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## Political Science

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### Highlights

Party Defection and Sustenance

Examination of the Alcohol Party

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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## Party Defection and Sustenance of Nigerian Democracy

By Jaja Nwanegbo, Jude Odigbo & Kingsley Nnorom

*Federal University Wukari, Nigeria*

*Abstract-* It has always been the practice in Nigeria's unstable party democracy for people to defect to other parties with the intention to secure nominations from the party, and for a good number of them to return after elections to join the winning party to vie for positions in the government. The recent massive party defections by political gladiators in Nigeria were symbolic as it was the members of the ruling party that defected to opposition party and on a non election period. This paper examined the implications of this on democracy in Nigeria. It observed that this particular defection would help build strong opposition that would create a balance in the country's democracy by checking the excesses of the ruling party at any time. It also noted that party defections are integral part of democratic processes. However, it argued that since the present defections are not driven by fundamental ideological consideration, there is still a tendency that the opposition would still crumble in no distant time especially if the motive (which is to stop the incumbent president) is not achieved or even after the struggle as the bond cannot be strong outside ideology. The paper relied on content analysis and adopted abstractions from elite theory. It observed that lack of ideology and internal party democracy appears to have ignited the prevailing squabbles that orchestrated the recent exodus. The paper recommended social re-engineering, reorientation and mobilization that is directed towards inculcation of new values and the essence of entrenching acceptable philosophy in Nigeria's party system.

*Keywords:* Party, Defection, Sustenance, Democracy.

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# Party Defection and Sustenance of Nigerian Democracy

Jaja Nwanegbo<sup>α</sup>, Jude Odigbo<sup>σ</sup> & Kingsley Nnorom<sup>ρ</sup>

**Abstract-** It has always been the practice in Nigeria's unstable party democracy for people to defect to other parties with the intention to secure nominations from the party, and for a good number of them to return after elections to join the winning party to vie for positions in the government. The recent massive party defections by political gladiators in Nigeria were symbolic as it was the members of the ruling party that defected to opposition party and on a non election period. This paper examined the implications of this on democracy in Nigeria. It observed that this particular defection would help build strong opposition that would create a balance in the country's democracy by checking the excesses of the ruling party at any time. It also noted that party defections are integral part of democratic processes. However, it argued that since the present defections are not driven by fundamental ideological consideration, there is still a tendency that the opposition would still crumble in no distant time especially if the motive (which is to stop the incumbent president) is not achieved or even after the struggle as the bond cannot be strong outside ideology. The paper relied on content analysis and adopted abstractions from elite theory. It observed that lack of ideology and internal party democracy appears to have ignited the prevailing squabbles that orchestrated the recent exodus. The paper recommended social re-engineering, re-orientation and mobilization that is directed towards inculcation of new values and the essence of entrenching acceptable philosophy in Nigeria's party system.

**Keywords:** Party, Defection, Sustenance, Democracy.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The practice of carpet-crossing, defection or party switching appears to have become an undying attribute of party politics in Nigeria. Carpet-crossing by Nigerian politicians is dated back to the First Republic particularly in 1951, a decade to Nigeria's independence in the defunct Western Regional House of Assembly (Adejuwon, 2013). For him, it was an overnight affair when several members of the defunct National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), led by the late Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe decamped to the Action Group (AG), led by late Chief Obafemi Awolowo, purposely to deny Zik and his party, the majority in the Western Region House of Assembly, which he required to form the government in Western Region. With that

decamping, AG was able to form the Government in the region. Also, in that same first Republic, another Premier of the that same Western Region of Nigeria, Ladoke Akintola left the then Action Group in a crisis rooted more in personality clash but explained as personal principles and his conviction to advance the Yoruba race into the Nigeria's mainstream politics to form UNDP and enter into an alliance with Northern People's Congress (NPC). Subsequent republics are not exempted from defections and carpet-crossing. For instance, in the old Ondo State during the Second Republic, Akin Omoboriowo, the then Deputy Governor of United Party of Nigeria (UPN) led government of Michael Ajasin defected and joined the National Party of Nigeria (NPN) to become its gubernatorial candidate (Okparaji, 2010).

Explaining this long history and the consolidation of the trend in Nigerian political system, Mbah (2011:3) observed that political party defection has become an increasingly permanent feature in the Nigerian democratic experience. In fact, for over a decade now since the country returned to democratic governance (1999), party defections and political instability are the greatest challenges confronting Nigeria's democracy. The usual practice in the past has been for politicians to defect to other parties with promises of election tickets if they fail to secure party nominations during their own party's primaries. Some who felt disenchanted or denied of a level playing ground, defect to participate in the election, with some still having the intention of returning to their parties. This has been the practice during election periods especially since 1999. The most recent major defection is different from the usual experiences. It appeared to have heralded an irreconcilable stance of major political gladiators in the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP). Indeed, the formation of splinter unit (New PDP) on August 2013, under Kawu Baraje leadership typified the degree of disillusionment among the party bigwigs in PDP.

Thus, absence of internal party democracy seems to have contributed to party defections in Nigeria. Indeed, this gives rise to unhealthy power contest and intra-party feuds. Arguably, while it could be stated that the defection by these members of the ruling People's Democratic Party in 2013 to opposition party could be linked to 2015 elections, there is overwhelming evidence that crisis of internal party prompted the exodus. As a

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result, intra-party squabbles, disputations have continued to energies the growth of what could be seen as a sordid act of party defection. As was seen, the recent massive party defections in Nigeria and the muzzy struggle that characterized the act were very fierce and intense, almost cutting the breath of the party politics in Nigeria. Indeed, the situation in the other parties, especially the party they defected to is not in any way better. There seems to be absence of internal party democracy in virtually all political parties in Nigeria which always raise another; the issue of question of ideology.

Following from the above, it is important to note that party defections are not exclusive character of one party in Nigeria. It is a general practice. Thus, the magnitude of the current defections and its impacts on the body polity raises fundamental questions on the manifestation of the trend and sustainability of Nigerian democracy. Evidently, it shows a clear indication that the phenomenon has the capacity of either derailing Nigerian democracy or reinforcing opposition with the capacity to provide a guide for democratic consolidation. In fact, its persistency, ubiquity and growth could provide a bleak future on the sustainability of party politics in Nigerian political system. Considering its implications on quality of governance, peace, stability and the challenge of sustenance of Nigeria's democracy, this paper seeks to establish the critical link between defections arising from internal party crisis and the extent it has impacted on sustainability of Nigeria's democracy.

## II. DEMOCRACY AND DEFECTION: CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS

The spread and general acceptability of democracy as an appropriate form of governance tend to have increased intellectual effort at achieving universality in the accepted definition of the concept. Scholars (Osaghae, 1992; Schumpeter, 1990; Nnoli, 2003; Appadorai, 2004; Dahl, 2000; Ake 2003; Awa, 1999; Sen, 1999; Ake 2000; L. Diamond, J. Hartlyn, J. Linz & M. Lipset 1989) have continued to dissect the concept of democracy in a manner it would reflect global practices. In spite of their contributions, democracy is still devoid of generally accepted definition. This could be attributed to structural inadequacy, cultural, environmental and societal imperatives inherent in recipient societies which condition the operation and practice of democracy (Nwanegbo & Odigbo 2013b). Hence, Osaghae, (1992) argued that regardless of the discrepancies that could be observed, one fundamental objective of democracy is "how to govern the society in such a way that power actually belongs to all people". More succinctly, Diamond *e tal* (1989) posited that democracy is a system of government that congregates three vital

stipulations of governance: (a) meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and groups, especially political parties for political offices at regular intervals and excluding the use of force; (b) a highly inclusive level of political participation in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; and (c) a level of civil and political liberties. For them, these are requisite conditions.

Indeed, to Nnoli (2003), it is a system of government usually involving freedom of individuals in various aspects of political life, equality among citizens and justice in the relations between the people and the government and the participation of the people in choosing those in government. Earlier, Schumpeter (1990) defined democracy as an institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide, by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote. It is a state with unlimited opportunities for adult participation in political life. Democracy does not function in isolation, it is about the people. And its success is measured or dependent on the extent it has empowered people to surmount their basic needs and enjoy unrestrained participation in the policy process (Unah, 1993). In fact, what gives democracy meaning and substance is participation and authority of the people to determine who rules. The extent of involvement encompasses the power to decide who rules, what policy to support and decision which would benefit the greatest number of people. The absence of the above contaminates the functionality and operation of democracy and democratization process. In such condition, democratic values inherently imbedded in its operations tend to be neutralized making democracy to produce contradictory results.

On the other hand, defection could be seen as an act of swapping. Thus, party defection is the act of switching from one party to another. According to Malhotra (2005) party defection is known by different nomenclatures—such as "floor-crossing," "carpet-crossing," "party hopping," "dispute" and "waka [canoe]-jumping" (cited in Janada 2009; Mbah 2011). Indeed, party defection occurs in every political system. It is a global reality and an integral part of political process. King and Benjamin (1986) investigated the rationale behind party defections especially in America, and came to conclusion that party defection is most likely to coincide with important political events such as changes in partisan control of political institutions, with changes in key economic indicators, and in times of military conflict. For Castle and Fett, (1996) it is the ideologically cross-pressured members who are most likely to change parties (cited in Nokken and Poole 2002).

However, Malhotra, in his analysis observed that in some countries party defections "are a non-issue

and not perceived as a problem,” whereas in others the practice threatens government stability and is taken as very serious (cited in Janada 2009). Understandably, this threat and instability arising from defections especially in emerging democracies prompted enactment of anti-defection laws in some societies. Most of the anti-defection laws emphasize parliamentary defection. For instance, India enacted various anti-defection laws in 1973, 1985 and presently the 2003 anti-defection law. According to Malhotra, the 2003 law provides that a person can be disqualified from serving in parliament for “voluntarily giving up the membership of his original party (cited in Janada 2009).

The above legal provision appears to have reduced drastically cases of defection in the polity since one finds it difficult to forfeit one’s position or faces parliamentary expulsion. Interestingly, a similar law (anti-defection law) exists in Nigeria. However, major deficiencies and incongruence that fraught the 1999 constitution, its operation and function have stalled the achievement of gains derivable from the law. For instance, the conflicting positions of section 68 (1g) and 109(1) tends to weaken the enforcement. For instance, section 68 (1a) states that:

A member of the Senate or the House of Representatives shall vacate his seat in the House of which he is a member if being a person whose election to the House was sponsored by a political party, he becomes a member of another political party before expiration of the period for which that House was elected. Provided that his membership of the latter political party is not as a result of a division in the political party of which he was previously a member or of a merger of two or more political parties or factions by one of which he was previously sponsored” (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999:34).

The fluidity in formations, mergers and demergers including the orchestrations of internal party crisis has made that section difficult in application as the boundaries between mergers and demergers in Nigeria party politics appear too thin, thereby creating justification for parliamentary defections. In the other vein, it is imperative to note that in most developing political system especially in Latin America and Africa, party defections seem not to be motivated by ideological consideration but several other mundane factors not unconnected with the foundations of party politics in the regions. For instance, in most post-colonial states, parties emerged within the context of religious, ethnic consideration and the financial capacity of few elites. In fact, many of them are driven by such considerations and are ultimately seen as devoid of ideological coherence, heavily personality-driven and relying on an ethnic support base (Carothers 2006). Ideology plays a pivotal role in prolonging the life span of a political party. It neutralizes or reduces internal conflict thereby serving as a binding force. Nnoli (2003)

explaining that ideology is a very crucial aspect of politics, not only by serving as a cognitive structure for looking at society generally and providing a prescriptive formula, that is, a guide to individual action and judgment, but also as a powerful instrument of conflict management, self identification, popular mobilization and legitimization.

In fact, intra party crisis in Nigeria underlies the burgeoning state of party defections in Nigeria. For instance, major parties in Nigeria, like the ruling Peoples Democratic Party, All Progressive Grant Alliance among others are in severe internal crisis. These crises have corresponding impact on the political system, and sometimes ensue in members defecting to other parties. Essentially, internal party democracy is a sine qua non for redressing deep rooted animosity among members and reactivating the fortunes of these parties, since they have lost ideological content. It is through this that parties would be able to select candidates that are capable and alluring for elections. Scarrow (2004) In fact, internal party democracy would serve as a veritable platform for mediation and conflict resolution among party faithful. Following from the above, it could be hypothesized that there are serious ideological poverty in virtually all Nigerian political parties which appeared to have generated intra party conflicts and in turn increased the rate of party defections.

### III. THEORETICAL DISCOURSE

The study adopted the elite theory in explaining the interplay in the political horse trading and its impact in evolving credible and open market democracy in Nigeria. The elite theory as developed by Vilfredo, Pareto, Roberto Michels, Gaetano Mosca and Jose Ortega Gassat among others, hinges on the fact that every society is composed of two classes of people (Varma 1975). The two classes are made of minority group who rule and the majority being ruled. More specifically, Roberto Michel’s “iron law of oligarchy” dwells on element of organization, which exists in every kind of human society that strives for the attainment of a definite end (Varma 1975). In fact, Michels concluded that as a movement or party grows in size, more and more functions are to be delegated to an inner circle of leaders (elites), and, in course of time, the members of the organization are rendered less competent to direct and control them (see Varma 1975).

The above postulations mirror vividly the state of Nigerian political society. Arguably, the Nigerian elites appeared to have succeeded in rendering the majority incapable of controlling them through the perfected process of managing electoral frauds and heinous manipulation of state institutions. This is manifest in the total delusion of the basic electoral principles symptomatic of the market democracy. Instead of opening up the democratic space genuinely for people’s participation,

they created the kind of politics which places in the hands of the very few elite the ultimate control of the political system, including the institutions; the political parties, electoral institutions and agencies, security agencies, judicial organs, etc. That is 'machine politics' (see Ibeanu, 2007). Control of these institutions by the members of the ruling class creates a lot of fierce contests, bad bloods and crisis in the political system.

Attached to this contest is the bad governance principles associated therewith in such societies. Ultimately, associated with machine politics is the control of the state economy by such group of persons (the elites) and the indulgence in the act of buying people's support and conscience and in forcing such support when corrupt mobilization becomes difficult. Further to this is sharing the state resources among the members of the ruling class. Considering that the society including the members of the class is not a monolithic existence, there is a sustained contest among members of that class for the control of the machine as that also means control of the distributive power. The winner usually takes all and the loser loses everything. Hence, the contest is usually very fierce and petty. In the face of this contest, several activities take place, all surrounding the struggles for the acquisition and utilization of the state power. They become victorious or to avert losing out, they play dirty and sometimes, depending on their place in every power equation, engage in act of destabilization and in some occasions, persistent defections. This is in their desperate move to align with other parties or groups where they feel that their individual interest would be secured and by this heating up the polity. People tend to be deluded into accepting flimsy reasons such as crisis, as what propels such defections without emphasizing their (defectors) role in those crises. In many cases political elites tend to manipulate ethno-religious sentiments as tools for gathering political support after

defection (see the instance of the Western Regional House of Assembly). Interestingly, the recipient parties in their desperation to get more members and strength accept the defectors and present them in a manner they could be seen as political "saints" regardless of their previous misdemeanor.

#### IV. NIGERIA'S DEMOCRACY SINCE 1999: CATALOGUES OF POLITICAL DEFECTION

Nigeria's return to democratic governance in 1999 raised optimism that democratic practices and inherent qualities embedded in it would help to fast-track Nigeria's development trajectory. This hope tends to be becoming a mirage. Nigeria since 1999 appears to have been engulfed with series of confrontations, ethno-religious conflict, economic instability, militancy, terrorism and political squabbles. These crisis that rocked major political parties from 1999 till date instigated multiple political party defections in this fourth republic. These defections as noted earlier were mainly to secure party platform or nomination to contest elections. The fact that most of the defectors especially from the ruling parties at the national and state levels later returned to their various parties lend credence to the above assertion. However, there is no indication that the recent exodus in the ruling party would align with what seems to be a noticeable awful character of Nigerian politicians or that there is any "chance of return" at least for now. This is because both defectors and highly placed individuals in the ruling party stand at different extremity with none of them ready to compromise. With this move, number of defection cases has continued to occur and appeared to have overwhelmed the numbers prior to the present republic. Records of the major defections in the Nigeria's political landscape since the commencement of the fourth republic were stated below:

*Figure 1* : Major Political Defection since 2003 General Elections

Name	Initial Party	Party Defected to
Ikedi Ohakim (former governor, Imo State)	Progressive People's Alliance (PPA)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Theodore Orji (Abia State governor)	Progressive People's Alliance (PPA)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Rochas Okorochoa (Imo State governor)	All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA)	All Progressive Congress (APC), prior to this, he has defected to many parties (initially he started as PDP member)
Chris Ngige (former governor Anambra State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Achike Udenwa (former governor Imo State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) (but has returned to People's Democratic Party (PDP)
Chibuike Amaechi (River State governor)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Chinwoke Mbadinuju (former governor Anambra State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Alliance for Democracy (AD) (but has returned to People's Democratic Party (PDP)
Alhaji Attahiru Bafarawa (former governor Sokoto State)	All Progressive Congress (APC)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)

Muritala Nyako (Governor Adamawa Staate)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Rabiu Kwakwanso (Governor of Kano State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Abdufatah Ahmed (Governor of Kwara State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Aliyu Wamakko (Governor of Sokoto State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Ifeanyi Ararume (Former Gubernatorial Candidate in Imo State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) (but has returned to People's Democratic Party, PDP)
Isa Yaguda (Former Governor, Bauchi State)	All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Alhaji Mahmud Shinkafi (Governor of Zamfara State)	All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Ibikunle Amosun (Governor Ogun State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP) to Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) and presently All Progressive Congress (APC)
Segun Oni (Former Governor of Ekiti State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
George Akume (Former Governor Benue State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) presently known as All Progressive Congress (APC)
Femi Pedro (Former Deputy Governor of Lagos State)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN)	Labour Party (LP)
Segun Mimiko (Governor Ondo State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Labour Party (LP) but has recently returned to Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Late Funsho Williams (Former Gubernatorial Candidate Lagos State)	Alliance for Democracy (AD)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Iyiola Omisore (Former Deputy Governor of Osun State)	Alliance for Democracy (AD)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Orji Uzo Kalu (Former Governor of Abia State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Formed, the Progressive People's Alliance (PPA) but has since returned to (PDP)
Saminu Turaki (Governor of Jigawa state)	All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Atiku Abubakar (Former Vice President)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN) but returned to PDP and now in APC
Late Chuba Okadigbo (Former Senate President)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP)
Late Harry Marshal (Former PDP Zonal Leader)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP)
Timipre Silva (Former Governor of Bayelsa State)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)
Tom Ikimi (PDP Chieftain)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC) But has returned to the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)
Aminu Waziri Tambuwal (Speaker House of Representatives)	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	All Progressive Congress (APC)

Source: Compiled by the author from *Newswatch*, December, 23<sup>rd</sup> 2013; *Vanguard* December, 22, 2013; *Punch*, January 3<sup>rd</sup> 2014; *Sun Newspaper*, December 23<sup>rd</sup> 2013, *Vanguard*, September, 27<sup>th</sup> 2014, *Sun Newspaper*, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 2014.

Understandably, it could be stated that the above zigzag political roaming tends to be permissible specifically for the executive arm of government under the 1999 constitution. However, such leverages are not extended to the parliament. It is outlawed by virtue of the provision of section 68 sub-section. According to section 68 (1) of the 1999 constitution, a member of the

Senate or of the House of Representatives shall vacate his seat in the House of which he is a member if:

(g) being a person whose election to the House was sponsored by a political party, he becomes a member of another political party before the expiration of the period for which that House was elected; Provided that his membership of the latter

political party is not as a result of a division in the political party of which he was previously a member or of a merger of two or more political parties or factions by one of which he was previously sponsored (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999:68).

Thus, the constitution seems to be explicit on the conditions that could warrant or would demand forfeiture of one's seat in the Nigerian parliament. However, the constitution like in many other sections created gap in the second part which states that such forfeiture is legitimately mandatory "provided that his membership of the latter political party is not as a result of a division in the political party of which he was previously a member" (section 68 (1) of 1999 Nigerian constitution). Considering the nature of Nigerian political parties and perhaps more importantly the character of Nigerian politicians and the fact that no individual or agency is saddled with the responsibility of determining when a party is divided or not, makes this section more complex and ambiguous.

Beyond constitutional complexities, experiences have shown that the general impact on the stability of the system is terribly monumental especially when it disadvantaged the ruling party. For, instance, over 15 members of the ANPP in the National Assembly have defected to the PDP since 2007 (Mbah, 2011). As a result, the ANPP appeared to have been overwhelmed by the probable loss of its members to the PDP. On its part, the ruling party tends to explain this as heroic, milestone and landmark decision motivated by the successes of the party over a decade of providing leadership. In the senate, Dr Wahab Dosunmu, Senator Adeseye Ogunlere and Senator Musulius Obanikoro all elected on the platform of Alliance of Democracy (AD) Lagos State defected to join the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). Senator Arthur Nzeribe (Imo), Senator John Nwanunu (Abia) Dr Usman Kadir (Kogi) the trio defected from the All Nigeria People Party (ANPP) to join the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). While Senator Satti Gogwin, Action Congress (Plateau) defected to join the ruling party (PDP) (see Okparaji, 2010). Also, Patrick Osakwe (LP, Delta State); Patricia Akwasike, (ANPP, Nasarawa State); and Sa'di Yauo (ANPP, Zamfara State) in 2010 defected to Peoples' Democratic Party (also see Baiyewu, 2012).

However, the recent defections from the ruling party to the opposition party have generated enormous tensions. The exodus of thirty seven (37) members of House of Representatives and eleven (11) senators from the ruling party (PDP) was matched with rancor and litigations. This is not unexpected given that party politics in Nigeria are personalized and the seemingly non-institutionalization of political parties in Nigeria tends to increase the magnitude of confrontations. Since parties are the creation of the most influential individuals in collaboration with allies, the processes of conducting

party affairs and regulating the behavior of members have remained hugely conflictual. Arguably, it could be stated that the present trend may prosperously augment the size and growth of opposition party, but it is still vague whether this growth could be translated into good leadership or to be sufficient enough to check and condition the action of the ruling party. What is incontrovertible is that both the opposition and government parties are bereft of ideology and are therefore not rooted on any major foundational belief. The fact that both the abandoned and recipient parties are identical in virtually every attributes indicates that the movement may persist yet the leadership gap may correspondingly broaden. In fact, such exodus has remained ubiquitous over the time. The experiences in the first republic and subsequent republics where internal party conflicts resulted to defections lend credence to the above assertion. Essentially, defections in Nigeria have been more conflictual and indeed, seem unable to promote democracy and good governance. This is really one of the predicaments of democracy in Nigeria over a decade. The reason for that is not unconnected with the absence of major factors on party politics, ideology, etc.

## V. IDEOLOGY AND THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRATIC SUSTENANCE IN NIGERIA

The scale of party defections and acrimonies, instability accompanying the act tends to suggest that defection has become one of major threats and destabilizing factor to party politics and sustainable democratic practice in Nigeria. Indeed, political party is essentially a requisite institution in the process of democratization and democratic sustenance. Conventionally, political parties have been understood to rest their existence on sustained ideological foundation. Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, is to determine whether ideological status of Nigerian parties is inextricably linked to perennial internal wrangling and to determine its implication on democratic sustenance.

Ideology generally could be seen as a set of shared beliefs regarding the proper order of a society and the means this could be achieved (Seliger, 1976; Gerring, 1997; Iyare, 2004; Omotola, 2009; Jost, Federico & Napier, 2009). According to Van Dijk (2006) an ideology is the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group. As Omotola (2009) rightly noted, ideology functions as a means of self-identification, as an instrument of conflict management, as a prescriptive formula and as a mobilizational and unifying force. Indeed, several other scholars have seen ideology beyond the confines or views of specified party politics (Heberle, 1951; Banshurst, 2005; Fischman & Law, 2005). For Heberle (1951) ideology of a movement in "a broad, non-

technical sense" could be seen as "the entire complex of ideas, theories, doctrines, values and strategic and tactical principles that is characteristic of the movement.

The import of the above definitions is that since ideology is a shared belief, it has the potency of binding people together regardless of their background, sex, religion, culture, status and orientation. It engenders peace and reduces internal bickering thereby promoting decorum, growth and development which extend to the larger polity. This does not mean also absence of conflict of interest, but a party that is fundamentally built on ideology possesses the capacity to democratically managed conflicts of interest. Of course, the tendency that party faithful may resort to compromises to accommodate other competing interest is certain. Buttressing this further, Jost (2006) asserted that different ideologies represent socially shared but competing philosophies of life and how it should be lived (and how society should be governed), it stands to reason that different ideologies should both elicit and express at least somewhat different social, cognitive, and motivational styles or tendencies on the part of their adherents (cited in Omotola, 2009). Yet, it is endowed with internal value mechanisms for addressing basic issues emanating from within.

Contrary to the above, several studies on political parties in Nigeria point to the fact that political parties in Nigeria seem to be confronted with and indeed suffering from ideological deficiency (Omotola, 2009; Iyare, 2004). This could be attributed to flawed foundation and wobbly foundations of these parties since 1960 which according to Omotola (2009) have been largely responsible for their seeming ideological barrenness. He further argued that despite all pretences to the contrary through their manifestoes, as much as the superficial classifications as the "left" and "right", "progressive" and "conservative", Nigerian parties are bereft of clear ideological commitments. Thus, while Omotola (2009) is of the opinion that this faulty origin of political parties in Nigeria is responsible for the party's ideological barrenness, we emphasize further that the poverty of ideology is significantly accountable for the prevailing political harlotry and party defections in the fourth republic. For instance, virtually all political parties in Nigeria seem to have one internal crisis or the other. Sometimes these crises snowballed into full scale conflict, leading to division, factionalization and sometimes even gruesome murder of members. For example, the gruesome murder of former justice minister Bola Ige after indicating his willingness to resign his position and return to help his party for the 2003 election and the murder of former PDP zonal leader Harry Marchall after he defected to ANPP are instances that party politics in Nigeria is not guided by clear commitments and principles.

Thus, while we do not intend to engage on characterization or evaluating major components that

drive party formation and management in Nigeria such as ethnicity, religion, the role of money and influence of powerful individuals, it is thus, important to note that sustaining Nigerian democracy has remained a herculean task that may not be achieved with the present flawed machinery. Political party is an indispensable apparatus of state. Party system that is not institutionalized and lacked the spicy, needed basic ingredients for regulating conduct, aggregate opinion may definitely lack the capacity to sustain itself and the entire political system. In this condition defections occur and may persist. However, it is important to note that defections are not the solution. It can only offer the defectors short period of peace (if at all). For sustenance of democracy in Nigeria, there is need to critically address basic problems that bordered on party formation, structure and management that would be erected based on certain ideological principles. This is essential because just as Seliger (1976) rightly observed "politics is inseparable from ideology". Fundamental among them is the establishment of internal party democracy to give people opportunity to participate and protest on issues they feel strongly about and to get redress within. Absence of that and death of ideology would obviously continue to drive defections in Nigeria party politics.

## VI. DEFECTION AND SUSTENANCE OF NIGERIAN DEMOCRACY

It is commonly held that beyond government, the existence of credible, strong and challenging opposition is important for the sustenance of democracy. The recent defection by a section of the ruling People's Democratic Party (PDP) to the All Progressive Congress (APC) ordinarily ought to drive Nigerian democracy to such situation of balance needed in any normal and established democracy for the practice in the country to consolidate. Looking at the equation of the elected officers in the country before and after that defection, one would understand that it really was a very significant development in the position of Nigeria party politics. It was a defection that saw five (5) state governors, Eleven (11) Senators and Thirty-Seven (37) members of the House of Representatives joining the APC to create a rather balanced power equation among the government party and opposition, giving the posture of an increased possibility for a change in the next general election.

Thus, Nigeria might be presenting a democracy with two consolidated or strong parties that would ordinarily place democracy on a competitive ground. That as stated at the early part of this paper is not only good but required. Incidentally, quite some thick clouds cover both the PDP and APC, making the picture unclear. This calls for deeper inquiry in the nature of these parties to aid our arrival to an acceptable

conclusion. One basic consideration is to determine if the parties, PDP that has being in government at the centre for over thirteen (13) years now and APC have major differences. Has PDP's long stay in power and the ability to maintain high population of 'members' made it sustainable? Has the APC, just by its ability to merge with others and assuming the "physical" status of a big opposition (or even ruling) party made its position as party sustainable enough to make a change in the system. What appears common in Nigeria is that virtually all the political parties have very fluid nature. Beyond not being established on any principle, they are easily formed, reformed, changed, merged, demerged and disintegrated. To help our analysis, there is need therefore to establish the measure of sustainability of political parties and infer from that if the parties in Nigeria, especially the party that emerged from the merger and defection (APC) acquired the strength to create the needed balance that would make Nigerian democracy strong.

Generally, a party's sustainability can be measured by its level of adaptability, its resource adequacy, the presence of mechanisms of internal conflict resolution, and the extent to which the party evolves a continuous process of self reincarnation through the positive leadership recruitment and injection of new ideas (wanjohi, 2003: 239). It can be measured in terms of the size of its core membership as well as the character and organizational capabilities of its core leadership. The more homogenous the core membership and the more focused the leadership, the more sustainable a party will be (Wanjohi, 2003). He further explains that political parties may be viewed like other important organizations whose institutions sustainability is a function of a clear mission based on the leaders' vision. He further called this entrepreneurial viewpoint.

Beyond every other consideration Wanjohi (2003) explained that political party's sustainability is dependent on its ability to stay focused on its mission and to be able to transform itself into many forms as may be inspired either by the vision of its leaders or by the prevailing political conditions. Such include mutating into a different type or evolving a new mode of operation. ANC in South Africa under the apartheid regime was able to evolve this adaptable character to survive and achieve its goals. Such too could be seen in the manifestation, through the youth's wing and Zikist movement that came with the NCNC in the Nigerian first Republic to survive certain colonial policies and achieve its objectives of wresting sovereignty out of the hands of the colonialists.

We may need to take the other factors one after the other to arrive at a good assessment of the new merged party. First, the capacity of the new political party to be adaptable to changing circumstances in the political system determines to a large extent how the

political party is. It can be explained as how the political party is able to exist and sustain itself within the various changes and circumstances it meets and be able to survive it. Looking at the most celebrate merger that was built through the defections of some PDP chieftains and their followers, it has actually shown the dynamic characters of the leaders of that party to prepare itself for sustenance in the face of the challenge facing them in elections against a dominant PDP country. However, it has to be explained that this is not the first time such mass organization was built as a political party in Nigeria. Usually, preparatory to elections, political parties have usually sought alliance which many of the time led to defections, mergers and birth of a new bigger party.

Incidentally, the same core organization in this new experiment has always found themselves in these arrangements. Thus, they have usually not been able to adapt to the turmoil that go with primaries and elections in Nigeria. Of course, the principles of democracy have in-built mechanisms to control internal insurrections. However, the undemocratic character of these parties has consistently created problems for them. In fact, the undemocratic nature of these organizations usually makes it very difficult for them to survive and to be sustainable. Already, APC is beginning to manifest such traits with the outcome of the recently concluded party convention that saw their election of national leaders of the party. The fact that one of the contestants for the position of party chairman who was formerly of PDP, Tom Ikimi has returned to PDP lend credence to this assertion.

The above situation indicates absence of genuine internal party democracy. Close to it also, is the absence of good mechanism of intra-party conflict resolution. Indeed, with obvious injustice in the system, any mechanism puts in place will rest on nothing strong to solve problems. It will equally not allow leadership recruitment to be open and would surely stifle new ideas. Looking at APC, it still retains those crops of leaders that were at the centre stage in the second republic (especially UPN) and since 1999 under AD, through ACN to the present new merger. Yet, with good percentage of former PDP members who had defected to the APC. What may look appealing is the new crowd thrown into the party (its new members). Incidentally, describing these people as core members of a political party requires establishing the level of commitment that these (especially new) members have for the party.

The next problem is the challenge of resources. Conventionally, one of the most reliable sources of funding political parties is party membership dues. In Nigeria, the culture of having "party financiers" as few members of the party who by that status almost take over the party structure makes it difficult for one to safely argue that any political party in Nigeria has a sustainable base. If those financiers decide to withhold their

supports and finances, just like some PDP Governors did at the height of their intra-party difficulties in 2013, the finance of the party crumbles. Some of the credible resource basis for political parties is returns from investments. Obviously, no political party in Nigeria has such resources not to think of sustaining it. For the government and opposition party, contributions from members in political positions form the strongest source of funding, complementing and sometimes constituting part of the major financiers.

## VII. CONCLUSION

From the analysis, it could be stated that one of the major challenges for sustaining Nigerian democracy in the fourth republic is the perennial defections arising from internal party crisis. With huge number of defections, the present republic is facing the problem of stability. This is mainly because of ideological deficiencies among parties and the drive by influential individuals to privatize a political party. Based on the above, this paper concluded that resolving the recurrent defection among party members or ending the persistent defection would demand rethinking and a paradigm change from the hitherto amalgam of political profit making allies representing political parties to erecting party systems that are ideological rooted. More importantly, is the critical role of the civil society groups and state agencies in reversing the present abnormality. Arguably, the beneficiaries of the present rot may pose serious obstacle in this direction. However, sustaining Nigerian democracy demands a sustained radical, social re-engineering, re-orientation and mobilization that would be directed towards inculcation of new values and essence of entrenching acceptable philosophy in the Nigeria's party system.

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## The Examination of the Alcohol Consumption among Students in the University of Vienna (WU) and the University of Győr (SZE)

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*Abstract-* In our accelerated world people's drinking habits have constantly been changing. From time to time new trends show up, and people follow them either consciously or unconsciously. In Hungary and in Austria healthy lifestyle is a trend which gradually comes into fashion. Is this really the case? To find this out, we questioned 150 students each at both universities. The task of the present research is to analyse, within the frames of an exploratory research, whether there is a difference between the health behaviour and the alcohol drinking habits of the students of Wirtschaftsuniversität in Vienna and those of Széchenyi István University in Győr.

*Keywords:* health behaviour, alcohol consumption, university students.

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Péter Huszka <sup>α</sup> & Ida Ercsey <sup>σ</sup>

**Abstract-** In our accelerated world people's drinking habits have constantly been changing. From time to time new trends show up, and people follow them either consciously or unconsciously. In Hungary and in Austria healthy lifestyle is a trend which gradually comes into fashion. Is this really the case? To find this out, we questioned 150 students each at both universities. The task of the present research is to analyse, within the frames of an exploratory research, whether there is a difference between the health behaviour and the alcohol drinking habits of the students of Wirtschaftsuniversität in Vienna and those of Széchenyi István University in Győr.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Due to changes in social environment today's generation of adolescents and young people undergo changes. The role of the family and the school has been decreasing in the socialisation of young people, while the role of friends and acquaintances has been increasing, and the influence of media – mainly the electronic media – and that of consumer industry is growing.

The pressure of time and performance, the early independence, the challenges and the growing competition increase the endangerment of young people. As a result of these many people use different performance-enhancers (and drugs as well) and/or consume alcohol. We mustn't ignore that among young people there can be big differences regarding the risk of developing harmful addictions. The role of personality in this question can be mentioned as a glaring example since personality may appear in alcohol consumption and in subsequent behavioural patterns as well<sup>1</sup>. For the experience of these it is enough to look around in the buildings of secondary schools or universities as well as in the different pleasure-grounds (and in their vicinity).

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<sup>1</sup> Löre V. (2013): Személyiségtípusok az emberi erőforrás menedzsmentben. *Ekonomické štúdie - teória a prax: Gazdasági tanulmányok - elmélet és gyakorlat*, Komárno: International Research Institute, pp. 255- 270.

It is important to mention and clarify that in modern marketing it is an outdated approach that companies have to meet the short-term needs of customers the most effective way possible. The short-term needs (demands) of customers often clash with the long-term interests of customers and society (e.g. health condition, the improvement of life quality, the avoidance of pollution). All of these are especially true in case of young people who nowadays almost demand and consider evident that 'they make their own decisions about their lives' and they almost feel offended if for example they are not served with tobacco products and alcohol, that is to say their freedom of self-determination is restricted.

The domestic decadence of health condition has been going on since the mid 1960s, and as a consequence of this, Hungary is increasingly lagged behind compared to – mostly Western-European – countries having developed health culture. The health condition of the population is even worse than what could be explained by the country's state of development. Good health condition is not only the 'interest' of the individual but that of the society as well, since the 'working person' as labour force is an important element of the production and value-production (transformation) process. Thus his/her health condition and the maintenance of his/her health condition is the basic interest of the society as well. (In Hungary the death rate of 55-65-year-olds is extremely high, which is very 'tragic for the individual', but the economy loses its experts having professional routine and experience. These experts cannot share their experience with the younger generation.)

The importance of the research is also emphasised by the fact that 'university years' mean that important phase of human life, when those habits develop, which later impact the health condition throughout the whole life. Konczosné et al. – when examining the consumer behaviour of students in higher education – state that 'in the supply of university restaurants more and more space should be given to green salads, natural kitchen poultry meats, fruits, sugar-free beverages and calorie-tables indicated in a

clearly visible place.”<sup>2</sup> A further statement of them is that there is a growing need of wellness (‘the expectations of students as consumers reflect in the importance of the growing needs of sporting, programs offering leisure time experience, extreme sports and the enjoy of life’).<sup>3</sup>

In our accelerated world people’s drinking habits have constantly been changing. From time to time new trends show up, and people follow them either consciously or unconsciously. In Hungary and in Austria healthy lifestyle is a trend which gradually comes into fashion. Is this really the case? Or it is just a clever communication trick with which certain manufacturers want to increase the turnover of their products!?

Considering the above-mentioned during my research we sought for an answer to the question whether the pursuit of healthy lifestyle are reflected in the alcohol consumption habits of Hungarian and Austrian university students.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW, HYPOTHESES

In accordance with the aims set for the research and the methodological logic that has been drawn up,

secondary findings will be presented first and then those will be followed by the findings of the primary market research. Let’s review first what factors compose health, the individual’s health behaviour and what are the elements of it.

### a) Health Behaviour/Consciousness and its Elements

Health has been explained by many people in many ways similarly to those factors that mostly influence the health of our body. According to Baum, Krantz and Gatchel (1997), health behaviour and health-consciousness are all those attitudes that may affect our health, while we are healthy.<sup>4</sup> This system is, however, ‘flexible’, since nowadays, in the age of IT revolution and its widespread use, the credibility of information and the ability to quickly adapt (to our environment) also affects/may affect our health. The most important elements of health behaviour are illustrated by Figure 1.

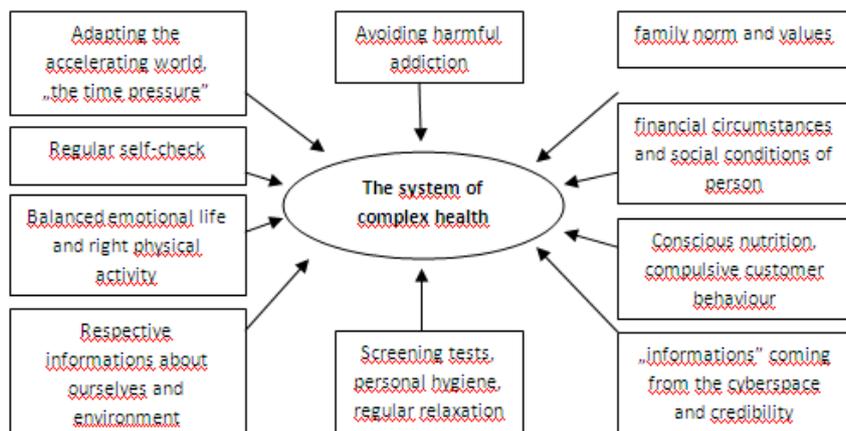


Figure 1 : The complex system of health behaviour<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Konczosné Szombathelyi M, Kovácsné Tóth Á., Zakariás G., Budaházi J. és Dusek T. (2010/a): A generációs marketing jelentősége egy felsőoktatási intézmény példáján. In: Csépe A. (szerk.) „Új marketing világtrend” tanulmánykötet. Magyar Marketing Szövetség Marketing Oktatók Klubja 16. országos konferenciája. Budapesti Kommunikációs és Üzleti Főiskola Marketing Intézete: Budapest. 806.o

<sup>3</sup> Konczosné Szombathelyi M, Kovácsné Tóth Á., Zakariás G., Budaházi J. és Dusek T. (2010/b): „Nem csak a húszéveseké a világ”: az egészség/fittség/fiatalság trend és az „új idők generáció”-t célzó egyetemi marketingkommunikáció. In: Kuráth G. és Pálfi M. (szerk.) III. Felsőoktatási Marketing Konferencia. Konferencia CD, Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Pécs. 192.o.

<sup>4</sup> Baum, A., Krantz, D. S., and Gatchel, R. J. (1997): An introduction to health psychology, New York: McGraw-Hill

<sup>5</sup> Own research and compilation based on the work of Harris and Guten. Huszka P.: Divat a korai dohányzás? – avagy dohányzási szokások vizsgálata a 12–16 évesek körében. Egészségfejlesztés, 53 (4), 9-15, (2012 a), Harris DM, Guten S (1979) Health protecting behaviour: An exploratory study. Journal of Health and Social Behaviour 20: 17-29.

It is clearly visible from the illustration that health behaviour is a complex system that consists of physical activity, mental health, conscious nutrition, hygiene and last but not least, the avoidance of harmful excise goods or the norm- and value-system of the family and its strength, as well as the 'information' coming from the cyberspace and its credibility. The complex system also includes the financial status and opportunities of the individual (it is enough to think about nutrition and its quality, but the 'access' to medical care also depends on it in most cases), 'time pressure' and the adaptation to the accelerating world or its absence as well, which according to Süle (2013) depends on the subjective assessment of time. This latter leads in most cases to mental (and psychical) illness and due to this to the consumption and the excessive use of different 'sedative (pass) products' like alcohol, drugs, smoking and internet addiction as well.

If the individual can or could keep all these elements or just the majority of them, one could live a healthy life. Unfortunately, in most cases this is not or just hardly conceivable in Hungary. In 2011 one author of this article commissioned by the Local Government of Kőbánya visited more bars and pleasure-grounds in the district to collect information about the health status of the customers and their 'use' of health behaviour elements. The research findings revealed a distressing picture!<sup>6</sup>

Some other studies also state that young people (and unfortunately either the members of the older generation) do not care about their health:<sup>7</sup>

- ✓ Regular alcohol consumption can be observed since the age of 13,
- Every fifth of 14-year-olds consumes alcohol weekly,
- 25-32% of the 14-year-olds smokes at least once a week,
- More than half of the 18-19-year-olds feed irregularly or unhealthy,
- Only 33% of the 15-year-olds do sports regularly,
- 13% of Austrians have significant overweight.

Studies that deal with the analysis of subjective quality of life show that health is the most important dimension based on the evaluation of Hungarian respondents.<sup>8</sup> However, the findings of the pilot

research show that not age but sex and qualification play the important role in the judgement of the importance of health.<sup>9</sup>

According to another approach (Matarazzo 1984) health behaviour has two different manifestations. The first one is the so-called risk or health risk behaviour (e.g. smoking, unhealthy nutrition), whereas the second one is the so-called preventative health behaviour (e.g. doing sports, participation in medical screening tests).<sup>10</sup>

#### b) *Some thoughts about Alcohol Consumption*

Drinking habits changed a lot over time. In the middle Ages, the consumption of beer and wine was spread all over Europe even for breakfast as well. Tea, coffee and cocoa were put on the 'list of beverages' after the great geographical discoveries. The production technology of liquors was developed by the discoveries of the alchemists.

Drinking habits show a very mixed picture in the different countries of the world. It can be said in general that growing wealth has changed the drinking habits in the developed West-European countries since the 1960s and as a result of this the number of alcohol consumers increased and the quantity of alcohol consumption of teenagers has significantly increased (Table 1), which means that alcoholism has become a serious social problem in more European countries. From the table it can be seen how the structure and the quantity of alcohol consumption changed in Austria during 15 years. It can be stated that during this period the quantity of alcohol consumed by 16-17-year-olds increased almost two and a half times (unfortunately this tendency is the same in case of Hungarian youngsters as well).

<sup>6</sup> Huszka P. (2012/b): "Körültekintés A Kőbányai kocsmákban" avagy egy kérdőíves vizsgálat eredményei Budapesten. VII. KHEOPS Tudományos Konferencia, 5-16, Mór

<sup>7</sup> Matarazzo, J. D. (1984): "Behavioural health: A 1990 challenge for the health sciences professions", in: Matarazzo, J. D., Weiss, S. M.; Herd, J. A.; Miller, N. E., Weiss, S. M. (eds.), Behavioral health: A handbook of health enhancement and disease prevention US, John Wiley & Sons Inc., 3-40; Aszmann A. (2003): Iskoláskorú gyermekek egészségmagatartása. Országos Gyermekkegészségügyi Intézet Nemzeti Drogmegelőzési Intézet, Budapest, 2003; Uhl, S. Bachmayer et.al (2011)

<sup>8</sup> Ercsey I. (2012/a): "The roles of the perceived value in the evaluation of the subjective quality of life", In: Ethics, Sustainable Consumption and Other Current Challenges for Public and Non-Profit Marketing, Abstract Book, pp. 29. ISBN 978-9955-19-437-8, Editor: assoc.prof. dr. Algirdas Monkevicius, 11th International Congress on Public and Non-Profit Marketing, June 14-15, 2012 Vilnius, Lithuania; Ercsey I. (2012/b): „Észlelt érték szerepe a szubjektív életminőség vizsgálatában”, In: Marketing Oktatók Klubja 18. Országos Konferencia, „Coopetition – verseny és együttműködés a marketingben, Miskolci Egyetem

<sup>9</sup> Ercsey I. (2012/b): „Észlelt érték szerepe a szubjektív életminőség vizsgálatában”, In: Marketing Oktatók Klubja 18. Országos Konferencia, „Coopetition – verseny és együttműködés a marketingben, Miskolci Egyetem

<sup>10</sup> Matarazzo, J. D. (1984): "Behavioural health: A 1990 challenge for the health sciences professions", in: Matarazzo, J. D., Weiss, S. M.; Herd, J. A.; Miller, N. E., Weiss, S. M. (eds.), Behavioral health: A handbook of health enhancement and disease prevention US, John Wiley & Sons Inc., 3-40

Table 1 : Changes in the quantity of 'average alcohol consumption' in different periods in Austria<sup>11</sup>

Men and Women/ Age	1993/94			2004				2008			
	16-17	18-20	21-99	14-15	16-17	18-20	21-99	15	16-17	18-20	21-99
The average quantity of alcohol consumed	9	22	32	13	18	24	28	22	22	25	28
Average alcohol consumption (litre)/year	<b>4,2</b>	10,2	14,8	5,9	<b>8,2</b>	11,1	13,1	10,2	<b>10,2</b>	11,6	13

Thus, there is a similarity in that more and more young people drink alcohol both in Hungary and in Austria, what's more they try them for the first time in younger and younger ages. One of the main reasons for this is the so-called 'alcopop'-drink (that is beverages mixed with alcohol).<sup>12</sup> These drinks are very popular since these are more tasteful than hard alcohols and their effect is manifested in a slower way. Besides these (according to a study), the beer consumption of German youngsters is very high as well. The age of regular alcohol consumers generally begins with 13-year-old, but according to some certain surveys 1% of 11-year-olds consume alcohol regularly.<sup>13</sup>

The per capita consumption of food, beverage, tobacco and nutrients (alcohol is considered a special food) are regularly examined in both Hungary and Austria. In Figure 2 and 3 we compared the per capita consumption quantities of most commonly consumed beverage types in Austria and in Hungary.

Here it can be mentioned as well that some pieces of research stated that the consumption of a small amount of alcohol is not harmful, what's more it has an advantageous effect on health condition – especially in case of the consumption of red wine.<sup>14</sup>

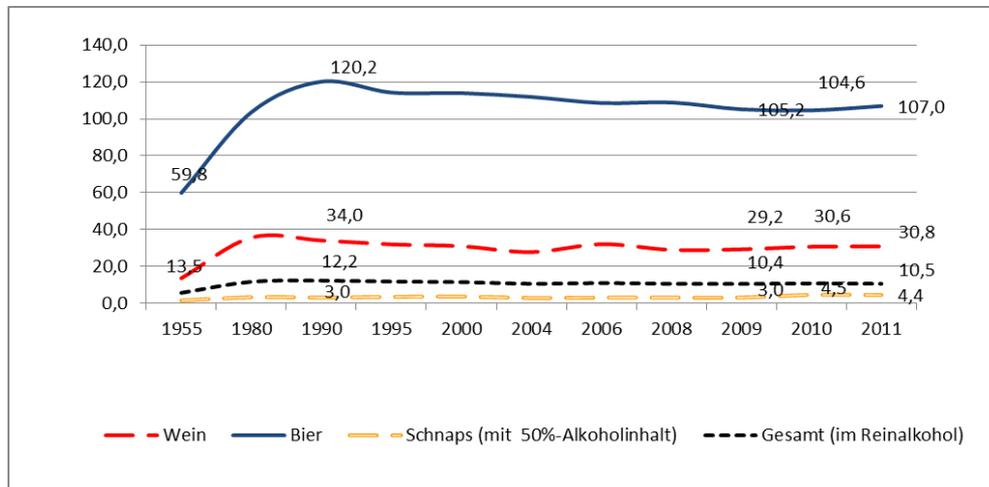


Figure 2 : Beverage consumption in Austria (litre)<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Own compilation based on „Handbuch Alkohol – Österreich“ Band 1: Statistiken und Berechnungsgrundlagen 2013 Wien, März 2013. Alfred Uhl – Sonja Bachmayer – Alexandra Puhm Julian Strizek – Ulrike Kobrna – Michael Musalek Wien: Bundesministerium für Gesundheit (2013)

<sup>12</sup> Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2006): Bacardi Marktbericht 2005, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Gerhard Manner, Wien; Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2008): Mitteilung über IWSR (International Wine and Spirit Record) Zahlen für RTD (Ready To Drink) in Österreich, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Mag. Leopold Machacek, Wien

<sup>13</sup> Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2006): Bacardi Marktbericht 2005, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Gerhard Manner, Wien; Bacardi-Martini GmbH (2008): Mitteilung über IWSR (International Wine and Spirit Record) Zahlen für RTD (Ready To Drink) in Österreich, Schriftliche Mitteilung von Mag. Leopold Machacek, Wien

<sup>14</sup> Burger, M., Brönstrup, A. and Pietrzik, K. (2004): „Derivation of tolerable upper alcohol intake levels in Germany; A systematic review of risks and benefits if moderate alcohol consumption“, Preventive Medicine, 39, 111-127; Nőgrádi, K. (2012): „Mértékletes ivás“, [http://egeszseg.origo.hu/cikk/0602/917659/mertekletes\\_1.htm](http://egeszseg.origo.hu/cikk/0602/917659/mertekletes_1.htm)

<sup>15</sup> Own compilation based on „Handbuch Alkohol – Österreich“ Band 1: Statistiken und Berechnungsgrundlagen 2011 Wien, Jänner 2011. A. Uhl, S. Bachmayer, A. Puhm, J. Strizek, U. Kobrna, M. Musalek Wien: Bundesministerium für Gesundheit (2011), Handbuch Alkohol – Österreich“ Band 1: Statistiken und Berechnungsgrundlagen 2013 Wien, März 2013. Alfred Uhl – Sonja Bachmayer – Alexandra Puhm Julian Strizek – Ulrike Kobrna – Michael Musalek Wien: Bundesministerium für Gesundheit (2013) alapján saját szerkesztés Alfred Uhl – Sonja Bachmayer – Alexandra Puhm Julian Strizek – Ulrike Kobrna – Michael Musalek

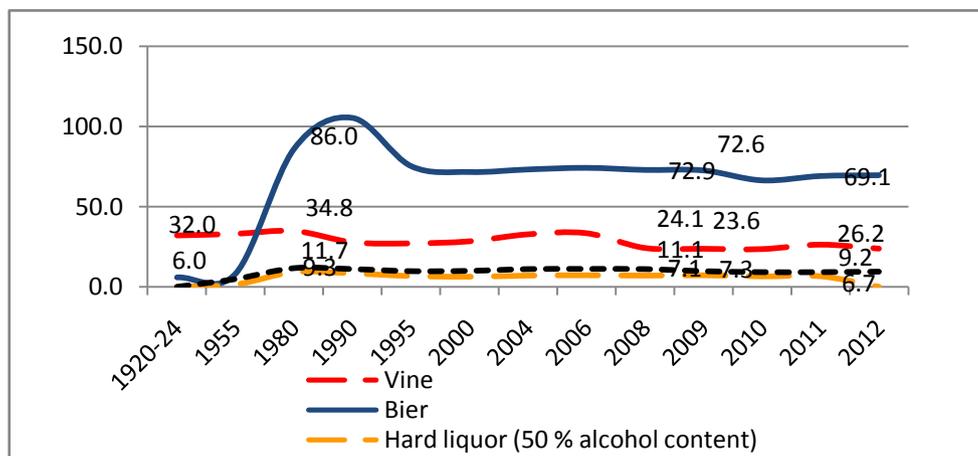


Figure 3 : Beverage consumption in Hungary (litre) <sup>16</sup>

In the figures it is well-seen that there are differences between the 'average' alcohol consumers of the two countries. In Hungary the consumption of distilled liquor stagnates (but in a very high level), while the consumption of beer and vine shows a slightly decreasing trend. In connection with beer consumption if we consider that in the meantime the alcohol content of beer increased, the decrease in consumption can only be seen as symbolic. Regarding vine consumption almost a 15% decrease can be observed compared to 1990, one reason for this may be that in the country between 2006 and 2012 real incomes decreased significantly and parallel to this overheads significantly increased (as well as the consumer price of vine). This statement is true even if we consider the fact that in the past one and a half years the governmental economic policy has moved toward the direction of overhead reduction. This advantageous fact and the parallel "commenced" real income growth, however, appear in different levels of household consumption. Although it is also a fact that almost 30% of domestic population still earn near the minimum wage, thus most of them try to save money on the consumption of these products, which is reflected in the consumption data.

In Austria (a bit surprisingly) the measure of alcohol consumption counted in pure alcohol is more by 14% (10.5 litres). However, the structure of alcohol consumption 'is considered to be more favourable'. According to the national specificities they consume more beer by 55% than in Hungary and their vine consumption also exceeds the value measured in Hungary by almost 18% and it reaches an average of 30,8 litres annually. However, they consume significantly less hard liquor. In Hungary people consume an average of 6,7 litres of short drinks annually, while in Austria less than two thirds of this is drunk, that is 4,4 litres. All of these together with the differences in

nutrition and lifestyle lead to that in Hungary the men's average life expectancy at birth was 72 years (in 2013), for instance. In the same year in Austria the men's average life expectancy at birth was 78 years.

### III. HYPOTHESES

Based on secondary data we framed the following hypotheses:

*H 1* : While young people consume alcohol earlier and earlier and more frequently, the majority of students are aware of the harmful health effects of alcohol consumption.

*H 2* : The rate of those having already tried the alcohol at a young age is high, and the date of 'knowing' this harmful passion mostly takes place at the beginning of adolescence.

*H 3* : There is no essential difference between the alcohol consumption habits of students studying at the universities of Vienna and Győr.

### IV. MATERIAL AND METHOD

The task of the present study is to analyse within the frames of an exploratory research whether there is a difference between the health behaviour and the alcohol consumption habits of students studying at 'Wirtschaftsuniversität' in Vienna and at the Széchenyi István University in Győr (Hungary). The analysis of the motivations of alcohol consumption and the judgement of alcohol as a product is similarly important.

We chose these two universities because the authors of the study work at the university in Győr, and because one of them had spent 5 months from September 2011 as a research professor at the 'Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien'. On the other hand, the time spent at the universities and there the discussions with university students as well as the personal experiences

<sup>16</sup> Own compilation based on the Statistical yearbooks of KSH (1970-2009), KSH Statadat data-table, Egészségügyi statisztikai évkönyv 2008, <http://faostat3.fao.org/faostat-gateway/go/to/download/FB/FBS/E>

convinced the authors that there is no difference between the drinking habits of the students of the two universities 'at first sight'.

Is this really the case? To find this out we questioned 150 students each at both universities. Because of the exploratory research we did not try to reach representativeness, however, we 'tried to choose' university students in a random manner (every third student participating in lectures was questioned at the university and its surroundings), but unfortunately not always successfully. In spite of this we think that the research enables comparison between the alcohol consumption habits of the students of the two universities that are 120 kilometres far from each other.

The large amount of data was processed with the help of SPSS for Windows 14.0 mathematical-statistical program. By using the program, we analysed the correlation of the variables to each other and to the

background variables with the help of frequency distributions and cross-tables. Besides mean calculations we also made significance-tests with Chi-squared test.<sup>17</sup>

## V. THE ANALYSIS OF CONSUMER HABITS AND ATTITUDES (PRIMARY RESEARCH)

The findings of the secondary research made it clear that alcohol consumption and unhealthy way of life mean a serious endangerment among population and especially young people. But what do young people think about alcohol consumption? The answers to this question provide information about the health behaviour of the university students. Respondents could choose among five alternatives (Figure 4). The data of Figure 4 show sad facts.

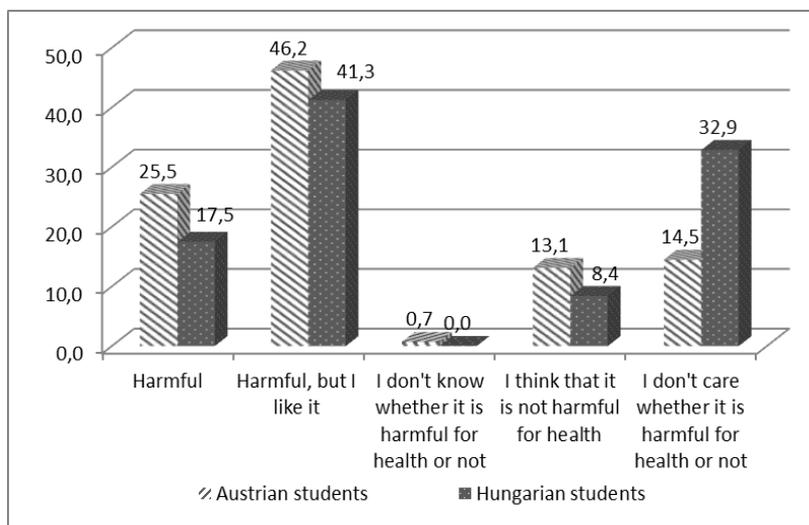


Figure 4 : What do you think about alcohol consumption? (%)<sup>18</sup>

Only 25.5% and 17.5% of the respondents think that consuming alcohol is harmful. The majority of this group also consume alcohol (based on the answers given to the other questions), but they are considered to be moderate alcohol consumers. Every person not consuming alcohol can be found in this group.

The 'noticeable majority' also agrees with this statement (46.2% and 41.3%), but for them the consumption of alcohol means a culinary delights, which are supported by the consumption data. This means that the members of this group consume alcohol regularly and in a relatively large amount.

Even more shocking than this statement is that according to 13.1% and 8.4% of the respondents' alcohol consumption doesn't damage health. This opinion is shocking! The question arises whether

respondents (who were university students!) really don't know that alcohol damages health or just they don't care about this fact.

The statement that 32.9% (Hungarian consumers) and 14.5% of respondents do not care about the unhealthy being of the product is considered to be amazing. Approximately 41% of Hungarian university students belong to these two latter groups opposite to the 28% of the Austrian university students. There is a strong significant difference ( $\chi^2=15.339$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p=0.004$ ) regarding this question between the youngsters of the two nations. Therefore it can be stated that the university students of Győr do not care about the harmful health effects of alcohol in a larger extent than the university students of Vienna.

<sup>17</sup> Malhotra, N. K. (2007): Marketing Research: An Applied Orientation, 5th Edition, published by Pearson Education, Inc., publishing as Prentice Hall

<sup>18</sup> Own compilation

If we try to make a distinction based on sex, we also receive a significant result ( $\chi^2=30.750$ ,  $df=12$ ,  $p=0.002$ ). It can be stated that women (regardless of their nationality) consider alcohol harmful in a significantly higher rate than men. However, it is a sad fact (from a Hungarian viewpoint) that 27.7% of the 'girls of Győr' do not care about the unhealthy being of alcohol, while only 10.7% of the 'girls of Vienna' do so. In general it can also be observed that students with better academic achievements are considered to be more moderate alcohol consumers.

However, the data of Figure 4 show that the majority of the respondents are aware of the unhealthy being of alcohol. But in this case what 'motivates' students to consume alcohol? To find this out we asked open question from the students.

The findings of the survey clearly show that there is no essential difference between students studying at Austrian and Hungarian universities regarding motivations. Based on the findings we can state that university students most often consume alcohol: 'because it is good' or 'just because', and not to stand out from their companions!

Some other typical opinions: „Manchmal trink man Alkohol, weil es schmeckt und wenn man schlechte Laune hat” oder „kann man etwas schlechtes im Vergangenheit vergessen”, or: 'alcohol diminishes stress', 'to be happy'. I think the responses speak for themselves!

It is justifiable to frame the question that how much those attention-raising advertisements are worth, which wants to enlighten the young people about the harmful effects of these products. Is this type of marketing activity effective; does community marketing reach its target?

Based on the data we can only answer 'no'! Therefore we can reject the first hypothesis.

As the continuation of the research we were wondering when the first time was when the respondents consumed alcohol. Regarding this question the first finding of the survey may be that there is no essential difference in the date of 'the first conscious alcohol consumption' between the Austrian and Hungarian university students; therefore we illustrate means in Figure 5.

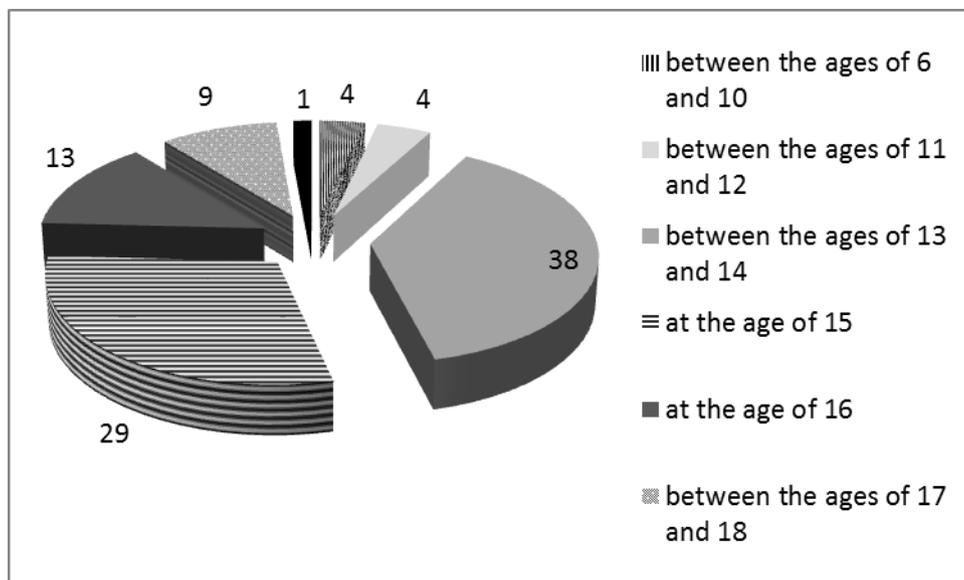


Figure 5 : When did you consume alcohol first 'consciously'? (%)<sup>19</sup>

Having a look at the data of the figure, we can make two distressing statements:

- The first one is that 8% of the respondents consumed alcohol before the age of 13, which directs the attention to the role of family! If we focus on the children of divorced parents regarding background variables, it can be clearly stated that the majority (64%) of those children who consumed alcohol before the age of 13 had grown up in a divorced family! The lack of harmony in the family 'pushes' the children towards deviance which is partly manifested in alcohol consumption.

- The other distressing statement is the alarmingly high rate of alcohol consumption between the ages of 13 and 16. As it can be seen in the figure, 80% is the rate of those who first consume alcohol at this age!

Based on all these knowledge, it is justifiable to frame the question here as well: how much the laws are worth if our children neglect them and consume alcohol. Or maybe they see it from the adults, from those who they should look up? Perhaps their alcohol consumption is the part of their 'adolescent rebellion'?

<sup>19</sup> Own compilation

Based on the introduced research findings we have to accept the second hypothesis!

As the continuation of the survey we measured how the members of the age group evaluate their own health condition. In Hungary after the 20 years passed since the transformation of the system and several domestic public health program, the finding of the research show that not everything is fine, and the

judgement of own health practically did not change and became overvalued (Figure 6a and b). The analysis among university students also shows that this is (partly) true in case of Austrian youngsters as well. It is also true even though we are aware of the fact that in Austria the average life expectancy at birth is higher by 9 years in case of men and by 6 years in case of women than in Hungary.

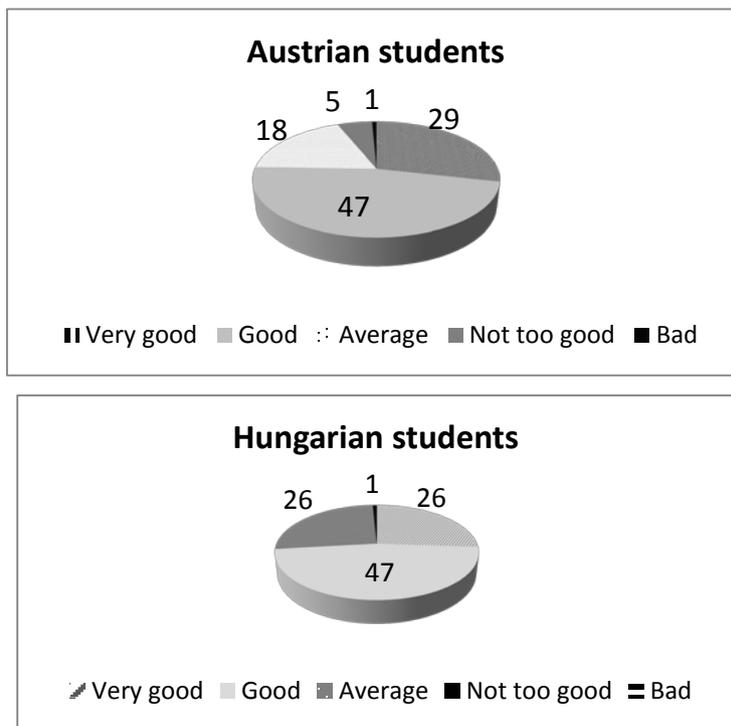


Figure 6 a and b : The distribution of answers given to the question – ‘What do you think about your own health condition?’ (%)<sup>20</sup>

The data reflect that ‘on average’ 74% of the members of the age group considers their own health good and very good, and 22% of them consider it average. 3% is the rate of those who consider it not too good and only 1% of them see it as bad.

More detailed analyses showed that the members of this latter group ‘are the closest to their own realities’. To this group (who consider their own health the worst) ‘only such students belong’ who daily use some kind of health-damaging product. According to their responses, they regularly go to party as well, where they consume a significant amount of alcohol – mainly hard liquor. It is also an interesting observation that they consider themselves who live better financial circumstances than the average. Although the relatively low sample size (10 members belong to this very unfavourable group) does not enable to make in-depth conclusions, we have to emphasise that 9 girls belong to this group (8 Austrian and 1 Hungarian) whose academic achievement is better than the average.

Regarding own health we weren’t able to make significant distinction between the students of the two universities. However, it is important to call the attention to the fact that Austrian students (mainly women) are more criticising about the judgement of their own health. This is shown by that 9 members from the above-introduced group containing 10 members were Austrian. It is also a sad fact that 62% and 68% of those who regularly consume alcohol consider their own health better than the average both in Vienna and Győr. This group also contains ‘big party students’, but the majority of them consume alcohol ‘only’ two or three times a week. In their alcohol consumption beer consumption (Austrian respondents) and wine and partly beer consumption (Hungarian respondents) dominates rather than the consumption of hard liquor. They usually live in cities and their academic achievement cannot be considered bad.

In the followings (Figure 4) we briefly compare the frequency and the structure of the alcohol consumption of students studying at Austrian and Hungarian universities. We mainly focus on the consumption of wine, beer and hard liquor during the analysis.

<sup>20</sup> Own compilation

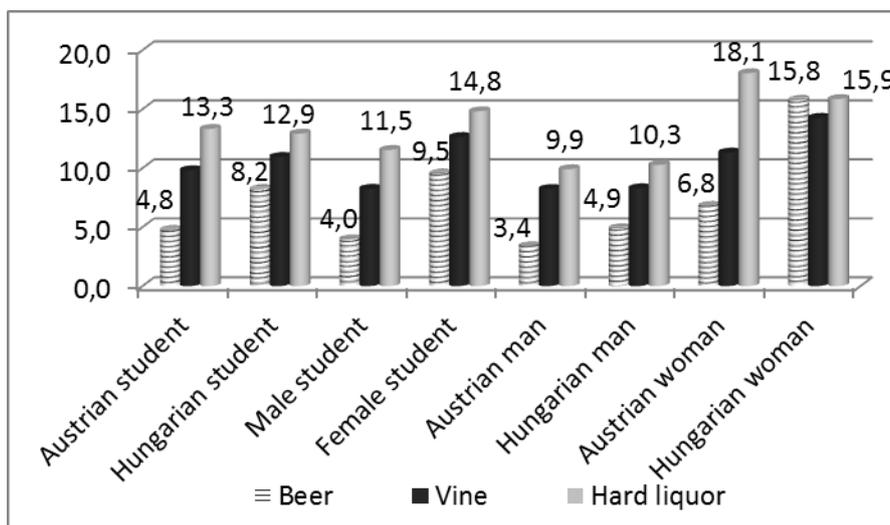


Figure 4 : The frequency and the structure of alcohol consumption <sup>21</sup>

Having a look at the data of Figure 4 we can state that (which is also supported by an observational analysis conducted parallel to this survey) students studying in Austria consume beer significantly more often than Hungarian students. With the help of an index number elaborated and applied for food consumption in Hungary (Szakály 1994, Huszka 2008) the data of the figure show that how often (daily frequency) the respondents consume the different products. It means exactly that while in Vienna on every 4.8th day an average student drinks a beer, in Győr on every 8.2nd day. If we see behind means, we can state that the alcohol consumption of women significantly lags behind that of men in every category of alcohol regardless of nationality (in the figure higher values mean more rare consumption frequencies). It can be observed that boys studying at the university in Vienna drink beer at least twice a week (every 3.2nd day) and at that time they usually drink two bottles of it.

Means show a lot of things but hide several other important things as well. Namely means hide that in Vienna the rate of those students who do not consume beer does not reach 20%, while this rate in case of Hungarian consumers (by showing a significant difference) exceeds 30% ( $\chi^2=18.305$ ,  $df=7$ ,  $p=0.011$ ). It is also an interesting statement that there is no essential difference between the drinkers in Austria and Hungary in case of real heavy drinkers (I mean those who drink more than three bottles of beer occasionally).

Regarding consumption frequencies the consumption of wine is on 'the second place'. In this case there is no significant difference regarding either nations or sex. However, regarding the quantity of wine consumption significant difference ( $\chi^2=29.729$ ,  $df=5$ ,

$p=0.000$ ) can be observed between the nations. In Austria university students mostly consume between 1 and 2 decilitres (32%) and between 3 and 4 decilitres (29%) of wine (once a week so to speak), while in Hungary (practically with the same frequency) they consume between 3 and 4 litres (35%) and between 5 and 8 decilitres (31%) of wine. The rate of heavy drinkers in the quantity of wine consumption is an average of 6.5%, and they occasionally consume more than 9 decilitres of wine. The rate of women among the member of this group slightly exceeds 15%. In any case it is conspicuous that every girl drinks in Viennese pleasure-grounds. It is also noteworthy that the majority of the members of this group consider their health condition good or very good similarly to 'heavy beer drinkers'.

Since the number of cells under 5 in the statistical program exceeds 20%, it is impossible to find significant difference between the university students of the two cities in case of the consumption of hard liquor as well. In spite of this, significant differences can be observed. If we want to summarise the findings of the research briefly, we could state that in Vienna university students consume this product 'in a significantly clever way' than students studying in Győr. The data of Figure 5 clearly show this.

<sup>21</sup> Own compilation

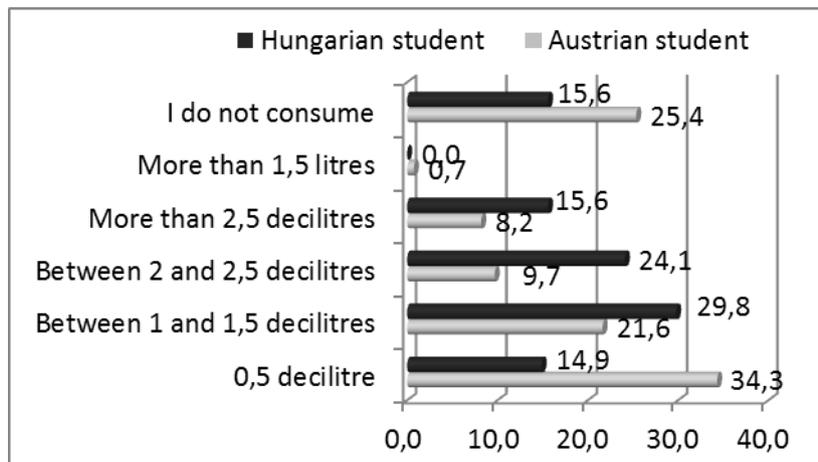


Figure 5 : The quantity of the consumption of hard liquor among university students <sup>22</sup>

The data point out those Austrian university students mostly drinks (34.3%) half decilitre and 21.6% of them consume between 1 and 1.5 decilitres. Although from Hungarian respondents significantly fewer students consume 'a shot', but definitely more students consume quantities that are harmful for their health. The number of those Hungarian university students who consume occasionally between 2 and 2.5 decilitres is two and half times more than that of Austrian students; what's more the number of those Hungarian students who occasionally consume more than 2.5 decilitres is almost two times more than the of Austrian students. The number of those who do not consume the product is less by 30% among students studying in Vienna. However, those university students of both cities who consume hard liquor overvalue their health conditions, and those students who regularly drink much mainly consider their health conditions good. It can be questioned even though this type of alcohol is relatively rarely (Figure 5) – almost every second week – consumed by respondents. However, this is the 'mean', since men consume this product almost every week! Regarding the alcohol consumption of students it is also a sad fact that only 7% of the respondents have never been drunken, but 41% of them have already been drunken more than ten times!

## VI. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of the research conducted among the students studying at the economic universities of two neighbouring countries it can be stated that students (especially Hungarian ones) most often overvalue their health.

Based on the analyses it can be stated that we are not clearly aware of the fact that we have a worth – our health! It only depends on us how long this treasure is going to be in our possession. This is also shown by

that according to almost 13.3% and 8.4% of the respondents alcohol consumption does not damage health. The statement that 32.9% (Hungarian consumers) and 14.5% of the respondents don't even care about the unhealthy being of the product can be considered really amazing. Regarding this question a strong significant difference ( $\chi^2=15.339$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p=0.004$ ) can be shown between the youngsters of the two nations. Therefore H1 hypothesis can be rejected.

The finding of the analysis also revealed that the lack of harmony in family 'pushes' the students towards deviance which is partly manifested in alcohol consumption. The other distressing statement is the alarmingly high rate of alcohol consumption between the ages of 13 and 16 (therefore H2 hypothesis can be accepted).

Significant differences can be observed between the alcohol consumption habits of students studying at the universities of Vienna and Győr. If I want to summarise the findings of the research briefly, I could say that students consume alcohol 'in an essentially cleverer way' in Vienna than in Győr, which means that they consume significantly less from hard liquor that especially endangers health. The rate of those who do not consume this product is less by 30% among student studying in Vienna than those studying in Győr (thus H3 hypothesis cannot be accepted).

Based on all these data we can state that health and healthy lifestyle as an approach has to be strengthened by workers of public and higher education, and every research and approach-shaping which could help us in this should be an important task of professionals dealing with marketing, education and health care! However, it should become clear as well that knowledge dissemination is not satisfactory; the problem cannot be solved without the active involvement of the stakeholders!

<sup>22</sup> Own compilation

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## How and Why the Opposition Mdc-T Party Resoundingly Lost The 31 July 2013 Poll Which the Opposition Party was Widely Expected to Resoundingly Win (2013-2014)

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*Abstract-* The Paper seeks to agonizingly trace the reasons why the opposition MDC-T party resoundingly lost the 31 July 2013 poll which against all odds it was expected to resoundingly win. Proverbially speaking, 'tinoti musha ndibaba' (meaning for anything that goes wrong with any business organization, the Chief Executive Officer will be held accountable first). For that reason alone and nothing else, Morgan Tsvangirai, the opposition MDC party leader will be the first to come up for public scrutiny. Next is his opposition MDC party. What was its contribution to this jigsaw puzzle? Next in that order are the contribution of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), the people in general the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU) and finally the SADC facilitator, Jacob Zuma, the South African President from 2009 to date. To wind up the long and fascinating discourse the Author will, as per his tradition, proffer a Summary, Conclusion and some Recommendations primarily designed for risk treatment.

*Keywords:* *opposition, lost, poll, win, resoundingly.*

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*Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:*



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# How and Why the Opposition Mdc-T Party Resoundingly Lost The 31 July 2013 Poll Which the Opposition Party was Widely Expected to Resoundingly Win (2013-2014)

Dr. Silas Luthingo Rusvingo

**Abstract-** The Paper seeks to agonizingly trace the reasons why the opposition MDC-T<sup>1</sup> party resoundingly lost the 31 July 2013 poll which against all odds it was expected to resoundingly win. Proverbially speaking, 'tinoti musha ndibaba' (meaning for anything that goes wrong with any business organization, the Chief Executive Officer will be held accountable first). For that reason alone and nothing else, Morgan Tsvangirai, the opposition MDC party leader will be the first to come up for public scrutiny. Next is his opposition MDC party. What was its contribution to this jigsaw puzzle? Next in that order are the contribution of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front<sup>2</sup> (ZANU PF), the people in general the Southern African Development Community (SADC)<sup>3</sup>, the African Union (AU) and finally the SADC facilitator, Jacob Zuma, the South African President from 2009 to date. To wind up the long and fascinating discourse the Author will, as per his tradition, proffer a Summary, Conclusion and some Recommendations primarily designed for risk treatment.

*Keywords:* opposition, lost, poll, win, resoundingly.

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<sup>1</sup> Opposition Movement for Democratic Change – Tsvangirai (MDC-T) was formed 2005 from the ashes of the original MDC formed in 1999 from civic organisations such as Zimbabwe congress of Trade Union of which Tsvangirai was the Secretary General, Zimbabwe National Students Movement (ZINASU), among others. Morgan Tsvangirai became the founding president to October 2014 when the opposition MDC-T party is expected to go into an elective congress to come up with a new leadership party to re-energise the party tottering on the brink of collapse ever since its resounding defeat at the hands of the ruling party in the 31 July 2013 harmonized poll.

<sup>2</sup> Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) was formed in 1977 from the ashes of the original Zimbabwe African national Union (ZANU) under the leadership of Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole since its formation in 1963. With His Excellence President Mugabe as its founding president, ZANU PF has been the ruling party since the country's independence from Britain in 1980 to date.

<sup>3</sup> The Southern African Development Community (SADC) mission statement is to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development through efficient production systems deeper co-operation and integration, good governance and durable peace and security; so that the region emerges as a competitive and effective player in international relations and the world economy (SADC Secretariat 2014).

## I. INTRODUCTION

Even the neutrals among them the Author of this Paper were shell shocked to hear through the one and only Zimbabwe television (ZTV) channel on 03 August 2013 that the opposition MDC-T party had resoundingly lost in the 31 July 2013 poll they were expected to resoundingly win. The preamble to this astonishing episode was that in the 29 March 2008 poll His Excellence President Mugabe had been run rugged by Morgan Tsvangirai of the opposition MDC-T. Come the 31 July 2013 harmonized election the general assumption was that Tsvangirai was entering this election which meant that he was coming home to finish the unfinished business. But this was not to be. Tsvangirai had been resoundingly thumped by His Excellence President Mugabe to trigger the question how and why did it happen? To answer this question convincingly up next for public scrutiny is Morgan Tsvangirai.

## II. THE REVIEW OF THE APTITUDE OF TSVANGIRAI AS THE SPIRITUAL LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE IN ZIMBABWE

The year was 1999 in October when the then vibrant MDC party was formed with Morgan Tsvangirai as both its substantive and spiritual leader in their democratic struggle for change in Zimbabwe. Morgan Tsvangirai then had a storming start in his job as the substantive and spiritual leader of the democratic struggle for change in Zimbabwe. All civil society groups such as unions, student's movements among others, came under the then charismatic leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai. The party formed from labour movements was then so vibrant even His Excellence President Mugabe started having sleepless nights. All the people in Zimbabwe, black, white, yellow, among others were all convinced they had finally found a character with the correct aptitude to deliver democratic change to Zimbabwe. Little did the celebrating people in Zimbabwe know Morgan Tsvangirai was flattering to

deceive. The turning point for the then impressive Tsvangirai came on 6 March 2009 when Tsvangirai's wife for more than three decades was killed in a road accident on the 80 – 90 kilometer peg on the Harare to Masvingo highway. From media reports then Tsvangirai and his wife were occupying the back seat of the government supplied vehicle. On this fateful day instead of Tsvangirai sitting on the right side of his wife he chose the left side of the wife. When what the Author believed was a stage managed road accident happened, the wife Susan Tsvangirai instead of Morgan Tsvangirai was killed on the spot to leave behind Tsvangirai and six children born out of the marriage. From then on, life for Tsvangirai with his mediocre educational background never looked the same again (Wikipedia 2014). All said and done time is now ripe to painstakingly address how Tsvangirai and his wayward personality in the post Susan Tsvangirai era contributed to the once upon a time vibrant MDC party finding its place in the political wilderness and with Morgan Tsvangirai himself one foot in the political dustbin. The sad and heart-wrenching story not user friendly to people of a nervous disposition pens out as below:

- i) With the position of prime minister safely in his pocket, a luxury house in plush and leafy Highlands's suburb of Harare and the deceased Susan Tsvangirai conveniently out of the way suddenly the media in Zimbabwe was awash with heart-wrenching stories that the once impressive Morgan Tsvangirai was going all places with his zip open. People with questions to ask then said if Tsvangirai as aspiring presidential candidate can allow himself to sink so low what more if he becomes substantive President of Zimbabwe. Party supporters, waxing lyrical about Tsvangirai's delinquency categorically demanded that the cynical Morgan Tsvangirai be ousted from the leadership at the MDC party in a 'Leadership renewal movement' whose chorus for change then was growing louder and louder.
- ii) According to Nyamutata (2014) Tsvangirai's life had been a roller coaster since the untimely death of his wife Susan Tsvangirai on 06 March 2009. He became Prime Minister in February 2009, remarried Locadia Karimatsenga whom he tried to pay a bride price for in the month of November 2011 knowing fully well that any marriage ceremony in the month of November is culturally forbidden in Zimbabwe. For that cultural mischief alone Tsvangirai stole the lime light for the wrong reasons. The latest episode relating to separation with his new wife, Elizabeth, daughter to a Senior ZANU PF member was only a sequel of the MDC leader's turbulent private life. The promiscuous life by Tsvangirai torched yet another public outrage by concerned supporters from within and without his party then showing signs of a sunset party. That then he aspired to be the

next president was about the only legitimate reason people should subject him to public scrutiny rather than celebrate his personal misfortunes. For a presidential aspirant then, it was most unfortunate that negative private affairs about him had often spilled into the public domain which was to the detriment of his political career. All these misfortunes had made Tsvangirai to become too susceptible to attack from his opponents that he should consider stepping down as leader of the MDC party.

- iii) And finally is his political and personal judgments – some argue his marriage to Elizabeth, daughter of a ZANU PF senior official, was a reflection of such impaired judiciousness – that has spawned serious misgivings about his suitability as a national leader. In a nutshell, what marriage to a daughter of a senior ZANU PF member effectively meant was that as leader of the main opposition MDC party he had sold out to ZANU PF.

And by that he was telling every one of his supporters to also sell out to ZANU PF which idea was as delusional as it was stupid. Hence the MDC party then finding its place in the political wilderness and the unfortunate Tsvangirai with one foot in the political dustbin. Up next are the reactions or responses of the rank and file in the MDC-T to the astonishing Tsvangirai shenanigans.

### III. THE 2005 MDC SPLIT ON TRIBAL GROUND

Against the backdrop of the lack of effective political activity in Zimbabwe and the defeat of the MDC in the parliamentary elections of March 2000 the last thing Zimbabweans needed then was a fragmented opposition MDC party. The battle then for the soul of the movement for Democratic Change in South Africa had reduced Zimbabwe's main opposition to a tribal wreck at a time when they should be regrouping and launching a fresh onslaught on the iron rule of His Excellence President Mugabe, then aged 83. And this came as sad news for Zimbabweans, then battling to overthrow the country's then ruling ZANU PF of His Excellence President Mugabe, the ageing dictator who had been in power for an uninterrupted 25 years since independence from Britain in 1980. In March 2000 the MDC had lost parliamentary elections to ZANU PF, scattering into the ground the people's moods and hopes for the long awaited refreshing change. The party was now picking up the pieces and mobilizing more of international pressure to then save Zimbabwe, from the then political and economic meltdown that had reduced the country from the breadbasket of Africa just two decades ago to the begging bowl case it had then become (Ncube 2014). The MDC then represented fading hope for Zimbabweans, but after their defeat in the March 2000

parliamentary elections, which some observers said were rigged, but which South Africa endorsed as free and fair, those hopes had been dashed. The MDC also lost to Mugabe in 2002, the elections being declared a political fraud by international observers but surprisingly being okayed by Pretoria. The tribal in-fighting within the MDC structures in Johannesburg had claimed the life of Lungile Moyo, a then young activist from Lupane in Matabeleland, who was found dead on the streets of Hillbrow barely 24 hours after he reportedly gave police information on the abductions of two other activists, Liberty Ncube and Musa Mhlanga. The two then were feared dead or tortured after they were abducted in Hillbrow on June 7, 2005.

With South Africa, in particular the former South African President Thabo Mbeki and two other unnamed forces being cited as the forces behind this unfortunate split the inevitable had to happen. Professor Welshman Ncube, then founding Secretary – general of the original MDC broke away on tribal lines to form his MDC – Ncube and in the process walking away with three Matabeleland Provinces<sup>4</sup> in the name of Matabeleland North, Bulawayo and Matabeleland South to leave a once upon a time vibrant MDC party at its weakest point ever. Ironically the parliamentary seats won by both the MDC – T (Tsvangirai) and MDC – N (Ncube) put together the MDC formation became the majority party in parliament to blow yet another golden chance to overthrow ZANU PF from power. There were more drama and comic episodes awaiting the Reader as the Author approaches the nerve wrecking MDC leadership renewal era beginning in April 2014 which is up next.

#### IV. THE NARRATIVE OF THE HEART-STOPPING EVENTS LEADING TO YET ANOTHER DEVASTATING SPLIT THIS TIME BASED ON INTELLECTUAL APPEAL WITHIN THE MDC-T

Buoyed by the astonishing win against the treacherous ZANU PF party in the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections and weighed by the comfort of high office in the four year Government of National Unity (GNU) (2009 – 13) and the nerve wrecking Tsvangirai shenanigans during this dark period for the MDC – T and the distant rumblings of a leadership renewal agenda within the main opposition MDC party, the embattled MDC – T party mistakenly entered the watershed 31 July harmonized elections with a one mistaken mindset i.e., they were coming home to finish the unfinished business of 29 March 2008) harmonized elections. But against this backdrop, they, unlike the

<sup>4</sup> Ethnically Zimbabwe has many tribes, chief among them Shonas domiciled in the four Mashonaland provinces of Mashonaland East, West, central and Harare. Ndebeles domiciled in the three Matabeleland provinces of Matabeleland North, Bulawayo, and Matabeleland South, Karanga in Masvingo province and Manyika in Manicaland Province.

wounded lion in the name of ZANU PF, the lackadaisical MDC-T had not done its homework as thoroughly as did the shrewd ZANU PF to torch a resounding loss in an election they cynically dismissed as another cake walk in the park for them. After a serious soul searching and self introspection in the MDC – T party there was inevitably a witch hunt in the same beleaguered MDC-T to degenerate into another disastrous break – up of the party to leave the clueless MDC party lost at sea and in the political wilderness. According to Chiripasi (2014) and Zulu (2014) in April 2014, the MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai expelled Tendai Biti and this Democratic Renewal Campaign team for gross indiscipline. All members of parliament who had attended the Mandel Training Centre meeting were also expelled to leave the beleaguered party divided between the intellectuals and the not so intellectuals in the then torn apart MDC party. Up next is what the people in general said to contribute to the MDC-T resoundingly losing an election they were expected to resoundingly win.

#### V. WHAT THE PEOPLE IN GENERAL SAID ABOUT THE MDC-T GLARING FAILURES WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO ITS ELECTION DEFEAT IN THE 31 JULY 2013 HARMONIZED ELECTIONS

For the long wait of 14 years people in general said they had waited long enough for the democratic change which was proving elusive. Four election defeats at the hands of the same ZANU PF was enough confirmation democratic change via the MDC-T was and will forever remain a pipe dream. Above all the endless break-ups first on tribal lines (2005) and later in 2014 on intellectual appeal in the main opposition MDC-T party while there was none in the ruling ZANU PF was confirmation yet again that for now and in the foreseeable future ZANU PF will continue to steal the limelight. The opposition MDC party for a long time flattered to deceive (Chinepfu 2014). Up next is the literature review on how the ruling ZANU PF contributed to the MDC resoundingly losing an election they were expected to resoundingly win. Below are the graphic details of how it all panned out.

#### VI. HOW DID ZANU PF CONTRIBUTE TO MDC-T RESOUNDINGLY LOSE AN ELECTION THEY WERE EXPECTED TO RESOUNDINGLY WIN

Dube and Makaye<sup>5</sup> (2013) had said:

<sup>5</sup> Dube and Makaye are co-authors of a published thesis titled "How ZANU PF won the 2013 harmonized elections in Zimbabwe. Dube is a lawyer by profession and has law firm in Gweru, Zimbabwe by name Gundu and Dube Legal Law Firm. Makaye is a development studies Lecturer at Midlands State University in Gweru, Zimbabwe.

“Against general expectations of an MDC-T victory it was the former ZANU PF party that claimed victory that stunned all and sundry. Out of 210 contested seats in the National Assembly the born again ZANU PF garnered 160 seats while the opposition MDC-T managed a paltry 46 seats with the remainder going to the independent candidates”.

With respect to the Presidential election Dube and Makaya (2013) went on to say:

“Mugabe of ZANU PF outpolled Tsvangirai of the opposition MDC – T party by 61% to 34% thereby giving Mugabe of ZANU PF the presidency of the country to send the perennial cry baby Tsvangirai that the harmonized elections were a huge farce”.

The pertinent question to ask then was: How did ZANU PF achieve that against a backdrop of a seemingly less popular party than the opposition MDC-T party?

“A combination of factors could be proffered to explain that phenomenon. First and foremost ZANU PF went all four front gears to organize itself following the defeat in 2008 harmonised elections and its indigenization programme sold well with the electorate than the MDC-T’s juice (Jobs, upliftment, investment, capital and environment”, explained Dube and Makaya in their published thesis.

According to Kuvirimirwa (2014) the MDC-T’s pledge to create one million jobs in five years from 2013 through foreign investors was going to be still born as no funding will come from the West which is grappling a severe financial crisis, analysts had said.

On why the tactless MDC-T remained in deep slumber with a few months to go before the do or die 2013 harmonised elections, Dube and Makaya further explained as below:

“Second, the tactless MDC-T had laxity until a few months before the 31 July 2013 harmonised elections. Third and most importantly were a series of electoral shenanigans unjustly employed by ZANU PF in complicity with the partisan Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC). It was therefore the electoral shenanigans which were at the centre of ZANU PF’s victory which mattered most than anything else”.

Below are the sumptuous details of comic drama and theatrics that accompanied the ZANU PF stunning victory in the 31 July 2013 harmonised elections. Coming your way is the shocking and sudden resignation of one of the ZEC Commissioners, who out of better conscience cited heart wrenching shenanigans in the conduct of the theatrical harmonized elections of 31 July 2013.

## VII. ANOTHER OF THE ZEC COMMISSIONERS RESIGNS CITING HEART WRENCHING SHENANIGANS IN THE CONDUCT OF THE HARMONIZED ELECTIONS (DUBE AND MAKAYA 2013)

According to Dube and Makaya (2013) on 03 August 2013, just three days after the date of the 31 July 2013 harmonized elections and hours before the announcement of results one of the commissioners with a good conscience Mkhululi Nyati abruptly resigned. In his resignation letter to His Excellence President Mugabe, Nyati stated:

“I do not wish to enumerate many reasons for my resignation but they all have to do with the manner the Zimbabwe harmonized elections were conducted and proclaimed” (Zimbabwe light 2013).

This was a mouthful statement from a man who had seen it all and with a good conscience had said enough of this was enough and he had no choice but to resign and of course being careful not to disclose the full reasons for his abrupt resignation for security reasons. And what was then certain about this disputed election was that any statement made or picture sighted had ‘a special meaning’

“Beside this extra-ordinary episode there had been a lot of speculation about who was exactly in charge of these disputed harmonized elections. The major force behind this election was the military with the assistance from Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP)<sup>6</sup>, Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO)<sup>7</sup> and the ZANU PF mafia. ZEC was merely there with its truckloads of ineffectiveness as a toddler playing referee to an adult football game, who is just there in name only but otherwise could just not be there (Zimbabwe Light<sup>8</sup> 2013).

All said and done what is never to be missed is the new concept of the theoretical framework from the fertile imagination of Dube and Makaya (2013). It was a political strategy employed by the astute ZANU PF to turn the tables against the then clueless MDC-T then boasting the presence of more and better intellectuals

<sup>6</sup> Augustine Chihuri is the current Commissioner General of the Zimbabwe Republic Police who, as a former freedom fighter under ZANU PF has vowed that he is so much ZANU PF in blood he would never ever serve Zimbabwe under presidency of none other than His Excellence President Mugabe (Staff Reporter 2014).

<sup>7</sup> The Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) is the national intelligence agency or ‘secret police’ of Zimbabwe under the leadership of Happyton Bonyongwe. Historically, it was conceived as the external intelligence gathering arm of the British South Africa Police Special branch in the early 1960s, under Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister Winston Field (Staff Reporter 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Zimbabwe Light is an organization based in the Scenic Victoria Falls which reviews and advise on hotels, resorts, flights, vacation, rentals, travel packages and lots more (Staff Reporter 2014).

than exist in ZANU PF (Dube and Makaye 2013). Details on this concept coming your way in just a moment.

### VIII. ZANU PF EMPLOYS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK TO CRASH AND THEN USURP (DUBE AND MAKAYE 2013)

On this new concept of a ZANU PF theoretical framework to crash and then usurp, Dube and Makaye (2013) had this to say:

“ZANU PF made use of two theories, one micro and the other macro. The micro theory says that in adult politics politicians demonise first in order to have a justification for destruction of the enemy. In this case the more shrewed and astute ZANU PF labeled the MDC-T party and Tsvangirayi as sellouts and stooges of the Western Imperialism (Bond and Manyanya 2003) and (Blair 2005). They were described as being very unpatriotic and against the historic land reform programme. The more astute and shrewed ZANU PF politicians demonized the opposition MDC-T party to justify their popular slogan. ‘Pasi naTsvangirai’ (meaning down with Tsvangirai).

And for the clueless Tsvangirai and his MDC-T party they had no viable strategy on which to launch an equal fight back but sleep and sleep on the job until ‘Tsvangirai ne bato rake vave marengenyana kana kuti madzoto evanhu’ (meaning Tsvangirai and his then clueless MDC-T party had been reduced to mere bystanders in a carefully planned strategy to usurp political capital from them). According to Dube and Makaye all this vitriol against the opposition MDC-T, then rueing why they were ever born in Zimbabwe, was meant to dissuade any remaining voters from voting for the ‘voetsacked or pfutseke Tsvangirai’ (meaning get away from here Tsvangirai and his sellout party). There was no worse dressing down than this. Beside all this what was most damaging to the already vulnerable MDC-T then on its knees with fatigue and stress, more so when this was communicated to the gullible rural voter most of them putting on no underpants because of abject poverty, most if not all of them lack sophistication to decide what the truth is from propaganda by the astute ZANU PF. Even to the neutrals, among them the on looking Author, it was as obvious as the sun rises from East and sets in the West or one did not need the second home coming of Jesus Christ to convince himself or herself that it was game over for the MDC-T party. The only hope for them was to assume they would live long and fight another day.

Dube and Makaye (2013) went on:

“To ZANU PF, this was enough damage to an ever sleeping opposition MDC-T party which had been not only a serious opposition party but one that paused a serious threat to the power dynamics in Zimbabwe. The other undeniable or irrefutable theory

about election in Zimbabwe is that they are always rigged.

On how and why elections in Zimbabwe are always rigged affair Dube and Makaye explained thus:

“The partisan institution and all the actors siezed with elections in Zimbabwe such as the media, civil servants and the election management body ZEC<sup>9</sup> are so diverse in character and objectives such that there is no way they can be totally impartial and therefore can never be free from bias.

Chigora and Dewa<sup>10</sup> (2012) also made a very valuable contribution on vote rigging as below:

“Vote rigging is directly related to electoral fraud. Electoral fraud is the illegal interference with the process of an election and vote rigging involves a whole range of pre, during and post voting activities whose objectives would be to work in the direction of assisting a preferred candidate or party. Vote rigging involves the following institutions/individuals tasked with particular election duties: media (both print and electronic, election management body (ZEC) constituency delineation commission, polling officials and peace officers. Therefore, given the diversity and vested interests of these appointed institutions having elections that are completely free and fair is almost impossible.

A fascinating story which should never be a miss for any reader is to find out how the astute and shrewed ZANU OF reorganized itself from scratch after their first ever embarrassing electoral defeat by an opposition party in the famous 29 March 2008

<sup>9</sup> ZEC is an acronym of Zimbabwe Electoral Commission whose vision, mission and core values are as below:

- Vision  
To be a centre of excellence in the management of elections and referendums. Really? The media is awash with stories that most of the judges that make up ZEC are beneficiaries of commercial farms given to them by His Excellence President Mugabe under the controversial and chaotic land reform programme of 2000 to compromise their integrity in their professional conduct of elections which is biased in favour of ZANU PF (Staff Reporter 2014).
- Mission  
To conduct elections and referendums in accordance with the laws of Zimbabwe and electoral management and best practice through a well resourced commission and in collaboration with relevant stakeholders. This is again not true and mere paper work to appease its paymasters who are government and ZANU PF. Poll material had to be destroyed at the orders by ZEC to stop Tsvangirai from proving that the 31 July 2013 Poll was rigged (Matambanadzo 2013)
- Core Values  
-Voter education  
-Voter’s roll removals and additions  
-running the 31 July 2013 harmonised elections etc on any of the above listed core values ZEC has never come out clean (Staff Reporter 2014).

<sup>10</sup> Chigora and Dewa are co-authors of an African journal of political science and international relations from Zimbabwe Open University where both are political science Lecturers. Their journal was titled ‘Surviving in a hostile environment: An analysis of Zimbabwe’s foreign relations in 21<sup>st</sup> Century international relations (Staff Reporter 2014).

harmonized elections. Details on this story coming your way sooner than later.

## IX. A REVIEW OF THE ZANU PF REORGANIZATION FOLLOWING THEIR FIRST EVER EMBARRASSING DEFEAT IN THE 29 MARCH 2008 HARMONIZED ELECTIONS

“After their first ever humiliating electoral defeat in the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections, ZANU PF wasted little precious time and went straight to the drawing board while for the MDC-T party it was booze and party time. Part and parcel of the reorganization included the revamping of its party structures from cell up to provincial leadership countrywide. ZANU PF was not content with just a membership card but to vote and vote for the party. Since a number of development programmes were co-ordinated by the traditional chiefs and district Administrators aligned to ZANU PF it can be insinuated that this ZANU PF reorganization had undertones of compulsion, explained Dube and Makaye.

Dube and Makaye (2013) further explained as below:

“A number of villagers would register for fear of being left out of development and other programmes, not least among them, being the issue of food in a perennially drought stricken Zimbabwe to unleash hunger and starvation on the people. As the party went about feeding the people in the drought stricken rural areas, it was also the opportune time to lambast and discredit the unsuspecting MDC-T party for corruption and running a parallel government among other evils. Unknown to the ever-sleeping MDC-T party, War Veterans were deployed full swing to campaign for ZANU PF during the tenure of the government of national unity such that during the duration of the dysfunctional government of national unity (GNU) ZANU PF remained in a campaign mood spearheaded by War Veteran leader Jabulani Sibanda while for the fast asleep MDC-T party it was tea and booze celebrating their first ever defeat of ZANU PF”.

On the time spent on campaigning Dube and Makaye said:

“The time spent in the field and the timing of the harmonized elections meant that the once beaten and shy ZANU PF party had awakened from its deep slumber” of 2008. Unknown to the MDC-T Party the ZANU PF reorganization included the exploitation of the country’s mineral resources from under the carpet. The windfall from such murky activities such as the covert management of the sale of diamonds would then be used to finance the party and its campaign activities”.

His Excellence President Mugabe had this to amusingly say:

“If you are eating from the same tabke with the enemy you must use the long spoon”. Said Dube and Makaye (2013).

According to Dube and Makaya (2013) what was clear from this mouthful statement was that there were a number of things that were hidden from the partying MDC-T which were meant to advantage ZANU PF party in the long term and at the expense of the MDC-T then famous for ever-sleeping on the job as if there was no tomorrow. While for ZANU PF it was Bhora mughedhi (meaning score goals in a soccer match) it was bhora musango (meaning scoring no goals in a soccer match) for the ever-sleeping MDC-T. More details coming your way in just a moment.

## X. MDC-T IN A SURPRISE RE-AWAKENING LATE IN THE DAY MUCH TO THE DISAPPOINTMENT OF ITS DEAR SUPPORTERS FOR MANY YEARS (DUBE AND MAKAYE 2013)

Proverbially speaking, a fool is known by cutting his/her nose to spite his/her face. Like a fool the then ever-partying MDC-T party after its defeat of the ZANU PF party in the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections it simply joined the Government of national Unity (GNU) to make fools of themselves and for that alone the Author wishes to have it on record by lambasting them as:

“Shame, shame, shame on you MDC-T for your disservice to the people of Zimbabwe”.

On corruption Dube and Makaye (2013) did not mince their words. They had this to shame and expose the MDC-T:

“There was corruption involving the MDC-T in all places like Harare, Chitungwiza, Gweru, Kwekwe, to name just a few. Another glaring error of commission was to spend so much time and energy seeking high posts in local and central government”.

On corruption Simvula (2013) had put the issue beyond doubt when he said:

“MDC-T expended most of its energies in fighting for self enrichment of its top elite by insisting on hefty appointments to central and provincial governors, attorney general and minister of Agriculture instead of focusing its energy on constitutional reforms”.

Simvula (2013) was right when he highlighted that the ever-sleeping MDC-T party totally and unforgivably misplaced its priorities. Reorganisation of the party structures nationwide and campaigning were ignored for a long time until a few months before the landmark elections. The youthful national organizing secretary was given a rude awakening by the partisan supreme court judgment that the elections originally thought to be a year or so away were in fact to be held on or before 31 July 2013 to put everybody in a

quandary as to whether to go for the impromptu elections or go for a boycott because nobody except ZANU PF was ready for them. Even the joining hands by the two MDC formation at the SADC summit in Maputo to push for a delay in the holding of the watershed elections so that the outstanding reforms could be implemented. With the election date of 31 July 2013 proving unstoppable at the behest of ZANU PF, the caught unawares MDC-T had to hurriedly hold primary elections in which candidate impositions were among other errors of commission to result in many disgruntlements which were destructive to the then limping MDC-T losing focus at the advantage of the shrewd ZANU PF. The nationwide disgruntlements resulted in the then limping MDC-T having 29 of its members standing as independents while for the shrewd ZANU PF party that number was only as few as 3, a confirmation that the then visibly injured and limping MDC-T was destined for the graveyard in the landmark 31 July 2013 harmonized elections.

But the ZANU PF electoral shenanigans are a good prospect for you the Reader. And these and other details certainly on their way coming to you in just a moment.

#### XI. ZANU PF'S ELECTORAL SHENANIGANS DESTINE THE CLUELESS MDC-T TO THE GRAVEYARD ACCOMPANIED BY A PRAYER "ZORORAI MURUGARE MDC-T" (MEANING MDC-T REST IN PEACE) (DUBE AND MAKAYE 2013)

On electoral shenanigans designed to destine the MDC-T to the graveyard, Dube and Makaye (2013) said:

"To ensure its victory in the harmonized elections, the re-energised ZANU PF party machinery engaged a plethora of electoral shenanigans that could be described in simple language as vote rigging. These ranged from coming up with more constituencies in its traditional strongholds, gerrymandering, the surprise unilateral announcement of election date without consultations with other opposition parties, a voter registration exercise driven by a concoction of baboon and monkey tricks, voter migration to the intimidation of the gullible rural voter and for the first time ever, the involvement of the criminally enterprising Israeli company called Nikuv in the electoral processes of the country.

Like the Germans in the just ended World Cup 2014 in Brazil the preparations were so thorough and meticulous nothing was left to chance until final victory on the night of 13 July 2014, at the Marakana Stadium, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Sky Sports 214). Below is a chronicle by Dube and Makaye (2013) of how the

shrewd ZANU PF party turned the tables against the MDC-T party.

On electoral shenanigans to ensure ZANU PF electoral victory over the MDC-T party Dube and Makaya (2013) had a long list of shenanigans that ZANU PF employed to ensure its resounding electoral victory over the clueless MDC\_T party. Below is a chronology of what the two said:

1. Delineation of constituencies (Dube and Makaye 2013)

"The drawing of the constituency boundaries was done in a manner which favoured ZANU PF at the expense of the MDC-T party. Since the inception of MDC party in 1999 rural areas which bore the brand of the liberation struggle of the 1960s and 1970s are home to the rural folk which are traditionally ZANU PF strongholds. The gullible rural folk are easily intimidated. By merely being told there would be war again if ZANU PF lost to the sellout MDC party, meant that, with the memories of the brutal armed struggle still lingering in their minds they tend to be gullible and vote ZANU PF "en masse", said Dube and Makaye (2013).

2. Gerrymandering (Chigora and Dewa 2012)

"This is another form of vote rigging that was upheld by the partisan ZEC commissioners. It is a form of redistributing in which electoral districts or constituency boundaries are manipulated to disadvantage one party at the expense of the other. A typical case of gerrymandering is Harare South constituency which has components of Harare urban as well as peri-urban areas where there was land redistribution, spearheaded by ZANU PF party", said Chigora and Dewa (2012) in explaining what gerrymandering is all about.

3. Surprise announcement of election date (Dube and Makaye 2013).

On the surprise announcement of the election date of 31 July 2013 Dube and Makaye said:

"The announcement of 31 July 2013 as the election date caught many contestants by complete surprise to give ZANU PF an electoral advantage at the expense of the other contestants eg MDC-T party. The expected was to consult the MDC-T party but to catch the MDC-T off guard the astute ZANU PF decided to go it alone without Global Political Agreement (GPA) reforms such as electoral, media, security sector reforms and a road map to the elections", explained Dube and Makaye (2013) on the reasons behind the surprise announcement of an election date for the harmonized elections.

4. Voter registration and voter migration (Dube and Makaye 2013)

"The demand for voter registration in the urban areas was cumbersome while in the rural areas it was a cake walk in the park. The national identity document was the basic requirement but in urban

areas an additional burden was proof of residence. In the end a huge number decided to vote with their feet. For those who took the burden to register, come polling day, quite many had been placed in wrong constituencies or wards. The forced voter migration disenfranchised many especially in the MDC-T strongholds which was to the advantage of ZANU PF at the expense of the MDC-T and other opposition parties. The partisan ZEC reported that as many as 305 000 had been turned away from polling stations for a variety of reasons such as inappropriate documentation and turning up in wrong constituencies or wards", explained Dube and Makaye (2013), the shenanigans which characterized voter registration and the reasons behind the benefit of ZANU PF at the disadvantage of MDC-T and other opposition parties.

#### 5. Voters'roll (Dube and Makaye 2013)

On the voters roll Dube and Makaye (2013) had this to announce which was certainly anomalous to advantage ZANU PF and to disadvantage MDC-T and other minor opposition parties:

"According to the electoral laws Zimbabwe's register of voters is kept by ZEC and anyone who needs to access it must do so at the payment of an appropriate fee. In this election of extra-ordinary episodes political parties and individuals were not allowed free access to the voters' roll which in actual fact was not in the general custody of ZEC but in the Registrar General's Office, Tobaiwa Mudede, a distant relative to His Excellence President Mugabe. Any attempts by Morgan Tsvangirai of the opposition MDC-T party to force the Registrar General's Office to make the voter's roll availed to Tsvangirai found no takers at the material time Dube and Makaya (2013) painstakingly explained how anybody else except ZANU PF were denied free access to the voter's roll which impeccable sources said was teeming with not only dead voters but names of 114 year olds or more.

#### 6. Intimidation of and by traditional chiefs on a country that prides itself with the highest literacy in Africa (Chetsanga 2010).

According to Chetsanga (2010) he explained the intimidation of and by traditional chiefs as follows;

"It becomes ironical that the country had such a very high number of assisted voters. The partisan ZEC had reported that as many as 207 000 people were assisted voters who needed help from partisan polling officers to cast their votes (Tapiwa 2013). What seemed to have happened was that there was gross intimidation of traditional chiefs by ZANU PF so that they would whip into line people under their jurisdiction to vote for ZANU PF compared with the 29 March 2008 harmonized elections where there was no such questionable numbers of assisted voters and it becomes preposterous to think that five years later Zimbabweans had become less literate", deliberated Professor Chetsanga (2010).

According to Wikipedia (2014) Zimbabwe leads Africa in having an adult literacy rate of approximately 90% which compares favourably to Tunisia at 87% (Wikipedia 2014).

#### 7. More polling stations to cope with the large numbers of voters who turned up for voting (Dube and Makaye 2013)

The partisan ZEC was said to have come up with an additional 65 polling stations (Shumba 2013). This was an irregularity on the part of ZEC because the law stipulates that participants in the election should be notified of the places where polling stations would be set up three weeks before polling. Echoing this sentiments Dr Simba Makoni, leader of Mavambo Kusile Dawn who had forged an alliance with Morgan Tsvangirai then said:

"ZEC acknowledged the irregularities and that an additional 65 polling stations were established on polling day in contravention of section 51 of the Electoral Act which stipulates that they should be published 3 weeks before polling day (Shumba 2013). This requirement of publication is not frivolous as it gave the belligerents enough time to prepare for deployment of polling agents well in advance. It is not clear whether or not the opposition political parties were able to deploy their election agents at the new polling stations. If they could not then that could give credence to allegations of rigging or ballot stuffing or even double voting", said Dube and Makaye (2013).

#### 8. The involvement of and Israeli consultancy company in 31 July 2013 harmonised elections raised some suspicions of vote rigging (Dube and Makaye 2013).

On the Israeli consultancy company, Nikuv getting involved in the 31 July 2013 harmonised elections, Dube and Makaye (2013), eager to explain the anomaly had said:

"Naisni projects, a South African company claims that a delicate ballot paper was issued to rig the election alleging that the ballot that was used had a water mark X against Mugabe and ZANU PF's name such that if any ink was placed on the paper the substance remove the ink and that activated the water marked X into print (Shumba 2013). The same paper reported that some teachers who took part in the counting of ballot papers claimed that some of the Xs were very faint. A number of claims on the ground gave credence to such claims. First there has been considerable secrecy and suspicion regarding the place where the ballot papers were printed. In a transparent, free and fair system there is no need for such secrecy. Second, as the MDC-T was preparing for its court challenge against the credibility and fairness of the poll it requested for material used in the election but domain was that those election materials were not given forcing Tsvangirai to withdraw the petition from the constitutional court", (Marwadzo 2013), Dube and Makaya (2013) went at length to

prove that the 31 July 2013 harmonized elections had something somewhere which was terribly amiss to give credence the said election could have been massively rigged in favour of His Excellence President Mugabe to disadvantage Tsvangirai of the main opposition MDC-T party.

9. More ballot papers printed (Dube and Makaye 2013)

“Nikuv allegedly assisted ZEC to print 35% more ballot papers than the registered voters (Pindurai 2013). This raised eyebrows given that international standard of best practice pegs the extra threshold at 5%. Allegations of vote rigging became difficult to rebut under difficult circumstances. The question to pose was: Why would election management authorities waste so much paper ink and time printing a lot more ballots that were not necessary unless they had something up their sleeves? The printing of such a big number over and above the required ballots gives substance to allegations of vote rigging. The state media was in a way a contributory factor to the problem under investigation. And below was the contribution of the state media to the eventual downfall of the opposition MDC-T party,” said Dube and Makaye (2013) to convince the Author that every picture that one saw and every word that was uttered about this election had a ‘special meaning’.

10. Dube and Makaye (2013) went out of their way to explain how the partisan public media, print and electronic, played a major roll to contribute to the eventual premature death and burial of the opposition parties after the 31 July 2013 harmonized elections by saying that:

“The post 2000 society of Zimbabwe had been faced with a myriad of complex ethical dilemmas in the public media. The public and general media reforms were part of the fundamentals the GNU was mandated to tackle before the 31 July 2013 harmonised poll. The public media ie the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) and Zimpapers are owned by government and they are expected to report their news in a way that favours ZANU PF at the expense of the opposition MDC-T party. They are also expected to give equal coverage to the activities of all political parties. During this poll in 2013 ZANU PF and its presidential candidate His Excellence President Mugabe held 10 provincial rallies in all the ten provinces of Zimbabwe with live coverage as if they were state or national events. This is called a ‘contradictory dual decay of democracy and authoritarianism’ (Rauming et al 2000). Quite evident was that the single television broadcasting and ZBC were controversially assisting one party to campaign at the expense of the other opposition parties. The Zimbabwe media Commission failed to register other independent players before the 31 July 2013 poll to

effectively ensure that come elections, the public would be starved of election campaign broadcasting for the opposition MDC parties and others like ZAPU. The public media fought in the corner of ZANU PF by labeling ZANU PF as a patriotic party while the MDCs especially the much hated MDC-T were labeled derisively as parties for traitors. The impact of this message was to sway voters away from the MDCs in favour of ZANU PF. The state media, a version of nationalism that essentially divided Zimbabweans into two groups ie, either patriotic and therefore supporting ZANU PF or traitors supporting the MDC-T (Ranger 2005). Between the dissolution of parliament and the announcement of the election in 2013 the public broadcaster had depicted Morgan Tsvangirai as a person in a state of confusion and a person who approaches issues with a ‘shut mind and an open mouth’. The perpetuation of unmitigated propaganda journalism greatly aided ZANU PF to run riot against the MDC-T”, said Dube and Makaya (2013) in protest against the public media taking sides with ZANU PF while Tsvangirai of the MDC-T is ‘voetsacked’ (meaning rubbished) as a sellout and traitor to the Westerb Imperialists.

And finally another factor which contributed to ZANU PF running riot against the MDC-T was the unfair legal framework which is on its way coming to you.

11. The unfair legal framework

“Under the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) which can be seen as the colonial Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA) incarnate, it is a requirement for organizers of political meetings to first of all notifying the partisan and ZANU PF aligned Zimbabwe republic Police (ZRP) to provide them with protection. However, in practice the politics of incumbency has been at play. In almost all the instances, ZANU PF would hold its campaign rallies without much ado, while the MDC-T would be frustrated in its attempts to hold its campaign rallies. For its last star rally at Freedom Square near the Harare Rainbow Towers on 29 July 2013, the MDC-T was nearly denied permission to hold the star rally by the partisan police who argued that they had already deployed their officers to polling stations and therefore did not have the capacity to provide security (Mapako 2013). This was just a tip of the iceberg. The senior police officers who have liberation war credentials have not hidden their covert support and bias for ZANU PF and have been on record for frustrating MDC-T. One of the senior police officers, Olivia Mandipaka, left the force and went on to contest in the harmonized elections on a ZANU PF ticket and he went on to win a Buhera constituency seat. All this goes to show that by and large the legal framework is tilted in favour of ZANU PF at the expense of the opposition MDC – T party and this had scuttled all operations of the MDC-T in a big way”, said Dube

and Makaye (2013) much to the full agreement by the Author.

Up next is to find out how the unprincipled SADC contributed to the MDC-T being run rugged by the SADC favoured ZANU PF party turning the tables against the MDC-T party? Coming your way in just a moment is this fascinating story.

## XII. HOW DID SADC CONTRIBUTE TO MDC-T BEING RUN RUGGED BY THE SADC FAVOURED ZANU PF IN THE 31 JULY 2013 POLL?

For strategic reasons, in discussing the SADC's contribution to the governance problem under investigation the Author will abort his favorite narrative approach in preference to the question and answer approach. And below is how he kicks the ball to start the soccer match. As SADC and AU are one and the same thing the Author will again opt to discuss the two as one and the same at the same time.

1. According to SADC and AU were the Zimbabwe harmonized elections free, fair and credible?

Initially SADC said the elections were 'free and peaceful' but withheld the 'fair and credible' stamp to leave His Excellence President Mugabe still facing a legitimacy problem in the aftermath of the 31 July 2013 poll. And two days after the poll the AU observer mission had expressed satisfaction with Zimbabwe's electoral processes to effectively shut the door on this chapter.

2. Did His Excellence President Mugabe have the merit to be elevated to the SADC Vice Chairmanship position.

Given the manner in which he had gate-crashed his way to State House, His Excellence President Mugabe did not deserve to hold any position in SADC. His elevation was vindictive to the wounded MDC-T then leaking its wounds after its disastrous performance in the 31 July 2013 poll. The body language to the MDC-T then was come to SADC for an appeal at your own peril and humiliation with His Excellence President Mugabe then elevated to SADC Deputy Chairperson (Moyo 2013).

3. Did Zimbabwe meet its side of the bargain during the 31 July 2013 poll declared 'free, fair and generally credible' by SADC?

According to Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition, there was non-compliance with eight guidelines and only partial compliance with six.

"It is difficult to accept the SADC election observer mission report as a true reflection of the credibility of Zimbabwe's 31 July 2013 poll. Only one principle was fully complied with which relates to the holding of elections at regular intervals.

4. Did Zimbabwe ensure 'full participation of its citizens in the political process as demanded by the SADC guidelines?

Apart from the partisan SADC observers, other internal observers said, "full participation was effectively compromised by disenfranchisement through the failure to register and vote". The Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN) said 730 000 potential voters were turned away by the Registrar General office while many cases of intolerance were cited including the Security Service Chiefs' statements that they would not accept a Morgan Tsvangirai election victory beside their partisan campaign for ZANU PF in flagrant disregard of the country's constitution which prohibits such unconstitutional practices.

5. Did Zimbabwe take all necessary measures and precautions to prevent the perpetration of fraud, rigging or any other illegal practices throughout the whole electoral process?

Eldred Masunungure, a political science lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe said SADC's endorsement was a clear message to the MDC parties especially Tsvangirai's MDC-T that the regional bloc considers the elections 'water under the bridge' and all Zimbabweans must now refocus on the future.

"This implies that the doors have been firmly shut in the face of the MDC-T and it can no longer pursue any diplomatic channels to resolve what it calls a massive electoral fraud," said Masunungure.

Addressing journalists in Harare after the polls, ZESN Chairperson Solomon Zwana said urban voters had been systematically disenfranchised as many were turned away for various reasons including anomalies on the voters' roll.

"Over 750 000 urban voters were missing on the voters' roll compared to rural voters. In contravention of the law the final voter's roll was not made available in electronic format prior to election day. Thus there was no way to assess the bias on the final voter's roll."

The voter turn away in urban areas was 82% of the polling stations while in the rural areas that figure was 38% to effectively mean Tsvangirai was worse off on statistics than His Excellence President Mugabe (Moyo 2013). And finally, did Zuma contribute anything to worsen the governance problem under investigation? Below is his disastrous contribution.

## XIII. DID ZUMA NEGATIVELY CONTRIBUTE TO THE MDC-T GETTING A HUMILIATING DEFEAT IN 31 JULY 2013 POLL?

After Thabo Mbeki came President Jacob Zuma as the SADC facilitator on the long running Zimbabwe political saga. Unlike Mbeki, Zuma had made a storming start to his job as facilitator and at one time forcing His Excellence President Mugabe to pull out of SADC due to an increase in pressure from Zuma through his foreign affairs advisor, Lindiwe Zulu. Only after the 31 July 2013 poll did the people of Zimbabwe

realize Jacob Zuma had been flattering to deceive. Soon after SADC had endorsed the 31 July 2013 poll, the SADC leaders led by Zuma, the bloc's facilitator to the Zimbabwe political question wasted precious little time in heartily congratulating His Excellence President Mugabe and ZANU PF for their victory. To cement their position on His Excellence President Mugabe, the SADC leaders led by Zuma elevated Mugabe to Deputy Chairperson of Joyce Banda, then President of Malawi and SADC Chairperson. The role that Jacob Zuma played in this plot surprised the MDC-T but cost Zuma the goodwill with the people of Zimbabwe to bring the discourse to its finality. Up next are the Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations. But the Summary will come ahead of the other two as below.

#### XIV. SUMMARY

The governance problem under investigation in this Paper is how and why the opposition MDC-T party resoundingly lost the 31 July 2013 poll which the opposition party was widely expected to win (2013-14). First to come up for public scrutiny was the aptitude of Morgan Tsvangirai as the spiritual leader of the democratic struggle for change in Zimbabwe. After the loss of his wife in 2009 in a road accident the life of Tsvangirai had been a roller coaster hooking up with many women with known ZANU PF links such as Locardia Karimatsenga and Elizabeth Macheka to influence his loss of focus on the democratic struggle for change in Zimbabwe. To weaken the opposition MDC-T party there was the first tribal split in 2005 followed by the second in April 2014 spearheaded by Tendai Biti and Elton Mangoma in the aftermath of a disastrous electoral performance in the 31 July 2013 poll in which Tsvangirai was outpolled by His Excellence President Mugabe in the presidential, senatorial, parliamentary and local government elections. ZANU PF had employed electoral shenanigans to turn the tables against the opposition MDC-T party. For SADC it ignored all its guidelines on Zimbabwe elections to influence ZANU PF to have a cake walk in the park in an election they were not supposed to win. The same can be said about the partisan AU. Zuma, the SADC facilitator on the Zimbabwe long running political saga disappointed the people of Zimbabwe when he became the first one to lead the SADC leaders to communicate

their hearty congratulations to His Excellence President Mugabe and ZANU PF for winning the 31 July 2013 Zimbabwean poll with flying colours. But contrary to this SADC solidarity, the international community spearheaded by the USA and the EU rubbished the elections to condemn and confirm Zimbabwe's place in the political wilderness. Up next is the Conclusion given in the context of this depressing Summary of events in Zimbabwe then.

#### XV. CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, it was evident that the two theories informing this study were quite robust in explaining the phenomenon under investigation in this study. The 31 July 2013 poll was characterized by atrocious demonization of the opposition MDC-T party to sway votes in favour of ZANU PF and not to mention vote rigging. In assessing the combination of factors that explain a ZANU PF victory the Author averred that it was the cocktail of electoral shenanigans rather than popular support that were pivotal in ensuring ZANU PF's sham 'victory'. In all this, it appears that the election management body, ZEC was a willing accomplice, no small wonder two of its commissioners resigned, one of them, Mkhululi Nyati during the disputed poll citing lack of professionalism in the manner the partisan ZEC was handling the elections without giving much away at the time for security reasons. The other one to call it quit was Professor G. Feltoe immediately after the elections without shedding light on the reasons for doing so obviously with personal security uppermost in his mind. If peaceful avenues for the transfer of power can be frustrated with this kind of impunity then the future and the serious implications that this will have on the security and development aspects of this country are certainly bleak. Zimbabwe is neck deep in the throes of a liquidity crunch because of this 'don't care attitude'. A case in point is ably demonstrated by the Table 1 below on the unattractiveness of Zimbabwe and a perception of high risk as an investment destination in the SADC region of modest economic growth. For the year ended 31 December 2012 Zimbabwe's attractiveness for foreign direct investment destination was assessed against the likes of the neighboring Zambia and Mozambique. The results do not look good for Zimbabwe at all.

*Table 1:* Foreign Direct Investment (fdi) inflows into Zimbabwe compared with Mozambique and Zambia for the year ended 31 December 2012:

Country	Foreign Direct Investment Inflow (Billion Us\$)	Ranking	Percentage (%)
Mozambique	5	1 <sup>st</sup>	78
Zambia	1	2 <sup>nd</sup>	16
Zimbabwe	0.4	3 <sup>rd</sup>	6
	6.4		100

Source: Matombo (2013)

While the traditionally lowly countries of Mozambique and Zambia in the SADC region were winning gold and silver in the race for fdi in the SADC region respectively, Zimbabwe was happy with winning a wooden spoon prize money from her distant 3rd position in Table 1 above. Put differently for every \$100 of fdi brought to the three countries as in Table 1 above, Zimbabwe is taking home a paltry US\$6 while the lowly Mozambique and Zambia are taking home US\$78 and US\$16 respectively in fdi as in Table 1 above. 'Mwari neVadzimu tibatsirei!' (meaning God and the Ancestral spirits please help us!). With the foregoing depressing Conclusion now out of the way up next is the required risk treatment or Recommendations for the identified debilitating risks as per the carried out literature review, research methodology and research findings in this Paper.

## XVI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The Author once and for all would want to put the record straight here and now to benefit the sick Zimbabwe and its comatose economy now on life support system in the intensive care unit of a rural missionary hospital. Unknown to delinquent Zimbabwe the United States of America and the European Union are the emerging prefects of this modern world of increasing complexity. They are again the custodians of fdi for which the poor Zimbabwe is in desperate need given its extensively destroyed and damaged infrastructure. The two super powers are not the sort of countries any, sane person would willy nilly dare tell 'to keep your money while I keep my Zimbabwe' as once said by His Excellence President Mugabe'. That mouthful of a statement coming from His Excellence President Mugabe was highly deplorable.

Closer home look at South Africa and its elevated status in the SADC region and Africa. The polished country is an envy to every well meaning Zimbabwean, African, European and even American. A short story and a good prospect for the Reader is when the Author took his first ever flight to South Africa in the early 1990s, on his touch down in Johannesburg, the beauty and sophistication of the buildings around him convinced the Author, coming from Zimbabwe with its extensively destroyed and damaged infrastructure that he was in a vastly developed Europe and not a developing and Third World South Africa who joined the Brics (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) organization in 2010. President Barack Obama was last in South Africa in July 2013. But the nearest ever that Obama has been to Zimbabwe was Botswana and South Africa. Why? The two have a history of good governance based on democracy whose spiritual home is USA. To the Americans democracy and respect for human rights are the cornerstones of their religion. Any one like Zimbabwe who glaringly comes short on these international standards of best practice such as

democracy and respect for human rights is a cursed country not worth to receive financial aid or state visit from them (Table 1). Those who do not want to change risk to enjoy irrelevance in this modern world of increasing complexity. For today the Author will rest it here but not before the short prayer to benefit Zimbabwe reportedly drowning in deadly sin, 'Mwari neVadzimu tibatsirei kuti Zimbabwe iponeswe' (meaning God and the Ancestral Spirits please help the cursed Zimbabwe to embrace good governance (democracy and the respect for human rights. Amen).

## XVII. KEY ASSUMPTION

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

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## Neo-Liberal Globalization, The State and Conflicts: Some Remarks on Sub- Sahara Africa

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*Abstract-* This article interrogated, in theoretical cum descriptive fashion, the linkage(s) between neo-liberal globalization, the state, the arena of politics and conflicts, using sub-Sahara Africa as a research backdrop. Drawing from secondary data sourced mainly from textbooks and journals; and leaning on dependency theoretical platform, it found out that neo- liberal globalization has affected states in the global system differentially. While the developed states of the north had developed various strategies to deal with the enigma and had even made huge success of it, the dependent, post-colonial states in Africa have been at the mercies of this technologically driven post- cold war phenomenon.

Merciless, it argues that globalization has dented the integrity of these states in manner that made them to lose legitimacy in the eyes of citizens under their confines. The outcome of such state of affairs was the relocation of legitimacy from them to the sub-state movements, which, in most cases, have now become the new sites of conflicts in the region.

*Keywords:* globalization, conflicts, the state, legitimacy, integration.

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# Neo-Liberal Globalization, The State and Conflicts: Some Remarks on Sub- Sahara Africa

Adeniyi S. Basiru

**Abstract-** This article interrogated, in theoretical cum descriptive fashion, the linkage(s) between neo-liberal globalization, the state, the arena of politics and conflicts, using sub-Sahara Africa as a research backdrop. Drawing from secondary data sourced mainly from textbooks and journals; and leaning on dependency theoretical platform, it found out that neo- liberal globalization has affected states in the global system differentially. While the developed states of the north had developed various strategies to deal with the enigma and had even made huge success of it, the dependent, post-colonial states in Africa have been at the mercies of this technologically driven post- cold war phenomenon.

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The article recommended two action areas for reversing the trends. First, at the national level, the state, the epicentre of the socio-economic space, needs to be reconstituted. It is expected that a genuinely democratic nation-states could serve as building blocks for continental integration. Second, sub-Sahara African states must move the integration process beyond rhetoric.

**Keywords:** globalization, conflicts, the state, legitimacy, integration.

## I. INTRODUCTION

*The end of the cold war has witnessed an upsurge in intra- state conflicts in Africa with very low incidence of inter-state conflicts. Most of these conflicts assumed peculiar characteristics by nature of their localization. They challenge regional security and stability more than they pose a threat to global security as would have seen the case during the cold war era (Tamuno, 1991, p.2).*

The above statement by one of Nigeria's foremost Historian, captures the realities of the post-cold war sub-Sahara Africa: the prevalence of intra-state conflicts. To some observers and commentators, the state in sub-Sahara Africa is at the centre of these crises (read Williams, 2004; Stedman, 1996). To be more specific, the state in this turbulent region seem to have failed in creating national community from the different groups that composed it.

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As Rotberg (2004:8) opines '*the inability to build national commonwealth of like minds has tended to generate inter-group animosities and by extension primordial tensions and conflicts which has grown in intensity since after the Second World War*'.

One question logically flows from Rotberg's opinion, namely: can the prevalence of internal conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa be solely explained from the perspectives of the internal structures of states? Obviously, the reality of the post-cold war neoliberal globalization seems to have relegated the internal structure thesis to the background, this writer is of the view that given the post-cold war reality, the thesis cannot adequately describe and explain the dynamics and the prevalence of intra-state conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa in the cold war era.

As Nabudere (2000) and Ninsin (2001) argue, the post-cold war global politico-economic architecture and the forces of transnationalization it unleashes have continued to downsize the duties of the Westphalia state in economic management. In fact, Ake (1995), Rodrick (1997) and Toyo (2002) concur with Nabudere when they aver that globalization has increased national and local inequalities within states but has also dented the integrity of the state mainly in the south.

At this juncture, a question is apt: if neo-liberal globalization has downsized the strength of the state, does that predisposes it to conflicts? or put differently, is there a theoretical linkage between globalization, the state and conflicts? This paper intends to answer these questions in the light of sub-Saharan Africa's experience and in order to set about achieving this task; the paper is organized as follows: The first section sets the background to the study. Section two lays the conceptual frameworks for the paper. The third section examines the post-cold war global politico-economic architecture and its bearing on Africa. Section four, in an analytical cum discursive manner, connects globalization, the state and conflicts in sub-Sahara Africa. The fifth section concludes the paper with a number of recommendations.

## II. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL ISSUES

Concepts are of fundamental importance in seeking knowledge, in guiding inquiry and in expressing knowledge. Indeed, our perceptions provide a basis for conceptions and once conceptions have been developed, we are more likely to see what they name

(Van Dyke, 1960:64) Therefore, when a knowledge seeker, like this writer, perceives a new pattern or a new phenomenon and gives it a name, or creating a new concept, many other become aware of its existence.

Concepts must of course be defined in order to give clarity to them. As Rubin and Babbie (1989) notes: *'we specify what we mean when we use particular terms for the purposes of facilitating their contextual operationalization and comprehension'*. Hence, in this paper, the concepts of *globalization the state and conflict* are identified as conceptual frames of reference but because they are essentially contested concepts (see Gallie, 1962). Thus, rather than dissipating much energies on conceptualizing these concepts, this paper adopts a framework that links the three concepts analytically. In terms of analysis, the conceptual linkage between globalization, the state and conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa would be better explained within the dependency paradigm in international economic relations.

The dependency theory, like all other structural frameworks in international economic relations, seeks to explore the process of integration of the periphery into the world capitalist system and to assess the developmental implications of this integration. In the views of dependency theorists, the relationship between the northern core and the southern periphery far from being a relationship of mutual interest and co-operation connotes both the subordination of the latter to the former and the exploitation of the latter by the former (Caporaso, 1978:2; Frank, 1972)

Thus in the eyes of *dependentistas*, the poor countries do not lack capital and lag behind the rich because they lie outside or on the edge of the capitalist world, as claimed by the modernization theorists but rather because they have been integrated into the international class structure of the capitalist system (Dougherty and Pfalgratz Jr, 1996:241; Rostow, 1960; Valenzuela, 1978; Frank, 1981).

The dependency theorists further argue that neocolonialism which operates without colonies but is nevertheless imperialistic has created a hierarchical structure in which the rich states in the centre of the world economic system dominate the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) on the periphery of the system (Frank, 1976). In fact, Onimode (1981:79) sums up the nature of the dichotomization thus:

*In the context of the history of the world during the age of imperialism, the relationship between it and development has been direct and symmetrical for the imperialist countries and perverse for the wretched of the earth. This is perhaps, the most eloquent testimony to the fundamentally materialist and exploitative character of imperialism. It has generated phenomenal development in Western Europe, North American and Japan during all its*

*phases, while it has produced and sustained incredible underdevelopment in the third world.*

The fact that imperialism has produced global inequality, whether in its current phase of globalization or mercantilism of old, is no longer in dispute. To be sure, imperialism under the guise of neoliberalism had continued unabashedly to reproduce the same pattern of unequal development (Amuwo, 2009). In real terms, globalization, in its present epoch, represents another round of unequal exchange between the North and the South. As it will soon be made clearer, the neo-liberal onslaught against African political economies in the past three decades has almost everywhere incapacitated the neo-colonial state, jeopardized its performance legitimacy and emptied it of its content.

To be more specific, the penetrating influence of contemporary neo-liberal globalization has not only delegitimized the state in Africa but has also exacerbated human insecurity which ultimately promote conflicts. In fact, this reality has been recognized by all the actors in the international system including some of the custodians of the lopsided arrangement (Clinton, 2007). It is in this paradigmatic context that this paper links globalization, the state and conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa.

### III. THE POST-COLD WAR POLITICO-ECONOMIC ARCHITECTURE AND SUB – SAHARA AFRICA

For decade prior to 1989, the overreaching concern of western governments and many theorists of IR had been to deter conventional conflicts that could escalate to the nuclear level (Dougherty and Pfalgratz Jr 1996 :1). These developments though in the politico-diplomatic and security spheres have had important impact on international power relations (Lairson, 1994). Indeed, for triumphalist like Francis Fukuyama, it was not just the end of an epoch but the “end of history suggesting victory for capitalist liberal democracy as well as the idea that liberal democracy could not be improved upon as a form of government (Fukuyama, 1992).

As the subsequent “third wave” of democratic movement spread throughout the globe, so too did the talk of democratization (Huntington, 1991). These unfolding global events in all ramifications marked a major paradigm shift in scholarly thinking about international political economy because through out the cold war, the international economic system retained a seemingly recognizable shape, despite occasional deep freezes between the west and the east.

In fact, during this period, international political economists developed coherent theories and engaged sometimes in esoteric debates that centered on liberalism versus communism. Although, there were often disagreements in terms of ideas but they fitted into

comprehensive framework based on the bipolar international system. As the polar structure of the international system changed from bipolarity into unipolarity courtesy of the global armageddon, the international politico-economic architecture changed dramatically too. The reality of this transition forced many scholars, policymakers and governments to rethink global economic ideas.

Prior to this period, Washington and Moscow had been the headquarters for promoting liberal and socialist ideas respectively but the realities of the 1990s shifted the 'ideological compasses' toward Washington. Onimode (2000:20) put the then reality thus: '*Unfortunately, the achievement of the détente between the erstwhile super powers in 1989 has left the world with one dominant super power in the USA*'. By this time, neo-liberalism, now masquerading as globalization, became forcefully entrenched into the world economy under the watchful eyes of the global hegemon (see Amin, 2006) It is however recognized that though the process intensifies the integration of people and nations, it impacted on countries and people in an unbalanced manner, marginalizing many and rewarding few (Khor,2001)

In other words, distribution of benefits and losses of globalization. In another vein, it is contended that globalization expands the North and weakens the South, erodes global and national solidarity, and brings about the impoverishment and exclusion of the third world (UNDP,1999; Indeed, Joseph Stiglitz (2003:42) once remarks '*there is an increased economic and social gap within countries and between countries, the richers are becoming richer and poorer becoming poorer*'

Critically, globalization argues Aina (1997:37) manifests itself in the area of neo-liberal economic reforms. As a matter of fact, these market-oriented reforms are promoted by the Bretton Woods Institutions (BWIs) mostly in the developing countries and by embracing these policies, most sub- Sahara African states have had to withdraw from the developmental roles ascribed to them at independence and thereby heightening poverty and human insecurity. According to Chossudovsky (1998) '*the globalization of poverty in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is unprecedented in world history*'. As politics reinforces the economy in international relations, political democracy based on neo-liberal assumption ought to support economic globalization but the experiences of the states in sub-Saharan Africa have shown that, globalization and liberal democracy are dialectical in their relationship. For example, by using sub-Saharan Africa as their analytical backdrop, Mkadawire and Olukoshi (1995) have drawn our attentions to the contradictions between globalization and liberal democracy.

Indeed, this position is arrived at and defended at different levels by scholars working within the broad

radical political economy school<sup>42</sup>. It is argued by these radicals that contrary to the position expressed by the neo-liberal Africanists<sup>43</sup> about democracy-enhancing power of neo-liberal package, the policy given its unpopularity in many African countries and its failure to deliver tangible benefits, has rather than spurring democratization, intensifies authoritarianism that has been the proclivity of the state in colonial and post-colonial Africa (Bangura,1986). Thus, neo-liberal globalization does not spur democratization the argument goes. According to Olukoshi (2003:243-4)

*It is the process of organization of resistance to the authoritarianism and repression associated with structural adjustment that begins to open up (new) democratic possibilities based on self organization of groups opposed to the programme and in spite of state repressiveness. If, therefore, the period of implementation of structural adjustment has witnessed the growth of democratic pressure in many African countries as evidenced by public demonstrations for political change in all four corners of the continent, it is not because of structural adjustment qua structural adjustment but in spite of it*

While liberal democracy may be attractive, there is no doubt that its values have been denigrated by the prevailing neo-liberal agenda, marauding as globalization. In sub- Sahara Africa, attempts by the people to seek greater access to economic resources and power, under the regime of globalization, have led to many social upheavals, including industrial disputes strikes and violent protests in different African countries and in several cases, conflicts between the people and the governments and sometimes between the different ethnic groups.

#### IV. NEO-LIBERAL GLOBALIZATION, STATE INCAPACITY AND CONFLICTS IN SUB-SAHARA AFRICA

Since the emergence of the modern state via warmaking, it has been accorded the central role in economic management. However, effective management of the economy requires a capable state but in the anarchic international system, this critical function is performed differentially by the units. For example, while some societies due to immense state capacity, have prospered economically, many capacity-deficient states have gone into stagnation and chaos (Tilly,1975; Joseph, 1999 ; O Edigbeji, 2006)

In the context of sub-Saharan Africa, the reality of state incapacity has manifested in poor human conditions as well as insecurity. Although, a combination of internal and external factors been documented in literature to account for the seeming weakness of the African state but as argued earlier the external forces seem to have wreaked much havoc on its integrity ( see Chapham,1996). To be more specific, the state in the

region, whether in colonial or post-colonial situations, has been harrassed by the forces of imperialism. However, the new globalization, underwritten by neo-liberal epistemology, aside from from deterritorializing the post-colonial state further eroded its sanctity.

Functionally, the state is expected to provide the socio-political and security goods but when it flounders, it gets connected from the society and the people. Through this prism, the post-cold war nation-states in sub-Sahara Africa, in terms of functionality, never lived up to expectation.

Although, many factors have been deployed in scholarly and policy circles to explain this state of affairs. Indeed, to some, it results from prebendalism while to some others, it is a function of criminality but strong evidence from extant literature establishes that the beginning of state delegitimation in Africa could be traced to early 1970s following the collapse of the Keynesian development model (Joseph, 1987).

However, the post-colonial nations in Africa did not feel the impact of this global policy sommersault until the early 1980s following the ascendancy of right wing regimes in Washington and London. Incidentally, this era coincided with that when African countries were engulfed with chronic debt crisis. Once incurred, these debts tended to grow quickly resulting in huge stock of external debts that Africa owed. (Olukoshi, 2003). The World Bank (1992) noted that *'the total debt stocks for the continent amounted to a little over U S \$109.1 bn in 1980; by 1990 this figure had increased to a massive U S \$272.7 bn'*. Thus, during this era, these countries under the excruciating burden of external debts coupled with pressure from the donor financial agencies, had no choice than to embrace the the adjustment regime.

In its prototype, the Adjustment programme, as briefly outlined earlier, enjoins the governing elites of the indebted states in Africa to pursue economic policies which include: the liberation of foreign trade; currency devaluation; cutbacks in social expenditures, particularly education, health, housing e.t.c; subsidy removal; privatization of state-owned enterprises. In short, allowing the market forces to regulate not just supply but demand.

However, disappointingly, the reform that was meant to bail the continent out of its indebtedness turned out to be a disaster (ECA, 1989). As at 1990, in spite of the resistance to the continued implementation of the reforms in Africa coming from African intelligentsia, the World Bank continued to justify its *raison de'tre* but it was not too long when the reality of the global economy forced the Bank to rethink globalization-informed S A P in Africa.

Precisely in 1997, the Bank, for the first time not only admitted the failure of the programme in the south but also passed 'a vote of confidence' on the state. In a highly publicised Report in 1997 titled *'The State in A*

*Changing World'*, the Bank claimed that, contrary to all suggestions, it has never discounted the role of the state in the economic process. Thus, African state that has been demonized in the early 1980s, was now seen as the engine of growth under the second phase of neoliberal reform, that is. the post-adjustment phase (Mkadawire, ) Expectedly, the Bretton Wood Institutions and the donor community by this time, sought to promote governance and democratic reforms in Africa.

Unfortunately, the neoliberal globalization marauding as liberalization and democratization launched a new phase of assault on the already weakened neopatrimonial state. While liberalization further deepened the economic crisis, democratization unleashed the centrifugal forces that have been tamed for decades under various authoritarian regime (see Ntalaja, 1997; Nnoli, 1994). In many cases in Africa, the pressure for democratization spurred by authoritarianism inherent in post-adjustment reforms, coincided with the era of the demand for ethnic equity. For example, Lemarchand (1993) in his insightful study demonstrates how the push for democratization spurred the ethnic conflicts in Burundi and Rwanda in 1994.

Thus, gingered by democratic impulse, the marginal groups in the four corners of the continent began to question the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes. In fact, ethnic mobilization may have accounted for the descent of some countries into statelessness; Liberia (1990), Somalia (1991), Rwanda (1994), and Zaire (1997).

At this juncture, it is instructive to note that as democratization was opening up the political spaces in Africa, for ethnic mobilization, the post-adjustment globalization policies embraced by African states not only weakened their capacities but further heightened poverty and inequality. As remarked by Jeffrey (2005) : *'While substantial progress has been made in some regions of the world, Africa on the whole has not achieved progress and has experienced significant regress in many areas. The continent is the epicentre of the global power.'*

The above passage has been quoted *in extenso* in order to present the post-cold war African reality. Poverty inadvertently represents human insecurity at the highest level. To be more specific, poverty and inequality especially when differentially distributed within the country, constitute the greatest threat to the nation-state (see Omeje 2010). In fact, literature on grievance-conflicts nexus gives the two variables high explanatory prominence (Sambanis, 2004) In other words, income disparity among groups within a state often trigger conflicts (Adekanye, 2007). As Stewart (2002) argues:

*unequal access to political, economic and social resources by different groups can reduce individual welfare and where such inequalities in resource access and outcomes coincide with cultural*

differences, culture can become a powerful mobilizing agent

Thus given the reality of the post-cold war sub-Saharan Africa, neo-liberal globalization has weakened the capacity of the state to perform its traditional distributive and mediatory roles leading to the erosion of its legitimacy by groups attempting to 'exit' from it. For example, before Chad, Zaire and Rwanda descended into anarchy and finally collapse, the remnant of the state could only be found in N'Djamena, Kinshasa and Kigali respectively.

As the capacity of the state to perform its legitimate role wanes, state failure looms. As Van de Walle (2004:169) observes 'nature abhors a vacuum and the weakness of the central state is as often the cause of civil conflict as its consequence' Stephen Ellis (1999:112) supports Van de Walle empirically by putting the situation thus:

In Sierra Leone and Liberia similarly, the failure of the central state and the emergence of civil war among rival ethnic warlords led to the current situation; cause and effect may be impossible to disentangle.

## V. CONCLUSION

The main thrust of this paper was to examine the nature of the linkage between neo-liberal globalization, the state and conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa. Working within the theoretical purview of the dependency theory, it explicated how the external forces of globalization, driven by the market logic, has implicitly and explicitly weakened the capacity of the sub-Saharan

African State to perform the roles expected of it. Given this reality, turning things around must entail actions at two levels, First, at the national level, the state, the epicentre of the socio-economic space, needs to be reconstituted. It is expected that a genuinely democratic nation-states could serve as building blocks for continental integration. Second, sub-Saharan African states must move the integration process beyond rhetoric.

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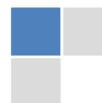
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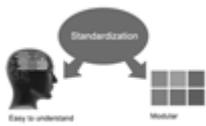
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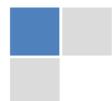


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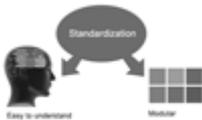
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To avoid postal delays, all transaction is preferred by e-mail. A finished manuscript submission is confirmed by e-mail immediately and your paper enters the editorial process with no postal delays. When a conclusion is made about the publication of 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.



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

## Format

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

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

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

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

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- 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.

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#### TECHNIQUES FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY RESEARCH PAPER:

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**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.

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**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.

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**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.

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- Present your points in sound order
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- Use past tense to describe specific results
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- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
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## Approach:

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- 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.

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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.
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- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
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- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
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- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

### Approach

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- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

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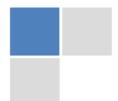
### Discussion:

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.
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<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	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
<i>Result</i>	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
<i>Discussion</i>	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
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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