It states that corruption is alien to Africa and that a sizable number of African pre-colonial nations – states were founded on strong ethical values ensuring social justice and compliance. The paper therefore argues that colonialism imported corruption to Africa and by extension Nigeria. It explains corruption from different perspectives and concluded that corruption is innate and deep seated in Nigeria particularly in the public sector. The paper then identified non – conformity religious tenets, values, culture, ethnicity, favoritisms, nepotism and weak legal systems among others as the causes of corruption in Nigeria. Thus the paper finds four factors as the costs of corruption in the country – political, economic, social and environmental. Finally, the paper put forward nine points as possible options and frame-work for curbing corruption in Nigeria.

Keywords: accountability, Africa, corruption, ethnical values, governance, pre-colonial, public office, social justice.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699p

CORRUPTIONINNIGERIATHEPOSSIBLEWAYOUT

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2014. Philips O. Okolo & Akpokighe Okiemute Raymond. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Corruption in Nigeria: The Possible Way Out

Philips O. Okolo [α] & Akpokighe Okiemute Raymond [σ]

Abstract- This paper analyzed corruption in Africa using Nigeria as a case study. It states that corruption is alien to Africa and that a sizable number of African pre-colonial nations – states were founded on strong ethical values ensuring social justice and compliance. The paper therefore argues that colonialism imported corruption to Africa and by extension Nigeria. It explains corruption from different perspectives and concluded that corruption is innate and deep seated in Nigeria particularly in the public sector. The paper then identified non – conformity religious tenets, values, culture, ethnicity, favoritisms, nepotism and weak legal systems among others as the causes of corruption in Nigeria. Thus the paper finds four factors as the costs of corruption in the country – political, economic, social and environmental. Finally, the paper put forward nine points as possible options and frame-work for curbing corruption in Nigeria.

Keywords: accountability, Africa, corruption, ethnical values, governance, pre-colonial, public office, social justice.

I. Introduction

When specifically viewed with Africa's history in mind, administrative corruption, thought rampant across Africa today is an alien culture. Pre-colonial Africa, for the most part, was founded on strong ethical values sometimes packaged in spiritual terms, but with the end result of ensuring social justice and compliance. In both centralized and decentralized pre-colonial African communities, governance was conducted with the utmost seriousness. As the laws were mostly unwritten in nature and therefore prone to being easily forgotten, they were often couched in supernatural terms to instill fear and be instilled in the subconscious.

Examples abound of the heavy emphasis on accountability and good governance across several pre-colonial African communities. In West Africa, the Asante confederation was a kingdom that thrived on strict rules and regulations. Established by seven clans close to the city of Kumasi, the Kingdom was held together by the symbolic Golden Stool of Asante-Hene. With strong cooperation from all groups the leadership of the Asante kingdom was known, according to Emizet Kisangani, to have "implemented several modernization policies in administration that included promoting advancement by merit and the development of state enterprise through public investment." The Asante were able to "build roads and promoted agriculture, commerce, industry and education through self-help and self-reliance."

Among the Yoruba of south western Nigeria, the institution of *Oyo-mesi* the king making body, acted as a check against the abuse of power by the Alafin (the Oba) or the King of Oyo. The Alafin was constrained to rule with caution and respect for his subjects. When he is proven to have engaged in acts that undermined the interests of his subjects, such as gross miscarriage of justice for personal gains, the *Oyo-mesi* would, in the words of Yunusa Salami "present him with an empty calabash or parrot's eggs as a sign that he must commit suicide" since he could not be deposed, according to tradition.

In the Igbo acephalous society, the absence of any form of overarching authority, by itself, placed leadership in the hands of the people – the very epitome of accountability and good governance. The titled chiefs sat together to address the more difficult issues of governance, and there is a saying among the Igbo that a "titled man does not lie." If one wanted to hear the truth, to be granted pristine justice according to the prevailing standards, s/he only needed to get the impeccable body of titled men to hear the case in question.

Pre-colonial Rwanda had a highly organized, efficient and centralized system of administration. Although an autocratic and hierarchical system presided over by the king, there were systems of checks and balances among those who ruled at the clan level. A variant of the land ownership, *Ubukonde* permeated pre-colonial Rwanda. It was a custom of mutually beneficial exchange of labour between the Hutu, Tutsi and Twa, set on agreed principles. At the time it existed, *Ubukonde* was accepted by all parties involved and those who tried to amass land wealth in a corrupt manner outside of the *Ubukonde* system incurred the wrath of the King. Numerous examples abound across sub-Saharan Africa, but in all, what held these communities together and brought administrative corruption down to the barest minimum was a set of rules and regulations, agreed principles and moral values that guided human interactions.

Colonialism introduced systemic corruption on a grand scale across much of sub-Saharan Africa. The repudiation of indigenous values, standards, checks and balances and the pretensions of superimposing western structures destabilized the well-run bureaucratic machinery previously in existence across pre-colonial

Author α: Department of Political Science, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Niger Delta University, Wilberforce Island, Yenagoa, Bayelsa State, Nigeria. e-mails: philipsobolo@gmail.com, philipsokolo@yahoo.com
Author σ: Department of Political Science, College of Education, Agbor, Delta State, Nigeria.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Africa. The end result is what is rampant across Africa today; conspicuous consumption, absence of loyalty to the state, oppressive and corrupt state institutions, to mention few. There are several ways that colonialism contributed to the prevalence of corruption across sub-Saharan Africa.

Indirect rule turned leadership in Africa into a corrupted enterprise where instead of holding power in trust for the people, the rulers held power in trust for the colonial authorities. Government became an antagonistic platform for forcefully extracting obedience from the people. In several instances, the dregs of the society, the rejects, the ones that hitherto had no say in the community were promoted as warrant chiefs by British authorities. Individuals without character who demanded money in exchange for manipulating the colonial masters enthroned corruption at the highest echelon of governance. To avoid being punished for the grave crime of being citizens, the people saw bribery as a first and last resort, if at all they were to be granted access to the most basic rights.

With little or no knowledge of the economic earnings of potential tax payers, colonial masters imposed flat-rate taxes known as hut tax on the colonies. The mode of tax payment was often steeped in violence, whereby district commissioners or warrant chiefs were empowered to arrest any defaulter. The hut tax was mainly used in paying salaries and emoluments for colonial officers and in running the colonial office. There were very little benefits the people could see in the form of social services, in return for the taxes they paid. The result was the evolution of a latently corrupt system, devoid of accountability, and which pitched citizens against themselves and against the ruling class.

The history of police and military formations in several parts of the world can be traced to the need to protect citizens and ensure territorial integrity. Conversely, in the case of Africa, the police and military were established primarily to crush civilian opposition to colonial rule. Police engagement with the populace was founded on the need to enforce hateful and debilitating colonial laws, including forced taxation, segregation, and quelling of anti-colonial uprisings. At the end of colonialism, the newly independent African government inherited institutions that had internalized a culture of citizen oppression and extortion. The immediate post-colonial police and military were designed to inflict terror on innocent citizens, and citizens had internalized the art of buying their way off unwarranted harassment. The major challenge for immediate post-colonial African leadership was how to embark on massive reorientation exercises. This challenge was not taken seriously by successive administrations across the continent. Even in cases where the need was recognized, resources was lacking that could bring about internally generated transition.

Pre-colonial Africa as earlier indicated was known for emphasis on strong moral values. Those who were circumstantially rendered unfit as a result of age, ill-health or physical impairment were well taken care of. Colonialism destabilized the prevailing pre- colonial system, uprooted men from the farms to work for the white man as houseboys, miners, clerks and in other menial capacities. The monetization occasioned by this exercise introduced a form of greed, unknown in the culture of most pre-colonial African societies. Rather than hard working and morally upright members of society acting as role models for the younger generation, colonial masters, who lived in 'big' houses, drove 'big' cars and treated Africans with disdain were who most Africans aspired to become like.

The prevailing culture of acquisition of alien tastes, a culture of consumerism rather than production, and the oppression of the less endowed are the natural outcome of idolizing usurpers and people who reaped where they did not sow, Sixty years later, Africans, for the most part, remain enchanted with the trappings of modernity, without the character to cultivate it. Fast cars, big houses, expensive vacations to the west, Brazilian wigs and others are only some of the manifestations of a generation mentored by pilferers and oppressors in the form of colonial authorities.

The above are some of the means through which the unfortunate incident of colonialism engendered a culture of indifference to nation building, and a penchant for corruption across much of sub-Saharan Africa. This essence of this summary introduction is not to play the blame game or bring about the wringing of hands in regret, but to understand the past – a luxury which the continued dominance of western thoughts in the academia and media has denied Africa – in order to mend the future.

Corruption is a cancer that has eaten deeply into the fabric of Nigeria polity. The general global perception about graft in Nigeria is that it is generally acknowledged that corrupt practices are endemic and systemic in both public and private sectors of Nigeria. From the forgoing it is evident that corruption undermines the country"s integrity and security. It also poses serious developmental challenge being responsible for the poverty of the populace. Public resources meant for the development of all ends up in few hands, the nation pays the price. This has resulted to absence of social amenities such as portable water, electricity and good roads. The populace becomes demoralized and become willing tools to be used as sabotages to the state. It has led to the extinction of institutions of national significance and pride such as Nigerian Airways, National Shipping Lines, Steel Rolling Mills, Nigerian Telecommunication Limited, car assembly plants etc.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

II. Conceptual Clarification

a) Corruption

In view of the foregoing this paper provides a conceptual framework web, conceptual clarification corruption as a term is uncertain and indeed devoid of any strait jacket definition. It depends on who is defining and from what perspective. What is corruption? If you are a typical Nigerian, you would define it as government officials looting our treasury. One could view; everything starts and ends in government offices. It will surprise you that almost everybody is campaigning against corruption in Nigeria? We are all waging a war against corruption. The main reason Nigeria is not making progress we say authoritatively is that those in government are just stealing public money. Corruption in Nigeria is not the exclusive preserve of politicians, civil servants, and captains of industry. Among the "common people" there is an instinctive honing of stealing skills. One should stop thinking people suddenly become corrupt when they join the government. However having been tutored and mentored on petty stealing from probably the age of five, Nigerians naturally explode when they occupy positions of authority at any level either in private or public sector. They join the bandwagon of selfish leaders after suddenly finding themselves in the corridor of power Rather than use their positions to repair its ills; they conform to the enrichment craze. In other words corruption is defined as the involvement in illegal, dishonest, or wicked behaviour which is destructive of the moral fabric of society. To some people corruption "is the conscious and will plan act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons".

The concept "Corruption" like many other concepts in social sciences has no settled meaning. This means that there is no straight backed definition, or generally accepted, or encompassing definition for the term corruption.

However, certain definitional attempts have been proffered by different scholars. Although, there is often difficulties in defining it, because it means not only different things to different people, and even to the same people different things at different times, but also sanctions usually are attached to corrupt practices which hides them and gives them subtle forms.

Thus, some people see "corruption" as a conscious and well planned act by a person or group of persons to appropriate by unlawful means the wealth of another person or group of persons. Then to others, it is the act of turning power and authority to ready cash.

For (Agbese, 1982), "corruption is a phenomenon so difficult to define, yet it percolates every structure of the society. It affects the military as well as it soils the hands of the civilians". He went further to define corruption as follows …

> *"When we use our position in society to secure certain advantages jumping a queue, being waved off at the checkpoint or making others bend the rules to accommodate our demands … by whatever means even if it is just 'thank you' our action however innocent, however well-intentional, however unthreatening to others, has corrupted a system or a convention or some rules and regulations in application."*

In this regard, even whatever form of seasonal gifts, free air tickets, lunch or diner – "kola" is no longer exempted, since these are likely to influence future courses of action and transactions the giver or receiver is thus corrupting protocol or breaching some rules and regulations in the society (Nigeria) etc. Professor Abdullahi, Smith, for instance saw "corruption as the diversion of resources from the betterment of the community to the gain of individuals at the expense of the community". (Mumullan 1961: 183 – 4) point out that a public official is corrupt if he accepts money or money's worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reason. Then for Malam Adamu Ciroma, corruption is "the deliberate binding of the system to favour friends or hurt foes, any misbehaviour deviation from or perversion of the system, or misleading Nigerians or giving them wrong or distorted information about things they ought to know."

Thus, any act or behaviour or omission, committed, internationally or not to influence the actions of another, the influential and the influenced, respectively has corrupted a system which is detrimental to the entire society.

In another perspective, the political science school see "corruption" as "an optimal means of bypassing the queues and bureaucratic inertia and hence conducive to economic growth". While the economics school like (Krueger 1974), saw "corruption" as "an external manifestation of rent seeking behaviour on the part of individuals"

But the Webster Dictionary defines corruption as:

> … that act of corruption or the state of being corrupt putrefactive decomposition, putrid matter, moral pervasion depravity, pervasion of integrity. Corrupt or dishonest proceedings, bribery, perversion from a state of purity, debasement as of a language; a debased form of a word.

Brownberger described corruption as a misapplication of public goods (broadly construed) to private ends. Edward C. Bandfield definition of corruption which we subscribe to for its elaborate and precise nature, defines corruption as the process of obtaining material enrichment or opportunities for oneself and or for others, through the use of public office (or influence) in ways other than those publicly acknowledge through rules and procedures of what

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

office. This includes such behaviours as bribery (use of reward to pervert the judgment or actions of a person in a position of trust) nepotism bestowal of patronage by reasons of inscriptive relationship rather than merit and misappropriation (illegal appropriation of public resources for private uses).

To others it is the act of turning power and authority into ready cash. To yet another group, it is the diversion of resources for the betterment of the community to the gain of individuals at the expense of the community. Black law dictionary however defines corruption thus:

> An act done to give some advantage inconsistent with the official duty and rights of others. The act of Official or Judiciary person, who unlawfully wrongly uses his position or character to procure some benefit for himself or the right of others.

The dictionary in the second segment of its definition says that: "*Corruption is the act of doing something with intent to give some advantage in consistent with official duty and right of others or officials* use of a station or office to produce some benefit either personally or for someone else contrary to the right of others". The new edition of the chambers 20th century dictionary defines the term beyond the pilfering of public funds, the amassing of fortunes by illegal or corrupt means does not seem to necessarily disturb the average Nigerian as to make him lose sleep over it.

Also, the British Department for International development (DFID) maintains in its „Nigeria country strategy paper for the year 2000, that poverty persists in Nigeria because of the mismanagement of resources and corruption found practically but not exclusively in the public sector.

The World Bank defines corruption as:

The abuse of public office for private gains. Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts edicts or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs through patronage and nepotism, the thereof state assets or the diversion of state resource.

The Asian development bank understand corruption as involving„the behaviour on the part of officials in the public and private sectors, in which they improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves and on these closely related to them, or induce others to do so, by misusing the position in which they are placed. According to (Stople, 2008), United Nations Convention against Corruption, recognized corruption as a multi-faceted, dynamic and flexible phenomenon, and therefore does not define, but describe corrupt practices. Corruption may not be easy to define but, according to (Tanzi, 1998), it is "generally not difficult to recognize when observed." Corrupt acts required a minimum of two individuals from one or more communities, and either exchange or the promise of an exchange of money.

According to (Salisu, 2000), the simple definition of corruption is that it is the misapplication of public resources to private ends. For example, public Officials may collect bribes for issuing Passports or Visa, for providing goods at sea/airport for awarding contracts or artificial scarcity. (Konie, 2003) identified two types of corruption, these are, Vertical corruption, which involves managers and decision makers. This is common in less developed countries and; Horizontal corruption, which involves the entire Officials, informed and laymen groups in the countries. The two types of corruption should be seriously addressed and eradicated if any meaningful economic or political progress is to be made.

Corruption also reduces economic growth, enhances inequalities and reduces the government's capacity to respond to people's needs. All these swerve down to create poverty in the society". Corruption distorts economic and social developments, by engendering wrong choices and by encouraging competition in bribery rather than in the quality and price of goods and services and, all too often, it means that the world's poorest must pay for the corruption of their own officials and of multinationals" agents. Corruption leads to a grooving gap between the rich and the poor and deepens poverty by enriching a few at the expense of fellow citizens. Under a corrupt system, there is a concentration of wealth in the hands of a tiny minority of the population. Resultantly income distribution becomes highly skewed.

Closely associated with the connection of wealth in the hands of the few, a distorted consumption pattern, aimed at meeting the luxurious lifestyle of the urban elite, emerge, According to (Transparency International (TI), 2008) Corruption is the misuse of entrusted power for private gains. TI went further to differentiate between "according to the rules" Corruption and "against the rule" Corruption. Facilitation payments where a bribe is paid to receive preferential treatment for something that the bribe receiver is required to do by law, constitute the former. The latter on the other hand is a bribe paid to obtain services the bribe receiver is prohibited from providing. Some researchers have defined corruption to be related only to bribery and unlawful payments, (Grunner, 1999; Ojaide, 2000), defines Corruption as "any systematic vice in an individual, society or a nation which reflects favoritism, nepotism, tribalism, sectionalism, undue enrichment or amassing of wealth, abuse of office, power position and derivation of undue gains and benefits. Corruption also includes bribery, smuggling, and fraud, illegal payments, money laundering, drug trafficking.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

falsification of documents and records, window dressing, false declaration, tax evasion of any kind to the detriment of another person, community society or nation. The pertinent question here is: what is the cause of corruption in Nigeria?

b) Causes of Corruption

Many reasons have been put forward as probable causes for the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria. This ranges from non- conformity to religious tenets, imparted values and ideas and ideas alien to our culture, ethnicity which encourages favoritism and nepotism, a weak legal system which is honored in the breech than observance.

The political bureau in its report mentioned such causes as excessive materialism generated by our individual capitalist order which emphasize personal wealth without regard to the collective interest and welfare of the larger society. Other causes of poverty, illiteracy, get-rich- mania, statism, and wrong attitude to public property, absence of a welfare scheme which cushions effect of unemployment, retirement, large families, and quest for power, double standards and low level of patriotism. These are important in themselves; it does appear that poverty is the most important single factor that promotes the wide spread of giving and taking bribes i.e. illegal financial inducements in the country. As regards features of corruption, the most common are:

a) Giving and receiving bribes
b) Inflation of contracts
c) Kick back and payment upfront
d) Abuse of public property
e) Lodging government fund in private accounts
f) Examination malpractices
g) Adulterated food or hazardous drugs
h) Misappropriation and embezzlement of fund
i) Money laundry by public officers
j) Using proxy names to buy property.

Thus, (Nwaobi 2004) posited that Nigeria must be one of the very few countries in the world where a mans' source of wealth is of no concern to his neighbor, the public or the government. Wealthy people who are known to be corrupt are regularly courted and honored by communities, religious bodies, social clubs and other private organizations. This implies that people who benefit from the largesse of these corrupt people rarely ask questions. In Nigeria, although traditional values of gift giving and tributes to leaders often lead to what (Berger, 1983) describes as "Polite Corruption", the extent of such corruption is relatively small. (Dadajo, 2008) revealed that traditional Chieftaincy titles and membership of boards of directors of government – owned corporations are only for the „influential" individuals in the society who have „made it" economically or politically. Most of these people „made it" through enriching themselves fraudulency, but enjoy public respect and accolades. The most annoying thing is that honest and dedicated public servants, who have not accumulated dirty wealth, do not command much respect from the society. These attitudes serve to encourage a new breed of public servants who engage in corrupt practices. According to (Maduegbuna, 2005), the benefits of corruption are greater than the consequences of being caught and disciplined. High incidence of poverty, which according to (National Bureau of Statistics, 2005) is put at 54.1% contributed in no small amount to the desperation of Nigeria to acquire Wealth through any means. While the few employed received low wages, unemployment is high. The unemployed are mostly the youths engaged in anti social activities such as cyber crime, drug peddling, prostitution, political thuggery, paid assassins, oil bunkering, kidnapping, militancy (Niger Delta) among others; all in the name of money. (Jimo etal, 2001) attributed corruption within the (Africa) region"s public administration to over – centralization of power, lack of media freedom to expose scandals, the impunity of well connected officials and absence of transparency in public fund management, clienteles and low salaries. (Dandago, 2008) observed that the poor salary levels of most public servants have not kept pace with inflation, which has eroded their purchasing power. It is also clear that the process of gaining power in Nigeria is either by armed force or the influence of money.

It is in this regard that, (Chobal, & Daloz, 1999) reasoned that in Africa, such factors as the Obligations of mutual support, the imperatives of reciprocity, the importance of gift exchange, the payment of tribute, the need to redistribute even the habits of cattle rustling or, more generally, of plundering others, all have a bearing on the continent today. There are also those who believe that modern bribery may not be seen as cognate with traditional gift giving since it takes place outside the context of a patron – client relationship. Ethnically, the poor man"s bribe to the faceless power he will never meet again is completely distinct from his traditional gift to a patron.

III. The Consequence and Effect of Corruption

The cost of corruption can be classified into four factors", political, economic, social, and environmental. On the political front corruption constitutes a major obstacle to democracy and the rule of law .In a democratic system, offices and institution lose their legitimacy when they are misused for private advantage. This is harmful to our democracy. Our democracy and political leadership cannot develop in a corrupt climate.

Economically, corruption leads to the depletion of our national wealth. It has led to the use of scarce

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

public resources to finance uneconomic high profile projects such as power plants pipelines that cost billions whereas if these were channel towards building schools, hospitals and roads or the supply of Electricity and water to rural areas which are basic needs of life. This has hindered the development of fair market structures which has led to job losses and also affects investment.

On the social ladder, the people have lost their trust in the political system. In its institutions and leadership, they have developed non chalant attitude and general apathy towards government policies resulting in a weak civil society. Environmental degradation is yet another consequence of corrupt systems. The non enforcement of environmental regulations and legislation has led to the pollution of the environment in Nigeria. Careless exploitation of Natural resources from oil and minerals by domestic and international agents hassled to ravaged natural environments affecting the health of her citizens .Most environmental devastating project are given preference in funding, because they are easy target for siphoning of public funds into private pockets.

IV. Possible Solution to Averting Corruption in Nigeria

- *Restoration of indigenous values and institutions:* Nigerian indigenous values and systems were for the most part debunked by first, the missionaries, then the colonialists in a much more forceful manner. Indigenous solutions to corruption must once again be explored followed by the rediscovery of indigenous systems of administration. Rwanda has successfully done the latter through the *Gacaca, Abunzi, Umuganda, Umudugudu* and other indigenous systems. The above is by no means a call for Nigeria Christians and Muslims to revert to African traditional religion as is often perceived whenever the indigenous is mentioned. Far from it. The merging of Nigeria's social, cultural, and moral values with its religion was the handiwork of some over-zealous missionaries and racist colonialists. Nigerians have come of age to separate between religion and other causes and to realize that one can be fully functioning in his chosen religion and still abide by several positively rewarding indigenous Nigerian values.
- *Formal, Informal and non-formal Education:* The greatest vehicle for cultural transmission towards a transformation of prevailing social paradigm is education. In its formal form, the curriculum of learning across Nigerian must be overhauled to make for real mental and intellectual independence. In its non-formal manifestation, conferences, workshops, camps, and other non-formal learning situations must be widely utilized to re-educate citizens on the fact that real living occurs only when individuals have sound moral values, or at least, consistently and seriously aspire to it. Informally, the media will be mobilized as a crucial element of mass mobilization towards an appreciation of the Nigeria's authentic social, cultural and economic environment.
- *Religion as a nation building institution:* Nigerians listen to their spiritual leaders, much more than they do politicians and policy makers. The pulpit ought to be mobilized as a knowledge and faith-based platform for reaching the souls of Nigerians and in directing them towards nation-building.
- *Promotion of the "African" nation state:* For the past 50 years, Nigerians have been struggling in vain to assimilate the artificially imposed colonial boundaries. It is time to promote the greater African nation-state and de-emphasize the cosmetic divisions that is filled with antagonistic ethnic groups.
- Nigerians must be encouraged, motivated and facilitated to travel widely across the continent in order to overcome the ethnic animosities that was ignited by colonialism, established by the post colonial tussle for power among ruling elites, and strengthened by geographic claustrophobia.
- *Strengthening of anti-graft institutions:* Strong anti-graft institutions are a necessity across Nigeria state, as in any other part of the world. Governments across Nigeria should appoint credible and determined individuals who may even be nationals of other African countries, to take up the fight against corruption in the high and low places. A strengthened judiciary is a necessity in this respect.
- The need for the establishment of anti corruption court that will take charge of all criminal cases against corrupt politicians and administrators.
- The EFCC need leadership that commands legitimacy, which will enable them to assert their independence and build the integrity with its rank and file. EFCC should be empowered and grant absolute autonomy in handling cases relating to corruption. Anti corruption laws, legislations and regulations should be written in simpler language and made accessible to the populace.
- *Economic growth:* Poverty breeds vice. Nigeria government should embark on not just the deceptive increment in Gross Domestic Product, but real development in terms of standard of living. Health, education, food security, and infrastructural growth must be given prominence.

References Références Referencias

1. Agbese, D. (1992) "Corruption, the Palm Oil that stains the fingers of the Giver and the Receiver"

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Newswatch March 9, vol. 15, No. 109 – 115. pp. 9 – 15.
2. Ayua. I. (Ed).Proceeding of the National Conference on the problem of corruption in Nigeria, 26-29 March 2001, Abuja.
3. Brownsberger, W.N. (1983)."Development and Governmental Corruption-materialism and political fragmentation in Nigeria", *Journal of Modern Africa Studies*, 21:215 -233.
4. Brownsherger, W. (1983). "Development and Governmental Corruption Materialism and Political Fragmentation in Nigeria" Journal of Modern African Studies, p. 218.
5. Chobal, p etal (1999). Africa Works: Disorder as Political Instrument .James Currey: Oxford.
6. Dadajo, K.I" (2008). "The Constitutional fight against corruption in Nigeria: Is it enough?" International *Journal of Government, Finance and Management*, 8:61-70.
7. Diamond, L. (1991). "Political corruption: Nigeria"s Perennial Struggle" *Journal of Democracy,* 2(4): 73-85.
8. Edward C. Bandfield "Political Influence" Glencoe Free Press 1996, p. 315.
9. Etekpe, A. & Okolo, P. O. (2011). Politics and Democracy in Contemporary Nigeria. International Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2011). ISSN 2141-873X. Center for the Promotion of International Relations, Studies and Development, Kandid Gold, Accra Ghana. www.ccsdev.org. Pp. 424 – 434.
10. Ibaba, S.I. & Okolo P.O. (2009). *"Resolving Militia conflicts in the Niger Delta:* The Role and strategies of Mediation, Martins papers, Martins Institute Article 2:http://www.class.uidaho.edu/martin_archives/-Martin%20Papers.html
11. International Centre for Economic Growth (1999). Information Brief 6, Causes and Effects of Corruption, Nairobi Kenya.
12. Jimo, H., etal (2001). West and West Central Africa in Global Corruption Report. Berlin: Transparency International, pp: 81-94 Retrieved from: http://www.globalcorruptionreport.org
13. Konie, G. (2003). "National Reconciliation." The Post , a Zambian Newspaper July 23.No.2471, pp: 11.
14. Langseth, P. etal (1997). The *Role of a National Integrity System in Fighting Corruption*.EDI Working paper. The World Bank: Washington, D.C.
15. Maduegbuna, N. (2005). "Anti-Corruption in Nigeria: Public Communications Perspective", *Corporate Mirror*, 1 (10):16-18, 48.
16. Nnoli, O. (1981). Short History of Nigeria underdevelopment in Okwodiba Nnoli (ed.) path to Nigerian Development Daker coderia p. 36.
17. Nwaobi, G.C. (2004). Corruption and Bribery in the Nigerian Economy: An empirical investigation public Economics 0404006, EconWPA. Retrieved from: http://papers.ssrn.com/so13/papers.cfm?
18. Okolo P. O. (1997). Definition of Corruption, its manifestations and challenges to the Administrator (unpublished) A term paper presented on POL. 457.2, 25/1/97. Department of Pol. and Admin. Studies, Uniport.
19. Okolo, P. O. & Akpokighe O. R. (2014). Federalism and Resource Control: The Nigerian Experience. Journal of Public Policy and Administration Research, Vol. 4, No 2, (2014). IISTE USA. http://www.iiste.org/journals/index.php/PPAR/article/view/11092. Pp. 99 - 109.
20. Okolo, P. O. & Etekpe, A. (2011). A study of Public Maintenance Culture and its Impacts on the Socio-Economic Development of Nigeria, 2005 – 2009. International Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2, (2011). ISSN 2141-8713, Center for the Promotion of International Relations, Studies and Development, Kandid Gold, Accra Ghana. www.ccsdev.org. Pp. 29 – 46.
21. Okolo, P. O. (1997). The Nigeria Police (NPF) and Corruption (1990 - 1995) A case study of Rivers State Police Command being a B.Sc. Thesis, submitted to the Dept. of Pol. & Admin. Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Uniport, PHC. Nig.
22. Okolo, P. O. (2014). Managing Minority Problems in Nigeria: The case of the Ethnic Minorities of the Niger Delta Region. Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development, Vol. 5, No. 6, (2014). ISSN 2222-1700 (Paper) ISSN 2222-2855 (Online). IISTE USA. http://www.iiste.org/journals/index.php/-JEDS/article/view/11938 or www.iiste.org. Pp.91-99.
23. Okolo, P. O. (2014). NDDC, Conflict, Peace – Building and Community Development in the Niger Delta Region, Global Journal of Political Science and Administration, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 36 – 51, March 2014 – Published by European Centre for Research Training and Development, UK. (www.ea-journal.org)
24. Okolo, P. O; Akpokighe, R.O. and Igbokwe, H. I. (2014). The need for Ethnic Integration in the Niger Delta Region of Nigeria: A Focus of Western Niger Delta. Journal of Development Country Studies, Vol. 4, No. 4, (2014). IISTE USA. http://www.-iiste.org/journals/index.php/DCS/article/view/11117. Pp. 152 - 163.
25. Owugah, L. (1999). Local Resistance and the State, paper presented at Oil Watch Africa General Assembly, February 9 – 14, Port Harcourt, Nigeria.
26. Ribadu, N. (2006). Nigerian's Struggle with Corruption. A paper Presented at the Congregational House Committee on International Development Washington, DC.
27. Salisu, M. (2000). Corruption in Nigeria. Lancaster University Management School Working paper

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

2000/006.The LUMS Working Papers series. Retrieved from: http://www.lums.co.uk/publications
28. Stople, O. (2008). "Corruption and Anticorruption in Nigeria and beyond". A Paper presented at one day workshop on „Reporting corruption in Nigeria „Organised by the United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNODC), in collaboration with the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ).
29. Tanzi, V., (1998). Corruption around the World: Causes, Consequences, Scope and Cures.IMF Staff papers, 45(4). Retrieved from: http://www.imf.-org/external/pubs/FT/staff/1998/12-98/pdf/tanzi.pdf
30. World Bank, (1997). *Helping Countries combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank.* World Bank: Washington DC.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 14 Issue 7 Version 1.0 Year 2014
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Rot in the State-Owned Enterprises in Zimbabwe: A Cause for Great Concern (2014)

By Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo
Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe

Abstract- The objective in this paper is to carry out a literature review or on the rot in the state owned enterprises in Zimbabwe after which the Author will proffer a Summary, Conclusion Recommendations, Key assumption and a short prayer for Zimbabwe to wrap up the discourse in this Paper.

Keywords: rot, state enterprises, and concern.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 160699p

THEROTINTHESTATEOWNEDENTERPRISESINZIMBABWEACAUSEFORGREATCONCERN2014

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2014. Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

The Rot in the State–Owned Enterprises in Zimbabwe: A Cause for Great Concern (2014)

Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo

Abstract- The objective in this paper is to carry out a literature review or on the rot in the state owned enterprises in Zimbabwe after which the Author will proffer a Summary, Conclusion Recommendations, Key assumption and a short prayer for Zimbabwe to wrap up the discourse in this Paper.

Keywords: rot, state enterprises, and concern.

I. Introduction

Zimbabwe's Parastatals have become synonymous with not only looting but corruption by corrupt ministers and other senior government officials .The struggling state – owned enterprises have become feeding troughs for these corrupt government officials who turn to them whenever they are broke and are in need of money. It is now commonly understood that these officials draw huge sums of money from their coffers, leaving the taxpayers to cover the gaps. Bootlicking managers are more than happy to bail out these officials and they sometimes go as far as buying them top – of- the- range vehicles. This same struggling state owned enterprises and parastatals fund their political campaigns and trips abroad. Board members who should be at the forefront of enforcing good corporate governance, have become part of the problem there are also in the irresistible habit of fleecing the underperforming companies through inflated fees, fuel and other allowances. The former minister of state enterprises and parastatals Honourable Gorden Moyo tried without success to change this culture of looting during the inclusive government (2009 - 2013). For accountability and transparency in the governance of this companies have proposed that chief executive officer should have performance - basedand should adhere good cooperate governance. For your information he left government in July 2013 without any success after facing resistance them from these looting vultures. The positive thing though, is that the Information Minister Honourable Jonathan Moyo appears to have adopted his cause. Moyo had taken the lead in addressing the rot at the financially hamstrung Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC)where Chief Executive Officer(CEO) Happison Muchechetere is reported to have been earning close to US$40 000 per month while the rest of the rank and file at the same corporation were wallowing in abject poverty.

While Moyo's noble actions of sending the CEO Happison Muchechetere on forced leave are welcome these are not only piece meal measures considering the problem at hand but that the same people sent on forced leave are on full pay and benefits and almost one year after their departure nothing has happened to then to convince the skeptics the days of the corrupt leaders are now numbered (Staff Reporter 2014)

A comprehensive independent audit report of all parastatals that include the Grain Marketing Board, the National Railways of Zimbabwe and Air Zimbabwe among others, must be carried out urgently to expose the large scale looting and corruption at these state – owned corperations and those found guilty of corruption and looting should be punished to send the right signal to the like-mindedlooters that looting and corruption are not tolerated in these state – owned corporations (Staff Reporter 2014).

The introduction has, this far painted a grim picture of corruption and looting in the state – owned and parastatals sector in Zimbabwe. To expose more on this endemic problem in this sector the Author will carry out a short Literature Review and Research Methodology to expose the research findings to confirm as reject the Conclusion that there is indeed rampant corruption and looting in state owned enterprises and parastatals sector in Zimbabwe.

II. The Proposed Literature Review and Research Methodology Adopted for the Study

The source of his information shall be the private media in Zimbabwe where the Author shall investigate what the various stakeholders in this private media in Zimbabwe have to say about the rot in the public enterprises sector in Zimbabwe after which the Author will, as aforementioned proceed with the required appropriate summary, Conclusion and Recommendations. Without much ado the Author will call upon John Makamure[2] whose gist of argument in that changes in the enabling Act alone will not address the rot in public enterprises in Zimbabwe which has become an issue of great concern to various stakeholders in Zimbabwe. As below let us hear him make his presentation to shed more light on this

Author: The member of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA), Diocese of Harare, St Mary Mgadalene Anglican, Avondale Parish Church. e-mail: srusvingo@yahoo.com

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

nightmare of a problem in the state owned enterprises and parastatals sector in Zimbabwe.

a) Changes to Act alone will not address rot in public enterprises (Makamure 2014)

In his mid –term fiscal policy review statement presented to parliament on 11 September 2014 the Ministers of Finance and Economic Development Honorable Patrick Chinamasa had announced that the Zimbabwe government was in the process of amending the public finance management Act in order to address corruption problem bedeviling the public enterprises section and that the amended Act was expected to come before parliament before the end of the year (2014).The public finance management Act is the main finance statute governing the management of public financial resources and assets in Zimbabwe. Tightening of the legislation to cover parastatals is most welcome given that these enterprises are entrusted with managing large amounts of public resources. It is therefore in the public interest as a whole that the enabling public legislation for their conduct promotes efficient and effective delivery of public goods and services (Makamure 2014).

[2]John Makamure is the Executive Director of the Southern African Parliamentary support Trust whose mission is to provide Technical support to strengthen parliamentary processes, and public participation in the legislative process for good governance and accountability and whose objectives, among others is to assists Parliaments to disseminate timely and relevant information to stakeholders (Staff Reporter 2014).

The honourable minister said a review of the legal framework will be necessary to deal with all the concerns and fears about public entities management of public resources poor governance arrangements and deployment of resources to non – priority areas at the expense of service and the entities core-mandates. The honourable minister also added that this would entail the introduction of a governance code for all parastatals. Section 298 of the constitution to which the public finance management must be linked talks about the principles of public financial management. Public funds must be expanded transparently, prudently, economically and effectively and fiscal reporting must be clear for easy understanding thereof ,and any public borrowing and all transactions involving the national debt must be carried out transparently and in the best interests of Zimbabwe and its people (Makamure 2014). Section 194(1) outlines 11 basic values and principles of public administration and leadership. Among others, they include efficient and economical use of resources and exercising transparency through providing the public with timely accessible and accurate information. The state is required to take measures, including legislative measures to promote and principles. It would be good for the amended Public Finance Management Act to restate all these principles and values (Makamure 2014).

Part 4 of the constitution is about safe guiding of public funds and assets. Section 308 stipulates that it is the duty of everybody who is responsible for expenditure of public finance to safeguard the public funds and assure that they are spent only on legally authorized purposes and in legally authorized amounts. It is also the duty of every person who has custody all control of the public property to safeguard the property and ensure that it not lost, destroyed, damaged misapplied or misused. The Act of Parliament must provide for the speedy detection of breaches of provisions to safeguard public funds and assets and the disciplining and punishment of persons responsible for any such breaches. The Public Finance Management Act must therefore be fully aligned with section 308. Penalties outlined in the current Act must be revisited to make them deterrent enough to would be offenders. The Author personally liked Section 197 which says that an Act of parliament may limit terms of offices for chief executive officers of public enterprises. It is the Author's sincere hope therefore that the Act or the Governance code for public enterprises will set these term limits so that people move away from treating these enterprises as a personal property for some people just like Zimbabwe which has become a dynasty of the Mugabe family. Stakeholders need dynamic leadership and more innovative ideas in parastatals in order for them to effectively save the public good. The honourable minister also announce the remuneration policy framework for state enterprises, parastatals and local authorities to address the remuneration anomalies which were being finalized and would be in place by the end of October 2014(Makamure 2014).

The same policy framework will be designed to classify public enterprises, into various categories of public enterprises, require each board to enter into a performance agreement with the CEOs; and also require the shareholder to also enter on performance agreement with the board on specific performance targets. In practice performance management contracts are very difficult to implement without a strong oversight authority. Parliamentary Portfolio Committees should play this rule through ensuring that these public enterprises regularly appear before them to account for their action during a given period of time. The proposals amendments to the Public Finance Management Act require that state enterprises and Local Authorities submit their corporate and financial plans to Treasury not later than three months before the beginning of each fiscal year, mandating Treasury to review the budgets of public entities to ensure that deployment of resources is consistent with set priorities and service delivery objectives mandates; empowering the minister of Finance and Economic Development to direct entity boards to amend their corporate plans where necessary to align with the national development

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

agenda; and incorporating provisions requiring enterprise and local authorities to submit quarterly financial statements and performance reports not later than 30 days after the end of respective quarter. This financial information will facilitate assessment of performance against budget and identify the causes of major variances and to also guard against cases of non-compliance. The amendments have very good intentions which require effective enforcement or they count for nothing without this enforcement. Noncompliance with the amended Act will as before hamstrung the proposed changes (Makamure 2014).

Rudzuna (2014) gives a long lecture on accountability to guide against failure .For more on his contribution eliminate the reported looting and corruption in state entities and parastatals details coming your way in just a moment.

b) Accountability in State Enterprises in Zimbabawe (Rudzuna 2014)

State involvement in business has long been debated with two polarized views emerging on the one hand the western influenced view looks down on direct participation in business my government, favoring instant private enterprises. According to this view business in better run by private owners with boards of directions and accountability in shareholders competing openly in a free market. The other extreme favors state – owned enterprises run by government appointed bureaucrats for the benefit of the nation. In reality many enterprises exist which fall somewhere between these two extremes. Success has generally followed the former model and countries that strongly favor the free market enterprises have succeeded better than others. As such where state influence exists, the make -up of the business sector is such that it still learns towards the private enterprises model. Zimbabwe has many parastatals and a few private businesses in which government has significant shareholding some of these are actually former parastatals which privatized during the time when government was implementing Economic Structural enterprises have had more success than those that examined pure parastatals. Every year people hear of how parastatals lose money and have to get more money and have to get more money from government coffers. It is also a widely held view that service delivery at parastatals is poor. For these reasons citizens usually speaks out of these entities and decry how they waste tax payers's money (Rudzuna 2014).

Public anger at poorly run parastatals seems well placed but there are other companies that citizens should also be worried about. These are often listed entities in which government and by extension taxpayers have an interest. When these companies become perennial loss makers then it might be well within the public's rights to scrutinize their conduct. In reality not many ordinary people even understand the workings of these companies and how they are costing them their task dollars. Yet for a long time these oversee seem to be happy to no truffle any feathers letting poor performance goun punished. It was with surprise therefore that people witnessed events at Zimpapers Ltd in the first week of October 2014 that seemed to be a divergence from that norm. Reports are that the Chief Executive Officers and the Financial Director voluntarily went into early retirement as did by general manager and a senior disc jockey (DJ) at the Zimpapers owned radio station Star FM. Although Zimpapers seemed to want to portray the exodus was a simple case of early retirement it did cause curiosity in the market. Firstly because it is an unlikely coincidence that four senior executive would simultaneously decide to voluntarily take early retirement from the same organization at the same time. And secondly because the en masse early involvement coincided with the release of yet another dismal set of results by Zimpapers (Rudzuna 2014).

Speculation has it thatthe four were asked to leave because of poor performance. If it is true there it is positive developments in the way government controlled corporations are run Zimpapers in majority owned by an entity in which government has an interest. The company suffered a 6% decline in revenues for the first half years to June 2014. Finance costs emanating from expensive short term debt short up by 63% to US$851 721. Ultimately, the company made a loss of US $1.4 million whose they had made a small profit in the comparable period in 2013. If the exit of the four is a sign that authorities are willing to let heads roll for poor performance at government controlled companies, then it is a good development. Of course capitalism will question the need for government to be involved directly in business in the first place. Some accept that certain essential services which cannot be offered at commercially viable hates should be owned by government. Examples are Railways companies like National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) and telephones companies like Tel One. But does the government really need to own a newspaper publishing company, something that the private section seems quite capable of doing? Does government have to have a driving school like CMED? When these businesses start using players namely through operating losses, it is the public that bears the loss (Rudzuna 2014).

If the government is to be involved in business then it has to be more aggressive in demanding the best performance from those untrusted with those entrusted with running those entities. Where performance is below paper then necessary steps should be taken to correct the situation. The ultimate beneficial stakeholders investing in the public would demand no less than a good return on their hard earned money. There is even a perception that hiring at senior level for those companies happens clandestinely on a partisan basis in favor of political appointees. Whether this perception is

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

accurate or not it gives an encouraging picture when performance is demanded from the executives of government companies (Rudzuna 2014).

Most disappointing is the unsavory discovery that state entities and parastatals in Zimbabwe are hopelessly in shambles. Details on this depressing story coming your way in just a moment.

c) State Entities Parastatals in Zimbabwe in shambles (Staff Reporter 2014)

Zimbabwe's parastatals are technically insolvent as they are saddled with liabilities which far exceed assets, with the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) and the Civil Aviation Authority of Zimbabwe (CAAZ) topping the list of loss making entities. In her damnable report on state entities and parastatals for the period ending 31 December 2012.Auditor and Comptroller General Mildred Chiri found that the perennially loss making NRZ current liabilities continued to exceed its asserts with the deficit increasing to US$64 086 443 as 31 December 2012,up from US $19 317 021 as at end of 31 December 2011. This thought its cumulative losses since the introduction of multicurrency regime of the Zimbabwean economy in 2009 to US $134 594 3848 (Staff Reporter 2014).

Management at the parastatal also made prepayment to five different suppliers amounting to US $1,9 million who ended up not meeting services supply obligations to the organization.

''In their response management did not outline the measures they were going to take in order to discover the prepaid amount or having the goods and services supplied" Chiri noted in her damning report.

CAAZ has liabilities of US$220 083 101 against a background of only US$177 790 643 in asserts resulting in deficit of US$42 292 456 furthermore the parastatals recorded a loss of US $ 33 602 100 for the year ending 31 December 2012, bringing cumulative losses to US$30 210 104 for 2010 and 2011 a development which cast doubt on the authorities' ability to sustain services delivery without external financial support. However, CAAZ management refused to shoulder any responsibility for the short comings choosing to blame low capacity utilization due to depressed business volume (Staff Reporter 2014).

Management even insisted that the authority has huge and high value assets, which do not generate the expected levels:

However the aviation business in the country is looking bright as shown by the coming of new airlines (Emirates, Klm and Lam) in 2012.'

The Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) was also found to be in the led posting cumulative losses of US$7074 908 for 2009 and 2010 respectively the public broadcaster also had arrears in statutory payments amounting US$3 259 583 representing a sharp increase from US$605 527 for 2009 ZBC also financed its employment costs averaging US700,000 through an overdraft. The Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation is also in serious financial trouble due to its failure to pay taxes for some of the mining concerns under its fold these include diamond mining concern Marange Resources which had corporate tax liabilities totaling US$3152 820 and value added tax of US$683 931 as at 31 December 2011,either loss making entities cited in the report include the Grain Marketing Board, CMED and Net One, among many (Staff Reporter 2014).

With this tragedy of a financial performance from the state entities and parastatals in Zimbabawe up next is the summary of the paper to wrap up the discourse in this Paper. So please don't go away as details of this Summary not far away.

III. Summary

It is sad to note that the State Enterprises and Parastatals have become the feeding troughs for corrupt Cabinet Ministers and their colleagues who borrow money from this corporations and never bother to repay it. This is sadly the ignition to the discourse in this Paper. To arrests the deteriorating governance problem of corruption and looting in State Entities and Parastatals the Finance and Economic Development Minister Honourable Patrick Chinamasa announced in parliament on 11 September 2014 that he intends to amend the Public Finance Management Act (Makamure 2014).

Rudzuna (2014) addresses the aspect of accountability in State Owned Enterprises and Parastatals in Zimbabwe. Public Officials in a show of accountability should resign on account of poor performance by their companies as happened at Zimpapers.

Finally a sad report prepared by Staff Reporter (2014) painted a grim picture that all State Entities and Parastatals in Zimbabwe are in symbolic shambles and not performing well. Topping the list are NRZ and CAAZ, among others.

With the summary now conveniently out of the way as above up next is the Conclusion of the paper. So please don't go away as more details on the Conclusion coming your way in just a second from now.

IV. Conclusion

According to Kenkel (1984) a Conclusion is made from either the Null Research Hypothesis denoted (H_o) or the Alternative Research Hypothesis denoted (H_1). The two are conflicting meaning when one is true the other one is false.

For the studying in this Paper the Null Hypothesis is:

H_o

There is no rot what so ever in the State Owned Enterprises and Parastatals sector in Zimbabwe.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

H_1

Again for the same study in this Paper there is indeed a rot in the State Owned Enterprises or Parastatals sector in Zimbabwe.

Given the overwhelming evidence in support of the alternative research hypothesis denoted (H_1) the conclusion to be adopted in this Paper is to resoundingly accept the Alternative Research Hypothesis(H_1) and at the same time resoundingly reject the Null Research Hypothesis as above.

With the conclusion Null conveniently out of the way up next are Recommendations of the study which are primarily designed to address what was not done right in the State Owned Enterprises in Zimbabwe. In case you wanted to go away please don't go as more details on the Recommendations coming your way sooner than later.

V. Recommendations

In the design of the Recommendations for the study or research in this Paper the pertinent question to ask yourself what in your opinion is being wrong in the State Enterprise and Parastatals sector to result in the reported rot in this trouble sector?

a) To tighten the sources against poor corporate governance which is which rampant in this troubled sector is to amend the Public Finance Management Act to eliminate poor corporate governance to replace it with good corporate governance. Period.

b) For accountability and transparency in the burning of these State Enterprises and Parastatals the corporate governance culture to adopt for these troubled corporations is that only to set term limits for senior management based on an achievement defined performance targets but to resign Zimpapers which was a very welcome development.

c) The deficits reported in most Parastatals and State OwnedEnterprises after comparing current liabilities and current assets do notmake interesting leading at all. Public money or to put more bluntly taxe payers money is being recklessly spent on projects whose return are atrocious resulting in the reported deficits .Spending of taxpayers money should be prioritized to avoid loss making as exported at NRZ and CAAZ. *MwariweMasimba neNyasha rambai!*(Meaning God of Mercy Forbid!) .

With Recommendations now out of the way there is no better way to end the discourse than to reassure the beloved Reader of this Paper about the accuracy of the facts and figures contained in this Paper. The statement on the Key Assumption is coming your way sooner than later.

VI. Key Assumptions

In presenting this Paper the Author would, right from the outset wish to reassure the beloved Reader that all the facts and figures herein contained were stated as they are on the ground without fear, favor or prejudice.

And finally people with a Christian background like the Author of this Paper will always remember at whatever cost to pay homage to the Almighty God as an appropriate finale to the discourse in this Paper. The nasty and unsavory discoveries in this Paper about astonishing rot, corruption and looting in the State Owned Enterprises in the Parastatals sector in Zimbabwe demand that we pray for Zimbabwe. The Author will automatically shoulder that responsibility as below.

VII. Short Prayer for Zimbabwe

a) Ngatinamatirei nyika yedu yeZimbabwe tichiti

Mwari wesimba rose nechiedza muvambi nemunakisi wekutenda kwedu: isai munesu rudo rwezita renyu, wedzerai munesu kutenda kwechokwadi, ipai kunesu kunaka kwenyu kwese nenyasha dzenyu huru tichengete nomaari ne kuna jesu Kristu Tenzi wedu. Amen

(Meaning lord of all power and might, the Author[3] and given of all good things : graft in our hearts the love of your name, increase us the religion nourish in us the goodness, and of your great mercy keep us in the same, though Jesus Christ our lord. Amen (Anglican Avondale Parish Church PewPaper 2014).

References Références Referencias

1. Kenkel, J.L (1984) Introductory statistics for Management and Economics 2nd edition, Boston, Duxburg Press.
2. Makamure, J (2014 September 26)Changes to Act alone will not address rot in public enterprises .Newsday , P.15.
3. Pew Paper (2014 October 12) AnglicanAvondale Parish Church of the Province of Central Africa. Diocese of Harare, St Mary Mgadalene Anglican Parish Church.
4. Staff Reporter (2014 October 23) Stop the rot at Parastatals. The standard .Retrieved on http//www.thestandard.co.zw/2013/12/12/15/st…..
5. Staff Reporter (2014 October 23) Southern African Parliamentary Support Trust (SAPST) Kubatana .net /dictionary/375/sout….
6. Rudzuna.C (2014 October 10-16) Accountability in State Enterprises. Zimbabwe Independent, P2 Business Digest.
7. Staff Reporter (2014 October 17-23) State entities, Parastatals in shambles. Zimbabwe Independent .P.4.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 14 Issue 7 Version 1.0 Year 2014
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Organisation Theory: The Principal-Agent Perspective

By Jan-Erik Lane

Abstract- Today much relevant questions concern Who get what, when and how?, due to the incredible rise in the remuneration of the economic, cultural and political elites in the large organisations around the world. A suitable conceptual framework for the analysis of the fundamental question, namely Cui Bono?, is the principal-agent approach from recent advances in game theory. The skyrocketing of the salaries and bonuses of CEO:s in the private sector and the spreading out of corrupt practices in the public sector forces the social science to ask the quid pro quo question about the relationship between the remuneration of agents and their delivery of outputs to the principal. It is truly fruitful for the understanding of political organisation in whatever form it takes. Politics everywhere is about contracting, introducing a web of contracts between principal and agents. The shape of these contracts determines the real constitution of a country.

Keywords: organisation theory, incentives, contracting, considerations in contracts, quid pro quo, cui bono, asymmetric information, simple contracts – complex organisation, political organisation: demos versus politicians and officials.

GJHSS-F Classification : FOR Code: 360199

ORGANISATIONTHEORYTHEPRINCIPALAGENTPERSPECTIVE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2014. Jan-Erik Lane. This is a research/review paper, distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 3.0 Unported License http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/3.0/), permitting all non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

Organisation Theory: The Principal-Agent Perspective

Jan-Erik Lane

Abstract- Today much relevant questions concern *Who get what, when and how?,* due to the incredible rise in the remuneration of the economic, cultural and political elites in the large organisations around the world. A suitable conceptual framework for the analysis of the fundamental question, namely *Cui Bono?,* is the principal-agent approach from recent advances in game theory. The skyrocketing of the salaries and bonuses of CEO:s in the private sector and the spreading out of corrupt practices in the public sector forces the social science to ask the quid pro quo question about the relationship between the remuneration of agents and their delivery of outputs to the principal. It is truly fruitful for the understanding of political organisation in whatever form it takes. Politics everywhere is about contracting, introducing a web of contracts between principal and agents. The shape of these contracts determines the *real constitution* of a country.

Keywords: organisation theory, incentives, contracting, considerations in contracts, quid pro quo, cui bono, asymmetric information, simple contracts – complex organisation, political organisation: demos versus politicians and officials.

I. Introduction

The principal-agent model offers yet another framework for analysing the organisation of human activities(Ross, 1973; Grossman and Hart, 1983;Sappington, 1991;White, 1992; Ackere, 1993; Althaus, 1997). Its strength is that it underlines incentives more than rules as in many organisation approaches. The focus is upon the *web of contracts* that link people together in an organisation, analysing them with the newly developed concepts of in the economic theory of information (Bircher and Butler, 2007).

Looking at relations between actors as contractual links between principals and agents has proved insightful with regard to understanding employment/sharecropping in agriculture, the work of attorneys, the doctor-patient relationship or investor-broker interaction as well as the entire business of insurance. Yet, there has been great reluctance to apply the principal-agent model to politics, because the key concepts do not seem to capture the essence of politics in well-ordered societies, namely to safeguard the national interest or common good of citizens.

Human beings have developed great skills in organizing activities so that an ever increasing output of goods and services is possible. Thus, organisations of various kinds play a major role in social life every day. Organisation theory and management studies have contributed lots of studies with numerous insights into the operations of organisations, market based as well as non-market organisations. This intense research has resulted in a number of theoretical approaches. These frameworks underline a variety of factors in or aspects of organisations: e.g. planning, strategy, internal organisation – external relations, hierarchy, division of labour, bounded rationality and institutionalisation.

The aim of this paper is to raise the question *CUI BONO?* in relation to organisations. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that organization theory and management approaches have been much concerned with efficiency, meaning the successfulness of the organization. Also the big branch of organization studies that deny the possibility of efficiency is occupied with the same perspective: outputs, outcomes, resources, strategy, leadership, etc., although underlining the relevance of so-called garbage can patterns of organization and management. The quest for efficiency of organizations in both classical management theories and public administration approaches and its rejection in the bounded rationality perspective upon organizations, launched by H. Simon and J. March, has resulted in an intense debate about the nature of organizations and the limits of management. But neither of these two theoretical perspectives entails much for the crucial question about organisations, namely: *Cui bono*? Even the most radical approach to organisation, denying completely the relevance of concepts like effectiveness and productivity to understand real life management, preferring to talk about organised foolishness, myths and institutional legacies (Olsen, 2010: Brunsson, 1985), does not touch the fundamental *Quid pro quo* questions in organisations: Who gains?

Interestingly, the rational choice approach in the social sciences has been accused of being linked logically with the efficiency focus. If people are summed to act so as to maximise their goals in a rational manner, then arguable they would do the same when managing organisations. However, the entailment does not hold. The management of an organisation involves collective decision-making among a group of people – the managers. Each of them may pursue their goals according to the requirements of individual rationality, yet when combined these individual decisions may lead

Author: An independent scholar, professor at three universities.
e-mail: janeklane@googlemail.com

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

to suboptimal decision-making and even chaos or foolishness.

The quid pro quo question in relation to organisations leads to the emphasis upon contracting, asking the following: What have people agreed upon to? Against what pay? With what effort? How are the outputs to be measured? And what is involved in the evaluation of performance: firing, bonus, new contract, etc? The content of any contract is its consideration, meaning the expectations that the parties bring to the agreement. The organisation is a WEB of contracting and management is the handling of these contracts, from the beginning – ex ante – to its fulfilment – ex post.

Studying organisations as webs of contracts and their management, the principal-agent framework from recent advances in game theory appears most promising. Thus, we ask:

1. Why it is easy to organise lots of taxi services in a huge capital like Yangon?
2. How come the remuneration of CEO:s is out of hand?
3. How can politicians become superrich?

a) The Stylised Principal-Agent Model

According to Rasmusen (2006), the principal-agent model includes a principal searching to maximise the value of some output(s) V by means of contracting with a set of agents, remunerating them for their efforts in producing the output. The payment of the agents derives from the value of the output of the agents, meaning that the principal-agent contract must involve considerations covering the *ex ante* to the *ex post* stages. With a considerable time lap between the making of the contract and the fulfilment and its evaluation, problems of asymmetric information and transaction costs arise (Rao, 2002).

The principal-agent framework has enjoyed far reaching success in modelling interaction between persons where one works for the other. This interaction is to be found in many settings, such as agriculture, health care, insurance and client-lawyer (Ross, 1973; Rees, 1985: Laffont and Martimort, 2002). As a matter of fact, the principal-agent problematic is inherent in any employment relationship where one person works for another, who pays this person by means of the value of the output. Whenever people contract with others about getting something done, there arise the typical principal-agent questions:

1. What is the *quid pro quo* between the principal and the agent – the contractual considerations?
2. How can the principal check the agent with regard to their agreement – the monitoring problem?
3. Who benefits the most from the interaction between principal and agent – who takes the surplus?

These questions concerning principal-agent interacting arise whenever there is a long-term interaction between two groups of people, involving the delivery of an output against remuneration as well as a time span between the making of the contract and the ending of the relationship with the final delivery of the output, Let us apply this conceptual framework to three kinds of organisation in order to demonstrate that it illuminates the pattern of interaction.

II. Taxi Services in Yangon: The Principal on Top

Powerful forms of connecting people may result from very simple contracts between principals and agents, like in sharecropping. They may last long and need not even be formalised in written agreements. They may involve hundreds of people working as agents for one single principal, owning the assets involved in the production of services.

a) Taxi Organisation:

1. *Principal:* Owner of the cars, with goal to maximise profits from taxi services;
2. *Agents:* Renting the car for 12 $ a day with a guarantee of 300 $ for damages as first down payment. All running costs are born by the agent and the car is checked in detail at every round of contracting period.

Outcome: The principal, who is risk avert, provides the car but the agent has to pay all repairs, either with the down payment or additionally through a loan from the principal. The agent will drive the care as long as he/she can raise every day > 12 $ plus the running costs and the repair costs. This contract is attractive for people whose reservation salary is very low or zero. It is also incentive compatible, as the driver gains more by being active. This organisation tends to be stable. Since unemployment is high in Yangon, the remuneration of agents can be kept as low as possible, securing a nice profit to the principal, who bears little risk.

III. The Joint-Stock Organisation: Agents on Top

Besides the trillions of daily on-spot contracts in the markets, there occur several forms of principal-agent contracting, introducing organisation into social life. A simple principal-agent contracting was described above, but there are others forms than one to one, like one to many, many to one and many to many. In the private sector, firm organisation varies from small partnerships to giant enterprises with more than one hundred thousand employees. It is all based upon contracting between principals and agents, which is why law and lawyers loom so large, i.e. private law.

a) Firm Organisation:

1. *Principal:* Owners of the shares: a few big owners plus an ocean of small owners with the goal of maximising the value of their holdings of stock;

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

2. *Agents:* The CEO:s, who are risk avert, receiving a fixed salary plus yearly bonus, decided usually at discretion. The CEO can be fired at any moment but receives a so-called golden handshake. He/she employs the other employees on standard wage contracts – internal organisation – or on the basis of outsourcing. All the agents are paid by means of the market sales of the output of the firm, where the CEO:s maximise their remuneration in total.

Outcome: The owners will need lots of monitoring to find out what is going on and whether the CEO:s make an effort. Thus, they wish to list the firm on the bourse, harbouring instantaneous evaluation. The risk of the owners is the occurrence of asymmetric information, both ex ante (adverse selection)and ex post (moral hazard). This organisation tends to be unstable, as the CEO:s manage to use various strategies to push up their remuneration almost to the level of looting.

The instability in the firm organisation shows up in the constantly increasing remuneration packages of the CEO:s, where the spread to other employees have multiplied several times during the last 50 years. This is true of both the fixed salary and the yearly bonuses, which tend to be paid more or less automatically. It has happened that bonuses become permanent remuneration whatever the result of the firm is.

Neither economic decision theory nor management theory has any clear explanation of the tendency of the CEO:s to prevail to significantly in the firm organisation. The only credible explanation is that shareholders are easily manipulated by the CEO:s due to the enormous asymmetric information plus the large room for the CEO's to enter collusion by making coalitions with board members, like first and foremost the chairman of the board of the company. As effort is not observable and costly to enforce, shareowners chose to believe in the story of the CEO, often until it is too late.

There is no remedy to this advantage of the agent. Making the CEO part owner of the firm has been proposed but the future price of his stock options tends to be set extremely low. A radical solution is that the big owners become the CEO:s, but this is only feasible for some firms, like e.g. HM.

The remuneration of CEO:s could skyrocket when various forms of commissions are added to the salary, for instance when company activities are sold or bought. The remuneration of the CEO of NOKIA before it was sold to MICROSOFT is an excellent example. Firms that are owned by consumers themselves, like COOP, are exceptionally vulnerable to the claims of CEO:s, when excessive.

It is an often debated fact that the total remunerations of agents has gone up astronomically over the last decades in the firm organisation, resulting in rapidly increasing inequality in both Western societies and Eastern or South East Asia. The basic reason is hardly a shortage of CEO:s or a dramatic increase in management skills, but simply the instability inherent in the principal-agent interaction in firm organisation due to asymmetric information. When the CEO:s are hired, there is the adverse selection problem of failing to recognize pretending and when they have been hired, there is the moral hazard problem of shirking. The shareholders are so afraid of these two major difficulties in firm management that they are prepared to throw almost any amount on money upon them. It has happened that the CEO:s capture almost all the profits of a joint-stock company in the form of bonuses: It would be better for its shareholders to sell this company (*Husqvarna*) to these CEO:s! Public joint-stock companies with the state as the owner are run with the same principal-agent interaction: the CEO agents on top. The process of incorporation all of Europe has resulted in huge increases in their remuneration, like Swedish *Vattenfall*.

IV. The Remuneration of Politicians

Political science teaching often starts with the observation that roughly 50 per cent of all existing countries today have a democratic regime of some sort while the rest of the countries either are authoritarian regimes or so-called failed states, i.e. countries in anarchy. This distinction between democracy and non-democracy has been a very central research topic since after the Second World War, especially as the number of democracies has increased during the last decades. A large number of factors have been examines, exogenous as well as endogenous ones, like the economy, social structure, ethnicity, religion, openness, historical legacies, etc.

A completely different way of approaching this research issue in the social sciences, economics and politics is to start from the *quid pro quo* question. In non-democracies, the remuneration of politicians tends to be much higher than in democracies. And in failed states, the predicament of anarchy opens up for the looting strategy, which may pay off handsomely for rebels, jihadists and drug traffickers. In kingdoms or sultanates, the existence of patrimonial authority implies that imperium and dominium, public authority and private ownership are fused. Thus, e.g. the Saudi family is the owner of the oil riches of the country. Moreover, the sultan of Oman *Qaboos bin Said Al Said* receives all state revenues as his, thereafter writing checks to the public budget, as signs of generosity.

In authoritarian one-party states, the political leadership forms a most wealthy click, like in the Khanates and China. Why start a transition to democracy when so much of wealth is at stake for the economic fortunes of the rulers? In his detailed enquiry in the fate of African states after the coming of

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

independence from the Europeans, British historian Meredith documents an almost incredible list of rulers who enriched themselves through embezzlement. No wonder that many of them attempted to stay on as long as possible, even for 2-3 decades! The political agents will try to capture as much as possible of the value V of the game, i.e. the country GDP, unless hindered by competing agents or guardians like courts or the Ombudsman (Public Protector).

b) Political organisation:

Principal: demos, citizenry, electorate, population

Agents: politicians, parties, legislators, judges, Ombudsman, bureaucrats, officials, agencies, boards, etc.

Incentives: What drives the agents? And do they really improve for the principal?

The state is a much more complicated organisation than the firm. It likewise involves lots of laws and regulations, i.e. public law. Perhaps this is why the principal-agent approach has not been applied systematically? In any case, one needs to ponder on how the interaction is to be modelled with the variety of players. Principal-agent interaction in constitutional democracies is very different from that of non-democracies. A number of models have been launched: Barro, 1973; Ferejohn, 1986; Weingast, 1989; Rao, 2002; Besley 2006; Helland and Sörensen, 2009.Yet, the central question is the following: How do constitutional democracies reduce the upper hand situation of political agents in non-democracies?

V. Constitutional Political Organising

The following assumptions appear the most likely to be adequate for modelling principal-agent games in a constitutional democracy:

1. The principal of the democratic state is the demos, or the electorate – *body politic*;
2. The set of political agents covers three groups: governments and its bureaucracy, the legislators and the judiciary – *trias politica*;
3. Politicians offer the voters alternative policy packages about how the state may improve upon society, or total value V;
4. The remuneration of the political agents are separated from the resources of the *fiscus*, the state coffers;
5. The remuneration of politicians is fixed, including pensions, in order to avoid the appropriation of the *fiscus*;

These maxims of constitutional democracy seem enough to introduce the distinction between the public and the private, which was so confused in all forms of oriental despotism, as well as solve the *appropriation problem* in politics and public administration, as Max Weber conceived it (Weber, 1978). The modern bureaucracy and its superior performance to patrimonial administration is only feasible when officials are paid predictably, meaning that they are little incentive to *appropriate* the recourses of Bureaux or engage in looting in society.

However, we need a few more maxims:

6. The principal will only be able to control the set of political agents when they are set in competition with each other;
7. Political competition is as vital to democratic politics as firm competition is to the market;
8. Political competition favour the interests of the demos, pitting the three branches of constitutional government against each other;
9. Political entry in competition must be open so that the authoritarian politicians cannot exercise political monopoly;
10. The judiciary operates on the principles of due process of law, to be found in either Common Law or Civil Law.

In order to tame the political agents and diminish their advantages, the principal has supported the evolution of distinct institutional mechanisms that restrain the political agents: viz. rule of law and the political market place. The hope is that the actions and decisions of politicians will enhance societal value, like for instance affluence and wealth.

VI. Remuneration and Value in Principal-Action Games

It is an axiom in the principal-agent model that the agents are paid from the value of the output they deliver for the principal, who is the residual claimant. The principal wants to maximise that value, but he/she must present the agents with an incentive compatible contract, paying more for higher effort. As there is no guarantee that higher effort will actually be forthcoming or succeed in baking a bigger cake, principal-agent contracting is replete with failure, which could leave the principal pay all the value to the agent – the case of looting. In the worst case scenario, the principal pays for high effort but the agents employs the strategies of pretending and shirking to deliver a meagre output, resulting in a loss to the principal, as the value of the output does not cover the remuneration of the agents.

This is, of course, the fundamental *quid pro quo* problematic in all forms of contracting, private or public. In the organisation of taxi services above, the contract favour the principal, pushing the risk upon the agents. In firm organisation, it is the other way around. What about politics?

The state and political leadership concern an entire country, or nation, Thus, the value of the output of the political agents is their contribution to the total value in society, or the GDP. Moreover, the political agents are paid through taxes and charges upon the GDP. What is

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

the logic of the *quid pro quo* requirement, the consideration of the public contracts?

The most profound answer to this question is to be found in the theory of public finance, focussing upon the allocation to society of so-called public or semi-public goods (Musgrave and Musgrave, 1980). A country has a strong need for goods and services that are non-rival or non-excludable as well as joint in supply. As the market cannot supply these, only the public sector or the state can be relied upon. Market failure is the reason of the state.

Public or semi-public goods include law and order, peace and war, infrastructure, common pools, etc. In order to provide these services, political communities – governments at various levels – contract with a set of political agent to deliver them. What will be their remuneration for their achievements?

1. *Patrimonialism:* From the point of view of human known history, patrimonialism is the most frequently occurring structure of political leadership, at least until 1900. The remuneration of the political tends to go very high, at the same as there is constant struggle among contenders to the patrimonial assets. To stabilise the rulership, political leaders engages in huge aggrandizement project, which both deliver public goods and underlines their own position. When the subjugation of the principal, the population, becomes too excessive, spontaneous uproars follow, It takes a long for patrimonialism to accept the distinction between *crown* and *realm* – the so-called "*King's Two bodies*" (Kantoriwicz, 1957).At the core of all forms of patrimonialism whether in Europe, Americas, Africa or Asia is the consideration: How can the principal call upon the agents to deliver goods and services that further their interests, when opposition is met with arbitrary arrest, detentions and incarcerations?
2. *The authoritarian one-party state:* Patrimonilism (*l'etat c'est moi:* Louis XiV) was replaced by poplulist regimes that promised to fulfil the General Will of the principal, but in reality created the origins of totalitarian democracy (Talmon, 1952). Populist authoritarianism has occurred in several versions since 1800, but its key foundation is the manipulation of asymmetric information. The principal is deceived into supporting the agenda of the authoritarian elite by means of ideology and its myths: *France – la gloire* (Napoleon), the international proletariat (Lenin, Stalin, Mao), German nationalism (Hitler), Roman *grandeur* (Mussolini), Great Serbia (Milosevic), Kim Dynasty (North Korea), Zaire (Mobutu), etc. The remuneration of the authoritarian elite tends to be extremely high, including the taking of the babies of opponents (Argentina). Yet, the indirect costs may be much larger, as the rulers do not hesitate to put the entire country at risk. They may also be so cruel as to destroy society when threatened in power, like Mengistu in Ethiopia or Pol Pot in Cambodia. The authoritarian set of agents cannot accept any challenge from outsiders and does not hesitate to employ torture, sudden disappearances and assassinations to remove challengers or critiques.
3. *The Constitutional democracy:* To keep remuneration of political agents within reasonable bounds, the *quid pro quo* problem is here solved by very strict rules about the public budget - transparency. And to hinder that political elites replace their commitment to the welfare of the country with their own goals, there is detailed specification of rules of election and re-election – political markets. However, the direct and indirect costs of the politicians have certainly gone up in the last decade. Moreover, the costs of party operations keep escalating, creating a big grey zone where corruption may be suspected.

The indirect costs of the mistakes of political agents may be large, also in constitutional government. Thus, for instance the Bush family has born none of the misery that Operation *Cobra* (*Iraqi Freedom*) resulted in for ordinary people and servicemen. Now the Middle East is in total chaos: *bellum omnium contra omnes*. Similarly, the Putin policy against the Ukraine has proven very costly for the principal, the Russian peoples.

In the political markets, the costs of election may be extremely high in some countries. This is the problem of campaign fundsand its *quid pro quo*. Two questions: Can they be used as remuneration for the politicians? Do they involve a tacit contract to the effect that the politician (political party) is supposed to deliver outputs that favour the contributors (Peltzman, 1998)? The financing of the campaign expenses of political parties and individual politicians constitutes a grey zone between legality and corruption.

VII. Conclusion

The principal-agent approach, developed in the economics of information and the game theory of successive moves in contracting (Rasmusen, 2006) may be employed to create a parsimonious theory of political organisation. It covers the essential aspects of principals versus agents, agent remuneration against the value of output to the principal, the monitoring of performance and conduct of political accountability as well as asymmetric information and its consequences for deception and manipulation.

Literature

1. Ackere, A. (1993) "The principal/agent paradigm: Its relevance to various functional fields", European Journal of Operational Research, Vol. 70: 83-103.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

2. Althaus, C. (1997) "The application of agency theory to public sector management", In G. Davis, B. Sullivan & A. Yeatman (eds,) The New Contractualism?, eds. Centre for Australian Public Sector Management, pp. 137–153.
3. Arrow, K. (1985)"The economics of agency" Pp. 37-51 in J. Pratt and R. Zeckhauser(eds), Principals and agents: The Structure of business. Boston: Harvard University Press,
4. Barro, R.J. (1973)"The Control of Politicians: An Economic Model," Public Choice 14 (Spring 1973): 19-42.
5. Besley, T. (2006) Principled Agents? The Political Economy of Good Government. Oxford: Oxford U.P.
6. Birchler, U. and M. Bütler (2007) Information Economics. London: Routledge.
7. Brazier, R. (1990) Constitutional and Administrative Law. London: Penguin Books.
8. *Brunsson, N. (1985) The irrational organization: irrationality as a basis for organizational action and change*. Chichester: Wiley.
9. Ferejohn, J.(1986)"Incumbent performance and electoral control", Public Choice 30: 5-25.
10. Ferejohn, J. and C. Shipa (1990) "Congressional Influence on Bureaucracy." Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization 6:1–20.
11. Furubotn, E.G. and R. Richter (2005) Institutions and Economic Theory: The Contribution of the New Institutional Economics. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
12. Grossman, S. J., and O. D. Hart (1983) "An analysis of the principal-agent problem", Econometrica, Vol. 51: 7-46.
13. Helland, L. and Sørensen, R. J. (2009) "Hvorfor overlever politisk korrupsjon i representative demokratier?", Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift 2009, Vol 25. 3: 219-236.
14. Jowell, J. (1994) "The Rule of Law Today", in Jowell and Oliver, op.cit.:57-78.
15. Jowell, J. and Oliver, D. (eds.) (1994) The Changing Constitution. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
16. Kant, I. (1974) The Philosphy of Law. Clifton: Augustus M. Kelley.
17. Kantorovicz, E. (1957) The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
18. Kelsen, H. (1961) General Theory of Law and State. New York: Russell & Russell.
19. Kelsen, H. (1967) Pure Theory of Law. Berkeley: University of California Press.
20. Laffont, J.J. and D. Martimort (2002). The theory of incentives: the principal-agent model. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
21. Lloyd, D. (1991) The Idea of Law. London: Penguin Books.
22. Lloyd, H. A. (1991) "Constitutionalism" in Burns and Goldie, (op.cit.), pp. 254-297.
23. Meredith, M. (1997) The State of Africa. London: Free Press.
24. Meredith, M. (2006) The Fate of Africa. Publicaffairs.
25. McIlwain, C.H. (1958) Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern. New York: Cornell University Press.
26. Musgrave, R.A. and Musgrave, P. B. (1980) Public Finance in Theory and Practice. New York: McGraw Hill.
27. Neumann, F.L. (1986) The Rule of Law: political theory and the legal system in modern society. Leanington Spa: Berg.
28. Peltzman, S. (1998) Political Participation and Government Regulation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
29. Pennock, J. R. and Chapman, J.W. (eds.) (1979) Constitutionalism. New York: New York University Press.
30. Olsen, J.P. (2010) *Governing through Institution Building. Institutional Theory and Recent European Experiments in Democratic Organization.* Oxford: Oxford U.P.
31. Rao, P.K. (2002) The Economics of Transaction Costs. Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan
32. Rasmusen, E. (2006) Games and Information: An Introduction to Game Theory. Oxford: Blackwell.
33. Reiss, H. (ed.) (1970) Kant's Political Writings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
34. Rees, R. (1985) "The Theory of Principal and Agent", Bulletin of Economic Research, Vol. 37,1: 3-26.
35. Riley, P. (1983) Kant's Political Philosophy. Rowman & Allanheld Publishers.
36. Ross, Steven, (1973) "The economic theory of agency: The principal's problem", American Economic Review, 63(2): 134-139.
37. Sappington, D. (1991) "Incentives in principal agent relationships", Journal of Economic Perspectives 3(2): 45-66.
38. Schwöbel, C.E.J. (2011) Global Constitutionalism in International Legal Perspective. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff.
39. Talmon, J.L. (1952) The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy. London: Secker & Warburg.
40. Tierney, B. (1982) Religion, Law, and the Growth of Constitutional Thought 1150-1650. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
41. Weber, M. (1970) Economy and Society. Berkeley: University of California Press.
42. Weingast, B. (1989) "The Political Institutions of Representative Government: Legislatures", in Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics, Vol 145: 693-703. Reprinted in Furubotn, E. and R. Richter (eds), The New Institutional Economics. (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mokr (Paul Siebeck) and college Station: Texas A&M Press, 1991).

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

43. Vile, M.J.C. (1967) Constitutionalism and the Separation of Powers. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
44. White, William D. (1992) "Information and the control of agents", Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization, Vol. 18: 111-117.
45. Wormuth, F.D. (1949) The Origins of Modern Constitutionalism. New York: Harper.

© 2014 Global Journals Inc. (US)

Global Journals Inc. (US) Guidelines Handbook 2014

www.GlobalJournals.org

FELLOWS

FELLOW OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (FARSHS)

Global Journals Incorporate (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society (OARS), U.S.A and in turn, awards "FARSHS" title to individuals. The 'FARSHS' title is accorded to a selected professional after the approval of the Editor-in-Chief/Editorial Board Members/Dean.

- The "FARSHS" is a dignified title which is accorded to a person's name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSS or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSHS.

FARSHS accrediting is an honor. It authenticates your research activities. After recognition as FARSHS, you can add 'FARSHS' title with your name as you use this recognition as additional suffix to your status. This will definitely enhance and add more value and repute to your name. You may use it on your professional Counseling Materials such as CV, Resume, and Visiting Card etc.

The following benefits can be availed by you only for next three years from the date of certification:

FARSHS designated members are entitled to avail a 40% discount while publishing their research papers (of a single author) with Global Journals Incorporation (USA), if the same is accepted by Editorial Board/Peer Reviewers. If you are a main author or co-author in case of multiple authors, you will be entitled to avail discount of 10%.

Once FARSHS title is accorded, the Fellow is authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). The Fellow can also participate in conference/seminar/symposium organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent.

You may join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) after successful completion of three years as Fellow and as Peer Reviewer. In addition, it is also desirable that you should organize seminar/symposium/conference at least once.

We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time.This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.

The FARSHS can go through standards of OARS. You can also play vital role if you have any suggestions so that proper amendment can take place to improve the same for the benefit of entire research community.

As FARSHS, you will be given a renowned, secure and free professional email address with 100 GB of space e.g. johnhall@globaljournals.org. This will include Webmail, Spam Assassin, Email Forwarders,Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.

The FARSHS will be eligible for a free application of standardization of their researches. Standardization of research will be subject to acceptability within stipulated norms as the next step after publishing in a journal. We shall depute a team of specialized research professionals who will render their services for elevating your researches to next higher level, which is worldwide open standardization.

The FARSHS member can apply for grading and certification of standards of the educational and Institutional Degrees to Open Association of Research, Society U.S.A. Once you are designated as FARSHS, you may send us a scanned copy of all of your credentials. OARS will verify, grade and certify them. This will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and some more criteria. After certification of all your credentials by OARS, they will be published on your Fellow Profile link on website https://associationofresearch.org which will be helpful to upgrade the dignity.

The FARSHS members can avail the benefits of free research podcasting in Global Research Radio with their research documents. After publishing the work, (including published elsewhere worldwide with proper authorization) you can upload your research paper with your recorded voice or you can utilize chargeable services of our professional RJs to record your paper in their voice on request.

The FARSHS member also entitled to get the benefits of free research podcasting of their research documents through video clips. We can also streamline your conference videos and display your slides/ online slides and online research video clips at reasonable charges, on request.

© Copyright by Global Journals Inc.(US)| Guidelines Handbook

The FARSHS is eligible to earn from sales proceeds of his/her researches/reference/review Books or literature, while publishing with Global Journals. The FARSHS can decide whether he/she would like to publish his/her research in a closed manner. In this case, whenever readers purchase that individual research paper for reading, maximum 60% of its profit earned as royalty by Global Journals, will be credited to his/her bank account. The entire entitled amount will be credited to his/her bank account exceeding limit of minimum fixed balance. There is no minimum time limit for collection. The FARSS member can decide its price and we can help in making the right decision.

The FARSHS member is eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper. After reviewing 5 or more papers you can request to transfer the amount to your bank account.

MEMBER OF ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY IN HUMAN SCIENCE (MARSHS)

The ' MARSHS ' title is accorded to a selected professional after the approval of the Editor-in-Chief / Editorial Board Members/Dean.

The "MARSHS" is a dignified ornament which is accorded to a person's name viz. Dr John E. Hall, Ph.D., MARSHS or William Walldroff, M.S., MARSHS.

MARSHS accrediting is an honor. It authenticates your research activities. Afterbecoming MARSHS, you can add 'MARSHS' title with your name as you use this recognition as additional suffix to your status. This will definitely enhance and add more value and repute to your name. You may use it on your professional Counseling Materials such as CV, Resume, Visiting Card and Name Plate etc.

The following benefitscan be availed by you only for next three years from the date of certification.

MARSHS designated members are entitled to avail a 25% discount while publishing their research papers (of a single author) in Global Journals Inc., if the same is accepted by our Editorial Board and Peer Reviewers. If you are a main author or co-author of a group of authors, you will get discount of 10%.

As MARSHS, you willbegiven a renowned, secure and free professional email address with 30 GB of space e.g. johnhall@globaljournals.org. This will include Webmail, Spam Assassin, Email Forwarders,Auto-Responders, Email Delivery Route tracing, etc.

We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time.This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.

The MARSHS member can apply for approval, grading and certification of standards of their educational and Institutional Degrees to Open Association of Research, Society U.S.A.

Once you are designated as MARSHS, you may send us a scanned copy of all of your credentials. OARS will verify, grade and certify them. This will be based on your academic records, quality of research papers published by you, and some more criteria.

It is mandatory to read all terms and conditions carefully.

Auxiliary Memberships

Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society (USA) - OARS (USA)

Global Journals Incorporation (USA) is accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) and in turn, affiliates research institutions as "Institutional Fellow of Open Association of Research Society" (IFOARS).

The "FARSC" is a dignified title which is accorded to a person's name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FARSC or William Walldroff, M.S., FARSC.

The IFOARS institution is entitled to form a Board comprised of one Chairperson and three to five board members preferably from different streams. The Board will be recognized as "Institutional Board of Open Association of Research Society"-(IBOARS).

The Institute will be entitled to following benefits:

The IBOARS can initially review research papers of their institute and recommend them to publish with respective journal of Global Journals. It can also review the papers of other institutions after obtaining our consent. The second review will be done by peer reviewer of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) The Board is at liberty to appoint a peer reviewer with the approval of chairperson after consulting us.

The author fees of such paper may be waived off up to 40%.

The Global Journals Incorporation (USA) at its discretion can also refer double blind peer reviewed paper at their end to the board for the verification and to get recommendation for final stage of acceptance of publication.

The IBOARS can organize symposium/seminar/conference in their country on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)-OARS (USA). The terms and conditions can be discussed separately.

The Board can also play vital role by exploring and giving valuable suggestions regarding the Standards of "Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS)" so that proper amendment can take place for the benefit of entire research community. We shall provide details of particular standard only on receipt of request from the Board.

The board members can also join us as Individual Fellow with 40% discount on total fees applicable to Individual Fellow. They will be entitled to avail all the benefits as declared. Please visit Individual Fellow-sub menu of GlobalJournals.org to have more relevant details.

We shall provide you intimation regarding launching of e-version of journal of your stream time to time. This may be utilized in your library for the enrichment of knowledge of your students as well as it can also be helpful for the concerned faculty members.

After nomination of your institution as "Institutional Fellow" and constantly functioning successfully for one year, we can consider giving recognition to your institute to function as Regional/Zonal office on our behalf.
The board can also take up the additional allied activities for betterment after our consultation.

The following entitlements are applicable to individual Fellows:

Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS) By-laws states that an individual Fellow may use the designations as applicable, or the corresponding initials. The Credentials of individual Fellow and Associate designations signify that the individual has gained knowledge of the fundamental concepts. One is magnanimous and proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice.

Open Association of Research Society (US)/ Global Journals Incorporation (USA), as described in Corporate Statements, are educational, research publishing and professional membership organizations. Achieving our individual Fellow or Associate status is based mainly on meeting stated educational research requirements.

Disbursement of 40% Royalty earned through Global Journals : Researcher = 50%, Peer Reviewer = 37.50%, Institution = 12.50% E.g. Out of 40%, the 20% benefit should be passed on to researcher, 15 % benefit towards remuneration should be given to a reviewer and remaining 5% is to be retained by the institution.

We shall provide print version of 12 issues of any three journals [as per your requirement] out of our 38 journals worth $ 2376 USD.

Other:

The individual Fellow and Associate designations accredited by Open Association of Research Society (US) credentials signify guarantees following achievements:

- The professional accredited with Fellow honor, is entitled to various benefits viz. name, fame, honor, regular flow of income, secured bright future, social status etc.

- In addition to above, if one is single author, then entitled to 40% discount on publishing research paper and can get 10%discount if one is co-author or main author among group of authors.
- The Fellow can organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and he/she can also attend the same organized by other institutes on behalf of Global Journals.
- The Fellow can become member of Editorial Board Member after completing 3yrs.
- The Fellow can earn 60% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.
- Fellow can also join as paid peer reviewer and earn 15% remuneration of author charges and can also get an opportunity to join as member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA)
- • This individual has learned the basic methods of applying those concepts and techniques to common challenging situations. This individual has further demonstrated an in–depth understanding of the application of suitable techniques to a particular area of research practice.

Note :

"

- In future, if the board feels the necessity to change any board member, the same can be done with the consent of the chairperson along with anyone board member without our approval.
- In case, the chairperson needs to be replaced then consent of 2/3rd board members are required and they are also required to jointly pass the resolution copy of which should be sent to us. In such case, it will be compulsory to obtain our approval before replacement.
- In case of "Difference of Opinion [if any]" among the Board members, our decision will be final and binding to everyone. "

Process of submission of Research Paper

The Area or field of specialization may or may not be of any category as mentioned in 'Scope of Journal' menu of the GlobalJournals.org website. There are 37 Research Journal categorized with Six parental Journals GJCST, GJMR, GJRE, GJMBR, GJSFR, GJHSS. For Authors should prefer the mentioned categories. There are three widely used systems UDC, DDC and LCC. The details are available as 'Knowledge Abstract' at Home page. The major advantage of this coding is that, the research work will be exposed to and shared with all over the world as we are being abstracted and indexed worldwide.

The paper should be in proper format. The format can be downloaded from first page of 'Author Guideline' Menu. The Author is expected to follow the general rules as mentioned in this menu. The paper should be written in MS-Word Format (*.DOC,*.DOCX).

The Author can submit the paper either online or offline. The authors should prefer online submission.Online Submission: There are three ways to submit your paper:

(A) (I) First, register yourself using top right corner of Home page then Login. If you are already registered, then login using your username and password.

(II) Choose corresponding Journal.

(III) Click 'Submit Manuscript'. Fill required information and Upload the paper.

(B) If you are using Internet Explorer, then Direct Submission through Homepage is also available.

(C) If these two are not conveninet , and then email the paper directly to dean@globaljournals.org.

Offline Submission: Author can send the typed form of paper by Post. However, online submission should be preferred.

Preferred Author Guidelines

MANUSCRIPT STYLE INSTRUCTION (Must be strictly followed)

Page Size: 8.27" X 11'"

- Left Margin: 0.65
- Right Margin: 0.65
- Top Margin: 0.75
- Bottom Margin: 0.75
- Font type of all text should be Swis 721 Lt BT.
- Paper Title should be of Font Size 24 with one Column section.
- Author Name in Font Size of 11 with one column as of Title.
- Abstract Font size of 9 Bold, "Abstract" word in Italic Bold.
- Main Text: Font size 10 with justified two columns section
- Two Column with Equal Column with of 3.38 and Gaping of .2
- First Character must be three lines Drop capped.
- Paragraph before Spacing of 1 pt and After of 0 pt.
- Line Spacing of 1 pt
- Large Images must be in One Column
- Numbering of First Main Headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman Letters, Capital Letter, and Font Size of 10.
- Numbering of Second Main Headings (Heading 2) must be in Alphabets, Italic, and Font Size of 10.

You can use your own standard format also.
Author Guidelines:

1. General,

2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

1. GENERAL

Before submitting your research paper, one is advised to go through the details as mentioned in following heads. It will be beneficial, while peer reviewer justify your paper for publication.

Scope

The Global Journals Inc. (US) welcome the submission of original paper, review paper, survey article relevant to the all the streams of Philosophy and knowledge. The Global Journals Inc. (US) is parental platform for Global Journal of Computer Science and Technology, Researches in Engineering, Medical Research, Science Frontier Research, Human Social Science, Management, and Business organization. The choice of specific field can be done otherwise as following in Abstracting and Indexing Page on this Website. As the all Global

Journals Inc. (US) are being abstracted and indexed (in process) by most of the reputed organizations. Topics of only narrow interest will not be accepted unless they have wider potential or consequences.

2. ETHICAL GUIDELINES

Authors should follow the ethical guidelines as mentioned below for publication of research paper and research activities.

Papers are accepted on strict understanding that the material in whole or in part has not been, nor is being, considered for publication elsewhere. If the paper once accepted by Global Journals Inc. (US) and Editorial Board, will become the copyright of the Global Journals Inc. (US).

Authorship: The authors and coauthors should have active contribution to conception design, analysis and interpretation of findings. They should critically review the contents and drafting of the paper. All should approve the final version of the paper before submission

The Global Journals Inc. (US) follows the definition of authorship set up by the Global Academy of Research and Development. According to the Global Academy of R&D authorship, criteria must be based on:

1) Substantial contributions to conception and acquisition of data, analysis and interpretation of the findings.

2) Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.

3) Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

All authors should have been credited according to their appropriate contribution in research activity and preparing paper. Contributors who do not match the criteria as authors may be mentioned under Acknowledgement.

Acknowledgements: Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned under acknowledgement. The specifications of the source of funding for the research if appropriate can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with address.

Appeal of Decision: The Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed elsewhere.

Permissions: It is the author's responsibility to have prior permission if all or parts of earlier published illustrations are used in this paper.

Please mention proper reference and appropriate acknowledgements wherever expected.

If all or parts of previously published illustrations are used, permission must be taken from the copyright holder concerned. It is the author's responsibility to take these in writing.

Approval for reproduction/modification of any information (including figures and tables) published elsewhere must be obtained by the authors/copyright holders before submission of the manuscript. Contributors (Authors) are responsible for any copyright fee involved.

3. SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be uploaded via this online submission page. The online submission is most efficient method for submission of papers, as it enables rapid distribution of manuscripts and consequently speeds up the review procedure. It also enables authors to know the status of their own manuscripts by emailing us. Complete instructions for submitting a paper is available below.

Manuscript submission is a systematic procedure and little preparation is required beyond having all parts of your manuscript in a given format and a computer with an Internet connection and a Web browser. Full help and instructions are provided on-screen. As an author, you will be prompted for login and manuscript details as Field of Paper and then to upload your manuscript file(s) according to the instructions.

To avoid postal delays, all transaction is preferred by e-mail. A finished manuscript submission is confirmed by e-mail immediately and your paper enters the editorial process with no postal delays. When a conclusion is made about the publication of your paper by our Editorial Board, revisions can be submitted online with the same procedure, with an occasion to view and respond to all comments.

Complete support for both authors and co-author is provided.

4. MANUSCRIPT'S CATEGORY

Based on potential and nature, the manuscript can be categorized under the following heads:

Original research paper: Such papers are reports of high-level significant original research work.

Review papers: These are concise, significant but helpful and decisive topics for young researchers.

Research articles: These are handled with small investigation and applications

Research letters: The letters are small and concise comments on previously published matters.

5.STRUCTURE AND FORMAT OF MANUSCRIPT

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 × 10-3 m3, or 4 mm somewhat than 4 × 10-3 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.

Color Charges: It is the rule of the Global Journals Inc. (US) for authors to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that, if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a color work agreement form before your paper can be published.

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).

6.1 Proof Corrections

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.

As changes to proofs are costly, we inquire that you only correct typesetting errors. All illustrations are retained by the publisher. Please note that the authors are responsible for all statements made in their work, including changes made by the copy editor.

6.2 Early View of Global Journals Inc. (US) (Publication Prior to Print)

The Global Journals Inc. (US) are enclosed by our publishing's Early View service. Early View articles are complete full-text articles sent in advance of their publication. Early View articles are absolute and final. They have been completely reviewed, revised and edited for publication, and the authors' final corrections have been incorporated. Because they are in final form, no changes can be made after sending them. The nature of Early View articles means that they do not yet have volume, issue or page numbers, so Early View articles cannot be cited in the conventional way.

6.3 Author Services

Online production tracking is available for your article through Author Services. Author Services enables authors to track their article - once it has been accepted - through the production process to publication online and in print. Authors can check the status of their articles online and choose to receive automated e-mails at key stages of production. The authors will receive an e-mail with a unique link that enables them to register and have their article automatically added to the system. Please ensure that a complete e-mail address is provided when submitting the manuscript.

6.4 Author Material Archive Policy

Please note that if not specifically requested, publisher will dispose off hardcopy & electronic information submitted, after the two months of publication. If you require the return of any information submitted, please inform the Editorial Board or dean as soon as possible.

6.5 Offprint and Extra Copies

A PDF offprint of the online-published article will be provided free of charge to the related author, and may be distributed according to the Publisher's terms and conditions. Additional paper offprint may be ordered by emailing us at: editor@globaljournals.org .

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 though 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.

Please carefully note down following rules and regulation before submitting your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc. (US):

Segment Draft and Final Research Paper: You have to strictly follow the template of research paper. If it is not done your paper may get rejected.

- The **major constraint** is that you must independently make all content, tables, graphs, and facts that are offered in the paper. You must write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The Peer-reviewers need to identify your own perceptive of the concepts in your own terms. NEVER extract straight from any foundation, and never rephrase someone else's analysis.

- Do not give permission to anyone else to "PROOFREAD" your manuscript.

- Methods to avoid Plagiarism is applied by us on every paper, if found guilty, you will be blacklisted by all of our collaborated research groups, your institution will be informed for this and strict legal actions will be taken immediately.)
- To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use please do not permit anyone right to use to your paper and files.

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

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

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

INDEX

A

Acephalous · 37
Atlanticism · 24

B

Babangida · 14
Bhootlingam · 2

G

Gonçalves · 34

H

Happison · 52, 53

M

Malagrida · 27
Milanovic · 11, 20
Muchechetere · 52, 53

N

Nogueira · 25

P

Parastatals · 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58

S

Sovietic · 46

T

Travassos · 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34

U

Unipolarism · 46, 48

W

Wallerstein · 24

save our planet

Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at www.GlobalJournals.org | www.SocialScienceResearch.org
or email us at helpdesk@globaljournals.org

ISSN 975587

© Global Journals