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Highlights

Political Cartoons and Collages

Juridical and Psychological Research

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Juridical and Psychological Research of Abusiveness in Political Cartoons and Collages

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Abstract- The article presents the results of the experimental research of abusiveness in political cartoons and collages published in the world press. The author has determined criteria for evaluating the degree of abusiveness of pictures that can become a basis for a forensic psychological expert opinion on cases of personal insults. It has been found that the criteria of evaluation of abusiveness in political cartoons and collages depicting female politicians are different from the ones depicting male politicians. It has also been determined that in public opinion the higher social status of the insulted person, the more elements of pictures can be considered to be insulting.

Keywords: forensic, psychological, expert opinion, insult, cartoon, collage, politics, social status, gender.

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JURIDICALANDPSYCHOLOGICALRESEARCHOFABUSIVENESSINPOLITICALCARTOONSANDCOLLAGES

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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T. P. Budyakova

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I. Research Topicality

Juridical psychologists believe that a reason for committing a crime against an individual rather often can be an insult. According to the opinion of G.S. Glonty (1986), every sixth crime in everyday life is caused by insult. The American researcher David Luckenbill (1977) found out that, as a rule, conflicts ended with a murder had begun with an insult of the future criminal by the victim. Kenneth Polk (1994) came to a similar conclusion. The fact that a person is ready to defend his dignity even in a criminal way proves once more the importance of research devoted to the influence of insults on the human personality.

The number of insulting methods and tricks have begun to increase in the last decades. Therefore, the topicality of psychological research devoted to the influence of different methods of insult on a person's self-respect is becoming more important.

A. N. Baranov (2007) has reason to suppose that the evaluation of abusiveness degree of non-verbal texts (including cartoons and collages) ought to be the subject of juridical psychological expert opinion. However, it can't be carried out without a preliminary psychological analysis, without answering the question about the peculiar ways of different people's reaction to insulting pictures.

Some psychologists suppose that most often the most painful sufferings of the insulted victim are caused by the indecency of a picture (Austin, Joseph, 1996). However, since the criteria of decency change with the development of the society, one of the objectives of the present research has become the determination of pictures and their elements which in the consciousness of modern people in particular are considered to be the most insulting ones from the social point of view.

The topicality of psychological research of the abusiveness in cartoons and collages in Russia can be explained by the fact that comparatively recently (starting approximately since 1990) in the Russian press one could often see caricatures of famous people: officials, politicians and others, which are insulting in their form and content.

Considering the history of the matter we can conventionally single out some stages in the development of insulting graphic means used in the Russian official press of the XX-XXI centuries.

- *Stage 1 :* 1917-1925. There are two main kinds of political cartoons
  - inoffensive cartoons, mostly in the genre of a friendly caricature, of the Russian state leaders (A.F. Kerensky, V.I. Lenin, A.V. Lunacharsky, N.I. Bukharin and others);
  - offensive cartoons, e.g. a famous series drawn by the Kukryniksy "The Enemy's Face", the main characters of which were the enemies of the Revolution: N. Makhno, A. Denikin and others.
- *Stage 2 :* 1925-1991
  - friendly cartoons of the state leaders have practically disappeared,
  - offensive cartoons are only published to insult enemies. One of the examples is a famous series drawn by the Kukryniksy "The Enemies of the World", the characters of which were Hitler, Pinochet, Somoza and others.
- *Stage 3 :* February 1991. For the first time a friendly caricature of the first person in the state M.S. Gorbachev was published in the satirical magazine 'Krokodil' in the USSR. (Fig. 1) Before it, even his photographs published for public purposes were retouched. So, there is no birthmark on his head in the official photographs of the President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev (Fig. 2), but it is already present in the cartoon.
- *Stage 4 :* ≈ 1994. Offensive cartoons of state higher officials and politicians are published in the press at first occasionally and then (in particular since 1998) on a regular basis.

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Thus, there had been no formal grounds in Russia until almost 1998 to charge somebody with a personal insult in case of insulting by means of political cartoons or collages.

When it became possible to take legal actions to have honor and dignity protected in connection with an insult by means of a cartoon or a collage, it was necessary for Russian court practice to have a criterion of evaluating abusiveness in cartoons and collages.

M.S. Andrianov (2005) points out that a modern legal psychological expert has to use subjective criteria if he has no objective criteria of evaluating the degree of abusiveness in cartoons and collages. It often results in the fact that psychological experts cannot convincingly prove the abusiveness of any given element of the picture.

There have not so far been any research studies devoted to the following: what kind of cartoons, collages and their elements are insulting, what is the degree of their abusiveness for the honor and dignity of different sorts of personalities, what can be considered as an indecent form of insulting, etc. The present psychological research is devoted to the settlement of these and other problems.

As some special terms will be used in the article, it is appropriate to give their definitions and to explain their meaning.

CARTOON is a picture in which a comic effect is created by the unity of some real and imagined facts, hyperbolizing and underlining some peculiar features, unexpected comparison and likening; it is the main pictorial form of satire.

CARICATURE is a humorous picture (usually a portrait) in which a person's peculiar features are emphasized and changed in a funny way though the resemblance is observable.

COLLAGE is a picture drawn by means of combining some fragments of different pictures; it is a sort of creative art work.

The definitions show that cartoons and collages are a kind of creative art work. Therefore, very often when an artist or mass media that publishes the insulting cartoon or collage is called to account, they refer to the freedom of their creative work as an argument in their favor. However, the psychological research studies have proved that while perceiving an art picture, a person not only has some aesthetic feelings but he also 'realizes' the author's point of view on the depicted event or person. He also realizes an insulting emphasis that is placed by the author of the cartoon or collage (Anikina, 2013). It is clear that if the picture is aimed at insulting some personality, the depicted person has a feeling of insult, and not aesthetic feelings. The legal argument against using cartoons and collages with the purpose of insulting a personality is meaningful too. There is a general principle in the law: the freedom of one person (including his freedom of creating art works) comes to an end where the freedom of another person begins.

a) Research Objectives

- Evaluation of possible degrees of abusiveness in political cartoons and collages and determination of criteria to divide pictures into these degrees.
- Determination of gender aspects of perceiving political cartoons and collages.
- Determination of the dependence of perceiving the abusiveness of a picture from the hierarchic status of the insulted person.

b) Reasoning for the Research Methods

The Method of Expert Opinion was chosen as the main method. It has been used in psychology for a long time. The additional method, used in this research, was a psychological experiment. The necessity to carry out an experiment can be explained by the peculiarities of the research material. The pilot research has proved that when the participants were to evaluate the degree of the picture abusiveness for the person depicted in the cartoon or collage, they rather often assessed not abusiveness of the form of some concrete picture but also the moral qualities of the person who became the object of the cartoon or collage. For example, if the participant didn't like some politician, the expert all the same found it less insulting even if his picture contained some elements of indecency. To avoid the similar mistakes in perception, the participants were asked either to play the role of the depicted man's solicitors or to imagine themselves in the place of his relatives or friends, or the insulted person, i.e. an element of role play was used. The results after the introduction of the experimental form became much more well-grounded.

c) Research Hypotheses

- it is possible to single out some special elements of pictures that can make a political cartoon or collage insulting in a way;
- there are gender differences in perceiving female and male political cartoons and collages based on social stereotypes.

d) Description of the Research Methods

Description of the Participants. There were 120 participants in the research, 40 people of them taking part in the first series, the rest of them were used in the second and the third ones. Age: 52 people were 20-25 years old, 36 people were 26-40, 32 people were 41-55. Sex: 74 women, 46 men. Social status: 52 students, 16 workers, 5 businessmen, 47 representatives of the intelligentsia, executives of different ranks, 4 people of whom became the objects of the cartoons in mass media themselves.

Research Material: 210 political cartoons and collages. All cartoons and collages were published in the world press.

Research Methods: the Method of Expert Opinion and Experiment.

The statistical processing of the material was realized with the usage of the nonparametric Binominal Test.

Experiment Stages: the experiment was carried out in 3 parts.

Part 1 was conventionally called 'the Kukryniksy'[1].

The Research Tasks of Part 1: 1) to single out the elements of pictures which make them insulting; 2) to arrange the elements of cartoons and collages due to the degree of their abusiveness.

While doing the research tasks of this part, the initial premise was the culturological data about the fact that in the former USSR the usage of purposeful insults in official papers was considered legal only for political purposes towards the enemies of the Motherland, traitors and state criminals. It helped to choose the experimental material. The participants were offered to assess two groups of pictures. The first group consisted of the political cartoons drawn by the Kukryniksy from the series "The Enemy's Face" and "The Enemies of the World". All these pictures were created purposely to insult somebody. Therefore the material of this series became as if ideal in the process of assessment of modern cartoons. The authors of modern cartoons and collages can deny the accusation of a purposeful insult by means of the picture created by them. However, the usage of some insulting elements of pictures typical of this culture can serve as an acknowledgment of the fact that the purpose was to humiliate the honor and dignity of the depicted person. There were 46 cartoons in this group. (A part of the research of this series was held by Y. Semenova under our guidance.)

i. *Instruction for the Participants*

"What elements of cartoons are insulting for a person who became the object of the cartoon (collage)? Arrange (divide into groups) the cartoons and collages according to the degree of abusiveness of their elements." After this work had been done, the participants were given an additional instruction but it happened only when the assessment of some certain pictures was vividly subjective: "Imagine that you have become a solicitor of the person depicted in the cartoon (collage) or you are his relative. How can you evaluate the degree of abusiveness in the cartoon now from these points of view?"

Part 2 was conventionally called "Male Cartoons and Collages". It was necessary to analyze the cartoons and collages where the main characters were male politicians.

[1] The Kukryniksy is the pseudonym of the creative group of the authors who drew a number of famous political cartoons: M. Kupriyanov, P. Krylov and N. Sokolov. A. Hitler included the Kukryniksy in the list of the enemies of the Third Reich.

Research Tasks: 1) to determine the peculiarities of the modern language of insults by means of cartoons and collages; 2) to compare modern cartoons according to the degrees of abusiveness with the ideal criteria determined in Part 1; 3) to study the fact how the prototypes of cartoons assess them.

ii. *Instruction for the Participants*

The people arranged the elements of modern political cartoons and collages according to the degree of abusiveness: "Will you please determine what elements of these pictures may make the person who became the object of the picture have equally strong emotions?" Besides that the participant was to include each of the cartoons (collages) into one of the groups, singled out in Part I. 2) The second part of the instruction was only given to the participants who became the objects of cartoons themselves: "What elements of the cartoons where you are depicted do you dislike more and what ones less?"

Material: the people were shown all the cartoons of Part I divided into the corresponding groups according to the degree of abusiveness and 150 modern political cartoons and collages, the main characters of which were men.

Part 3 was conventionally called "Female Cartoons and Collages". It was necessary to study the gender aspect of perceiving cartoons and collages. The participants were shown cartoons and collages in which the main characters were female politicians.

Research Task: to find out if there is a difference in the perception of female cartoons by men and women.

Instruction for the Participants: the same as in Part I.

Material: 14 cartoons and collages where the main characters were female politicians.

II. Results and Discussion

Results of Part I. All elements of the cartoons with a touch of abusiveness were distributed by the most participants into 4 groups (see Table 1).

Table 1 : Arrangement of cartoon elements according to the degree of their abusiveness (based on the material of Part I "The Kukryniksy")

Group of pictures arranged according to the degree of abusiveness	Approximate alphabet of insulting elements in pictures (Part I "The Kukryniksy")	A number of the participants who included the picture into this group (%)	Difference from the uniform distribution (χ^2)
Group I – the most insulting elements of cartoons	-obscene elements; -negative allegoric images: Judas, executioner; -zoomorphic images: a jackal, a pig, a donkey; -a criminal image: a murderer; -an image of a transvestite; - an image of a sadist (elements of violence: blood, an axe, a gibbet)	95	3.35 $p<0.05$
Group 2 – rather insulting elements of cartoons	-an emphasis on physical defects (short height, figure parameters); -zoomorphic images: a rat; -an allegoric image of negative traits of character – greed, vanity; - an image of a criminal: a thief	75	0.178 $p<0.05$
Group 3 – less insulting elements of cartoons	-an emphasis on peculiar features of a certain person (moustache, brows, features, bald patch); -an emphasis on an old age; -a person's head in the shape of an object (a pot, a purse); -an image of negative emotions (malice, aggression)	70	0.97 $p<0.05$
Group 4 – less significant (ambivalent) elements of cartoons	-positive zoomorphic images but with insulting elements, e.g. a tiger but mangy and lean; -positive images but with a touch of irony: a great martyr, an emperor, etc.	75	0.178 $p<0.05$

Thus, 95% of the participants considered that the most insulting pictures were those where a certain person is shown as a sadist, a donkey, etc. (e.g. see Fig. 3). Rather insulting images were those where an image of a criminal was used (e.g. a thief) and the authors depicted some negative traits of character allegorically (greed, vanity, etc.) (75% of the participants).

The pictures where an emphasis was made on less attractive individual features of appearance of the insulted person were considered less insulting (e.g. brows, bald patch, etc.) (70% of the participants). As to the fourth group of elements, many participants (25%) did not find them insulting, the rest of the participants (75%) supposed that under these conditions only people with certain individual peculiarities, e.g. those of character, temper, breeding, etc. could consider themselves insulted.

The data received concerning the fourth group of elements are confirmed indirectly by our previous research (Budyakova, 2001). It has shown that there is a special group of verbal insults, which are realized very specifically by a person who is the object of them. For example, when a person is ironically called some lofty names and he has ambivalent feelings: on the one hand, he should take offence at the irony, and on the other hand, he is compared with the acknowledged positive figures, for example, Cicero, Napoleon and the like. The quasi-victim is proud of the fact that he is placed in the same row with the similar people.

The elements placed into the fourth group in this series are of an ambivalent character. Thus, a picture of a tiger is a positive image of the zoomorphic character. In culturology this is a symbol of courage, strength, dexterity, etc. a touch of irony that can be seen in one of the caricatures (a lean mangy tiger) almost does not make it insulting.

a) Results of Part 2 "Male Cartoons and Collages"

Table 2 shows how the elements of modern political cartoons and collages are distributed according to the degree of abusiveness. To the first group (the most insulting elements) besides those ones that have already been determined in Part I, the participants added some more obvious elements of obscenity present in modern political cartoons, depiction of private elements of life (e.g. functions of a human body), comparison with some odious people (Hitler, Himmler), etc. (98% of the participants) (see Fig. 5). The second

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XV Issue VI Version I Year 2015

group (rather insulting elements) contains zoomorphic images of a snake, allegoric images of a buffoon, a gofer, a Fascist, a whore, etc. (79% of the participants). Less insulting elements were considered images of a person's head in the shape of a scalp, a beer mug, a branded sole, zoomorphic images of a monkey, a peacock, a crow, etc. (74% of the participants).

The fourth group contains the elements of an ambivalent character, for example, a person is depicted as a positive image: a lion but it is ill and weak, etc. (see Fig. 6).

Table 2 : Arrangement of cartoon elements according to the degree of their abusiveness (based on the material of Part 2 "Male Cartoons and Collages")

Group of pictures arranged according to the degree of abusiveness	Approximate alphabet of insulting elements in pictures (Part 2 "Male Caricatures and Collages")	A number of the participants who included the picture into this group (%)	Difference from the uniform distribution (χ^2)
Group I – the most insulting elements of cartoons	-more obvious elements of obscenity – an emphasis on intimate elements of life (e.g. functions of a human body as an element of a caricature); -insulting images: Hitler, Himmler	94	7.83 $p<0.05$
Group 2 – rather insulting elements of cartoons	-an image of a criminal: a swindler, a perpetrator of war crimes, a traitor; -an image of a drunkard or a drinker; -zoomorphic images: a snake; -allegoric images: a buffoon, a gofer, a Fascist, a whore; -negative traits of character: dissipation; -an image of a transvestite (except caricatures of I. Stalin)	82	1.87 $p<0.05$
Group 3 – less insulting elements of cartoons	-an emphasis on peculiar features of a certain person (a chin, freckles); -a person's head in the shape of an object (a beer mug, a scalp, a branded sole); -a person in the shape of an object: a fir tree, a snowman; -zoomorphic images: a monkey, a peacock, a crow	76	0.42 $p<0.05$
Group 4 – less significant (ambivalent) elements of cartoons	-positive zoomorphic images but with an emphasis on their problems (e.g. a lion is depicted but it is ill); -positive images but with a touch of irony: an image of pompous Napoleon, a reckless tsar, a capricious child, etc.	30	23.26 $p<0.05$

Note: the Table contains only those elements, which are determined additionally comparing the results of Part I.

The results of Part I and Part 2 let us make a conclusion that the number of insulting elements of pictures is not relatively big. It changes in the course of time (though not principally), when the social and political situation changes. Thus, an image of a snake was considered positive at the time of the Russian Emperor Peter I, as it was a symbol of wisdom and immortality. A picture of a snake was stamped on the memorial medal issued on the occasion of Peter's death. At present a visual image of a snake is an analog of the word "bastard", i.e. it has a negative meaning. Insults of the religious content typical of the past have practically disappeared from our everyday speech except comparing with Judas. A range of insulting elements has been enriched due to consideration of some historic personalities or literary characters as odious figures or vice versa. For example, Hitler and Himmler in the cartoons drawn by the Kukryniksy were the objects of insult, it was proved in Part 1 of the present research, but at present the usage of these images in pictures is a way of humiliating the honor and dignity of other people. On the contrary, in modern Mongolia, for example, Mamay and Batu Khan are considered to be national heroes, though quite recently they were regarded as negative historic personalities in the USSR.

People with a different political orientation assess the same picture in a different way and this phenomenon of variable polarity has been revealed vividly in Part 2. In particular, neither of the participants considered it insulting for the leader of the Russian Communist Party G.A. Zyuganov the collage where he was drawn in the image of Lenin though the caption under it said about the author's intention to humiliate him. Apparently there is a factor of subjectivity in the process of forming negative personal figures (e.g. an image of an enemy) that was determined in Holsti's research (Holsti, 1972).

While studying the results of Part 2 it was noted that the main tendency in modern caricature art is the intensification of an emphasis on forbidden intimate sides of a human life which it was obscene to reveal even in cartoons of the enemies before.

Some interesting data in Part 2 were found in the process of interviewing the participants who became the caricature objects themselves. In general, their evaluation of their own cartoons approximately coincided with those that were given by other participants. However, there was an essential difference. First of all, these people evaluated not the caricature content but the fact how much attractive their appearance is represented in them. It is amazing that none of the other participants paid attention to this detail. Besides it proves the research results of American psychologists, according to which the factor of attractive appearance is important for both women and men (Aronson, 1995).

Results of Part 3 "Female Cartoons and Collages", represented in Tables 3 and 4, allow us to reveal the peculiarities in the evaluation of abusiveness of the cartoon elements concerning female politicians determined by both men and women. While analyzing the pictures they both considered the most insulting elements those in which the only method of abusiveness was depicting a woman in an image of a pig or a monkey. This comparison aroused the associations that the depicted female politician is dirty, untidy, she smells bad, etc. It did not correspond with the cultural standards in perceiving a woman and aroused sharp indignation.

Table 3 : Arrangement of political cartoons and collages elements according to the degree of their abusiveness made by the male participants (based on the material of Part 3 "Female Cartoons and Collages")

Group of pictures arranged according to the degree of abusiveness	Approximate alphabet of insulting elements in pictures determined by the male participants	A number of the participants who included the picture into this group (%)
Group I – the most Insulting elements of cartoons	-zoomorphic images: a monkey, a pig	84
Group 2 – rather insulting elements of cartoons	-depiction of negative emotions when a person's face is drawn ugly; -a face in the shape of a barely decent sign "a fig"; -a zoomorphic image: a snake; -negative images: images of a madwoman, a scarecrow	76
Group 3 – less insulting elements of cartoons	-an emphasis on a person's unattractive appearance; -negative traits of character: malice, aggressiveness, etc.	76
Group 4 – less significant (ambivalent) elements of cartoons	-zoomorphic images: a frog, a cow; -positive images but with a touch of irony: Admiral Nelson, a hostess; -unaesthetic poses and gestures (e.g. "to stand with one's hands on one's hips; -an emphasis on age: a grandmother	84

Table 4 : Arrangement of political cartoons and collages elements according to the degree of their abusiveness made by the female participants (based on the material of Part 3 "Female Cartoons and Collages")

Group of pictures arranged according to the degree of abusiveness	Approximate alphabet of insulting elements in pictures determined by the female participants	A number of the participants who included the picture into this group (%)
Group I – the most Insulting elements of cartoons	-zoomorphic images: a snake, a monkey, a pig; -negative emotions making a person's face ugly;	92

	-an emphasis on unattractive appearance: a shape of a nose, a "triple" chin; -a face in the shape of a barely decent sign "a fig";	
Group 2 – rather insulting elements of cartoons	-negative traits of character: malice, aggressiveness, etc. Negative images: an image of a madwoman, an image of a scarecrow	84
Group 3 – less insulting elements of cartoons	-an emphasis on gender inequality ("a woman's place is in the kitchen"	80
Group 4 – less significant (ambivalent) elements of cartoons	-an emphasis on age: a grandmother; -zoomorphic images: a frog, a cow; -positive images but with a touch of irony: Admiral Nelson, a hostess; -unaesthetic poses and gestures (e.g. "to stand with one's hands on one's hips;	92

According to the psychological literature women are more sensitive to mockery than men (Radomska, Tomczak, 2010). However, our research has determined more differentiated criteria for women's perception of insults comparing with men. The main difference in the process of analyzing pictures by the participants of different sex was the fact that the main indicator of abusiveness of the picture for women was an insult to their appearance. All cartoons where a woman is drawn ugly were placed in the group of the most insulting ones. Those pictures where a woman looks attractive were evaluated as rather insulting. For example, images of a madwoman and a scarecrow were considered rather insulting concerning a motive because it was "a beautiful mad woman" and "a very nice scarecrow". While evaluating these pictures the men chose a different criterion: a correspondence of an image with the social stereotypes – a picture of an angry and irritated woman is bad not because her face becomes ugly but because she should be kind. The same concerns an image of a madwoman: it is insulting because a woman should be balanced.

The research has revealed some other differences in the perception of female political cartoons and collages. Thus, an image of a housewife was not considered insulting by the men. However, the women placed it in the group of less insulting pictures. It corresponds with the social stereotypes described in different research studies. From the point of view of the tested women the fact that the female politicians who became cartoon objects pointed to their traditional place in the family and social life was an insult but it was considered not very offensive due to the social conditions. However, both groups of the participants found the collage image of Margaret Thatcher ambivalent concerning abusiveness because she was compared with the British national hero Horatio Nelson. The emphasis on the corporal defect of Admiral Nelson was subjectively perceived as a special respect to him. This respect was transferred to the person who was compared with Nelson.

The research has also proved that a female obscene image is perceived not only as the most serious but also as an intolerable insult. Cartoons and collages of female politicians containing some obscene elements were considered practically by all the participants the most insulting ones and some participants even refused to work with these pictures because of the ethical reasons.

III. Conclusions

- All elements of the cartoons were divided into four groups according to the degree of abusiveness which we have called: a) the most insulting picture elements, b) rather insulting ones, c) less insulting ones, d) ambivalent ones in abusiveness. The most insulting elements were considered all images of obscene content and also those ones where the authors compared people with some odious personalities: Judas, Hitler, etc. The rather insulting images were considered those of transvestites, criminals, etc. The less insulting images were caricatures and collages where an emphasis was on some defects of appearance or on age, problems with health, etc. Ambivalent were determined those picture elements which usually are not considered by a person as insulting, but in a number of cases they are regarded as a peculiar compliment. For instance, comparing them with some famous historic personalities (Admiral Nelson, Napoleon and others), positive characters of folk epic literature (matreshka, a bear, Frog-Princess, etc.)
- We have determined the difference in the criteria of evaluation of male and female political cartoons. For female politicians the most insulting images were considered those ones where they are drawn either in obscenity or they are looking ugly. A male character in the same way was not regarded as the most insulting picture. Besides drawing a woman in the image of a monkey or a pig turned out to be the most serious insult for a woman but it wasn't very important for a man on average.
- The images which were considered by the experts the most insulting ones can be regarded not only

obscene concerning the form but also created with the purpose of insulting the depicted person.

- Male politicians may be seriously affected because they are drawn ugly but social principles forbid a man to suffer because of his unattractive appearance. As a result of it, caricaturists drawing a male politician do not feel confused because when a man says that he considers himself insulted in this respect it does his political authority harm. Besides when a certain insulted person has his subjective sufferings, it makes interpersonal relations with the person who was allowed to publish the ugly picture strained and unconstructive.

Captions under the Pictures

Fig.1

Fig. 1 : The first cartoon of the President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev in the official Russian press. M.S. Gorbachev in the picture is holding the book entitled "What Shall We Do?" under his armpit. (The magazine "Krokodil", February 1991)

Fig. 2

Fig. 2 : The official portrait of the President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev in which there is no birthmark on his head

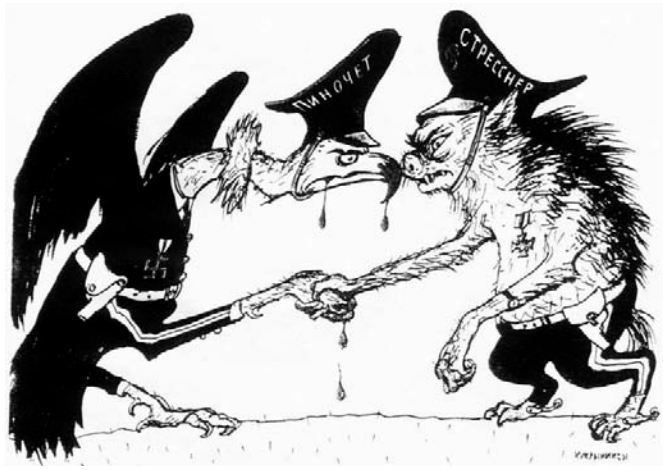

Fig.3

Fig. 3 : The Kukryniksy. The series “The Enemies of the World” (the cartoon of the Chilean Dictator Pinochet and the Paraguayan Dictator Stressner with elements of sadism and negative zoomorphic images)

Fig. 4

Fig. 4 : The President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev surrounded by some odious people: Hitler, Goebbels, Judas is being awarded the Fascist Order for breaking the Berlin Wall (the newspaper “SovetskayaRossiya”, 1998)

Fig. 5

Fig. 5 : The President of Russia B.N. Yeltsin is depicted as an ill lion (the newspaper “SovetskayaRossiya”, 1999)

Fig. 6

Fig. 6 : Margareth Thatcher in the image of Admiral Nelson (the newspaper "Voz", 1987)

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Patrimonial Politics as a Functional Threat to Good Governance and Development in West Africa

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Abstract- Beyond the abstract use of the term 'patrimonialism' and its variants appended with prefix "neo-" or adjectives 'modern', 'traditional' or 'developmental', the leadership challenges in Africa manifesting in festering governance crisis have not benefitted from the deserved scholarly debate in a particularized manner. From the writings of the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), in particular his Economy and Society and his tripartite dichotomy of leadership – legal, traditional, and charismatic – to the different notions of patrimonialism, patronage or clientelism employed by notable writers like Roth (1968); Lemarchand and Legg (1972); Eisenstadt (1973), all have fallen short of explaining the functional threat to destructive politics and underdevelopment of African societies. Even the neo-liberal scholars like Le Vine's (1980) attempt to coin 'African patrimonialism' have foundered in understanding the pattern of political organisation, struggle and puzzling change translating into democratic authoritarian rule of the few, characterized by co-optation, factionalism, and clientelism, and other modes of elitist domination.

Keywords: patrimonial politics; Africa; weak institutions; strong personality; stomach infrastructure; Nigeria.

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Abstract- Beyond the abstract use of the term 'patrimonialism' and its variants appended with prefix "neo-" or adjectives 'modern', 'traditional' or 'developmental', the leadership challenges in Africa manifesting in festering governance crisis have not benefitted from the deserved scholarly debate in a particularized manner. From the writings of the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), in particular his *Economy and Society* and his tripartite dichotomy of leadership – legal, traditional, and charismatic – to the different notions of patrimonialism, patronage or clientelism employed by notable writers like Roth (1968); Lemarchand and Legg (1972); Eisenstadt (1973), all have fallen short of explaining the functional threat to destructive politics and underdevelopment of African societies. Even the neo-liberal scholars like Le Vine's (1980) attempt to coin 'African patrimonialism' have foundered in understanding the pattern of political organisation, struggle and puzzling change translating into democratic authoritarian rule of the few, characterized by co-optation, factionalism, and clientelism, and other modes of elitist domination. In contrast to all the works discussed above in which a universalistic approach to patrimonialism is taken, this paper adopts a particularistic approach to grapple with the narrow and narrowing peculiarities that currently dominate the processes and structures of leadership crisis, which has led to dearth of good governance and development occurring in Nigeria, in particular, and a number of West Africa countries. The paper argues that a culture of institutionalised subjugation of the political sphere over the economic pervades in the sub-region, leading to a norm of profoundly state-driven economy and a character of patron-clientele interactions between the state and the economy. Following independence, for instance, both Ghana and Nigeria have a leading sector (cocoa and petroleum respectively), which might have significantly paved way for the development of an assertive economic class empowered enough to drive home-grown development and politically agitative middle class independent enough to foster accountable governance. However, successive governments in both countries over-exploited these sectors, thus consolidating a neo-patrimonial fusion of economic and political elites in which the business class had little or no influence on the course of economic policy and in the process, further blunted the rough edges of democratic values bequeathed by the departed colonial fathers. In this paper, we examine the political trajectories of increasing predatory and ambitious forms of political monopoly in Africa and give an overview of how the ensuing inevitable governance crisis has contributed to its perception as a global prototype of the 'anti-developmental' state.

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I. Introduction

As countries in Africa attempt solutions to the realities of transition to good governance and economic growth, many reforms are often necessary in the arena of governance. People clamoring for changes in the developing regions such as West Africa and the neighbouring continents have been making positive attempts to strengthen their public administrative system, with a view to building a system that provide feedbacks to the citizens, and which effectively support economic development and growth. A major threat therefore is that in most political systems of Africa there are stronger men than strong institutions – a situation tagged 'patrimonialism'. Indeed the word 'patrimonialism' was employed as a way of explaining political cohesion in African societies of government's apparatus built in patron-client model around a strong personality and not the institution and which urgently need administrative re-configuration and disciplined workforce. Weber (1947) coined the phrase patrimonialism to describe situations where the administrative apparatus is appointed by and responsible to the leaders (Pitcher, Moran and Johnston, 2009). Patrimonial administration is closely associated with clientelistic politics, for administrative jobs are among the choicest plums a boss or patron can offer his protégés. Such jobs are more valuable than the equivalent posts in a state subject to the rule of law and that has carefully the circumscribed job descriptions. Under the patrimonial system Administrators are recruited and promoted as reward for personal connections with political leaders, there is an unspoken hierarchy, with little specialization or specification of output and uncertain reporting channels, important information may be given orally (Yahaya, 2007). The argument here is that governance systems are basically the same and that clientelistic politics and patrimonial administration cannot deliver the need impetus to deliver good governance. As societies grow richer and more complex, they tend to rely more heavily on the universalistic and egalitarian principles typical of democratic and rational-legal governance (Kensall, 2011). This is both a positive end in itself and a means for making further social, economic and technological improvements. Asserting the essential role that institutions play in the growth of a nation, Court, Hyden and Mease (2003) posited that the manner in which institutions are allowed to operate impacts greatly on a country's economic and development performance. According to them, since dissent cannot be avoided among individuals and groups, every society requires strong institutions 'that can resolve disputes'.

African countries entered the period after the Second World War on the basis of a gradually intensifying popular mobilisation against continued colonial domination. The sources of the popular discontent against colonial rule were many. As Adebayo (2005) aptly pointed out, they included a strong desire to overturn the affront against human liberty and the dignity of the African which colonialism represented and a generalized rejection of the continued. Others, according to him, are the issues of racially based segregation of opportunities for social advancement and access to resources, amenities and services. This led inevitably and increasingly to the highly disputed politico-administrative framework that denied the colonized full, unfettered participation and representation in the structures of governance (Adebayo, 2005). Nigeria as a postcolonial nation has experienced many of the problems common to other new nations. It began its independent existence in the enviable position of having proven reserves of oil (it currently produces between $US18 and $US30 billion of oil a year), a relatively developed infrastructure associated with strong primary industry development, and a fully functioning administrative bureaucracy. Yet, its subsequent history is one of economic difficulty, political violence, and growing poverty amongst its peoples (Sachs and Warner, 1995).

A notable argument in the literature on Nigerian, and nay African, governance is that the arenas of politics are highly personalized. Without recourse to the constructive potentials that strong personalities wield, the literature appear to present the situation more from the gloomy side than otherwise. Nevertheless, historical records are replete with personalities who have utilized their (rather) overbearing influences to move their societies forward. For instance, Walshe (1971:6) and Akyeampong, Gates and Steven (2012:181-182) discussed how the South African activist of the late 1800s, John Tengo Jabavu, utilized his 'strong personality' to discourage political leaders of the Cape Province to eschew tribal sentiment and participate in the political process as recognized in the constitution. Pretorius (2009:42) wrote of the very influential, far-sighted and impressive personality profile of the First post-apartheid South Africa in, not only making the country a 'regional heavyweight' in global reckoning, but also in ensuring the instilling of democratic ethos in the then military-ruled Nigeria.

Anda (2000:89) submitted that Kwame Nkrumah's 'strong personality' effectively converted the potentials available in Ghana early 1960s to the enviable heights later attained. According to him, 'the significant role of leaders' ideologies in West Africa' led to 'the emergence of radical, moderate and conservative approaches in the quest for solutions to inter-African problems.' He argued that the constructive interplay of the 'gradualism' approach of the Brazzavile-Monrovia Group of 1960 (subsequently known as the Lagos Group in 1962) and the ideological militancy of the Casablanca Group of 1961 produced the ingredients for the laudable collaborative efforts between/among West African States 'in much of the 1960s' (Anda, 2000:80-83). Thus, perhaps but for the hard-wearing postures of these leaders and their respective holds on their people, the logger-heads occasioned by the colonial leaders could have been successful and retarded the process of independence.

Yet, the struggle to overcome the scourge of underdevelopment has led many writers to blame it on the leadership. As the personalities at the helms of affairs, such attribution is irreducible. In some States of Africa, the formations of political parties are deliberately skewed towards personality prejudice. As Chege (2007) pointed out, most parties in Africa are governed by 'strong personalities' that operated these important institutions as though it were family affairs. He submitted that crucial decision are therefore taken at the unofficial levels of familial interactions than in strict party loyalty and discipline. This leads, invariably, to followership anchored on personalities rather than on ideological similitude and dearth of 'strong foundation for a durable competitive party system' (Chege, 2007:8). With this scenario in place, party leaders, often the founding personalities or the succeeding surrogates to whom leadership is bestowed upon by the original leaders, wield tremendous singular powers. And, because of the large following that the aforementioned often engender, the clientele relationship between the followers and the leaders develop and predominate in the system. In another instance, Mangwanda and Lacombe (2015) underscore how the South African politics and governance system is more of personality-based than issue-based- in cold contrast with politics in the United States of America. Ngara, Esebonu and Ayabam (2013:82) argued that despite the institutions of democracy which ideally should serve as constraints, President Olusegun Obasanjo's strong personality 'had overbearing and domineering influence on both domestic and foreign policies'. This ruler-knows-it-all has been tagged in political science as 'patrimonialism'. In a patrimonial state, the rule dovetails to an individual, not the institution, and he/she rules by whims and caprices belayed in his/her pride and prestige. According to Shopeju and Ojukwu (2013), authority in a patrimonial state is by personal prejudice, and not necessarily according to established rules and regulations. Unfortunately, this scenario is threatening to pervade the entire political landscape of Africa. In South Africa, 'an exception to the general trends that shape political life elsewhere in sub-Saharan', the ruling party ANC's leaders' attitude, 'in which specific public services and resources are offered to particular groups in exchange for political support', is a pointer to this (somewhat wrong) direction (Lodge, 2014:3). Lodge (2014) significantly traced this to three sources: historically, the ANC's struggles built around the personality of her largely exiled leaders; operationally, the resort to felony for political liberation that created a kind of radicalism within the party fold; and a general tendency in the country's culture of clientele politics and economic. Pretorius (2009) argued that the puzzle perhaps lies in the first-pass-the-post (FPTP) electoral system adopted in most African political system. Such arrangement inevitably leads to the formation and administration of political parties that is '[rather] personality-based, without clear policy and ideological direction'. (Pretorius, 2009:77).

At any rate, patrimonialism have been severally and severely condemned by scholars and commentators alike because of its negative impact on good governance but not many have attempted a causal investigation into the phenomenon and the factors sustaining it despite its torpedoing effect on peace, political security and the development of the nation. The studies that have been carried out, especially on the phenomenon in Oyo-State (Ibadan) and Anambra States, have paid much attention to the central figures involved and the impact on the polity without equal attention to the variables that sustain it. Though the issues that constitute banes for consolidation are many, the issues of godfatherism, violence and political insecurity have been manifest in the Nigerian polity since the commencement of the Fourth Republic, (Omobowale and Olutayo, 2007) especially in Ibadan, the socio-economic and political centre of Oyo state. Hence the need to attempt a conceptual clarification for the concept as practiced by late Chief Lamidi Adedibu, the acclaimed godfather of Oyo-State politics (Simbine, 2004).

There is no doubt that political institutions and governance are leading items on the African development agenda. Most observers recognize that any adequate account of the region's poor performance must extend well beyond narrow the economic factors. Adverse world market conditions and internal structural rigidities on their own do not adequately explain Africa's stagnation and decline. Meanwhile, the changes in relative prices central to the structural adjustment programme controversially prescribed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have, whatever their merits, proved insufficient to generate sustained growth and development (Derick Brinkerhoff and Goldsmith, 2002; Erdmann and Engel, 2006). Although, on face assessment, it would seem that much of the current interest in the issue of democratization, economic reform and governance emanates from the international donor agencies presently involved in Africa, especially the World Bank, it is important to emphasize at this stage that long before the donor community turned its attention to this question, numerous African groups and social forces had been involved in struggles for the expansion of the democratic space on the continent as well as for the institution of structures of governance that would permit the will of the majority of the people to prevail (Ukeje and Olaiya, 2009). This is evident from the entire history of the anti-colonial struggle, which was as much about political reforms as about economic and social change with a view to enhancing individual liberties and popular participation. This article addressed how patrimonialism is a functional threat to good governance and the development of West African nations. Among others, the distinguishing and continued presence of political situation, in which personalities, rather than issues, determine the sways of electoral outcomes, is delved into. The paper also examined the interwoven aspects of political leadership and followership in some states of Africa, vis-à-vis the development agenda of the States. The aftereffect inherent in such peculiar political system on good governance is the principal onus of this work.

a) *Conceptual Linkages and Clarifications*

Essentially, clarifications in terms of definitions of key concepts of this discourse has been attempted here. The whole essence is to establish a firm grasp of the subject matter of the discourse from clear definitioons of the operational words. This is considered especially imperative for the purpose of establishing the necessary connection between patrimonial political arrangement and dearth of good governance and development.

i. *Definition and Conceptualisation of Patrimonialism*

Patrimonial politics is both peculiar and diverse. While it can be addressed from different perspectives, it could also be construed from the monolithic standpoint. For instance, it has been established that patrimonialism seems to be best suited to the least developed countries, where relatively simple economic structures are more responsive to relationship-based governance (Roth, 1968). As the economy grows and becomes more sophisticated, more rules-based governance is probably required. Also, patrimonialism seems unlikely to work in all political systems. Where power is regularly or continually changing hands through the ballot box, there are strong incentives for political leaders to focus on short-term rent-management rather than plan for the long term. Increased, personalized, centralization of rents by either party leader in these circumstances would be likely to prove very controversial and

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damaging. Subsequently, rent-centralization is likely to be exceedingly difficult in societies where a few large ethnic groups are competing for political power, as in Nigeria and contemporary Kenya. Moreover, countries such as Equatorial Guinea or Central African Republic, where technocratic integrity has reached very low ebb, are unlikely to make a success of rent-centralisation (Soest, 2010). Nevertheless there are some nations in which developmental patrimonialism looks the most viable route to pro-poor growth. An example, albeit rare, can be cited of Ethiopia – an extremely poor, landlocked economy with no liberal tradition of note and in which market failures are widespread. Kensall (2011) submitted that in the past two decades the dominant regime of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), under a near-domineering leadership of Prime Minister Meles Zenawi, has presided over the increased centralisation of rents and implementation of a long-horizon development strategy that aims to guide Ethiopia to middle income status (Kelsall, 2011).

In the words of Stewart and Brown (2009), key features include control over a large state-owned enterprise sector and substantial regional development organisations, together with tight regulation of financial institutions and expansion of the tax base. Regional 'endowment funds' are also important. These are charitable trusts with strong links to the ruling party that act as holding companies for a variety of different businesses. They play a role in financing or facilitating investment in areas of weak private involvement, and by small or new businesses, including emergent youth cooperatives (Wolf, 2006). A category of donors, namely Western governments and their official and agencies, went on to embrace a new "political conditionality" under which economic aid was tied to the progress of African governments with political reform and respect for human rights. Yet, as we shall see in greater detail later, the notions of political and economic reform, which the donors have generally attempted to promote in Africa, run counter to those held by the main bearers within the continent of the struggle for democratization and popular participation. Structural adjustment programmes was then introduced into Africa on a massive scale from the early 1980s onward at a time when most African economies were already caught in deep crises of accumulation (Olaiya, 2011). These crises manifested themselves not only in terms of rapidly declining output and productivity in the industrial and agricultural sectors but also in terms of worsening payments and budget deficits, acute shortages of inputs and soaring inflation, growing domestic debt and a major problem of external debt management, decaying infrastructure, a massive flight of capital and declining per capital GDP and GNP among others. The reform programmes that were introduced under donor pressure and supervision were aimed at stabilizing the African economies, re-structuring the basis for accumulation, and permitting the resumption of growth. What the medium to long-term effects of the adjustment programmes would be not only on the economy but also on the practice of politics and the process of administration became the subject of a major theoretical debate involving two broad schools. The differing positions articulated by both schools, namely, the Neo-liberal and the Radical Political Economy schools, is, in many respects, a function of their understanding of the sources of the African economic crises and the role of the post-colonial state in the developmental process (Adebayo, 2002).

ii. *The Concept of "Good Governance"*

The term "good governance" first appeared in development aid policy at the beginning of the 1990s in connection with the events surrounding the end of the cold war and subsequent fall of the Berlin Wall. At that time, it became clear that the effectiveness of development cooperation depended on governments, including NGOs and CBOs, to react swiftly, reliably and transparently were critical to meeting the expanding needs of the people. The World Bank then coined the term "good governance" with the intention of increasing the effectiveness of public funds. Around the same time, a German version "gute Regierungsführung/good government leadership" emerged but the English term was preferable by the global leaders due to its reference to both the leaders of public as well as nongovernmental institutions and also because the "gute Regierungsführung' is prone to misinterpretation. Thus the preferred English term appeared broader in scope to encompass interrelation and division of roles between the state, civil society and the private sector. Such roles are founded upon some important principles, namely, participation, transparency, non-discrimination, effectiveness and reliability of public affairs. The whole essence of this is to ensure that the citizens of a country – either as individuals or as a group – can participate and contribute fully in their development process while being fully aware of their rights and obligations. *Ipso facto,* "good governance" became a term that development institutions and other global players taunt as precursors to development and economic growth. As the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan argued, "good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development". Ban Ki Moon (2012) also stated that the development of a truly global partnership for driving a lasting development includes, although not limited to, good governance.

However, despite over two decades of constant usage and appearance of the term "good governance' in various literature, the term has nevertheless acquired the notoriety of having no single and exhaustive definition, nor is there a definite delimitation of its scope, that commands universal acceptance. The term "good governance" could imply many different things in many different contexts, depending on the circumstances or institution(s) or the mission at hand. The term has been extremely elusive despite a degree of consensus around its usage. It means different things to different organizations, not to mention to different actors within these organizations. As Gisselquist (2012) pointed out the 'routinely focus on other types of governance — global governance, corporate governance, IT governance, participatory governance and so on — by governance experts make matters even more confusing. These variant of governance related only peripherally to the good governance agenda vis-à-vis domestic politics and administration considering the simple fact that these variants of governance and the issues they address appeared veered away from the necessary intendment of the World Bank and other allied institutions from whom the term originated. The work by the World Bank and other multilateral development banks on good governance, according to Gisselquist (2012), addresses economic institutions and public sector management, including transparency and accountability, regulatory reform, and public sector skills and leadership. Other organizations, like the United Nations, European Commission and OECD, also highlight democratic practices and human rights, aspects of political governance not focused by the Bank. Other issues treated under the governance programmes of various organisations include election monitoring, political party support, combating corruption, building independent judiciaries, security sector reform, improved service delivery, transparency of government accounts, decentralization, civil and political rights, government responsiveness and "forward vision", and the stability of the regulatory environment for private sector activities (including price systems, exchange regimes, and banking systems).

However, the term has acquired a popularity that is difficult to ignore in the literature on political economy. Because it is used with great flexibility, the situation has had an advantage of dynamism and adaptability for assessing effectiveness in the entire terrain of socio-political and economic contexts. However, such dynamism could also constitute a source of some difficulty at the operational level. For instance, it could be difficult to assess a state that has advanced in one area while the other areas are still at large. Nevertheless, depending on the context and the overriding objective sought, good governance has been said at various times to encompass democratic practices, respect for human rights, adherence to the tenets of rule of law, popular participation, multi-actor partnerships, political pluralism, institutional transparency and accountability, charismatic leadership, an efficient and effective public sector management, political legitimacy, freedom of information and unfettered access to knowledge and education, banishment of poverty and political empowerment of people, economic sustainability, and political culture that foster responsible citizens and responsive government, cultural harmony and religious tolerance.

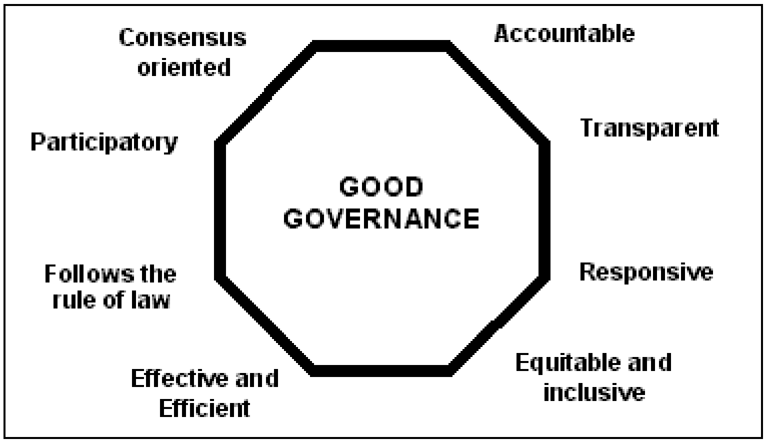
However, there appears to be a significant degree of consensus that good governance relates to political and institutional processes and outcomes that are deemed necessary to achieve the goals of development. It has been said that good governance is the process whereby public institutions conduct public affairs, manage public resources and guarantee the realization of human rights in a manner essentially free of abuse and corruption, and with due regard for the rule of law. Thus, even though the term 'good governance' appears vague in definition but nevertheless has gained a seeming consensus in the international development literature. The UNCHR (2010) submitted that good governance describes how public institutions conduct public affairs and manage public resources in order to guarantee the realization of public welfare, rule of law and conducive business and political environment. Hugue and Zafarullah (2005) argued that 'good governance' revolves primarily around the exercise of authority of government and how the authority is exercised in accountable manners. They demonstrated that the idea of good governance is to build (market) institutions that will eventually foster development.

b) Principal Elements of Good Governance

The key attributes to good governance can be summarised as

- participation of all and sundry, including the marginalized, in decision-making process;
- ensuring devolution of powers and decentralized and supply-driven planning and service delivery;
- taking and enforcing decisions in a manner that follows laid-down rules and regulations;
- developing internal capacity of government and NGOs in terms of financial, institutional, and management aspects;
- Increased level of transparency and accountability of the service providers;
- bridging the identified gaps between policy and practice;
- eradicating poverty and squalor through by identifying and targeting the hardcore poor, the aged, the physically/mentally challenged and the disoriented members of the society;
- networking of government bureaucracy through increased coordination among sector stakeholders to provide a template for harmonization of social service delivery; and
- effectiveness and efficiency in the actions of governments and other stakeholders'

The concept has been further clarified in 2009 by an important publication of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP). The work highlighted 8 major characteristics for good governance (discussed below). As represented in Figure 2 below, good governance is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law.



Source: UNESCAP (2009)

Figure 1 : Characteristics of Good Governance

Each of these characteristics is discussed thus:

- Citizens' Participation

Participation in the decision-making and decision-execution process by citizen of diverse creed and sexes is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could either be through direct citizens' involvement in the decision process or indirectly through legitimate intermediate institutions or accredited/democratic representatives of the political will of the people. The latter is called representation democracy in which even though the minority will have their say, it is the majority that will eventually have their way. Thus, it does not necessarily follow that in representative democracy the concerns of the under-priviledged or the most vulnerable members of the society would be taken into consideration in decision making. It only means that since participation of all members of the society would be informed and organized, through freedom of information, association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand, the ultimate decision taken would have factored in the need of all and sundry, except in situations when such could not be accommodated.

- *Rule of law*

The rule of law is a legal maxim whereby governmental decisions are made by applying known legal principles and decisions are taken and their enforcement are done in a manner that follows laid-down rules and regulations. It is a state of order in which events and decision-making and execution conform to the law. Good governance requires the principle of government by law and fair legal frameworks that are enforced impartially. Such structure is expected to be built on the principle that all people and institutions are subject to and accountable to law that is fairly applied and enforced. It also requires full protection of human rights, particularly those of minorities. Impartial enforcement of laws requires an independent judiciary and an impartial and incorruptible police force.

- *Transparency in Governance*

Transparency means that government actions, decisions and decision-making processes are open to an appropriate level of scrutiny by affected member(s) of the public, the media, the others parts of government, civil society and, in some instances, outside institutions and governments. Transparency International (2012), a global civil society organization that seeks to fight government corruption, defines transparency as "a principle that allows those affected by administrative decisions, business transactions or charitable work to know not only the basic facts and figures but also the mechanisms and processes. The UNESCAP (2009) also submitted that transparency means that information is freely available and directly accessible, in easily understandable forms and media, to those who will be affected by such decisions and their enforcement. Both "transparency" and "openness in governance" work together to ensure an egalitarian society. There is therefore no gainsaying the fact that having a more informed and politically active electorate strengthens incentives for governments to be responsive. Nevertheless, even though an accessible and transparent government is one goal of a functioning democracy, but access to government information may not always be warranted or safe. Certain records may need to be kept secret by the federal government to protect national security, personal privacy, or economic security. Oftentimes, transparency and secrecy—both of which are inherent values of democratic governance—are in tension with one another. Transparency International, for example, surveys a variety of people and institutions on their perceptions of transparency in selected nations to create a “Corruption Perceptions Index.” The index supposes that perceptions of corruption serve as a proxy for transparency in government. Though the two may be related, it is unclear whether corruption or perceptions of corruption provide a reliable measure of a particular government’s efforts to be transparent. There is also the Global Integrity, an independent, non-profit organization that tracks “governance and corruption trends around the world,” uses journalists’ reports and structured surveys to create its Global Integrity report, which measures governance and corruption.

- *Responsiveness*

Good governance entails that government has the willingness, capacity and flexibility to respond rapidly to societal changes, takes into account the expectations of civil society in identifying the general public interest, and is willing to critically re-examine herself as to the role of government in delivering public good. Thus, the need to tackle ineffectiveness of public policy enforcement and implementation is one of the cardinal attributes of good governance. Ordinarily, government is run for the benefit of all people as a mark of responsiveness to the will of the people. Therefore, trust in government appears to be highly related to how much people perceive the government as being responsive to the will of the people. There was widespread perception that governments are not responsive to the popular, among others, which appears to be contributing to the low levels of confidence in government found around the world. The emergence of good governance strategies brought the evolution of the New Public Management (NPM) movement as a panacea to the increased pressure on state bureaucracies to become more responsive to citizens as though they are clients in the private sector. Among other things, good governance highlights the importance of information flows about policy actions in increasing government responsiveness, particularly the role of mass media in creating an incentive for governments to respond to citizens’ needs in good time. Good governance requires that institutions and processes try to serve all stakeholders within a reasonable timeframe and be responsive to the present and future needs of society. Nevertheless, good governance also breeds a system that encourages citizens to identify with and finance the government as a panacea for the ever-dwindling foreign direct investment by developing citizens’ incentives to pay tax.

- *Consensus Orientation*

Good governance is built on the democratic principle that the will of the people should be the basis for the authority of government. There are several actors and as many view points in a given society. Good governance requires mediation of the different interests in society to reach a broad consensus in society on what is in the best interest of the whole community and how this can be achieved. It also requires a broad and long-term perspective on what is needed for sustainable human development and how to achieve the goals of such development. This can only result from an understanding of the historical, cultural and social contexts of a given society or community. endorse the democratic principle that "government leaders should be selected through elections in which all citizens can vote.’ (UNESCAP, 2009)

- *Equity and inclusiveness*

Good governance is about the equal participation of all citizens - men and women, young and old - in public and political life. Equality between men and women is also a cardinal focus of good governance. Good governance averts the general low levels of trust in governments to do the right thing, or in which majorities in most nations perceive their government as serving powerful special interests rather than the interests of the people as a whole. It is built on the utilitarian principle that seeks the greatest good for the greatest number of people. Fair and inclusive government is the bedrock of good governance, i.e. (1) the fair, just and equitable management of all institutions serving the public directly or by contract; (2) the fair, just and equitable distribution of public services and implementation of public policy; and (3) the commitment to promote fairness, justice, and equity in the formation of public policy. The assumption is predicated on the simple fact that a society’s well being depends on ensuring that all its members feel that they have a stake in it and do not feel excluded from the mainstream of society. This requires all groups, but particularly the most vulnerable, to have opportunities to improve or maintain their well-being. It also requires that the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making.

- *Effectiveness and Efficiency*

Successful and judicious delivery of momentous decision is key to good governance. It spurs government to strive for and produce quality public outputs, including services delivered to citizens, at the best cost, and ensures that outputs meet the original intentions of policymakers. Government effectiveness captures perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service, the class of the political leadership and the quality of their political will, the degree of government independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the sincerity of the government's commitment to such policies. Good governance means

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XV Issue VI Version I Year 2015

that processes and institutions produce results that ultimately meet the needs of society while making the best use of resources at their disposal. The concept of efficiency in the context of good governance also covers the sustainable use of natural resources devoid of environmental despoliation. The quality of the country's bureaucracy is expected to be guaranteed with diligence and safety. The better the bureaucracy the quicker decisions are made and the more easily domestic and foreign investors can go about their business. Good governance also entails policy consistency and forward planning within the framework of continuity of economic policy stance i.e. whether a change of government will entail major policy disruption, and whether the current government has pursued a coherent strategy. Good governance also guarantees that policies of government are far-sighted aimed at both short-term and long-term economic advantage. Finally, efficiency in good governance means the ability of government to anticipate future problems and issues based on current data and trends and develop policies that take into account future contingencies.

- Accountability

Credibility is the crux of good governance. Accountability is a key requirement of good governance. The ability and willingness of government to show the extent to which its actions and decisions are consistent with clearly defined and agreed-upon objectives determines its level of compliance with the tenets of good governance. Not only governmental institutions but also the private sector and civil society organizations must be accountable to the public and to their institutional stakeholders. Who is accountable to whom varies depending on whether decisions or actions taken are internal or external to an organization or institution. In general an organization or an institution is accountable to those who will be affected by its decisions or actions. Accountability cannot be enforced without transparency and the rule of law. A more practical corruption crusade to foster transparency and citizens' confidence in government.

i. *Challenges to Good Governance in Developing States*

Virtually all countries in West Africa have experienced catastrophic economic and political crises, leading inevitably to their inability to meet the delivery of basic needs and security to their citizens. The reason for this appears to be the presence of certain factors that are inimical to the government efficiency and good governance. These challenges can be highlighted thus:

- Trust in government is generally low.
- The quality of public administration is not creditable.
- Government economic policies do not always adapt quickly to changes in the economy.
- Quality of budgetary and financial mobilization and management is at low ebb.
- The public service is not independent of and insulated from political interference, coupled with dearth of capacity and will on the part of political authorities to implement reforms.
- Government decisions are not effectively implemented, in addition to wastage in cost and time.
- Excessive bureaucracy that hinders business activity, coupled with the red tape and low quality of bureaucracy causing institutional ineffectiveness.
- The distribution infrastructure of goods and services is generally inefficient.
- Policy direction is not consistent.
- Inefficiency of revenue mobilization.

This listing is by no means exhaustive as there are still many more factors that can impinge on good governance in the developing world. However, the presence of these challenges despite the invested best of efforts and intentions has led to a new governance strategy pioneered by the World Bank, in which specific aspects of governance, known as indictors, are assessed severally or jointly. Nevertheless, the codifications of the term 'good governance in itself allows for some of the lackeys. As Gisselquist (2012) pointed out, the concept of 'good governance' bears more of esoteric propagation and lacks methodological clarity in some sense. Relying on the generic assessment provided by Gerring (1999) in his epic work entitled "What makes a concept good: a criterial framework for understanding concept formation in the social sciences", Gisselquist (2012) argued that the concept contains somewhat 'good things' that do not logically fit together in a consequential way. Essentially, the author noted that parsimony and differentiation. To these extents, given precise definition that would not sound like defining a 'functioning liberal democracy' in a one-size-fits-all is a major challenge to this important concept. The author further argued that the rather convoluted characteristics that good governance is meant to serve beg coherence and utility. For instance, there appears no possible convergence as how issues of human rights relates with regulations for efficient banking. In the same vein, issues relating to voice and accountability hardly belong to taxation and revenue issues that affect cost of doing business in a given state. In addition, the author submitted that the research utility functions relating to the 'formulation of theory and the related project of hypothesis testing' are largely absent in the concept of good governance. The totality of these inadequacies, especially in Africa, is that it, first, provides a leeway for the so-called leader to escape culpability in the governance challenges. Most importantly, the vague situation incapacitates the ordinary citizen to assert necessary claims and, in turn, invigorates the leaders to further consolidate their powers.

Yet, as Court and Hyden (2005) have noted, governance matters. Its supply in good direction, especially if pursued through virile institutions is capable of driving broad-based development. Thus, Gisselquist (2002) conclusion has become instructive for African settings where institutions are weak as opposed to individual members of the political and economic class who remain strong. Yet, these apparent limitations of the concept leave a huge gap for assessments of the strength of the political and economic institutions outside the personalities driving them. Nevertheless, governance in Africa appears to be affected not only by the above. As Jeng (2012) pointed out, a good number of African states today are rocked by patrimonialism in which public resources are administered as or diverted to private estate. The author argued that the situation has rocked 'the governance structure such that the provision of public goods is hampered by state officials who serve certain interests… [and] who try to capture funds and aids meant for development purposes (Jeng, 2012:7).

II. Patrimonialism, Development and Governance Crisis in Africa

Deciphering how patrimonialism has become 'the corefeature of post-colonial politics in Africa' Jeng (2012) argued that the character of the pre-colonial and colonial societies depicted of loose tyrannical system operated by the local and colonial elites, respectively. The author submitted that in both cases, there was no institution but rather strong individuals who unleashed tyranny on the people 'because there was no strong institutionalization, no effective political structures or an accountable, checks and balance system' (Jeng, 2012: 7). Bach and Gazibo (2012) argued that patrimonialism is a political system in which rulers administer national resources as though it were personal benefit with a view to securing the followership of the people. This section essentially discussed the series of events that led to the emergence of clientele form of politics in Africa. It traced the root causes to the advent of colonialism and the pattern of states that the former colonies metamorphosed into. The essence is to demonstrate that the emergence of strong individuals (statement) in much of African States is not unconnected with the nature of governance perpetuated in the colonies. If anything, the statemen that later emerged, with larger-than-life status witnessed the tyranny against their people by the colonialists: only that they too could not resist the enormity of powers that led to such tyrannical rule in the first place. This leadership crisis comes in different forms. Albin-Lackey (2009) argued that even though the Nigerian godfathers hardly nurse ambition to attain political offices, they nonetheless wield the strong power to ensure the election of (often less credible) candidates. They then become the mobilisers of the state resources within the control of these stooges, to maintain/expand their hegemonies and also to ward off possible contenders.

Decades ago, African countries entered the period after the Second World War on the basis of gradual intensification of popular uprisings against continued colonial domination. The sources of the popular discontent against colonial rule were many. In summary, they included a strong desire to overturn the affront against human liberty and the dignity of Africans, which colonialism represented. As Adebayo (2005) pointed out, it also boiled down to a widespread rejection of the continued, racially-based segregation of opportunities for social advancement and access to resources, amenities and services; the increasingly untenable politico-administrative framework that denied the colonised full, unfettered participation and representation in the structures of governance; and the intensive draining of the resources of the colonies without a corresponding commensurate investment in the development of their physical and social infrastructure, as well as in their human resources.

All of these concerns crystallized into a concrete political agenda and momentum for the decolonisation of Africa; they were also the critical platforms on which popular support for the anti-colonial struggle was mobilised. Indeed, this was being pointed out by many students of the African anti-colonial movement, the unity between the nationalist politicians who spearheaded the independence struggle and the popular social movements, including mass organisations of workers, peasants, students, and the urban poor, that sustained the struggle was built around these concerns. The promise of independence nationalism lay not only in discarding colonial rule and the broad-ranging exclusion on the basis of which it thrived but also opening up access to economic, social and political opportunities. In other words, the anti-colonial nationalist coalition was held together by the promise of freedom, unity and development. In this sense, the promise was at the core of the post-colonial social contract that linked state and society in the post-independence period. On the whole, much of the first decade of independence was marked by efforts to give meaning to the social bargain that underpinned the nationalist anti-colonial struggle. Irrespective of whether they declared themselves as being socialist, free market, or mixed economy in orientation, the independence governments all invested, without exception, in expansion of the social and physical infrastructure of their countries in a manner which widened access to education, modern health facilities, transportation, housing, skills development, and employment on a scale that exceeded what colonialism was able to offer.

For this purpose, and again irrespective of the ideological leanings that they professed, all of the independent governments reserved an important role for the state in the development process (Schafer, 1998).

Also, they undertook varying degrees of planning designed not only to improve the foundations of the economy but also to continually increase access to opportunities in a context of huge, pent-up demand (Schafer, 1998). They were aided in this regard by the reasonably high levels of economic growth which most countries recorded during the first decade of independence and which, in virtually all countries, was above the rate of population growth. Indeed, when the average growth rates recorded by African countries over the period from the 1960s to the early 1970s are compared with those that were experienced during the structural adjustment years of the 1980s and 1990s, the immediate post-independence years, for all their shortcomings, would seem to have been golden years of some sort in spite of the best efforts of the Berg Report to falsify the history of that period. To be sure, the effort to give content and meaning to the post-colonial social contract was not without its internal contradictions and limitations. Nowhere were these contradictions more evident than in the realm of the political framework within which the post-colonial development process was undertaken. Initially involving the gradual demobilisation of the social movements whose engagement and activism gave life and momentum to the anti-colonial struggle, the post-independence political framework was eventually to take the form of the narrowing of the national political space as political pluralism gave way to political monopoly symbolised by the rise of the one-party state and military dictatorship.

The immediate context for this constriction of the political space and political participation was defined by the way in which the goal of national unity and integration was handled: the assumption that the objective of uniting the multi-ethnic and, in many cases, multi-religious countries of Africa after decades of colonial strategies of divide and rule was one which could only be constituted from above by the state. This top-down approach to the national unity project soon translated into a monopolisation of the political terrain by the state in a process which was accelerated first by dissolution of the anti-colonial nationalist coalition, then by the slowdown of the rate of economic growth and, therefore, of the rate of expansion of opportunities for different categories of people, and, finally, the emergence in the course of the 1970s of a deep-seated crisis in the post-colonial model of accumulation that signalled the beginning of the end of the post-colonial social contract. A rich literature already exists on the origins and dimensions of the African economic crisis to warrant an exclusion of their detailed discussion here (Sanni, 2007; Smith, 2003; Sindzingre, 2010). It is important, however, to underline two points. First, the management of the crisis was accompanied by increased levels of political repression and exclusion, which further widened the gulf between state and society, popular social forces and the wielders of state power. Secondly, the International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank structural adjustment framework that triumphed in the quest for reversing the dwindling economic fortunes of Africa not only exacerbated the crisis of decline but also represented the final nail in the coffin of the post-colonial model of accumulation and the social contract that was built into it. In the face of the failure of structural adjustment to redress the crises of decline facing the continent, both increased political repression/authoritarianism and the worsening problems of livelihood combined, in the course of the 1980s, to raise serious questions about the representativeness and legitimacy of the state.

The deepening social crisis across the African continent, including reversals in some of the health and educational gains of independence, also generated concerns about citizenship and citizenship rights which, in some instances, translated into concerted challenges to the entire post-independence nation-state project. In the worst cases, the combination of diminished state and governmental legitimacy, increased political authoritarianism, and the erosion of citizenship rights resulted in the efflorescence of competing ethno-regional and religious identities which expressed themselves violently and caused the collapse of central governmental authority. Integral to the agenda of IMF/World Bank structural adjustment and, therefore, the irretrievable collapse of the post-colonial social contract was the promotion of a narrow, neoliberal model of the market and its workings. In practice, this model of economic reform, strongly anti-state as it was in ideological orientation, resulted in the incapacitation of the African state as a socio-political and economic actor (World Bank, 2006). This remained so in spite of the introduction, nearly a decade after structural adjustment first made its entry into the African economic crisis management approach, of a governance programme which was heralded as the framework for reforming the legal-administrative structures and processes of the African state. Defined in terms of the promotion of civil service reforms, the rule of law, transparency, accountability, the free flow of information, and policy predictability, the programme was closely associated with the post-Cold War political conditionality which the leading Western powers introduced into their dealings with African countries and under which the latter were required to carry out domestic political reforms.

The huge social and political costs exacted by prolonged economic crisis and structural adjustment propelled popular agitations for political reforms during the course of the 1990s. These agitations were to result in the end of single party and military rule in most of Africa; they also led to the outright overthrow of the *ancien regime* in several countries (Ross, 1999). But the full import of the rebirth of politico-electoral pluralism in Africa was severely limited by two factors: the failure, in spite of the investment of effort in constitutionalism and constitutional reform, to overhaul the foundations of the post-colonial state itself and the context of continued neo-liberal economic reform within which the transition from authoritarianism was attempted. Ross, argued that the consequence was that power and its exercise were not brought under popular democratic control while what passed for the political reforms that were implemented were soon shown to be lacking in a meaningful socio-economic and ideological content that could constitute an enduring basis both for the reconstruction of the legitimacy of the state, a new vision of the future, and the negotiation of a new social contract. The widespread feeling of powerlessness and choicelessness that pervades the African political landscape in spite of the strong push made by popular forces for the reform and expansion of the political space explains why such commentators as Claude Ake have suggested that the 1990s in Africa were characterised by the democratisation of disempowerment in which people voted without choosing. Clearly then, the political question remained a key outstanding issue even as Africa was ushered into the new millennium (Adebayo, 2002).

Beyond the façade of what they promised, both the governance programme of the IMF/World Bank and the political conditionality of the Western powers formed part of the strategic objective of securing the neo-liberal reform agenda in Africa. Indeed, the governance programme of the international financial institutions was presented as the missing link in the structural adjustment chain while the political conditionality of the Western powers was built on the assumption, in part at least, that it could produce a more conducive framework for the pursuit of market reforms (World Bank, 1998). For this reason, both interventions failed to address the roots of the crisis of the governance of the political space and public life that was in evidence in different countries. As Brett (2006:4) deduced, this failure came about, neither because corrective measures 'imported' into African States were altogether incongruous, nor because African rejected them, but for reasons he termed 'fundamental social conflict and structural weaknesses'. The author posited that the failure was inevitable in Africa where, unlike in the advanced liberal communities, the subjects are not politically informed and economically autonomous to discern and respond accordingly. The African States, the author argued, composed of former slaved and impoverished subjects that fundamentally lacked the political will and economic powers to 'practice the possessive individualism' necessary to drive the so-called institutional transformations (Brett, 2006:4). In addition, the resources to run the costly and 'complex state apparatuses, political parties, pressure groups, media organisations, and educational and research institutions that sustain democracy' are lacking in the created States of Africa (Brett, 2006:4). Hence, the leaders lost grip of the system and resulted to patronage politics of payee and paymaster to retain foothold, which the theory of patrimonialism explains today.

a) Latest Order of Patrimonialism: 'Stomach Infrastructure' Syndrome in Nigeria

Patrimonialism is undoubtedly the pessimistic insights used by political scientists to 'explain the political catastrophes experienced in [Africa]' and its attendant primary accumulation tendency that generates 'destructive effects'. (Brett, 2006: 6). The author justified this by asserting that, since patrimonialism is the use of clientelistic value systems to sustain political support, rather than legitimized means associated with electoral, democratic and liberal values, the consequence 'is likely to be institutional failures' (Brett, 2006: 4-5). This, according to the author, is because the existing old structure would clash the newly introduced ones and produce dysfunctional institutional collisions.

With respect to Nigeria, however, the situation appears more complex. From the analysis above, the institutional clash is expected to occur during, and perhaps shortly after, the transition from old to new structures. The situation of Nigeria appeared sustainable on take off, due largely to the advent of crude oil windfall that stabilized the political economy (Olaiya, 2013). But, no sooner had the system stabilized than the concatenation of serious patronage politics began to materialize. A number of works have established that, following the advent of oil revenue and the attendant profligacy of public funds; hardly can anything pass by without gratification (Aremu and Ahmed, 2011; Olaiya, 2013; Macebong, 2014; Ejiofor, 2015). In the very recent time, a process in which voters are openly gratified with consumable items on (or close to) election days has led to the emergence of another political vocabulary called 'stomach infrastructure'. 'Stomach infrastructure involves bribing electorate in a brazen manner, with material incentives like rice, vegetable oil and 'small cash' during elections. Sometimes, voters openly demand this indulgence while on queue to cast their votes (Ojo, 2014). The term literally emerged around the mid-2014 during the governorship election in Ekiti State of Nigeria. During the time, the incumbent governor, Kayode Fayemi of All Progressive Congress (APC), relied on his radical development provision of social infrastructure as a guarantee for victory at the poll. On the other hand, his challenger, Ayodele Fayose of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP), subscribed to and embarked on distribution of consumables to the citizens and eventually won the election with a wide margin.

As the so-called stomach infrastructure crept into the Nigerian Political lexicon, it has attracted a number of conceptualisations, at least in the domestic

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XV Issue VI Version I Year 2015

realm. The concept has been approached from various walks of life. Aremu and Ahmed (2011) argued sociologically that the concept of gratifications in Nigeria is a reflection of government's failure to curb crime and provide gainful employments to the youth. Macebong (2014) positioned 'Stomach infrastructure' philosophically as simply the anecdote that describes 'the system by which political patronage is dispensed to various groups in a particular society'. He argued that such 'patronage' predates and transcends election manipulations and can manifest in varying forms. According to him, influencing job placement for a relative by 'putting in a good word' to a high-ranking ruling party chieftain; ensuring awards of contract to a close political ally or their relative; and guaranteeing issuance of necessary documents to meet a point and time of need, are a recurring decimal in Nigeria. The author further argued that the term 'grassroots politics' insofar as 'Nigeria is concerned, is more or less a fancy term for building and maintaining stomach infrastructure' or having a strong 'political structure' that constantly dispense political gratifications to the 'masses'. To Ejiofor, (2015) 'stomach infrastructure' is a two-side coin – history and psychology of African masses.

Historically, Ejiofor (2015) argued that 'the concept of the *stomach infrastructure'* dates back to the 'pre-independence regional elections across the country'. To him, Nigerian political history shows that 'politicians who appealed to the conscience of the masses *via their stomach* always had the upper hand' in elections. Since then, and across the board, a good number of the elections conducted at all levels 'were won and lost courtesy of the stomach infrastructure.' (Ejiofor, 2015). Psychologically, Ejiofor (2015) argued that, as established in Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs, nutrition is the most basic of physiological and safety essentials, which should be top on the agenda of the governments of Africa. The author surmised that, because food-related poverty is rampant in Africa, it should be expected that a hungry man could be too angry to appreciate the benefits of the physical and social infrastructures that are built for him. Idike (2014) in her study entitled "Reinforcing democracy in Nigeria" explained how politicians in Nigeria and their proxies have cashed in on the weakness of the social fabric created by pent-up poverty to arrive at 'stomach infrastructure'.

Following from these various works, most especially Idike (2014) study, we therefore developed a paradoxical twin-paradigm explanation of voters' preference that led to the development of 'stomach infrastructure'. The first paradigm is a familiar one but with bizarre outcome: it relates to losing election despite developing physical and social infrastructures that, in conventional governance parlance, should guarantee 'landslide' victory. The second paradigm is not quite familiar but comes also with curious outcome: it relates to winning election by 'directly giving bailout cash to needy citizens, giving them food items and attending to their sundry personal problems' (Idike, 2014:5). Hence, 'stomach infrastructure' can be both a cause and effect of clientele politics of the rentier states, a process described (and condemned) by democracy theorist as abhorrent to the development drives of the states.

III. Conclusions

Research into the emergence of strong personality bestriding the political landscapes of African states like colossus have been at low ebbs. Thus, rather than witness the emergence of strong institution in the continent, the strong personalities have eclipsed the growth and development of political institutions like the Lilliputians. Beyond the abstract use of the term 'patrimonialism' and its variants appended with prefix "neo-" or adjectives "modern" or "traditional", the leadership challenges in Africa manifesting in festering governance crisis has not benefitted from the deserved scholarly debate in a particularized manner. From the writings of the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), in particular his *Economy and Society* and his tripartite dichotomy of leadership – legal, traditional, and charismatic – to the different notions of patrimonialism, patronage or clientelism employed by notable writers like Roth (1968); Lemarchand and Legg (1972); Eisenstadt (1973), all have fallen short of explaining the functional threat to destructive politics and [mis]development of African societies. A generic definition of patrimonialism in the classical work of Erdmann and Engel (1980) based on Max Weber's concept of patrimonialism and legal-rational bureaucracy all but failed to factor in the peculiar and constantly heralding nature of clientele politics in the contemporary Africa. Even the neo-liberal scholars like Le Vine's (1980) attempt to coin "African patrimonialism" have foundered in understanding the pattern of political organisation, struggle and puzzling change translating into democratic authoritarian rule of the few, characterized by co-optation, factionalism, and clientelism, and other modes of elitist domination. In contrast to all the works discussed above in which a universalistic approach to patrimonialism is taken, this paper adopts a particularistic approach to grapple with the narrow and narrowing peculiarities that currently dominate the processes and structures of leadership crisis, which has led to dearth of good governance and development occurring in Nigeria, in particular, and a number of Africa countries. The paper argued that a culture of institutionalised subjugation of the political sphere over the economic pervades in the region, leading to a norm of profoundly state-driven economy and a character of patron-clientele interactions between the state and the economy.

Following independence, for instance, both Ghana and Nigeria have a leading sector (cocoa and petroleum respectively), which might have significantly paved way for the development of an assertive economic class empowered enough to drive home-grown development and politically agitative middle class independent enough to foster accountable governance. However, successive governments in both countries over-exploited these sectors, thus consolidating a neo-patrimonial fusion of economic and political elites in which the business class had little or no influence on the course of economic policy. In the process, this further blunted the rough edges of democratic values bequeathed by the departed colonial fathers. In all, the political trajectories of increasing predatory and ambitious forms of political monopoly of the instruments of force and power were rampant in Africa. In the ensuing circumstances, a functional threat that resulted in governance crisis became inevitable and this has contributed to its perception as a set of global prototype of the 'anti-development' state.

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Gandhi and Bengal Politics 1920 - 1940

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Abstract- Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi entered nationalist politics in 1920 and changed the character of the national movement completely. Before 1920, Bengal politics was mainly dominated by the activities of the revolutionaries and the politics within Congress. Anushilan Samity and Yugantar were the two main revolutionary groups in Bengal at the beginning of twentieth century. Their main intention was to liberate their motherland through violent struggle. The Congress leaders as well as the revolutionaries of Bengal were not at all ready to accept Gandhi and his doctrine of nonviolence. Gandhi too had no sympathy for the revolutionaries, as their method was against his principle of non-violence. C R Das and Subhas Chandra Bose of Bengal Congress gave stiff opposition to Gandhi. Eventually, the death of C R Das and the imprisonment of Bose at Mandalay prison, Burma saw the emergence of Gandhiites like J M Sengupta through whom gradually the control of Bengal Congress went into the hands of Gandhi. The final showdown between Gandhi and Bose came in 1939 when Bose was compelled to resign as Congress President at Tripuri.

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Keywords: Swadhinata, Ahimsa, Gandhiites, Anusilan, Yugantar, Bengal provincial congress committee.

I. Introduction

The emergence of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in 1920 was one of the most epoch-making events that changed the course of the Indian National Movement, forever. This paper aims to discuss the early Congress, Bengal politics at the eve of Gandhi's entry into nationalist politics, the role of the revolutionaries and their reluctance to accept M.K. Gandhi as their leader. Further, it will also try to look into the different aspects of Bengal politics like the emergence of leaders like C. R. Das, Subhas Chandra Bose, and their conflict with Gandhi; the Indian National Congress and the decline of the Bengali political identity in national politics by 1940 and the emergence of a new group of followers of Gandhi in Bengal.

II. The Early Congress

Charles E. Trevelyan, a distinguished British Civil Servant in India pointed out in a small pamphlet written in 1838, that there were two models of political current in India at that time. According to him, one model named as the native or indigenous model, involved both the Hindus and Muslims constantly hatching plots to oust the British from India. The other model had been introduced into India through Western education, where a generation growing up in the metropolitan towns of India, hoped to revive India through constitutional means and ultimately attain self government.

Before Gandhi's rise, Bengal politics had two main features - (1) the rise of the revolutionaries and (2) the politics in the Congress. During the early years of the 1930's there were two currents of political movements--- 1) was the mass movement organized by the Congress, generally on the basis of non-violence. The other was a current of violent revolutionary activities organized by secret revolutionary groups.

a) The rise of the revolutionaries

Non-violence was unthinkable to the Bengalis. They had been inherent worshippers of Shakti for generations, so it was now difficult for them to accept non-violence. To quote a staunch Gandhian Nripendra Chandra Banerjee "it was hard for a Bengali Shakta to follow Gandhi." However, this Shakta mentality of the Bengalees is much too exaggerated. Some revolutionaries were not even ready to accept non-violence as a temporary measure. The two main revolutionary groups in Bengal were the Anushilan Samiti and the Yugantar group. The Yugantar and the Anushilan groups wanted to join the Congress to transform it into a violent revolutionary organization. But when they realized that this would not materialize some of them like the Yugantar group declared open revolt against non-violence. Arun Chandra Guha and Hari Kumar Chakravarti began publishing a weekly called 'Swadhinata' which became a powerful vehicle of violence determined to throw out all the misconceptions about non-violence. The weekly admitted, that in 1921-22, they had been misled by Congress, but in the future movements, they would answer violence with violence. The revolutionaries of Bengal were not terrorists nor were they anarchists. Their sole aim was to liberate their motherland from the clutches of the British and establish a National government. The ineffectiveness of the Indian National Congress dominated for a long time by the moderates, believed that the British government would by stages confer on India the benefits of constitutional rights and representative government. The activities of the revolutionaries covered a period of nearly 70 years (1879 - 1946). The revolutionaries in Bengal generally came from the Hindu educated middle class who were greatly influenced by the teachings of Bankim Chandra and Swami Vivekananda. The Anushilan Samity was the

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pioneer revolutionary organization in Bengal. However, the revolutionaries made no attempt to mobilize public opinion in support of their activities. Unlike the leaders of Indian National Congress, they did nothing to organize the workers and the peasants to start a mass movement against the British government.

b) The politics in the Congress

Before 1921, the Congress leadership consisted of a group of men who got western education, accepted western culture and became anglicized. Their demands were only to plead for self government as enjoyed by self governing members of the British Empire and participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. The intention of the Indian National Congress was to achieve these by constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the prevailing administration system and by promoting national unity. Most of the members of the Indian National Congress at that time considered politics as a pastime and not their only aim of life. They were so indifferent that they did not care to attend the annual session of the Congress if they were busy in their personal work. Recalling his dissatisfaction with the early Congress, Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his autobiography "The Congress would meet three days every year and then go to sleep."

The revolutionaries however remained outside Congress. Some of them expressed utter contempt for the Congress. In his autobiography Damodar Hari Chapekar observed "*Englishmen know that the National Congress means eating, drinking, recreation and a profusion of tall talk and nothing more.....*"

Tilak and the extremists were largely responsible for the changes in the goals, methods and organizational structure of the Congress. It was they who constantly pressurized the Congress to move from the demand for constitutional reforms to the demand for Swaraj. Instead of cooperating with the British, the Congress began to oppose the alien rulers. The motto of the Congress now became self-help and not political mendicancy.

Bengal occupied a predominant place in nationalist politics during the first 32 years of the Indian National Congress during which nine Bengalis were Presidents of the Congress. During the Swadeshi Movement Bengal was at the center of politics. But it may be noted here that it did not lead to any mass mobilization as such. Within the Bengal Congress there were two factions--- one, who opposed Gandhi but still worked with him and the second who were ideologically committed to Gandhi. Among the former mention must be made of men like Subhas Chandra Bose and C.R. Das while among the latter there were Dr. B.C. Roy, Prafulla Ghose and others.

III. Opposition from Bengal

Gandhi faced opposition from the leaders in Bengal before starting the non-cooperation movement in 1921. Bengal's C. R. Das aspired for national leadership and so his followers saw in Gandhi a rival to their leader. The Bengali leaders were particularly apprehensive about Gandhi when he told a meeting of Muslims early 1920 "you must accept my conditions, you must accept dictatorship and the discipline of martial law." This was somewhat outside the purview of the Indian nationalists. Formerly the great Congress leaders like Naoroji, Lajpat Rai, Tilak, Gokhale had worked in alliance with each other with the understanding that they would not interfere in each other's regional activities. But Gandhi's aim was to put his national plan above all kind of regional differences.

The leaders of Bengal were not at all ready to accept the personal dictatorship of Gandhi in the nationalist movement. "Blind reverence for Gandhiji's leadership" wrote Bipin Chandra "would kill people's freedom of thought and would paralyze by the deadweight of unreasoning reverence their individual conscience."

Psychologically also the Bengali mind differed. Gandhi coming from a Gujarati trading caste had been strongly influenced by Vaishnavism and Jainism and was firm in applying the principle of non-violence (Ahimsa) to politics. He advocated self-abasement and self-denial. The Bengali leaders were not ready to accept this. They had been familiar with the writings of Bankim Ch. Chatterjee, Swami Vivekananda who advocated self-assertion.

Moreover, the Bengal leaders were unwilling to non-cooperation as it was similar to the Anti-partition agitation. Before the non-cooperation movement began Surendranath Banerjee wrote "*we were non-cooperators before the rest of India thought of it*". The effects of the anti-partition agitation had been serious in Bengal as it faced the repression and retaliation of the government. Bengalis were not ready to repeat such a movement again and were in a way opposed to non-cooperation as they feared that mass agitation would lead to violence and that violence against the British would lead to violence against themselves, the socially elite and privileged class.

Among all eminent Congressmen, Gandhi only had the support of Motilal Nehru. All others like C. R. Das, B. C. Pal, Motilal Ghosh were all opposed to the idea of non-cooperation. However, C. R. Das came to a settlement with Gandhi on the basis of an agreement. The agreement included C. R. Das's terms such as making 'Swaraj' or self-rule as the goal of the impending struggle in addition to the narrow and sectarian goals of the redressal of Punjab and Khilafat wrongs as suggested by Gandhi. In addition, mobilization of labor and peasantry under Congress leadership was another among Das's terms. C. R. Das had opposed the program of boycott of the councils. Gandhi agreed to drop for the time being the program of council boycott. Under these conditions C. R. Das agreed to support the program of non-cooperation. Gandhi's promise of 'Swaraj' to the Bengali youth won them over to the non-cooperation movement within a year. Thus in 1920 for the first time the Indian National Congress adopted the program of non-cooperation involving all sections of the people.

Among the revolutionaries, the Anushilan Samity decided to oppose the non-cooperation movement but only some of its members joined C. R. Das. They gave Gandhi one year's chance for carrying on a non-violent struggle. Gandhi knew that he would not be able to carry out the non-violent struggle successfully without the co-operation of the powerful Bengalis.

Ultimately the main debate on non-cooperation took place in the Subjects Committee when Bipin Chandra Pal's resolution for an amendment regarding delaying the implementation of the non-cooperation came up in September, 1920. It was rejected and Gandhi's resolution was supported by a large majority. C. R. Das as the leader of the Bengal politicians had no option but to accept Gandhi's program of non-cooperation.

However, with the establishment of the Swaraj Party by C. R. Das, the non-cooperation movement soon showed a slow withdrawal. The Swaraj Party soon acquired complete control over the Congress machinery, so that it seemed that the Congress in Bengal was the Swaraj Party. C. R. Das with his able leadership qualities was able to bring under the Congress the revolutionaries and separatist Muslims. The unity of all these people was essential for a struggle against the strong imperialist British power. Das's proposal of alliance with the Muslims would have yielded a solid foundation in the national interest. But due to some members of the Congress working committee Das's proposal was rejected. However, in later years the Congress had no other option but to grant separate electorates to the Muslims.

a) Subhas Bose and C R Das

Soon after he returned from England Subhas Bose started working with Deshbandhu for the freedom of India. Letters written by Bose to C.R. Das from England showed his desire to give up the lucrative job with the British Administration and serve his motherland. Das welcomed him as he was facing a crisis of sincere workers for his party.

Even before he joined the National Movement, Bose was very clear about his aims and plan of work. His letters to C.R. Das reflected his ideas about the steps the Congress should take to attain freedom. He wanted that the Congress should adopt definite policies about labor, factory legislation, vagrancy and poor relief. The most significant suggestion made by Bose was the immediate framing of the Constitution of India. Soon after his arrival, Bose was appointed as the Secretary of the Publicity Board under the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC). In 1923, the Swaraj Party was formed by Deshbandhu and Bose became the ablest of his followers. It was very unfortunate that Deshbandhu met with an untimely death in 1925. A vacuum was created in Bengal Politics with the death of Deshbandhu and the absence of Bose (he was imprisoned by the British Government and was at Mandalay prison, Burma).

b) The Bengal Congress and Gandhi

The responsibility of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC) passed on to J.M. Sengupta under Gandhi's direction, though Bengal was dissatisfied with it. Since Gandhi had faced opposition from Deshbandhu in the latter half of 1920, so he wanted a leader who would act according to his wishes. In November 1927 Bose was released and elected as the President of the BPCC. This started the differences between the BPCC and the Congress High Command. The immediate cause of the feud was regarding the goal of the Indian National Congress. In the words of R.C. Majumdar, *"like the pendulum of a clock Gandhi's interpretation of Swaraj was moving between Dominion Status and Complete Independence."*

Subhas Bose and Gandhi had met in July 1921. However, the two did not click, as their chemistry was different. Actually Subhas did not believe in non-violence as a practical policy. He considered armed struggle with foreign help the only effective method of winning freedom. He firmly believed that the 2nd World War would help India to get back her freedom. To Gandhi, Subhas was a rebel. At the Calcutta Congress of 1928 he had defied Gandhi which so far nobody had done before him. According to Subhas "the success of the Mahatma had been due to the failure of constitutionalism on the one hand and armed struggle on the other."

IV. Gandhi's Attitude towards the Revolutionaries

The Gandhi- Irwin Pact in 1931 played a crucial role in estranging the revolutionaries from the Congress. One of the terms of the Pact was the release of the 'political prisoners'. By 'political prisoners' the revolutionaries meant themselves along with the non-violent satyagrahis. They wanted the commutation of the sentence on Bhagat Singh who was under capital punishment, and secondly the release of the Garhwali soldiers who had been imprisoned for disobeying the order of firing on non-violent demonstrators in Peshwar. When the terms of the Pact came to be known it was found that only the prisoners arrested during the Civil

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XV Issue VI Version I Year 2015

Disobedience were released. The revolutionaries were dismayed at the turn of events. Throughout the Civil Disobedience Movement they carried out a parallel movement in Bengal. By 1925, Gandhi's position within the Congress became more secure. He opposed and vehemently denunciated the activities of the revolutionaries. This made the British government relieved because the Bengal revolutionaries were a common enemy for both the government as well as the policy of non-violence of Gandhi. As a result, by the 1930's the Bengal revolutionaries who supported Gandhi during the non-cooperation movement became his arch enemies. Thus they were alienated completely. It was Gandhi's indifferent and unsympathetic attitude towards the revolutionaries of Bengal that they started distrusting him and his policy of non-violence.

V. Conflict between Gandhi and Subhas Bose

In January 1939 there was conflict between Gandhi and Subhas regarding the presidency of the Congress. Bose had held this office in 1938 and was re-elected in 1939 January against Gandhi's opposition. This was an unhappy episode in which Gandhi refused to give a second term to Subhas Bose as the Congress President. Dr. P. Sitaramayya was put up against Bose. Bose got 1580 votes whereas his opponent got 1377 votes. Bose won the election comfortably but it disturbed the political balance for some time and led to schism and conflict within the Congress. On his victory Gandhi made the issue a matter of his own personal prestige by declaring Sitaramayya's defeat to be 'more mine than his' (Gandhi's statement on 31st January, 1939). In March 1939, at the annual session of the Congress, Subhas Bose proposed that the Congress should immediately send an ultimatum to the British Government, demanding Independence within six months and the country should prepare for a national struggle at the same time. This proposal was rejected by the Gandhi wing within Congress. Unfortunately, on every occasion the new Congress President was opposed. It became impossible for him to function as the President of the Congress. He also came to know that several senior Congress leaders were seriously considering the acceptance of the federation scheme of the India Act, 1935. On 22nd February, 1939, 13 members out of the 15 members of the old Working Committee resigned, on the ground that Subhas had publicly criticized them. Unfortunately, Bose was deprived of using his prerogative as Congress President to choose his own working committee members. As the Congress Working Committee could not be formed according to the wishes of Bose he tried to negotiate with Gandhi when the AICC met at Calcutta in April 29th, 1938. But Gandhi refused to come to terms. Gandhi was also not willing to accept a person who was so opposed to his ideas. Bose declared that *'he considered his victory meaningless if he failed to win the confidence of India's greatest man'.* All members of the Working Committee except two were persuaded to refuse to serve Bose. Bose had no other alternative but to resign from his post as President of AICC. The Congress leaders felt that Gandhi was indispensable for any kind of mass movement in India. So though differing with Gandhi on several occasions they gave their allegiance to Gandhi. In February, 1939 a significant resolution known as "the Pant Resolution" was passed in Congress Working Committee meeting at Tripuri which asserted that "the Congress executive should command his (Gandhiji's) implicit confidence" and also "requests the President to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji". Though the supporters of Bose vehemently opposed the resolution, it became clear that the majority of the Congress leaders did not want to place anyone in Gandhi's position. Bose's successor as President was Rajendra Prasad, who gave the Bengal seats on the Congress executive to the factions opposing Bose. On 3rd May, 1939 Bose's reply was the formation of the Forward Bloc inside the Congress to bring together all radical and anti-imperialist progressive elements in the country, and for organizing protest demonstrations against AICC decisions. Bose's aim of forming the Forward Bloc was that 'in case of a conflict with Gandhi he would be able to fight more effectively' and he hoped to win over the Congress one day. In June, 1939 two resolutions were passed by the AICC – firstly no Congressman should start Satyagraha without the approval of the Working Committee and secondly the Provincial Congress Committees (PCC) should not interfere with the working of the ministries under the control of the Working Committee. On 9th July, 1939 an All India Protest Day was organized by Bose against these two resolutions. This was regarded as a direct defiance of the Congress and at the next meeting of the Working Committee held in August, 1939 the members expressed their displeasure about Bose's behavior. It was Gandhi himself, who drafted the resolution which disqualified Bose as President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC) for three years from August, 1939. Later in January 1940, Gandhi wrote to C.F. Andrews describing Subhas as *'my son - but a spoilt child of the family who needed to be taught a lesson for his own good.'* However, the members of the BPCC had full faith in their leader and passed a resolution in this respect. The BPCC was suspended and an adhoc committee was set up with Maulana Azad as President to reorganize the body (BPCC).

In 1940, the relation between Bengal and the Congress further deteriorated. Though Subhas was expelled, he refused to obey the party's orders and continued to control the BPCC. He also tried to establish a link with the Muslim League and decided to start a civil

Global Journal of Human-Social Science (F) Volume XV Issue VI Version I Year 2015

disobedience movement to destroy the Holwell monument in Calcutta. The monument reminded people of the Black-Hole tragedy and Bose's intention was to strengthen the relations between Hindus and Muslims. Before he could do anything he was arrested by the British Government on 3rd July, 1940 under the Defence of India Act. Though the leaders of Bengal started requesting Gandhi for the release of Bose, Gandhi made it known, that though Bose was a popular leader of Bengal and also an ex-president of the Congress, but he had no intention of letting the Congress fight for a side- issue. By this time 2nd World War had begun and there was an on-going debate regarding the stand of the Congress on starting a mass movement. The Congress cited three reasons in support of their inability to start a mass movement - 1) the cause of the allies was a just one 2) The lack of Hindu- Muslim unity 3) the Congress as well as the masses was not ready for a mass movement. The left-wing groups however, differed. They felt that the masses were fully ready for action and urged the Congress leaders to start a mass struggle, as they felt that the situation was opportune to achieve freedom through a mass struggle against British imperialism. Gandhi felt that *"India should cooperate with Britain in her hour of danger."* Dismayed and frustrated in his efforts to convince the Congress along with Gandhi to liberate India Subhas Bose left the country alone, to seek the help of the Axis Powers in January 1941.

VI. Conclusion

To sum up it may be said that Subhas Bose's defeat at the Tripuri session of the Congress ended the convention of Bengal's opposition to Gandhian leadership. Though Bengal had enjoyed the leadership of the Congress for a long time, but Gandhi managed to take a firm grip on the Congress after the death of C R Das. There is no doubt that Gandhi's entry into the Congress as a leader of the masses changed the character of the national movement. The expulsion of Subhas Bose from the Congress proved to be disastrous for Bengal. Torn by rivalries and communal conflicts Bengal began to lose all interest in national politics. There were no other leaders in Bengal after Subhas Bose who could challenge Gandhi's leadership. In no time Gandhi managed to win over men like Kiran Shankar Roy, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy and Nalini Ranjan Sarkar from the Bengal Congress. The Left failed to resist the anti-labour and anti-kisan policies of the Congress ministries. CPI General Secretary P.C. Joshi argued in the Party organ National Front in April, 1939 that 'the greatest class struggle today is our national struggle' of which the Congress was the 'main organ'- and so Congress-kisan unity had to be preserved. Thus the disunity within the left gave the 'Right wing in the Congress' to take an upper hand. It may be argued that since Subhas Bose was not willing to be a puppet President and on the other hand the Gandhi wing within Congress were not ready to accept his leadership so he had no other alternative but to resign. Before his secret escape to Berlin, Bose had expressed his wrath against Gandhi that it was due to Gandhi's weakness for Nehru that he had to leave the Congress. However, Subhas Bose had failed to bring the Socialists under one banner, though he had started the Forward Bloc with the intention of uniting the Left elements within the Congress. It is unfortunate that he failed to get the support of the Royists (M.N.Roy) and the socialists who were more interested to maintain Congress unity. If Subhas Bose had not lost his life in the plane crash, many hitherto undisclosed chapters of contemporary politics would have come to limelight.

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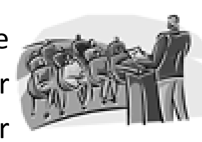

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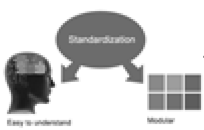

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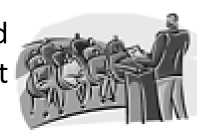

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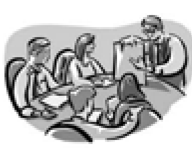

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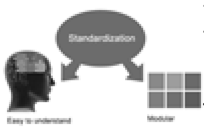

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	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
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Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
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INDEX

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