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IRAQI PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTION: POWER SHARING IN IRAQ PARLIAMENT

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Abstract

Until now the adoption of consensual democracy otherwise known as power sharing by the Iraqis is still debateable. While many believe that consensual democracy is suitable for the Iraq system of government others believe that consensual democracy is a complete failure which has negatively affected the functional roles of the Iraq parliament. This study therefore, examinesthe historical challenge affecting the Iraqi parliament with particular focus on the power sharing otherwise known as consensual democracy. Due to this, a qualitative data was generated from eight respondents comprising of 2 diplomats, 4 parliament members; 2 staff from political science department in University of Baghdad, Iraq. Over, the finding revealed that consensual democracy is not suitable for Iraq as a system of government. The finding also revealed that the consensual democracy negatively affects the legislative and oversight role of Iraqi parliament and it is responsible for the complete failure of the Iraqi democracy.Discussion on the findings is highlighted with the implication and limitation of the study is equally provided.

Until now the adoption of consensual democracy otherwise known as power sharing by the Iraqis is still debateable. While many believe that consensual democracy is suitable for the Iraq system of government others believe that consensual democracy is a complete failure which has negatively affected the functional roles of the Iraq parliament. This study therefore, examinesthe effect of power sharing on the Iraqi parliamentary institution after Saddam's regime. It undertakes an in-depth study of face-to-face interview to examine how power sharing affects the Iraqi parliamentary institution.

Introduction

Iraq is one of the countries suited in the Middle-East with a population of nearly 32 million people. Its official religion is Islam. This is indicates that close to 97% of Iraqi people are Muslims, with the Shiite and Sunni Muslims accounting for approximately 60% and 35% of the population, respectively (Akoum, Zbib, & Ahmed, 2007: 477). The remaining 3% consists of Christians (Chaldo-Assyrians and Armenians), Yazidis (ethnic Kurds), and Mandaeans (gnostics) as well as a small number of Jews, who were forcefully relocated to Israel in the early 1950s. Arabs are the largest ethnic group, accounting for 77% of the overall Iraqi population.

This ethnic group is classified into two groups, namely, the Shiite and Sunni Arabs. The Shiite Arabs are geographically concentrated in the south. A large number of Shiite Arabs also reside in Baghdad and have communities in most parts of the country. The Sunni Arabs are geographically concentrated in the Midwest and northwest of the Iraq. The Kurds, who comprise the second largest ethnic group (e.g., approximately 20% of the Iraqi population), are mostly Sunnis.

Politically, Iraq has adopted a parliamentary system of government which it operates until now. The parliamentary institution has played an important role such as adequate representation of the people, oversight and legislation. The system ensures certain degree of cooperation between the parliament and government particularly in policy making (e.g. each side must be willing to bargain and compromise in order to get some policy benefits), the parliament must have some capacity to monitor the government in such that the government will comply with parliament enactments (Thomas, 2004:9).

One of the elements of parliamentary system of government is power sharing which is also called consensual democracy which is described as "a form of governance applied in some inhomogeneous countries. In this kind of democracy, the right of judgment for the basic issues in the state is by consensus among the groups, differentiated from each other in ethnic and linguistic assets" (Hai, 2006: 132).

This form of government is based on the background of contrast and retail among the people, and resorts to compatibility in the event that there is a lack of mutual trust between these powers. The need for consensual democracy arises in some countries due to the presence of various sectors and ethnicities (Amir, 2013: 135). Perhaps, these conditions informed the Iraqis present choice of consensual democracy. Iraq is a country with many sectors, tributes, ethnicities including divisions. These divisions and ethnicities however, have not helped the country's political system and structure as one crisis or the other often crop up. Until now a critical

observation indicates that the adoption of consensual democracy otherwise known as power sharing by the Iraqis is still debatable. While many believe that consensual democracy is suitable for the Iraq system of government others believe that consensual democracy is a complete failure which has negatively affected the functional roles of the Iraq parliament. This study therefore, examines the historical challenge affecting the Iraqi parliament with particular focus on the consensual democracy.

Power-sharing

Power-sharing is also known as consensual democracy which is described as "a form of governance applied in some inhomogeneous countries. In this kind of democracy, the right of judgment for the basic issues in the state is by consensus among the groups, differentiated from each other in ethnic and linguistic assets"(Hai, 2006: 132). As stated by Ghanim, (2011:138), power sharing is a form of democracy which has a practical application that makes it an antitheses of democracy. This form of government is based on the background of contrast and retail among the people, and resorts to compatibility in the event that there is a lack of mutual trust between these powers.

The need for consensual democracy arises in some countries due to the presence of various sectors and ethnicities just like the case of Iraqi (Amir, 2013: 135). This exact situation in Iraq where there are many ethnic groups, sect, and religions.

Experience has shown that democracy involves much more than voting. It encompasses the distribution of political power through institutions and laws that guarantee accountable rule. Whereas the elections produced a wave of optimism, the delay in forming a government was intolerable to Iraqis who risked their lives to vote based on the expectation that Iraq's political leaders would quickly form a new government to address escalating violence and improve basic services. After more than two months of agonizing debate, Iraqi politicians finally agreed on a division of responsibilities. In other words, they agreed on power sharing among the political institutions. If they can build on this agreement, a deal may be in the offing among Iraqis which preserves Iraq as a unitary state and establishes a federal system of governance that is administratively viable (Phillips, 2005: v).

In the Iraq's current constitution, a form of political system has been adopted which is now referred to as consensual democracy which is intended to take care of transitional phase and for a single-election session. This agreed upon by the presidency council consisting of President Kurdish and first Shiite and Sunni his deputies, the Council of Ministers as the Prime Minister (Shiite) and his first (Sunni) and second (Kurdish) deputies, and the

Chairman of the parliament (Sunni) and his first (Shiite) and second (Kurdish) deputies. Even since this time, Iraq has been practicing consensual democracy which is now operational in all state institutions (Jawad, B., 2008). The principle of consensual democracy is depicted in Table 1.

Table 1: Transitional Government (Senior Position)

POSITION	NAME	ETHNICITY
President	Jalal Al Talibani	Kurd
Vice President	Adel Abdul Mahdi	Shia
Vice President	Ghazi AlYawer `	Sunni
Prime Minister	Ibrahim Jaafari	Shia
Deputy Prime Minister	RowschShaways	Kurd
Deputy Prime Minister	AbdMetalq al-Jubouri	Sunni
Deputy Prime Minister	Ahmed al Ghalabi	Shia
Parliament Speaker	Hachim al-Hasanies	Sunni
Deputy Parliament Speaker	Hussain al Shahrstani	Shia
Deputy Parliament Speaker	ArifTayfur	Kurd

Source: Middle East Journal, 4 April2005.

Although the consensual democracy has been operational in Iraq since its adoption by the presidential council, yet many have seen it as a complete failure in resolving the Iraq crisis and repositioning the country's political structure for a better economic growth. One major factor associated with the failure of consensual democracy in Iraq is the experience of the Iraqi parliamentary. For instance, it is observed that the Iraqi parliament since its inception, has adopted a sectarian, political, and ethnic approach. This is obvious in its formation of electoral lists and the election law and policies formulated by the new government. The whole of this event has negatively reflected on the performance of the Iraqi Parliament as they are unable to hold the government accountable in this failure. For example, the parliament is unable to withdraw its confidence from any minister and this has been attributed to the manner which the government is being structured and formulated. In fact, it has also resulted to the distribution of shares among the winning blocs. Besides, the members of the Iraqi parliament now represent only the interests of their respective parties rather than the interest of the parliament as a whole or the interest of the people who voted them in power. Due to this, Kata (2006) noted that the government is nothing but the sum of the wills of political parties and not the Iraqi parliament as a national institution.

Another major problem of the principle of consensual democracy in Iraq is the support of American politicians. For instance, it is observed that the American politicians did not support the principle of consensual democracy in Iraq just to help them but they did it with a view instill the principle of quotas as a model for political rule. This can be clear seen in the

segmentation of Iraqi society into Shiites, Sunnis and Kurds instead of into political parties such as Islamic, secular liberals and socialists. Their support also neglected the most important principle of democracy which is the principle of the parliamentary majority rule; they have only succeeded in making the people to be under the rule of an election winner. This democracy principle encourages the winner and the loser to form a participatory government by creating a safeguard that prevents the winner from having the absolute freedom of decision. Even the current government is a good example, it is popularly known as the "Partnership" or the National Unity Government (Jabber, 2009: 6).

Furthermore, the consensual democracy and its role have badly affected the legislation of laws and parliamentary oversight. This can be seen in three perspectives. First is the absence of political opposition because everyone is in power. Second is the process of distribution of positions is done by political consensus while the third is concern with the process of issuing laws and decrees through political consensus among the political forces. This process allows them to participate in the political process (Hadi, 2010: 103).In all, the consensual democracy has given opportunity for all parliamentary blocs to have quotas in the government and this has negatively reflected on the role of the Iraqi parliament particularly to monitor the performance of the government. This argument can be clearly seen from way the political blocs take cover under their unsuccessful Ministers as well as the defending process and justifying minister's mistakes and wrong doings while in the office. The political blocs are deemed very powerful to the extent that they prevent the activation of parliamentary control, the main pillars of the democratic and parliamentary systems (Al-Anbuge, 2012).From the ongoing and coupled with our observation, it is believed that the political consensus among the leaders of the political blocs has weakened the Iraqi parliament due to the fact that they have prevented the latter to take its own decisions and enact important laws. Thus, they all end up in weakening the parliament's oversight role the more.

Research methodology

Our study adopts a qualitative research technique with a face-to-face interview approach to elucidate information from the key informants. Ahmad and Seet (2009); Salkind (2009);Sekaran&Bourgie (2009) argued that the use of qualitative approach would provide better insight in understanding the way people think about issues. Ahmad &Seet (2009) noted that the use of the quantitative survey approach for a study of this nature drives dissonant responses. Therefore, toeing the same line, this study opted for a qualitative research technique with a face-to-face structured interview approach. The need for a face-to-face interview is to have first-hand knowledge of the

respondents on why Iraqi people chose a consensual democracy (Salkind, 2009). The essence of the structured questionnaire was to have a clear and apparent focus and call for an explicit answer (Salkind, 2009). In all, eight people were interviewed comprising of 2 diplomats, 2 parliament members; 2 staff from political science department in University of Baghdad, Iraq. The interviews were conducted once and only for 30 minutes for each interview and these were then transcribed, coded and analysed to drive the key themes on consensual democracy which are associated with historical challenges affecting the legislative and oversight role of the Iraqi parliament.

Operationalization of power sharing: Our working definition for power sharing in this study is refers to as "consensual democracy" which is one of the historical challenges affecting the legislative and oversight role of the Iraqi parliament. Based on this definition we probed further into different consensual democracy that affect legislative and oversight role of the Iraqi parliament.

Results and Discussions: The effect of consensual democracy on the Parliament function roles.

Our objective is to examine the effect of consensual democracy on the legislative and oversight role of the Iraqi parliament. From the interviews, all the respondents affirmed that consensual democracy is an historical challenge which has been with Iraq as a country. They confirmed that consensual democracy is negatively impacting on the Iraqi parliamentary legislative and oversight roles.

Our interview revealed that consensual democracy is one of the major historical challenges confronting legislative and oversight role of the Iraqi parliament. According to Dawisha 2003:36-50), the absence of the political culture caused by the consensual democracy has affected the oversight role of the Iraqi parliament. The interview conducted on the 12th of December, 2013 at the cultural attaché, Malaysia with Hassan Hashim al-Sharaaobserves:

> "Consensual democracy in Iraq which is built on quotas at the political level and to participate in government has not been understood correctly and has not been take advantage of the positive aspects. For me, it is better for the politicians in Iraq to adopt consensual democracy as a transition stage from the case of division and fragmentation experienced by the political parties to the case of health of liberal democracy. But in practice the consensual democracy is becoming the basis for political action and everyone became involved in power. As well as the political forces kept on consensual democracy to preserve their privileges and interests, and this

has affected the development of the parliamentary system and the failure of the opposition".

In another view, we found that consensual democracy has negatively impacted on the functions of Iraqi parliament. For instance, the parliament often fails to reach a political consensus in many political issues concerning the country. The Iraqi Ambassador to Malaysia, Prof. Dr. BasimHattabToama on the 16th of December, 2013 observes:

"The consensual democracy is among the actors in the political process in Iraq. It has a very negative impact on the functions of parliament, worth noting when there is a political consensus among the political parties on the enactment of law certain, the role of parliament clearly shows as a legislative institution to vote on this law, while in the case of disagreement among the political parties, notes that the parliament could not vote on any law, in addition to this that sectarianism and nationalism plays a major role in determining this role".

Apart from the above, the study also found that does not fit with the Iraqi parliamentary system)but certain conditions have imposed it on the Iraqi political system. Our interview with the MP, Humam Hamoudion Feb 18, 2014observes:

"Yes it has affected, but there are certain conditions imposed consensual democracy, social structure of Iraq was balanced and cannot pass any legislation on the principle of majority because this gives impression that there is an Arab majority or a majority Shiite control to others, so in the first stage would have required building confidence between the political parties and the culture of participation Political by everyone after the out of Iraq from occupation and sectarian accumulations, in other words, that this country should be run and judge by everyone and with the consent of the others. Consensual democracy was suitable for the new phase in Iraq, but it is understood incorrectly by the political parties that participate in the government, which reflected negatively on the performance of the Iraqi parliament".

Furthermore, the former parliament Speaker, Dr. Mahmoud al-Mashhadanion 15th January 2014 agreed thatconsensual democracy as not only badly affected Iraqi parliament but also has determined scope of parliamentary legislative and oversight. He reported:

"I believe that the performance of the Iraqi parliament is influenced by the extrusive consensual democracy after 2003. That is, consensual democracy had created the determinants of the new

scope of work parliamentary legislative and oversight and these determinants were the main reason for the failure of parliament to reach a consensus on legislation and supervision, consensual democracy has cancelled a lot of things in the constitution including the executive decisions and vote on specific legislation".

Accordingly, we also found that consensual democracy is a historical challenge which is negatively affecting parliamentary oversight in Iraq. Expressing his view, he commented:

"The consensual democracy had a negative impact on parliamentary oversight, because the mistakes that occurred in the performance of parliamentary was caused by all the parties compliant, and therefore did not get there any oversight over the government, where all the parties involved in the government has representatives in the House of Representatives are working to disable the oversight role of Parliament".

Previous study has concurred that consensual democracy should be blamed for the performance of the parliament members because it is responsible for many wrong decisions taken by the executive. As expressed by the Iraqi Cultural Attaché in Malaysia, Dr Hassan Hashim al-Sharaaon the 12th of December, 2013:

"The consensual democracy affected the functional role of the parliament, because the consensus among the political parties was in all issues related to the parliament and the government, e.g., the sharing of government positions and privileges for these positions. Consensual democracy was a major reason for canceling a lot of executive decisions and vote on specific legislative decisions at the expense of other decisions, adoption of a consensual political system in Iraq is a blow to the democratic process".

Also, the study found consensual democracy to be a complete failure of the Iraqi democracy. Literature revealed that consensual democracy has led to the complete failure of the Iraqi political system. In line with this, the interview with a faculty member of the Political Science department at the University of Baghdad, Dr Hussein Alwan Beige on the 3rd of February, 2014revealedthat:

"Consensual democracy influenced on the legislative and oversight role of Iraqi parliament, because the consensual have made all the political parties in one location, does not exist for those who govern as well as there is no opposition, all the political parties participate in the government with the apparent absence of the opposition, and this led to the

adoption of the style disrupt the meetings of parliament by
political parties through failure to achieve a quorum to vote
on the laws that conflict with their personal interests".

Lack of consensus among the political block is another effect on the
parliament oversight role.. The presence of consensual democracy (power-
sharing) in Iraq has brought about the failure to achieve a consensus among
the political blocs to participate in the political process. This has further
obstructed the public policy and affected many policies. Al-Fatlawi (2006: 1-
29) stated:

"The application of consensual democracy (power- sharing)
between the political blocs is a major issue. It has led to the
obstruction ofpublic policy, established quotas, and then
disabled the political decisions in the case of failure to get
consensus between the blocs to participate in the political
process."

At the interview held on the Feb 5, 2014 with an Iraqi MP, Azhar Abdul
Karim   al-Shaykhliclearlyshow   that   consensual   democracy   negatively
affected the Iraqi parliament functional roles. This is the more reason why
they failed to effectively discharge their functions as parliament members.
He commented:

"Consensual democracy has a negative impact on the Iraqi
parliament. First it has shown that the parliament cannot
pass any law without consensus among the heads of
political blocs. Even though the law is passed, it is done to
not necessarily to achieve national interest but to achieve
the interests of the political consensus. The same goes to
the role of the parliament's oversight that the participation
of everyone in the receipt of executive positions makes the
censorship (e.g., right of deputy to ask questions to the
ministers, right of deputy to interrogation ministers for
negligence in the performance of their work) subject to the
political consensus.For instance, the failure to interrogate
some members of the parliament during this current session
due to the lack of political consensus and the inability to
form a quorum for the withdrawal of confidence from the
government official who is being questioned, as happened
in case questioning the Electoral Commission and Former
Governor of Baghdad".

Conclusion and Implication

The findings of the in-depth study revealed that power sharing negatively affectthe legislative and oversight role of Iraqi parliament. It showed that consensual democracy is responsible for the complete failure of the Iraqi democracy. In line with the finding, this paper argued that consensual democracy is not suitable for Iraq parliamentary system of government especially at this transition stage or period. However, If Iraq can build on this agreement, a deal may be in the offing among Iraqis which preserves Iraq as a unitary state and establishes a federal system of governance that is administratively viable, with a view to making each federated unit or region independent in terms of resources and administration.

The overall findings of this study agree with the institutionalism approach which posits that certain factor such as power sharing affects the role of institution outcomes such as the functional role of the Iraqi parliament. The institutionalism approach also assumed that actions and outcomes of the functional role of the political system of a country are greatly determined by their historical institutions which are then influence by other factors such as power sharing. Our findings suggest that the adoption of a consensual political system in Iraq is a major blow to the democratic process. Hence, Iraq could have opted for a different political system other than consensual democracy.

The major implication of this study is on both the politicians and the member of the Iraqi parliament. The finding provided by this study would be a guide for both politicians and the member of the Iraqi parliament to re-think on the present political system operational in Iraq. It would also help them to reshape and modify the existing political system to suit their present need. Researchers in this area of study would equally find this study very useful since it would stir up further research in this domain.

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INFLUENCE OF ELECTIONS ON THE ECONOMY OF THE NATION

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Abstract

Electoral Politics plays a vital role in determining the economy of the country and tries to influence the functioning of the governments in the nation. When elections are declared, the policy matters that are decided and implemented try to boost the economic growth to a certain extent and rejuvenate the people's confidence in the system. The recent steps taken by the central government and state governments, be it the Food Security Bill or the incentives announced to the Central Government Employees, The Rajiv Gandhi Centre for Research, or the distribution of rice to the people living under the below poverty line (BPL) by the Government of Karnataka for One rupee, or the 'Amma Canteen' by the Jayalalitha Government in T.N., distribution of Laptops by the Government in UP & TN, the measures taken by the RBI,at the international level, the warning given by the PM to our neighboring country Pakistan to take measures against terrorism, are some the pre- and post electoral agenda's/schemes which are introduced to bring the political parties to power. These schemes directly or indirectly influence the economy and try to bring about a temporary confidence of the people in the functioning of the government and the system. At a time when the nation was facing severe economic crises and the downfall of rupee seen which was hitherto unheard of, some of the above mentioned schemes have brought down recession, at least to a small extent and the rupee has seen some stability thus establishing the relation between the election politics and the economy. This paper tries to analyze this relation.

Keywords: Electroal Politics, Economy, Food Security, Government, rejuvenate, temporary

Introduction

After India attained independence from the British rule major changes were incorporated socially, politically and economically andIndia adopted for the capitalist mode of economy.In other words we call it as 'Democracy'. The fundamental aspect of democracy is elections. As Robert Dahl has suggested "democratic development involves political participation of citizens and popular elections of officials and representatives are inevitable for its functioning."[1]Competitive elections and free democracy are essential for the modern democratic system to function and progress. The political parties need to adopt certain measures to sustain the challenges and come to power. They need to concentrate on protecting the interests and live up to the expectations of the people and focus on developmental issues to take the country forward. The concept of 'development' and the 'five year plans' that were accepted emerged in this process. When India adopted the Democratic form of system, capitalism world over was in the verge of collapse and it was in its infancy here and hence in the beginning much emphasis was given towards economic development of the country. Then what is development? And how these plans help the development?

Development is a very intricate concept wherein different countries adopt different strategies and policies for its overall enhancement.Economic development generally refers to the sustained, concerted actions of policy makers and communities that promote the standard of living and economic health of a specific area. Economic development can also be referred to as the quantitative and qualitative changes in the economy. Some questions raised are, is the goal of 'economic development' merely to increase national wealth, or is it something more subtle? Improving the well-being of the majority of the population? Ensuring people's freedom? Increasing their economic security? Etc.,

Recent United Nations documents emphasize "human development," measured by life expectancy, adult literacy, access to all three levels of education, as well as people's average income, which is a necessary condition of their freedom of choice. In a broader sense the notion of human development incorporates all aspects of individuals' well-being, from their health status to their economic and political freedom. According to the *Human Development Report 1996,* published by the United Nations Development Program, "human development is the end—economic growth a means."[2]

It is true that **economic growth,** by increasing a nation's total wealth, also enhances its potential for reducing poverty and solving other social problems. But history offers a number of examples where economic growth was not followed by similar progress in human development. Instead growth was achieved at the cost of greater inequality, higher unemployment,

weakened democracy, loss of cultural identity, or over consumption of **natural resources** needed by future generations.
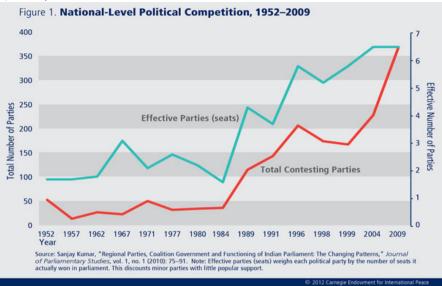
Indian Economic system

The conditions that prevailed in the post-independence resulted in the accumulation of wealth in the hands of few people and the vast majority of them were deprived of basic education, right to employment opportunities, caste and religious discrimination prevailed, and hence the common man's faith in the political system gradually started deteriorating. Mass movements started developing in various parts of the country against the policies of the congress party which led in the culmination of the declaration of emergency in 1974. At the same time to sustain, the congress party tried to bring about certain policies by adopting*'Nationalization of Industries'.* Later in 1990's India opened up the gates of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization or NEP policy that it accepted bought about tremendous changes in the economic system as well as party functioning. It is in this economic background that the functioning of the party system need to be analyzed.

Role of Political Parties and Election system

Political Parties are indispensible to the functioning the democratic system and play the most crucial role in the electoral process – in setting up candidates and conducting election campaigns. In recent years, we have witnessed a succession of unstable governments, and the reason for such a recurring phenomenon is said to be the archaic and chaotic functioning of political parties. Alliances and coalitions are made, broken and changed at whim, and the balance of power seems to be held not by those at the Union level, but by minor parties on the fringes. There is no doubt that Indian political parties have fragmented over the years. Frequent party splits, mergers and counter splits have dramatically increased the number of parties that now contest elections. In 1952, 52 parties contested elections, whilst in recent years this number has swollen to more than 437, and has been consistently increasing. Can the instability at the Union level or in the States be attributed solely to the growing number of parties, or the malaise with which the political system suffers today lies in the functioning and the dynamics of the party system in India, apart of course, from the other causes in the working of the political system as a whole?

Political parties and the party system in India have been greatly influenced by cultural diversity, social, ethnic, caste, community and religious pluralism, traditions of the nationalist movement, contrasting style of party leadership, and clashing ideological perspectives. The two major categories of political parties in India are National and State, and are so

recognized by the Election Commission of India on the basis of certain specified criteria. As oftoday there are six national parties (seven after the split in the Janata Dal in August 1999) and 47 regional parties recognized as such by the Election Commission of India.[3](Source: Election commission of India, 2013)

Figure 1. **National-Level Political Competition, 1952–2009**

Source: Sanjay Kumar, "Regional Parties, Coalition Government and Functioning of Indian Parliament: The Changing Patterns," *Journal of Parliamentary Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1 (2010): 75–91. Note: Effective parties (seats) weighs each political party by the number of seats it actually won in parliament. This discounts minor parties with little popular support.

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(Source: Article, Milan Vaishnav, November, 2 2012, Five truths about India)[4]

When we see the history of development of these political parties it is amply clear that the major political parties as well as the regional parties though have grown by numbers, have lost the confidence of the people and hence a number of alliances /strategies are adopted to improve its own position drifting away from the ideologies that they had. Today no party is sticking to its ideology but somehow compromising to gain power. Such a trend has become a national phenomenon and Karnataka is also no exception to it. Also since these alliances have no ideological frame work they may be a short term arrangement and may function out of compulsions to retain power, thus negating the very purpose of democratic functioning.

Elections and populist Political Agendas:
The populist programs adopted by major political parties have time and again proved the relation between elections and their agendas. Some of the programs that were adopted during Mrs.Gandhi's regime were:
- The 10 point program of 1967
- The 20 point program of 1975
- Followed by 4 point program of Sanjay Gandhi
- The new 20 point program of 1982

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- And above all the 'election slogan' that was adopted during 1971 was 'garibi hatao'. This became one of the most populist slogans and confused not only the intellingencia but also the middle class. The 'garibi hatao' slogan was an attempt to popularize herself as the true protector of the people and champion of the masses. (source: India: The years of Indira Gandhi, edited by Yogendra Kumar Malik and Hitendra Kumar Vajpeyi, Library of Congress Catologing press, p-72-73)[5]

- The oppressive measures taken by Mrs.Gandhi during emergency were accompanied by her to announce this 20 point program. Through this program she claimed to abolish the bonded labour system, introduction of land reforms system, and minimum wages to agricultural labourers and asserted that these were pro-people programs to ensure their safety and progress.[6] (Source: Sankalp India Foundation" article 20 point programme.)

Of course these programs had a greater impact on the economy and gradually the pragmatic and liberal policies were adopted in later years.After this legacy, the congress continued its debacle and has been changing strategies to woo the people during elections.The NEP adopted in 1990's to liberalize the economy paved way for its strengthening its position in various states. Later on when the BJP came to power it had continued to follow the principles of LPG and the recent most is the Jan Lok Bill, 2013. The party's failure to gain power in the recently concluded state legislative assembly elections has made them to adopt such measures. In Karnataka, just before the elections the both the Congress and BJPtried its maximum to influence the voters by announcing a bunch of agendas. When the Congress came to powerin Karnataka, its first measure was to introduce rice at Rupee One per kg. Though this was severely criticized by its own members, the Chief Minister defended his policy and this became so popular that we see similar popular schemes are already in vogue in neighboring states like T.N. (where the Amma Canteen, as it is called provides lunch for the poor at one rupee,) in Maharashtra lunch is provided at again rupee one. In UP a different agenda to lure the young voters were introduced. Laptop at a very low cost was one such.The AAP before elections had ensured to give corrupt free governance if it comes to power. Also its agenda included to reduce the electricity charges, provide safe environment for women, etc. Though it was able to influence the young voters and come get a reasonably good number of seats,for a party contesting election for the first time, it has not been able to form the government for various reasons.

Either dejected by the election results in the five states or to instill confidence in the people once again, the ruling UPA has just agreed to pass the JAN LOK PAL BILL. If this bill is passed (will definitely be passed) can

it counter corruption? A party full of corrupt people is introducing the JAN LOK PAL BILL. What an Irony?

The BJP on the other had come to power by inciting people on Ram Mandir issue, abolition of article 370, based on the Hintudva by raising the slogan 'India Shining'. However, the major economic policies that it adopted were from the previous Congress rule. No new policies to lessen the burden the poor and downtrodden were implemented during this period. The average growth rate of manufacturing was 9.4% in 1995-98, and only 5.2% the other major factor has been to pursue the policies ina way in which the urban affluent benefit at the cost of urban poor andthe rural masses in general.

In Gujarat (a state that is considered and projected as a developed state) since the time Mr.Modi has been ruling, development is one of the top most agenda taken up during elections. What Mr.Modi and his followers are projecting 'development' as an instrument of political agenda is far from real there. The following statistics reveal the true picture.

- Gujarat's debt tripled in 10 yrs under Mr.Modi from Rs.45,301 crore in 2001-02, to 1.29 lakh crore in 2011-12.
- Male-female ratio in Gujarat far below other Indian states (886 per 1000 males) (source: 'Children in India 2012-A Statistical Appraisal,' Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation)
- Crimes on women on increase
- Infant mortality rate at 44 child deaths per 1000 live births (Source 'Children in India 2012-A Statistical Appraisal,' Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation)
- States where more than 40% and upto 50% of children are underweight are: Gujarat, Meghalaya, Chhattisgarh, U.P & Orissa.
- School life expectancy at 8.79 (source: UNDP)[7]

Now, if these popular pre/post political agenda's are to be considered as the main theme of development, then how do you define development? What is the criterion that determines if people are living happily? How is it to be believed that poverty is eliminated?

How do we judge development? Is it the per capita income, or the GDP or the standard of living of the people? or the unemployment rate? If a country's development is to be judged it has to be judged by its human development index (HDI). UN has recently adopted a new tool to measure multidimensional poverty index (MPI). It has 10 parameters which includes access to good cooking fuel, schooling, electricity, nutrition and sanitation.The Human Development Report 2013 released by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), ranked the country at a low 136 among 186 countries on its human development index (HDI) — a composite

measure of life expectancy, access to education and income levels. The HDI is considered a better measure of a country's progress than mere income growth.[8] (Source: UNDP 2013). India with a medium Human Development Index is on a decreasing trend.

The country fails miserably on the front of gender equality. On the gender equality index, with a value of 0.610, India has one of the worst indicators in the medium human development category. For example, the country has only 10.9 per cent of seats in Parliament occupied by women. Countries like South Africa (41.1 per cent, HDI – 121), Timor-Leste (38.5 per cent, 134), Iraq (25.2 per cent, 131) and China (21.3 per cent, 101) are much ahead of India when it comes to the representation of women in decision making.[9] (Source: India still scores low in Human Development, Jyotsna Singh, Dt. Apr 16, 2013 on 'Down to Earth' Web Page)

It is also to be noted that after the implementation of Globalization vast disparities in income is seen and while on one hand around 80% of the people live on Rs.20/- per day on the other the top billionaires of the world are from India.[10] In spite of the big assurances given by these major political parties we see that the basic problems of the people remain unresolved and even today the common man is still suffering to meet the ends meet. The recent inflation in the country has made life miserable for not only the poor but the middle class also. Therefore the electoral agenda of the political parties have to be studied and understood in such a manner that they reflect the true picture of the people. For example even though the AAP got a near majority in the recently concluded Delhi Elections it is unable to form the Government because it also has come to known that 'electoral slogans' are quite different from 'real implementation'.

When the UPA II had come to power, just before the elections it had constituted the Sachar Committee to investigate into the social-economic conditions of the minority sections and based on the Sachar Committee Report, it had initiated some measures to improve their conditions. Of course, this was to win over the minority community. For the forth coming elections in 2014 the political parties are careful in deciding about the issues and the congress has taken for granted that it can come to power for the third time. The BJP on the other hand is banking upon Mr.Modi, the third front with no united voice is struggling to come to consensus. The regional parties are trying to influence the major parties. The congress is trying its best to show that cares for the people and has concern for the people's voice and hence has accepted to pass the JAN LOK PAL BILL in this session. Not only this, its stand to give external support to the AAP to form the government in Delhi also indicates how desperate it is to gain the confidence of the people. On the other, the BJP has taken the issue of patriotism and has erected the statue of Sri.Sadar Patel, the iron man of India and is playing on

the sentiments of the people. In such circumstances the voter is confused and to a certain extent has no option but to vote for any one or two.

Development Models in socialist countries

When we look into the development models of other socialist countries it is amply clear that the state controls the major production activities and hence they are able to provide the basic necessities to common man. The entire wealth is distributed for social welfare measures. In the erstwhile Soviet Union, for example the unemployment was to a very great extent eradicated. People were able to get two squares of meal without any hindrance. The country was able to produce astronauts, sports persons, doctors, engineers, scientists and above all human beings with concern for fellow citizens.

Alternate measures

Alternately what can be done? Do people's voices be ever represented in the floor of the parliament? Can we see real development? Are some of the questions that come before us. Howeverlike the Anti-corruption movement or like the Nirbhaya Movement a strong pro-people movement is required which will ultimately raise the political consciousness of the people and they would be able to truly exercise their franchise democratically which will help the democratic functioning of the political parties. In this direction, the NOTA (No to any candidate) is a positive step. Using this weaponthe criminals or the anti-social elements can be kept away from winning the elections. Only a strong united people's movement can be an alternative to such problems.

Conclusion

In spite of these political agendas and measures initiated during the period of elections when the political actors come to power they not only do not adhere to the assurances given by them but also are least bothered about the people's conditions. If only they had implemented some of the agendas the vast majority of the people would not have lived in abject poverty and the country would have progressed. Democracy in the true sense would have been implemented for the people, by the people and of the people.

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HOW STATE STRUCTURES REFLECTS DIVERSITIES: ETHIOPIA AND SWITZERLAND COMPARED

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Abstract
This paper wants to shed light on how the state structures in both Ethiopia and Switzerland reflects the diversity existed in those societies. It shed light about how modern democracies deal with deep diversities. The paper will first deal treat the experiences of the two countries independently which will then be followed by the second part which will deal with outline the similarities and differences between the two experiences. Finally it will outline the lessons that could be drawn from Switzerland in the management of democracy and diversity.

Keywords: Federalism, minorities, Ethiopia, Switzerland

Theoretical Framework
Ethiopia
        The FDRE Constitution provides a wide range of provisions for the recognition, protection and promotion of national minority rights. The following rights are guaranteed to national minorities under the Ethiopian constitution:
        1) The right to self-determination, as a bundle of rights as it is not a single right.
        A) The first element of the right is the right to self-government, which indicates some degree of economic and political independence. The constitution grants self-government to all ethno-linguistic communities, including, the right to form a regional state. The regional states are also should grant special administrative status to minority ethno-cultural communities by creating special zones or special districts.
        B) The right to land and natural resources: the federal constitution makes land and natural resources under the ownership of nations and nationalities of Ethiopia. This is clearly an attempt to indigenisation of political power.

C) Cultural and linguistic rights: under the federal constitution all ethno-linguistic communities have the right to protect and promote their culture, language and historical heritage. Article 5 declares the equality of all languages in Ethiopia and regional states or minorities with their own Zonal or Werdea governments have the right to determine their working language. What is different with the Swiss experience is that there is no room for minority languages to be used in the institutions of the federal government. Of course it is difficult to use minority languages in the Federal government given the multi-lingual character of the country. What will be more realistic is to ensure the use of minority languages in their own respective territories.

D) The right to equitable representation: every national group have the right to fair representation in federal and state institutions, in proportion to their relative numerical size. Therefore, in their structure, the different government institutions at the federal level including the federal executive and civil service should roughly be the mirror image of the ethnic profile of the country. In light of this, each ethnic group, including the minorities, is represented in the House of Federation by at least one representative. Besides, 20 seats of the House of Peoples representatives are reserved for minority nationalities and peoples.

E) The right to secede: this is one of the most contentious rights recognised by the Ethiopian constitution. This right is granted to all ethnic groups including minorities. This right is incorporated mostly as a guarantee against oppressive central government. The intention is that this right increases the confidence of minority nationalities and thus further cements the federal unity. Secession may prevent the central government from tyrannical inclination and discriminatory treatment of ethno-cultural communities

The other article worthy of mention in relation to minority rights is Article 89/4 of the FDRE Constitution, which states that the government has the duty to provide special assistance to minorities which are least advantaged in economic and social development. This special assistance to economically least advantaged groups is indeed another measure in promoting minority rights in the country.

Thus, in the Ethiopian federal system, diverse identities are not merely tolerated but are constitutionally protected, and public expression of these diverse identities is politically promoted. By giving rights of self-determination including secession in the, Ethiopia went beyond the 'kill the tribe to build the nation' motto of many African countries (Turton, 2004: 3).

Challenges and problems

One of the negative consequences of ethno-linguistic federalism is its tendency to restrict freedom of movement and discrimination of non-native

residents. This kind of political arrangement favors the members of the native ethno-cultural communities than the settlers who consider themselves as 'migrant citizens'. It is also sometimes abused to violate rights of migrants. In Ethiopia laws governing election and civil service employment, have proved to be areas liable for discriminatory laws and practices in regional states.

Ethiopia is among the most diverse societies in the world. Linguistic diversity is coupled with enormous religious and cultural diversity. In the aftermath of overthrow of military dictatorship in 1991, there was a concern to fulfil aspirations of the many diverse groups by designing an appropriate state structure, i.e., federal system.

The federal system is designed to reflect these complex diversities in the structure and operation of government. Ethiopia linked equality for individuals with equality for diverse nations and nationalities. Five major principles are used to accommodate the diversities: Principles of secularism, minority rights, linguistic pluralism, protection of disadvantaged groups, and federalism (FRDE Constitution Arts 1, 5, 8,39 47 and 51)

1. Religious Diversity: Religious freedom, equal rights of citizenship, and collective rights of communities. The provisions of the Ethiopia constitution for the protection of religious and linguistic minorities are enumerated in Articles .... Every individual has guaranteed with the right to profess and propagate religion with strict state neutrality (Arts. 25-29). States also affirm religious diversity under their territories. This is supplemented by the constitutional provisions that protect religious liberty. This means in concrete terms minority religious communities needed religious liberty and protection against the threat of cultural homogenization. India has no official or established state religion (Ibid).

2. Cultural Diversity: Constitutional recognition recognises that the state cannot by law impose the culture of majority over others. There is also cultural and educational rights, including the right to administer educational institutions and preserving their distinctive language (Art. 30(1)). Art. 29(1) enables them to run their own educational institution, so that the state cannot compel them to attend any other institutions. As an intuitional mechanism, commissions for minorities are created. Rights of minorities within the minorities are also constitutionally recognised.

3. Linguistic Diversity: the constitution recognised the principles of language pluralism: the state structure reflects the multi-lingual character of the state. More importantly, linguistic communities occupying a contiguous territory could constitute a single state. This state structure enabled the linguistic community to be a majority in

that state and its language became language of administration (Arts.39, 47). This means different linguistic communities have opportunities to promote their languages and avoids the threat of cultural and linguistic homogenisation.

4. The other mechanism is the creation of special power sharing arrangements (federalism). Especially in last decade, as Ethiopia embarked on destrict level decentralisation programme it has become less centralized, moving to three-tiered federal arrangement with local democratic governance below the state level. The federation has done a lot in containing ethno-linguistic tensions by reorganising states to reflect language diversity (Assefa, 2007: 195-196).

The federal system, as one of the most decentralised federations, gives regional states considerable powers. More importantly, Ethiopia has adopted arrangements in order to promote the cultural self-determination of the regions in areas such as language, religion education, culture and legal traditions.

D. Robust rights protection for all individuals: All individual citizens of Ethiopia are guaranteed the right to equal protection and benefit of the law under the constitution. Both levels of government must respect the constitution in enacting laws and making administrative decisions.

Switzerland

The Swiss federation is notable for its significant degree of accommodating linguistic and religious diversity (Watts, 1999: 22-23). Switzerland, as an established multicultural federal democracy (William and et.al, 2004:44), puts in place a number of arrangements and processes for the protection of minority rights, which includes:

1. Federation (political autonomy): one important institutional means of protecting diversity is cantonal self-government. The cantons are considered sovereign except in those areas delegated to the federal government. (Assefa, 2007: 205).

2. Equal or proportional representation of language groups at federal decision making process, as enshrined in both 1874 and 1999 constitutions (Arts.16, 12; Assefa, 1997: 13):

A. Federal parliament: the procedure for allocating seats in the upper house favouring smaller cantons, with representatives mostly elected to reflect various facets of the cantons, such as language groups, denominations, and main political tendencies. In the second chamber cantons are equally represented (except those half cantons) regardless of population size (Assefa, 2007: 139-45). This means that all communities must agree to enact laws and policies. Besides, the right

of initiative allows a religious or linguistic minority to put forward at constitutional level a set of regulations that it favour (Art. 93(2)).

B. Federal government: here all, including Italian-speaking minorities are represented, with a collegial system of government

C. Federal court: in the election of the federal court, the supreme judicial body, all the three official languages of the confederation should be represented.

D. There are also a number of cantonal institutions that protect rights of minorities. This includes the cantonal parliament (which is mostly constituted based on proportional representation), the cantonal government (which are collegial like the federal government). The communes, as third tier of government, are another crucial structure which is closer to the people.

3. Formal recognition of linguistic pluralism and multiculturalism: the federal constitution provides that Switzerland shall have four national languages and the makes almost all languages official (Art. 4 and 70 (1)). So, all linguistic groups can communicate with federal officials through their mother tongues (Assefa, 2007: 196), except in the case of Romanch. The constitution establishes the principle of territoriality. This is designed as a constitutional guarantee of linguistic pluralism. This is reaffirmed in the 2007 new Federal Language Act. This principle gives cantons national minorities to use their language as language of administration. The territoriality principle and the official language policy are also applied at the cantonal level in three bilingual cantons. Cantons are autonomous in linguistic and cultural matters.

4. The right of minorities to statehood is also possible, although not constitutionally recognised, as witnessed in the creation of the canton of Jura.

5. Accommodation of religious diversity (Art 15, 36).

Besides, the practice of inter-community contacts and comprehension; example school-exchanges and civic engagement of associations are worth mentioning. The promotion of national cohesion and understanding between different language groups, example school exchange, civic associations (Art. 2 of the Federal Constitution).

Conclusion

Diversity is recognised and protected by their constitutions. There are also institutional mechanisms and procedures for the protection and promotion of diversity.

state creation in Ethiopia federation is largely to address demands to linguistic rights. This gave equal recognition and dignity to all major language groups.

Ethiopia by using language as a basis for creation of territories differs from that of Swiss, in which language is not used as the basis to organise the cantons. In Switzerland, 17 cantons out of 26 have the same official language but they do not constitute one canton as happened in Ethiopia or India. Therefore, Switzerland is not strictly ethnic-based; there is a cross-cutting linguistic, religious and political divide.

Switzerland has its own unique diversified inhabitants, strong cantonal unity, and linguistic, religious, racial and national diversity. The federal system successfully accommodates all these diversities. At the federal level, the four major languages are recognised as working languages. Cantons have power to decide to choose their working language(s). Together with this you have a robust rights protection to all Swiss citizens, including, more significantly, popular initiative and referendum.

In fairly similar manner, The Ethiopian federation is meant to accommodate linguistic and cultural diversities in Ethiopia. Essentially the constitution declares that sovereignty lies on ethnic groups. All ethnic groups are provided with rights of self-determination, self-governance, cultural and linguistic rights, right to equitable representation, and the right to land and other natural resources (Arts. 5, 8, 39, 40, 47, 50).

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FEATURESPHONOSCOPICEXAMINATION

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Abstract

Phonoscope expertise - kind forensic expertiseaimed at establishing the circumstances by examining voice and sounding speech, *of the sound medium, conditions, facilities, materials and trace recordings.*

Keywords*:Phonoscope,* auditory, dyslalia, stigmatism, rhotacism

Introduction

During the last years the importance of judicial phonoscopy in investigative and judicial practice has increased substantially. This is due to the fact that in many spheres of video and audio recorder used device.In this regard, phonogram records are increasingly featured in the criminal and civil cases as important sources of evidence.Especially often need phonoscopic examination arises in the process investigation of criminal cases, related to terrorism, extortion, corruption, threat to life and health of citizens (Belkin, 2001; Kaganov, 2005).

Subject phonoscopic examination constitute evidence, the circumstances of the case, established on the basis of special knowledge of experts in the field sounding speech, of the sound medium, conditions, facilities, materials and trace recordings.

Object of study is a system consisting of a source of information in the form of sound and material carrier information, on which recorded material.

Phonoscopic examination tasks are divided into diagnostic and identification.

To diagnostic tasks include: determination of recorded speech, reliability and sound recordings, primarily detection of mounting

investigated phonogram establish personality traits, tools and materials and sound recordings, etc.

To identification tasks include: identification means sound recordings, identification of sound sources, the identification of specific items available equipment used in the process of recording. The main task of identifying research phonograms of oral speech is personal identification.In this case, the examination shall decide is whether oral speech to speech compared phonorecords of the same person.

Personal identification by voice and of oral speech based on the following theoretical assumptions:

- Voice of the human should be individual. This is due to the specific shape and size of the oral and nasal cavity, throat and respiratory system.Therefore, the physical characteristics of sound - frequency, duration, intensity - each person strictly individual;

- Acoustic characteristics of the voice is relatively stable over time and remains the even when the individual morphological and pathological changes in the organs of speech;

- Human speech is characterized by features inherent only to him, and is determined by social and psychological factors. Formed in my youth (about 20 years) features of speech, intonation and general manner of speaking become habitual and do not change throughout life.

Methodology

The methodology of this research is phonoscopic auditory, linguistic and instrumental analysis of oral speech.During the auditory analysis for being compared speakers investigated and compared the properties of stable auditory his speech at the level talk spurt, installed in its manifestations in the speech signal anatomical and physiological features speaker speech production apparatus, individual features integrated articulation and speech skills, especially emotional and psychological state,psychological and socio-cultural characteristics of the speakers (Koval, 2000; Koval et al., 2011).

Auditory analysis is focused on the study talk spurt, which allows you to select those features, most of which belong to the so-called general identification features. These include the:

1) Features that characterize the overall aural impression:

- Auditory perception of voice (for example, loud / quiet, voiced / voiceless, soft / hard, nasally / not nasally, bright / dim and etc.);

- The general nature of timbre (forexample, male / female, weak / strong, velvet / metal, hoarse / ringing and etc.);

- General nature of diction.

2) Features characterizing the skills in the organization of the speech process: speech tempo, articulation, volume, melody.

3) Features that characterize the speaker individuality: speech breathing, emotional state, the presence of organic pathologies, style of pronunciation, accent, pause, speed of speech.

Results

The main direction of linguistic research is to establish the identity-speech differences being compared speakers based on their individual characteristics pronouncing speech units various level. We investigate the variability within the normal, as well as individual no normative features of speech production. Features of realization those or other linguistic elements and structures established expert auditory.

According linguistic affiliation sounding speech units are divided into several groups: phonetic, lexical and syntactic.

Analysis of phonetic features includes quality of articulation of vowels and consonants, and disturbances in the pronunciation of individual sounds (dyslalia, stigmatism, rhotacismetc).

Signs of lexical groups include richness vocabulary, correctness of word usage, availability of vocabulary limited sphere of use, availability conversational and colloquial of vocabulary, presence of negative functional vocabulary and dialects, professionalism and slang words.

Development of judicial phonoscopy made possible by the development of information technologies and the creation of tools of analysis of voice and speech, which application allows to objectify research and to achieve high reliability of their results (Koval et al., 2011).

During the instrumental analysis of speech signals is performed statistical study of melodic and spectral characteristics of speech. In basis of the statistical analysis of spectral formant for the segments of the speech signal at each phonogram tiny fragments stood out with a clearly recognizable formant structure of the spectrum. Next micro fragments for each type in the speech signal being compared phonogram is searched micro fragments with similar structure spectra. Integral average degree of proximity is mapped to each other for all micro fragments speech signal being compared phonograms was being compared measure of the closeness of speakers. If the measure proximity exceeds is not speakers found on database representative speech threshold, the speakers are considered from the point of view this method identical.

Complex linguistic and acoustic analysis of speech allows carry out identification of human even by phonogram of poor quality and short duration. Phonoscopic research is conducted using measuring and computing systems, including high-quality sound recording and reproducing apparatus connected to a computer, equipped with special input-output device acoustic

information and software package for processing speech signals and further investigations (Koval et al., 2011).

Except investigated phonograms, which are the main evidence in criminal and civil matters, for the comparative study presented samples of voice and speech of those persons in respect of which solves the problem criminological identification of the speaker.

Conclusion

The most important requirement to be met voice and speech samples is their comparability with the investigated object. Upon receipt of the samples requires mandatory technical comparability of the recording conditions: for example, if the phonogram investigated recorded via a telephone path or cellular connection, then the sample should be obtained in the same manner. If the original soundtrack recorded by the telephone channel, and it is necessary to create a comparative sample voices use the same telephone channel.However, unacceptable substitution of one channel by another phone, for example, the replacement of the city channel automatic telephone station channel internal automatic station, and vice versa.During recording should be possible to eliminate the background noise (the sound of music, speech of unauthorized persons, sound of the engine of a motor vehicle, etc.)(Krylov et al.,2001).

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THE POST- COLD WAR SCENARIO
AN ERA IN TRANSITION

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Abstract

The old framework in India's foreign policy held way and held good until suddenly the post- world II system collapsed. One superpower just disintegrated. Not only the cold war ended, it was also the end of the soviet union. The disappearance of the soviet union and the gulf war dramatically signified the collapse of the world order since world war II and heralded a new era characterized by a highly uncertain world order. The world faced a new situation and so did India. The country had to think afresh and a new. Many of the old premises had to be replaced with a new hypothesis. The economic struggle had become far more crucial than ever before, with palpable consequences for foreign policy. New directions are needed for India's foreign policy.

Keywords: Cold war- war between two ideology. Transition-crucial time

Introduction

No individual can live in isolation. Likewise no   state can live without friendly relations with other states. As Laski puts it " the state is only one among many states" .Relations between states arise because every state has its interests, needs and demands. When one state wants to achieve its goals and actions it has to depend upon others. The study of international relations is in transition. In rapidly changing world it encompasses relations among nations. The society and state are the outcome of evolution. This process of evolu   tion leads us the perfection from imperfection. At this stage peace and justice can be established in the society . through the establishment of a family of nations, war , violence and immorality can be curbed .war is not inevitable and can be eliminated by doing away with institutional arrangements and this notion is to be developed in the minds of the human being. Nehru frame work of foreign policy. The Nehru frame work of staying away from bloc politi*cs*, of non –alignment, of the quest for world peace, of the struggle against   colonialism and racialism ,of the maintenance of the autonomy of judgement, of independent development ,of

cooperation with all the big power but subject to the preservation of Indian's interests. The era had now passed in to history and change must relate to actual situation to the prospectus opining before the world, to geopolitical situation faced by the country , not just to distant rumblings in a far off region and to the deeper undercurrents of international politics of particular period. There would conceivably be attempts to impose a preconceived order on the countries in the south , a temptation to reorder the affairs of all regions and countries within those regions outside of Europe .There would be pressures for a single prescription for the diverse economic problem of diverse countries .There would an equally strong trend to make the economic clout of those who were fortunate to sub serve   political objectives that might be both dubious and hegemonic .In this situation one scenario might be continuing between the developed and the developing.

American strategy was particularly gearing itself towards meeting indeterminate and inchoate "threats" from the "third world". Many united states analysts would agree that unpredictability and instability are future threats and of course this unpredictability and instability   were chiefly the hallmark of the third world   . This unpredictability and instability was exacerbated by parts   "deepening crisis of governance"   in much of the developing world, including south America, west Asia south Asia and sub Saharan Africa. Many of them would be embroiled in domestic and regional crises with a spill over impact that could jeopardize American   interests. There were also the additional problems of drug trafficking and terrorism emanating from them and threatening the peace .With a long view, our century of transition is but a moment in a long process of human evaluation. We think of earlier great transitions Stone Age culture, early civilization and the modern Era-as fulcrums in time when the very basis of society was transformed to this august list of celebrated milestones along the path of human history, we many now add, in our judgment, a new one. The planetary transition has ushered in a new stage of social complexity, culture and novelty. For the first time, the dynamics of human development must be understood as a phenomenon occurring at the global scale. Where earlier transitions evolved slowly over many millenary   or centuries, this one occurred in a heartbeat of historic time. Where change ones radiated from local innovation, this was transformation of the global system. As whole, involving all the words peoples and, in the, the whole community of life on planet.

The immediate antecedent for the grate transition was the industrial revolution.   Centuries of institutional, cultural and technological change during modern Era preparedthe ground work then the industrial expansion lunched an exponential spiral of innovation, economic expansion and population growth, the big bank that propelled humanity to word its,

planetary phase as industrial society inexorably grew it observed traditional societies on its periphery into the market nexus and pushed against the boundaries of the planets of environmental society.

Market Euphoria, Interruption and revival

In the 1990's, an economic growth surge was fueled by the maintain of Information & communication technologies into the first flowering of a network economy. The global media were abuzz with a giddy enthusiasm that was difficult to escape. Business gurus, technological forecasters and cultural critics alike proliferated on the new era of "Friction less Capitalism", A surging bull-Market banished memories of the business cycle an endless stream of digital gadgetry renewed an orgy of consumption. A globalizing economy was constructing a planetary emporium, fringing western modernism & dollars to the underdeveloped. A richer world would apply the magic of the market to solving Global Environment.

Communication was democratized through printing, extending this typology to the planetary phase, emerging political, economic & communications features are, respectively, global governance, globalization of the world economy, the information revolution

Table- Characteristics of Historical Eras

	Stone age	Early Civilization	Modern Era	Planetary Phase
organization	Tribe/ Village	City state/ Kingdom	Nation State	Global Governance
Economy	Hunting & Gathering	Settled agriculture	Industrial system	Globalization
Communication	Language	Writing	Printing	Internet

On the above mentioned table the economy becomes more diversified hunting & gathering, settled agriculture industrial production & globalization communication technology becomes more powerful-Language, writing printing & the information & communication revolution of current phase societal complexity – the number of varieties needed to describe roles, relationship & connectedness- increases in the course of these transitions. Each phase absorbs and transforms its antecedents, adding social and technological complexity. In a heartbeat at geological time, the scale of organization moves from the tribe to the globe, the economy becomes increasingly differentiated and the technology of communication develops from the capacity for language to the Internet. Globalization in each at these and all of these, & cannot be reduced to any single phenomenon, it is a unitary phenomenon with an array of reinforcing economic, cultural, technological, social and environmental aspects. At the root of the diverse

discourse and debate on globalization, & transcending the differences between those who celebrate it and those who resist it, one theme is common, the hallmark of our time is that the increasing complexity and scale of the human project has reached a planetary scale. Planetary dynamics operating at global scale increasingly govern and transform the components of the earth system. Global climate change influences local hydrology, ecosystems and weather, globally connected information and communicating technology penetrate to the furthest outposts, changing values and cultures, while triggering traditionalist backlash. New global governance mechanism, such as the world trade organization and international tanks begin to supersede the stability at the global economy becomes subject to regional financial disruptions. Excluded, marginalized and inundated with images affluence, the global poor seek irrigation and better global bargain. A complex mix of despair and fundamentalist reaction feeds the globalization of terrorism. All of these are signs that we have entered a new planetary phase of civilization.

1. The global environment. The world becomes aware of climate change, the ozone hole and threats to biodiversity.
2. Technology. The personal computer appears at the beginning of the period and the internet at the end. A manifold communications and information revolution is launched and biotechnology is commercialized for global markets
3. Geo-politics. The VSSR collapses, the cold was ends and a major barrier to a hegemonic world capitalist system is removed. New concerns appear on environmental security, rogue states and global crime and terrorism
4. Economic integration. All markets commodity, finance, labor and consumer are increasingly globalized.
5. Institutions. New global actors, such as the W.T.O, Transnational corporation, and an international connected civil society and global terrorists, the dialectical negation of planetary modernism become prominent

Suggestions
1. A great transition would see the emergence of a nested governance structure from the local to the global that balances the need to sustain global social and environmental values with the desire for diversity in cultures and strategies.
2. Comprehensive initiatives will be required to overcome market barriers, create enabling institutional frame works and integrate the developing world into the global economic system.
3. Developing region economics grow more rapidly than the average.

4. Requirements for energy & water increase substantially
5. Forests are lost to the expansion of agriculture and human settlement assets and other land-use charges

Conclusion

Young people have always been the first to take to new ways and to dream new dreams. And so it was with communications technology and the exploration of possibilities for new global culture. The main manifestation in the first blush of market euphoria was, of course, the promotion of a consumerist youth culture. But other consequences of the digital information revolution were equally important. The pedagogic impacts of accelerated learning and information access had a great democratizing effect that empowered younger generations and all aspects of the society.

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POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION IN AFRICA: A CRITICAL REFLECTION ON THE IDEA OF AN AFRICAN UNIVERSITY IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract

Politics of knowledge production is an attempt to explain the centrality of knowledge in sustainability of human society through time. The article examines how knowledge was produced from the pre colonial, colonial and post colonial Africa and its implications in development. The role of university as the centre piece of knowledge production is interrogated to the extent to which the institution may engineer innovative ideas to catalyse development. The role of politics is also crucial because knowledge production and dissemination operates within specific political trajectories that may constrain or promote it. It is the thesis of the article that Africa's stunted development agenda is largely due to the trajectories of knowledge production and politics associated with it.

Introduction

The terms knowledge and education are used synonymously in this paper because of their correlation. Hence education is a process of gaining knowledge for useful application whereas knowledge is facts acquired from good education. The article examines the politics of knowledge production in the three phases. Phase one is about the pre colonial Africa and how knowledge was produced and used to sustain humanity. Phase two is about the colonial era and processes of knowledge production to suit imperial motivations. Phase three interrogates the model of an African university, knowledge production and its implications on development. Lastly is the conclusion and recommendation.

Pre colonial Era

Education in Africa before colonialism was meant to preserve the heritage of the community and adapt members to the physical environment and to perpetuate community institutions, laws, language and values inherited from the past.

In societies where Islam had taken root before colonization, Koranic schools were established as well as known established universities such as Fez, Sankore, Timbuktu, Al Ahzar whose focus was Afrikology. The great mosque at Quyrawn (836 BC) in Tunisia, Sultan Hassan Mosque and Madrasha and Al hakim Mosque at Cairo in Egypt in the reign of Sultan Saladin from 1172 to 1182 AD ,Sankore Mosque at Timbuktu in ancient Mali in the 14th century, the great Mosque of Jenne in Sudan in the middle ages served as institutions of higher learning.

2.1 Afrikology and the idea of sustainability

Education was the center piece of sustainable society in pre colonial Africa. Knowledge production in Africa was communal, transferable from generation to generation and was focused on societal needs.

2.2Technology and industrial knowledge

From Nok in Nigeria, Meroe the so called the Birmingham of Africa, Egypt, inter-lacustrine kingdoms to the ancient kingdoms of Ghana technological and industrial based knowledge was the center piece of a sustainable development. Technology and industrial knowledge was constantly modified and adapted to societal needs (Mokhtar: 1990).

2.3 Science of food production

The transformation from food and hunting economies to food producing economies was based on human ingenuity and the adaptative capacities to meet societal food demands to sustain human generations. Ancient Egyptian history provides examples of such a brilliant transformation of jungle swamps of the Nile delta into a brilliant food production economy courtesy of technological and industrial knowledge (Ogutu and Kinyanjui: 1997).

Africa also boasted of pharmacology to manage both human and animal disease; a critical factor in the sustainable development. Political Knowledge was also passed from generation to generation not only for posterity but to ensure continuity and sustainability of society.

It is noted from these examples that knowledge production revolutionalised food production and established complex political institutions courtesy of indigenous education systems. Education in these societies was about adaptation, self reliance and sustainability of generational societies.

2.4 Centers of knowledge production

There were notable centers such as the University at Sankore or the University of Timbuktu in Timbuktu in Mali   which was an icon of Afrikology and a great intellectual nucleus .The University had four degree levels. The primary degree level at Quran schools introduced students to the holy Quran, Arabic language and basics in science. The secondary degree or general studies level students were introduced to grammar, commentaries of the Quran, the *hadiths*, prophetic narrations jurisprudence, mathematics, physics, chemistry, history, trade, Islamic business code and ethics.

The superior degree consisted of highly specialized learning where students were guided by professors and it took about ten years. It was equivalent to a doctoral degree. The University also hosted the Circle of Knowledge which was specialized club of scholars and professors. Students who impressed their teachers were admitted to circle of knowledge and became tenured professors. State leaders such as Mansa Musa of Mali, Asaki Muhammad 1 of Songhay, Shayk Amadu of Fulani caliphate of Massina, and Amirs of Sudan often sent questions on major issues to Circle of Knowledge for guidance demonstrating centrality of university education in the sustainability of society. The Circle of Knowledge provided a ruling that was often respected and binding on the issue at hand.

Scholars of Sankore included Ahmad Babu as-Sudane (1564-1627) the final chancellor of Sankore University before the Moroccan invasion in 1593. He wrote more than 60 books in law, medicine, philosophy, astronomy, Mathematics. Others included Muhammed Bagayogo as-sudane al-Wangari al Timbuktu. He was conferred with honorary doctorate degree from Al –Azhar University in Cairo, Madibo Mohammed al Kaburi, Abu al-Abbas Ahmad Buryu Ibn Utman, Abu Abdallah, Mohammed Ibn Al Mukhtar An- Nawahi and Ahmed Baba.

These repositories of Afrikology were to be destroyed in the era of colonialism that introduced an education system that was dialectical to African traditions, economic orientation and governance.

The Colonial State and Education Policy: A Synopsis

Colonialism and colonial education Africa were relational. The complex relationship between colonialism and education is best understood by unraveling who and what dictated the kind of education offered and to whom. Since the colonial state was the agent of imperializing powers it is important in a nutshell to understand its nature and dynamics

3.1 Nature of Colonial State

The colonial state since inception was pacifist, extractivist, predatorial and assimilationist and isolationist. Its structure was pyramidal in which the administrative hierarchy was first informed by notions of superiority of the white race. A practice based on their political philosophy

and the then prevailing social themes in Europe among them social Darwinism, idea of progress and renaissance that became the guiding principles of the colonial administration. These was to be reflected in colonial administrative hierarchy where Europeans occupied top position and Africans the bottom positions

Where colonial administration was assimilationist it was interpreted as an experiment on territorial, political and cultural integration particularly in French colonies.   Where the colonial state was isolationist such as the policy of association; it was based on the preservation of customs, manners and religion of the colonized and partly informed by the belief that Africans were inferior to the Europeans and would not acquire the same status as the Europeans. The colonial state went head to implement policies that were relevant to their countries.

The extractive nature of the colonial state was to meet the economic need s of the home country. The colonial economy happened to be extractive, destroyed indigenous modes of production, implanted capitalist structures and characteristics of commodity production, migrant labour and dependency

Colonial education was to fit within these motivations of the colonial state. Firstly colonial education was not determined by Africans. The colonial state and colonial agents and not African determined the kind of education to offer.

3.2 Colonial Education as Ideological Pacifier

Colonial education was an ideological pacifier. Ideological pacification was insidious and humiliating idea that was decisively implanted in African psyches and accepted by African as their destiny that they (Africans and their educational values) were inferior. Colonial education was used to modify the beliefs, thoughts, behaviour and mental thinking of African that they are inferior to the white race. This notion was capture by James MacQueena, British geographer: *If we really wish to do to Africa, we must teach her savage sons that white men are their superior* (Falola 2007). Olive Whitehead in a critical examination of the British imperial educational policy points out that indigenous people were brainwashed to discard their own cultures and embrace western cultures which were supposedly superior (Whitehead 2005). Similarly Frantz Fanon in relation to colonial education asserted that the colonizer did not stop his work of breaking in the colonized until the latter admitted loudly and clearly the supremacy of white values (Seraqueberhan: 2010).

In the words of W.E.B. Du Bois education became an agent of changing one's consciousness … *this sense of always looking at one self through the eyes of ot*hers… Equally on education Carter Woodson spoke

about "mis- ecucation" of the negro and in this context mis-education of an African during colonialism:

> *…the negro's mind has been brought under the control of his oppressor. The problem of holding the negro down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking, you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact if there no back door he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary* (Falola 2007).

Ngugu Wa Thiongo in his book *Decolonizing the Mind* is critical of colonial education as ideological pacifier:

> *The process annihilates people's belief in their names, in their language in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves* (Thiongo: 1981).

3.3 Colonial education as dialectical to indigenous knowledge system and culture

In the words of Frantz Fanon, colonial education apart from emptying the natives' brain of all forms and content it turned into the past of the oppressed people and distorted, disfigured and destroyed it(Fanon 1991). Colonial education became an instrument of destroying indigenous cultures, values, education system and replaced with ambivalent versions (Kahinde: 2006.) It produced instead a class of people in the words of Antonett (1926) '*parasites of the working community* 'and Aime Ceassaire (2000) subordinate functionaries, brainless elites and degraded masses

3.4 Colonialism and skills development

Colonial education became a tool for the realization of the social and economic development and social transformation desired by Europeans. The missionaries desired catechists messengers and other handlers, merchants required personnel to handle their business transactions; colonial settler required skilled native labour. Colonial education was tailored to provide required skills to service the needs of the Whiteman in Africa (Urch 1971:249-264; Omolewa: 2006:267-287). Taking Kenya as an example the influx of white settlers in the early 1920 and 1930s and with increased land

alienation there was an increase demand of African labour but their inadequacy in certain skills necessitated training.

The above analysis clearly demonstrates that colonial education had specific mission in Africa:

i)   To service the European political and social and economic motivation.

ii)   Colonial education was far removed the meeting the needs of the African population nor was it geared towards filling the African skill gap in order to meet the social, political and economic demands or make Africans self reliant. Consequently colonial education was not built on African social values and economic needs simply because the colonizer perceived that the black races of Africa had not attained a complete and coherent civilization of their own nor did they possess necessary foundations on which to build up a real system of education (Charton: 1930).

iii)   Colonial education had a different socialization that was in conflict with African traditions and authority structures. For example colonial education was not built on African culture such as language. Indeed Africans were even forbidden to speak their language and adopt to foreign language such as French and English (McGarvey 1977).

iv)   Colonial education alienated, de-culturalised and brought those educated African into direct conflict with their traditions and values.

Colonial University Education in Africa
      4.1The Idea of Colonial University in Africa

Colonial education in Africa dates back to the 3rd century BC when Alexandria was founded as Greek colony and the University of Alexandria was founded in the same century in Egypt. Alexandria developed from Rhakotis an ancient Egyptian town was home to library and many scholars from 295 BC. Alexandria apart from being centre of Hellenic culture it was home to Jewish community and local Egyptians. In 1827 Fourah College in Sierra Leone and Potchefstroom University for Christian higher education in South Africa was founded by Church Missionary Society. Fourah College was affiliated to Durham University in 1876. In Frenco phone Africa it dates to 1896 when france established a medical training institute in Tanarive in Madagsacar,William Ponty training school in Goree in Senegal in1903 and in 1918 a medical training institute in Dakar. Colonial higher education begun to take shape leading to the establishment of universities that were affiliated to major universities in the mother countries.

Colonial university education had a different motivation as reflected in the following discussed points.

4.2 Failure to locate University Education on African Needs

In 1936, the Secretary of State for colonies appointed a commission under Earl De La Warr on the development of higher education in East Africa. Its findings became the basis of British policy on university education in tropical Africa. The report noted that basing University education in Africa on African needs would in effect be limited. From the onset it is clear that idea of colonial university in Africa was not based on indigenous knowledge or its aim to serve the needs of the African populace.

4.3.Failure to Indigenize the Curriculum

The report also noted that European education was perfect. Though the report saw an anti- thesis between the needs of African society and European education that was to be imposed from outside. It concluded that universal higher education could simply not be based on the cultural peculiarities of emerging African societies. The report further noted that there was a risk of indigenizing African universities in terms of curriculum by loosing acceptance by the international fraternity of universities

4.5 Structural Dependence

Institutions of learning in Anglophone, Lusophone and Francophone Africa were structurally linked to the imperial colonies. Indicating lack of autonomy. The imperial colonies recommended the setting of university education in line with structures established at home. For example the 1936 De La Warr report and the Asquith commission on higher education in the British colonies of 1943 recommended the setting up of university colleges in association with University of in the United Kingdom such as the University of London. .

In West Africa Walter Elliot Commission that was set up, recommended the setting up of two regional universities in the Gold Coast (Ghana) and Ibadan (Nigeria) in 1948 for the whole of British West Africa. In East Africa Makerere University college was established. In Anglo – Egyptian-Sudan, Gordon University College was established. The Universities colleges that were set were subjected to following conditions indicating lack of autonomy for the local institutions. These conditions were replicated in other European colonies.

There were also political and economic reasons to the set s. The colonial authorities wanted to insulate Africans from dangerous political ideas modeled along the American black liberation theology. In America black iconic figures like Booker T. Washington had found colleges for black Americans which were also attracting African students hence exposing them to revolutionary ideas. This realization prompted the colonial authorities to

establish university colleges under strict supervision in order to insulate students from dangerous political ideas (South Hall, 1974; Mills: 2006)

When it was absolutely necessary for students to go abroad as in the case of British colonies there were several British universities that absorbed colonial students at Bristol, Liverpool, Belfast, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Nottingham, Southampton, Exeter, and Wales. This universities trained African graduates for public service whose design was colonial in structure and operation.

University education served a specific training to fill certain skill gap in the service of imperial economy

4.6 External Curriculum, examination regulations and awarding of degrees

The Universities in tropical Africa were subjected to external curriculum. They were to teach for instance the University of London degree programmes. The Setting and marking of examination was regulated by the University of London. Degrees given were those of University of London. All these were aspects of imperializing university education in Africa. In Belgian colonies of Rwanda and Burundi University education followed the Belgian model. In French colonies such as the democratic republic of Congo the University of Luvanium (1954), University of Lubumbashi (1956) were certified copies of major universities in France. In all Franco- phone Africa all colonial diplomas and certificates were until 1968 issued French Ministry of National Education (Evans 1970). In Lusophone Africa university curriculum, examination regulation and awarding degree was issues by the Portuguese ministry of education (Cross 2003)

4.7 Funding and Facilities

The satellite campuses were dependent on British government for funds and other university facilities.   This was similar in French colonies where funding and management was done by France.

4.8 External Oversight

In the British colonies the university colleges were not independent for they were regulated by two important institutions in Great Britain namely the inter University Council for guidance, policy, academic appointments and University of London for approval and control of details of degree regulations. In Franco phone the French Ministry of National Education was the oversight body that regulated the activities of the universities in her colonies. The Universities in French colonies such as the University of Dakar were linked to University of Paris and Bordeaux. When the University of Dakar was established in 1951 a decree was issues from the French ministry of National Education naming it as the eighteen the university in French higher education system (Lulat, 2003:21). In Lusophone Africa   with reference to the University of Lourenco Marques (University of Eduardo

Mondlane) established in 1962 in Mozambique and the Universty of Luanda in Angola (1968) were governed the state under the ministry of education. (Cross2003)

4.9 Colonial University Education as Cultural Imperialism and Assimilation

The practice was not different in French colonies in Africa. The French system of education and in particular university education was informed by the policy of assimilation whose underwritten motivation was to expand the French culture abroad. The French policy on university education and in general colonial education was hampered by inadequate funding, pedagogical limitations, language and cultural barriers and its elitist orientation. The French government also relied on the outreach efforts of Catholic and Protestant missionaries in the provision of education. However, it was always a very slender system and slow in growth. There was no mass educational growth.

Among the earliest institution of higher learning include the Cheikh Anta Diop University that grew out of several French institutions set up by the colonial administration. In 1918, the French created an African medical school   to serve white population. In 1936, the institute for the study of African culture was opened in Dakar. In the 1950s the, the French administration expanded institution and, added science faculties. In 1957, a new campus was constructed and, attached to the University of Paris and University of Bordeaux. This became the University of Dakar and in 1987 renamed Cheikh Anta Diop University.

4.10 Pauperized University Education

Côte d'Ivoire had a more pauperized education system with the first secondary school opened in 1928. There were more serious pedagogical and socio-cultural dilemma inhibiting the growth of primary and secondary school system and even university education. More crucial French administration perceived higher education, as a potential long-term threat. Colonial officials were worried that further education might nurture a climate of resistance against the established colonial order. Because of such misgivings, higher education was never developed to its full potential until after independence (Burns 1965; Watson and Furley, 1978). This was a similar practice in Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola where university was limited to the children of Portuguese colonists and African comprador class such as son of chiefs (Cross, 2003).

4.12 Training Needs

The idea of colonial university paid more attention to needs of the colonial empire than to the needs of local people. University education was designed to train men for the bureaucracy and in the service of the colonial empire. For example Felix Eboue after receiving French education training

was appointed governor of Chad in 1938 and from 1941 to1944 served as the governor of French Equatorial Africa, a federation encompassing all of the French territories in Central Africa, including Chad, Gabon, Republic of the Congo, and the Central African Republic[1]

4.13 De-culturalisation of Africans

The formulation of education in the colonial period contrasted sharply with the cultural background of African societies pointing out that African universities that emerged in the colonial period did not assume an African identity nor did they embrace Africanist approach. Colonial higher education was completely de-culturalised and deliberately failed to integrate multi cultural traditions of African societies. It relegated the traditional African education system to the margins and more so undermined African value system .Consequently it produced graduates who were unable to fit into their cultural backgrounds. This is clearly illustrated by Ali Mazrui:

> *Western education in Africa conditions was a process of psychological de-culturalisation. The educated African became... a misfit in his own village... when he graduated... His parents did not expect him to continue living with them tending cattle or cultivating the land* (Mazrui,1978:16).

4.14 Elitist

It created social classes that did not exist before the advent of colonialism. It was elitist and minimal in nature because its beneficiaries were small. For instance the French education system focused on the on a minority of the most talented and tried to develop their capabilities to a very high level They were separated at an early age from the majority (streaming); because education of the majority did not have as high a priority. In the C'ote d'Ivoire, only the sons of local tribal chiefs were selected for secondary education and later sent to France on scholarships for postgraduate training.

The education of personalities like Houphouet-Boigny who became Côte d'Ivoire's first president in 1960 is an illustration of the fact that colonial education was elitist .The son of Baoulé tribal chief, was educated in private elementary schools and then sent to Dakar, in French Senegal, to attend the prestigious medical schools. After graduation in 1925, Houphouet-Boigny returned to Côte d'Ivoire, where he practiced medicine. He later became mayor of Abidjan, was elected a congressman to the French National Assembly, and was ultimately appointed to a cabinet minister post in Paris.

4.15 It was Eurocentric

Colonial education was European biased. This was reflected in the medium of instruction and in the curriculum. Teaching was conducted in the language of the colonized. The French for instance always insisted on French as the language of instruction. The education system followed the French pattern, with oral and/or written final exams administered at the end of the year. All courses at the university were taught in French andonly those who had acquired a high level of proficiency in French could acquire education. The curriculum was almost exactly the same as in France. The textbooks were the same and this is illustrated in history textbooks among them "Our ancestors the Gauls'' This ironic statement opened up history textbooks in France and in its colonies.

University Education in Post Colonial Era
5.1 Afrocentricty or Afrcanisation of University Education?
Independence of African countries was modeled along the nationalist ideology and the spirit of Afrocentricism against the backdrop of Eurocentric colonial mentality. These two contending ideologies caught up with university education in the early years of independence. This was to be seen in the expansion of university education and Africanisation of faculty. As there was speedy process to this; two areas that lagged behind was the Africanisation of the curriculum and funding of the institutions. Though there was a move away from curricula originating in the colonial period by incorporating indigenous knowledge there still is large retention of curriculum content and theory associated with colonial period. The emerging universities were caught in the web of Africanisation and yet offering educational courses that drew heavily from European models. Even so the language of instruction ironically was the language of the "oppressor'. The idea of creating an African university from the onset was caught up in these contradictions.

In the first decades of independence there was demand to open the education system to wide majority of African populace. This led to quantitative transformation of university education due to pressure from African political elites to open up university education to the African population to train Africans and replace Europeans in the civil service. The populist stance that was strongly espoused by the political bourgeois did not change the high cost model of higher education of the colonial yesteryears.
5.2 Bridging the man power Gap.
The UNESCO conference held at Tananarive in 1962 and the Ashby commission on post secondary education became major land marks in the history of university education in Africa. The UESCO underscored the economic role of the university in nation building through the supply of high and middle level specialized manpower. Further to this, the Ashby report

emphasized that post secondary education was a national investment and attempted to establish the link between higher education and national development by recommending the expansion of higher education for man power training in order to meet the need of the emerging nations in Africa. From the onset university education was perceived by the political elites and those in government as a functional service through the provision of highly skilled manpower for national development. Governments begun to put funding and training emphasis in those fields such science and technological in order to bridge the gap between knowledge and industry. But the quantitative transformation did not in any way bring about intellectual renaissance.

5.3 *Global Policy Environment and its Impact on University Education in Africa*

Major international institutions such as the World Bank shape the policies of university in Africa also made several recommendations that affected university education in Africa. The policies apart from their economic value were political. The 1988 World Bank report; *Educational Policies for Sub Saharan Africa: Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* criticized the role of higher education in Africa in national development . The Policy paper indicated that higher education is a poor investment. The policy paper further indicated that the social rates of return from investment were higher for basic education than for higher education. African governments were impressed upon to give more emphasis on basic education if they were to get assistance from the lending institutions. The immediate effect of this policy was the withdraw of bilateral support and   funds from higher education by lending institutions and other donors. Individual African countries also withdrew from supporting their own institutions (Teferra, 2005).

The stringent policies laid by Multi-lateral bodies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had serious implications on education in Africa, The introduction of fees, student loans and withdraw of student personal allowances led to strikes, riots and campus closures in Kenya, Zambia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Senegal.

Financially strapped governments also begun to shift the cost of higher education to students and guardians. This is because governments in Africa perceived higher education as more of a private good than a public one. Private institutions begun to emerge in Kenya, Uganda and Zimbabwe (Stone and Teferra, 2004). The net effect of this was the deterioration of higher education prompting the world Bank to issues a series of policy papers; *Higher Education: the Lessons of Experience* (World Bank 1994); *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (World Bank and UNESCO 2000); *Constructing Knowledge Societies* (World

BanK:2002). The policy documents identified major areas of reform in higher education in Africa;

i)   Promotion of private institutions in higher education

ii)   Modification of funding policies

iii)   Redefinition of role of government in higher education

iv)   Promotion of quality and equity

v)   Role of university in sustainable human development in knowledge and information society

Consequently the Association of African Universities and African government begun to implement policies under the guidance of the World Bank. Whether the policies produced positive results or not is another matter .What is of concern is the manner in which the *yoyo* type of World Bank policies impact on Knowledge production and manpower trainings to fit into the various sectors of the economy.

5.4 Research, Publication and University Ranking

Research is the powerhouse of knowledge production and publication is the process by which knowledge s organized and disseminated. Countries in the North invest billions of dollars in knowledge production. In 2006 and 2007 USA companies invested 212 billion dollars and 219 billion dollars in research (Naik, 2007). India spent 24 billion dollars in research n 2004;China 94 billion dollars' in research Sub Saharan Africa contributed only 1 percent of global knowledge in 1991 and 3 per cent in 1997(Gilliard 1991; Gilliard ,Hassan and Waas 2005)

Africa remain at the bottom of knowledge production ladder because African scientists depend on funding from the north ,pursue methodologies and academic values   governed by international regimes. Though the procedures followed in the course of undertaking research, peer review process to authenticate and legitimize research, styles and formats employed are universal; they are perpetuated by forces that are located in the North and tend of serve a different developmental agenda

These instruments that are used to establish institutional hierarchy, status and prestige and quality are crafted in the north. This does not imply they are not important litmus test at international level. The top quality institutions are based in the North while African are at bottom

No African University is the list of 100 Global University in the world. According to THES_QS (2007,2008) no African university appeared in in the top 200 except the university of Cape town which was in the 200th place. The THES-Qs 2010 rankings there is no afrcan universt in the top 300. . Accordng to Webomtrics 2007 ranking of top 100 African Universties the top eight are in South Africa. The science citation Index and social sciences citation index are index used to measure research productivity and impact at global scale.

The Webmetrics 2012 University Ranking is a ranking system ba[se]d on university web presence or volume of web contents such as schol[arly] articles. The distribution of the Universities by region (January 2012) i[s as] follows:

Region	Top 100	TOP200	TOP 500	TOP1000
North America	79	99	178	398
Europe	16	66	212	415
Asia	3	20	66	104
Latin America	2	9	19	39
Oceania	1	6	20	35
Arab World	0	0	2	5
Africa	0	0	3	5

5.5 Bran Drain and implication on sustainable development

The motivation among African scholars to migrate to the north and to some of the well do countries in south range from economic, political cultural and personal reasons..The massive outflow of talent undermines the productive sectors such as health, engineering, manufacturing and education including universities..   Though the international knowledge market is liberalized it is designed in such away as to disadvantage Africa. Africa is losing expertise more that it can produce it. The most affected countries include Zambia, Ethiopia with more than its 80 per cent of medical doctors working abroad; .Nigeria Ghana and Zimbabwe. (Weutzman, 2007) It is estimated that Africa looses over $ US 13 billion in brain drain annually while the North contribute only a third of this figure in talent development This is extractive imperialism.

5.6 Language of instruction

The language of instruction n African universities still remain to be Afrikaan, Arabic, English, French Italian, Portuguese and Spanish (Teferra,2003) African languages such as Zulu and Kiswahili despite their recognition by the African Union have limited usage at university level. This is one powerful legacies of colonialism.

Was the African University a developmental University?

It would appear that what was conceived of an African university by national governments and donors was the idea of a developmental university. The   World Bank emphasized on the increasing role of university in economic development by recommending greater differentiation of institutions, development of private universities, diversification of sources of funding for public universities and giving priority to quality and equity..

The words of Julius Nyerere captures conception of developmental university

> *The university must put the emphasis of its work…to the nation in which it exists.. we in poor societies can only justify expenditure on a University of any type if it promotes real development of our people (*Nyerere, 1966:*)*

The words of Nyerere echoed the expectations of many African political elites who expected African universities to take a developmental approach and tackle issues of poverty that bedeviled the emerging African nations. The service function of the university was also emphasized by international donor like USAID by offering grants to university for projects related to development.

 The conception had a more retrogressive effect on the university as a agent of development. Universities in Africa were webbed up in the rigidity of bureaucratic control and neo- colonialism. Funding by national governments created close ties between government and national universities. This curtailed academic freedom, and promoted high handedness in university operations. Most governments in Africa used funding and budget cuts as tool to punish universities, the faculty and student radicalism critical of autocratic regimes.   Many universities such as the University of Zambia, Ghana (Lagon), Makerere suffered major budget cuts because of deteriorating economies and of hostile relationships with their national governments. The web of neo colonialism did not either spare the universities in Africa.. This is clearly illustrated in the case of C'ote d'Ivoire;

> *…When Houphouet-Boigny became Côte d'Ivoire's first president in 1960, he favored the elaboration of an educational system that would both democratize and retain most of the elitist characteristics of his own schooling. He chose not to follow the path of radical Africanization favored by Guinea and Ghana, and against the criticism of neighboring African nations decided instead to continue a close alliance with France …politically, economically, and educationally* (Côte d'Ivoire - Educational System—overview - French, Secondary, School, Boigny, African, and Houphouethttp://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/308/C-te-d-Ivoire- site visited   on 21/7/2011 ;11:41 AM).

African university and the social climate

University education in Africa developed completely divorced from its social cultural milieu. It is important to note that Africa's nation states were a creation of colonial hegemony that coerced tribal grouping into one or several administrative units and later imposed an education system from a different social setting. The social determinism refers to how social structures and social pressure shape and determine the outcome of education system. In traditional societies social values, pattern and structures shaped the pattern of education system. Independent African countries inherited an education system that that was shaped by a different social cultural milieu. The process of decolonizing education system has been slow. Many times universities in Africa are indifferent to the social climate in which they operate in because they are alien to it. University education fail to integrate the multi cultural traditions of the society in which they operate largely because many of them had their roots in the colonial order. They simply manifest lack of a social responsibility to society. Consequently they are unable to mediate *between* cultural diversity and nation building, ethnic contours and political disjuncture.

African University in a globalised Environment

The era of globalization is characterized by erosion of state autonomy and the rise of powerful non state actors. The net effect of this is the growth of academic capitalism and commodification of knowledge. Academic capitalism which has led to commodification of knowledge is perceived to be forged alliance between the forces of neo colonialism, capitalism and multinational corporations emphasizing on a profit model in higher education before the needs of society. Academic capitalism is critically changing the face of African universities. African universities are adopting corporate profit driven model and abandoning the social needs of their societies. There is also a systematic attempt to annihilate indigenous knowledge that is relevant to social and economic realities of African societies. Academic capitalism is also supportive of increased funding into science and technology courses but this also detrimental to continent because scientific and technological development must be mediated by human values; a critical component of humanities and social sciences disciplines. The burgeoning of E-learning in Africa is also open to criticism as many students and universities do have access to right equipments and infrastructure. More E learning is devoid of African voices and context. Various countries in Africa have witnessed a resurgence of entrepreneurial skills to provide higher education to meet the industrial and service economy. This has seen the growth of higher education in those sectors that closely aligned to the market economy. There is also decline of educational

sectors or fields that are perceived as non market driven. Government policy and donor community seem to be supportive of this trend. There is dilemma whether higher education is meeting needs of society or it simply transforming social need into profitable ventures for the kleptocracy. More so the high rate of unemployable graduates flags out cardinal questions as to whether education and industry merge.

Challenges

Three major challenges that face university education in Africa is the phenomenal student growth against limited facilities, financing of higher education and quality. It would appear that the Idea of an African university is unable to navigate through these issues in the provision of university education. There is also the challenge of mediating between development and national building; between social need and profit; between market driven courses and provision of knowledge for posterity.

Conclusion

The idea of an African university should be multi faceted. It should be revolutionary and reclaim the dignity of the Africa by focusing on Afrikology and propagate its universality.

The university should be at the forefront of laying the structures of nationhood and nation building. One of the major challenges in Africa is the failure to bridge the contours of ethnicity, divisive politics and social classes. University education should invest in multi cultural studies to create awareness and enable society to appreciate the multi ethnic nature of our societies

It is equally important for an African university to be developmental by forging strong links with industry so that knowledge is not dysfunctional but have an immediate value or utility to industry.

In the era of globalization the idea of an African University should navigate Africa out of the dangers associated with the movement including cultural, economic and scientific imperialism.

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LABOUR /GOVERNMENT RELATIONS IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF REGULATION (1999 – 2012)

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Abstract

The study was conducted primarily to investigate labour/government relations in Nigeria: A Study of Regulation, 1999 – 2012. The study is guided by four research questions. The population of the study comprises of all the 500 workers and government officials in the selected areas of study. Frequency count, percentage and statistical mean were used to analyze the results. The finding of the study reveals that, the respondents accepted all the impact of trade unionism and collective bargaining on Nigeria development. That is, Trade union and collective bargaining contributed to, Economic development in Nigeria, Provision of infrastructural development such as water, electricity, road and schools facilities, Provide the knowledge of laws that regulate labour activities in Nigeria, Improve Capacity building of workers, education, finance and independent, Guarantee workers salary, Protection of workers right and personnel interest, Boost worker physical integrity and moral dignity of the individual and Prevent workers being threaten or dismissed without reasons; the finding also reveals that the respondents, responded positively to the perceived causes of strike actions in Nigeria**;** that is, Poor infrastructural Development, High rate of corruption, Failure to implement collective agreement such as harmonized salary structure, Military intervene into democracy, Refusal to ascend to union, Poor or Delay in salary and wages of worker, Dissolution of trade union to segment to reduce their power, Retrenchment and unemployment problems and Strike may call back without consulting member. Similarly, the finding also reveals that the respondents accepted, all the items on reasons why successive and present governments subvert labour movement activities in Nigeria; that is, Military government demoralize union right, Problems of internal democracy is a threat to trade unionism, Both military and political leaders bane or arrest and even imprisons labour leaders, Regularism of trade union act pose a problems and Fear and apathy created in worker through

unending rationalization retrieval of workers wages salary cuts. Finally, the finding reveals that the respondents, responded positively to the measures/strategies to regulate labour movement; that is, Nigerian workers must fight and dement the right at all times, Government should provide basic amenities such as water, electricity, improve agriculture and basic education to Nigerian, Improve salary structure and wages, Government in all level must fight corrupt leaders, Immunity clause should be removed in the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria to tried corrupt leaders, Government should protect the right of workers, Prompts payment of salary and arrears to person and retired workers, There should be rule of law and due processes, Provision of employment opportunities and Employers should not victimize workers.

Introduction

The year 1999 was widely acclaimed as a year of economic recovery, social justice, freedom, and restoration of national pride in Nigeria, as the country moved towards democratization after about two decades of continuous military rule that left the nation a pariah state (Akinwale, 2011). During 1999, a fundamental change in the system of governance was completed, after several failed attempts. However, despite the high hopes and expectation generated by democratic governance elsewhere, the dividend in Nigeria, eleven years on, has been rather slow and negligible on the fortunes of the labour movement.

There has been decline globally, in the fortunes of organized labour over the past two decades (Shalmanti, 2002). This global decline has been attributed to several factors. UNDP (2000) report showed that structural change, especially the move away from blue-collar jobs is a fundamental factor including membership decline. Low rates recognition and resistance to unions in new establishments are also contributory factors (UNDP 2000). In most developed countries the percentage of workers represented by trade unions fell precipitously (Lawal, 1996). Williams (2009) posit that, in the United States, unions witnessed a decrease from 22 percent to 16 between 1980 and 1990. Conversely, a similar proportion of decline was noted in the United Kingdom and other advanced countries within the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as cited in Williams (2009).

In developing economies, except in South Africa, where Williams (2009) noted that involvement of labour movement in the struggle against apartheid government has aided its new organizing strategy, most other

countries have been through a period of decline, Shalmanti (2002) concludes that though there were variations in union density, most of the countries examined experience decline. In Nigeria however, the level of membership remained relatively stable during the 1980s and 1990s despite the fact that the country was under a dictatorship (Wordofa, 2008). Many other causes of decline, including the closure of textile industries, rendered one of the strongholds of unions helpless. The then introduction of Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) policies, which led to mass retrenchment in the public sector, may have had some negative impact on the membership in Nigeria against the authoritarian regime of military administrators (Wordofa, 2008).

One major area of interest in labour is the effectiveness of these organizations to remain financially stable and the ability to work within established political, economic and social systems despite the supportive or disruptive features of the social environment such as mass media, legislation and the ability of labour leaders to satisfy member's goal and interest. This has been a major driving force that has enabled organized labour to succeed in its efforts to assist members. One way organized labour has done this, is to contribute in whatever way they can to national development.

Examining the main goal of establishing trade unions, one can deduced that the interest of members comes first, according to Sydney and Beatrice Webb as in UNDP (2000) that stressed that the main goal of establishing trade unions is that workers initially joins unions to pursue immediate economic goals, but eventually pursue political, economic and social reforms such as the nationalization of industries and the protection given to infant industries.

Despite the efforts in contributing to national development, the political class has continued to accused organized labour of interfering in political process. Take lacunae caused as a result of the absence of the late President of Nigeria Late Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar'adua for about six months from late October 2009 to March 2010. The Vice President, Dr. Goodluck Jonathan was not able to Act in the capacity of The President, because there were no provisions in the constitution enabling him to do so. Therefore, organized labour had to insist that Jonathan must be handed over power and mantle of leadership. Organized labours in Nigeria have always raised to the occasion when the need arises, especially in issues they term matters of national interest. Inspite the attacks by the political class, organized labour has in one way or the other contributed to the social well-being of Nigeria, this can be deduced from the way it always insist things are done properly.

Organized labour had always lend its voice to issues of national interest, for instance, the debate for or against the International Monetary Fund loans of 1986 proposed by the Military Administration of General

Ibrahim Babangida. Labours took a stand against the acceptance of the loan. In a bid to ensure its continuous contributions to democracy in Nigeria, organized labour in 2002 applied for the registration of a political party known as Labour Party of Nigeria, which was eventually granted license to operate in the year. The party has participated in all elections in the country ever since then. (Wordofa, 2008)

Nigerian workers like their counterparts in other developing countries have witnessed fundamental changes in their condition over time. To a large extent, trade unions have played significant role in this transformation. Furthermore, in most developing countries, government is the largest employer of labour with private individuals employing a minimal proportion of the working class (Okene, 2007). In Nigeria, trade unions have become important agent of socio-economic transformation and class struggle (Okene, 2007). This role began from the period of the colonial struggle and continued till the post independence era. In the latter period, trade unions play an important role in the struggle against dictatorial military rule and the restoration of civil rule in Nigeria.

Statement of problem

The Labour Organization has had a chequered history, surviving two instances of dissolution of its national organs under military juntas and a third from a civilian administration. Arbitration, prolonged and unlawful detention of labour leaders, invasion and disruption of union meetings, seminar and other activities of congress and its component by security forces and a vicious anti-labour campaign by the state generally marked the military era of Nigeria's policy, while both the civil and military regimes invoked legislative prerogatives to unleash all manner of legislation to check the activities of unions.

Attempts by the Obasanjo administration to proscribe the Ibrahim (2006) failed in the face of rising internal and external oppositions. The administration however, continued in its bid to frustrate the activities of the movement and treat the NLC with hostility. Despite intensified use of machinery of oppression and legislative weaponry by current civilian government, the political role of labour has remained imperative not only to union members but also to Nigerian proletariats that formed the larger percentage of population of the country. Unions have organized and participated in protests and strikes of varying magnitude, to force the government to revert some of its economic decisions. In June 2000, a national strike was held to protest the 50 percent increase in the prices of petroleum products. The success of the strike forced the government to withdraw the earlier increase made on these products.

Consequently, the government set up a committee to negotiate with labour, however, by February 2001, Obasanjo overlooked the agreements, arguing that it was becoming increasingly difficult to sustain the agreed prices on petroleum products. As a result, prices were again increased. Labour as well proceeded on a strike after the expiration of a seven-day ultimatum given to the government. On this occasion, the government went to court challenging the action of the NLC. The court declared NLC actions as illegal. In adherence to the court decision, the NLC Central Working Committee called off the strike.

These contributions made by organized labour in Nigeria have not come without a prize. Many labour leaders had suffered imprisonment, and at times death, to continue the struggle. Take the case of Nduka Eze who was a Clerk with United African Company (UAC), who became extremely popular in 1947 because of his constant challenge of the colonial authorities, he eventually lost his job in 1951, because the colonial authorities saw him as a threat to their continuous exploitation. He also suffers several arrests including his conviction for sedition in 1949 (Aiyede, 2000). Another case worthy of consideration is the pains and agony suffered by labour during and after the 1994 general strike called by labour to protect the annulment of the June 12 1993, presidential elections in Nigeria by the then military Head of State, General Ibrahim Babangida. The ruling military junta headed by General Sani Abacha proscribed almost all trade unions in the country. The government made life unbearable for leaders of these labour groups and, as they were either arrested or driven to exile and eventually lost their jobs (Okene, 2007).

The NLC has made significant impact on the nature, structure and implementation of government programmes. Although the impact diminished under the Obasanjo administration. Event evolving since 2004 in industrial relations reveal that the State in democratic dispensation is still coercive. In June 2004, the government announced its plan to decentralize the labour union and remove the oil subsidy. Consequently a bill to amend the Trade Union Act was sent to the National Assembly. The bill sought to proscribe the NLC and fragment the trade unions; make strike action impossible, make recognition difficult; and freeze union sources of finance. (Anugwon, 2007).

Another memorable spectacle was when administration of former president Olusegun Obasanjo made a very calculated move in decentralizing the labour movement which it perceived as a threat to its democratic dictatorship. This careful though out move was to decentralize the labour movement by creating another labour organization called the Trade Union Congress (TUC). The move was welcomed with suspicion in various quarters and generally perceived to be calculated move by the government to

weaken and shake the labour movement to its very foundations. The Trade union Congress (TUC) was naturally opposed and disagreed with the NLC on various issues.

The history of the Nigerian Labour movement is anything to go by, it has clearly shown that something has been terribly wrong from day one and the political equation which remains unbalanced. Without a serious opposition, the protection of workers right will continue to remain illusive and the average Nigerian worker will continue to be a slave of the larger modern economy. However, it was against this background that the study attempt to investigate labour and government relations in Nigeria: A study of regulation, 1999 – 2010.

Objective of the study

The objectives of this study are:

1. To determine the impact of Trade Unionism and collective bargaining on Nigeria's development.

2. To study the perceived causes of frequent strike actions in Nigeria.

3. To examine why successive and present governments subvert the activities of labour movement in Nigeria.

4. To study the various regulations of the labour movement and the impact on Nigerian workers.

Research questions

The following research questions were formulated in order to guide this study within the context of the research objectives as stated below:

1. What is the impact of trade unionism and collective bargaining on Nigeria development?

2. What are the perceived causes of frequent strike actions in Nigeria?

3. Why does successive and present governments in Nigeria subvert the activities of labour movement?

4. What are the measures to regulate problems of labour movement among Nigerians?

Methodology

Area of Study : It is on record that victims of laws that gag the labour movement are in most cases located in every state of Nigeria. It is also a fact that the entire stake holders of the aforementioned laws are located in each state of Nigeria. Therefore, to achieve the objectives, out survey was carried out in four states and the federal capital of Nigeria: Lagos state, Imo state, River state, Kaduna state and the federal capital territory, Abuja. In each of these locations, we identified and carried out our study on

Government/Labour Relations in Nigeria, with respect to a study of regulation of the labour movement between 1999-2010.

Design of the Study: The study utilized a survey research design because of the type of information required. This is because survey research focuses on people, the vital facts of the people and their beliefs, opinions, attitudes, motivations, and behaviours (Adekanye: 1993). This study aimed at ascertaining the perceptions of both stake holders and Nigerian workers on government/labour relations with regards to a study of selected states. The study also explored the level of awareness of the impact of labour regulations on Nigerian workers

Population of the Study: The targeted population for this study consists of 500 Nigerian workers and private institutions employees. These categories of people are directly or indirectly affected by the laws that gag labour movement in Nigeria. The study evaluates the perception of these groups on the effect and impact of regulation of the labour movement in Nigeria.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure: Our knowledge, behaviour and actions are determined by sampling. The study is made of sampling technique. Since the study covered a range of 1999-2010, we selected workers in public and private institutions in each of the selected states of the Nigerian federation. In each of the targeted location intended to be surveyed, 100 respondents were purposefully selected for the study. This gave rise to a total of 500 respondents.

Description of the Presentation: The researcher developed a set of questionnaire for the purpose of gathering data for this study. The questionnaire was administered to the targeted people in each of the four states of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja as stated earlier. The instrument was designed to obtain relevant data to answer the research questions. The questionnaire was divided into three sections. Section one sought information on the biographic data of the respondents, including their level of education, date of birth, year of service and status within their organization. Section two measured the awareness and perception level of the respondents on issues pertaining regulation of the labour movement in Nigeria, Section three dealt with problem identification and possible solution to the ailing problems affecting labour movement in Nigerian.

Validation of the Instrument: The instrument was scrutinized for content validity by three specialists in Political Science, Public Administration and Law professions. This procedure was to ensure that the items strictly address the research questions and propositions for this study. The first validated instrument was pilot-tested with 100 respondents from Abuja metropolitan. Based on their input, the instrument was modified and

used for this present study. A pilot study or pre-tested is a useful method of ensuring that the questions asked are appropriate ones. It is also useful in ensuring that the respondents or informants we have in mind are the intended ones, that that timing of field work will be favourable, that the wordings of the instrument will be unambiguous and that all questions will have some intended and true

Questionnaires Distribution and Retrieval: The questionnaire was administered to 500 respondents in the targeted areas in Nigeria. The selected areas for this study are: Lagos state, River state, Kaduna state, Imo state and the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria, Abuja. In each study area 100 questionnaires was administered to 100 respondents. This gives a total of 100 respondents in each study area and a grand total of 500 respondents. The instrument was administered through personal contact and with the help of 5 research assistants. The questionnaire was administered and collected on the spot.

Method of Data Analysis: Data from the questionnaire were analyzed and, frequency counts and mean (X) statistics were used to determine the level of agreement and disagreement of the respondents to each item. In the social and behavioral sciences, the description and explanation of special reality can hardly be achieved in terms of only one or two variables for one thing, unlike its counterpart in the natural sciences. The social scientist is not in a position to exercise physical control over all the extraneous variables influencing his study subjects. We necessarily therefore has to deal with far more variables than two at any given time. Under the circumstance, the only avenue open to him is to devise or adopt statistical methods of exercising control over his multiple variables as well as measuring the nature of interactions and inter-relationship among them.

Results

Research question 1: what is the impact of Trade Union and collection bargaining on Nigeria development?

The research question was answered using items 5-15 in the question

Table 2: Impact of trade unionism and collective bargaining on Nigeria development.

S/No	Items	SA (4)	A (3)	SD (2)	D (1)	Total	Mean	Deviation
5	Trade union and collective bargaining contributed to	305	123	50	20	500	3.43	Agree
6	Economic development in Nigeria	218	140	110	05	500	3.03	Agree
7	Provision of infrastructural development such as water, electricity, road and schools facilities	410	90	-	-	500	3.82	Strongly Agree
8	Provide the knowledge of	116	250	134	-	500	2.96	Agree

	laws that regulate labour activities in Nigeria						
9	Improve Capacity building of workers, education, finance and independent	250	150	80	20	500	3.26	Agree
10	Guarantee workers salary	250	180	50	20	500	3.32	Agree
11	Protection of workers right and personnel interest	400	50	30	20	500	3.66	Strongly Agree
12	Boost worker physical integrity and moral dignity of the individual.						
13	Prevent workers being threaten or dismissed withiout reasons	350	102	30	18	300	3.57	Strongly

Source: Data collected from the field.

The result in the study as presented in table 2 shows that the respondents, responded to all the items on the impact of trade unionism and collective bargaining on Nigerian Development. This induce that all the impacts received mean rating score above 2.50 and above implying that respondents accepted all the of trade union and collective bargaining in the area.

Research question 2: What are the causes of frequent strike actions among Nigeria?

The research question was answered using item 14-22 in the questionnaire. The Data one represented in table 3 below

Table 3: Perceived causes of strike actions in Nigeria.

S/No	Items	SA (4)	A (3)	SD (2)	D (1)	Total	Mean	Deviation
14	Poor infrastructural Development	250	180	50	20	500	3.32	Agree
15	High rate of corruption	350	142	08	-	500	3.68	Strongly Agree
16	Failure to implement collective agreement such as harmonized salary structure	400	80	20	-	500	3.79	Strongly Agree
17	Military intervene into democrary	100	50	30	-	500	2.50	Agree
18	Increase fuel, food and others items prices	400	80	20	-	500	3.79	Strongly Degree
19	Refusal to accend to union	350	140	08	-	500	3.67	Strongly Agree
20	Poor or Delay in salary and wages of worker	250	150	50	50	500	3.22	Agree
21	Dissolution of trade union to segment to reduce their power	350	145	05	-	500	3.69	Strongly Agree

| 22 | Retrenchment and unemployment problems | 400 | 80 | 20 | - | 500 | 3.79 | Strongly Agree |
| 23 | Strike may call back without consulting member | 200 | 95 | 100 | 105 | 500 | 2.98 | Strongly Agree |

Source: Data collected from the field.

The result of the study as presented in table 3 shows that the respondents, responded to all the item on the perceived cause of strike action in the area. This indicates that all the perceived cause of strike action received means rating score of 2.50 and above implying that the respondents accepted all the perceived cause of strike acting in Nigeria.

Research Question 3: Why does a successive and present government in Nigeria subject the activities of labour movement**?**

The research question was answered using items 24-29 in the questionnaire. The data are represented in the table 4 below

Table 4: Why successive and present governments subvert labour movement activities in Nigeria.

S/No	Items	SA (4)	A (3)	SD (2)	D (1)	Total	Mean	Deviation
24	Military government demoralize union right	400	50	40	10	500	3.68	Strongly agree
25	Democratic government discourages labour unionism	105	200	50	145	500	2.4	Disagree
26	Problems of internal democracy is a threat to trade unionism	51	200	200	49	500	2.51	Agree
27	Both military and political leaders bane or arrest and even imprisons labour leaders	350	50	51	49	500	3.40	Strongly Agree
28	Regualarism of trade union act pose a problems	310	90	48	52	500	3.32	Agree
29	Fear and apathy created in worker through unending rationalization retrieval of workers wages salary cuts	310	80	58	57	500	3.30	Agree

Source: Data collected from the field.

The result of the study as presented in table 4 shows that the respondents, responded to the entire item on the reasons why successive and present governments subvert labour movement activities in Nigeria. This indicates that all the reasons why successive and present governments

subvert labour movement activities in Nigeria, received means rating score of 2.50 and above implying that the respondents accepted all the reasons why successive and present governments subvert labour movement activities in Nigeria. But, rejected item 25 that is, democratic government discourages labour unionism.

Research question 4: What are the measures to regulate problems of labour movement among Nigerians?

The research questions was answers using item 30-36 in the questionnaire as shows in table 5 below:

Table 5: Measures/strategies to regulate labour movement.

S/No	Items	SA (4)	A (3)	SD (2)	D (1)	Total	Mean	Deviation
30	Nigerian workers must fight and dement the right at all times	250	105	110	35	500	3.36	Agree
31	Government should provide basic amenities such as water, electricity, improve agriculture, basic education etc to Nigerian	310	120	70	-	500	3.48	Agree
32	Improve salary structure and wages	318	112	70	-	500	3.49	Agree
33	Government in all level must fight corrupt leaders	250	180	50	20	3.32	500	Agree
34	Immunity clause should be removed in the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria to tried corrupt leaders	350	150	-	-	3.70	500	Strongly agree
35	Government should protect the right of workers	400	80	20	-	3.76	500	Strongly agree
36	Prompts payment of salary and arrears to person and retired workers	410	85	15	-	3.81	500	Strongly agree
37	There should be rule of law and due processes	410	90	-	-	3.82	500	Strongly agree
38	Provision of employment opportunities	400	89	06	05	3.76	500	Strongly agree
39	Employers should not victimize workers	400	86	04	10	3.75	500	Strongly agree

Source: Data collected from the field.

A cursory looked at the above table show that the respondent, responded to all the items on measures/strategies enhancing labour

regulation/movement among Nigeria's workers. This indicate that all the suggested measures received means rate score of 2.50 and above implying that the respondent accepted all the measure to enhancing labour movement and workers welfare in the area.

Discussion

From the result in table two, the respondents, responded to all the impact of trade unionism and collective bargaining in Nigerian development that is Provision of infrastructural development such as water, electricity, road and schools facilities; Provide the knowledge of laws that regulate labour activities in Nigeria; Improve Capacity building of workers, education, finance and independent; Guarantee workers salary; Protection of workers right and personnel interest; Boost worker physical integrity and moral dignity of the individual; Prevent workers being threaten or dismissed without reasons. This finding is in line with the findings of Adekanye (1993), Mac (1998), Stevis & Boswell (2008), Wordofa (2008), Okene (2007) on the impact of trade unionism and collective bargaining on Nigerian development.

From the result in table three, the respondents responded to all the perceived causes of strike actions in Nigeria that is Poor infrastructural Development; High rate of corruption; Failure to implement collective agreement such as harmonized salary structure; Military intervene into democracy; Increase fuel, food and others items prices; Refusal to ascend to union; Poor or Delay in salary and wages of worker; Dissolution of trade union to segment to reduce their power; Retrenchment and unemployment problems; Strike may call back without consulting member.

This is in line with the findings of Okene (2007), Aspinall (2007), Williamson (2005) and Wiliams (2009) on the causes of strike action among Nigerian workers. Conversely, Akinwale (2011) examined Labour Reform and Industrial Conflicts Mismanagement in Nigeria using documentary analysis. Industrial conflicts have not been fully managed in Nigeria due to anomalies in the country's conflict management mechanisms. The state power has been used arbitrarily whereas the Nigerian Labour Congress has remained adamant in its struggle for workplace justice. This development derived from decades of antagonism between the Nigerian government and organized labour. The organized labour's strikes in resistance against the state have become a popular industrial culture in Nigeria. Thus, efforts made towards ensuring industrial peace remain inadequate as industrial conflicts have been mismanaged. Following the consolidation of state coercive apparatus and amendment of the Nigerian Labour Law, the organized labour spread its tentacles towards civil society organizations for mass mobilization and political participation. Reforms and amendments of the labour law

coupled with the evolution of labour party marked a new phase in the Nigerian industrial relations.

The result of the study as presented in table 4 shows that the respondents, responded to the entire item on the reasons why successive and present governments subvert labour movement activities in Nigeria. This indicates that all the reasons why successive and present governments subvert labour movement activities in Nigeria, received means rating score of 2.50 and above implying that the respondents accepted all the reasons why successive and present governments subvert labour movement activities in Nigeria. But, rejected item 25 that is, democratic government discourages labour unionism. From the above findings, respondents, responded to all the successive and present government in Nigeria subvert the activities of labour movement in the area. That is Military government demoralize union right; Problems of internal democracy is a threat to trade unionism; Both military and political leaders bane or arrest and even imprisons labour leaders; Regularism of trade union act pose a problems; Fear and apathy created in worker through unending rationalization retrieval of workers wages salary cuts. This is in line with the findings of Aiyede (2000), Anugwon (2000), and Okene (2007), Ibrahim (2006), Shalmati (2002) UNDP (2000), on the reason why successive and present government subvert the activities labour movement in the country. That is both military democratic governments subvert the activities of labour movement in the country. Furthermore, studies reveals, that the provisions of labour laws and international labour standards of the ILO in, and by, themselves are not enough guarantees for the protection of workers' rights and as such there is the need to look beyond these instruments in protecting the rights of workers. Workers, their organizations and allies within the labour movement should develop and adopt extra-judicial means such as political and social actions to secure their rights at work (Adewumi & Adenugba, 2010).

This finding is in line with the findings of Botero, Djankov, Porta, Lopez-de-Silanes & Shleifer (2004) investigated the regulations of labour markets through employment, collective relations and social security laws in 85 countries. Their finding reveals that the political power of the left is associated with more stringent labour regulations and more generous social security systems, and that socialist, French, and Scandinavian legal origin countries have sharply higher levels of labour regulation than do common law countries.

From the result in table five, the respondents responded to all the various measures/strategies to regulate labour movement among Nigerian workers. That is Nigerian workers must fight and dement the right at all times; Government should provide basic amenities such as water, electricity, improve agriculture, basic education etc to Nigerian; Improve salary

structure and wages; Government in all level must fight corrupt leaders; Immunity clause should be removed in the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria to tried corrupt leaders; Government should protect the right of workers; Prompts payment of salary and arears to person and retired workers; There should be rule of law and due processes and Employers should not victimize workers. This findings is in line with the findings of Lawal (1996), Dere (2009), Abba (1995), UNDP (2000), Wilmoot (2007), on the suggested measures to reduce strike action in the country. In addition to related studies conducted, by Besley and Burgess (2013) they investigated whether the industrial relations climate in Indian states has affected the pattern of manufacturing growth in the period 1958-92. There finding show that states which amended the Industrial Disputes Act in a pro-worker direction experienced lowered output, employment, investment and productivity in registered or formal manufacturing increased. Regulating in a pro-worker direction was also associated with increases in urban poverty. This suggests that attempts to redress the balance of power between capital and labour can end hurting the poor. Similarly, Anugwom (2007) examined the influence of globalization on labour utilization in Nigeria using the construction industry as a case study. It reveals that the era of globalization has given rise to profound changes in the way labour is utilized, specifically in terms of employment patterns as well as the related issues of earnings, job security, and unionization and so on. In effect, the way the worker is used by the firms in the industry is determined solely by the dictates of capitalism, that is, the profit motive.

Finally, in support of this study, Oginni; Yemi; Adesanya; & Segun (2013) they examined the availability of workers' rights as made available by the law of the land (Nigeria), the practice found to be in operation and the conformity by employers of labour with the existing labour laws that promotes the rights of workers in the country in order to determine the true position of workers' right in Nigeria. The paper adopted the use of exploratory research together with secondary data in order to obtain relevant information for the paper at hand and from this, it was reveal that there appear to be enough and sufficient laws to usher in enviable standards to ensure that Nigerian workers' rights are protected and enjoyed by all workers.

Conclusion

The findings revealed that the impact of trade union and collective bargaining in Nigeria development include Provision of infrastructural development such as water, electricity, road and schools facilities; Provide the knowledge of laws that regulate labour activities in Nigeria; Improve Capacity building of workers, education, finance and independent; Guarantee

workers salary; Protection of workers right and personnel interest; Boost worker physical integrity and moral dignity of the individual; Prevent workers being threaten or dismissed without reasons.

The findings of the study also revealed that the perceived cause of strike action in Nigeria are Poor infrastructural Development; High rate of corruption; Failure to implement collective agreement such as harmonized salary structure; Military intervene into democracy; Increase fuel, food and others items prices; Refusal to ascend to union demands; Poor or Delay in salary and wages of worker; Dissolution of trade union to segment to reduce their power; Retrenchment and unemployment problems; Strike may be called back without consulting members.

The findings of this study further reveals that successive and present government subvert the activities on of labor movement in Nigeria that is Military government demoralize union right; Problems of internal democracy is a threat to trade unionism; Both military and political leaders bane or arrest and even imprisons labour leaders; Regularization of trade union act pose a problems; Fear and apathy created in worker through unending rationalization retrieval of workers wages salary cuts.

Finally, the study also revealed measures or strategies to regulate trade unions activities and foster productivity among which include, Nigerian workers must fight and demand their right at all times; Government should provide basic amenities such as water, electricity, improve agriculture, basic education etc to Nigerian; Improve salary structure and wages; Government in all level must fight corrupt leaders; Immunity clause should be removed in the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria to tried corrupt leaders; Government should protect the right of workers; Prompts payment of salary and arrears to person and retired workers and there should be rule of law and due processes and Employers should not victimize workers.

Recommendations

From the findings of this study the following recommendations were made:
1.   There should be a corrupt free society and supportive government in Nigeria
2.   There should be stable democracy and free and fair election, this will foster adequate and effective governance, peace and tranquility in the country
3.   Workers right, protection, wellfarisms, promotion, education, scholarship, should be given priority.
4.   There are should be laws regulating the activities of trade unionism and collective bargaining among workers.

5.   Government and law enforcement agency should work and cooperate and follow the rule of law and due processes.
6.   Immunity clause protecting the power of the governance should be abolish. This will pave way to reduce corruption and enhance productivity.
7.   Seminar, workshops, supervision and conferences should be organized to sensitize both trade unions and government working relationship and trade regulation in the country.
8.   Effective and efficient monitoring and supervision of trade union activities should be encouraged.

Conclusion

The findings revealed that the impact of trade union and collective bargaining in Nigeria development include Provision of infrastructural development such as water, electricity, road and schools facilities; Provide the knowledge of laws that regulate labour activities in Nigeria; Improve Capacity building of workers, education, finance and independent; Guarantee workers salary; Protection of workers right and personnel interest; Boost worker physical integrity and moral dignity of the individual; Prevent workers being threaten or dismissed without reasons.

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Government should protect the right of workers; Prompts payment of salary and arrears to person and retired workers and there should be rule of law and due processes and Employers should not victimize workers.

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