

International Journal of Political Science And Development

VOLUME 9 (2021)

A wooden gavel with a three-lobed head and a long handle rests diagonally across an open book. The book's pages are white with some faint, illegible text. The background is a light, neutral color.

<http://www.academicresearchjournals.org/IJPSD/Index.htm>

ABOUT IJPSD

The International Journal of Political Science and Development (IJPSD) is published Monthly (one volume per year) by Academic Research Journals.

International Journal of Political Science and Development (IJPSD) is an open access journal that publishes high-quality solicited and unsolicited articles, in English, in all areas of Political Science:

Political Dynamics
Public Administration
International Relations and International Law
Relation between the State and the Individual
Political Economy
Conflict
Security and Development
Small Business Development
Managing and Evaluating Development
Development Skills in Practice
Environmental Politics
Governing the Global Borderlands
International Development Organisations
Foreign Policy Analysis, Research Methods
Militarisation
Militarism and War
Discourse Analysis
International Human Rights
Sino-US Relations
Japan and East Asia
Europe and Global Integration
Rethinking the State
Global Civil Society
China's International Relations
Religion and Politics in the West
Globalisation and Culture
Narrating the Self
Interpreting Gender
Philosophy of Social Science
Advanced Qualitative Research
Advanced Quantitative Social Research
Nations and Nationalism
Political Science and Development.

All articles published in IJPSD will be peer-reviewed.

Contact Us

Editorial Office: ijpsd@academicresearchjournals.org

Help Desk: support@academicresearchjournals.org

Website: <http://www.academicresearchjournals.org/IJPSD/Index.html>

Prospective authors should send their manuscript(s) to E-mail: ijpsd@academicresearchjournals.org

Editors

Dr. Jane Bwonya
Institution Maseno University
Department of Literary Studies,
Address P.O. Box 333 – 40105,
Maseno, Kenya

Dr. Zheng Tang
School of Law
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT

Dr. Ben Gussen
Auckland University of Technology and
the University of Auckland

Dr. Mohammad Reza Iravani
Assistant Professor, Department of Social work
Islamic Azad University, Khomeinishahr branch,
Khomeinishahr, Isfahan, Iran.

Dr. Prof. Mikhail Antonov
Law School of Higher School of Economics
(Saint Petersburg, Russia)
16, ulitsa Soyuzza Pechatnikov

Dr. Cindy Zeiher
University of Canterbury
New Zealand
Sociology

Dr. Kee Tuan, Teng
Tunku Abdul Rahman University College
77, Lorong Lembah Permai Tiga,
11200 Tanjung Bungah, Penang, Malaysia

Dr. Mahalinga K
Tumkur University
Assistant Professor, Dept. of Political Science, Tumkur
University,
B.H.Road, Tumkur, Karnataka, India-572 103

Dr. Remon F. Aziz
Assistant Professor
Structural Engineering Department,
Faculty of Engineering,
Alexandria University,
Egypt.

Prof. Santhosh Kumar
Christ University
Department of Economics, Christ University, Bangalore,
India

Dr. Leah J. Wilds, Ph.D.
Political Science (0302)
University of Nevada, Reno
Reno, NV 89557

Online Publications

Table of Content: Vol. 9(1), pp. 1-50, January 2021.

Abhishek Sharma Padmanabhan

The Public- Private Law Divide – A Critical Appraisal

[ABSTRACT](#) [FULL TEXT \[PDF\]](#) 9(1): 1-3 **DOI: 10.14662/IJPSD2020.210** (January 2021)

Desalegn Fekadu Etefa

Exploration of Contributions of Women in Rural Development and Determinant Factors Influencing their Participation, the case of Agricultural Cooperatives in Ethiopia

[ABSTRACT](#) [FULL TEXT \[PDF\]](#) 9(1): 4-16 **DOI: 10.14662/IJPSD2020.215** (January 2021)

Dr. Vikash Kumar

Electoral Reforms in India: Needs, Issues and Challenges

[ABSTRACT](#) [FULL TEXT \[PDF\]](#) 9(1): 17-24 **DOI: 10.14662/IJPSD2020.230** (January 2021)

Bimal Prasad Singh

A Study on Political Psychology and Its Influence in Modern Politics

[ABSTRACT](#) [FULL TEXT \[PDF\]](#) 9(1): 25-30 **DOI: 10.14662/IJPSD2020.320** (January 2021)

Ukwuije, Chima B.

Conspiracy and Violation of Constitutional Proviso in a Liberal Democratic System: The Experience of Walter Onnoghen, Former Chief Justice of Nigeria

[ABSTRACT](#) [FULL TEXT \[PDF\]](#) 9(1): 31-40 **DOI: 10.14662/IJPSD2021.005** (January 2021)

Iheanyi M. Enwerem, PhD

POLITICS OR 'POLITRICKS': NIGERIAN POLITICS OF BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION IN IGBOLAND

[ABSTRACT](#) [FULL TEXT \[PDF\]](#) 9(1): 41-50 **DOI: 10.14662/IJPSD2020.300** (January 2021)

Review

The Public- Private Law Divide – A Critical Appraisal

Abhishek Sharma Padmanabhan

Assistant Professor of Law, BMS COLLEGE OF LAW
Ph D Research Scholar CHRIST (Deemed to be University)
E-mail : sharmapabhishek@gmail.com

Accepted 6 December 2020

In ancient times, Private Law was considered as General Law and Public Law was considered to consist of exceptions to this General Law. In the later part of the Twentieth-century Public Law began to play a prominent in 'Constitutionalization' of Private Law, as well as the development of Administrative Law and this in turn lead to the development of the various functional fields of Law viz, Labor Law, Medical Law, and Consumer Law. The Public Law now refers to the areas of Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, and Criminal Law. Public law, as a form of Law regulates the relations between the Citizen and State and intends to ensure that the State Power is not misused, However it is also mindful about the need for a governmental power to regulate the activities of the citizens for ensuring Good Governance. Hence it strikes a balance between the Power and the obligations of the States

Keywords: Constitution, Public Law, Private Law, Criminal Law, Good Governance

Cite this article as: Padmanabhan, AS (2021). The Public- Private Law Divide – A Critical Appraisal. Int. J. Polit. Sci. Develop. 9(1) 1-3

INTRODUCTION

Law regulates the human activities to ensure that there is orderly human existence in the society. Law takes different forms depending on the context in which it applied or the activities which it intends to regulate. Public Law as form of Law regulates the relationships between citizens and governments and stipulates the rules which govern how public institutions work. The states with a common-law tradition have in place public law that intersects and overlaps Private Law, while in those countries which follow Civil Law follow two separate systems of law for Public and Private. In general, Administrative and Constitutional Law form the two central categories of Public Law. Public Law defines relationships between the organs of the state and aims to create the concept of absolutist monarchy that features in modern forms of Governments. The Roman nation of the

republican, which is the root of Republican Government in Western political theory at least, is considered as the precursor for the early conceptualization of for Public Law as a concept or independent body of rules. The Principles of the Public Law depict the manner in which the developing nation-state had various and sometimes competing goals and how states were directed towards a communal way of life for its citizens based on natural law.

MATERIALS AND METHOD

The division between Public and Private Law is made in the context of the Civil Law Legal systems. However, distinction between the Public/Private divide does not

apply strictly to Civil Law systems as the emphasis of the Public Law's aspects of the State are applicable to all systems of government. Even in Common Law Legal System, Public Law is in place as the actions which are prohibited by State are equally prohibited by the private parties. For instance, common law systems, as prevalent in United Kingdom and Canada, follow distinction between the Public and Private Law. In ancient times,

Private Law was considered as general law and Public law was considered to consist of exceptions to this general law. In the later part of the Twentieth-century Public Law began to play a prominent in 'constitutionalization' of Private Law, as well as the development of Administrative Law and this in turn lead to the development of the various functional fields of Law viz, Labor Law, Medical Law, and Consumer Law. The Public Law now refers to the areas of Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, and Criminal Law.

Constitution

The Constitution is a document having legal sanctity which divides the powers of the Government among it's various organs and regulates the exercise of such power. According to Aristotle "constitution" refers to the notion of a system of higher law which regulates the governance of the State. Initially the religious instruments like the Islamic Charter of Medina and legal instruments like The Magna Carta, signed in 1215 in England, and customary practices and conventions regulated the manner of governance of a State with a dual-system of law where one set of rules were higher than the other and therefore took precedence. Later on these rules were codified to be adopted as a Higher Law which could check the misuse of power by the State. The Constitution represents a notion of a higher law that has in place a mechanism to prevent the misuse of the power by the organs of the Government. In most countries, Constitution is seen as the Ground Norm which forms the basis of the legal system as prevalent in that country and is the touch stone to assess the legality of any State Act. Public Law is also associated with Constitutionalism, which means that, Constitution must not just divide the powers of the Government among various organs but also have in place a mechanism to prevent one organ usurping the powers of an another organ. The Principles of Rule of Law, Separation of Powers and Judicial Review are the key concepts of the Constitutionalism which owe their origin to Pubic Law.

Administrative Law

Administrative Law contains the rules and procedures relating to exercise of Administrative Powers and

adjudication of any disputes by competent Agencies, Tribunals, and Courts. The concept of Judicial Review is the core aspect of Administrative Law which empowers the Courts to determine the legality of the Government Activities in regard to Administration. Administrative Law is equally concerned with the exercise of the Discretionary Powers by the Government as in a welfare state Governmental activities affect the Legal and Constitutional Rights of the citizens.

Differences between Public Law and Private Law

There are various ways in which the Public Law and Private Law can be distinguished. The distinction between public and private law is as follows.

(a) **Public law.** Public law is concerned with the relationship between the state and its citizens. This comprises several specialist areas such as:

(i) **Constitutional law.** Constitutional law is concerned with the workings of the British constitution. It covers such matters as the position of the Crown, the composition and procedures of Parliament, the functioning of central and local government, citizenship and the civil liberties of individual citizens.

(ii) **Administrative law.** There has been a dramatic increase in the activities of government during the last hundred years. Schemes have been introduced to help ensure a minimum standard of living for everybody. Government agencies are involved, for example, in the provision of a state retirement pension, income support and child benefit. A large number of disputes arise from the administration of these schemes and a body of law, administrative law, has developed to deal with the complaints of individuals against the decisions of the administering agency.

(iii) **Criminal law.** Certain kinds of wrongdoing pose such a serious threat to the good order of society that they are considered crimes against the whole community. The criminal law makes such anti-social behaviour an offence against the state and offenders are liable to punishment. The state accepts responsibility for the detection, prosecution and punishment of offenders.

(b) **Private law.** Private law is primarily concerned with the rights and duties of individuals towards each other. The state's involvement in this area of law is confined to providing a civilized method of resolving the dispute that has arisen. Thus, the legal process is begun by the aggrieved citizen and not by the state. Private law is also called civil law and is often contrasted with criminal law. 2 Criminal and civil law. Legal rules are generally divided into two categories: criminal and civil. It is important to understand the nature of the division because there are

fundamental differences in the purpose, procedures and terminology of each branch of law.

(a) **Criminal law.** The criminal law is concerned with forbidding certain forms of wrongful conduct and punishing those who engage in the prohibited acts. Criminal proceedings are normally brought in the name of the State and are called prosecutions.. It should be noted that prosecutions may also be undertaken by bodies, such as the trading standards department of the local authority, and by private individuals, e.g. a store detective prosecuting a shoplifter. In criminal cases you have a prosecutor who prosecutes a defendant in the criminal courts. The consequences of being found guilty are so serious that the standard of proof is higher than in civil cases: the allegations of criminal conduct must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt. If the prosecution is successful, the defendant is found guilty (convicted) and may be punished by the courts. The Criminal Justice Act 2003 sets out for the first time in legislation the purposes of sentencing adult offenders, which are punishment, crime reduction, the reform and rehabilitation of offenders, and reparation. Punishments available to the court include imprisonment, fines, or community orders such as an unpaid work requirement. If the prosecution is unsuccessful, the defendant is found not guilty (acquitted).

(b) **Civil law.** The civil law deals with the private rights and obligations which arise between individuals. The purpose of the action is to remedy the wrong that has been suffered. Enforcement of the civil law is the responsibility of the individual who has been wronged; the state's role is to provide the procedure and the courts necessary to resolve the dispute. In civil proceedings a claimant sues a defendant in the civil courts. The claimant will be successful if he can prove his case on the balance of probabilities, i.e. the evidence weighs more in favour of the claimant than the defendant. If the claimant wins his action, the defendant is said to be liable and the court will order an appropriate remedy, such as damages (financial compensation) or an injunction (an order to do or not do something). If the claimant is not successful, the defendant is found not liable. Many of the laws affecting the businessperson are part of the civil law, especially contract, tort and property law. The distinction between the criminal and civil law does not depend on the nature of the wrongful act, because the same act may give rise to both civil and criminal proceedings. Normally, the loser in a civil action pays the winner's costs. So Gordon is ordered to pay Julie's costs in bringing the action.

CONCLUSION

Public law, as a form of Law regulates the relations between the Citizen and State and intends to ensure that the State Power is not misused, however it is also mindful about the need for a governmental power to regulate the activities of the citizens for ensuring Good Governance. Hence it strikes a balance between the Power and the obligations of the States. Constitutional and Administrative Laws are regarded to be the prominent parts of the Public Law and are at various instances overlapping with regard to powers and procedures for exercise of powers. The Judiciary has played an important role in evolving the Public Law by recognizing its importance in the Governance and identifying new principles of Public Law.

The Principles of Judicial Review, Separation of Powers and Rule of Law are the principles of Public Law which have got the Judicial Recognition and are recognized as part of the Legal System in various countries. Public Law is relevant for Legal Research and in framing of policies by the Government as it stipulates the rules for exercise of power by the organs of the Government in compliance of the Constitutional and Legal Rights.

REFERENCES

- [1] Alan Cromartie, *The Constitutionalist Revolution: An Essay on the History of England, 1450-1642* (Cambridge, 2006).
- [2] Aristotle, *The Politics* (T A Sinclair trans, Penguin Books, 1992) Book 1
- [3] Ernest A. Young, *The Trouble with Global Constitutionalism*, 38 TEX. INT'L L.J. 527 (2003)
- [4] Ernest J. Weinrib, "Private Law and Public Right," (2011) 61 University of Toronto LJ 191
- [5] Gavison, Ruth, "Feminism and the Public/Private Distinction," (1992-93) 45 Stanford LR 1
- [6] H.L.A. HART, *THE CONCEPT OF LAW* 92 (2d ed. 1994)
- [7] JOHN AUSTIN, *THE PROVINCE OF JURISPRUDENCE DETERMINED* 141 (Wilfrid E. Rumble ed., Cambridge Univ. Press 1995) (1832)
- [8] Joseph Dainow, "The Civil Law and the Common Law: Some Points of Comparison," *American Journal of Comparative Law*, volume 15, number 3 (1966-7), p. 419-35.
- [9] Karl Llewellyn, 'e Constitution as Institution' (1934) 34 Columbia Law Review 1, 17
- [10] Michel Rosenfeld, "Rethinking the Boundaries between Public Law and Private Law for the Twenty First Century: An Introduction," (2011) 11 I-CON 125, 126

Review

Exploration of Contributions of Women in Rural Development and Determinant Factors Influencing their Participation, the case of Agricultural Cooperatives in Ethiopia

Desalegn Fekadu Etefa

PhD Candidate, Ambo University: College of Business and Economics, Department of Cooperatives
Email: desalegnfekadu@gmail.com, Phone: +251911703974 or +251983223667

Accepted 29 December 2020

Women constitute about 50% of the world population and contribute about 75% to subsistence production. On the other hand, they earn one tenth of the world's income and they own one hundredth of the world's property including land. In Ethiopia, as in most parts of the world, women's role in the socio-economic activities is high, but they have less access basic resources than men do. Therefore, the enhancement of women's participation in all spheres of life has become a key issue in development discourses, which ratifies socio-economic development, cannot be fully achieved without the active participation of women. The primary economic activity of Ethiopia is agriculture which greatly depends on family labor where women play crucial role. Majorities of the rural populations are engaged in agricultural cooperatives, which is the business owned and controlled by the people to meet peoples' common requirements. Hence, this article explored women participation status and associated factors influencing their participation in agricultural cooperatives. Although the feminist theory proved that women and men have equal potential for individual development, the fruits that go to women are by far very low. The review identified that culture/customs, heavy work load and lack of time, lack of capital/credit, gender differentials, lack of education and training, lack of access to key economic resources, laws and rules, lack of access to property ownership, income generation and purchasing power as determinant factors influencing women participation in agricultural cooperatives. Therefore, to improve the situation, proposed interventions have to be made include: creating awareness through education and training to bring attitudinal change in the society, encouraging women participation, making different types of credit accessible, following the implementation of laws and rules as designed. For that matter, government organs at all levels and other stakeholders ought to work to attract more women to the cooperative members and also to bring them to the decision making positions.

Keywords: Agriculture; Contribution; Cooperative; Determinants; Participation; Women

Cite this article as: Desalegn, FE (2021). Exploration of Contributions of Women in Rural Development and Determinant Factors Influencing their Participation, the case of Agricultural Cooperatives in Ethiopia. *Int. J. Polit. Sci. Develop.* 9(1) 4-16

INTRODUCTION

Participation is a development strategy that recognizes the need to involve vulnerable segments of the population in the design and implementation of their well-being policies. In this regard, women's participation refers to their active involvement in all fields of activity, such as economic, socio-cultural, environmental and political activities, and their role in decision-making and empowerment (Ademe & Singh, 2016). Therefore, the enhancement of women's participation in all spheres of life has become a key issue in development discourses, that ratifies socio-economic development cannot be fully achieved without the active participation of women in all activities, including decision-making at all levels of societies (Endale, 2012).

Women in the world play an important role in the development of both rural and urban areas. They are also believed to play a key role in helping their households and communities in achieving food and nutrition stability, generating income, and improving rural livelihoods and overall well-being (UN Women Watch Organization, 2017). In every country of the world, they are also the primary caretakers of children and elders. In fact, global studies show that women take the lead in helping the families adjust to new circumstances and obstacles when a society's economy and political organization shifts. Women are likely to be the main initiator of external assistance and play a major role in promoting and/or hindering changes in family life. Demographical study shows that the number of these much contributors represent half of the world's human resources (Rani & Yadeta, 2016).

Of the different livelihoods, in countries where it is the main occupation of the poor as accredited by the International Development Community, agriculture is an engine of growth and poverty reduction. Among the different types of livelihoods, Co-operatives are believed to be one of the most successful solutions to improving livings across the globe. In contemporary times, where poverty abolishes the lives of billions of people around the world, cooperatives have arisen as an alternative economic resource. Cooperatives are a company owned and controlled by the people to meet the common needs of the people. For their mutual benefit, they finance and operate the business. This means that they are built on the leading idea that a group of people can achieve a goal that would be unattainable if it were to function alone by working together (Ruhul & Mahin, 2014; Desalegn, 2019).

Cooperatives provide a means for farmers to join in an 'association' through which a group of farmers can achieve a better result, mostly financial, than go alone. This method is consistent with the theory of economies of scale and can also be related as a form of economic synergy, where "two or more agents work together" to

produce a result that cannot be independently achieved by any of the agents (Adefila, 2012).

Amongst the many types of cooperatives, primary agricultural cooperatives play a dominant role in socio-economic development of developing countries. In these enterprises, both male and female farmers pool their resources in certain areas of activities. This means that agricultural cooperative societies are organizations that seek to unite farmers in order to improve agricultural production by overcoming the challenges, shortcomings and odds of individual farmers collectively. Agricultural cooperatives as defined by Ibitoye (2012) are a mechanism through which services such as farm inputs, farm implements, farm mechanization, agricultural loans, agricultural extension, member education, marketing of farm produce members and other economic activities and services rendered are provided. Daily and efficient performance of these positions would promote the transition and sustainability not only of cooperatives, but also of agricultural and rural economic development.

Agricultural cooperative according to Alufohai and Ahm odu (2005) is a form of cooperative uniting agricultural producers for the production or other activities required by members (such as processing, marketing, production or supply of means of production). Similarly, Safarishali (2010) suggested that agricultural cooperatives are associations that pool purchases, storage and distribution of farm inputs to their members by taking advantage of discounted volumes and using other economies of scale. Agricultural cooperatives allow farmers to realize economic benefits that they would otherwise not be able to achieve on their own.

Agricultural cooperatives therefore play a crucial role in alleviating high transaction costs and market failure issues by providing services ranging from offering credit and modern inputs to generating market opportunities and selling products to members. This suggests that cooperatives have a great deal of potential to empower economically weak women and men by strengthening their collective bargaining power on the market, thus reducing the challenges they face on the market and allowing them to exploit enhanced market opportunities.

Cooperatives can help farmers to improve product and service quality and reduce risks; through building individual ability, they help improve the employment, leadership skills and overall socio-economic status and resilience of members (World Bank, 2009; Alkali, *et al.*, 2018).

As a result, International Institutions, Governments and Non-Governmental Organizations are supporting the development of agricultural cooperatives and cooperative unions as a juncture for empowering vulnerable male and female smallholder farmers to secure sustainable livelihoods. Agriculture activities in developing countries rely heavily on family work, where the women's assignment is very high (Rani & Yadeta, 2016).

In Ethiopia, the share of the agricultural sector to the country's development is enormous, where the contribution of women is substantial (MoFED & UNICEF, 1994 cited in Yohannes & Endale, 2014). Cooperatives in Ethiopia are primarily economic institutions performing economic functions, contributing a great deal in basic needs, especially for the vulnerable, in order to enable them to escape from poverty.

Irrespective of this fact, cooperative membership in Ethiopia is generally very low. According to Bernard & Spielman (2009), just 9% of smallholders were members of agricultural cooperatives and only 40% of rural households had access to cooperatives within their communities. Even in areas where cooperatives operate, only about 17% of households have been reported as members (Federal Cooperative Agency (FCA, 2006). Of these figures, the number of female members is less than half of the male members as of 2016, regardless of their proportion of the country's population (FCA, 2016 cited in Amene & Yadessa, 2018).

The low level of active participation and under-representation of women in decision-making and leadership is now one of the most important gender issues in cooperatives. As Awotide (2012) points out, women, especially in developing countries, including Ethiopia, are confronted with formidable constraints that hinder their active participation in cooperatives.

Moreover, compared to males, due to differential gender norms and interactions, women have a lower socio-economic status, which restricts their prospects for access and inclusion in formal groups. This is therefore an indication that, given their important contributions to the lives of their families and communities, women are deprived of equal access to productive resources, markets and services (FAO, 2010). This is the opposite of the feminist theory, which argues that women and men have equal potential for individual development by looking at the many differences between the genders.

Feminist theory is that gender inequality is created by reducing access for women and girls to civil rights and the distribution of social resources, such as education and employment. This condition is primarily based on the socially constructed culture of the patriarchy that prolongs inequality between the two sexes (Enyew & Mihrete, 2018).

Broadly speaking, women in Ethiopia have suffered multiple deprivations that have undermined their anticipated pivotal role in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres of life of society at large. This is due to many factors, including: lack of financial, educational and health services; low access to and control over resources and limited opportunities for employment; and inadequate involvement in power sharing and decision-making. In fact, the domination of men in different income-generating practices has a major impact on women's economic empowerment (Woldu & Tadesse,

2015).

All of the factors mentioned above are due to the effects of the masculine value system that has been practiced by society for centuries. Such factors have played a major role in deterring not only the enhancement of their well-being, but also the reduction of women's active participation in the overall socio-cultural and political and economic affairs of society at large in general and in agricultural cooperatives in particular.

Objective of the Article

To review the contributions of women in rural development and determinant factors influencing their participation in agricultural cooperatives in Ethiopia

Empirical Studies on the Role and Status of Women Participation in Agricultural Cooperatives

The Role of Women in Agricultural Cooperatives

As mentioned early, women have a major and vital role to play in the development of agriculture and allied sectors. Nonetheless, the nature and extent of women's involvement in agriculture vary greatly from region to region. However, irrespective of these differences, women are frequently involved in various agricultural activities.

Women make up half the world's population and are the guardians of the other half. Women's work benefits their families and communities as mothers and employees and growers (World Bank, 2019). Since agriculture is the backbone of developing countries, the role of women in this field is dominant. Real world conditions mean that rural women play a crucial role in ensuring food and economic security for their households (Gobezie, 2010; FAO, 2011b; CSA & ICF, 2012). This means that they are practically involved in every sector of the economy.

Particularly in agricultural economic activities, as the global experience verified, women do 85 percent of weeding, 60 percent of harvesting, 50 percent of caring livestock, 50 percent of planting, and 30 percent of plowing (Lentisco & Alonso, 2012). In addition, rural women do 95 percent of domestic work. Therefore, particularly in the developing part of the world, women are considered the backbone of the economy, according to Bezabih (2008). About 80% of economically active women are working in agriculture in most sub-Saharan Africa, and 70% are involved in food production (Assefa & Tadesse, 2012).

In addition to providing much of the world's food, women have primary duty in society's daily lives. In line with this specific approach, rural women perform various labor-intensive work, such as producers, poultry

ranchers, caregivers and cooks, childbirth and breastfeeding, food processing and distribution and other household chores in relation to children's education, housekeeping, family economy and management, firewood gathering, water fetching and weaving carpet used every day by their households. Furthermore, weeding, hoeing, grass cutting, digging, picking of cotton sticks, separation of seeds from fiber, holding of livestock and other related activities such as milking, milk processing, preparation of ghee, so on are women's role (Anonymous, 2003c cited in Tesfaye, 2015).

As discussed so far, rural women have many roles, and they have different responsibilities and knowledge from those of men. As a result, they play a major role in decision-making on family meal preparation and diet, and take steps to protect children's health and wellness. The contribution of women to the transition from pre-literate to literate culture is equally undeniable. They also provide basic education for children to promote the environment. It is the mother in the family who most often encourages children of both sexes to attend and stay at school. The role of women is at the front end of the family improvement chain, as well as the community's long-term ability (Harun, 2014; Tesfaye, 2015).

Women, especially in developing countries, are not only a source of labor for agricultural production, but also bear most of the burden at home (domestic work and childcare). In rural areas, women spend 53 per cent of all workloads and 20 per cent more time on jobs than men (Akpinar *et al.*, 2004). Rural women split their time between agricultural and domestic activities and spend about 16 hours a day in these jobs (Tefaye, 2015). They also have a key role to play in the development of rural society.

As far as the contribution of women in Africa is concerned, as in other parts of the world, their role in agriculture and rural society is fundamental to agricultural and rural development. Agriculture is therefore important for the national economy and as a source of employment in Africa. According to the FAO (1995) report cited in Tesfaye (2015), some 73% of the rural population is in rural areas of Africa, which consists of small farmers. Thus, women are the backbone of the rural economy in sub-Saharan African countries in particular. In these countries, almost half of the agricultural labor force is employed, 60% is engaged in the business, and the bulk of Africa's food is processed (Manuh, 1998; FAO, 2011b). In Ethiopia, too, where the share of agricultural sector accounts for about 40 per cent of national GDP, 90 percent of exports and 85 percent of jobs, there is an enormous contribution by women in the sector (MoFED & UNICEF, 1994 cited in Yohanes & Endale, 2014).

Of the different types of economic sectors, it is basically assumed that women's participation in agricultural cooperatives is also important for other developmental parameters in general and for sustainable

cooperative growth in particular. The participation of more women in economic activities has contributed to a more integrated production process for both food and cash crops. Agricultural cooperatives can also be an effective means of empowering women in rural areas and helping them to resolve the constraints they face in accessing education, knowledge and information, as well as productive assets. It also strengthens the social role of the cooperatives themselves, provides a secure environment for women to increase self-confidence, bargaining power and employment, and encourages women to exercise political leadership.

Women's participation in Ethiopia is estimated to be between 45 and 75%, especially in crop production (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, 2010). Women are both producers and procreators, and they are also active participants in the social, political and cultural activities of their societies, with 70-80 per cent of agricultural labor being carried out in Ethiopia by women and 40-60 families headed by women.

Women in Ethiopia, however, seldom have access to resources that would make their work more efficient. If women had the same access to agricultural services and inputs as men, growth on women's farms could have increased by 20-30%, reducing the number of hungry people in the world by 100-150 million (Swanson, 2002 cited in Alemu, 2016).

The Status of Women Participation in Agricultural Cooperatives

Status of women is their position or rank in comparison to others, typically compared to that of men; which can be measured in terms of educational attainment, jobs and remuneration, type of work, access to services and benefits, opportunities to take part in decision making and politics (Haregewoin & Emebet, 2003).

In this context, empirical evidence shows that women contribute to the country's GDP by engaging in a variety of activities, but lack access to resources that limit their status. As the report presented by CSA & ICF (2012) indicates, out of the total number of female primary workers, 55 per cent were agricultural workers and 24 per cent were cultivators. Nevertheless, only 12.8 per cent of the operating assets were held by women, reflecting the gender disparity in land tenure ownership in agriculture. In comparison, there is a concentration of women's operating assets (25.7 per cent) in the marginal and medium ownership groups.

Because cooperatives are people-owned and controlled enterprises that meet people's common requirements, the active participation of both men and women are a necessary condition for sustainable cooperative growth. In this regard, the idea of women's participation is an important analytical tool in the

preparation, management, monitoring and assessment of development programs. The active participation of women (the invisible workforce) would make the cooperative economically and politically powerful. Active participation from the cooperative context means that participants are active in all the activities of the cooperative, including social, economic, planning, decision-making, execution and financial and management control (Birhanu, 2006). International law also has structure gender equality as part of global concern on human rights and basic freedoms for social, economic and political rights (Almaz, 2007; USAID, 2012).

Democratic Member Regulation is one of the concepts of the ICA Declaration on Cooperative Identification. ILO Recommendation No. 193 (2002) specifically refers to women's participation in cooperative decision-making, proposing that 'strong consideration has to be given to that women's participation in the cooperative movement at all levels, especially at the management level.'

In this regard, cooperative legislation in a number of countries demonstrates that it is not a matter of discriminating against women, but of looking closely at fact, that it inhibits women's participation in decision-making. In reality, in addition to women's limited access to educational and training facilities, they are hampered in taking on leadership roles and as a result; they lack the necessary expertise, knowledge and skills required.

According to the report of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) study on the implementation of the AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2006), the majority of women in Ethiopia have low status compared to that of other African countries. Women have been denied equal access to education, training and employment opportunities, and their participation in policy formulation and decision-making processes has been limited. In Ethiopia, women make up about 50 percent of the population and contribute about 50 percent to subsistence production. However, in every aspect of their lives, women are subject to gender discrimination in economic, social, cultural and legal dimensions than any other women in any part of the world (Ademe & Singh, 2015).

Most developing countries have a defining preference for males and give access to all privileges and freedoms for males. For example, most power and decision-making jobs are performed by men, while those that are tiresome, repetitive and take a lot more time and energy are women's responsibilities (Haile, 2009). In these countries, including Ethiopia, women carry a disproportionate burden, not only denied credit for their work where credit is due, but also denied freedom and dignity. Women often lack decision-making power in the home and society, as well as access to and control of productive resources. In addition, women are subject to variety diverse traditional practices such as female

genital mutilation, early marriage and rape (ADB, 2004; World Bank, 2005).

Women are known to produce up to 80% of the food in Africa. Nonetheless, as far as agricultural inputs and services are concerned, the share that will go to women is limited and they earn just 7% of extension services, less than 10% of the credit given to small-scale farmers and own merely 1% of the land (Lentisco & Alonso, 2012). They are often engaged in subsistence agriculture and unpaid farm work and are excluded from more lucrative agricultural opportunities such as cash crop production (ILO, 2009). In most African countries, women remain under-represented as workers, representatives and, for particular, leaders. Even the proportions of the two sexes entering small businesses as cooperatives indicate a wider gap. For example, cooperative research in Africa (Bezabih, 2008) reveals that only 18 per cent of the cooperative members are women (ICA, 2001). However, as regards the estimate of the Federal Cooperative Agency (FCA), of a total of 14,902,340 primary cooperatives, male members are 10,684,557, while 4,217,783 are female members (FCA, 2016, cited in Amene & Yadessa, 2018). It shows that the number of female members was below half of those of the male members.

Given the tremendous contribution made by women to their livelihoods, food production and national economies, it has not been translated into greater access to resources or decision-making powers. As a result, 70 per cent of the world's women remained among the poorest of the poor (Lentisco & Alonso, 2012). It illustrates how diverse and important roles women have not been accredited, resulting in lack of their fair share of the nation's wealth. As a result, most women are concentrated in the informal sector of jobs as housewives, bar owners, groomers (cleaners) and prostitutes (FDRE, 2006).

As a result, women in Ethiopia have a poor status in society. Women, compared to men, have unequal access, control and possession of key productive assets such as land, credit, knowledge and services. In 2005, only 18.6 per cent of rural landholders were women, only 9 per cent had access to agricultural extension services and only 12 per cent of those who had access to agricultural credit were women (Ministry of Women Affairs (MoWA), 2005). Consequently, empirical evidence shows that women generate a third less per unit of land than male farmers due to gender barriers to input-use and access to agricultural extension services (Gashaw & Goshu, 2017).

In fact, women have been denied equal access to education, training and employment opportunities. Due to this fact, women account for only 23.9 per cent of the technical and skilled industries, most of who work on tiresome, low-paid and unpaid jobs. Rural women have much poorer access to school and training facilities and

therefore often lack the skills required for active participation in cooperative activities (CSA, 1999).

There are varieties of factors that affect women's participation in cooperatives; these factors as listed by the International Cooperative Alliance (Nippierd, 2012), which hinder active participation of women in cooperatives. The main contributors to women's low participation in cooperatives are deep-rooted socio-cultural norms and traditions that place women and girls in a much lower position relative to men and boys. Dominant gender expectations, assumptions and behaviors form ties of gender power at the family, group and institutional levels. Those affect women's social and economic capacities and incentives to participate as men. Usually, men and boys are supposed to be self-reliant, household heads, the primary household income earner, decision-makers, and civic officials. In contrast, women are believed to be mothers, caretakers of all household domestic duties and caregivers under the authority of male figures, second in command, and regarded as docile and submissive (UNFPA, 2008; Woldu & Tadesse, 2015).

Several studies have shown that social practices control, communicate and transform human beings. Cultural and religious problems are among the factors that impede the participation of women. This is wonderfully illustrated by words like "women inside," which means that some of them are not speaking in front of people. Traditions of men managing and addressing financial issues, illiteracy, and family size are considered to have inferior skills, and social pressures make it difficult for women to play an active and visible public role (Endale, 2010).

Besides, the types of business cooperatives that deal with cash crops, which tend to be male, are another consideration and male opposition to women's participation. Strong domestic workload, which they have to do, leaves them short of time to join cooperatives the other hindering factor. In general, the patriarchal socio-cultural, economic and social rules and regulations in place prevented women from enjoying their labor, which will be addressed in the next section.

Women's involvement in agricultural cooperatives is generally assumed to be essential for sustainable cooperative growth. The inclusion of more in economic activities has resulted in a more integrated production process for both food and cash crops. It is generally assumed that women's participation in agricultural cooperatives is important for sustainable cooperative development. The involvement of more women in economic activities has been found to result in a more integrated production process of both food and cash crops. Agricultural cooperatives can also be an effective means of empowering women in rural areas and helping them to resolve the constraints they face in accessing education, knowledge and information, as well as

productive assets. It also strengthens the social role of cooperatives themselves, provides a secure environment for women to increase their self-confidence, bargaining power and employment and encourages women to exercise political leadership.

In summary, the status of Ethiopian women is low where they are generally poorer than men because they earn less; they are less educated; they are increasingly becoming heads of households, with no resources to support their dependents; they do not have due recognition for their work contribution, especially in agriculture, and they do not have the power to make decisions that can be discussed in the next section.

Factors Influencing Women Participation in Agricultural Cooperatives

The exclusion of women from socio-economic participation and decision-making processes has been a legacy of human history. Even when democracy was established in ancient Athens in the 5th century BC, women were excluded from political participation and decision-making. The women of Athens did not have the right to vote or engage in the democratic process, nor did they consider them to be citizens (Khadar, 2013). Even in European countries, women were neither entitled to political participation nor active in decision-making and public affairs until the beginning of the 20th century. Women's franchise rights are therefore not accepted in the first phase of democratization (1828–1926) in many European countries (Hague & Harrop, 2014).

As far as the case of Ethiopia is concerned, the status of women in socio-economic development is very recent and their participation is still very low. For a variety of reasons, however, Ethiopian women tend to be hesitant to become active participants in agricultural cooperatives. Such factors are usually classified as socio-cultural, economic, educational and training factors and factors related to laws and rules, which are to be addressed in depth as follows.

Socio-Cultural Factors

In the context of Ethiopia, there is a traditional belief that, women are made to take care of children and do kitchen work rather than take part in activities outside the home. As a result, there is a division of labor between men and women, which mean home tasks, suitable for women and out - of-home activities belong to men. Women are overburdened with various household tasks, such as cooking, taking care of children, washing, and so on. All these practices put women at work in the home and impede their participation in the development programs of their countries.

i. Culture/ Customs

Traditions tend to emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives in many countries and to confine them to those roles. A traditional solid, patriarchal value system promotes gender segregated roles and 'traditional cultural values' combats the development, advancement and involvement of women in any socio-economic and socio-political process. Societies all over the world are governed by the ideology of the thought of the position of a woman. According to this ideology, women should only play the role of working rather than talking of any rights (Shvedova, 2002).

In many cultures of the societies, women are portrayed as frail and incapable of making small decisions. This was projected and compounded over the years by male-dominated institutions and patriarchal structures that internalized the idea that women were inferior. With the constant reinforcement of the notion that women are inferior in every way, it has become difficult for women to seek their political rights as active participants (Kassa, 2015).

In addition, in most countries, there are structured stereotypes that women can do and cannot do. The study conducted by Idrisa *et al.*, (2007) reveals that culture/customs was the main barrier to women's participation in agricultural cooperative activities. In some cultures, women are prohibited from doing business independently or without their husband's permission. This presents a serious challenge to participation in cooperative activities. They may not be employed for certain jobs, nor may they be allowed to attend and speak at meetings. While, in some cases, the legal rights of women may be laid down in the cooperative constitution, they may not always be followed or superseded by customs. The pervasive myths regarding women's reproductive and domestic roles constitute and put them at the periphery of the cooperative business world. According to Yigremew (2001), some of the cultural values working against women are limited participation in cooperatives, the smaller size of women in cooperatives, the gender bias of local officials, and the lack of access to vital resources and services and so on.

Religion is also another important source of cultural belief in most countries. Religious rules and customs may also hinder the participation of women in cooperatives (Haile, 2009). There are claims regarding women's inferiority to men across all dominant religions, and religion has long been used to exclude women from financial, political, or religious life around the world (Kunovich, *et al.*, 2007). Most of the world's religions are differently conservative or patriarchal of the idea of the place of women, both in the Church hierarchy and in society.

Ethiopia is a patriarchal society that keeps women in a subordinate position, using religion and culture as an

excuse. For many years, these arguments have been enabled by laws and legislation that perpetuate the patriarchy and the subordination of women. This has contributed to and sustained inequality between men and women, the division of labor, the share of income, the law and the economy, the manner in which households are interrelated (Haregewoin & Emebet, 2003).

Consequently, the exclusion of women from religious institutions and religious leadership may have a negative impact on the status of women in society and may restrict their opportunities in politics and public life. In most religions, power and authority are believed to belong divinely to men, and thus to subjugate women. Women are thus encouraged to play subordinate positions, since they have a position in the kitchen and men are decision-makers. There are concerns regarding women's inferiority to men across all prevailing religions, and historically religion has long been used to exclude women from social, political aspects or religious life around the world (Kassa, 2015). Religious is therefore one of the cultural beliefs in many cultures that exclude women from the mainstream of leadership.

ii. Gender Differentials within Rural Labour Markets

The family is the core institution of the patriarchy, an important principle for understanding gender inequality (Kate, 1970, cited in Gashaw & Goshu, 2017). It literally means "the law of the father;" more generally, it refers to a society controlled and dominated by men over women. This is existent in the majority of African communities. Giving men a higher social status than females has entered into public life, which is reflected in state activities. The biggest psychological tool available to man is the length of time they have enjoyed dominance over women, who have taken it for granted that they often tend to stereotyping women and justify their subordination (Damilola, 2010).

Due to lack of representation in the boards of directors, the executive committee, where decisions are taken because of the barriers set out above, women have no impact on cooperative activities. Women lack the necessary powers and are forced to play a passive role, while men usually control decision-making activities within cooperatives. Several studies show that women hesitate or refuse to enter mixed cooperatives because they want to escape male domination. Given the democratic principles and values that promote equity and equality, gender imbalances do exist. Women's low level of active participation and under-representation in decision-making and leadership are among the most significant gender issues in cooperatives today (Ekesionye & Okolo, 2012).

In addition to the differences in male and female labor participation rates noted earlier, there are also significant gender differences in job trends in labor markets for a

number of reasons across cultures and regions. Most notably, as a result of household and child-rearing, women are not only much less likely to be part of the workplace; they are also much more likely to be part of the military. Perhaps notably, women are not only much less likely to participate in the labor force as a result of household and child-rearing; those who do are also much more likely to engage in self-employment rather than pay higher wages. Due to child care obligations, economically active women often leave the labor market and thus gain less work experience.

As a consequence of time constraints, women are also more likely to work in part-time jobs and informal contracts that pay less and/or provide fewer benefits, but provide more flexibility. Females are also more involved in some processes or functions of the supply chain (e.g. packaging, post-processing). Segregation into low-technology occupations limits opportunities to generate new skills and capabilities, hindering future career growth and growing prejudice against these sectors as low paid and low-levels of education and experience. Finally, there is a well-documented pay gap in urban labour markets that is likely to exist in rural labour markets, and that women are paid less even for similar jobs and comparable levels of education and experience.

iii. Heavy Work Load and Lack of Time

Continuing uneven distribution of family care duties between males and females means that women spend far more time than men at home and at workplace. Studies have consistently shown that women pay a “motherhood tax” across fields, not only in terms of time, commitment and medical care for pregnancy and children, but also in terms of the far greater maternal presence required for breastfeeding and the persistent propensity of women to have a larger share of childcare while the child grows (Kassa, 2015).

Rural women sometimes work long hours in developing countries. They also have the primary responsibility for the family. It includes the supply of water and food often long distances, and the need for cooking, cleaning and washing. Women also bring up children and take care of their families. They also aid in wedding and funerals, hard work in fields that are often located far from their home. Gender differences become apparent as we look at the workload of women. It is estimated that women provide 85 to 90 percent of the time spent on household food processing and preparation in a wide range of countries (Fontana & Natalia, 2008; Wrangham, 2009). Based on the layout and size of the household, these activities may be extremely time consuming. Time allocation studies have shown that women function considerably more than men if treatment is included in the calculations (Ilahi, 2000; Kes & Swaminathan, 2006; Budlender, 2008).

Besides the activities referred to in Lentisco & Alonso (

2012), rural women do, in total, 95 per cent of domestic work, 85 per cent of weeding, 60 per cent of harvesting, 50 per cent of livestock farming, 50 per cent of planting and 30 per cent of plowing. Generally, like women in other parts of the world, they are typically in charge of domestic chores in Ethiopia, while men are responsible for activities outside the home and men also spend their free time socializing outside the home, while women take care of the household, making it difficult for them in economic activity. Such circumstances intensify the problems that women face. Given all this, their contribution is often unrecognized and largely overlooked in most countries.

Economic Factors

Historical experience of inequality puts women in an economically disadvantaged role. Women are generally less able to participate in economic opportunities than men as they face a workload that men do not have. In most cultures, women are responsible for the majority of household and child-rearing tasks, as well as the rearing of small livestock, although the standards vary for culture and overtime. The extra workload is unpaid and restricts women's ability to participate in income-generating activities, which often require a minimum of fixed time before they are profitable. Moreover, the essence of jobs, such as caring for children and elderly household members, causes women to stay close to home, thereby reducing the possibility of working for a paycheck. Time scarcity causes many women to start up cottage industries, such as handicrafts, which are often characterized by low returns and minimal capacity for expansion (Lanjouw, 2001). All of these; place women in a state of lack of economic opportunities, which is one of the biggest obstacles to women's involvement in socio-economic activities that can be expanded on in the ongoing sub-themes.

i. Lack of Working Capital/Credit

Inadequate financing remained a major problem for agricultural production. This is because capital is the most important input into agricultural production, and the availability of capital remains a major problem for small-scale farmers, who account for the bulk of the nation's agricultural produce. The lack of capital resources limits the opportunities for women in particular to become members of cooperatives where they are involved membership fees have to be paid. It will also lessen their incentives to use cooperative facilities, buy crops, fertilizers, pesticides, milk and household goods. However, the movement of men to cities and other countries also means that children and their parents are mostly women behind them. Among the economic

limitations for women's groups and cooperatives are the lack of financial capital, the small business ideals of the cooperative enterprises which do not allow employment of qualified staff, difficulties in obtaining external financing without collateral security, and lack of business skill (Woldu & Tadesse, 2015).

ii. Lack of Access to key Economic Resources

Throughout primitive society, the role of women was much greater than that of men. In this system, where the position of men was limited to clearing the land, women were the dominant figures in farming practice. They prepare the soil, sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and transporting agricultural products. In addition, rural women have played a significant role in the cultivation of livestock and are active participants in the management of livestock, such as feed supplies, milking and the care of animals. Women are both consumers and procreators and are also active participants in the social, political and cultural activities of their families (Boserups, 1970, cited in Tegegne, 2012).

Contrarily to this, the study showed that rural women in developing countries have less property rights, have no role in economic production, and have remained economically vulnerable (Women Affairs, 2004 cited in Berhan, 2010). Rural women have different levels of access to power over natural or cultural, human and financial resources, as well as public services and facilities. Women are deprived of direct ownership of resources in the patriarchal system of society (Ayferam & Fisha, 2015).

Land ownership is the main requirement for cooperative membership, of the key economic resources. It is the main resource for human beings in general and agricultural communities in particular. Land is not only a productive resource and a source of material wealth, but also a source of stability, prestige and recognition. Worldwide, only 1 to 2 per cent of women holds titled land and is often denied the right to inherit those properties (Harun, 2014).

Many women, married or female, have limited access to and ownership of land due to traditional practices that presume male control and ownership, despite new land certification policies in Ethiopia that identify women and men as equal owners (Kumar & Quisumbing, cited in Woldu & Tadesse, 2015). One of the study described landownership as the most significant determinant of cooperative membership in Ethiopia (Bernard & Spielman, 2009).

Women's right to land originated in Ethiopia during the Derg regime in 1974. At that time, women were actively involved in the political arena. They had their own mass body, the Radical Ethiopia Women's Association (REWA). That land rights were also admitted in the rural land declaration of the Dergue regime (Mamo, 2006). The

current government is also in a similar position to that of the Dargue regime on land rule. Women have the right to possess, maintain, regulate, use and transfer land. Women have equal rights with men with respect to the use, transfer and ownership of land. Women also receive equal care in the inheritance of property rights (Hagos & Holden, 2013). The truth of the yield, however, does not fit the blueprint of a strategy on women's rights.

iii. Lack of Property Ownership, Income Generation and Purchasing Power

In the past, women were not owners of the means of production even when they were inherited into job areas. In the last one and a half decades, urban women have had access to work that does not require formal education. Females are now filling jobs in the construction industry and manufacturing, as well as in sales and marketing services.

On the other hand, most rural women do not have an independent budget, but rely at their husbands for their income, even though they engage in different income-generating activities. After the husband gives them the family's monthly budget, they use the small amount of money to fulfill other family needs that could not be covered with what their husbands give them. Mostly, this portion is important for women to buy household goods to support the family. A woman may be able to use some cash for her own personal use if she finds it necessary, but the circumstances are such that there is scarcely enough food for household use during the season until the coming harvest. Therefore, women rarely spend on themselves or their children without the permission of their husband and even then only on special occasions such as holy days (Brown & Davis, 2014). What is shocking is that while women do a great job in both the triple position (production, reproduction and community management) they do not have the right to make a decision and even their husbands do not consult them on the distribution of the products. The United Nations statistically shows that women make 2/3rd of the available work in the world and earn 1/10th of their income (Lalremruati, 2016).

Lack of Education and Training

Knowledge is needed to enable citizens to take an active part in the management of cooperatives. In this regard, women in developing countries lack basic education that is required for further training. Women can, however, are prohibited from engaging in education and training programs for other reasons such as not being allowed to travel, lack of time due to domestic workload or carrying out additional tasks. In line with this, the United Nations statistical report shows that women

make up 2/3rd of the illiterate people of the world and therefore gain less than 1/100th of the world's wealth (Lalremruati, 2016). More evidence shows that the low level of education of women is one of the most important factors leading to the participation of women in cooperatives (Idrisa *et al.*, 2007; FAO, 2011b).

Cooperative Laws and Rules Related Factors

In this regard, numerous studies show that cooperative rules, legislation and by-laws still discriminate against married women by demanding that the requirement of membership be the head of household (Oxfam International, 2013). In some parts of the regions, most cooperatives have 'only one member per household' as their membership rule, which has resulted for female household heads being more likely to be members than married women (*ibid*). Therefore, female heads of household are more likely to join than married women because they are less limited in their autonomy and have greater freedom and access to information to join those classes. Married women frequently feel excluded from male-dominated cooperatives because of male-dominated rules governing cooperative membership. As such, the advantages of access to input facilities, participation in training and knowledge sharing are refused. In practice, it is assumed that men will engage in such activities and pass on the information and knowledge they have acquired to their wives. Nevertheless, in fact, there is often no "crossing" because, in general, men and women do not have the same priorities when it comes to living decisions (Aregu *et al.*, 2010 pp. 36).

In general, obstacles women face changes according to individual and social group characteristics such as social and educational status, age and place. One study found that older, wealthier, more educated, pregnant, female householders are more likely to be members of agricultural cooperatives than other women (Oxfam International, 2013). Such women have less household responsibilities, less time constraints, greater access to assets and resources, and a wider range of informal and formal community memberships. Due to a variety of factors, such as cultural traditions that limit autonomy and bargaining power, married women face unequal access to and leverage over key productive assets.

CONCLUSION

Women contribution to the country's socio-economic development is multifaceted. Hence, their active involvement in all developmental perspectives is highly pivotal. This would not be out of place to recognize the socio-economic status of women as a measure of the

country's development, as women make up half of the population. A cooperative considered as a way of empowering rural poor women who do not have access to cooperative management, basic resources and different service benefits.

This seminar paper was primarily intended to assess women's role in agricultural cooperatives, to analyze the status of women participation in agricultural cooperatives and to identify factors determining women's participation in agricultural cooperatives societies. In connection with this, the seminar identified that women in Ethiopia face multiple types of deprivation in order to contribute to their task in all disciplines in general and in agricultural cooperatives in particular.

Although governments and many stakeholders have been realized in achieving gender equality, attempts in most parts of the world to ease the exploitation and subordination of women are unsuccessful. Actions have been taken by governmental and non-governmental organizations, women's groups, associations and feminist movements. However, the emphasis is mostly on the public sphere rather than the private sphere. Laws, legislation, reforms, education and training are mostly offered or enforced in the workplace. The emphasis given to the public sphere to provide men and women or boys and girls equal opportunities and enjoyment of rights is not given to the domestic sphere to accompany it with rewards and benefits.

Accordingly, the main constraints that inhibit women from participating in cooperatives factors are usually classified as socio-cultural, economic, educational and training factors and factors related to laws and rules. Such factors are: Culture/customs, which is the negative attitude of the society towards women, gender differentials within rural labor markets, work load in the house and lack of time that limited mobility, lack of capital/credit, lack of access to key resources, lack of property ownership, income generation and purchasing power, lack of education and training leading to lack of skill, awareness and information, culture, information, cooperative laws and rules related factors that discriminate against married women by demanding that the requirement of membership be the head of household are the most important factors contributing to the inactive participation of women in agricultural cooperatives.

Proposed Interventions

Therefore, in order to improve women participation status in the agricultural cooperatives, special consideration should be given to increasing their involvement in the cooperative movement at all levels. Cooperatives should strengthen and expand the involvement of more women in the cooperative sector in order to improve their livelihood. Hence, cooperatives

should target on continuous education, training and information to all women to strengthen women's capacities and capabilities, resulting in their increased self-confidence and enabling them to participate fully in decision-making and assume leadership positions. Active, equitable participation of members, both men and women, is a necessity for sustainable cooperative development, which means active participation in the cooperative context is involvement of women in all the functions of cooperatives including planning, decision-making, implementation and financial and management control.

Cooperative promoters at all levels and other stakeholders should enforce the cooperative societies to incorporate women as a precondition for the functioning of the cooperative organization. Cooperatives should review their policies and plans periodically to ensure that they are gender sensitive. Gender integration in cooperative development is also essential because active and equitable participation of members, both men and women, is a necessary condition for sustainable cooperative development. Cooperatives will benefit from the under-utilized half of the world's human resources by enhancing women's productive capabilities. It is significant that the involvement of more women in cooperatives will broaden the scope of cooperatives and improves their social role by empowering them to decision-making level. Cooperatives should also consider designing and implementing training, family dialog, community conversation programs that bring attitudinal change in men so that they share the household responsibilities, since these are deep-rooted cultural issues that need more awareness and behavioral changes.

REFERENCES

- Adefila, J. O. (2012). Spatial Assessment of Farmers' Cooperative Organizations in Agricultural Development in Gurara area of Niger state, Nigeria. *Journal of Ecology and the Natural Environment*, Vol. 4(2) pp. 51-57.
- Ademe, G., & Singh, M. (2016). Factors Affecting Women's Participation in Leadership and Management in Selected Public Higher Education Institutions in Amhara Region, Ethiopia. *Ethiopia European Journal of Business and Management*, 7, 31.
- African Development Bank (ADB) (2004). Multi-Sector Country Gender Profile.
- Akpınar N, Talay I, Cos, Ceylan K, Gunduz S (2004). Rural Women and Agro Tourism in the Context of Sustainable Rural Development: A case study from Turkey. *Kluwer Journal*, 6: 473–486,
- Alemu, G. T. (2016). Constraints Rural Women Farmers Face in Utilizing Agricultural Extension Services in Bure Woreda, North Western Ethiopia.
- Alkali1, A., Gwary, M. M., Umar, A. S. S., Mustapha, S. B. & Thlawur, P. (2018). A Review on Participation of Women in Agricultural Cooperative Societies in Nigeria. *International Journal of Social Science and Humanities Research*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2018, pp. 22-31.
- Almaz Woldetensaye (2007). Women's Access to and Control Over Land in the Current Land Administration System in Two Rural Kebeles in Ada'a Woreda of Oromia Region. MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University.
- Alufohai, G. O. & Ahmodu, J. (2005). Queue Management by Nigeria Agricultural Cooperative and Rural Development Bank (NACRDB) in Farm Credit Delivery. The case of Benin Branch, Edo State, Nigeria Proceedings of the 39th Conference of Agricultural Society of Nigeria (ASN) Held at the University of Benin, Nigeria. 9th-13th October, pp. 300-303.
- Aregu, L., Bishop-Sambrook, C., Puskur, R. & Tesema, E., (2010). Opportunities for Promoting Gender Equality in Rural Ethiopia through the Commercialization of Agriculture. IPMS Working Paper 18.
- Assefa, T. W. & Tadesse, F. (2012). Women's participation in Cooperatives in Ethiopia. International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), Ethiopian Strategy Support Program (ESSP II), Pp. 28.
- Awotide, D. O. (2012). Assessment of Women's Participation in Cooperative Societies and its Determinants in Yewa North Local Government Area of Ogun State, Nigeria. *Asian Journal of Agriculture and Rural Development*, Vol. 2, (3), pp-12.
- Ayferam, G., & Fisha, A. (2015). Assessment of Rural Women's Participation in Agricultural Production: the Case of Awaro Kora Peasant Associations, Ambo District West Shewa Zone, Oromia Region. *Inter. J. Polit. Sci. Develop*, 3(1), 40-49.
- Berhan, D. (2010). Women Empowerment through Saving and Credit Cooperatives. The case of Tigray Region, Mekelle University, Ethiopia.
- Bernard, T., & Spielman, D. J. (2009). Reaching the Rural Poor through Rural Producer Organizations. A Study of Agricultural Marketing Cooperatives in Ethiopia. *Food Policy*. 34 (1), 60-69.
- Bezabih Emanu, (2008). Current Status of Cooperative in Ethiopia, Cooperative Africa.
- Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (2010). "Accelerating Ethiopian Agriculture Development for Growth, Food Security, and Equity."
- Birhanu Megersa. (2006). Gender Issues in Cooperatives in West Showa Zone. Ambo University.
- Brown, J. C., & Davis, R. C. (2014). *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*. Routledge.
- Budlender, D. (2008). The Statistical Evidence on Care and Non-Care Work across Six Countries. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).
- Cheng, S. J. A. (1999). Labor Migration and International

- Sexual Division of Labor: a Feminist Perspective. In *Gender and Immigration* (pp. 38-58). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Central Statistical Agency (CSA) (1999). Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Central Statistical Agency. Population censuses.
- CSA & International Classification of Functioning (ICF) (2012). Ethiopia Demographic and Health Survey 2011. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia and Calverton, Maryland, USA: Central Statistical Agency and ICF International.
- Damilola, T. (2010). Women's Participation and the Political Process In Nigeria: Problems and Prospects. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*. 4, 75-82.
- Desalegn Fekadu (2019). The Role of Multi-Purpose Cooperatives in the Economic Development in Ethiopia, the Case of Lalo-Assabi District (West Wollega Zone, Oromia Regional State). *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*. Vol.9, No.21, pp 13-30.
- Ekesionye, E. N., & Okolo, A. N. (2012). Women Empowerment and Participation in Economic Activities: Indispensable Tools for Self-Reliance and Development of Nigerian Society. *Educational Research and Reviews*, 7(1), 10-18.
- Endale, A. (2012). Factors that Affect Women Participation in Leadership and Decision Making Position. *Asian Journal of Humanity, Art and Literature*.
- Endale, N. (2010). Participation of Women in Rural Cooperatives: Evidence from Gewane and Fentale Districts of Afar Region, Ethiopia. MA Thesis.
- Enyew, B. E., & Mihrete, A. G. (2018). Liberal Feminism: Assessing its Compatibility and Applicability in Ethiopia Context. *International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 10(6), 59-64.
- Federal Cooperative Agency (FCA) (2006). Annual Report on Cooperatives. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
- Federal Cooperative Agency (FCA) (2016). Federal Cooperative Agency Annual Report. Addis Ababa: Unpublished.
- FAO (2010). Cooperatives: A pathway to Women's Empowerment in Rural Areas, 16th International Day of Cooperatives.
- Fontana, M. & L. Natali. (2008). Gendered Patterns of Time use in Tanzania: Public Investment in Infrastructure can help? Paper Prepared for the IFPRI Project on 'Evaluating the Long-Term Impact of Gender-Focused Policy Interventions.
- Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) (2011b). The State of Food and Agriculture: Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap for Development. Rome, Italy: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) (2012). Cooperatives: Empowering Women Farmers, Improving Food Security. www.fao.org/gender/gender-home/gender-insight/gender-insightdet/en/c/164572
- FDRE, (2006). The Implementation of the All Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa Addis Ababa.
- Gashaw, S., & Goshu, D. (2017). *Determinants of Rural Women Empowerment in East Hararghe Zone, Ethiopia* (Doctoral dissertation, Haramaya University).
- Gobezie, G. (2010). "Empowerment of Women in Rural Ethiopia: A review of Two Microfinance Models." *Praxis: The Fletcher Journal of Human Security* XXV: 23-38.
- Hagos, H. G., & Holden, S. (2013). *Links between Tenure Security and Food Security: Evidence from Ethiopia* (Vol. 1288). Intl Food Policy Res Inst.
- Haile Geberel Yekdem (2009). The Role of Cooperatives in Empowering Women: The Case of Mekaleya Self-Employed Women's Savings and Credit Cooperatives, Thesis Paper.
- Hague, R. & Harrop, M. (2004). An Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics.
- Haregewoin Cherinet & Emebet Mulugeta (2003). A Profile on Gender Relations: Towards Gender Equality in Ethiopia. Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. Harun,
- M. E. (2014). Women's Workload and their Role in Agricultural Production in Ambo District, Ethiopia. *Journal of Development and Agricultural Economics*, 6(8), 356-362.
- Ibitoye, S. J. (2012). Survey of the Performance of Agricultural Cooperative Societies in Kogi State, Nigeria. *European Scientific Journal*, Vol. 8(14) pp. 99-101
- ICA (2001). Survey on Agricultural Cooperatives in Kenya.
- Ilahi, N. (2000). The Intra-Household Allocation of Time and Tasks: What have We Learnt from the Empirical Literature? Policy Research Report on Gender and Development, Working Paper Series No. 13, World Bank: Washington DC.
- ILO Recommendation No. 193 (2002). On the Promotion of Cooperative "Special Consideration should be given to increasing Women's Participation in Cooperative at the Higher Level.
- Idrisa, Y. L., Sulumbe, I. M., & Mohammed, S.T., (2007). Socio-Economic Factors Affecting the Participation of Women in Agricultural Cooperatives in Gwoza Local Government, Borno State, Nigeria. *Journal of Agriculture, Food, Environment and Extension*. 6 (2), 73-78.
- International Labour Organization (2009). Cooperatives: A Path to Economic and Social Empowerment in Ethiopia, Coop in Africa, Working paper No.9, Geneva, Switzerland. *International Labour Organization*.
- Kassa, S. (2015). Challenges and Opportunities of Women Political Participation in Ethiopia. *J Glob Econ* 3: 162. doi:10.4172/2375-4389.1000162.

- Kes, A. & H. Swaminathan (2006). Gender and Time Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa. Chapter 2 in Blackden, C.M. and Q. Wodon. (Eds.). *Gender, Time Use, and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa*. WB. Working Paper No. 73, the World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- Khadar, M. (2013). Women Political Participation and Decision Making in Hargeisa, Somaliland.
- Kunovich, L., Paxton, P. & Hughes, M. (2007). Gender in Politics. *Annual Review of Sociology*.
- Lalremruati, A. (2016). Gender Role in the Livelihood Activities of Shifting Cultivation in Mizoram: A Case Study of Chawngtlai Village.
- Lanjou, J.O. & P. Lanjou (2001). The Rural Non-Farm Sector: Issues and Evidence from Developing Countries. *World Development* 26: 1-23.
- Lentisco, A., & Alonso, E. (2012). On Gender Mainstreaming Strategies and Tools in Fisheries Development Projects: RFLP Gender Strategy and Lessons from the Asia-Pacific Region. *Gender in Aquaculture and Fisheries: Moving the Agenda Forward*, 117105.
- Mamo Hebo (2006). Land, Local Customs and State Polices: - Disputes and Disputes Settlement among the Arsi Oromo of Southern Ethiopia Kyoto University – Japan Nakanishi printing co. Ltd- Japan.
- Manuh, T. (1998). Women in Africa's Development: Overcoming Obstacles, Pushing for Progress. Africa Recovery Briefing Paper Issue 11. United Nations Dept. of Public Information.
- Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA) (2005). "Gender Relations in Ethiopia: Final Report." Addis Ababa: Ministry of Women's Affairs.
- Nippierd, A. B. (2012). *Gender Issues in Cooperatives*. ILO.
- Oxfam International (2013). Women's Collective Action: Unlocking the Potential of Agricultural Markets. Oxfam International Research Report. Oxfam International, Oxford, UK.
- Rani, D. L., & Yadeta, D. B. (2016). Determinants of Women Participation in Primary Agricultural Cooperative Societies of Dendi District, Ethiopia. *IJAR*, 2(8), 380-384.
- Ruhul, A. M., & Mahin, U. M. (2014). Socio-Economic Impacts of Cooperative Societies: An Empirical Study. *SOCRATES: An International, Multi-lingual, Multi-disciplinary, Refereed (peer-reviewed), Indexed Scholarly journal*, 2(2), 179-193.
- Safarishali, R., (2010). A Survey of the Activities and Performance of Poultry Agricultural Cooperatives of Tehran Province. M.A. Thesis, College of Agriculture, Isfahan University of Technology.
- Shvedova, N. (2002). Obstacles to Women's Participation in Parliament.
- Tegegne Messay (2012). *An Assessment on the Role of Women in Agriculture in Southern Nation Nationality People's Region: The case of Halaba Special Woreda, Ethiopia* (Doctoral Dissertation, Indira Gandhi National Open University).
- Tesfaye, T. (2015). Rural Women Participation in Agricultural Activities and Household Managements in Ethiopia: a case Study of Delanta Dawunt District, North Wollo Zone. *Afr. J. Agric. Sci. Technol*, 3(7), 327-340.
- Tewodros Biset Amene & Atnafu Yadessa (2018). Determinants of Multi-Purpose Primary Cooperatives Marketing Performance in the case of West Hararghe Zone, Ethiopia. *International Journal of Business and Management Invention (IJBMI)*. Vol.7, issue 10, PP—11-32.
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) (2008). Gender Inequality and Women's Empowerment. Ethiopian Society for Population Studies. In-depth Analysis of the Ethiopian Demographic and Health Survey 2005. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: UNFPA. <http://ethiopia.unfpa.org/drive/Gender.pdf>
- UN Women Watch Organization (2017). Un Information and Resources on Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/>
- United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (2012). "Promoting Women in Cooperatives in Ethiopia: for Agricultural Value Chains Development." Report of Consultation held in Addis Ababa, January 25–26, 2012.
- World Bank (2005). Wellbeing and Poverty in Ethiopia: The Role of Agriculture and Agency.
- World Bank (2009). Gender in Agriculture. Source Book. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- World Bank (2019). Estimates of population, female % of Total Population. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL.FE.ZS>
- Woldu, T., & Tadesse, F. (2015). *Women's Participation in Agricultural Cooperatives in Ethiopia* (No. 1008-2016-80335).
- Wrangham, R.T. (2009). *Catching Fire: How Cooking Made Us Human*. Basic Books, New York.
- Yigremew Adal (2001). Land Redistribution and Female, the added Households. A Study in two Rural Communities in Ethiopia, Discussion Papers. Forum for Social Science Studies, AAU.
- Yohannes, D. W., & Endale, N. (2014). Participation of Women in Rural Cooperatives: Evidence from Gewane and Fentale Districts of Afar Region, Ethiopia. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 5(15),1-8.

Review

Electoral Reforms in India: Needs, Issues and Challenges

Dr. Vikash Kumar

Research Scholar, Centre for West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Email-vikashjnu.sis@gmail.com

Accepted 6 December 2020

India's freedom signalled the end of European imperialism and new start of rule of people in India through democratic principles, values and norms. Democracy, equality and fundamental rights became the core value of India's constitution. Indian constitution accepted parliamentary democracy because freedom struggle has given experience of democratic value to Indians. Democracy believes in the people and their political rights. Parliamentary democracy has taken steps to protect the democratic principles, trust and values from structural flaws. In this regard, electoral process and electoral politics is the life and soul for consolidation of parliamentary democratic system in India. The free and fair elections are fundamental basis for success of democracy. Political stability can secure through people's political participation. Electoral system is necessary and important instrument to make parliamentary democracy work. Under the constitutional values and guidelines of election commission free and fair elections are held at regular intervals in India. To make them from free of flaws it is essential to reform the electoral system from time to time. This paper evaluates need, issues and challenges for electoral reforms in India.

Keywords: Parliamentary Democracy, Democratic principles, Political Participation, Election, Political Stability, Electoral Reform

Cite this article as: Kumar, V (2021). Electoral Reforms in India: Needs, Issues and Challenges. *Int. J. Polit. Sci. Develop.* 9(1) 17-24

INTRODUCTION

Indian constitution has accepted parliamentary democracy and has given right to vote on the principle of universal adult franchise. Elections are important features of parliamentary democracy which is held at regular intervals from time to time. People's faith and trust is essential for success of parliamentary democracy. India is the world's largest democracy with 900 million voters. Therefore, free and fair elections are essential for the political stability and healthy democracy. Elections are indispensable to any political system which claims itself democratic (Desai 2016, p. 211). In India, the state governments and union government draws its authority from the Indian citizens.

It is the Indian citizens who have the sovereign power to elect their representatives, form and change their government. The elected governments are responsible to the Indian citizens who have elected them. But the Indian citizens who elect the representatives for formation of governments have no right to recall or dismiss the representatives on the ground that they are unsatisfactory for their post. In this situation, the Indian citizens can reject the representatives through elections which is held at regular intervals. Elections are practical practical form of democracy.

The consent of the Indian citizens is expressed through the elections in parliamentary form of democracy. In other words, the governments get legitimacy through electoral process.

Indian constitution has adopted 'First Past the Post' (FPTP) electoral system. The 'First Past the Post' (FPTP) electoral system has many structural flaws. But, there is no other option for FPTP in the Indian parliamentary democracy. In this regard, time to time electoral reforms are essential for the healthy democracy, faith of the Indian citizens in this electoral system, free and fair elections. The term 'Electoral Reform' refers to the change in the systems of election process in order to improve on the desirability of the public in the election results (Goyal and Awasthi 2019).

One of the major factors for the electoral reforms is change of voting process, election funding, election campaign, criminalization of politics and growing suspicion on election commission. Therefore, electoral reforms are necessary to functioning of parliamentary democracy in India. In this regard, the election commission, the high courts, the supreme court, the national law commission, parliamentary committees and the Parliament have taken many steps for the electoral reforms. The main focus of this article is to highlight the requirement, issue and challenges for the electoral reforms in India. This article is divided into five parts. First part is introduction. Second part focuses on need of electoral reforms. Third part deals with issues and challenges for the electoral reforms. Fourth part focuses on initiative taken by the election commission, the judiciary and the legislative. Fifth part is conclusion.

Need of Electoral Reforms

In parliamentary democracy, representation is linked with elections at regular intervals. Elections are only mechanism in which representation, government formation, control on government and change in ruling political parties are conducted. Therefore, elections are essential features of parliamentary democracy. But only elections are not criteria to fulfil the aspirations of people. Free and fair elections are necessary for healthy democracy. Democracy and "free and fair election" are inseparable twins (Baruah 2018, p. 1).

In this regard, electoral reforms have paved the way for free and fair elections. Electoral reforms refer to introduction of best practices in ensuring better responsible parliamentary democracy, removal of structural flaws, clean politics, honest politicians, maintain citizens' trust, true representation and so on. We need electoral reforms, and need them urgently, if we wish to ensure healthy democracy, at least in a workable form if not in its ideal form, survives in the country (Chhokar 2010, p. 3977). Indian constitution's article 324-329 deals with elections and electoral reforms.

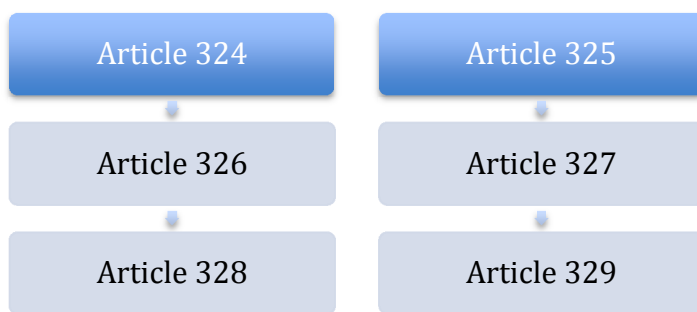


Figure 1. Constitutional Provisions for elections and electoral reforms

Transparency of background of candidates, freeing the election processes from muscle and money power, transparency in election funding, giving right to information to Indian citizens, assured facilitating of vote casting, removal of criminalization of politics, upholding the secrecy of voters, secure free and fair elections, fair registration and recognition of political parties, the solution of delisting of voters, non-partisan role of media, applying the model code of conduct efficiently, rationalising electoral processes are aspects of electoral reforms in India.

The Need for electoral reforms has also been felt mainly due to fulfil the aspirations of young generation, prohibit the criminalization of politics, discourage the muscles and money power, stop the misuse of the government machinery, enhance the trust in the eyes of of citizens, make election commission stronger, make election commission independent and employ the use of technology in electoral process. In 2019, the citizens of India delivered their verdict in electing members of parliament. In the biggest democratic process nearly 613 million voters exercised their franchise. It was the

culmination of a prolonged and acrimonious election campaign. In this election issues of EVMs and biasness of election commission have emerged. The role of election commission in 2019 election is doubtful. The election commission has lost its legitimacy before opposition parties and voters. The election commission was functioning like shareholders of Business Company. On the other side, EVMs issue has broken the trust of voters. Therefore, it is urgent requirement to settle these issues.

Political finance reform is need of time. Recent disclosures on electoral bonds raise questions. Election funding in India needs to be more transparent. The implementation of electoral bonds scheme raises grave questions. In this regard, allowing the State Bank of India, a government-owned bank, rather than the Reserve Bank of India, to be issuer of electoral bonds raises questions. Therefore, the electoral bonds are opaque in nature.

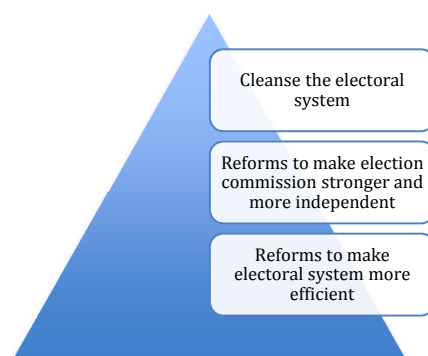


Figure 2. The requirement of electoral reforms in three broad categories

Issues and Challenges for Electoral Reforms

The Elections are practical form of parliamentary democracy. Elections cover every part of the electoral system. The word election has been used in part of XV of the constitution of India. In India entire electoral process rests on three pillars-Article 326 of the constitution, the representation of the People Act 1950 and the representation of the People Act, 1951.

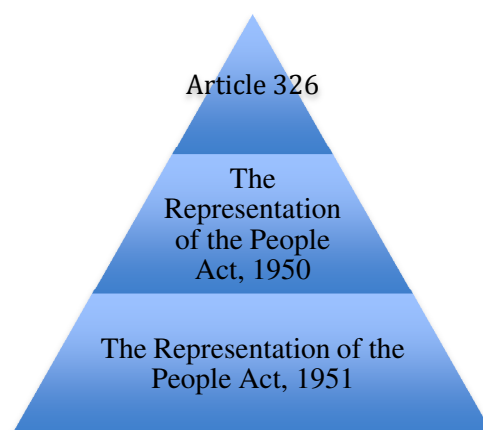


Figure 3. Three pillars of electoral process in India

But the elections are not being held in ideal conditions because of enormous use of money power, muscle power, misuse of corporate funding, misuse of government machinery, biasness of election commissioner and other reasons. Today, India's democracy is facing serious challenges. The absolute disintegration of political values has posed serious threat to Indian democracy. The criminalization of politics is serious threat to healthy functioning of democracy. According to the association of Democratic Reforms nearly half of the 17th Lok Sabha members have criminal charges against them. Of the 543 elected Lok Sabha members 233 have criminal charges.

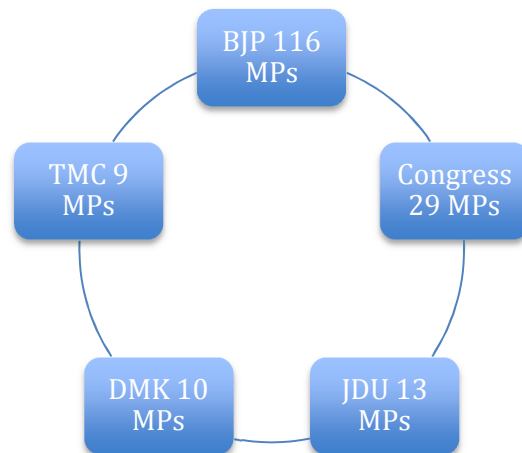


Figure 4. 17th Lok Sabha Members with Criminal Background
(Source: Association of Democratic Reforms)

According to Association of Democratic Reforms, 29 per cent elected members of 17th Lok Sabha have criminal cases of rape, murder, attempt to murder and crime against women. Since 2009, 109 per cent has increased in the number of MPs with serious criminal cases. In 2009 Lok Sabha elections 162 winners had declared criminal cases against themselves. In 2014 Lok Sabha elections 185 winners have declared criminal cases against themselves. The political parties having become a shelter home for criminals. Now, criminal representatives of legislatives are involved in rule making process. This is serious issue before electoral reforms. There is no legislative act to prevent criminal politicians from rule making process. Booth capturing, violence, pre-election intimidation, victimisation is mainly the product of muscle power (Goyal and Awasthi 2019, p. 68).

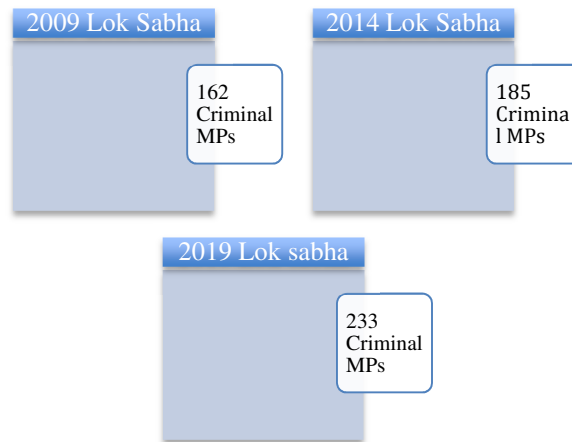


Figure 5. Criminal Members in three Lok Sabha
(Source: Association of Democratic Reforms)

The voters should be aware of the contribution to political parties by various donors in parliamentary democracy. The political funding by the unknown person and corporate houses are serious threat to parliamentary democracy. Since 2009 big business houses funding to political parties have increased. The big business houses have become effective interest groups which has enormous pressure on government to fulfil its economic aspirations. The Finance Bill 2017 introduced 'Electoral Bonds' scheme as political funding for transparency. The electoral bonds are available in State Bank of India (SBI) for purchase. The scheme allows individuals and domestic companies to purchase these bonds for political funding.

Buyers of the electoral bonds are required to submit 'Know Your Customer (KYC)' details at the time of buying. But the beneficiary political parties are not required to reveal the identity of donors. Thus, electoral bonds are itself opaque in nature. The government can take advantage from other political parties because electoral bonds are in government owned SBI. But electoral bonds have converted into recycling of black money. The electoral bonds are working as

political bribery. It has made corruption official because of absence of disclosure of identity of donors. The electoral bonds scheme resulted in money-laundering. Mumbai, Kolkata and New Delhi witnessed the maximum sell of electoral bonds. It means big business houses are major source of political funding.

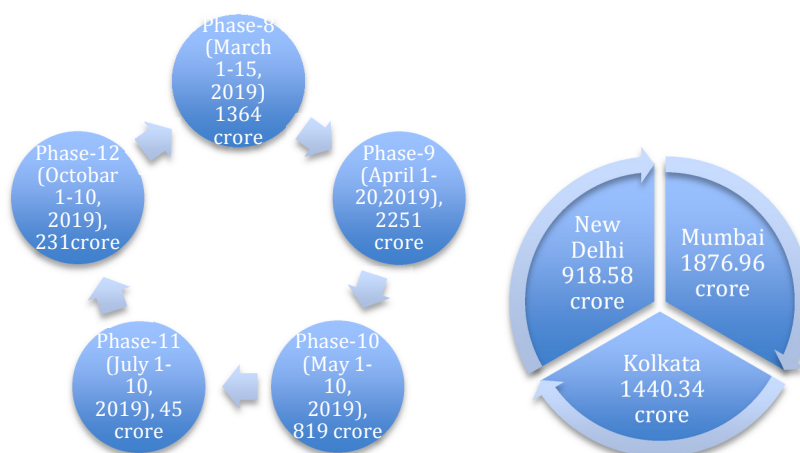


Figure 6. Political Funding by Electoral Bonds During 2019
(Source: Association of Democratic Reforms)

Figure 7. Electoral Bonds Sold, City by City
(Source: Association of Democratic Reforms)

Misuse of government machinery is major challenge before electoral reforms. During election government machinery becomes propaganda machinery of the ruling party (Kaur 2016, p. 257). Ruling party or ruling alliance used government machinery for election campaign and surveillance of opposition parties. Misuse of government machinery leads to the abuse of state funding. The politics of communalism, caste and religious fundamentalism poses serious threat to democracy. The politics of communalism and caste have diverted the issue of development. Religious polarization posed a threat to the Indian Political spirit of pluralism. The hate speech against religious community has become new trends of election campaign. The hate speech has emerged as rallying points to gain electoral support. The misuse of official machinery takes different forms, such as issue of advertisements at the cost of government and public exchequer highlighting their achievements, disbursements out of the discretionary funds at the disposal of the ministers, use of government vehicles for canvassing etc (Satish 2017, p. 299)

Paid news is serious issue for electoral reforms. According to the Press Council's report, paid news is "any news or analysis appearing in any media (print & electronic) for a cash or kind as consideration. The Election Commission of India found 120 cases of 'paid news' during 17th Lok Sabha election in 2019. But there is no law to regulate the menace of paid news in India. Paid news is obstacle in free and fair elections since voters influenced by news reports. Paid news publishes as advertisement totally misleading the electors. The paid news involves use of black money and underreporting election expenses.

Opinion polls has emerged as new challenge for free and fair election. Opinion poll confuse the voters. Opinion polls is against the right to freedom of speech and expression granted under Article 19 (1) (a) of the constitution. There should be a prohibition on publication and broadcast of opinion polls during election process. The manipulated opinion polls could impact the voting pattern. Opinion polls often tend to cause a prejudicial effect on the minds of the voters.

In recent elections, the credibility of the Election Commission of India (ECI) has suffered. The ECI has administrative functions for electoral process under Article 324 of the constitution. The Election Commission is the custodian of the secret votes. The role of some election commissioners during elections have affected the functions of the ECI. It has not been able to prevent Prime Minister Narendra Modi from violation of model code of conduct. In this matter only election commissioner Ashok Lavasa dissented with other two ECI commissioners on the issue of violation of model code of conduct by Prime Minister Narendra Modi. It has failed to stop the live broadcast of political rallies on TV channels on polling days. The ECI has failed in this issue due to pressure from ruling party. The last six years has shown helplessness of the ECI. The ECI has unable to ensure its free and fair work.

The defection is also major issue for electoral reforms. The defection has lowered the legitimacy of democracy. The parliament has taken legislative approach to address the problem of defection. In this regard, the anti-defection law was

passed in 1985. The anti-defection law is contained in the 10th schedule of the constitution. The purpose is to curb political defection by the legislators. The horse trading during the Rajya Sabha election has shown loopholes in this act. Political parties are bypassing the anti-defection law.

Electoral Reforms: An Overview

Indian parliamentary system stands as model for many emerging democracies around the world. Free and fair elections are essential features of democracy. The heart of India's democratic system witnesses regular elections with the participation of the largest electorate in the world (Election Commission of India Report 2016, p. 1). While we are justifiably proud of our democracy, there are a number of areas which need to be strengthened for us to realise the true potential of a well-functioning democracy (Ministry of Law and Justice Report 2010, p. 24). Indian Electoral process is in dire need of significant changes.

Electoral reform means introducing fair electoral systems for conducting fair elections. It also includes recuperation of the existing systems to enhance and increase the efficiency of the same (Saroha 2017, p. 271). The process of electoral reforms is successful only when there are coordination among the electoral machinery, the political parties, the candidates and electorate at all levels (Ravikiran 2020, p.1) Therefore, the Election Commission of India, numerous government committees and Supreme Court have introduced many electoral reforms to strengthen democracy in India.

The legislative approach for electoral reforms is not satisfactory in India. Only, the Parliament has passed the anti-defection act in 1985. In the recent time, the constitutional provision of anti-defection law has lost its legitimacy. The purpose of anti-defection law is to deter MLAs and MPs from defecting from their political parties. The anti-defection to address the political parties' loyalties of elected representatives has multiple problems. The topic of electoral reforms has been taken by numerous government committees in the recent past:

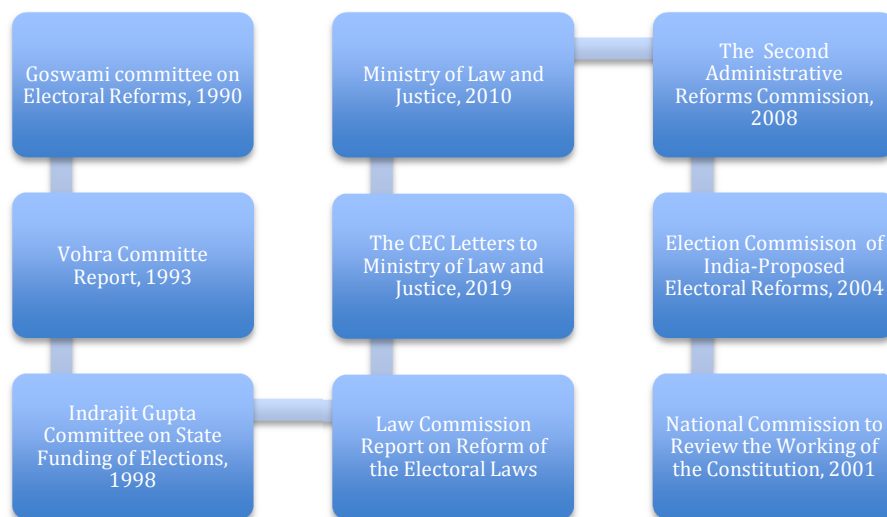


Figure 8. Initiatives for Electoral Reforms
(Source: Ministry of law and Justice, Government of India)

Since 1990s the Election commission of India (ECI) has taken initiatives for electoral reforms. The role of the Election Commission of India in conducting free and fair elections, has become more crucial for the consolidation of India's democracy (Venktesh 2015, p. 85). During 1990s, the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC) T.N. Seshan has been credited for several electoral reforms that end malpractices and brought transparency. The CEC Seshan's reforms by and large change the face of Indian elections.

The ECI has effectively enforced Model Code of Conduct during election process till 2014. But implementation of Model Code of Conduct during elections gradually has been dependent on the will of the CEC.

In this regard, the ECI has introduced voter lists with photo to prevent bogus voting in elections. Further, the ECI has proposed linking Aadhaar with voter identity card in an effort to clean up electoral rolls. The ECI has also proposed making paid news and filling of false affidavit a corrupt practice with punishment of two years imprisonment (The Election Commission of India 2016, p. 1-73). The ECI has asked the Ministry of Law and Justice to make bribery during poll period a cognisable offence. The ECI wants to bring bribery in the category of 'serious' crimes like murder, dowry, death and rape. Presently, conviction is an electoral offence is a ground for disqualification. The ECI has demanded

powers of de-register a party on the ground of poll violation rules.

The criminalisation of Indian political system has been observed by the ECI and the Supreme Court. The government of India had constituted Vohra Committee (1993) to identify the extent of the political-criminal nexus. In 1993, the Vohra Committee appointed by the Government of India had stated in the strong terms that the nexus between crime syndicates and political personalities was strong (Ramesh 2011, p. 1326). In this regard, the Supreme Court has made provision of mandatory of the disclosure of criminal antecedents of candidates and restriction on convicted politicians to contest election. The Supreme Court has issued an order in 2003 that candidates must file an additional affidavit stating (i) information relating to all pending cases in which cognizance has been taken by a Court, (ii) assets and liabilities, and (iii) educational qualifications (Ministry of Law and Justice 2019).

The financing of elections has become a major issue in the electoral process. The cost of contesting elections has climbed for above the ECI's spending limits. This has resulted in lack of transparency, widespread corruption, and the pervasiveness of so-called 'black money' (Ministry of Law and Justice 2019). The Supreme Court has given order in 2018 that candidates now have to declare source of income with reveal their income. In this judgement the Supreme Court asked the candidates while filling their nomination papers, declare their assets, assets of their spouse, children and other dependents.

The ECI has taken steps to maintain trust of electors on use of EVMs in the elections. In this regard, Voter Verifiable Paper Audit Trail (VVPAT) machines are used during election process to verify that the vote polled by voter goes to the correct candidates. VVPATs are a second line of verification. VVPATs have been used in some elections in a bid to prevent tempering of EVMs. It is essential to improve voter confidence and ensure transparency of voting through VVPATs. During 17th election, the 'C-vigil' app was launched as a step towards greater citizen empowerment. Citizen could geotag pictures and report cases of violation on the portal, with assured action within 100 minutes of reporting.

CONCLUSION

The most important feature of a democratic polity is elections at regular intervals. Elections are practical form of parliamentary democracy. The consent of the electors is expressed through the elections in parliamentary democracy. Election process provides legitimacy to the authority of the government. Periodic elections are necessary for maintaining trust of electors. Elections have emerged as an instrument of political awakening. India is the world's largest democracy and has evolved mechanism of free and fair elections. But free and fair elections are not sufficient for democracy. There is urgent requirement of large scale electoral reforms to remove poll related malpractices and to cleanse the system. There are many issues and challenges before electoral reforms in India.

Electoral reforms are necessary for healthy democracy, establishment of responsible government and other purposes. In India, electoral reforms are not a single time effort, but a continuous process. Therefore, there is a continuous attempt by the Election Commission, National Law Commission, the Parliamentary Committees on electoral reforms, legislative acts, high courts, supreme court to reform the electoral system in India. The degree and nature of electoral reforms will require wider debate and political consensus. The ECI and the Supreme Court can be enabler of these electoral reforms. But the functions of the Election Commission should be transparent and independent.

REFERENCES

- Dash, Siddhartha (2006), "Need for Electoral Reforms", *Journal of Odisha Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 1-14.
- Election Commission of India (2016), "Proposed Electoral Reforms 2016", *By Chief Election Commissioner Dr. Nasim Zaidi*, website: <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/9236-proposed-election-reforms/> p. 1-73.
- Election Commission of India (2020), "Awaiting Law Ministry Nod on Poll Reforms: Election Commission", Website: <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/395-awaiting-law-ministry-nod-on-poll-reforms-election-commission/>
- Election Commission of India (2020), "Election Commission of India Held Detailed Discussions with the Legislative Department of Ministry of Law and Justice On Various Issues of Pending Electoral Reforms On 18th February 2020", Website: <https://eci.gov.in/gallery/image/1889-election-commission-of-india-held-detailed-discussions-with-the-legislative-department-of-ministry-of-law-and-justice-on-various-issues-of-pending-electoral-reforms-on-18th-february-2020/>
- Election Commission of India (2020), "Election Commission of India holds a meeting with all the recognised National and State Political Parties at New Delhi on various electoral reforms" Website: <https://eci.gov.in/files/file/5022-election-commission-of-india-holds-a-meeting-with-all-the-recognised-national-and-state-political-parties-at-new-delhi-on-various-electoral-reforms/>.

- Gehlot, S (2019), "India is Overdue for an Electoral Reforms", *Journal of Current Science*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 1-12.
- H.M, Sanjeev Kumar (2016), *Contemporary Indian Politics: Internal Dynamics and External Compulsions*, Pinnacle Learning: New Delhi, pp.1-50.
- Kaur, Hardeep (2016), "Electoral Reforms in India-Challenges", *International Journal of Applied Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, No. 7, pp. 256-262.
- Kumar, B. Venkatesh Kumar (2002), "Critical Issues in Electoral Reforms", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 63, No.1, pp. 73-88.
- Kumar, Ravinder (2019), "Electoral Reforms in India", *Journal of Global Research & Analysis*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 46-51.
- Kumar, Sanjay (2002), "Reforming Indian Electoral Process", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 34, pp. 3489-3491.
- Ministry of Law and Justice (2010), "Background Paper on Electoral Reforms", *Prepared by the Core Committee on Electoral Reforms*, pp.1-34
- Ministry of Law and Justice (2020), "Reports on Electoral Reforms", Website: <http://legislative.gov.in/reports-on-electoral-reforms>
- Pathi, Srinibas (2020), "Does India Really Need Electoral Reforms", *Mizoram University Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 1-8.
- Ramesh, R. (2011), "Historical Perspectives of the Electoral Reforms in India", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Vol. 72, No. 2, pp. 1325-1336.
- Saroja, Jai Kumar (2017), "Electoral Reforms in India: Issues and Challenges", *Research Journal of Philosophy and Social Sciences*, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 270-276.
- Sastry, Trilochan (2004), "Electoral Reforms and Citizens' Initiatives", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 13, pp. 1391-1397.
- Sharma, Doli (2019), "Role of Election Commission in Electoral Reforms", *Pramana Research Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 12, pp. 48-54.
- Singh, Bimal Prasad (2013), "Electoral Reforms in India: Issues and Challenges", *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 1.5.
- Singh, Pragya (2013), "Electoral Reforms in India: Comparative Analysis with USA and UK", *Socrates*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 1-12.

Full Length Research

A Study on Political Psychology and Its Influence in Modern Politics

Bimal Prasad Singh

Department of Political Science, A.N. College, Patna -800012, INDIA

Accepted 15 December 2020

Political psychology applies to political behaviour, with an emphasis on what is known in human psychology in a specific political setting. The 1960s saw the emergence of political psychology as a field of knowledge aimed at connecting science with political psychology. However, today's circumstances in society and the universities are very different. The political psychology is becoming increasingly a protagonist both in the psychological internal and the social world external contexts. The interface between psychology and culture is political psychology. Real political upheavals in modern times show how crucial and important evolutionary subjects are to understand how new populism forms change older tribal feelings and drives. In reality, they are. Modern technology offers an interpretive politics which can no longer be mediated by political or social structures, even permanent ones such as marriage.

Keywords: Political Psychology, Political Socialization, Modern Politics, Political Cognition, Political Affect.

Cite this article as: Singh, B.P (2021). A Study on Political Psychology and Its Influence in Modern Politics. Int. J. Polit. Sci. Develop. 9(1) 25-30

INTRODUCTION

At the most general level, political psychology is an applied to the study of policy of what is understood about human psychology. It builds upon bio psychology, psychiatry, personality, psychopathology, developmental psychology and relationships. It is focused on theory and study in bio psychology, neuroscience, personality. Their personality, motivations, values and styles of leadership and their judgments, decisions and behaviour in domestic politics, foreign policy, international conflict and conflict resolution address political Elites. The study also discusses the dynamics of mass political behaviour: voting, cooperative action, power of political communications, political socialization and civic education, group-based political conduct, social justice, and the inclusion of migrants in politics. [1]

In international relations (IR), scholars have generally

limited the study of psychology and politics to a) individuals or groups and (b) cognitive psychological mechanisms and approaches to international policy comprehension. This reduction led to a substantial overlap of policy psychology with foreign policy theories; the first established the foundations of many of the latter's models and approaches. Concentration in IR has developed in the past couple of decades since scholars have influenced and motivated international actions in response to wider changes elsewhere in the discipline, from these dominant approaches as well like in national societies, and in non-cognitive processes like emotional states. The importance of recognizing the psychological pressures and mental processes creating "bad decisions" by individuals and small groups has not changed all that In effect, the importance of seeking to prevent or resolve these deficiencies can be avoided, so that decisions can be made to be "good" or "optimal." This aspect has been

discussed by emotional researchers, studying the consistency of results in relation to the objectives set by decision makers themselves. In addition, the sector has become more multidisciplinary. In addition to psychology and political science, scientists are increasingly drawn on biology.[2]

Political psychology is a prosperous field for social science investigation, with origins in political science and

psychology, as well as ties to a number of other social sciences including sociology, economics. The psychographic underpinnings, origins and effects of political actions are attempted by political psychologists.

Some of this work strengthens political awareness through the application of basic cognitive mechanisms and social relations theories that had originally evolved outside of politics.

The History of Political Psychology

The concept of “Political psychology” is the study of politics-psychology interaction especially the effect of psychology on politics. If politics is at the core of everything and is connected to everything else, it must be understood that it is a very controversial measure, but Aristotle was good enough. — Political science may be conceived as a type of Venn diagram with a circle around the middle of overlap. The field between economics and politics is classified as a “political economy”, a “political sociology” between sociology and politics, etc. The convergence of mathematics and politics has developed its own specialty terminology—rational choice, formal theory or game theory—but it is essentially “mathematical politics.”

Figure 1 also shows history, philosophy, geography, anthropology and others — I have never shown the interrelationships between (say) mathematics and economics because we aren't mainly interested in these here, but you get the general idea. Although numerous social scientists can of course conceive of various "master disciplines," most policy scientists will find this sort of scheme useful.

One of the differences in political science is that one camp is interested in *mass behavior* such as how people vote, how government policies influence public opinion, etc. The other focuses on *elite behavior* and how elite views influence government agendas, the effect on leadership, decision-making on foreign policy, etc. [3]

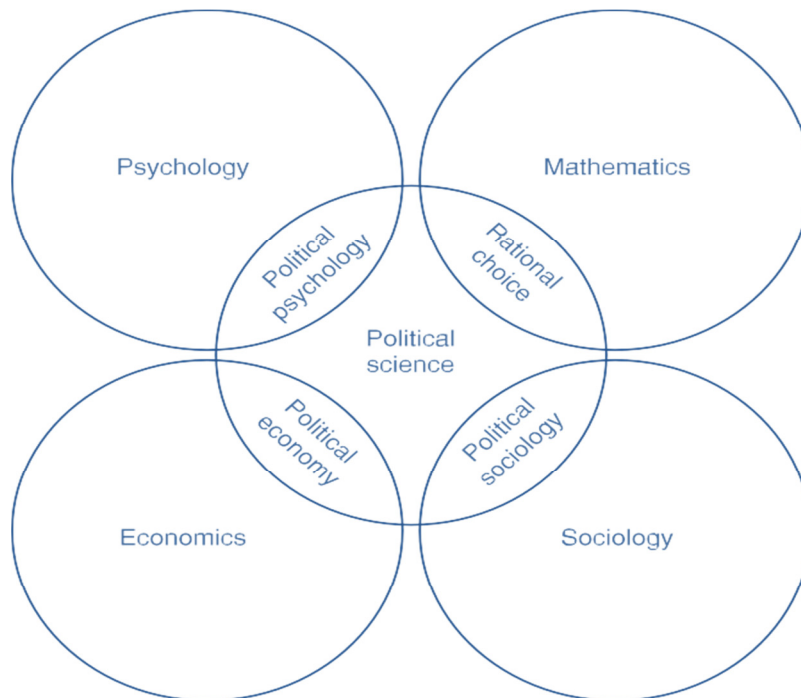


Figure 1: The relationship between political science and other fields.

Three findings should be made as a sub specialism of political science at the very beginning concerning political psychology.

1. Firstly, as a recognized academic field. it is comparatively fresh. While pioneers like Harold Lass well researched psychological factors in politics as long back as the 1920s, only early 1970s saw the opening of several courses in political psychology.

2. Second, "Political psychology" is truly international in focus, in this case described as a recognized area taught at universities. While dominated by U.S. scholars in particular, the subject "Political Psychology," here described as a recognized area of education, is increasingly common in Europe, Australasia and other parts of the world, and secondly. While dominated particularly by U.S. scholars, in Europe, Australasia and elsewhere it is becoming more and more popular.

3. Clearly, Niccolò Machiavelli's views on human psychology were very vague and classic conservative points of view were more pessimistic than classical liberalism. The definitions of the "state of nature," the real or the alleged state without government that shows the true nature and nature of humans, were also very different by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

The third point to remember is that political psychology is unique in that most (though by no means all) functions at what are generally considered the individual level of research as a specialism in political science. In particular, studying international relations typically differentiates between three basic explanation or "levels of analysis": structural, state, and person.

In the development of political psychology McGuire distinguishes three broad stages:

- a. the era of personality studies in the 1940s and 1950s dominated by psychoanalysis
- b. the era of political attitudes and voting behavior studies in the 1960s and 1970s characterized by the popularity of "rational man" assumptions, and
- c. an era since the 1980s and 1990s which has focused on political beliefs, information processing and decision-making, and has dealt in particular with international politics.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Since political psychology is so expanding, it is hard to find a definitive statement covering every aspect, even the narrower discipline of international relations. Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman are the main pioneers in developing a set of decision-making models used by IR scholars on the basis of clinical trials. These models can be found in the years 2000 and 1982 in Kahneman and Tversky, etc. (for an example of a specific application of these models to IR, see Prospect Theory). Monroe 2002 is quite fine, but it was not upgraded to include a broad overview of the origins of political psychology, influential approaches and big trends. Huddy et al. 2013 offsets the varied theoretical methods and research cases for IR and political psychology in general and offers a strong debate. In its third edition, the Cottam et al. 2016 textbook on political psychology explicitly tailored for college students covers a large theoretical area but focuses on psychology as a category. McDermott 2004 is particularly a good source for IR. The use of political psychology in particular areas of interest in IR is more evident in Goldgeier and Tetlock 2001.

Modern sociologists point to the way that Trump was able to manipulate the disaffection, particularly among the poor, predominantly rural White males, in order to achieve his electoral victory[4], however of course, the rise of tribal politics goes far beyond the United States and has far more effects than Trump. In the tradition of social psychology, Tajfel (1982) [5]'s social identity theory suggested gains in self-esteem and group cohesion, as well as costs of external prejudice following the recognition of those with similar.

Other papers show that when people feel challenged, their political views shift righter and more become more authoritarian as an ingrained evolution reaction to defend themselves (Haidt, 2008; Lewis & Bates, 2013)[6]. In recent times, some concentrated on physical characteristics as to why some candidates are appealing to our primary requirements as a party (Bamshad et al., 2003; Klofstad, 2016),[7], while some studied more social factors that motivate group membership. Three of these are identified by Hogg, Hohman and Rivera (2008). The first is Sociometer theory (Leary & Baumeister, 2000)[8], which suggests that individuals join groups for self-esteem purposes; this model offers the same reasons and benefits that the older models of social identity theory provide. The second is based on the theory of terror management (Greenberg, Pyszczynski & Solomon 1986)[9], which places the reason for the involvement of a group in people's wish to prevent their self-death thought and therefore to try and control their fears through group affiliation. From this viewpoint, communities validate individual views of the world, including religious values that comfort people. Finally, models of ambiguity of identity (Hogg, 2007) speak to the importance of reducing uncertainty in

communities that help determine behaviours, norms and roles.

In relation to beneficiaries of welfare, colleagues and I have shown that such signals are gathered and immediately influence opinions: easily and effortlessly (Petersen, Slothuus, Stubager & Togeby, 2011), which imply the input of these indices into deep-seated structures of representation.

METHODOLOGY

A. Influence in Modern Politics

Political psychologists may be psychologists specializing in social or political psychology. Some political psychologists do not have formal political training but are interested in ongoing schooling or comprehensive political reading. Others may earn dual degrees in politics and psychology or in history.

As political psychology is a cross-disciplinary field, persons studying political psychology are perhaps not psychologists. Political strategists also use psychological elements to assist politicians in the mobilization of voters. Sociologists may research political psychology in order to predict group behaviour. People with political or historical backgrounds may include in their research and training psychological elements. The overlap between organizational psychology and political psychology is important because both disciplines analyze people's actions in groups. Political psychologists' International Psychology is the largest membership organization. It publishes political psychology research and organizes political psychology conferences.[10]

Like other social and natural sciences, political scientists collect knowledge and develop hypotheses. However, both activities are often unbalanced and either contribute to the gathering of irrelevant information or the building of tricky theories. In the post-World War II period, political scientists have developed several theories and discarded them, and considerable (and unresolved) debate was held on whether developing theories, then gathering data to support or reject them, and collecting and analyzing data that could flow from theories, was more important.

Many lawmakers have sought to establish value-free and fully impartial methods. Most of this debate between structuralist and cultural theorists exists in contemporary political science. Structuralists say that politics is decided by the way the world is organized (or structured) and that power, values, and structures are the proper subjects of study for the political sciences that they define as objective characteristics of political life. Cultural theorists, on the other hand, who research psychology, beliefs and values suggest that individual interpretations of truth are more important than empirical reality. But most scholars think that these two realms feed on each other and cannot be completely isolated. The structuralist will for example, invoke the nation's election laws and influential ministries to justify the seeming inertia of the Japanese political system while a cultural theorist looks at deeply ingrained Japanese values, such as loyalty and stability.

However, few in one camp will absolutely condemn the others claims.

Top officials often decide in small groups and behind closed doors, for instance, and understanding them involve subjective descriptive material based on interviews and observations – mostly good journalists' techniques. The problem is still unsolved and is perhaps not resolvable in spite of several public opinion polls, voting habits and interest groups. Analyzes can create statistical relationships, but causality with no certainty is difficult to demonstrate. Two considerations make this debate more complex. First of all, although a large amount of polling's and electoral knowledge exists, most of the time lawmakers are ignorant of politics, a consideration to be taken into account when trying to understand what portion of the public, "all people, all voters, or only those who have an extreme view of a specific issue, listen to. A lack of credible elite-level data is impeded political analyses focused on elites, as researchers are frequently invited to address the issues of government. Therefore, we know a great deal about the social foundations of politics but less about how and why decisions are taken.

Political science does not predict the defining case of the post-World War II period in spite of decades of data collection and theorizing. Critics accused political science of explaining what was likely to be but could never discern. They tried to establish the theory of transitions to democracy by analyzing the fall and replacement, in the last three decades of the 20th century, of the oppressive systems in Latin America, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and democratic governments.

Political science faced a clear paradox in the early 21st century: the more scientific it sought to be the more it was excluded from the burning problems of today. While some of the scientific research in the fields of political science continues to be arcane and unintelligible, many political scientists have tried to lead a middle path which maintains a strict scientific approach but which also covers matters that are important to scholars, citizens as well as decision-makers [11].

Politicians in modern Britain are heavily influenced by the media. The principal shift that has resulted from the increase

in media power is the growing importance of marketability, rather than substantive political credibility for candidates. Politicians are increasingly subordinated to opinion polling and measured in the light of positive coverage that is itself closely linked to media coverage or contribute to an increase in opinion polls[12]. Unfortunately, this led to politics refusing to give longer, more truthful and more articulated responses because of the potential weaknesses of their media coverage. Another effect of the unfavourable climate that interviewees cultivate is that open-minded politicians who wish to be open about their views are generally considered eccentric and unreadable instead of honestly celebrated.

Modern politics or evolutionary political psychology influences

The related work on heuristics in psychology inspired early work on heuristics in political science. In essence, if we understand how the natural selection has affected people's and other species' psychological devices —that is, the structure of representational and motivational structures — we should ask ourselves: How do you build a robot to solve both representation (the problem of identifying situation Y) and motivation (the problem of eliciting behaviour X in situation Y)? Metaphorically speaking, natural selection cannot obviously interfere and drive the organism through the right fitness-improving pathway.

In comparison, the key pathological problems needing health treatment during the course of human evolution were harmed by accidents and parasite infections the archeology and anthropological evidence indicate that (Sugiyama,2004).The pathologies vary as regards their impact in the social hierarchy from modern diseases; even the best hunter does not protect against parasites or single incidents (for evidence, see Sugiyama,2004) or even the best hunter who is disabled is the best hunter who needs treatment to survive to him and to his family (Sugiyama,2004; Sugiyama & Chacon,2000).In comparison to current major health pathologist, diseases and accidental accidents have anciently infected individuals and affected individuals throughout the social hierarchy with dire fitness consequences.

If the heuristic deservingness is an evolved function of human political comprehension, the heuristic worth is not just a collection of psychological systems which have influenced whether our immediate predecessors have helped others, but also a set of systems which have influenced whether others helped our ancestry. Deservingness heuristic was basically part of the human beings' selection environment[13,14].

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This enables individuals to rely on, use and profit from inborn psychology, which, albeit through technical and social media mechanisms, naturally and immediately interprets all politics as local and personal. However, the size of this technical scope is comparable rather than a small village to large-scale organizations, organizations and businesses. The complexities of keeping working together in such large groups remain overwhelming and so it becomes apparent that social fractures are the causes and reasons to break people into increasingly narrow political slippers of identity. Back to such tribal identities, like the clan-based identities so prevailing across the North African, Middle East and Central Asia desert band or the increasingly divided demographic alliances that dominate American current politics, allow people to retain cohesion within their much larger collectives. Because of teamwork problems, larger groups will break apart. It is easier to hold smaller groups together. Identity offers an easy and sometimes quick visual way of distinguishing people into friends, rivals, and allies. Regardless of how incomplete the divide is these categories provide the sense of social community and protection that people want to experience the sense of belonging and security. Even if the culture is illusionary, there are minimal (if predictable) advantages and costs. This can happen. Since politics does not just have standards for how I can live my life at its core; they are primarily structured to give someone the sense of legitimacy and power to tell other people how to live.

As with many other aspects of human life, evolutionary motivations and drives instantiated in unique psychological adaptations allow processes designed to be concealed by another rather than imitate or mimic relevant indications of activation. Mass public s may want to benefit from the order enforced by authoritarian rule, but those preferences formed in environments where identification of cheaters was easier due to smaller communities and leaders who didn't benefit or disproportionate resources from their constituents were beheaded by their supporters (Boehm, 1999; Cosmides, Tooby, Fiddick, & Bryant, 2005). [15] It can prove much harder to detect true exploitative effects if these processes must be adapted to a global world where national populations contain millions from very diverse backgrounds, such as the United States, particularly when everyone is aware that their enemies can lie about these patterns for their own gain or to punish transgressions properly. Laws and institutions interfere and discourage certain natural impulses such as a dad who might kill his children's mother's new husband. However, the reversion to tribal identities is required to safeguard them at several levels in the absence of institutions of consensus legitimacy. This is especially urgent if such groups are privileged at the detriment of others by institutions, which means they lose widespread credibility [16].

If the public feels their group is under attack, there's a normal tendency to group and protect the group (Duckitt, 2006). Recent populist leaders in Europe (e.g. Denmark, France, Hungary, Sweden, UK, etc. and the United States are all focused on the potentially immigrant threat to fuel this protective impulse and support for public policies that often remain unrelated. Trump's presidential announcement on 16 June 2015 is probably no better example:

They don't give the best when Mexico sends its people. You don't give, you send people who have many problems and bring them with them.... They brought drugs, they brought crimes. They brought crime. They are rapists... They are rapists...

Such post, though xenophobic and bigoted, is driving people deeper into populist leaders, and triggering underlying drives to defend themselves. For example, messages which counteract the group's storey often cause a response to neural stress [17].

CONCLUSION

In an increasingly impoverished world, conflicts will become numerous, ardent and unavoidable as people struggle for essential resources. These questions and challenges cannot be answered explicitly. What is clear, however is that the inherent patterns, drives, impulses, and motivations for a human psychology, powerfully influenced by evolutionary forces, must be taken into account while operating. Failure is as unavoidable as it is predictable without such a deliberate consideration in planning and implementing future institutions and organizations. Our hope is to increase our understanding of the critically intertwined interplay among evolutionary psychology and political processes and structures, as well as to promote our prospects for a fairer, more prosperous and more peaceful planet of all.

In conclusion, media influence on voter behaviour is highly variable, and all three theories have merits and weaknesses, with Reinforcement theory and the Agenda setting theory being the most relevant to modern Britain, while empirical data is limited and inconclusive, however, it is certain that the media has less direct influence upon voters than it does upon politicians.

REFERENCES

1. Introduction: Theoretical Foundations of Political Psychology; Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy the Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology (2 ed.); Edited by Leonie Huddy, David O. Sears, and Jack S. Levy. DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199760107.013.0001
2. Political Psychology; Brent E. Sasley; DOI: 10.1093/obo/9780199743292-0150
3. Political Psychology Situations, Individuals, and Cases; David Patrick Houghton; by Routledge 270 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016
4. Hochschild, R. A. (2016). Strangers in their own land: Anger and mourning on the American Right. New York, NY: The New York Press.
5. Tajfel, H. (1982). Social identity and intergroup relations (Vol. 7). Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
6. Haidt, J. (2008). Morality. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 3, 65–72.
7. Bamshad, M. J., Wooding, S., Watkins, W. S., Ostler, C. T., Batzer, M. A., Jorde, L. B. (2003). Human population genetic structure and inference of group membership. *The American Journal of Human Genetics*, 72, 578–589.
8. Leary, M. R., Baumeister, R. F. (2000). The nature and function of self-esteem: Sociometer theory. *Advances in experimental social psychology*, 32, 1–62.
9. Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S. (1986). The causes and consequences of a need for self-esteem: A terror management theory. In Baumeister, R. (Ed.), *Public self and private self* (pp. 189–212). New York, NY: Springer.
10. Colman, A. M. (2006). *Oxford dictionary of psychology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
11. Williamsport, PA, United States; Chair and Professor, Department of Political Science, Lycoming College, Williamsport, Pennsylvania. Author of *Political Science: An Introduction, Countries and Concepts: An Introduction to Comparative Politics, and others*.
12. "The Influence of The Media Politics Essay." ukessays.com. 11 2018. UKEssays. 11 2020.
13. Aarøe, L., & Petersen, M. B. (2013). Hunger games: Fluctuations in blood glucose levels influence social welfare support. *Psychological Science*, 24(12), 2550–2556.
14. Bullock, J. G. (2011). Elite influence on public opinion in an informed electorate. *American Political Science Review*, 105(3), 496–515.
15. Boehm, C. (1999). *Hierarchy in the forest: The evolution of egalitarian behavior*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

16. McDermott R, Hatemi PK. To Go Forward, We Must Look Back: The Importance of Evolutionary Psychology for Understanding Modern Politics. *Evolutionary Psychology*. April 2018. doi:10.1177/1474704918764506
17. Duckitt, J. (2006). Differential effects of right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation on out group attitudes and their mediation by threat from and competitiveness to out groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32, 684–696.

Full Length Research

Conspiracy and Violation of Constitutional Proviso in a Liberal Democratic System: The Experience of Walter Onnoghen, Former Chief Justice of Nigeria

Ukwuije, Chima B.

Directorate of Academic Collaboration and linkages, Alvan Ikoku Federal College of Education, P. M. B. 1033 Owerri.
E-mail: bonchuk2002@gmail.com

Accepted 12 January 2021

Separation of power is mainly to check abuse of power, undue interference and dominance in one aspect of national life, decision making or implementation of public programmes and projects by an arm of government. As such, the administration of the State was divided among the tires of government; each with constitutional definition of powers and function. A situation where an arm of government jumps the constitutional process or usurps the powers of the other arms of government is considered to have emanated from conspiracy. Conspiracy is an enemy of democracy because it undermines democratic values like due process, rule of law; while encouraging continuity of the ruling class even if it is achieved at the expense of the citizens and contravention of the law. Conspiracy of the Northern politicians is what armed the President to overlook the constitutional proviso in section 292 (1) of the 1999 Constitution as amended to suspend the immediate past CJN, Justice Onnoghen. Unfortunately, it has created an indelible dent in the history of Nigerian judicial system. In democratic systems, there is politics behind every government action, but why it is worrisome in Nigeria is because it has always been retrogressive and opposed to democracy and development. The President did not start with Onnoghen neither did he stop after him. There are several other appointments made by him which confirms the conspiracy of the Northern politicians. The present administration is helping the North to dominate every aspect of government machinery without minding the provisions of the Federal Character Principles.

Keywords: Conspiracy, constitution, democracy, Onnoghen

Cite this article as: Ukwuije, C.B. (2021). Conspiracy and Violation of Constitutional Proviso in a Liberal Democratic System: The Experience of Walter Onnoghen, Former Chief Justice of Nigeria. *Int. J. Polit. Sci. Develop.* 9(1) 31-40

INTRODUCTION

Political process devoid of democracy is tantamount to militarism, where the elected political class will be far from the reach of the people. As such the system will be

composed of a democratically elected administration but without practicable democratic values. A society without substantial rudiments of liberal democracy fails easily, because the will of the masses which should have been their primary concern will not matter to the elected

officials but the state objective which may be far from the welfare of the people. What this implies is that without liberal democracy, national unity, foreign policy and military sophistication will be top list in the national budget and administrative policies of the country leadership rather than health, education, infrastructure, poverty eradication and citizens' welfare.

Liberal democracy and politics

Liberal democracy is indeed a modern form of government which emphasis people's accountable representation. In fact, scholars like Almond, Duvenger and Downs have argued that institutional arrangement, in particular the number of parties are directly related to both the quality and stability of democratic polity. Some of the features of liberal democracy include:

- ◆ Good Governance
 - ◆ Independence of the Judiciary
 - ◆ Existence of such institutions as political parties
 - ◆ The rule of law
 - ◆ Freedom of speech and association
- (Hayatudeen, Mohammed, Jamri & Bako 2011)

Most countries in the developing world claim to be practicing democracy but many of them are not applying the liberal democratic principles. Any democratic system that is not liberal in nature and approach is a semi-dictatorship and hardly can such government concern itself with the welfare of its citizens. Some ingredients of liberal democracy which are no less important include existence of healthy and competitive political parties; sound electioneering process, guided by legal provisions or framework; guaranteed fundamental freedoms in full practice and in accordance with the law, freedom of the press and the individual self-expressions through every democratic channel and the trending social media. It also advocates rule of law and due process.

Brief account of Justice Onnoghen's nomination, accusation and dismissal

Justice Walter Samuel Nkanu Onnoghen, a native of Okurike town in Biase Local Government Area of Cross River State became the Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN) upon his nomination by the Vice President, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo. He was sworn-in on Monday, March 6, 2017. Onnoghen was humiliated by indefinitely suspending him as the CJN on January 25, 2019 and barred him from holding public office for ten years following series of allegation bothering on corruption and false declaration of

assets. These allegations were put against him by a civil right group known and called the Anti-Corruption and Research Based Data Initiative and sent to the Code of Conduct Bureau and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC).

In their petition, they expressed serious concern about the flagrant violation of the law and constitution of Nigeria by Justice Walter Onnoghen, the CJN. Specifically, they stated that facts on ground indicate that the leader of the judicial arm of the country is involved in suspected financial crimes and breach of the Code of Conduct Bureau and Tribunal Act. According to Oak TV Newstrack (2019) Onnoghen was accused of sundry accounts primarily funded through cash deposits made by himself up to as recently as 10 August 2016, which appear to have been run in a manner inconsistent with financial transparency and the code of conduct for public officials.

Following an Ex Parte Order of the Code of Conduct Tribunal (CCT), dated January 23, 2019, which was signed by the Chairman of the Code of Conduct Tribunal, Hon. Danladi Y. Umar and Hon. (Mrs.) Julie A. Anabor. The order directed that Justice Onnoghen should step aside as the CJN and Chairman of NJC pending the determination of the motion on notice dated January 10, 2019.

The Federal Government filed an application to commence trial against Justice Onnoghen on a six count charge at the Code of Conduct Tribunal on January 10, 2019. In the application by the Federal Government, Onnoghen was alleged to have failed to declare some of his assets, including about \$3million, which were lodged in five domiciliary and Naira accounts respectively in Standard Chartered Bank with the following account details:

- ◆ USD account No. 870001062650;
- ◆ Euro account No. 93001062686;
- ◆ Pound Sterling A/C No. 285001062679;
- ◆ e-Saver Savings (Naira) account No. 5001062693;
- ◆ Naira A/C No. 010001062667.

In the account as alleged, Onnoghen made five cash deposits of \$10,000 each on March 8, 2011 into Standard Chartered Bank Account 1062650; two separate cash deposits of \$5000 each and four deposits of \$10,000 each on June 7, 2011. He also made five similar cash deposits of \$10,000 on June 27, 2011, and another four deposits of \$10,000 each the following day.

Although, the tribunal sat on January 22, but they adjourned to January 28 to rule on the preliminary objection filed by Justice Onnoghen, challenging the jurisdiction of the CCT to try him. According to the conventional legal practice, once the jurisdiction of a

court or tribunal is challenged, further hearing and legal procedure will be suspended until the jurisdiction of that court or tribunal is determined. It is only the National Judicial Council (NJC) that has the jurisdiction to try Onnoghen as the CJN and not the tribunal. What the President is in the Executive Arm of Government is what the CJN is in the Judicial Arm of Government just like the Senate President in the Legislative Arm of Government. They have coordinate jurisdiction and no one is subservient to the other.

Onnoghen was accused of false assets declaration and operating a foreign bank account. He was accused of operating a foreign account but the truth is that he only maintained a domiciliary account, which is a type of account that is operated with foreign currencies. It is not and cannot be regarded as a foreign account because it was opened in Nigeria though it can be operated both locally and internationally. The accounts were opened in Standard Chartered Bank in 2009.

When it became clearer beyond doubt that if they continue to claim that the accounts is a foreign account instead of a domiciliary accounts, which had in it deposits of foreign monies, the investigation now turned to determining the source of such huge sums of foreign currencies deposited in those accounts. The claim was that the USD were not earned by Onnoghen as his salaries and allowances, meaning that he may have gotten some from illegitimate means in addition to his estacodes.

Meanwhile what was contained in the petition by the Anti-Corruption and Research Based Data Initiative was that Justice Onnoghen did not declare assets immediately after taking office, contrary to section 15 (1) of the Code of Conduct Bureau and Tribunal Act. It is a constitutional obligation for public officers to declare their assets every four years during their career. In as much as he did not declare it within fifteen months as stipulated by the law but for the fact that his Code of Conduct Bureau Form (Form CCB 1) for 2014 and 2016 were dated and filed the same day, December 14 2016, Justice Onnoghen is therefore, according to the provisions of this Act in Section 15 (1a), supposed to declare his assets again in 2020.

If non-declaration of assets immediately after taking office as the Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN) was enough to relieve him of his duties and position, they should have allowed the law to take its full cause. The fact that they shortened the entire process is enough to suspect a crude and indecent intentions. Justice Onnoghen was seen as a fairly straight-forward man that knows his onus well and in whose office every election petition will be given a final judgment. As such, his presence and position as the head of the judicial arm of government was a threat the success-intention of the APC in the 2019 political quest.

On Friday, January 25, 2019, the same day Justice Onnoghen was suspended, Justice Ibrahim Tanko Mahammed (a Northern Muslim) was sworn in as the Acting CJN. Ibrahim Tanko holds a Bachelor of Law (Sharia) and he was a former Judge of the Sharia Court of Appeal. His nomination and continuous stay in office as Acting CJN up to April 25, 2019 was in contravention of section 321 (4 & 5) of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria as amended.

On Wednesday, April 3, 2019 Mr. Soji Oye, the Director of Information, Nigerian Judicial Council stated that the Five-Man Committee of NJC have concluded their investigation on the petition against Justices Onnoghen and Tanko Muhammadu. The concluded investigation, which they forwarded to the President in a report did not look into the non-declaration of assets that Justice Onnoghen was accused of because it was sub-judiced in Code of Conduct Tribunal. In that report, it was recommended that Justice Onnoghen having lost the moral justification to continue as the CJN because of the number of allegations relating to misconduct that are levelled against him, be made to proceed on a compulsory retirement.

Finally, Justice Onnoghen in consideration of his integrity and reputation honorably resigned his position as the Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN). The letter wherein the expression of intention to resign his position was contained was submitted to the presidency on Thursday, April 4, 2019. Perhaps, it may be argued that his decision to resign his position stemmed from the content of the report submitted by the National Judicial Council to the Presidency through the Chief of Staff Mr. Abba Kyari in the presence of the Attorney-General and Minister for Justice, Abubakar Mailami. This may count because his action is in consonance with recommendations of the National Judicial Council but that is not all to it. He decided to resign mainly to maintain his dignity and honour, having made an indelible mark in the Nigerian judicial system. It will amount to nothing if he should allow himself and his reputation to be thrown to the mud. So, he quickly made that timely, important and appropriate decision.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a time consuming research tool used mainly in qualitative research exercises to determine the presence of certain words, themes and concepts as contained in qualitative data to methodically analyse in details, or establish the meaning and/or the relationship between such words, themes or concepts. According to Schreier (2012) and Downe-Wamboldt (1992) qualitative content analysis is one of the several qualitative methods currently available for analysing data and interpreting its meaning. As a research method, it

represents a systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena.

In politics, nothing is considered less important until success is achieved and that is why in Nigeria, even lunatics, imbeciles and almajiris (helpless street panhandlers and mendicants) have voter's card. The pursuit of political power was given a desperate holistic approach by the APC in 2019. That was why they never wanted to entertain any excuse or failure especially at the national level and some states of special socioeconomic, political and religious interests.

The suspension of Justice Onnoghen is not only inglorious, it is also indefensible because he was not convicted by any court or even the tribunal. The President cannot just suspend him on the orders of a tribunal. His suspension attracted reaction from different strata of the society: Politicians, Lawyers and Human Right Activists. Even, the international community, not minding Nigeria's already dented image also reacted to his suspension. Obviously, "a State with an image crises is difficult to advertise in the "diplomatic market" (Egwemi 2010: 134). The National Interest Defenders and Lawyers protested against his suspension at the entrance of the National Headquarters of the Nigerian Bar Association. The PDP Presidential candidate, Alhaji Atiku Abubakar described it as a "dictatorship taken too far". The Nigerian Bar Association through their President unequivocally rejected it. They referred to it as an attempted coup against the Nigerian Judiciary and evident suspension of the Nigerian Constitution by the Executive arm of the federal government (Uoro 2019).

Constitutional provisions for the three arms of government

The federal government of Nigeria is composed of three distinct branches: legislative, executive, and judicial, whose powers are vested by the Constitution of Nigeria in the National Assembly, the President, and the Federal Courts, including the Supreme Court, respectively. The Constitution provides a separation and balance of powers among the three branches and aims to prevent the repetition of past mistakes made by the government (Tobi 1981 and Herskovits 1975). The three-level structure implies that the life of society is managed on various levels. Such a division into levels makes it possible to divide responsibilities, and it allows the government to manage the country more efficiently. Without separation of powers and an appropriate, effective system, there can be no rule of law (Agu 2019).

Succinctly put sections 4, 5, 6 of the 1999 constitution as amended 2011 states that the legislative powers of the Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be vested in a National Assembly for the federation which shall consist of a

Senate and A House of Representative. Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, the executive powers of the Federation shall be vested in the President and may, subject as aforesaid and to the provisions of any law made by the National Assembly, be exercised by him either directly or through the Vice-President and Ministers of the government of the federation or officers in the public service of the federation... the judicial powers of the Federation shall be vested in the courts to which this section relates, being courts established by the Federation. The apex of the courts to which this section relates is the Supreme Court of Nigeria. And section 230 (2) states that the Supreme Court of Nigeria shall consist of

- a. The Chief Justice of Nigeria and
- b. Such number of Justices of the Supreme Court, not exceeding twenty-one, as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.

What this implies is that the CJN is not just the Chief of the Supreme Court Justices, he is also heading the Nigerian judicial arm of government just like the President and the Senate President are heading the executive and legislative arms of the government respectively. Therefore, what bounds them together is the constitutional proviso and the principles of checks and balance.

The principle of checks and balance

This is a modifier of the principles of separation of powers. It can be argued to have originated from the Greek historian who used it to analyse the ancient Roman mixed constitution. He used it to explain the three main divisions of the constitution and the governance of the Roman Empire: the Monarch as represented by the Consul; the Aristocracy as represented by the Senate and democracy as represented by the people. Checks and balance is a very important principle that helps to shape and sustain democratic governments. It prevails in countries with constitutional and tripartite governments like Nigeria and the US.

Balancing each of the powers of the tripartite government is not only aimed at curtailing the possibility of abuse of power but to ensure that efforts in human actions towards tyranny, intimidation and oppression by government officials and agencies are checked and restrained maximally. It is also aimed at maximal use of constitutional powers by the tiers of government for the smooth administration and welfare of the people. In this context therefore, the executive abused its constitutional powers and excessively used it in contravention of the law and against the wishes of the political conscious class.

Now, assuming he was tried by a competent judicial body and found guilty of false declaration of assets as alleged, there is a constitutional procedure of suspending/removing the CJN, which is expressly and unambiguously provided for in the 1999 constitution section 292 (1). There, it is provided that:

A judicial Officer shall not be removed from his office or appointment before his age of retirement except in the following circumstances

- (a) In the case of
 (i) Chief Justice of the Nigeria, President of the Court of Appeal, Chief Judge of the Federal High Court of the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) and President, Customary Court of Appeal of the FCT, Abuja by the President acting on address supported by two-third majority of the Senate.

Following this constitutional provision, the former CJN, Justice Onnoghen was forced to leave office base on mere suspicion rather than conviction because President, Muhammadu Buhari cut short the judicial processes and usurped the powers of the executive and the legislative arms of government. The President did not allow the judiciary to fully and exhaustively perform their judicial function. He did not allow the legislature to give him the 2/3 majority support required for him to implement the decision of the judiciary arm before suspending him. What this implies is that the actions of the President and whatever that must have informed it, perhaps conspiracy is contrary to the provisions of the Nigerian constitution.

Postulations of the Conspiracy theory and its consequence in 2019 presidential election

Denotatively, conspiracy theory is a belief that an event or situation is the result of a secret plan made by people who are by any means, more powerful in the group. Behind every story of large-scale corruption, intimidation, subjugation, and marginalization there is an iota of conspiracy, which may or not be purposeful. Lawton (n.d) said "think of any major world event and there is almost certainly at least one conspiracy theory to explain it. However, there are certain political actions, which if you judge them by the swiftness of the processes, the level of manipulation and cover-up, it will become obviously clear that rudiments of conspiracy theory has taken place. The case of Justice Onnoghen is a clear evidence of electoral conspiracy and the beginning of the marred history of the Nigerian judicial/legal system. Smith (2020) explained that conspiracy theories flourish easily even as we have so much information at our finger tips because of the trending age of social media. Easy access and use of the social media makes it more difficult to hide government

conspiratorial actions. It was abundantly difficult for the government to manage the case of Onnoghen.

However, some of the reasons for conspiracy in government and politics include:

- ◆ **Corruption** – When certain corrupt practices have taken place, conspiracy must be employed in order to cover up
- ◆ **Blunt political ambition** – Some political leaders are over ambitious as to the attainment of a particular political position or the maintenance of an already attained political position
- ◆ **Selfish interest** – Political leaders tend to do better when they are spurred by common interest rather than selfish interest emanating from personal, ethnic or religious sentiments. Political leaders that are not selfish are usually free from undue control and influence
- ◆ **Administrative ignorance** – Administrative or leadership positions requires capacity and competences. One who is ignorant of his onus will be compelled to conspire and compromise else those working under him will undermine and disrepute him.
- ◆ **Bandwagon** – When it has become a culture, no one dares to run away from it else your administration will be seen and treated differently

The truth about the saga

There is no truth in Nigerian political system that is why everything that politicians tell the citizens appears to be suspicious and defamatory. In democratic systems, there is politics behind every government action, which is normal and as old as democracy itself but why it is worrisome in Nigeria is because it has always been retrogressive and opposed to democracy and development. Administrative politics in Nigeria is not welfare-oriented and that is why, even in the National Assembly, there has always been argument against government's administrative politics. Many Senators have called on the President to resign his office because he has shown clear evidence of incapacity. Even, the President do not know when his orders are not carried out by his Service Chiefs. People are dying in their numbers every day, yet the President is claiming ignorant by being adamant. Regarding this Onnoghen's issue, President Buhari, while addressing the national leader of the APC, Asiwaju Ahmed Tinubu and other top Afenifere Leaders at the presidential villa, Abuja on Tuesday, June

25, 2019 stated that he was left with no option than to suspend Justice Onnoghen. How can we believe that the President does not know the constitutional process of disengaging a judicial officer of that level? Pretentiously, the President questioned thus:

“...What I do is when a person cannot justify what he has or fails to declare as the constitution specifies... some of them swear to almighty God that their property doesn't belong to them until we show them their bank accounts and their companies, right then we have some peace. Anybody who cannot account for what he has and for refusing to declare, we will have to do something about it. I will tell you Afenifere leaders that that was why I had to deal, though reluctantly, with the former Chief Justice of Nigeria because there were millions of dollars, euros not to talk of naira which were not declared. I wonder what sort of conscience some of us have. How can you sit and preside and lock people up for years and even sentence some to death and yet you are not doing what the constitution says you should do by occupying that vital institution?” (Egba 2019).

Did the President do what the constitution say about disengaging a high ranking judicial officer? The answer is no and the reason is because ...our leaders have not actually come to the realization that societal interest comes before individual interest. The societal interest could be better referred to as the national interest which is commonly accepted to be the manifestation of the core values, objectives and philosophy underlying the actions of the leaders (Ukwuije 2015).

Nevertheless, the undiluted truth remains that he was persuaded to quit office and the five (5) reasons for which he was so persuaded are all flimsy and unfounded. They do not conform to democratic tenets neither do they support the oneness of Nigeria.

1. He is a Christian, which automatically puts his loyalty to the presidency and the wishes of the Muslim cabal in doubt,

- i. Abubaka Malami, SAN (November 11, 2015). Attorney General of the Federation and Minister for Justice. He was born in Birnin Kebbi, the capital of Kebbi State, Northern Nigeria. As at the time of his appointment, he was the youngest Minister in Buhari's cabinet.
- ii. Isa Hayatu Ciroma, a holder of LLB, Sharia, Masters in Sharia and a Ph.D in Sharia. A Professor of Islamic Studies before he was on Wednesday, October 11, 2017 appointed as the Director-General of the Nigerian Law School. He is from Adamawa State, Northern Nigeria and former Deputy-Director Nigerian Law School, Yola Campus.

The struggle for Northern domination did not stop there, on Wednesday, June 20, 2018 the President made other appointment of high ranking judicial officers into the various levels of court as follows:

2. He is from the South, the known enemy-region (Biafra land). Who knows, he may be covertly supporting the cause of Biafra restoration

3. The cabal in Aso Rock are not sure he will compromise to their favour, should any case arising from the 2019 presidential elections gets to the Supreme Court. Even, the civil society group that petitioned him said that their action was necessitated by “the imminence of the 2019 General Elections and the overwhelming roles of the Judicial Arm both before and after.”

4. It was alleged that he was one of the people that attended a meeting in Dubai where it was agreed that PDP will take over the Presidency from APC in the 2019 general elections

5. The cabal did not want him to be the one to inaugurate the members of the Electoral Petition Tribunal and they did not want to him to continue as the CJN. The rationale behind this political frame-up is because they know that it is most likely there will be petitions against Buhari if eventually he wins the Presidential election. Therefore they thought it wise to start playing their defensive game early. This is a political calculation which can only be found in democracies. In democratic societies, especially in the developing world, the amount of energy and resources expended to win an election is nearly equal to or more than what is expended to protect the position.

Justice Walter Onnoghen is the first Southerner to attain the post of CJN in the past 32 years, the first in the chronicles of Nigerian judicial history to be so politically humiliated. He was the first CJN to be arraigned before the Code of Conduct Tribunal or any other judicial structure for criminal charges by the Federal Government. A careful analysis of the swift steps taken by the President to persuade the CJN to unwittingly leave office reveals that it was a piece of drama acted in the judicial theatre. I have no doubt that it was premeditated. Meanwhile, there are other appointments made by the President since his assumption of office in 2015 to support the postulations of the conspiracy theory and crystallise his standpoint of ensuring that Northern Muslims occupy more sensitive positions in the Nigerian judicial/legal system.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|--------|
| 1) Justice P. A. Mahmoud | Benue | State |
| 2) Justice F. Ojo | Kwara | State |
| 3) Justice I. G. Abundaga | Nasarawa | State |
| 4) Justice M. B. Idris | Niger | State |
| 5) Justice A. M. Talba | Adamawa | State |
| 6) Justices Kadi M. M. Alkali | Adamawa | State |
| 7) Justice A. I. Adeniyangtso | Taraba | State |
| 8) Justice A. S. Umar | Kebbi | state |
| 9) Justice O. Z. Senchi | Kebbi | |
| 10) Justice A. M. Lamido | Sokoto | state |
| 11) Justice B. B. Aliyu | Zamfara | state. |
| 12) Justice Ebowei Tobi | Delta | State |
| 13) Justice G.O. Kolawole | Osun | State |
| 14) Justices O. Itodo | Benue | state |
| 15) Justice M. A. Abdul Gafar | Kwara | state |
| 16) Justice D. D. Adeck | Nasarawa | state |
| 17) Justice D. G. Mann | Plateau | state |
| 18) Justice D. G. Goji | Adamawa | state |
| 19) Justice Kadi U. B. Umar | Adamawa | state |
| 20) Justices Y. A. Bashir | Taraba | state |
| 21) Justice Z. B. Abubakar | Kebbi | state |
| 22) Justice I. M. Sani | Kaduna | state |
| 23) Justice F. L. Adamu | Kano state | |
| 24) Justice I. B. Ahmed | Katsina | state |
| 25) Justice M Y Uftsha'u | Zamfara | state |
| 26) Justice P. O. Affen | Bayelsa | state |
| 27) Justice O. A. Ipaye | Osun state | |

According to Adeosun (2011) the country called Nigeria is multiethnic in nature divided majorly into North and South. The Northern section of the country has mainly the Hausa, Fulani, the Ebiras, Kanuri, Igalas and many other ethnic groups, while the Southern section is dominated by the Yoruba, Edo, Esan, Ibo, Urhobos, the Ibibios, Ijaws and so many other ethnic groups. Therefore, analyzing the appointments based on the six geopolitical zone configuration of the country, one can vividly see that there was no democracy and equity, and there was no Federal Character Principle in practice. Federal Character as a policy mechanism introduced for equitable distribution of appointments, natural and economic resources for the benefit of the citizens (Okorie and Greg 2013:5). Therefore, any appointment that is not in consonance with the Federal Character Principle is tantamount to impunity and violation of democratic laws and principles.

When government appointments are bereft of equity and fairness, then it becomes pertinent to ask where the place of federal character principle is, and the rationale behind such bias appointment. Federal character principle obviously promotes democracy but because it did not reflect in the appointments, Elombah News (2017) recounted that "democracy is about equity and equity must be done and seen to be done. The same educationally disadvantaged north now has the best

citizens to be so appointed. It seems what divides us is stronger than what unites us. Let's not pretend, Nigeria can't work!..The injustice I see here is not about one man, or the head of state, it has been institutionalized, just to suppress a certain group, therefore must be dismantled for the peaceful coexistence of all". Put differently, democracy is more about how a people govern themselves through their self-selected representatives who are answerable to them.

The six geopolitical zones were not fairly treated with regards to appointment of the Justices as depicted below. The entire North got 23 while the entire South got 4. Further analysis shows that the 4 was shared equally among the South- South and South West geopolitical zones. The entire South East was left with nothing in that appointment. So where is the Federal Character Principle, which in my view is a statutory provision that is more practically superior to a scholarly concept or a mere ideal? The underlying purpose of this principle as contained in the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria is to ensure equal participation of the various ethnic extractions in the governance of the country. The Principle is also aimed at preventing the domination by one or more ethnic groups in the affairs of the country and the exclusion of other ethnic groups. It is to ensure national unity and encourage an all-inclusive government at all levels and tiers.

In Chapter II of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended, Section 14(3) and (4) provide thus:

“(3) The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the federal character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to promote national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies.

However, in less than one full day in office as the Acting CJN, Tanko Muhammad performed his first official function, which was the swearing-in of the Chairmen and members of the Election Petition Tribunal on Saturday, 26 January 2019. The swearing-in was ceremonious, meaning that the seventeen Justices of the Supreme Court were all supposed to be in attendance but only Justice Sidi Bage was present. No excuse was given why the other Justices were absent in that ceremony.

However, the tribunal was composed of 250 members including the Chairmen and their main function was to hear petitions, which may arise from the conduct and results of the 2019 Presidential/National Assembly elections and the Governorship/State House of Assemblies elections. While speaking after performing the swearing in function, Justice Tanko Muhammad acknowledged that the nation’s judiciary was in trying time and admonished judicial officers to stand to protect and uphold the integrity of the judicial arm of government. He reminded them that it is from this oath that their duties and responsibilities as chairmen and members of the election petition tribunal in their various places of assignment springs up and has a binding effect.

Just after the inauguration of the Tribunal, some Lawyer from the Akwa Ibom State Chapter of the Nigerian Bar Association challenged the composition of the tribunal. They accused the President of making a posthumous appointment because of his cluelessness and carelessness in handling sensitive issues. This accusation was hinged on the claim that ten out of the 250 members of the Tribunal were either dead or retired judges. This group of Lawyers pointed out and claimed that Justice Edemekong, who is number 58 on the list had died since 2013. More so, they cited Justice Chukwu from Ebonyi State, number 53 on the list, a former Judge of the Federal High Court who died far before now. Again, they mentioned Justice Stephen Okon, Chief Judge of Akwa Ibom State and the Judge of the High Court in Akwa Ibom, Justice Okoyo Essang as all retired, yet they appeared in the list of the tribunal members. The group passionately cried out that if dead and retired men are to sit on our Election Petition Tribunal, then the APC-led Federal Government is out to drown this country.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Sa’Adatu Kachalla, a Court of Appeal Media officer strongly objected the claim that ten out of the 250 names the Court of Appeal forwarded to the apex court for inauguration as members of the Election Petition Tribunal were either dead or retired. She described the claim as false, misleading and a total misrepresentation of the good intentions of the Hon. President aimed at building not only a vibrant judiciary but also an endearing democratic society.

Well, the fact is that, it was an unfortunate situation because there was no further action from any quarter to debunk the assertion that some dead or retired judges were in the membership of the Election Petition Tribunal, which seems to appeal to the consciences of many Nigerians. This was because the anticipated political and electoral tussle just played out like a script directed by a competent Thespian. The appointment of dead or retired judges into the membership of the Election Petition Tribunal was deliberate and the idea behind it was that, when you look at the list, it will appear as if there is equal representation in the nomination but only when they sit you will discover the intent of the lopsidedness of the membership.

CONCLUSION

In the end, the general elections that cost the country about ₦69 billion (USD\$625 million), the most expensive election ever held in Nigeria and suggestive of instability in political process and inefficiency in electoral spending, were held on February 23rd 2019 to elect the President, his Vice, the Senate and House of Representatives and on March 9, 2019 to elect the Governors, their Deputies and State Houses of Assembly. The intended outcome was realized as Buhari was declared winner of the presidential election with over a three million vote-margin. His Certificate of Return was issued to him by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) at the International Conference Centre (ICC), Abuja. Consequently, while the legal battle was ongoing, Buhari was sworn in for his second term in office as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria on the 29th day of May, 2019, the former date of democracy day in Nigeria.

His closest rival, Atiku Abubaka was not able to contend successfully with him in an eight-month legal battle because the people that filled the bench and jury are mostly Buhari’s indoctrinated appointees. The newly appointed Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN), Justice Tanko Muhammad, in a session with six other Supreme Court Justices said on Wednesday, October 30, 2019 following the Supreme Court’s judgement that “We have examined all the briefs and the exhibits for over two weeks and we agree that there is no merit in this appeal... therefore, the appeal is hereby dismissed” (Sibeko, 2019).

REFERENCES

- Adeosun, A. B. (2011) Federal Character Principle and National Integration: A Critical Appraisal. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*. Vol.2, No 2.4 Quarter IV
- Aderonke, M. (2013) Federal Character Principle as a Recipe for National Integration in Nigeria: An Overview. *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Science*. Vol. 2 (6) Pp. 65-84
- Agu, Z. (2019). *The three arms of government in Nigeria and their functions*. Legit Nigerian News. Retrieved on 13/12/20 from: <https://www.legit.ng/1148362-the-arms-government-nigeria-functions.html>
- Ajikobi, D. (2018, September 5). Checked: two claims about the astronomical cost of Nigeria's election. Africa Check: Sorting fact from fiction. Retrieved on 17/12/20 from: <https://africacheck.org/reports/checked-two-claims-about-the-astronomical-cost-of-nigerias-election/>
- Ashameri, I. (2019, January 27). Breaking: 10 dead, retired judges among newly appointed Election Petition Tribunals' members. Independent. Retrieved on 17/12/20 from: <https://www.independent.ng/10-dead-retired-judges-among-newly-appointed-election-petition-tribunals-members/>
- Bashir, A. (2019, February 27). Breaking: INEC gives Buhari, Osinbajo certificate of return. Vanguard. Retrieved on 17/12/20 from: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/02/breaking-inec-gives-buhari-osinbajo-certificates-of-return/>
- Downe-Wamboldt, B. (1992). Content analysis: Method, applications and issues. *Health Care for Women International*. Vol. 13. Pp. 313 – 321 Taylor & Francis
- Egba, J. (2019). President Buhari finally reveals why he fired Onnoghen as Chief Justice of Nigeria. *Pulse. Ng*. retrieved on 11/12/20 from: <https://www.pulse.ng/news/local/buhari-finally-reveals-why-he-fired-onnoghen/t8357vk>
- Egwemi, V. (2010). Managing Nigeria's image crises: Akunyili's rebranding programme to the rescue. *Current Research Journal of Economic Theory*. Vol. 2 (3). Pp. 131 - 135
- Elombah News (2017 November 30). *Injustice: 27 newly appointed Court of Appeal Justices*. Retrieved on 15/12/20. From: <https://elombah.com/27-newly-appointed-court-of-appeal-justices/>
- Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999). *The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended 2011*. Abuja; Federal Government Press
- Hayatudeen, M. K., Mohammed, G., Jamri, B & Bako, U. (2011). Nigerian political history from 1954 – 1999: organisation, conduct and customs of election. *African Journal of International Politics and Diplomacy*. Vol. 2 (1&2). Pp. 49 - 114
- Herskovits, J. (1979). Democracy in Nigeria. *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 58 (2). Pp. 314 – 335. Council on Foreign Affairs. Retrieved on 13/12/20 from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20040417?seq=1>
- Lawton, G. (n.d). Conspiracy theory: believe in conspiracy theory is the product of normal human psychology, but can be extremely dangerous. *New Scientist*. Retrieved on 14/12/20 from: <https://www.newscientist.com/term/conspiracy-theories/#ixzz6gd3t5zb7>
- News Agency of Nigeria (2018 June 20). Buhari approves appointments of 29 Justices for the Appeal Courts, others. *The Guardian*. Retrieved on 16/12/20 from: <https://guardian.ng/news/buhari-approves-appointments-of-29-justices-for-appeal-court-others/>
- Nigeria Governance Project KYG. (2013). *Justice Walter Samuel Nkwana Onnoghen*. Available online as at 9 September 2018.
- Nnochiri, I. (2019). Assets declaration: FG slams 6-count criminal charges against CJN, Onnoghen. *Vanguard*. Retrieved on 13/12/20 from: <https://www.vanguardngr.com/2019/01/breaking-fg-asks-cjn-onnoghen-to-vacate-office-over-asset-declaration/>
- Oak TV Newstrack (2019). *How Onnoghen's trouble started*. Oak TV Newstrack. Retrieved on 13/12/20 from: <https://oak.tv/newstrack/onnoghens-trouble-started/>
- Okakwu, E. (2019 January 12). Code of Conduct Tribunal raises panel to try CJN Onnoghen. *Premium Times*. Retrieved on 13/12/20 from <https://www.premiumtimesng.com/news/headlines/305392-code-of-conduct-tribunal-raises-panel-to-try-cjn-onnoghen.html>
- Okorie, C. O. & Greg, E. (2013) Federal Character Principles, Nation Building and National Integration in Nigeria: Issues and Options. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*. Vol. 4 (16). Pp. 33-40
- Oyeleke, S. (2019 April 18). Breaking: Onnoghen sacked, barred from holding public office for ten years. *Independent*. Retrieved 12/12/20 from: <https://www.independent.ng/breaking-onnoghen-sacked-barred-for-10-years/>
- Renner, S., Alake, T. & Bala-Gbogbo (2019). Buhari triumphs in Nigeria poll as opposition rejects result. Bloomberg. Retrieved on 17/12/20 from: <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-02-27/under-fire-buhari-confounds-skeptics-to-win-nigerian-election>
- Schreier, M. (2012). Qualitative content analysis in practice. Thousand Oaks, CA: *Sage Publications*
- Sibeko, S. (2019). Nigeria's Supreme Court upholds President Buhari's election win. Aljazeera. Retrieved on 17/12/20 from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/10/30/nigerias-supreme-court-upholds-president-buharis-election-win>

- Smith, M. (2020). 5 reasons why conspiracy theory thrive in politics. GBH. Retrieved on 14/12/20 from: <https://www.wgbh.org/programs/2020/07/31/five-reasons-why-conspiracy-theories-thrive-in-politics>
- Tobi, N. (1981). Judicial independence in Nigeria. *International law Practitioner*. Vol. 6 (ii) Pg. 62. Great Britain, Heinonline. Retrieved on 13/12/20 from: <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/ilp6&div=26&id=&page=>
- Ukwuije, C. B. (2015). Nigerian leadership and the blame - game pattern of politics: The myalism of sustainable development. *School of Business Multidisciplinary International Journal*. Vol. 1 (1) Pp. 109 - 123.
- Usoro, P. (2019 January 25). Coup against the Nigerian judiciary and the suspension of the Nigerian constitution. Nigerian Bar Association. Retrieved on 05/01/21 from: <https://nigerianbar.org.ng/coup-against-nigerian-judiciary-and-suspension-nigerian-constitution>

Full Length Research

POLITICS OR ‘POLITRICKS’: NIGERIAN POLITICS OF BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION IN IGBOLAND

Iheanyi M. Enwerem, PhD

Spiritan University Nneochi (SUN), Department of Political Science, Nneato-Isuochi Umunneochi LGA, Abia State, Nigeria. E-mail: ienwerem@gmail.com

Accepted 25 November 2020

Public trust and citizen engagement in politics are in short supply in today’s Nigeria. This is because of the prevalence of “politricks,” the practice of the politics of bribery and corruption by the average Nigerian politician, with its attendant negative socio-political and economic consequences. Igboland, the geographical context of this paper, is particularly not immune to this reality. This self-serving politics is pursued with total disregard of the common good and has grown largely in a political culture that fears neither the Bible nor the Koran. Igbo politicians and their Nigerian counterparts revel publicly that pledges made under these sacred writs can be flouted with impunity. The dread of supernatural retribution in traditional society meant that laws are always respected and norms strictly adhered to. Such is no longer the case in our present dispensation. My thesis argues that only a return to traditional Igbo cultural trust-building mechanisms that ensure respect for the rule of law in society will abate the growth of bribery and corruption in politics in Igboland. In this regard, Christianity and other foreign religions can borrow a leaf from traditional religion with respect to its repertoire of retributions for taboo flouters.

Keywords: Public trust, politics, politricks, bribery and corruption

Cite this article as: Enwerem, I.M (2021). Politics or ‘Politricks’: Nigerian Politics of Bribery and Corruption in Igboland. *Int. J. Polit. Sci. Develop.* 9(1) 41-50

INTRODUCTION

Generally speaking, public trust and citizen engagement in politics no longer appeal to the average Nigerian. By “public trust” we mean the public character of what Fukuyama, in defining “trust,” sees as “the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of members of that community” (Fukuyama, 1996). As for “citizen engagement,” we mean individual citizen’s and/or groups’ engagement in tackling whatever may be the issues that confront them in society. Often, this engagement brings to the core the essence of democratic politics, namely, the integration of the

feelings, sentiments, views and opinions of the citizens into the policy and programme of government in the overall interest of the citizens. In other words, this understanding of “citizen engagement” is given a human face and, therefore, concretized when it is related to the voice the citizens, either as individuals or a group, add to the activities of the people they elect to represent them in the making of economic and socio-political policies that affect the lives of the citizenry at various levels of governance.

It is not without reason that there exists the lack or poverty of public trust and citizen engagement in Nigeria. We believe it is because of the prevalence of “politricks”

in the country, meaning the practice of deception-rooted politics that engenders mistrust and is nurtured on bribery and corruption. This brand of politics has, in turn, undoubtedly characterized the political behaviour of the average Nigerian politician, with its attendant negative socio-political and economic consequences in the country.

The preceding remarks inform our research intention for this paper. Given the attendant negative socio-political and economic consequences that are associated with 'politricks' in any given polity – Igboland inclusive – and the absence, so far, of an effective response to checkmate the menace of 'politrick' and, by so doing, usher in a positively new leadership and citizenry in Igboland, we intend to explore into traditional Igbo society's mechanisms for the maintenance of law and order, believing that therein lies perhaps the answer to our quest.

Our overriding argument is this: anyone who is involved in civic engagement towards the emergence of a new and positive socio-political order in and for Igboland must understand the reality of "politricks," especially how the Igbo got caught up in it; to lack this understanding or not to correctively appreciate its seriousness is to engage in a utopian enterprise in Igboland. Hence our thesis or hypothesis argues that only a return to traditional Igbo cultural trust-building mechanisms that ensure maintenance of law and order in society will abate the growth of bribery and corruption in politics in Igboland.

In pursuit of its objectives, the paper will be written mainly from a social scientific theoretical framework and purview - that is, from the wisdom of political science analytical and to real life perspectives, to be precise - while delving into Igbo cultural and religious terrain within the larger context of the Nigerian State and its politicization of ethnicity. The ethnic claims on the country is such that it is tied to structural imbalance among ethnic groups or, better, their elite contenders for power, many of who ironically, in the guise of competing for access to and allocation of scarce resources for their ethnic groups in terms of development, end up exploiting state resources to sustain patronage networks for their personal interests. It is on account of this and to better demonstrate the veracity of our thesis for the paper that we intend to adopt an instrumentalist methodological approach; here, it is our acknowledgement that the ethnicity that underlies the Nigerian politics is the creation of the elites, given its strategic utility, in achieving material or political goods formally in the name of a group, but indeed, solely to the elites' interest/advantage. Besides, in adopting this instrumentalist approach, we will take our cue from the Marxian perception of the State as the product of the social system that is characterized by class contradictions, struggle and domination.

To practically actualize the goal and the

preceding methodological intent of the paper, we will have seven headings for the paper, beginning with this introductory part that stands for the first heading. The second heading will attempt to put the problem of 'politricks' in contemporary Igboland in perspective. In the third heading we will dwell on the cultural mechanisms for maintenance of law and order in traditional Igbo society. Then comes the fourth heading. Here attention will be paid to how and when 'politricks' infested Igboland. In the fifth heading we will briefly look into how the Igbo responded to post-war politics in Nigeria. The sixth heading will focus on what can be done, leading to the seventh heading that will conclude the paper with suggestions towards minimizing, if not abating, "politricks" in Igboland.

Putting the Problem of 'politricks' in Contemporary Igboland in Perspective

One typical example of this 'problem' is the case of one Orji Uzor Kalu of Abia State – a young, well known post-civil war nouveaux-riche Igbo politician. On leaving Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) on whose platform he served as Governor of his home State, he formed his own Party, PPA, under which he ran for the Presidency in the country's General Elections of 2011. On losing his bid for the Presidency, he later returned to the then victorious PDP under whose platform he then contested and lost his bid for a Senatorial seat in the 2015 General Election. Soon after the loss, he abandoned PDP again to quickly join All Progressives Congress (APC), the victorious Party at the National level, under the leadership of Buhari, obviously believing his membership in APC will give him the cover to escape from Buhari's long arm of war against corruption. To solidify this belief, Kalu soon got himself turbaned respectively by the Emir of Sokoto – perhaps, Nigeria's most powerful Traditional-cum Islamic leader - and the Emir of Daura, Buhari's own town in Katsina State. These moves, however, could not save him as he expected; for, he soon ran out of luck and was eventually convicted and jailed for his numerous cases of corruption mostly while he was the Governor of Abia State.

Besides the preceding example of the problem of 'politricks' in Igboland is the drama that greeted the result of the 2019 governorship election in Imo State – the heartland of Igboland, its most populated and, perhaps, most highly educated of the Igbo States. The drama is specifically the upturning of the result of that election by the Supreme Court of Nigeria. A recall of the context of the case is worth stating at this juncture.

Following the country's general elections in April 2019, one Hon. Emeka Ihedioha of the PDP, the then opposition party at both the State and National levels,

was declared winner of the gubernatorial election in Imo State by the country's election umpire, the Independent National Election Commission (INEC). Without going into the nitty-gritty of how the election was won and lost, one fact was clearly evident: the great majority of the citizens of the State were seemingly happy with the outcome of the election. This was evidenced in the overwhelming welcome they gave to the winner and as they came in droves to witness his inauguration as their governor. Also, almost every who-is-who in politics in the State was literally decamping from their respective Parties to join the new Governor and his PDP at the State level. In other words, these politicians were literally jumping on each other to not only express and register their loyalty to the new Governor but also to position themselves well enough to attract the Governor's attention for possible political appointments in and outside the State either for themselves or for their political cronies. Part of the registration of loyalty was to try and shout louder than others in the condemnation of the obviously unpopular outgoing Governor, Rochas Okorochoa, and his eight-years of poor governance of the State. Not to be outdone in this were the members of the State House of Assembly (IHMA). For example, the then Speaker of the House, Rt. Hon. Collins Chiji, moved from All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) to PDP just as Hon. Kenneth Ibeh defected from his Party, Action Alliance (AA), to join PDP.

Barely eight months as Governor, Emeka Ihedioha was removed from office in favour of his challenger, Senator Hope Uzodinmma, by the Supreme Court judgement that many legal minds across the nation saw as bizarre as it was shocking and therefore attracted the condemnation of many citizens across the nation. Hope Uzodinmma, it is worth noting, came fourth in the gubernatorial election. But belonging to the country's ruling Party, APC, which by this time had brought under its full control the different levels of the nation's judiciary, including the membership of the Apex Court, especially the Chief Justice, not few discerning minds in the country saw the judgement as predetermined. If the judgement was shocking, what was more was the response to the judgement by the average politician in the State. For, barely few days following the judgement and even before Uzodinmma could be sworn in as the new Governor, the politicians in the opposition parties, including even those who were in the PDP like Ihedioha, were dumping their respective Parties to join the APC. And like what happened when Ihedioha became Governor, most of these same politicians were declaring their loyalty to Uzodinmma and, by so doing, positioning themselves to win his benevolence and that of the ruling Party.

The political behaviour of the members of the State House of Assembly was, perhaps, more deplorable and worrisome. Less than two weeks of the Supreme court judgement, more than 17 members of the House,

including even some PDP members, threw all manner of integrity, trustworthiness and reliability to the winds as they individually defected from their Parties to now join Uzodinmma and his APC. The Speaker of the House, Rt. Hon. Chiji Collins, for instance, moved from APGA to PDP but for the sake of retaining his Speakership position had to swiftly shift to APC. Another, Hon. Kennedy Ibeh, had earlier moved from APC to AA then to PDP and now back to his original APC.

No one represents this deceptive politics and disregard for the citizenry better, perhaps, than one former Senator Emeka Ararume who changed to three political parties within one year alone. Beginning as a former Senator under the platform of PDP where he lost his bid to be the Party's Governorship candidate in the 2019 gubernatorial election, he switched over to APC for the same interest. On sensing his slim chance to win the APC's nod, he quickly dumped her to buy up the Governorship candidacy of the APGA under which he eventually ran for but lost the gubernatorial election. Immediately following the Supreme Court judgement that favoured Uzodinmma, the same man, Ararume, quickly pledged his loyalty to him and the APC. And barely two weeks after, while still firmly holding onto his membership and leadership position in the APGA, he declared his interest to run as APC's senatorial candidate in the bye-election for the State's vacant seat at the Senate.

Given the timing and the foregoing remarks, it is doubtful whether these politicians have any regard for both the party on whose platform they got "elected," talk less of any consideration to the feelings or real interest of the members of the electorate who "voted" them into power. To put it candidly, these politicians behave like the proverbial rolling stone that gathers no moss; so unmindful are they of their constituents' interest and feelings that they give their loyalty to the highest bidder or go to whoever and which direction beckons with the juiciest goodies. Commenting on the behaviour-trait of these politicians vis-à-vis their relation with the electorate, one journalist and Public Affairs Analyst has this to say:

On several occasions and with undeterred impunity, the politicians have clearly demonstrated and proven beyond doubt that the electorate count for nothing while vote casting is a mere electioneering ritual of no relevance.

The electorates are regarded as objects to clinch power and discarded after all. They are never again consulted until the next election season. (Onyekachi, 2020).

Meanwhile, Senator Hope Uzodinmma on his part and in the pattern of his predecessors, began what could easily be discerned as laying the necessary foundation to play out his own "politricks" – being himself a politician largely in the mode of Orji Uzor Kalu we noted above. The

pattern usually entailed, among other things, securing the goodwill and support of the State's civil servant. Thus, few days after the Supreme Court verdict that saw Uzodinma as Governor, one of his first major policy actions was to declare, in a grand fanfare, the provision of brand-new motor vehicles to each of the Permanent Secretaries of the State ministries. A grateful and enthusiastic State's Head of Service was profuse with thanks and appreciation to a supposedly generous Governor. This was not lost to the Governor's Chief Press Secretary/Media Adviser as an achievement. As he put it while praise-singing his boss, Hope Uzodinma:

Civil servants in Imo [State] have not been as happy as they are today before. They have given their commitment to be part of the journey to reclaim, recover and rehabilitate Imo by Governor Uzodinma [Imo State] because they have seen the sincerity of purpose in the man on the driver's seat. (Nwachukwu, 2020).

That an ordinary provision for good governance should be turned into an achievement goes to show a seeming desperation in Uzodinma to win over the confidence of the citizens of the State the majority of whom are seemingly not happy with the Supreme Court judgement that catapulted him into being their Governor.

As a result of the foregoing political behaviour of the politicians, "there is a loss of confidence in institutions and their representatives, which totally discredits politics and social organizations in the country." Thus, while the Igbo are not immune to "politricks," they have ended up being its principal victims within the general context of Nigerian polity and politics. Nor can we exclude the possibility that the general citizenry of Igboland have been part of networks of corruption, at times to the point of agreeing to condone the politics of bribery and corruption in exchange for whatever pittance that the politicians give to them. But this may not be surprising in a country where people most often than not secure jobs, including those in the public service sector, on the basis of who they know and not necessarily on their qualification or competence – a systemic matter that I will address later in the paper.

Cultural Mechanisms for the Maintenance of Law and Order in Traditional Igbo Society

Prior to the colonial period or, better, the arrival of Christianity in Igboland, the Igbo had a well-organized system of governance. It is founded and rooted in the centrality of religion in Igbo tradition and culture. As a matter of fact, life in the traditional Igbo society revolves and rebounds on belief in *Chukwu* (Supreme Deity or God in Christian parlance) whose power it is to give and

take away life. Tied to this is the belief in and concern for the "after-life" – that is, the individual's ultimate goal to experience contentment and happiness after death. And for this goal to be achieved, the individual must maintain a cordial relationship with both the members of the spirit world and one's fellow human beings on earth, thus making religion and its values to be at the very hub of people's life - be it political, economic, social, etc. – in traditional Igbo society.

From the preceding remarks we appreciate the import traditional Igbo society places on having mechanisms for maintaining law and order for its citizens. Like in any past and present society, the citizens complied with the rules and laws of the land not necessarily because they like them as such but because they would not like to live out the consequences - the punishment by the community or the anger of the gods, specifically in traditional Igbo society. Strict compliance with the rule of law was such that people would even distance themselves from associating with someone whose source of wealth was questionable or not explicitly clear and transparent; they do so in order to avoid any chance whatsoever of being included for the indictment or punishment they believe would surely be visited on the suspect by the gods of the land.

On a related note, is the issue of sin vis-à-vis social and communal relationships in traditional Igbo society. 'Sin,' in the context of this paper, is not with reference to minor every-day infractions individuals do to one another but rather those very gravely serious wrong-doings that are considered abhorrent to both the gods and humanity. That is, acts the Igbo consider as *Nso Ala* (very offensive acts against the land) - e.g. murder, incest, sexual violation of a minor, habitual stealing, misappropriation of community fund/property, etc. An individual who commits any such act is ostracized from the community; and members of the community are banned from having any interaction or communication with the ostracized until he/she performs communally stipulated series of punitive restitutive steps all of which are together aimed towards restoring her/his membership in the community. Such acts would take quite some length of time, sometimes weeks or months or years to complete, depending on the gravity of the offence.

As a matter of fact, the reconciliatory steps cannot be taken together in one swoop of a time; it follows a one-step-at-a-time approach. This is to not only register the gravity and seriousness of ostracization but also to ascertain and ensure that the ostracized is truly sorry for his/her sinful act and is sincerely willing not to take the community for a ride in matters concerning the maintenance of rule of law in the community. Each step carries a heavy financial burden to perform. On completion of the final step, the ostracized is received back into the community in a festive mood, following a celebrative sacrifice to the gods that is often led by the

priest of the community's deity and supported by the council of the titled men, *Ndi Nze na Ozo*. of the community. Thus, when one considers the shame and loneliness that one would visit on oneself and family, the long duration of time and the heavy financial expenditure it takes to fully and finally reconcile with the community as well as the denial of proper traditional burial rites, one would think deep and twice before one would dare to embark on any such act that attracts ostracization.

The foregoing mechanisms, among many others, for the maintenance of, and compliance with, the rule of law in Igboland were drastically affected with the advent of both Christianity and colonialism – two sides of the same coin of European forceful intrusion into Nigeria and, by inclusion, Igboland. As Chinua Achebe rightly asserted in his famous work, *Things Fall Apart*, (Achebe, 1958) things really fell apart with the Christian and colonial intrusion into Igboland. Even if granted that not everything fell apart, at least this much can be said to have happened: the combined intrusion of Christianity and Colonialism in Igboland together largely left on their trail a legacy of denigration of almost anything and everything Igbo. Under the guise of bringing true and authentic religion (Christianity) and civilization (colonial ethos) – what they describe as “the blessings of Christ-inspired civilization of the West” – the missionaries and colonialists prided themselves to have come to share these blessings with a people, the Africans, who are “suffering under satanic forces of oppression, ignorance, and disease” (Boer, 1988).

Worthy of note is the act of oath-taking. In traditional Igbo society, it is the last resort – meaning it is beyond human solution or adjudication - for individuals to prove their innocence or to re-establish their trustworthiness. As such, only the gods can now settle the matter by way of witnessing the individuals take an oath. Nowhere is this point better exemplified than, perhaps, in the case of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe accusing Dr. K.O. Mbadiwe of having participated in a plot to kill him. To re-establish their trust in each other, the two men, with all their education and political prominence, agreed to have their village relatives arrange a traditional religious oath-taking ritual between the two of them. Mbadiwe's last minute refusal to go along with the arrangement made Azikiwe place him in perpetual suspicion as one never to be trusted, declaring: 'I shall forever be suspicious of him'" (Sklar, 1963).

With the intrusion of Christianity and colonialism, however, instead of the traditional oath-taking in the name of a deity, disputants or people accused of committing a crime were led to take their disputes to the courts which were set up and ran according to Western-European legal culture. Here, in the courts, oath-taking in the name of the gods, the deity, was replaced with one swearing by the Christian Bible which the people, with time, experienced to have no deadly potency or consequence as it used to be the case with the traditional

deities or gods. On the flip side of oath taking, is the reality of sin which Christianity reduced in general to a private affair between individuals and their God. Thus, be it Catholic or non-Catholic Christians, the Christian approach to sin and making amends for it are akin to a slap-on-the-wrist or, at best, a trivialization of sin, when compared to the seriousness with which traditional Igbo society considers and handles *Nso Ala* and its violators (the sinners). The import of this assertion, especially as it will affect political practice in Igboland where Christianity has made its deepest and most enduring mark, will become clearer as we venture into our next heading.

Infestation of 'Politricks' into Igboland, How and When?

It is possible to argue that the infestation of “politricks” in Igboland owes its deep and remote beginnings to the politics and vision that gave birth to independent Nigeria. For, to begin with, what we know today as Nigeria was founded on a lie and, therefore, a fraud. This is in so far as the nationalities that were cobbled together to make up the so-called country were neither consulted nor were their consent received to become one country. If anything, the truth is that Nigeria was made a country for and in the sole interest of the British colonialists, not that of the nationalities. Thus, by the 1914 amalgamation, the three founding fathers of independent Nigeria and political rivals – Nnamdi Azikiwe, Obafemi Awolowo and Ahmadu Bello - were mere kids and, therefore, had no hands whatsoever in the politics that gave birth to the country. They simply met, grew into and later had to work with what the British colonialism created, namely, what Baxter succinctly described as an “incompatible and mutually antagonistic tribal and ethnic groupings forced to cohabit within the indivisible precincts of political geography”

(<https://www.rememberingbiafra.com/news/oral-histories-and-memoirs/biafra-the-nigerian-civil-war-1967-1970>).

In the face of the preceding scenario, each of the founding fathers had his own individual dream and vision for an independent Nigeria. Awolowo sought for a Nigeria with a federal system of governance “to safeguard the interests of each ethnic nationality and region and thus create a sustainable basis for Nigerian unity” (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Path-to-Nigerian-Freedom>). Azikiwe, in contrast, favoured a unitary government with a unitary constitution (Crowder, 1978). In the pursuit of their individual and respective dreams as just noted, Nigerian nationalism was affected. It began with the formation of Pan-Igbo Federal Union in 1944 and followed by Awolowo's formation of Egbe Omo Oduduwa in 1945 in order to “create among the Yoruba the same sense of 'ethnic solidarity' that had been achieved among

the Ibo" (Ibid.). This scenario exacerbated an already "intense feelings of rivalry between Yoruba and Ibo," reaching its crescendo, so to speak, particularly in 1948 "in Lagos where there was severe danger of communal disorders from July to September" (Ibid.). Walter Schwartz succinctly captures the mood when he noted: "As if banished from the Garden of Eden [Nigeria nationalism] was now steadily losing its innocence of tribal consciousness, and the Ibo-Yoruba rivalry began to assume political proportions" (Schwartz, 1968).

Add to the preceding scenario the entry of Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto with his own vision of an independent Nigeria and the formation of his own Party, the Northern People's Party (NPC) in October 1951. For him his vision was a Nigeria that will facilitate his eventual actualization of the dream of his great grand-father, Uthman Dan Fodio; that is, a Nigeria that would have been entirely Islamized if not for the intrusion of British colonialism that halted the enterprise. Thus, Ahmadu Bello seemingly played along with the duo of Azikiwe and Awolowo, appearing to like what each was saying but not at the expense of giving up his own dream as noted above. For, while Awolowo's idea of a federal form of governance that would safeguard the interests of each ethnic nationality came close his idea of 'One North' under Hausa/Fulani Islamic dominance, Azikiwe's advocacy for a unitary Nigeria with one unitary Constitution would give him the best chance to eventually achieve an Islamized independent Nigeria.

However, it would appear that Azikiwe was speaking from both sides of his mouth: he was championing a unitary federated Nigeria but one which will be dominated by the Igbo. As reported in the excerpts of the memoirs of Sir Bryan Sherwood Smith, Governor of Northern Nigeria, 1952-1957: "The Ibo giant,' according to Azikiwe, "is waking from stupor.... A mighty nation shall arise again in the west of the Sudan.... to rewrite the history written by their ancestors...the God of Africa has willed it...." (Smith, 1969). It was this mind-set, coupled with the vicious cold war of sorts between the Igbo and Yoruba that made Azikiwe refuse to join Awolowo to form the federal government; instead, Azikiwe aligned with Ahmadu Bello, believing that Ahmadu Bello would be more trustworthy and therefore easier to handle than Awolowo. Azikiwe was mistaken, as later events would show. The British colonialists, whose age-long dislike for the South in favour of the North has never been in doubt, seized the opportunity of the Azikiwe-Bello alliance to checkmate Azikiwe and therefore installed in power in 1959 Ahmadu Bello's NPC, rather than the more nationalistic but Southern-based NCNC. The veracity of this assertion has been discussed in great details, especially as discernable from the attitude of Lord Lugard - Nigeria's foremost colonialist - towards the North, in contrast to the South (Enwerem, 1995).

By October 1960 when an independent Nigeria was

born, the lie of 1914 had matured to metamorphose into vicious ethnic politics that took a central stage in the governance of the entire country; its federal structure of governance notwithstanding, the three major ethnic groups were bent on outdoing one another. With the combined force of Ahmadu Bello's Northern-dominated NPC and Azikiwe's Eastern-dominated NCNC, Awolowo's Action Group Party was easily and swiftly demolished in 1962 and its Western regional government replaced by Akintola as its Premier. The onslaught against Awolowo would later culminate in having him incarcerated in Calabar prison through the instrumentality of the NPC-NCNC joint government.

This seemingly good working relationship between the NPC and NCNC was hiding more than it was ready to reveal—the deep internal contradictions in the alliance. These were already rife by 1962, exploding in the open during the census of 1962 and 1963 when both the political leadership of North, Ahmadu Bello, and its counterpart in the East, Nnamdi Azikiwe, sought to supplant each other in the struggle for the control of power and leadership at the centre of the Nigerian federation. Herein we locate what, together, unwittingly spawned the civil war, alias Nigeria-Biafra war.

Prior to the beginning of the war, the scions of Ahmadu Bello, with their commitment to his One-North politics still intact, out-staged the South from Federal power; this was following their successful staging of the July 29th 1966 counter coup d'état to the January 15th one that was planned and executed by mostly soldiers from the South. The correct version of those who were behind the January 15th 1966 coup and their reasons for the undertaking could not be better given by anyone else but by A. Adegboyega - one of the major participants in that coup (Adegboyega, 1981).

Ahadu Bello's scions, in order to assuage any possible fear of Islamic domination or persecution of the Christians in the North and in the guise of keeping the North together, fronted Yakubu Gowon – a Christian and most senior officer from the North at the time – to head the resultant federal military government.

Their next strategic move was to secure the support of the Yoruba. The opportunity presented itself with the release of Awolowo from prison by the Biafran leadership; Calabar, the location of the prison, was by this time in Biafra. The Yakubu Gowon-led Federal military government immediately co-opted Awolowo into its ranks. Obviously to convince him of its sincerity, the government placed him as the second-in-command to Gowon. To further its high regards for Awolowo, the government bought into his long-held dream and vision for Nigeria – the creation of states for the minorities in the country – and actualized the dream by restructuring the entire country with the creation of twelve states from its original four Regions.

With the absence of his chief opponents from the central government – Ahmadu Bello having been killed in the January 15th 1966 coup, and Azikiwe escaping to the East to be with his kith and kin in the embattled Igbo-dominated Biafra, Awolowo had the opportunity to right the wrongs his opponents had visited on him and the independent Nigeria of his dream, the raging civil war notwithstanding. But for the securement of his dream for the creation of states for the minorities as noted above, and his more or less circumstantial support for a united Nigeria during the war, there was not much that Awolowo did during and after the war that stood him out as a committed believer in a united Nigeria – an entity he had earlier described as a mere geographical expression! Worthy of note here is his failure to take advantage of the Aburi Accord to advise the young and inexperienced Yakubu Gowon not only against renegading from the accord but also against a more entrenched ethnic loyalty. Needless to say a full implementation of the letter and spirit of that Accord would have saved the country from a prolonged war in the interest of all and sundry, the Yoruba inclusive. Instead, Awolowo was bent on cornering for the Yoruba most of the benefits that flowed from sharing federal power, especially as the then more educated Yoruba took over the public and private sector jobs that the Igbo left behind to flee to Biafra.

In fact, it would appear Awolowo was on a punitive or, at best, retaliatory mission against the Igbo to disadvantage them in a manner seemingly similar to, but actually worse than, what he had accused Azikiwe of visiting on the Yoruba before the war. Nowhere was this assertion more evident, perhaps, than in Awolowo's advocacy for starvation as a legitimate weapon of war; as such, he had no qualms supporting the then Gowon-led federal military government to use it on the then totally embattled and blockaded Biafrans. Awolowo's mission against the Igbo took to economic and political dimensions following the end of the civil war.

As Federal Minister of Finance at the time, he masterminded the government's enactment of three crippling anti-Igbo economic-cum-political policies. One was the "Twenty-Pound" policy whereby the Federal government directed the Banks not to honour any withdrawal more than Twenty Pounds in Nigerian currency by any of their clients who tampered with their Bank Accounts in Biafra and in the Biafran currency during the civil war; and whatever amount that remained in excess after the withdrawal was to be forfeited to the Federal Government. There was hardly any Igbo who did not tamper with their Bank Accounts while in Biafra, meaning that the average Igbo had only twenty pounds to start life afresh and live on in a hostile Nigeria after the civil war. And to rub it in, so to say, came the "Indigenization" policy. It mandated all foreign companies in Nigeria to sell off their companies to willing and financially capable Nigerians. By having this policy

passed simultaneously with the "Twenty-Pound" policy that financially dispossessed the Igbo, the intent was a blatant exclusion of the Igbo from participating in the indigenization exercise – the buying of any of the foreign-owned companies – even if they had wanted to. This was followed by the "Abandoned Property" policy by which the Igbo, against their will and interest, were dispossessed of their pre-war real estate properties (lands and houses) in Port-Harcourt under the pretext that they had abandoned them when they chose to flee to Biafra for their lives during the war. It is worth noting that Port-Harcourt - a pre-war heavily Igbo populated city in the old Igbo dominated Eastern Region of Nigeria that became Biafra – is the largest city and capital of the present-day Rivers State as well as part and parcel of Ikwere-land of the Ikwere-speaking Igbos. With the creation of the Rivers State during the civil war by the then Yakubu Gowon-led federal military government, the Ikweres, who form the largest single ethnic group in a State with a number of minority ethnic nationalities, were excised from Igboland and made part of Rivers State.

The preceding policies were in addition to a number of others that, on the surface, appeared to have been aimed at the Nigerian citizens as a whole but on a closer look were subtly targeted on the Igbo. Here, one recalls the government's "Federal Character/Quota systems" of employment, the take-over of mission schools and the expulsion from the country of all the Irish missionaries who stayed on in Biafra during the civil war. The former (the "Federal Character" and "Quota System") policies were targeted on not only limiting the employment of the Igbo who were in the public service prior to the war but had to flee to their Igbo homeland for their lives during the anti-Igbo killings of 1966 mostly in the North. The later (the school take-over and the expulsion of missionaries) was targeted not only on checkmating the continued success of missionary enterprise in Igboland that made it to be the strongest and most Christian part of Nigeria, but also to punish the Irish Catholic missionaries in Igboland for siding with Biafra – and by implication the Igbo – during the civil war. And so, by the time Awolowo finally bowed out from the government about four years after the war, he had immensely and significantly contributed to inflicting potentially crippling political and economic policies on the Igbo.

With these developments, there emerged in the country 'overnight millionaires' from among those in power or within the corridors of power. It was not long, therefore, before the average Nigerian suddenly began to see the federal government, more than before, as the source, controller, and dispenser of economic and, invariably, political power. This newly emerged reality was clearly akin to Max Weber's idea of 'patrimonialism,' that is, a principle of administration or governance in which, among other things, authority is entirely exercised through favours' which are distributed to clients, at the whim and

discretion of the ruler or patron on the basis of loyalty, rather than merit (Weber, 1964 & 1968). In its neo-patrimonial character, it is indicative of an informal patron-client relationship that can reach from very high up in the state structure, down to individuals in, say, small villages (Eisenstadt, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neopatrimonialism>).

A common offshoot of any neo-patrimonial system is the undermining or supplanting of the rule of law to the extent that the real power in the polity is held only by those with close connections to the strongman (patron) rather than those who hold legitimate positions through merit or the ballot box (Ibid). The strongman system breeds, feeds and thrives on corruption in its different forms and shapes (See, Brinkerhoff & Goldsmith, 2002). It is exemplified, for instance, in the collection of bribes, blatant falsification of records, nepotism and favouritism, cover-ups of unethical behaviour, such as the misappropriation of state funds, electoral fraud, to name a few of such corrupt practices – all of which have largely become common features of political behaviour in Nigeria since the end of the war till date!

The Igbo Response to the Post-War Politics in Nigeria

With the economic and political emasculation of the Igbo following the end of the civil war, they were literally brought to their knees, to a crossroads to choose between survival and death, so to speak. They were nowhere found among the powers that be in the struggle for both the creation and control of political power at the centre at the time. In their more or less crippled and displaced state at the time, the best the Igbo could count themselves lucky to get were crumbs that literally fell from the table of the member ethnic nationalities that won the war. The more daring and luckier ones among the Igbo were only too willing and prepared to play a second fiddle to the Strongmen figures in the polity - that is, become Godsons and errand boys for them. In the course of dining and wining with their God-fathers, these Igbo learnt and imbibed their spirit and mannerisms; these they then enthusiastically replicated in Igboland, not minding whether the replication was against the interest of the Igbo.

The fact of the matter was this: no average Igbo during the war ever thought Biafra would lose the war, having convinced themselves that Biafra was fighting a just war and, therefore, would not be let down by God. But the unthinkable, the unimaginable, happened – Biafra or, better, the Igbo, lost the war, leaving them in a mental and psychological trauma – a consequence that is yet to receive deserved intellectual attention beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that the post-war situation and condition the Igbo found themselves necessitated a response that is akin to the Biblical clamour: “to your

tents oh Israel.” With the never-say-die attitude and character of the Igbo coming to the fore, individuals had to find a way to survive by whatever means possible – be it by crook or ‘politricks.’

Also arising from this trauma was a second and hard look the Igbo gave to religion, specifically their long-held perception of God as all powerful vis-à-vis their cultural belief that victory ultimately and unfailingly belongs to the one who goes on the journey of life with *Ofo n'Ogu* (equity and justice). With these beliefs shattered or at least put into serious doubts, the Igbo, being pragmatists in matters religious (See, Echeruo, 1979), began to look for another but a better performing god. It has to be one that can give them power and help them solve their immediate material problems or predicament; this god was found in Mammon (Money) by a significant number of the Igbo. Pursuit for this ‘new god’ by any means possible has become the order of the day in Igboland. And the more the success, even in spite of the unrelenting anti-Igbo policies unleashed on the Igbo by their traditional rivals to politically and economically keep them in check, the more the Igbo continue to find a way to flourish, at least economically.

Meanwhile, in the course of this pursuit, morality was thrown to the winds. For, if an unjust Nigeria could be victorious over a Biafra on whose side were equity and justice in that war, so the many Igbo reasoned, then the concern for morality should take a back seat, at least for the moment. It is like, for these Igbos, the end justifies the means, be it in politics, economics and even social relationship. With the foregoing thought and pursuit, a ‘new Igbo’ was born! This ‘new Igbo’ could not but fit well and thrive in the country’s dominant systemic political culture and behaviour that gave birth to the group – that is, the neo-patrimonial-based system of politics in all its manner of exemplification as we had earlier noted in the paper.

What is to be done?

By now it has become clearly discernible that ‘politricks’ cannot thrive in or promote an atmosphere that demands for integrity – the willingness and preparedness to honestly and openly criticize those in power and back it up with walking the talk – and for credibility – the capability to resist accepting enticements and by so doing be believable and worthy of confidence. These two moral qualities, both of which mutually enhance each other, are found lacking among the majority of the members of the political class in Nigeria, Igboland inclusive. It is this lack among the politicians that gave birth to ‘politricks’ which, in turn, has become the dominant feature of their political thought and behaviour or practice. As such, members of the ‘new Igbo’ we noted earlier in the paper are gradually

and steadily becoming role models of sorts for the generality of *Ndigbo*. For, as Eric Fromm insightfully noted:

In any society the spirit of the whole culture is determined by the spirit of those groups that are most powerful in that society. This is so partly because these groups have the power to control ... and thereby to imbue the whole population with their own ideas; furthermore, these powerful groups carry so much prestige that the lower classes are more than ready to accept and imitate their values and to identify themselves psychologically (Fromm, 1941).

The foregoing raises this fundamental question: does the emergence, growth and dominance of this 'new Igbo' bode well for the Igbo race? In other words, does a situation where the Igbo race are led by politicians – role models of sorts - majority of whom lack both integrity and credibility ultimately mean well for *Ndigbo*? On a more serious note, would a society whose members cannot trust and repose confidence in each other be heading to life, to progress, or to doom? One is led to express the fear that if care is not taken the generality of the Igbo would soon so mistrust one another that they may miss recognizing genuine and authentic leaders for the Igbo.

The pertinence and relevance of the preceding questions as well as the response to them are worthy of attention, especially in the context of a Nigeria where the Igbo, for all practical purposes, have lost their pre-war importance and relevance in the country's scheme of things at the centre – be it in politics or economics. It should be even more frightening or at best disturbing to the Igbo in the light of the new-found alliance between the Yoruba and the Hausa/Fulani ethnic nationalities. For, without being oblivious of the circumstantial alliance between these two ethnic nationalities as represented by Awolowo and the Hausa/Fulani dominated political elites of the North during the civil war, this current alliance is the first time ever in the history of the country that the two nationalities entered into such a deliberate, well calculated and ethnically targeted alliance. In the context of the ongoing 'politricks' in Igboland, the Igbo should be extremely worried that the alliance was initiated, is currently represented, driven by and epitomized in the twosome personalities, Tinubu and Buhari, whose hatred for the Igbo is an open secret. For instance, while the former openly and successfully, with death threat, discouraged the Igbos in Lagos from voting in the Gubernatorial elections of 2019 - for fear of their potential voting power to sway the result against the former's Party, APC - the later, as President, saw to it that among the country's six geo-political Zones, the Igbo-speaking South East was the only zone that was completely excluded from benefitting from his

government's recent \$22.7 billion foreign loan.

The preceding remarks and observations as well as the emergence of the "new Igbo" and the value the group generates and promotes pose a serious challenge to the Igbo, especially when considered in the light of social relationships in Igboland vis-à-vis the Igbo communal interest. One such interest is the urgent need to raise a new generation of *Ndigbo* and a corresponding class of Igbo politicians to counter the 'new Igbo' that post-war Nigeria unleashed on Igboland.

CONCLUSION

In the course of this paper, we tried to demonstrate that 'politricks' has no promissory positive value for contemporary Igbo society and beyond. This is insofar as its practitioners could be said to be engaged in actions that are akin to Nso Ala (against the land) – that is, actions that run against the common interest of the Igbo race. This is especially when seen from the perspective of mechanisms for the maintenance of law and order, including even in governance, without which there would be no enabling environment for progress in the society. As is currently the case, political practice and behaviour in Igboland have developed to a level that *Ndigbo* can no longer trust their political leaders or even the leaders trust themselves. And when social relationships reach to this point, traditional Igbo society would resort to asking individuals to take an oath to prove their innocence and trustworthiness.

Brought to bear on political practice in Nigeria, Igboland inclusive, it is not as if oath-taking is alien to contemporary Igbo society. It has been one of the required undertakings one must fulfil before assuming a position of trust, say, either in executive or legislative and even judicial office. The fulfilment is met, in contemporary times, with either the Bible (for Christians) or the Koran (for Muslims). And so, oath-taking is not contentious. Rather, what is contentious is the potency of the means by which the oath is taken. This contention is a fall out of the trivialization the foreign religions, as we noted earlier in the paper, brought to addressing sin and leading to the reduction of the required amendment for sin to a level akin to a slap-on-the-wrist. For, from their lived experience, Nigerians or, for the purposes of this paper, the Igbo have not witnessed any drastic result like, say, death from the oath-taking by politicians, public servants and, indeed, all those entrusted with the responsibility of looking after the common patrimony of the society. No wonder then why people in public service – be they Nigerians or Igbo – easily and gleefully swear by the Bible or the Koran, knowing and believing fully well that this manner of oath-taking does not carry any drastic consequence, say, death. Hence, even after taking the oath, those who took it arrogantly and nonchalantly keep

on living out 'politricks' - keeping it alive and well - in Igboland and beyond. In the end the Igbo society is the loser for it!

The preceding attitude to oath-taking is a far cry from that which used to hold sway in the traditional Igbo Society where oath-taking is fear-inspiring, given that the oath is compulsorily taken in and through the name of the most revered deity whose deadly potential is highly acknowledged and feared in the community. The Igbo politicians and, indeed, every Igbo in any level of public service know this and, therefore, would prefer to avoid the deities at all cost. In the face of the growing menace of 'politricks' and its negative portends against the emergence of good governance for meaningful development in Igboland, this paper, therefore, proposes an intellectual re-visiting to the time-tested and honoured but long abandoned traditional Igbo society's mechanisms for the maintenance of law and order in Igboland. With specific reference to oath-taking vis-à-vis public service in Igboland, such an intellectual attention, for a realistic result, must be approached from an interdisciplinary perspective that must necessarily and collectively engage theological, cultural and socio-scientific disciplines. No time is as timely and urgent for such a study as this time in Igboland; only by so doing will the Igbo arrive at the urgently needed effective response to eradicate or, at least, curb the menace of 'politricks' in Igboland.

REFERENCES

- Achebe C (1958). *Things Fall Apart*. London: Heinemann.
- Adegboyega A (1981). *Why we Struck: The Story of the first Nigerian Coup*. Ibadan: Evans Press.
- Awolowo O <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Path-to-Nigerian-Freedom>.
- Baxter P <https://www.rememberingbiafra.com/news/oral-histories-and-memoirs/biafra-the-nigerian-civil-war-1967-1970>
- Boer JH (1988). *Christianity and Islam Under Colonialism in Northern Nigeria*. Jos: Institute of Church and Society. p 7.
- Brinkerhoff DW & Goldsmith AA (Dec. 2002). "Clientelism, Patrimonialism and Democratic Governance: An Overview and Framework for Assessment and Programming," prepared for U.S. Agency for International Development Office of Democracy and Governance. pp 15-18.
- Crowder M (1978). *The Story of Nigeria*. London and Boston: Faber and Faber. p 229.
- Echeruo MC (1979). Ahiajoku Lecture. Owerri Nigeria: Cultural Division, Ministry of Information, Culture, Youths and Sports. p 20.
- Eisenstadt. SI in <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/neopatrimonialism>.
- Enwerem IM (1995). *A Dangerous Awakening: The Politicization of Religion in Nigeria* Ibadan: IFRA pp 24-25.
- Fromm E (1941) *Escape from Freedom* New York: Rinehart and Co. pp 112-113.
- Fukuyama F (1996). *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York: Sion & Schuster). p 26.
- Nwachukwu O (2020). "An achievement by Governor Hope Uzodinma" Government Media Office, Owerri, Imo State, Nigeria.
- Onyekachi I (Feb/5/2020). "IMHA: A Charade that needs no mention" in *Midweek National Newsbreak*. p 11.
- Schwartz W (1968). in *Nigeria*. London: Pall Mall Press. pp 95-98.
- Sklar RL (1963). *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an emergent African nation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp 222-223.
- Smith BS (1969). Excerpt from his *Memoirs, But Always as Friends: Northern Nigeria and The Cameroon, 1921-1957*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Weber M (1968, 1974). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. AM Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: Free Press; *Economy and Society*. New York: Bedmuster Press.

International Journal of Political Science And Development



**Related Journals Published by Academic
Research Journals**

*International Journal of Economic and Business
Management International Journal of English Literature
and Culture*

*International Journal of Academic Library and
Information Science*

*International Journal of Academic Research in Education
and Review*

Academic Research Journal of Biotechnology

*Academic Research Journal of Agricultural Science and
Research*

*Academic Research Journal of Psychology and
Counselling*

*Academic Research Journal of Biological Sciences and
Medicinal Plants*

*Academic Research Journal of History and Culture
(ARJHC)*

<http://www.academicresearchjournals.org/IJPSD/Index.htm>