# ESCAE JOURNAL OF MANAGEMENT AND SECURITY STUDIES (EJMSS)

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

iv

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# Nigeria in the Context of Illegal, Unregulated and Unreported (IUU) Fishing in West African Coast

**Yonmo, Doutimi Permanent**
*Department of History and International Studies*
*Federal University Otueke, Bayelsa State*
*Tel: 08161908613, 08021354546*
*pdyonmo@gmail.com*
*&*
*Asanebi, Daupamowei Henry*
*Department of History and International Studies*
*Federal University Otuoke, Bayelsa State*
*+2348135026310, +2348135011207*
*daupa4real@gmail.com*

## Abstract

*The fishery sector is crucial to the Nigerian economy for contributing a considerable amount of percentage to the nation's Gross Domestic Product. It is noted that fishery is a vital economic sector as regards to employment, enterprise development, food security and nutritional value, most especially for rural people. Recent times, Illegal, Unregulated and Unreported (IUU) fishing activities have being threatening the Fishery industry in Nigeria and West African states at large. It is estimated that Nigeria loses about 70 million dollar annually to IUU fishing. It is against this backdrop, the study aim to explicate the causes of IUU fishing in Nigerian coast and West Africa marine space. The study will also examine the dynamics and actors involved in IUU, as well as suggest best ways to manage aquatic resources offshore Nigeria. The study applied descriptive method of content analysis. Data were gotten from secondary sources like IUU Fishing Index Report of 2019, Food and Agricultural Organization Annual Reports, Non-governmental organizations report, Journals and internet sourced materials. The study finds out that, lack of political will, corruption, lack of surveillance and monitoring equipment are the instigators of IUU fishing. Thus, the study recommends that West African governments including Nigeria, should give primary attention to marine issues as they do to inland matters. Institutions involved in monitoring of the water ways should be adequately funded and equipped.*

**Keywords:** Illegal, Unregulated, Unreported, Fishery

**Introduction**

As the world's population continues to grow it becomes increasingly important to ensure global food security. Fish are a critical part of marine ecosystems, providing nearly 3 billion people with at least 20% of their protein intake (Daniels et.al, 2016). In the past decade, however, Illegal, unregulated and unregistered (IUU) fishing activities around the world have threatened food security, biodiversity and national security, particularly in developing countries. About 90% of the world's fisheries are fully exploited or overexploited, (Kaysser and Adal, 2020) meaning that marine species are being caught at a rate that exceeds regeneration potential (Daniels et al., 2016) Every year between 11 and 26 million tonnes of fish (about one fish in five) are extracted illegally from the world's oceans. (Daniels et al., 2016). In view of its importance to local, national and global development, the problem of IUU fishing was included in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2016. SDG14 Target 4 calls on all states to 'end overfishing, illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing' by 2020, while SDG14 Target 16 calls on states to 'eliminate subsidies that contribute to illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing'. (Kaysser and Adal, 2020)

Illicit fishing activities pose a significant threat to Africa, which is surrounded by some of the most diverse and high-yielding waters on earth. Marine resources in and around the continent provide an important (and often the only) source of revenue and food for millions of people. Marine fisheries in Africa provide direct employment to about 2.8 million people and indirect employment to more than 14 million. (Berh and Sowman, 2016) In 2016 it was estimated that the continent's share of the global IUU catch was about 4.7 million tonnes of fish, valued at about US$10 billion and representing about 80% of reported catches. IUU fishing is widespread in Africa, with an estimated one in four fish caught illegally (Daniels et al., 2016). The continent is surrounded by three ocean basins – the East Atlantic Ocean, the West Indian Ocean, and the Mediterranean and Black Sea. Of the 54 African countries 38 have a coastline, placing much of the continent at risk of illicit fishing activities.

- In East Africa countries with coasts along the Indian Ocean are estimated to lose approximately US$400 million per year in landings and nearly US$1 billion in related processed products.
- In the north, five countries border the Mediterranean Sea, which has been labelled the most overfished sea in the world.
- West Africa, in particular, has regularly been cited as an epicentre of IUU, with studies suggesting that more than 40% of the catch is illegal. (Daniels et al., 2016). It is estimated that the region loses about US$1.3 billion annually to IUU fishing, (Daniels et al., 2016) with Senegal, Guinea and Sierra Leone losing US$300 million, US$110 million and US$29 million annually respectively(Daniels et al., 2016). It has also been suggested that eliminating IUU fishing could bring 300 000

new jobs to the region. Several countries outside of Africa, including China, Taiwan, Russia, South Korea, Spain, France and Thailand, have been known to engage in illicit fishing activities along the continent's coast. (Kaysser and Adal, 2020). Increasing sophistication, internationalisation and convergence with other crimes make the fight more pressing than ever, but also more difficult.

## IUU Fishing in Nigeria

Like most countries in West Africa, Nigeria's coastal waters contain diverse species of fish, which contribute to the food and economic security of its people. Small-scale fishing operations contribute 80% of locally produced fish and support the livelihoods of 24 million Nigerians (Okafor and Sayra, 2021). Seventy three percent of those involved in fisheries in Nigeria are women. The overall GDP contribution from fishing – small scale and industrial – was 0.84% in 2019 and 1.09% in 2020 (Okafor and Sayra, 2021). The fisheries sector is therefore a route to socioeconomic development in Nigeria. But it also faces threats. One of these is environmental pollution, primarily from the oil industry. Pollution degrades the maritime environment, destroys fish stocks and reduces the catch. Another threat is illegal fishing, as our previous research has found. Nigeria loses, 600million dollars annually to IUU fishing done by foreign vessels as a result of inadequate manpower to police the country's vast coastline (Abiodun, 2019). Abiodun (2019) reported in Thisday Newspaper that Nigeria spends 800 million dollar annually on fish importation, being the fourth largest importer of fish in the world. Nigeria imports frozen fish varieties, including Mackerel locally called Titus, Herrings locally called Shawa, Horse Mackerel locally called Kote, Blue Whitening, locally called Panla and Argentina Silus locally called Ojuyobo as well as the popular Croaker fish. Most of these fishes are taken away by foreign countries that are into fishing from Nigerian territorial waters and reimported by Nigerians at exorbitant prices. Some of our local breeds especially from the family of Pelagics are destructively harvested, mechanically mashed to produce fishmeal and fish oil to be used as feeds for farmed fishes inland in Asia and Europe. In return, those farmed fishes are exported to African and Nigerian markets. According to a document titled fisheries Crimes Activities in West African Coastal Region cited in Abiodun (2019) Nigeria, in 2018 imported fish worth 71 million dollar, 56 million dollar, 43 million dollar and 174 million dollar from Iceland, Russia, Norway and Netherlands respectively. The document further revealed that over 450 Chinese Vessels fish illegally in Nigeria and the entire coast of West Africa. This is aside vessels from other countries and artisanal fishing in Nigeria inland water ways in areas such as Badore and Epe in Lagos State as well as coastal areas in Bayelsa, Akwa Ibom and Cross Rivers States connecting rural water ways to the Gulf of Guinea. Thisday Newspaper team visited Badore area in Lagos, which is the main research site of the Nigeria Institute of Oceanography, locals narrated how several vessels trawl illegally at night unchecked (2019). According to a resident "we are not allowed to go near the water to fish but at night we see people fishing and no one arrest them". The US National

Oceanic Atmospheric Administration on its 2015 biennal report to Congress on IUU fishing, identified Nigeria as of the 6 nations including Columbia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua and Mexico in Which IUU fishing is very rampant and as such is threatening the current efforts to secure long term sustainable fisheries as well as to promote healthier and more robust ecosystem.

It is against the above explanations as regards to the activities of IUU fishing in Nigerian territorial waters located in the wide coast of West Africa that the study intend to explicate, situate and contextualize the drastic implications of IUU fishing in Nigerian waters and her population. One of the core objectives of the study is to suggest the best ways to manage aquatic resources in Nigerian territorial waters and the vast West African marine domain.

## Conceptual Framework

The IUU fishing index, 2019 provides the following definition of IUU fishing.

Activities are classified as **illegal fishing** if they are: gbconducted by national or foreign vessels in waters under the jurisdiction of a State, without the permission of that State, or in contravention of its laws and regulations; conducted by vessels flying the flag of States that are parties to a relevant regional fisheries management organization but operate in contravention of the conservation and management measures adopted by that organization and by which the States are bound, or relevant provisions of the applicable international law; or in violation of national laws or international obligations, including those undertaken by cooperating States to a relevant regional fisheries management organization. **Unreported fishing** refers to activities which: have not been reported, or have been misreported, to the relevant national authority, in contravention of national laws and regulations; or are undertaken in the area of competence of a relevant regional fisheries management organization which have not been reported or have been misreported, in contravention of the reporting procedures of that organization. Finally, a catch is considered **unregulated** if fishing is conducted: in the area of application of a relevant regional fisheries management organization that is conducted by vessels without nationality, or by those flying the flag of a State not party to that organization, or by a fishing entity, in a manner that is not consistent with or contravenes the conservation and management measures of that organization; or in areas or for fish stocks in relation to which there are no applicable conservation or management measures and where such fishing activities are conducted in a manner inconsistent with State responsibilities for the conservation of living marine resources under international law. (FAO 2001).

## Theoretical Analysis

This study adopts the Queer Ladder Mobility Theory (QLMT) as its theoretical framework. QLMT was influenced by an American Sociologist, Daniel Bell (1919-

2011) (Chukwuma and Fakumo, 2014) who coined the idea of "queer ladder mobility in an attempt to explain the instrumental essence of organized crime as a desperate means of economic empowerment and social climbing. This theoretical perspective has since fertilized into a popular theoretical framework widely used in contemporary crime studies. (2) The basic assumptions of QLMT are thus: (a) organized crime is an instrumental behaviour (b) it is a means to an end. (c) It is an instrument of social climbing or socio-economic advancement. (d) It is a means to accumulate wealth and build power.

Often ascribed to this theory is the notion that organized crime thrives in contexts where the government's capacity to detect, sanction and deter crime is poor; where public corruption is endemic and where prospects for legitimate livelihood opportunities are slim (Nwoye, 2000; Lymen, 2007; Okoli and Oyinya, 2013).

A situation whereby most of the governments' across West African States have failed to execute their quintessential responsibilities, especially in terms of the provision of social welfare security. Therefore, the resultant effect of it, is poverty, hardship and economic stagnancy. Thus, engaging in organized transnational crime could be an enticing alternative option to eliminate socio-economic malaise. The idea of 'ladder' in QLMT denotes untoward pattern of social mobility (4). In effect those who take to organized transnational crime such as illegal fishing do so as a desperate means of social climbing (mobility). Nobody wants to remain at the bottom of the social stratification of a society forever. The desire to more upward of the ladder of social stratification in order to remain influential and economically secured is inborn in everyman. Thus, if the society does not create a legitimate means to achieve the above, then achieving it through organized transnational crime like illegal fishing could be an option. Meaning that illegal fishing is a means to a socio-economic end. The theory provides a reasonable analytical assumptions for one to understand the foundation of the study at hand.

## Fishing in West Africa: An Overview

West Africa (WA) stretches through a 3,057,820km across 16 nations in West Africa coastal zone from Senegal in the West to Nigeria in the South. E.C. Merem et al. (2018) with a population of almost more than 288 million (World-meters, 2018). With its coastline stretching from the strait of Gibraltar to Cape Town in South Africa (Alfoso et al. 2016). The entire coastline of West Africa has some of the most diverse and economically relevant fishery locations in the World (Alfoso, et al. 2016). These includes the Canary current and the Benguela current marine ecosystem, which extend from North-West Africa to Guinea Bissau and from Western South Africa to Angola (Alfoso, et al., 2016). These areas are highly populated with tuna fishing grounds. The region also has a maritime Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) of $2,016,900km^2$, off the Atlantic Ocean with abundant fish stocks (Merem, 2017), the huge fish stock provides huge economic benefit to locals, transporters, EU and Asian markets. From the 000,000

of tons in yearly output in the early 1960s, fishery production in countries around the West African cost is now estimated of over 3.5 percent of world production (Greeenpeace, 2015). Today, West Africa's marine fishery resources are operating well below the bring of sustainable utilization in part because of IUU fishing. More than 50% of the fisheries resources in the stretch of the WA cost ranging from Senegal to Nigeria alone has already been over-fished (Alfoso, et al., 2016).

Fishing in Africa can be divided, somewhat simplistically, into the large-scale sector and the small-scale sector. The small-scale sector, characterized by artisanal fishing methods, is largely undertaken by Africans to supply local markets, although some fish caught by local small-scale fishers is traded regionally, such as the dried or smoked fish from Senegal that is sold throughout West and Central Africa (Andre, 2017). Small-scale fisheries support large numbers of Africans involved in fish processing and trade. There are an estimated 12 million people employed in fisheries either on a full-time basis or on a part-time, seasonal basis (Andre, 2017). While men tend to do the majority of fishing, women can make up the majority of those working in the post-harvest sector, which makes the fishing industry so important for the food security of many women and their children. Together, the industry represents an important and flexible source of employment and income for vulnerable, low-income Africans.

Alongside this small-scale sector, the large-scale sector targets a range of species predominantly for export. Despite efforts by development agencies beginning in the 1960s to establish African-owned industrial fisheries, today almost all of the large-scale industrial sector comprises vessels owned by companies from the European Union (EU), Russia, Eastern Europe, or Asia, with China, South Korea, and Japan being the most significant (Andre, 2017). Most of these vessels operate under short-term licenses (typically on an annual basis). Some operate on a charter basis. Licenses are sometimes linked to fisheries access agreements, established by the governments of foreign fishing nations or fishing company associations with African governments. The EU, for example, has what it calls "Sustainable Fisheries Partnership Agreements" with 12 African countries, and it is negotiating more. These agreements set the price, terms, and conditions of fishing, and are often joined by additional commitments for funding fisheries development or research.

The growth of fishing in Africa by these distant-water fishing fleets is partly explained by stagnating and dwindling catches in their national waters or traditional fishing grounds. Foreign fishing companies have subsequently expanded their operations to Africa to sustain supply. This is made possible through considerable subsidies. The world's fishing industry receives an estimated $20 billion a year in capacity-enhancing subsidies. A significant part of this allows vessels from Asia and Europe to operate in developing countries. In Africa, the EU pays up to 50 percent of the costs of EU access agreements on behalf of its fishing fleet. In 2013, the Chinese government provided

approximately $6.5 billion in subsidies for its fishing sector, 94 percent of this in the form of cheaper diesel.

Local and international actors of IUU fishing uses the following illegal methods of fishing:

**Bottom trawling:** Bottom trawling is a method that uses a large net that scrapes against the sea floor to collect large groups of fish and various aquatic plants and animals. Bottom trawling is unselective or the fishes and plants it catches. The use of the heavy and large nets in this method is harmful in several ways, such as (a) bottom trawling stirs up sediment that may be poisonous, at times creating muddy water that gives aquatic species a difficult time surviving. (b) aquatic species that are edible and non-edible that makes the ecosystem what it is to aquatic creatures might be considerably damaged, consequently making the habitat uncomfortable. **Dynamite or Blast Fishing:** This is done easily and cheaply with dynamite or home-made-explosives. Fish and other marine species are killed by the shock from the blast. Killed fishes by the explosion are collected from the surface or water and the beneath of it. Explosions indiscriminately destroys the marine ecosystem and the physical environment. **Bycatch:** Bycatch means accidentally catching numerous types of aquatic life in the process of targeting a particular specie to catch. Bycatch could lead to catching the wrong size of fish and inedible creatures or species that are almost in extinction. Large quantity of bycatch are often thrown over board, unwanted injured or dead.

## The Modus Operandi of IUU Fishing in West Africa

The perpetrators of IUU fishing tend to follow particular methods to achieve their goals. Identifying these practices and patterns can help monitoring authorities or law enforcement officers detect IUU fishing or other crimes. Widjaja, et al., (2019) provided six modes of operation of IUU fishing, that criminals uses to exploit aquatic resources.

The modes of operations are discussed below:

## Moving the catch from vessel to vessel

Transshipment - moving the fish catch from one vessel to another, at sea or in port - is a common practice in the global fishing industry. At sea, transshipment facilitates the efficient delivery of fish to ports while allowing fishing vessels to continue to fish without having going to the port.

Transshipment is pervasive in high seas fisheries. Both refrigerated cargo vessels and larger fishing vessels transfer fresh catch from thousands of fishing vessels and take it to the first point of landing for onshore processing. Although transshipment touches a wide range of seafood products, tuna makes up a particularly large portion of it, in part because this highly prized fish can be frozen and brought from distant waters and still

command high values at the market. Although moving catch from vessel to vessel may seem harmless, a lack of effective monitoring allows bad actors to obscure or manipulate data on their fishing practices, the species or amounts caught and the catch locations, thus badly distorting supply chains and efforts to make them more transparent. Transshipment allows fishing vessels to remain at sea longer, which means more continuous fishing effort and, ultimately, additional overfishing of vulnerable fish stocks, especially tuna. While at sea, fish are kept in holds for longer periods, leading to co-mingling of IUU and non-IUU caught fish prior to landing and further muddying the traceability of supply chains.

## Using flags of convenience and flags of non-compliance

Flags of convenience. Under international law, the country whose flag a vessel flies is responsible for regulating and controlling the vessel's activities. Flags of convenience (FOCs) refer to the registration of a vessel to a flag state with no genuine link to the vessel's owners or operators. This offers competitive advantages to vessel owners, including limited regulatory oversight, ease of registration, reduced taxation, and ability to obscure beneficial ownership. Generally, an FOC country has an open registry, making a business from granting its flags to vessels (including fishing vessels) that are owned by nationals from other states. FOCs are one of the simplest and most common ways in which unscrupulous fishing operations can circumvent management and conservation measures and avoid penalties for illegal fishing. Fishing vessels can use FOCs to re-flag and change ship names rapidly to confuse management and surveillance authorities, a practice known as flag hopping (EJF 2009). Extensive labour abuses and lack of safety protocols are well documented on FOC vessels (International Transport Worker Federation 2020).

## Flags of non-compliance.

Many flag states without open registries have poor reputations for combatting illegal fishing and associated crimes. These countries often offer 'flags of non-compliance,' which means they grant authorisation to a vessel to fly its flag as well as authorisation to fish, but they lack the resources or the intent to monitor and control these vessels.

## Ports of Convenience

In an attempt to avoid adequate inspections, companies engaging in IUU fishing send their vessels to ports with poor or no inspection controls. Ports of convenience are ports where catches can be landed with minimum inspection due to a lack of capacity, poor recording systems for catch landings, or corruption among inspectors. These ports of convenience allow the illegal fishing industry to gain access to the marketplace and to ensure logistical support for their vessels. Some ports of convenience are also free trade ports (or free economic zones). These zones have favourable customs regulations and

little or no controls for landings or transshipment. Illegally caught fish can easily enter the market and be shipped onwards undetected by the flag state or even the port state.

## Deactivating vessel identification and monitoring systems

Monitoring is always challenging work in fisheries. The main tools used for monitoring fishing vessel activities are the Vessel Monitoring System (VMS) and the Automatic Identification System (AIS). Yet, IUU fishing vessels often deactivate or manipulate these systems to hide their identity and location. Many authorities use VMS to combat IUU fishing and manage their fisheries. However, not all countries operate a VMS system, and those that do often do not operate the same system or have information-sharing agreements; thus, information transfer is hampered, does not happen or is costly. Additionally, some flag states fail to uphold their responsibilities to monitor their fleet. That being said, a properly used VMS system can be very effective.

AIS is a tracking system for ships, designed for collision avoidance. It allows vessels to be 'seen' by each other regardless of their size or the weather conditions. AIS was originally a coastal ground station system limited to coastal zones or between ships at sea, but since the satellite transmission of AIS data became possible, the resulting global coverage made it quickly useful for understanding vessel behaviour with applications beyond collision avoidance.

The AIS data set, however, has limitations. There is no global mandate for fishing vessels to use AIS, although several states, including the European Union, do mandate its use. Vessels that use AIS can turn off or tamper with it. Some fishers turn off their AIS to hide their fishing locations from competitors or because of security or piracy risks in the area. Others turn off their AIS because they are engaging in IUU fishing and wish to hide their activities.

## Ships operated and financed by a complex network of ownership

Investigating and prosecuting illegal fisheries cases throughout the value chain is a complex and resource- intensive process. Because fisheries operations occur in a number of jurisdictions, investigators need close cooperation and information sharing among countries, agencies and relevant international institutions. Unfortunately, most illegal fishing cases at the national level focus on prosecuting only the vessel and its crew for the alleged violation. There is often little effort to identify illegal activities that may have taken place by the same vessel in other jurisdictions or to prosecute the networks, and ultimately the owners, behind these IUU operations. The use of shell companies and joint-venture agreements to 'own' and operate fishing vessels makes it even more complex to identify and target the individuals benefitting from the illegal activities. A shell company holds funds and manages financial transactions for another company. Although shell companies are legal in many countries, their use can benefit those involved in illegal fishing, both in terms of avoiding taxes and hiding true

ownership of fishing operations. A joint venture agreement is an arrangement in which two entities develop a new entity for their mutual benefit. While many joint-venture agreements are legal, these types of agreements can be exploited to perpetuate illegal fishing. Local partners, who in theory are majority shareholders, can in fact have little say in or control of the fishing operation, and it is frequently unclear how profits are shared. Joint ventures are also linked to corruption to protect vessels and their owners from prosecution and fines.

## Another Dimension to IUU Fishing (Fishmeal/Fish oil Production)

A strong global demand for Fishmeal and Fish oil (FmFo), as an ingredient in livestock and aquaculture feeds,has led to a rapid development of Fish-meal and fish oil producing factories in African states (FAO,2020). These countries are mostly in Southern, Eastern and Western Africa (FAO, 2020). More than 50 FmFo plants line up in the West African coast mostly especially in Gambia, Mauritania and Senegal (ADF Report, 2021). A single factory can process 7,500 metric tons of fish a year. Mauritania agreed in 2017 to phase out fishmeal factories by 2020, but the country's 25 foreign owned factories have tripled production instead (ADF Report, 2021). The US Department of Agriculture estimates that Senegal exports 12,000 metric tons of fishmeal par year. One metric ton of fishmeal requires about 5 metric tons of fresh fish to produce (ADF, Report 2021). The UN reported that 90 percent of Senegal's fisheries already are fully fished or facing collapse (ADF Report, 2021). Contemporary times, fish bones, offal and fish left overs are no more used for producing FmFo that used to be traditionally. Rather, entire fishes like round sardinella, flat sardinella and bonga (family of Pelagics) are grilled into FmFo (Standing, 2019). Predominantly, fishmeal is used to feed animals and farmed fish while that of fish oil is used in pharmaceutical companies and cosmetic industries in Europe and Asia, mostly especially in Turkey and China (Standing, 2019). FmFo processing factories in W/A especially in Mauritania, Gambia and Senegal are owned and controlled by Chinese companies. Foreign owned FmFo processing factories uses destructive and illegal methods to exploit the sub region fisheries and grind same into FmFo.

## Impact of IUU Fishing in West Africa

Apart from the fact that IUU fishing, twists scientific data meant for fishery research, management, and policy formulation, as well as destroying the marine ecosystem. IUU fishing has huge significant economic, social and nutritional consequences

## Economic Implications

IUU fishing has economic impacts for fishers and consumers. In the short term, these impacts may be positive because any fish catch brings returns to fishers and cheaper fish to consumers. However, in the medium and long terms, the impacts become negative since a reduction in fish stocks leads to increased fishing costs, higher prices

to consumers and economic losses to the tourism sector (Tinch et al. 2008; Zimmerhackel et al. 2018).

Indirect impacts continue across the value chain, which rarely ends when the catch is landed (except for subsistence fisheries where the catch is directly consumed). Instead, value is created each time the fish changes hands; for example, it is sold to markets and resold to consumers or to an intermediary who purchases large quantities for processing and resale to a retail outlet (Dyck and Sumaila 2010). Therefore, a reduction in catch results in a potential loss of added value across the fish value chain in the legitimate formal sector as well as a loss in household income to fisheries workers. For example, illicit trade in the marine resources of West Africa, including illegal fishing practices, is estimated to cost the region nearly $1.95 billion in lost economic impact across the fish value chain and $593 million per year in lost household income (Sumaila 2018). Decreased fish stocks due to overfishing may lead to social impacts, loss of cohesion and migration away from the coast towards urban areas, ultimately even stretching to conflict over resources (DCDC 2018). More likely is local disorder among fishers as a consequence of a decrease in household income due to reduced catch opportunities and reduced employment. For example, in Sierra Leone, skirmishes between artisanal and larger IUU fishing vessels is common in the inshore area, where trawlers often fish to within 100 meters of the shoreline, placing them in direct competition with smaller vessels. Gear conflicts also occur, and there is often damage the artisanal fisher's nets or boats (Drammeh 2000).

## Eradication of the use of Fish Protein

Food from the sea is uniquely poised to contribute to food security because fish is a highly efficient form of protein - 150 grams of fish provide 50-60 percent of an adult's daily protein requirement (FAO 2018). Fish is also a unique source of essential nutrients, including omega-3 fatty acids, iodine, vitamin D, and calcium. Fish consumption by expectant mothers aids their children's neurodevelopment and these proteins and nutrients remain particularly crucial in the first two years of a child's life (FAO 2018). Shifting diets towards fish consumption could also help mitigate climate change because ocean-based proteins are substantially less carbon intensive than land-based proteins (especially beef and lamb). It is estimated that shifting diets to ocean-based proteins can result in mitigation potential of 0.24–0.84 gigatonnes of carbon dioxide equivalent (GTCO2e) per year in 2030 (Hoegh- Guldberg 2019 cited in Widjaja et al., 2019).

## Food Insecurity

The deliberate act of using prime fishes caught in Nigeria and the entire west African coast to be converted into fishmeal and fish oil, in order to feed onshore farmed animals and fishes in US, Europe and Asia is capable of causing colossal damages like; (a) scarcity of fish for human consumption, there by creating food insecurity for the poor

in Nigeria and West Africa at large. According to the Federal Department of Fisheries in Lagos, Nigeria's annual fish demand is estimated at 3.32 million metric tonnes, while domestic production is only about 1.12 million metric tonnes. This leaves a deficit of 2.2 million metric tonnes Which is largely supplied through importation (b), when fish are obtained through reduction fisheries and then grinded into FMFO causes fish scarcity that will lead to inflated price of fishes that will be unaffordable by the poor locals.(c), also, unregulated fisheries and FmFo producing factories drastically reduces employment on shore and this affects the poor in particularly, as much of the onland fisheries processing are being done by the low-skilled labour. Due to the foregoing and the entire IUU fishing in Nigeria, from 2019 to 2021 the price of half a kilo of various varieties of fish has quadrupled. Thus keeping fish and its vital protein out of the reach of the poor.  See Table 1.

Table 1 Prices of Fish Per Half a Kilo in Naira Between the Year 2019 and 2021.

|  | **2019** | **2021** |
|---|---|---|
| Kote | 200 | 800 |
| Shawa | 150 | 600 |
| Titus | 250 | 1 000 |
| Panla | 250 | 1 000 |
| Ojuyobo | 150 | 600 |
| Croaker | 300 | 1 200 |
| Tilapia | 300 | 1 200 |

**Author's Field Work, 2022**


**Human Risk**

Coastal communities in Nigeria and across West Africa are gravely experiencing a dramatic decline in the amount of fishes caught close to their shoreline. As a result, they spend longer time at Sea for fewer and smaller fishes. This is because the rate of harvest far outstrips that of reproduction. Reduction of fishes at sea close to the Shoreline makes the local fishermen and women to go further into the sea to cast their nets, by so doing, putting their lives in risk. Going far away into the sea makes artisanal fishers to come in contact with huge fishing vessels. This is even more risky.

**Causes of IUU Fishing in West Africa**

**Sea Blindness and Lack of Political Will:** Despite the important contribution that fishing makes to the livelihood of Nigerians, government neglects this sector. This is evident in the marginal budgetary allocation the sector receives yearly. The government of the West African states including Nigeria is engulfed by land-centered issues and challenges. This is because most of the leaders lack the knowledge of maritime opportunities. This explain why the presence of the government is very remote from the littoral village and towns. For instance, Naval formations are

sporadically located in the region. Maritime police are found in major cities like Warri, Lagos, Accra, Abidjan, Cotonou, Lome. The interior areas that linked the various rivers to the major Atlantic sea are not policed. (Yonmo and Akinselure, 2021).

Because of the foregoing, the river lanes from the numerous littoral villages to the sea are policed by criminal gangs, private militaries and warlords that are usurping the responsibility of the federal government by collecting taxes from foreign fishing trawlers, cargo ships, Jacobsen and Nordby, (2015) rightly noted the intractability of maritime security challenges in the region is manified by what might be described as a long history of "policy blindness towards coastal waters." In other words, a lack of political interest in maritime security issues meant that little effort has been made to combat IUU fishing.

**Social Acceptance**: The inability of the government to provide the basic needs of the people in the West African states, has made criminal gangs to provide government functions – security, employment, and social amenities to villages. Therefore, making individuals to become members of such criminal gangs. Ransoms gotten from kidnapped crew members, the sales of illegal oil, funds gotten from fishing trawlers illegitimately makes the economy of the riverine villages to boom. It stimulates an inflow of capital, which makes the local industries to thrive and create other economic opportunities. Thus, locals provide safe havens for criminals away from government security forces. (Yonmo and Paul, 2021).

Ill Equipped Naval: The ill equipped security agencies, like the Nigerian Navy that lacks surveillance equipment, speed boats, sophisticated weapons, state of the art patrol boats, aeroplanes to guarantee the required security of the domain is also a huge problem. Couple with the fact that the maritime architecture of West Africa is a trajectory of traversed diverse creeks, rivers, swamps and forest. The Navy lacks the mastery of the terrain. Conversely, pirate gangs have access to sophisticated weapons and most times they were born and bred in the region, so they understand the difficult terrain.

**Lack of surveillance equipment**

The monitoring, control and surveillance unit of the Nigeria's Federal Fisheries Department within the Federal Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development lack budgetary allocation, patrol boats, enough personnel and surveillance equipment to effectively do their job. Government fishery management institutions in West Africa are not given the required funds and logistical support to battle crimes offshore. For instance, as rightly reported by Barthelemy et al (2015). The Benin Republic Directorate of Fisheries (DF) and the Institute for Fisheries and Ocean Research (IFOR) – two important actors in the development, control, protection and conservation of fishery resources lack the requisite resources – technicality, funds, technology, specialized personnel to curtail the excesses in their marine domain. This partly explains why Benin does not have recent data of fishing activities in its waters, except the data from IPAO, IUU index.

**Physical and Environmental Elements**

The West African region which ranks highly among the world's richest fishery grounds teeming with sardines and mackerel stretches thorough millions of kilometres off a vast coastline and Exclusive Economic Zones. The sheer size of this key unprotected frontier of fishing along the Atlantic Eastern central and the Gulf of Guinea current has made it the focus of major scramble in the daily activity of illegal trawlers of various nations from the EU, Asia and others. (Merem, 2018). Even though international regulations of the sea prohibit fishing operations outside of a stipulated 200-mile area off the territory of another nation without permits, the capacity to enforce those rules are hindered due to the shortage of both the expertise and of the massive assets necessary for patrolling such wide maritime areas. (Merem, 2018). Since only quite a few nations in the region, possess the capacity to monitor their coastal fishing waters satisfactorily. Foreign trawlers fishing in the coastal the waters of West Africa operate with impunity regardless of the legality of global conventions.

**Corruption**

Corruption in governmental institutions has ripped the essence of such institutions in Africa. Many countries in western Africa require observers to be present on board fishing vessels, in some cases these observers are paid by the vessel operators. The incentive to expose illegal trade is accordingly limited (EJF, 2012, cited in Daniels et al. 2016). Corruption is another barrier to effective action. One third of the countries in western African were in the bottom quarter of Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index for 2014. The consequences can be seen in the governance of the fisheries sector. In Senegal, for example, highly placed political figures have been investigated and, in some cases, prosecuted for selling illegal permits to foreign fleets for personal gain. (Faye, 2011; Vidal, 2012, cited in Daniels et al. 2016). Still on corruption, the Nigeria Maritime Administration Safety Agency Act (NIMASA) established by law in 2007, that has its own fleet for search and rescue, as well created to cooperate with the Nigerian Navy in case of criminal attacks was negatively revatilized and infiltrated by corrupt politicians since 1999. The agency has a huge record of corruption (Yonmo, 2019). The agency remain a toothless bull dog because of the above explanation.

**CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

The colossal spread of IUU fishing in West Africa shores has significant social, economic and environmental impact on the West Africa sub-region. The study finds out that countries from Asia, Europe and even local fishermen massively uses illegal fishing methods like bycatch, dynamite fishing, bottom trawling, overfishing and illegal shipments.

A reduction in IUU fishing would secure employment for millions of people, increase revenue streams to local economies and ensure food security for dependent communities, while contributing to the preservation of marine ecosystems. The fisheries sector not only employs fishers but also generates related secondary jobs, from processing and distribution to research and the maintenance of equipment. The conservation of marine habitats by combatting illicit fishing activities would ensure that fish stocks are a renewable natural resource for generations. In Africa, proper management of the national fisheries sectors would not only bolster economies but would contribute to maritime security and strengthen port integrity on the continent. To this end, the following recommendations are provided to curb the menace of IUU fishing:

1. Awareness campaign on the need for the use of sustainable fishing practices for for long lasting utilization of fisheries in Nigeria waters is very vital. This can be done through seminars, radio and fish festivals
2. Solving the problem of IUU fishing in Nigeria requires that the Federal Department of Fisheries (FDF) is should be supported to operate effectively. It should be adequately funded. FDF constitutional powers should not be ursuped by other government agencies
3. A holistic and collaborative approaching is crucial to address fisheries crimes. A national maritime strategy is needed to guide and facilitate inter-agency and regional cooperation. The strategy should include the establishment of information sharing platform.

- Recognise IUU fishing as a transnational organised crime: If IUU fishing is viewed as a form of organised crime the obligations on states, regional and multi- lateral enforcement agencies will increase. Tackling IUU fishing as an organised crime, co-located with other organized crimes types will draw attention to the issue and may yield more sophisticated and coordinated efforts, along with harsher penalties.
- Develop comprehensive policies to counter IUU fishing: Comprehensive policy making should include strategies that address aspects including prevention and monitoring measures, the protection of marine ecosystems and efforts to hold accountable criminals engaged in IUU fishing.
- Enhance operational capacity: Training coastguards, immigration officers and others in the regulations and in investigative techniques and ways of using monitoring technologies such as drones would be invaluable in combatting IUU fishing.
- Address underlying imbalances: In Africa, IUU fishing activities largely take place in areas where governance is weak and illegal fishing is more profitable than legal fishing. States should try to address these imbalances in order to make illicit activities less attractive. Corrupt practices such as paying bribes to obtain fishing licences or allowing fishing in the absence of a licence undermine legitimate fishing activities and increase incentives to fish illegally.

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# Impact of Work Environment on Employee Performance in Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria

**Ayantunji, I. O. (PhD)**
*Department of Human Resource Development*
*Osun State University, Osun State.*
*&*
**Olaniyan, T. S. (PhD)**
*Department of Human Resource Development*
*Osun State University, Osun State.*
*&*
**Okunade, I. O.**
*Department of Human Resource Development*
*Osun State University, Osun State*

## Abstract

*Working environment plays key role in the performance of employees in an organization. The strategic intention of organizations today is to achieve innovation and also encourage workers to work better, smarter and faster. The main objective of this research is to investigate the extent to which work environment affects the performance of employees in federal polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. The target population is 2300 which comprises of all the academic staff and the non-academic staff in federal polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. Both male and female are selected for this study. The sample size 442 for this study was arrived at using Taro Yamane (1964) formula. The findings of the result revealed that communication has a positive and significant effect on employee performance in federal polytechnic ede, Osun State, Nigeria (β = 0.428, t = 19.851, p<.05) and also it was revealed that job aid has positive and significant effect on employee performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. (β = 0.287, t = 10.479, p<.05). The study recommended that organizations should work hard at availing every needed resource in making sure that the work environment supports their employee performance.*

**Keywords**: Communication, Employee Performance, Job Aid, Work Environment

## 1. Introduction

The work environment be it the association or business venture is a significant spot where different exercises or various exchanges happen. Work environment is a spot involved by different people or staff who pull their endeavors, skills or assets together to achieve task and similarly accomplish a shared objective. Association is a significant

work spot or environment where various exercises happens. The workplace has been set up to accomplish specific hierarchical objectives and targets. One method for overseeing or hold representatives and in like manner further develop their work execution is to make a positive environment where they appreciate working and communicating.

A positive and agreeable work environment is incredibly basic for the general achievement of the business association. The term workplace as indicated by Money-Zine.com (2020) is utilized to depict the encompassing conditions wherein a worker works. In a past report, Wu (2020) affirmed that the workplace is named by analysts as the work environment, reorganizational environment and alludes to the idea of natural quality as seen by individuals concerned. The workplace can be made out of states of being, like air, environment, office temperature, or gear, like PCs. It can likewise be connected with variables, for example, work cycles or techniques.

The workplace can include the social collaborations at the work environment, incorporating communications with peers, individual associates' or subordinates, and chiefs. By and large, and inside limits, representatives are qualified for work in a environment that is liberated from provocation. An antagonistic workplace exists when unwanted direct disrupts a worker's work execution, or makes an unfriendly, threatening, or hostile workplace. The term workplace as further saw by the Money-Zine.com (2020) can likewise be related with the state of being of the structure. Solid workplaces will be liberated from issues related with debilitated structure disorder, which is regularly because of helpless ventilation or off-gassing of synthetic compounds utilized during development. The collection of molds and buildup may likewise prompt debilitated structure disorder. Willas (2019) bore witness to that workplace in wide term implies all the environmental elements of the work place when working. It is a creation of the physical, social, enthusiastic and mental parts of the environment which impacts emphatically or adversely on human work and exercises.

The essential aim of an organisation is to accomplish advancement and furthermore urge laborers to work better, more intelligent and quicker Adam (2018). Understanding the current difficulties of the business environment and to make endurance potential, associations have started paying accentuation on dealing with the exhibition of their representatives, satisfying their solace needs by giving a powerful working environment environment that additionally assists them with drawing in and hold ability Jude (2017). The obligation lies with directors and administrators at all levels of the association. Organizations should venture outside their respected jobs and safe places to check out better approaches for working. As indicated by Sandstorm, (2015), larger part of individuals burn through half of their lives inside indoor conditions, which enormously impact their psychological status, activities, capacities and execution. The present workplace is unique, various and continually evolving. The term workplace can be related with the state of being of the structure. Solid workplaces will be liberated from issues related with debilitated structure disorder, which is

regularly because of helpless ventilation. The workplace can likewise incorporate the social connections at the work environment, incorporating association with companions, subordinates, and supervisors. By and large, representatives are qualified for a work in an environment that is liberated from badgering. An unfriendly workplace exists when unwanted sexual lead disrupts a representative's work execution, or makes antagonistic, threatening, or hostile work environment (Jones, 2017).

The acknowledgment of the critical job of psycho-social environment prompted the rise of hierarchical brain research, and facilitates the idea of nature of work life. The normal manager/worker relationship of old has been flipped around. With an end goal to spur laborers, firms have tried various exercises, for example, execution based compensation, representative association, enrolling arrangements, practices to assist with adjusting work and everyday life just as different types of data sharing. Notwithstanding inspiration, laborers need the abilities and the capacity to go about their business successfully. It is the nature of the worker's workplace that most effects fair and square of representative's inspiration and resulting execution. How well workers draw in with the association, particularly with their nearby environment, impacts by and large their blunder rate, level of uniqueness and joint effort with different representatives, truancy and eventually the way that long they stay in the gig. Agreeable office configuration rouses the workers and expands their exhibition generally (Hazra 2020). It is on this note this paper expected to fill the gaps of previous study by examining the extent to which employee performance is influenced by work environment. This study will then use communication and job as an indicator in work environment

## Statement of the Problem

Establishing a workplace which advances prosperity of representatives and increment individual execution is considered a technique for upgrading organization effectiveness and usefulness. Employee˝s ordinarily have assumption and will request a working environment environment that works with them to play out their work ideally. At the point when this is adequately given, it can help authoritative seriousness (Heath, 2016; Olaniyan 2019). The current test of the board today is to set up a environment that impact, influence, hold and propel its workers for expansion of usefulness. As it was completed not many years prior to keep representatives fulfilled, it adopts a totally unexpected strategy in comparison to it did. The current work space is unique, remarkable and continually changing occasionally and setting. In developing economy, laborers have plentiful open doors and limitless work honors. This condition established an environment where bosses need its representatives rather than the workers need it manager. Less consideration has been paid to working environment and also, bosses and representatives don't know about the impact and secret elements of the working environment.

**Objective of the Study**

The main objective of this research is to investigate the extent to which work environment affects the performance of employees in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. The specific objectives are to:

- Determine the contribution of communication on employees' performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria.
- Assess the use of job aid towards employees' performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria.

## 2. Literature Review

Kohun (2019), characterizes working environment as a completely which includes the entirety of powers, activities and other compelling elements that are at present and, or conceivably fighting with the representative's exercises and efficiency. Working environment is the amount of the interrelationship that exists inside the representatives and the environment where the representatives work.

Brenner (2019) was of the assessment that "the capacity to share information all through associations relies upon how the workplace is intended to empower associations to use workplace as though it were a resource. This assists associations with further developing adequacy and permit workers to profit from aggregate information". Moreover, he contended that work space intended to suit representative's fulfillment and free progression of trade of thoughts is a superior mechanism of spurring representatives towards higher efficiency. Opperman (2018) characterizes working environment is a composite of three significant sub-conditions: the specialized environment, the human environment and the authoritative environment. Specialized environment alludes to apparatuses, hardware, innovative framework and other physical or specialized components. The specialized environment makes components that empower representatives play out their separate liabilities and exercises. The human environment alludes to peers, others with whom representatives relates, group and work gatherings, interactional issues, the initiative and the executives. This environment is planned so that energizes casual communication in the work place so the valuable chance to share information and trade thoughts could be improved. This is a premise to achieve greatest usefulness. Authoritative environment incorporate frameworks, methodology, practices, qualities and ways of thinking. The board has command over hierarchical environment. Estimation framework where individuals are compensated on amount, consequently laborers will care hardly at all about aiding those specialists who are attempting to work on quality. Accordingly, issues of hierarchical environment impact worker's usefulness.

The workplace alludes to the connection between a specialist and his current circumstance that can be separated into various aspects like the social, specialized and monetary in which the work is typically seen and planned. An alluring and steady

workplace can be portrayed as a environment that draws in people into the callings, urges them to stay in the labor force and empowers them to perform successfully. The reason for giving appealing workplaces is to make motivators for entering the callings (enrollment) and for staying in the labor force (maintenance). What's more, strong workplaces give conditions that empower laborers to perform successfully, utilizing their insight, abilities and skills and the accessible assets to offer great types of assistance. Numerous workers' associations have been attempting new plans and strategies to develop places of business, which can build usefulness, and draw in more workers. Many creators have noticed that, the actual format of the work area, alongside effective administration processes, is assuming a significant part in supporting representatives 'usefulness and working on hierarchical execution.

To comprehend the basic significance of work environment in the association is to perceive that the human variable and the association are equivalent (McGuire, 2018). Changing conditions furnish business saves money with potential open doors just as a horde of difficulties. One part of the cutthroat difficulties looked by banks lies in the administration and mix of physical and psychosocial conditions (Altman,2014). By joining a reasonable working environment, the association is enhancing productivity and working on the organization's prominence as a working environment; projecting a cutting edge corporate substance, which thusly can assist you with drawing in exceptionally qualified representatives. Building configuration influences the manner in which individuals act, with architects making conditions that can thwart, deter, guide, backing or improve users" conduct (Gutnick, 2017). Most banks are starting to reexamine how their workplace is planned and what offices they proposition to staff has sweeping consequences for their overall presentation. An empowering working environment should along these lines be the critical element to further developing execution and hence supported returns (Abdulla, 2016).

**Communication**

Powerful work environment correspondence is a key to development of progress and incredible skill (Canadian Center for Communication, 2015). An organization that imparts all through the working environment in a compelling way is bound to stay away from issues with finishing the day by day strategies, and more averse to disapprove of ill-advised event and will create a more grounded confidence and a more uplifting perspective towards work. At the point when representatives discuss viably with one another, execution will increment on the grounds that viable correspondence implies not so much grumbles but rather more work finishing (Quilan, 2017). It eliminates disarray and saves sat around that would have been generally spent on clarification or contention (Fleming and Larder, 2014). It makes working environment more charming, less tension among colleagues which thusly implies uplifting perspective towards work and expanded execution (Makin, 2016; Taylerson, 2018). Moreover, one more part of correspondence that influences execution is commotion level. Clamor has negative impact on correspondence, disappointment levels increment

while execution diminishes comparable to steadiness and tumult of commotion. An explanation illustrated for this is that expressed correspondence turns out to be logically more troublesome as commotion levels increment.

**Job Aid**

Rossett and Gauier (2017) expressed that, the reason for work help is to direct and direct as to illuminate the representatives execution. Work help likewise helps to help the representatives' exhibition. An illustration of a tactical presentation had been explored by (Duncan 2015) in regards to the tactical dependence on work helps somewhere in the range of 1958 and 1972 which is critical and positive commitment toward the tactical exhibition. He likewise expressed that in light of the aftereffects of military examination, work help set aside cash without risking representatives work execution. There are three methods for expanding execution in view of the gig help (Cavanaugh, 2015). The principal way is through the outer help which implies that the representatives need to withdraw from work and search for the source concerning their reference to their work. The subsequent way is through the outward help. An outward help implies that the work help is being given inside the actual framework. Concerning the third way, it is known as the characteristic help. A natural help is an insider or programming that is being utilized with respect to the effectiveness of work process. Work help includes headings and direction to edify the representatives' efficiency (Rossett and Gauier, 2017).

**Theoretical Review**

**Goal Setting Theory**

This theory was selected because it explains the need for having goal(s) laid down to be achieved either by the organisation or worker. It is used to underpin this study as it gives proper background as to why the individual goals established by an employee play an important role in motivating him for superior performance. Skills required include the ability to engage employees in mutual goal setting clarify role expectations and provide regular performance feedback. Goal setting is an overall theory that can be applied in a huge number of work circumstances. Support for the hypothesis comes from individual and social environments, lab and field studies, across various societies and includes a wide range of undertakings (Locke and Latham, 1986). The most grounded help connects with the connection between explicit, troublesome objectives and undertaking execution. A meta-examination performed by Tubbs (1996) upheld the idea that particular, troublesome objectives are decidedly associated to further developed execution. Other examination got comparable ends and further expressed that, assuming there is ever to be a feasible competitor from the hierarchical sciences for height to the elevated status of a logical law of nature, then, at that point, the connections between objective trouble, particularity/trouble, and undertaking execution are worthiest of genuine thought.

DeWalt (1988) observed an immediate relationship between the individuals who accomplish put forth objectives and the inspiration to make extra objectives or add additional provoking perspectives to the current objective in view of input. Parker, Jimmieson, and Amiot (1978) observed that independence in the work environment works on self-viability, which further develops execution towards arriving at objectives. Inside this thought is the vision and design that objective setting gives, which assists with inspiring people and groups to perform better and accomplish more (Sorrentino, 1986).

This hypothesis proposes that the singular objectives set up by a worker assume a significant part in propelling him for prevalent execution. Abilities required incorporate the capacity to connect with workers in shared objective setting explain job assumptions and give normal execution input. Time and energy will likewise should be given to giving applicable execution motivating forces, overseeing processes, giving sufficient assets and work environment training.It additionally counsel that to drive the association to maximized operation chiefs and bosses should put out front the human essence of their association. Rule here is the human-to-human collaboration through offering individualized help and support to every single representative (Salaman, 1985).

**Expectancy Theory**

The Expectancy Theory of Motivation is best described as a process theory. With research pioneered by Edward C. Tolman and continued by Victor H. Vroom, Expectancy Theory provides an explanation of why individuals choose one behavioral option over others. The idea with this theory is that people are motivated to do something because they think their actions will lead to their desired outcome (Redmond, 1998). "Expectancy theory proposes that work motivation is dependent upon the perceived association between performance and outcomes and individuals modify their behavior based on their calculation of anticipated outcomes" (Chen & Fang, 1988). In other words, it can help explain why a person performs at a particular level. This has a practical and positive potential of improving motivation because it can, and has, helped leaders create motivational programs in the workplace. This theory provides the idea that an individual's motivation comes from believing they will get what they desire in the form of a reward. "Although the theory is not "all inclusive" of *individual* motivation factors, it provides leaders with a foundation on which to build a better understanding of ways to motivate subordinates" (AETC, 1998). Expectancy theory is classified as a process theory of motivation because it emphasizes individual perceptions of the environment and subsequent interactions arising as a consequence of personal expectations.

The theory argues that the strength of a tendency to act in a specific way depends on the strength of an expectation that the act will be followed by a given outcome and on the attractiveness of that outcome to the individual to make this simple. Expectancy

theory says that an employee can be motivated to perform better when there is a belief that the better performance will lead to good performance appraisal and shall result into realization of personal goal in form of some reward future events. The theory focuses on three things efforts and performance relationship, performance and reward relationship, rewards and personal goal relationship (Salaman, 1985).

This theory is based on the hypothesis that individuals adjust their behavior in the organization on the basis of anticipated satisfaction of valued goals set by them. In order for employees to perform in this theory is by making sure each employee's workplace goals and values are aligned with the organization's mission and vision is important for creating and maintaining a high level of motivation. That can lead to higher productivity, improve employee performance, reduce the chances of low employee morale, encourage teamwork and instill a positive attitude during challenging times (Salaman, 1985).

## 3. Methodology

The target population was 2300 which comprises of all the academic staff and the non-academic staff in federal polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. Both male and female are selected for this study. The sample size 442 for this study was arrived at using Taro Yamane (1964) formula. Primary source was the source of data for this research. The main instrument used for the study is a structured questionnaire which was used for data collection. The data was analyzed with the use of both descriptive and inferential statistical methods. Descriptive statistics analysis was used to present demographic data and inferential statistical technique that was used to evaluate the effects and relationship between the variables.

## 4. Results

### Hypothesis One

**Ho₁:** Communication has no significant effect on employees' performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria.

**Table 4.1: Linear Regression on Effect of Communication on Employee performance**

| Coefficientsª | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Model** | | **Unstandardised Coefficients** | | **Standardized Coefficients** | **T** | **Sig.** |
| | | **B** | **Std. Error** | **Beta** | | |
| 1 | (Constant) | 17.107 | .840 | | 20.362 | .000 |
| | Communication | .428 | .022 | .597 | 19.851 | .000 |
| a. Dependent Variable: Employee performance $R = 0.597$; $R^2 = 0.356$; $F(1/402) = 394.044$ | | | | | | |

**Source: Researcher's Result (2020)**

## Interpretation

The results presented in Table 4.1 show that communication has a positive and significant effect on employee performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria ($\beta = 0.428$, t = 19.851, p<.05). The t-value of 19.851 affirms that the regression coefficient that communication is statistically significant. The correlation coefficient or R of 59.7 indicates that communication has a positive correlation with employee performance. The regression results further reveal that the coefficient of determination, also called the R square, is 35.6%. This implies that communication explains 35.6% of the variations in Employee performance. This implies that the other variables not studied in this research contributed 64.4% of the variability in Employee performance. The regression ANOVA report which assesses the overall significance of the regression model applied in this study is significant, which shows the indication that, p<0.05 ($F_{(1, 402)}$ =394.044, Sig. =0.00) and, therefore, the model is significant. It also confirms that coefficient of determination ($R^2$) is statistically significant at 5% level of significance.

## Hypothesis Two

**Ho$_2$:** Job aid has no significant effect on employees' performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria.

**Table 4.2: Linear Regression on Effect of Job Aid on Employee performance**

| Coefficients[a] | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Model** | | **Unstandardised Coefficients** | | **Standardized Coefficients** | **T** | **Sig.** |
| | | **B** | **Std. Error** | **Beta** | | |
| 1 | (Constant) | 21.451 | 1.164 | | 18.429 | .000 |
| | Job Aid | .287 | .027 | .366 | 10.479 | .000 |
| a. Dependent Variable: Employee performance | | | | | | |
| R = 0.366; $R^2$ = 0.134; F (1/402) = 109.815 | | | | | | |

**Source: Researcher's Result (2020)**

## Interpretation

Table 4.2 shows results of linear regression analysis on the effect of Job aid on employee performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. Table 4.2 reveals that Job aid has positive and significant effect on employee performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. ($\beta = 0.287$, t = 10.479, p<.05). The t value of 10.479 also confirms that Job aid is statistically significant in predicting employee performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. The correlation coefficient of 36.6% indicates that Job aid has strong positive correlation

with Employee performance. The coefficient of determination was 0.134 implying that Job aid explains 13.4% of the variation in employee performance in federal Polytechnic Ede, Osun State, Nigeria. However, other variables not studied in this research contributed 86.6% of the variability in Employee performance. The results further reveal that ANOVA report which assesses the overall significance of the regression model applied in this study indicates that the model is significant ($F_{(1, 402)}$ =109.815, p<.05). Overall, regression results presented in Table 4.2 indicate that Job aid has significant positive effect on Employee performance.

## 5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The main asset for an organisation is the HR who are the workers. They make adequate commitment to an organisation consideration ought to consequently be paid to them. Workers' associations can understand their objectives and goals through its representatives' presentation. Representatives will endeavor to perform when they feel that their prompt environment state compares with their commitments. The kind of workplace wherein they work will decide if they perform or not, it's through their presentation that hierarchical exhibition can be figured it out. The working environment conditions will decide the representatives' solace to work and lift their presentation. The organizations ought to guarantee that the working environment is adequately agreeable enough to help worker execution by working on the functioning conditions. Further developing the workplace will build representative will expand worker execution.

This study recommended that the organisation should ensure that the workplace environment is comfortable enough to support employee performance by improving the working conditions such as furniture, lightning, better, working hours. Management should find ways and means of communicating their goals and strategies to their employees in order to achieve what the organization is in business for, its mission and vision. Management should try as much as possible to build a work environment that attracts, retain and motivate its employees so that to help them work comfortable and increase organization productivity.

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# COVID-19 and Women in Nigeria: Evidence from selected Metropolis in Lagos State

**OLANIPEKUN**, Lateef Okikiola
*Department Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management*
*Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria*
*Email: olanipekunokikiolalateef@gmail.com*
*Mobile No: +2348161826737*
*&*
**GABRIEL-KONA**, Atilola Simbiat
*Department of Law,*
*Hill City University, Cotonou, Benin Republic*
*Email: mohammedatilola175@gmail.com*
*Mobile No: +22961171146*
*&*
**ALLEN**, Michael Olabode
*Department of Human Physiology,*
*Lagos State University College of Medicine*
*Email: allenmike2000@gmail.com*
*Mobile No: +2348137817631*
*&*
**GONTOR,** Patience
*Department of Philosophy,*
*Rivers State University, Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria*
*Email: patience.gontor@ust.edu.ng*
*Mobile No: +2348036630041*
*&*
**OKAFOR**, Ikechukwu M.
*Department of Arts Education, Faculty of Education*
*Federal University, Otuoke, Bayelsa State, Nigeria*
*Email: okaforikechukwu81@yahoo.com*

## Abstract

From its outbreak in December 2019, the impacts on human lives has been devastating but more grievous on Nigerian women and this is because Nigerian women have been subjugated, oppressed and relegated to the background in the society despite their huge and significant contributions. Based on this incontestable fact, this study examined Covid-19 and Women in Nigeria: Evidence from selected Metropolis in Lagos State with the objective of examining the psychological and mental effect of Covid-19 on Women in Nigeria. The situational crisis communication theory (SCCT) and the Image Repair/Restoration Theory underpinned this study. Primary data were obtained through questionnaire from 384 respondents using the convenience sampling technique and were analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics while the hypothesis was

tested using regression analysis at 0.05 alpha levels of significance. The entire sampled respondents were female, selected from five Lagos metropolitan areas in Lagos State. Findings from the study revealed that during this period, women experienced high level of mental stress, high level of sexual gender-based violence, huge financial and job loss due to downsizing, all of which advertently puts them under emotional trauma. The study concluded that locking down women at home as a mechanism for curtailing the spread of the virus was far from reality; as women which predominantly are the engine of the informal sector were affected and this resulted in huge decline in social and economic activities. Thus, the study recommended equal participation of women in decision-making and government's guarantee of their access to economic rights.

**Keywords**: Covid-19 Pandemic, Lockdown, Mental health, Sexual gender-based violence and Women.

## 1. Introduction

It is an undeniable fact that women have been subjugated, oppressed and relegated to the background in almost all activities in the Nigerian society despite their huge and significant contributions (Alliyu, 2014). Women are regarded as the pillar of development in any society that plans to thrive as well as experience tremendous growth; this is because the women occupy the informal sector of the Nigerian economy (Alliyu, 2015) and just like an adage posits "when you train a man, you train an individual but when a woman is trained, you trained a nation". Women are catalysts of change but have been at great disadvantage virtually in all matters of concern in Nigeria and this is because culturally, they are perceived to play the role of second fiddle in the society (Olanipekun & Onabanjo, 2020). In corollary to the above statement, Bollough cited in Tschler (1999) submitted that:

> *"Bitter indeed it is to be born a woman; it is difficult to imagine anything so low. Boys can stand openly at the gate; they are treated like gods as soon as they are born... but a girl reared without joy or love, and no one in the family really cares for her; grown up, she has to hide in the inner rooms, cover her head, be afraid to look at others in the face, and no one sheds a tear when she is married off".*

Nigeria recorded her first index case of the dreaded Corona virus (COVID-19) disease on the 27th February, 2020. COVID-19 as fondly called is a disease which originated from Wuhan in the people's Republic of China in the latter year of 2019 was presumed to be more of a medical challenge which would have an enormous effect on the Nigerian health sector as facilities were viewed to be inadequate in curtailing the spread of the virus; thereby stretching the capacities of the health personnel. As Covid-19 spread wider across other states, governments both at the federal and state put forward policies which will help cushion the effect and reduce the spread. Measures

laid down by the government included restricting large public gatherings and creation of social distancing, shutting down of educational institutions and restriction of movement mandated by the government in states like Lagos, Ogun and the Federal Capital City (Abuja).

As the virus ravaged further, indicators became apparent that in Nigeria and across the world; the pandemic was more of a socioeconomic than medical especially for the women folks, girls in their adolescent stages, women with disabilities and among other groups who are vulnerable in the society (Adekoya & Daka, 2020). As reported by United Nations, (2020), Covid-19 pandemic deepened the pre-existing inequalities thereby exposing the vulnerabilities in the context of social, political and economic systems which in turn amplified the consequences of the pandemic where women were mostly affected as they constitute a large bulk of the informal sector. In agreement with the above, World Health organisation, (2020) affirmed that 70% of health workers, first responders and front-liners were women but yet were still not at par with their male counterparts; stressing further, WHO, (2020) opined that there exists a 28% gender pay gap in the Nigerian health sector which is the highest form of pay gap so far as against the earlier 16% recorded from other sectors. Based on the above observations, this paper examined the effect of Covid-19 on women in selected Metropolis in Lagos State.

**Structure of the Study**

This study is structured into six segments to facilitate a better understanding. An explanation of what each heading captures is given below:

i.   **Introduction**

The section introduces the subject of discourse; it also houses other components such as research questions, research objective, hypothesis of the study and justification for the study.

ii.   **Conceptual Issues**

This section provides an overview of related literature on the subject matter. The section captures the following: Concept of Covid-19, Women in Nigeria; Covid-19 and Women in Nigeria, Role of Women during Covid-19 in Nigeria, Theoretical Underpinning which was hinged on the situational Crisis Communication Theory (SCCT) and the Image Repair/Restoration Theory.

iii.   **Methodology**

This section explains how the data obtained in the study was analysed; items included under this section are research design; study area, population of the study, sample size and sampling techniques, method of data collection, method of data analysis and ethical consideration.

## iv. Results and Discussion

This section presented the analysis of the data obtained from the field on the topic "Covid-19 and Women in Nigeria: Evidence from selected Metropolis in Lagos State". This section also provides major findings and results of the study. Finally, the section presents a discussion on the findings based on the responses obtained in comparison with the position of existing literatures previously reviewed in this study.

## v. Conclusion

Under this section, concluded was drawn based on the findings obtained from the study.

## vi. Recommendations

This section provided recommendation based on the findings obtained from this study.

## Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed.

  i.   Does Covid-19 have any effect on Women in Nigeria?

  ii.  What is the specific effect Covid-19 had on Nigerian women?

## Research Objective

The objective was to:

i.   Examine the effect of Covid-19 on Women in Nigeria.

## Research Hypothesis

**HO₁**: Covid-19 does not have any significant effect on women in the Lagos Metropolis.

## Justification for the Study

The study contributed to the body of knowledge and intellectual discourse on the subject matter with a view to broadly analyse the huge effects of COVID-19 pandemic on women with the mind set of suggesting plausible recommendations for alleviating and mitigating the sufferings of the women in Nigeria. This study is also very crucial as it aimed to assist in identifying necessary opportunities required by women interest groups to engage in targeted advocacy with Nigerian policy makers at all levels of government on the focus and direction of responses to issues bothering on women in the Nigerian society.

## 2. Conceptual Issues

Under this section, the researcher provides an overview of related literature in the area of Covid-19 pandemic and how much effect it had on the Nigerian women. The section is structured under the following headings; Concept of Covid-19, Women in Nigeria. Covid-19 and Women in Nigeria, Role of Women during Covid-19 in Nigeria, theoretical underpinning which was hinged on the situational crisis communication theory (SCCT) and the Image Repair/Restoration Theory.

### Covid-19: The Nigerian Experience

The dreaded Coronavirus came into Nigeria through an infected Italian national who after being infected, came in contact with a Nigerian citizen, who was subsequently infected with the dreaded virus. The virus started unfolding and expanding among citizens in Lagos state to other parts of the country. It was recorded in Lagos on the 17th day of March 2020 precisely with three (3) confirmed cases and later Abuja and Ogun states respectively with twenty-two (22) confirmed cases. On the 30th of March, 2020, it exacerbated to 131 confirmed cases from Lagos, Abuja, Bauchi and Enugu as reported by Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC, 2020). Subsequently, the disease spread to 36 states of the federation (NCDC, 2020).

### Brief History of the Nigerian Woman

From pre-colonial times to the early 21st century, the role and status of women in Nigeria have continuously evolved. However, the image of a helpless, oppressed, and marginalized group has undermined their proper study, and little recognition has been granted to the various integral functions that Nigerian women have performed throughout history (Falola, 2020).

In the pre-colonial period, women played a major role in social and economic activities. Division of labour was along gender lines, and women controlled such occupations as food processing, mat weaving, pottery making, and cooking. Moreover, land was communally owned, and women had access to it through their husbands or parents. Although a man was the head of the household in a patrilineal system, older women had control of the labour of younger family members (Falola, 2020).

Women were also central to trade. Among the Yoruba, they were the major figures in long-distance trade, with enormous opportunities for accumulating wealth and acquiring titles. The most successful among them rose to attain the prestigious chieftaincy title of "*iyalode*", a position of great privilege and power (Falola, 2020).

In politics, women were not as docile or powerless as contemporary literature tends to portray them. The basic unit of political organization was the family, and in the common matri-focal arrangement, which allowed a woman to gain considerable authority over her children, a woman and her offspring could form a major bloc in the household. Power and privileges in a household were also based on age and gender,

thereby allowing senior women to have a voice on many issues. Because the private and public arenas were intertwined, a woman's ability to control resources and people in a household was at the same time an exercise in public power. She could use food production to gain respect. She could control her children and influence men through this power. She could evoke the power of the spirit or gods in her favour. Or she could simply withdraw and use the kitchen as her own personal domicile for interaction with her colleagues, friends, and children (Falola, 2020).

## Roles of Women during Covid-19

Nigerian women played vital roles in fighting against the Covid-19 pandemic. These roles have generally been recorded and cut across different facets of life. Some of these are:

- **Entrepreneurial skills and nature**: During the Covid-19 period, women at their own cost engaged in the production of alcohol-based hand sanitizers and face masks in large amount during the lockdown and the Covid-19 pandemic, thereby saving the government the huge cost of importing hand sanitizers and face masks from foreign countries. Some women have cooked food and sold to front liners in their communities. Others go out to sell water to enable other women and their households to maintain good sanitation and hygiene during the difficult period of the disease (Okewale-Sonaiya, 2020). In the same manner, immediately the government announced the relaxation of the restrictions and began the gradual re-opening of markets, the Nigerian women stormed the market places in order to open their shops to sell their commodities so they can keep their families and households safe from the Covid-19 pandemic; not minding the risk(s) involved (Guardian Woman, 2020).

- **Primary Care Givers**: Similarly, as schools in Nigeria were shut down as a result of the lockdown and pandemic, women were the ones who took it upon themselves attending to their children, spouses, and aged parents at home. Even those who can afford online schooling and have enrolled their children or wards, women became the 'Supervisors' for the e-learning processes in many homes. Traditionally speaking, the gender roles ascribed to women often implies that they are primary care-givers for sick family and household members, a situation which exposes and puts them at greater risk of contracting and transmitting the virus. As primary care-givers for sick family and other household members, women's access to accurate and reliable information and their access to adequate healthcare were crucial, in order to enable them protect themselves and their families from the virus.

**Covid-19 and Women in Nigeria**

The contagious nature of COVID-19 across the country cut through every fabric of human endeavour and left an indelible mark in the sands of time. However, in Nigeria, women were more impacted by the pandemic, combined with the fact that Nigeria operates a zero social welfare system. The peculiarity in Nigeria is such that, over 70 percent of women dominate the informal sector workforce; where some are hairdressers, nannies, janitors, street hawkers and vendors, tailors, whose means of survival relies and based on daily earnings. In the same vein, women working in the formal sector which is known as the corporate world were required to work online from home without the essential gadgets or electricity to perform the assigned tasks. This affected their delivery timelines to their organizations coupled with work-family conflicts, leading to termination and unemployment.

1.  **Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV)**: Another serious effect during the lockdown was the exponential increase in Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV), as women, young girls, and children were trapped with their abusers (sex predators). The Covid-19 pandemic adversely affected prostitution, and sadly, some vulnerable women and children became alternatives to these sex predators. The recorded cases of rape in the country also increased to a large extent, as young women were brutally raped and some of them killed in the process. In Nigeria, there were increasing incidences of SGBV, especially rape and murder of young women including the death of three students in Edo, Lagos and Oyo States (WANEP & NEWS, 2020).

    As at May 2020, the Nigerian Police reported 717 rape incidents across the country as a result of the COVID-19 (dailytrust.com, 2020); furthermore, data obtained from the West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP, 2020) and National Early Warning System (NEWS, 2020) indicated that SGBV cases in the Nigeria increased by over 100% from 308 in January to over 3000 reported cases by May 31, 2020; from the information gathered from diverse sources above, it is no gainsaying to affirm that the era of Covid-19 was very traumatising and challenging for the Nigerian women. The above position corroborates the opinion of Fapohunda (2011) who asserted that many women persist in suffering from both physical and mental harm which is characterised by violence, primarily brought by high levels of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV).

2.  **Sexual Harassment**: Women have fallen victims to the security agencies, who arrests, harass, and mal-handle them for violating lockdown restrictions, whereas many of them have no homes/shelters to lockdown in. This is a clear abuse of their human rights, as the government is responsible for their socio-economic wellbeing, thus, adequate provision should have been made to cater

for events of these sort; so as to avoid conflict with security operatives in Nigeria.

3. **Prohibition of Social Gathering through the Infectious Diseases Control Bill 2020**: This bill seeks the prohibition or restriction of meetings, gatherings, and public entertainments as well as control of occupation, trade or businesses (Business Day, 2020). This Bill has no consideration whatsoever for the Nigerian women, as about 80% of women in Nigeria engage in petty trading (Buying and selling), they stand to be heavily impacted as their livelihood depends on the majority of the activities sought to be proscribed by this "Bill". Even though the overall socio-economic wellbeing and security of the citizens is the responsibility of the government; inclusion and provision for all concerned citizens, both strong and vulnerable cannot be over-emphasised (Ewepu, 2020).

4. **Front-line Health Professionals**: Women were the front-line health professionals and workers most exposed to the infectious diseases; a clue can be taken from the demise of Dr. Ameyo Adedavor who had an encounter with the first Ebola patient from Liberia in 2014; women occupy the large bulk in occupations such as nurses, nurse aides, teachers, cleaners and those providing care to the sick, though they are very often not at the forefront of decision-making in the management of health crises. To corroborate the above assertion, below reads a statement from the executive director on women matters at the United Nations:

> "The majority of health workers are women and that puts them at highest risk. Most of them are also parents and care givers to family members. They continue to carry the burden of care, which is already disproportionally high in normal times. This puts women under considerable stress".
>
> Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, (UN Women Executive Director)

5. **Mental Stress**: While government-imposed restrictions on the physical movement of citizens are currently necessary, they tend to increase women's burden of household care, which leaves them with less time to access or choose potential livelihood options. This creates multiple economic disadvantages for women, which heighten their overall vulnerability to Covid-19, judging particularly from the perspectives of both occupational epidemiology and mental health.

6. **Economic Recession**: Nigerian women are particularly vulnerable during periods of economic recession as they are over-represented in insecure lower paid jobs in the informal sector and mainly operate small and micro enterprises to ensure their day-to-day survival. In furtherance to this, the direct

implications of prevention measures such as travel restrictions had adversely implications on the livelihoods and economic security of women in the informal sector (World Bank, 2020).

7. **High Mortality Rate**: High maternal mortality was recorded during the Covid-19 pandemic; also the inequality driven by limited or lack of access to good healthcare system which was required during birth complications and specialised care was a major factor identified as a causal factor. Nigeria as reported has one of the worst ratios for maternal mortality in the world (WHO, 2020); where many women died while trying to give birth during the pandemic. The total disregard for women reproducing lives, simply because they cannot afford to pay for services is big negligent on the part of the government and shows crass irresponsibility (Akanni & Gabriel, 2020).

8. **Lack of Access to Social Protection**: During the lockdown, many women were locked up with their abusers and they had no means to complain and this resulted in more causalities; as there were no help lines available as a means of rescue in the case of an unwanted event or negative occurrence.

9. **Child Marriage and Teenage Pregnancy:** Responses obtained from the field reflected that during this era of lockdown; there was increased child marriage and teenage pregnancy in their communities. The particular concern and implication of this is that those girls wouldn't return to school.  This statement also aligns with the submission of Plan International, (2020) from their respondents in Uganda; who were also faced with the same ordeal.

## Theoretical Basis

Theories are crucial and requisite tools used for conveying information in the research process; it gives a study a complete absolutely when accompanied with a detailed analysis and assessment of literature and findings of a study. The understanding and application of theories helps researchers to join a global discussion by clearly and emphatically contributing to efforts aimed at solving problems with global standardised practices (Olorunninsola, 2007).

## The situational crisis communication theory (SCCT)

The situational crisis communication theory (SCCT) developed by Timothy Coombs, offers a conceptual link between crisis response strategies and the crisis situation and further described various response strategies that could be used when faced with certain crisis situations; if the safety of women is to be prioritised and guaranteed. This theory was employed because it serves a means of addressing issues of this nature and its attendant effects on the victims as well as the mechanism for remedying such crisis.

## The Image Repair/Restoration Theory

The Image Repair/Restoration Theory focuses on what can be said and done when faced with a crisis that threatens to damage their image and reputation of a particular gender in the area of policy and decision-making. Therefore, this study is anchored on the (SCCT) and (IR) theories. This theory helps in the understanding of how much the womenfolk have been sidelined in the decision and policy making process in Nigeria. As a result of this, women have had little or less input in the area of contributing towards policies bordering on nation building and this was precipitated by the African culture which only sees women as playing a substitute role; and should be exempted from national issues despite their humongous contributions over the years.

### 3. Methodology

### Research Design

The study was descriptive in nature and quantitative method of data collection was employed and utilised in the study.

### Study Area

The study area was Lagos State, Nigeria. Lagos is among the six States in the South-Western Nigeria. Lagos is the largest city and former capital of Nigeria and the largest megacity on the African continent; in terms of population " Approx. 14.3m (2020 estimate, from the UN), It is also the 4th largest economy in Africa. Lagos State was created on **May 27, 1967** by virtue of State (Creation and Transitional Provisions) Decree No. 14 of 1967, which restructured Nigeria's Federation into 12 states. The State consist of 20 Local Government and 37 Local Council Development Areas with a population of **14,862,111** (UN World Urbanization Prospects, 2021).

### Brief History of the Study Area

Lagos State was created on May 27, 1967 by virtue of States [Creation and Transitional Provisions] Decree No. 14 of 1967 which restructured Nigeria's Federation into 12 States. Prior to this, Lagos Municipality was administered as a Federal Territory by the Federal Government through the Federal Ministry of Lagos Affairs as the regional authority, while the Lagos City Council governed the City of Lagos. Equally, the Metropolitan areas [Colony Province] of Ikeja, Agege, Mushin, Ojo, Ikorodu, Epe, and Badagry were then administered by the Western Region Government. The State took off as an administrative entity on April 11, 1968 with Lagos Island serving the dual role of being the State and Federal Capital respectively. However, with the creation of the Federal Capital Territory of Abuja in 1976, Lagos ceased to be the capital of the State, as this was moved to Ikeja. Similarly, with the formal relocation of the seat of the Federal Government to Abuja on 12th December, 1991, Lagos ceased to be Nigeria's political capital. Nevertheless, Lagos remains the nation's economic and commercial capital.

## Population of the Study

The population of the study was 14,862,111 (UN World Urbanization Prospects, 2021). The State consist of 20 Local Government and 37 Local Council Development Areas. As obtained from https://lagosstate.gov.ng/about-lagos/, the state is divided into five (5) divisions which are Ikeja, Badagry, Ikorodu, Lagos (Eko) and Epe.

## Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

In determining the sample size for this study, an online sample size calculator developed by survey system (2004), https://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm was used and a total of three hundred and eighty-four (384) was obtained as the sample size at 95% confidence level and 0.5 error rate. Thus, the sample size for the study was three hundred and eighty-four (384). Based on the variation of the study area population, the table below presents the sample size distribution for the study.

**Table 3.1: Selection of Sample Size for the Study**

| S/N | Divisions | Sample Size | Areas Covered |
|-----|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| 1. | Ikeja | 128 | Alimosho, Mosan-Okunola, Ikotun, Ipaja, Abesan, Idimu, Igando, Ayobo, Baruwa, Mushin |
| 2. | Badagry | 84 | Festac, Satelite Town, Iba, Ojo, Oto-Ijanikin |
| 3. | Ikorodu | 74 | Igbogbo, Imota, Ijede, Odonguyan, Majidun, Egbin, Ibese, Ipakodo, Isiwu |
| 4. | Lagos Island | 73 | Victoria Island, Iru, Lagos Island, Ikoyi, Obalende, Ijora, Ebute-Metta, Ilasan, Ado-Langbasa, Sangotedo |
| 5. | Epe | 22 | Ibeju-Lekki, Kayetoro Eleko, Naforija |
| | **Total** | **384** | |

**Source**: Researchers Framework, 2022

## Sampling Techniques

A multi-stage sampling procedure/technique was utilised in selecting respondents for the study from the divisions in the study areas. This technique comprised purposive, convenience, cluster and quota sampling techniques. The targeted population were female; hence, the purposive sampling tool was employed and it was also used in selecting location for administering the research instrument (questionnaire).

The cluster sampling technique was employed for selecting strategic areas/locations for the study. Going forward, the convenience sampling technique was employed for the selection of respondents in the study areas. The convenience technique was used due to the nature of the study which was descriptive in scope. The quota sampling technique was employed in selecting the number of respondents in each of the selected study areas. The quota sampling procedure was also employed in selecting respondents based on their occupation that is,

## Method of Data Collection

The required data for this study were obtained through a primary source which involved the use of questionnaire. Employing the quantitative mode of data gathering enables the researchers capture the phenomenon under investigation. The questionnaire consisted questions which are close-ended and open-ended; the close-ended questions provided respondents with options from which they can choose from while the open-ended questions allow them (respondents) freely express themselves. The items in the questionnaire were subjected to face and content validity.

## Method of Data Analysis

Data obtained were analysed using descriptive and inferential statistics; that is percentage and frequency distribution were used in presenting the data for easy understanding while regression analysis was employed in testing the hypothesis at 0.05 level of error and 95% level of significance.

## Ethical Consideration

Throughout the course of the fieldwork, the researchers emphasized ethical consideration. At the beginning, respondents were educated about the nature and essence of the study and its expected outcomes. Furthermore, participation was based on informed and voluntary consent; and respondents were given the liberty to withdraw from further participation at any point during the field exercise and their confidentiality as well as opinions were greatly considered and respected.

## 4. Results and Discussion

This section discussed the findings of the responses obtained in the course of the field exercise.

**Table 4.1:** Socio-Demographic Profile of Respondents

| Variables | Categories | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Age** | Below 20 years | 53 | 13.8 |
| | 21-30 years | 74 | 19.3 |
| | 31-40 years | 84 | 21.9 |
| | 41-50 years | 68 | 17.7 |
| | 51-60 years | 78 | 20.3 |
| **Total** | 61 years and above | 27 | 7.0 |
| | | **384** | **100** |
| **Marital Status** | Single | 59 | 15.4 |
| | Married | 194 | 50.5 |
| | Divorced | 67 | 17.4 |
| | Separated | 34 | 8.9 |
| | Widowed | 30 | 7.8 |
| **Total** | | **384** | **100** |
| **Educational Qualifications** | SSCE/WAEC/NECO/NABTEB | 61 | 15.9 |
| | NCE/OND/ Grade II | 57 | 14.8 |
| | BSC/HND | 54 | 14.1 |
| | PGD/M.Sc./M.Ed./MBA | 147 | 38.3 |
| | Ph.D. | 34 | 10.9 |
| | Other professional qualifications | 23 | 6.0 |
| **Total** | | **384** | **100** |
| **Occupation** | Civil Servant | 93 | 24.2 |
| | Entrepreneur | 114 | 29.7 |
| | Self-Employed | 69 | 18.0 |
| | Trader | 74 | 19.3 |
| | Student | 34 | 8.9 |
| | | **384** | **100** |

**Source**: Field Work, 2022

Item one from the table above reflects the age of respondents; analysis revealed that 53 representing (13.8%) of the respondents were below the age of 20, 74 representing (19.3%) of the respondents were between the ages of 21-30, 84 representing (21.9) of the respondents were between the ages of 31-40, 68 representing (17.7%) of the respondents were between the ages of 41-50, 78 representing (20.3) of the respondents were between 51-60 and 27 representing (7.0%) of the respondents were 61 years and above. Analysis reflected that majority of the respondents were between the ages of 31-40. The implication of this is that the age range falls within the active population age for women; this implies that any negative occurrence affecting this age range, it will sure have a spiral effect on the Nigerian economy as the category of women under this age bracket are viewed as active and full of vigour.

Item 2 from the above table on marital status revealed that 59 representing (15.4%) of the respondents were single, 194 representing (50.5%) of the respondents were married, 67 representing (17.4%) of the respondents were divorced, 34 representing (8.9%) of the respondents were currently separated from their respective spouses and 30 representing 7.8%) of the respondents were widows. Analysis revealed that the large portion of the respondents were married; the implication of this to the women folk is that those of them in an abusive marriage while on lockdown; the situation became more critical for them as the rate of domestic violence became more exacerbated.

According to the third item which housed the educational qualification of respondents, it was made known that 61 representing (15.9%) of the respondents were holders of SSCE/WAEC/NECO/NABTEB certificates, 57 representing (14.8%) of the respondents holds NCE/OND/ Grade II certificates, 54 representing (14.1%) of the respondents were BSC/HND certificate holders, 147 representing (38.3%) of the respondents were PGD/M.Sc./M.Ed./MBA certificate holders, 34 representing (10.9%) of the respondents holds a Ph.D. and 23 representing (6.0%) of the respondents were holders of other professional certifications. Analysis revealed that majority of the respondents holds PGD/M.Sc./M.Ed./MBA. The implication of this is that women are becoming more aware by the day and based on this result, it reflected that their level of reasoning and orientation towards life has been enhanced; thus, responses obtained from them for this study can be agreed to be adequate and devoid of bias.

The final item on the table which discussed respondents' occupation showed that 93 (24.4%) of the respondents were civil servants, 114 representing (29.7%) of the respondents were entrepreneurs and private business owners, 69 representing (18.0%) of the respondents were self-employed individuals, 74 representing (19.3%) of the respondents were traders and 34 representing (8.9%) of the respondents were students. Finding revealed that majority of the respondents were entrepreneurs and traders. This implies that the period of lockdown on the women was not favourable as they were debarred from carrying out their trading activities; this invariably affects the socio-economic well-being of the nation as women constitute a great number in this regard.

**Testing of Hypothesis with Regression Analysis**

**Ho₁**: Covid-19 does not have any significant economic and emotional effect on women in Nigeria.

**Table 4.2a: Model Summary**

| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | .847[a] | .718 | .717 | .846 |

a. **Predictors**: (Constant), Covid-19 pandemic

Table 4.2a above revealed that there is a nexus at R = .847 between Covid-19 pandemic and women in Nigeria. An examination of the table shows that the R square = .718 which implies that effects of Covd-19 account for only 71.8% of variations; thus, having a significant economic and emotional effect on women in Nigeria.

**Table 4.2b: ANOVA[a]**

| Model | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Regression | 695.463 | 1 | 695.463 | 971.378 | .000[b] |
| | Residual | 273.495 | 382 | .716 | | |
| | Total | 968.958 | 383 | | | |

a. Dependent Variable: Women

b. Predictors: (Constant), Covid-19 pandemic

Table 4.2b reflected that the F-value is the Mean Square Regression (695.463) divided by the Mean Square Residual (0.716), yielding F=971.378. The model in this table showed that the effect of Covid-19 pandemic was statistically significant at (Sig =.000) and it affected women in Nigeria both econ0omically and emotionally.

**Table 4.2c: Coefficients[a]**

| Model | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | | |
| 1 | (Constant) | .247 | .097 | | 2.549 | .011 |
| | Covid-19 pandemic | 1.950 | .063 | .847 | 31.167 | .000 |

a. **Dependent Variable**: Women

Table 4.2c presents result of regression analysis on the effect of Covid-19 pandemic on Women in Nigeria. The result on the table revealed that Covid-19 pandemic significantly affected Nigerian women both economically and emotionally with $\beta$ = .847, t statistic of 31.167 and computed p-value of 0.000 which was below the level of significance (0.05) adopted for this study. The table reflected that a unit change or variation in the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic led to an increased economic and emotional effect on women folks in Nigeria 0.84.7 percent ($\beta$ = .847). More so, the Table revealed that the Covid-19 pandemic contributed 85% ($R^2$= 0.847, p-value <0.05) economic and emotional effect on Nigerian women. Based on this result, the null hypothesis which holds Covid-19 does not have any significant economic and emotional effect on women in Nigeria was hereby rejected. Result of the hypothesis reflected that the Covid-19 pandemic has huge and adverse effects on the Nigerian women both economically and emotionally.

**Discussion of Findings**

In pursuit of objective one which was to examine the effect of Covid-19 on women in Nigeria, result showed that Nigerian women were negatively affected by the Covid-19 and this had socio-economic implication on them in the areas of Inadequate Social Palliative Initiatives by the government, huge financial downturn, increased sexual-based gender violence, poverty implication as the pandemic widened the poverty gap between women and men due to huge job loss through organisational downsizing. Women were also victims of Unpaid Care work and increased home services/stressors as they prepare the children for online classes coupled with other activities. Finding also revealed that women were confinement and locked up with their abusers; this created enormous fear in women as they were mindful of not wanting to break quarantine orders and restrictions on movement. These findings were in agreement with the results of Hambolu, (2020) whose finding revealed that initiating the lockdown by government to stay-safe at home was a prerequisite to cushioning the spread of the virus but this move had a massive negative effect on the women folks.

Objective two which investigated the specific effect of Covid-19 on Nigerian women; from the result obtained; it was evident that the pandemic had physical, economic, emotional and social impact on the women folks in the following dimensions:

Physically, Responses revealed the rates and levels of violence against women and girls (VAWG) were astronomically high while Gender Based Violence (GBV) and sexual and reproductive health (SRH) services became very difficult to access.

Lagos State, which is referred to as "center of excellence", is a major commercial nerve in Southwestern Nigeria and most of her women engage in commercial and trading activities. All these activities were put on hold and women recorded huge financial loss arising from unsold goods. In the same vein, economic sectors most affected by unemployment have a high concentration of women. Food insecurity is rising, was also

on the rise, with many respondents informing us that they are only able to eat once a day.

Socially, the infrastructure of shelters or places of refuge for women victims of violence and their families were not in good shape and the environment faced capacity, health and budgetary limitations and appropriate planning; also, people were warned to stay clear of social gatherings by medical experts and local authorities have; this adversely affected the women folks as they dominate the informal sector leading to more financial loss. Most wedding programmes slated for the pandemic period could and the lockdown led to lots of broken courtship and marriages; finally, the lockdown also impeded on religious activities.

These findings are in consonance with the position of PLAN International, (2020) whose finding result brought to the fore that the main source of stress during this period was everyday news of domestic violence and increasing abuse of women on a day to day basis. The study recorded that incidence and cases of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) was really high. The result of this study also conform with the findings of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) which stated that an overwhelming majority, 87% of the women reported a decline in incomes resulting from the pandemic, with growing concerns of rising unemployment and declining demand for products even after the post Covid-19.

## 5. Conclusion

Evidence has revealed that locking down women at home due to the pandemic with the view that it will help in curtailing its spread and assist in preventing more causalities was far from such reality. Women who are predominantly the engine of the informal sector were affected and this resulted in huge decline in the social and economic activities; with increased poverty rate as women were not allowed to trade as usual, women also experienced huge financial loss and this further widened the poverty gap between men and women as they became dependent on their men for survival during this period; women were also cut in the web of losing their formal jobs as they were the major targets during organisational downsizing.

Conclusively, this study put forward that one of the exacerbating effects of the pandemic was that it increased inequalities that the girl child and the female folks were already experiencing due to their gender; this was centered around access to education and health care; particularly menstrual hygiene management, roles and responsibilities in the household and livelihoods. The Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated and made it ever more challenging to meet the significant and existing needs of girls living through crises while women practising entrepreneurs are just recovering from the damage caused to their means of livelihood.

## 6. Recommendations

Based on the findings as shown above, it is recommended thus:

i. Equal participation of women in decision-making is vital, essential, effective and appropriate to managing and responding to the crisis. Decisions that do not include or involved women are viewed to be partial, less effective and may be harmful.

ii. Culture hindering women as leaders e.g. the glass wall and the glass ceiling should be should be abolished and a levelled ground should be created for the women folks to thrive; this is because female leaders are excelling in the management of crisis. Women are leading some of the countries that are ravaged by the pandemic and are fighting this crisis in the most effectively manner.

iii. Women's increased job insecurity in organisations should be monitored and regulated and ensure that government guarantees their access to economic rights.

iv. Government should incorporate Ministries for Women Advancement and National Machineries for women crisis into her cabinet; this will ensure that adequate gender perspective on the needs of women are taken into account in the decisions of governments in the face of any crisis.

v. Engagement of experts and women-based organisations could assist in providing an independent and specialised voice in enhancing gender perspective in crisis mitigation and recovery policies for women at all levels.

vi. The Federal Government of Nigeria should set up a committee that will help to work with the Commercial and Microfinance Banks so as to collate the names of female customers, account numbers using their respective bank verification numbers.

vii. The acute shortage of finance of most women entrepreneurs should be looked into by the government by granting soft loans with specifications and directives through commercial and microfinance banks to encourage women entrepreneurs to help revive their businesses.

viii. Also, workshops, seminars and trainings by the government and various women associations on small scale businesses that will not require huge capital and resources should be given to women entrepreneurs for quick economic recovery.

ix. The ministry of women affairs should partner with the ministry of humanitarian and disaster management to assist women with the provision of special funds for women and train them on diverse areas of business.

x. These training should include the technical-know-how of the businesses; also, the location of the business, as well as methods of savings should be discussed for proper accountability and transparency. This can be done by asking involved persons to develop a business proposal/plan to ascertain the viability of the business and provide adequate support where necessary.

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# Influence of Labour Union on Employee Performance in Selected Manufacturing Firms in Nigeria

**Olaniyan, T. S. (PhD)**
*Department of Human Resource Development*
*Osun State University, Osun State.*
*&*
**Ayantunji, I. O. (PhD)**
*Department of Human Resource Development*
*Osun State University, Osun State.*
*&*
**Okunade, I. O.**
*Department of Human Resource Development*
*Osun State University, Osun State*

## Abstract

*Labour Unions are associations of workers that are set up to battle for the freedoms of individuals and to campaign for better working conditions for part representatives. Failure of worker not to take part in the choice of an Organization is additionally a significant issue which likewise carries disappointment to the board and causes pointless waste. The main objective of this study is to examine the effect of labour union management on organizational performance of selected manufacturing company in Ogun State, Nigeria. The total population is 429 which comprises of all the staff of Nigerian-German Chemicals Plc, Ogun State Nigeria. The sample size was 207 and it was arrived at using the taro Yamane formula. The findings revealed that collective bargaining have positive and significant influence on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State (β = .324, t = 28.779, p = .000) and also that there is a positive and significant impact of workers' participation on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State (β = .515; t = 6.259; p < 0.05). it was concluded that all the sub-variables are positively significant on organizational performance. It was recommended that Employees should be involved in decision making of the organisation so as to bring about sense of belonging in the organisation and boosting their performance.*

**Keywords:** Collective bargaining; Labour Union Management; Nigeria German Chemical; Organizational Performance; workers Participation

## Introduction

Labour Unions are associations of workers that are set up to battle for the freedoms of individuals and to campaign for better working conditions for part representatives. Buchmueller and DiNardo (2020) likewise characterize a Labor association with regards to a specific shared characteristic inside the Labor of individuals, or, in other words that the Labor association contains individuals from the equivalent or comparative Labor who meet up as a solitary unit with the goal of battling for a typical reason. The Labor association fundamentally comprises of workers whose chief exercises are intended towards haggling for representative government assistance.

A Labor association is likewise a coalition of workers to fortify their endeavors in bartering with their journalists (TUC-RLF, 2019). The arrangement of Labour associations was required by the current horrible expert worker connection among bosses and representatives. Likewise, workers being paid 'slave wages' (Baah, 2020) to keep them in the utilize of entrepreneurs was considered insensitive and a significant impetus for the development of an association to support the freedoms of representatives, particularly without any work laws.

This prompted the development of Labor associations in the Gold Coast in the mid 1900s. These associations got going as art associations in metropolitan habitats that step by step transformed into modern and public Labor associations (TUC-RLF, 2019). The Labor is an affiliation that is comprised of workers whose essential point is to frame an imposing front that advances both their monetary and social interests (Amoa-ko-Asiedu, 2019). Under its mom association, the Labor union tries to join all specialists in less than a unified Labor association development to campaign for social, financial and political value for workers. Different reasons ascribed to the arrangement of the worker's organization of incorporate constrained work, chronic weakness and security guidelines, long working hours, and the powerlessness of workers to take an interest in decision-production in the working environment.

The topic of Labor unionism and associations is important to both the public authority, representatives and bosses. Work unionism, which remembers the exercises of relationship of workers for a working environment, have been acknowledged and perceived as a fundamental activity. In its progress throughout the long term, the Labor Union Congress has had the option to more readily characterize its goals, some of which incorporate joining all specialists under one development, getting social, monetary and political equity, and campaigning for better wages and better working conditions for all workers. These are to support specialist interest and execution at the working environment and subsequently increment proficiency and efficiency (Amoako-Asiedu, 2019).

These goals administer the singular Labor associations under the TUC. The TUC administers various Labor associations which length across an assorted profile of occupations including the agribusiness, transport, money and protection, development,

mining, utility, interchanges, training, wellbeing, fabricating, common and nearby government areas. Since its establishment by law, the TUC has recorded issues and horrendous circumstances that have emerged in labor relations inside Labor associations (TUC-RLF, 2019). A portion of these debates have emerged from issues relating to aggregate haggling, privatization of public endeavors, and as of late, arrangements, for example, the Single Spine Pay Policy (Amoako-Asiedu, 2019). These questions are probably going to negatively affect the attachment that exists inside these associations and antagonistically influence manager representative relations (Boateng, 2018). The overflow impact of this is an unfavorable impact on representative execution, and this could influence the usefulness and effectiveness of firms. It is basic subsequently that reviews are led to look at the impact of Labor association exercises on the exhibition of workers inside associations.

Modern labour union across the globe have been reformed. In the genuine sense, the world economy is in a condition of motion with changes in the modern area possessing a focal situation in a powerful condition of worldwide economy. Rajesh and Manoj (2015) states that the overall soundness of effective modern creation is being supplanted by a serious level of vulnerability, achieved by factors that is straightforwardly connected with such different elements as adaptability in the development of labor and products, work association, specialist's inspiration, and expanded efficiency. Steady changes among labour unions of today are convincing arrangement creators and the board to look for ideal approaches to gaining by them to limit social disturbance in the work environment, accomplish expanded usefulness and better authoritative execution (Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski and Bravo, 2017). One of such ways is through the powerful administration of trade guild in associations.

The presence of a solid, joined together and perceived worker's guild is a pre-essential to the achievement and development of any association (Chand, 2016). Today, there is a high and creating interest and acknowledgment of individual opportunity to openly connect with gatherings or relationship of one's advantage. This right has likewise been perceived in enterprises as workers currently openly choose or decide to join gatherings and partner in associations and to occupied with aggregate haggling with bosses (Kelly, 2012; Kraaijenbrink, Spender and Groen, 2018). This right has likewise been accommodated by various nations in different ways in other to achieve not just suffering modern congruity and public financial turn of events yet additionally increment the exhibition and development of associations (Kennedy and Susan, 2018).

The advancement of worker's organization is because of response to the board's utilization of its dynamic power in manners that are workers hostile to well-disposed or extreme. These responses of workers have fixated on essential financial issues and other asset interest (Chand, 2016). Onyebuchi (2019) locating Adefolaju (2013) express that associations habitually create on the grounds that their individuals are disappointed in accomplishing significant objectives on a singular premise, and

aggregate activity is hence the simply balancing method accessible to viably accomplish these significant individual cravings and hierarchical destinations. All in all, since a singular influence of the board doesn't yield the required or expected outcomes, a type of aggregate compatibility is in this way important to accomplish those equivalent objectives for the people (Onyebuchi, 2019).

Labour union are known to be the representatives' associations which are shaped with the assumption for settling position related matters and expanding the advantages of workers (Rajesh and Manoj, 2015; Onyebuchi, 2019). Worker associations are known to be a vital determinant of the idea of the modern connection, in an industry as well as in a nation (Kelly, 2012). The acknowledgment or protection from the associations by the board will decide if the modern environment is amicable or not (Sledge and Coppage, 2018). Further, the level of the responsibility of workers either to the association or association or to both chooses the relationship of association with the association. The apparent hierarchical help (POS) and the Perceived association support (PUS) are the vital variables on which representatives decide their connection to the association and the association. Generally speaking, association exercises or support of representatives in association exercises can be said to affect workers' results, an association is looking for (Onyebuchi, 2019).

In any case, most today's association neglect to accomplish this common fulfillment and quiet conjunction that they wind up performing underneath assumption. Authoritative objectives and individual objectives must be consistent. At the point when these objectives are not viable, it achieves struggle and disharmony which can result to strike. Failure of worker not to take part in the choice of an Organization is additionally a significant issue which likewise carries disappointment to the board and causes pointless waste, as representative feel they are not needed which may likewise prompt turnover in the Organization.

## Objective of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to examine the effect of labour union management on organizational performance of manufacturing company in Ogun State, Nigeria. The specific objectives are:

- to assess the effect of collective bargaining on organizational performance of manufacturing company in Ogun State, Nigeria.
- to examine the effect of workers' participation on organizational performance of manufacturing company in Ogun State, Nigeria.

**Research Theory**

**H₀₁:**   There is no significant effect of collective bargaining on organizational performance of manufacturing companies in Ogun State, Nigeria.

**H₀₂:**   There is no significant effect of workers' participation on organizational performance of manufacturing companies in Ogun State, Nigeria.

## 2. Literature Review

**Labour Union Management**

Labour Union is an association of employers, which comprise of agents that intervene between the specialists and their boss to stay away from any uncalled for treatment that could be dispensed on them by the businesses and to on the other hand guarantee obligation to work by its individuals such that, it will bring about significant degree of usefulness and association effectiveness overall (Collins, 2013). It likewise alludes to coordinated groupings of workers that relate with businesses on different issues connected with the state of work of their part (Adefolaju, 2013). According to Hyman (2001) it is the ceaseless relationship of breadwinners to support and improvement of their work environment conditions.

Kraaijenbrink, Spender and Groen (2018) saw that the two huge standards of this definition for deciding if an affiliation is a Labor Union are: the blend should be of workers or managers and, that it should have the legitimate reason, which is that of directing the agreements of work of workers.

**Goals of Labour Union Management**

The chief target of trade guild is the guideline of the agreements of work of workers and to introduce a group and solid and joined front in aggregate dealing action. As such, Labor Union goals are to battle for the interest of every one of her individuals in issues connecting with agreements of work modern settings. Also, different goals of Labor Union are to manage relations between its individuals (workers) and the businesses, raise new requests of better state of work for its individuals, and to help in modern complaint, and among individuals and their separate associations. In battling for the interest of its individuals, a Labor Union look to advance the functioning conditions at the work environment and ensures a professional stability entire securing their individuals against harsh, treacherous and out of line treatment from the board at work environment. At the end of the day, the significant destinations of Labor Unions incorporate the followings: arrangement, addressing body, work force approaches, representative worker connection, worker's government assistance, and representative insurance (Maloni and Brown, 2017).

Labour Union have the goal of doing exchanges for the benefit of individuals: Union looks to accomplish this goal through aggregate haggling process set up in the association. Association utilizes aggregate bartering to arrange and cover work rule and method, complaint methodology, wellbeing and security polices, advancement, retirement, among others. This is so in light of the fact that singular workers think that it is hard to haggle each term of agreement that has to accomplish with work relationship with their bosses. Since there is, power in numbers, worker's organizations looks to use assemble their individuals and present a typical front in their arrangement and requests from administrations (Zhao, Wayne, Glibkowski and Bravo, 2017).

## Justifications for Joining Union

Worker's organizations fill a few essential roles for their individuals that make different specialists continuously able to join. As indicated by Chand (2016) workers join worker's guild on account of a few expected advantages which incorporates professional stability wages and advantages, working conditions, fair and just oversight, weakness and the need to have a place.

Professional stability: Every specialist needs security of their work. Nobody needs the executives to awaken one day and aimlessly reports end of their arrangement or business. Subsequently, workers join association to guarantee that their positions are security ensured against aimless and inappropriate terminations.

Labor Unions are known for supporting the mission for better and evenhanded wages and related be work benefits for their individuals. They draw in administration in conversation deprived to pay great pay. Workers in this way get associations together with the conviction that the association will guarantee that administration pay what is simply and fair in wages and compensation. Associations are likewise accepting to haggle with the executives on other work advantages like individual, excursion, clinical office, paid debilitated leave, and such different things that the association might consider practical for their individuals.

## Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining is viewed as the interaction by which bosses meet in gathering every once in a while, to concur upon terms of business, under which work will be performed. Davey cited by Egbo (1987) sees it as those formal and casual course of convenience through which a business or a gathering of managers and their coordinated specialists endeavor to build up a common set of relationship which will permit them to accomplish their separate objectives, aggregate dealing is planned to be a common compromise between delegates of two associations for shared advantages of both, in aggregate bartering arrangement about the functioning condition and terms of business is between the business and the laborer.

**Workers Participation**

Workers participation is likewise viewed as employee involvement implies that each representative is viewed as a novel individual, in addition to a gear-tooth in a machine, and every worker is engaged with assisting the association with meeting its objectives (Nwoko and Emerole, 2017). Nachiket (2014) sees laborer's interest as 'a scope of cycles intended to connect with the help, understanding and ideal commitment of all representatives in an association and their obligation to its targets' to empower them add to the constant improvement and the continuous achievement of their work. Agyeman (2012) considers workers' interest to be an extraordinary individual not simply a section in a machine and every representative is engaged with assisting the association with meeting its objectives

**Employee Performance**

Sinha (2017) said that the result of workers relies upon the capacity and furthermore the receptiveness of the actual representatives to go about their business. He additionally said that by getting the workers' eagerness and receptiveness to take care of their business, it could support the assurance of the representatives, which likewise adds to progress. Stup (2015) additionally explained that businesses need to get the mission of workers to be done on target to achieve the goal or objective of the organization to have a standard outcome. Businesses will actually want to screen their workers and help them to support their proficiency by landing the work or position finished on time. Also, contingent upon the accomplishment of the specialists, a remuneration plan ought to be presented.

There are a few factors that are characterized by Stup (2015) towards the result of the representatives' advancement. Factors incorporate the actual workplace, gear, significant work, execution objectives, execution surveys, great or helpless framework motivating forces, standard working strategies, experience, abilities and perspectives. Franco (2016) depicted achievement in light of inner inspiration, however there is a solid effect on the presence of inward factors, for example, required capacities, scholarly capacity and assets to do the work. Subsequently, to guarantee that the presentation of workers meets the essential necessities, bosses are relied upon to have adequate working conditions.

**Theoretical Review**

The theories selected for this study was selected based on the traditional understanding of labour union and how it came into existence. It helps to understands why workers should be recognized in an organisation it also gives understanding on having cordial relationship among different class rather than conflict.

## The Gandhi Theory

The theory was created by Mahatma Gandhi. Worshipped the world over for his peaceful way of thinking of latent opposition. Gandhi was referred to his numerous devotees as Mahatma, or "the extraordinary souled one.

The Gandhian methodology of trade guild depends on "class joint effort as opposed to classing struggle and battle". The plan to take specialist's expected offer from industrialist by change and reluctance among workers prompted the development of exchange unionism.

Salamon, (2000) support this theory by expressing that the Gandhi's viewpoint expect the association is or ought to be an incorporated gathering with a solitary power/devotion structure and a bunch of normal qualities, interest and destinations shared by all individuals from the association. Representatives resolve questions with moral and scholarly perspectives. Therefore, Labour Union are scholarly and savagery ought not be utilized in any structure.

The theory is being scrutinized for being inverse to powerless and workers is coordinated The businesses can exploit their frail associations and bury association competition for their own advantage. The exceptional element of the theory is that businesses are bound to be tyrant's which impedes the way of correspondence between the businesses and the workers or Labour Unionwhich help in disturbing the issues which in any case could be figured out through discourse.

## Revolutionary Theory

Rose (2008) in industrialist social orders, the state is consistently on the businesses with an end goal to secure the interest of the people who own different method for creation aside from work. This point of view sees the cycles of the foundation of joint guideline as improvement rather than decrease in administration position, that, best case scenario, they give just restricted and transient convenience of the innate and crucial division inside the entrepreneur based work and social constructions (Salamon, 2000). Consequently, the development of worker's organization is viewed as an unavoidable representative's reaction to free enterprise.

Martin (2016) scrutinized struggle theory for its emphasis on change and disregard of social dependability. A few stakeholders recognize that social orders are in a steady condition of progress, yet call attention to that a large part of the change is minor or gradual, not progressive. Different researchers additionally contend struggle theory that it minimizes solidarity in the public arena while taking a negative perspective on society as one loaded up with clashes, strain and intimidation.

## 3. Methodology

For the purpose of this study, descriptive research design was used. The total population is 429 which comprises of all the staff of Nigerian-German Chemicals Plc, Ogun State Nigeria. The sample size was 207 and it was arrived at using the taro Yamane formula. Primary source was use in gathering information for this study and this was done through the use of questionnaire. The copies of questionnaires were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS, Version 25.0) for demographic information about the respondents. For the analysis of the data collected through questionnaire, the regression analysis was adopted for the purpose of the study.

## 4. Results

### Test of Theory

The results of the study on the basis of the hypotheses generated for the study.

### Theory One

**Ho₁:** *There is no significant effect of collective bargaining on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State*

**Table 4.1: Summary of Results**

| Model Summary | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Model** | **R** | **R Square** | **Adjusted R Square** | **Std. Error of the Estimate** |
| 1 | .324[a] | .105 | .100 | .44180 |
| a. Predictors: (Constant), Collective Bargaining | | | | |

| ANOVA[a] | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Model** | | **Sum of Squares** | **df** | **Mean Square** | **F** | **Sig.** |
| 1 | Regression | 4.172 | 1 | 4.172 | 21.376 | .000[b] |
| | Residual | 35.524 | 182 | .195 | | |
| | Total | 39.697 | 183 | | | |
| a. Dependent Variable: Organizational Performance | | | | | | |
| b. Predictors: (Constant), Collective Bargaining | | | | | | |

**Source: Field Survey, 2021**

## Interpretation

Findings analysis on Table 4.1 shows results of regression analysis of effect of collective bargaining on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State. The results revealed that collective bargaining have positive and significant influence on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State ($\beta = .324$, $t = 28.779$, $p = .000$). The regression results in Table 4.2 also show that the relationship between collective bargaining and employee performance was positive and significant ($R = .324$, $F_{(1,396)} = 21.376$, $p < 0.05$). The $R^2$ was .105, meaning that about 10.5% variation in performance is explained by the variations in collective bargaining of organization. Therefore, the null theory was rejected. This means that there is a significant relationship between collective bargaining on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State.

## Theory Two

**Ho$_2$:** *There is no significant effect of workers' participation on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State*

**Table 4.2: Summary Results of Regression Analysis of Workers' Participation on Organizational Performance**

| Model Summary | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Model** | **R** | **R Square** | **Adjusted R Square** | **Std. Error of the Estimate** |
| 1 | .515[a] | .265 | .259 | .651 |
| a. Predictors: (Constant), Workers Participation | | | | |

| ANOVA[a] | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Model** | | **Sum of Squares** | **df** | **Mean Square** | **F** | **Sig.** |
| 1 | Regression | 18.540 | 1 | 18.540 | 43.719 | .000[b] |
| | Residual | 51.313 | 182 | .424 | | |
| | Total | 69.854 | 183 | | | |
| a. Dependent Variable: Organizational Performance | | | | | | |
| b. Predictors: (Constant), Workers Participation | | | | | | |

**Source: Field Survey, 2021**

## Interpretation

The summary, R is the correlation coefficient which shows the relationship between the study variables shown by 0.515. R squared is coefficient of determination which explains the variation in the dependent variable due to changes in the independent variable. However, R squared = 0.265 (26.5%) which is an indication that there is variation of 26.5% on workers' participation. The adjusted R Square =.259 indicating 25.9% of the variance in organizational performance can be explained by workers' participation. This shows that there is a degree of prediction

The ANOVA table reveals the significance value (F. sig<.05) indicating variable differences. Since F- value of 43.719 which has a significance of .000 is less than .05 (i.e. .000 < .05), there exist differences among the variables. This is an indication that workers' participation has positive and significant impact on organizational performance. The coefficients present the regression results showing that there is a positive and significant impact of workers' participation on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State ($\beta$ = .515; t = 6.259; p < 0.05). Therefore, the null theory ($H_0$) is rejected. It is therefore concluded that there is a significant effect of workers' participation on organizational performance in Nigeria German Chemical (NGC), Ota, Ogun State.

## 5. Conclusion and Recommendations

The significance of labour union in the organisation has been featured in the past writing. The motivation behind this study is to analyze the impacts of labour union on employee performance inside the manufacturing business in Nigeria. Besides, sub objectives are created to work with a reasonable accomplishment of the motivation behind the review. These incorporate aggregate dealing, workers' cooperation, strike and powerful correspondence. The discoveries detailed in this study recommend that the sub factors affect the exhibition of association. It is reasoned that every one of the sub-factors are decidedly critical on hierarchical execution.

- Conflict management strategies should be used to improve performance of the organization to ensure a free flow of communication between the management and employees as well as promote interpersonal relationships among co-workers to boost their morale.
- Employees should be involved in decision making of the organisation so as to bring about sense of belonging in the organisation and boosting their performance
- The organization should also offer seminars and workshops through this, employees will be able to learn skills they can use to deal with conflict and effectively communicate while in conflict with a team member.

- Stakeholders should reconsider their strategies for engagement in order to enhance their relationship.
- Employees should be encouraged to join trade union. Through, employees will be able to gain more benefits such as; trade union negotiate for better pay and workplace protection, employment terms and condition, clear job description and workplace protections.
- There is need for the organization to offer employees better facility and safety at work, benefits and pay them overtime in order to reduce strike.

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# Do Financial Regulations Promote the Growth of Nigerian Economy? Answer from Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) Modelling

**Gbenga Festus BABARINDE**
*Department of Banking and Finance*
*Modibbo Adama University, Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria.*
*liftedfgb@gmail.com*
*&*
**Abubakar Yunusa MALDAMA**
*Department of Banking and Finance*
*Modibbo Adama University, Yola, Adamawa State, Nigeria.*
*aymsadeeq@gmail.com, aymaldama@yahoo.com*
*&*
**Ibidunni Elizabeth DARAMOLA**
*Department of Accounting*
*Crown-Hill University, Eyenkonrin, Kwawa State, Nigeria.*
*ibidundara@gmail.com*

## Abstract

*This study examined the impact of financial regulations on economic growth in Nigeria using annual time series data for the period 1981 to 2020 and Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) technique. The financial regulations variables considered in this study were monetary policy rate, liquidity ratio and government expenditure while economic growth was proxied by real gross domestic product. Empirical findings from this study reveal the existence of a long-run relationship between financial regulations and economic growth in Nigeria. Furthermore, this study argues that monetary policy rate and government expenditure have positive and significant impacts on economic growth in Nigeria. This suggests that the high financial regulations in the form of monetary policy and government expenditure could bring about increased performance of the Nigerian economy. However, financial regulation in the form of liquidity ratio does have significant effect on economic growth of Nigeria. It is therefore concluded that financial regulations have positive significant long-run effect on economic growth in Nigeria. It is therefore recommended that Nigeria as a developing country should promote high financial regulations in order to ensure sanity in the financial market and ultimately improve economy performance.*

**Keywords**: Financial Regulations, Economic Growth, ARDL, Monetary Policy, Government Expenditure.

## Introduction

Regulation is a form of intervention in any activity which involves enforcement of rules, imposition of restrictions, sanctions and control of human behavior in order to ensure sanity and orderliness. The role of an effective regulatory regime in promoting economic growth has generated considerable interest among researchers and practitioners in recent years. It has been observed that the case for economic regulation is premised on the existence of significant market failure resulting from economies of scale and scope in production; information imperfections in market transactions; existence of incomplete markets and externalities; and resulting income and wealth distribution effects (Stiglitz, as cited in Jalilian et al., 2007). Arguments on the role of effective regulation in achieving equitable and sustainable growth of the economies of countries revolve round the positivists and negativists schools, which postulate the positive and detrimental role in the economy of countries respectively.

The Nigerian financial system like any other financial systems of other countries is highly regulated. The main goals of these regulations are to ensure the safety, soundness, integrity and stability of the entire financial system. Financial regulation is also geared towards protecting the consumers of financial services and also encourage the application of sound and legal principles in the management of financial institutions. Regulation of the financial system was meant to bring out the best out of the nation's financial system but unfortunately, the entire regulatory system is frail with some limitations, anomalies, and challenges. Among these challenges are policy inconstancies, poor implementation syndrome, dearth of political will, fraudulent practices and relatively low level of financial regulation literacy.

One of the most important objectives for any countries is to sustain high economic growth. There are main factors that affect economic growth, of which financial regulation is one. Thus, financial regulation is a topical issue particularly its potential effects on economic growth. Nigeria, like other developing countries, have many regulations, most especially financial regulations put in place to ensure sanity in the public affairs and financial market geared towards the development of the sub-sector and the economy at large. According to Spratt, the two main channels through which regulations impact economic growth are firstly, through directly influencing the daily behaviour of financial market actors within the context of demand and supply of credits. The second route according to the author is the indirect effects of financial regulations, on the structure of the banking system and the entire financial system which influence the pattern of lending by the sector/system (Nwokediuko, et al. (2019). Popular among the policies of government that constitute financial regulations are fiscal policy, and monetary policy. Others regulations include laws on business registration, and companies' incorporation, pension funds administration, insurance industry operations, banks and other financial institution regulations, etc. Despite the multiplicity of financial regulations, the lofty aim of economic growth does not seem

to be encouraged at the same tempo in which regulations are rolled out in the Nigerian financial system. This creates a great challenge to practitioners, government, researchers, and the generally public. In the same vein, findings from the past empirical literature on regulation-growth nexus are divergent in their findings. There is a group of researchers that believes higher financial regulation will deter economic growth and another group believes that financial regulations spurs economic growth.  Thus, the direction and nature of impact of the financial regulations on the economy have not been clarified empirically in past studies. This implies that the relationship between economic growth and financial regulations is debatable.

Empirically, different proxies for regulation have been used by past studies (monetary policy rate, fiscal policy, regulatory quality index, government expenditure). Each of these indicators have produced different results when examined vis-à-vis their influence on economic growth. Although, studies such as Obiakor and Okwu (2011), Manamela (2012), Kehinde (2013), Koeniger and Silberberger (2015), Ojiegbe et al (2016), Nwokediuko et al. (2019), Sang (2019), Iheanacho (2019), and Adaramola and Dada (2020) indicate the positive role of financial regulation variables on the economy; there are some evidence of negative role of financial regulations on economic growth (Ayodeji and Oluwole (2018), Gupta (2018)). Other strands of empirical evidence is that of non-significant impact of financial regulations variables on economic growth (Fasanya et al (2013), Nwoko et al (2016), Symoom (2018), Ufoeze et al (2018), Ekechukwu et al (2020) Olisaji and Onuora (2021)). By these divergent findings in past studies, it is yet unsettled empirically whether or not monetary and fiscal policies instruments as financial regulations could significant determine variation in economic growth of a developing country like Nigeria where there are multiplicities of regulations particularly financial regulations such as the Banks and other Financial Institutions Act 2020, Companies and Allied Matters Act (CAMA) 2020, Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation (NDIC)  Act, Finance Act 2020 etc. Thus, this study contributes to the ongoing debate on regulation-growth nexus in developing country, Nigeria.

Therefore, the main aim of this study is to determine whether or not financial regulations promote economic growth in Nigeria and the specific objectives are to: assess the impact of monetary policy rate, government expenditure, and liquidity ratio on real gross domestic product in Nigeria between the period 1981-2020 within Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) modelling framework.

## Literature Review

## Conceptual Review

### *Concept of Financial Regulations*

Regulation implies some form of intervention in any activity and ranges from explicit legal control to informal peer group control by government or some authoritative

bodies (Uche, 2001). Regulation can be defined as the body of rules, procedures, laws, policies, directives and guidelines issued to banks and other financial institutions by the regulatory authorities to comply and follow (Accountancy and Publications Ltd, 2015). In this sense, regulation is viewed as external regulation but there is another form of regulation termed internal regulation, which can be considered as self-regulation. Therefore, financial regulations can be described as a form of regulation which subjects financial institutions to certain requirements, restrictions, and guidelines, aimed at ensuring the integrity of the financial system.

Major regulatory agencies in the Nigerian financial system include the Central Bank of Nigeria, Securities and Exchange Commission, Nigeria Deposit Insurance Corporation, National Insurance Corporation, National Pension Commission. Most policies of government that constitute financial regulations are found as in the forms of fiscal policy, monetary policy, and direct controls and their respective instruments and tools.

### Concept of Monetary Policy

Monetary policy involves the measure through which the Central Bank manages the supply of money, in order to stabilize prices (Osadume, 2018). Monetary policy has been conceptualized as the combination of measures designed to regulate the value, supply and cost of money in an economy, in line with the level of economic activity (Ufoeze et al., 2018). Monetary policy, therefore, is the deliberate action and programmed efforts of the monetary authorities to change the quantity, availability and cost of money in an economy in order to attain certain ends which include full employment of resources, price stability, economic growth, balance of payment.

### Concept of Government Expenditure

Government expenditure refers to the various costs incurred in the daily administration of the state and in the execution of long term capital projects for the country and these could be classified into capital expenditure and revenue expenditure (Babarinde et al, 2021). Government expenditure and taxation are two components of fiscal policy. Fiscal policy is simply government policy strategically designed to regulate or stabilize the economy through various forms of taxes and expenditures (Onifade et al., 2020).

### Concept of Liquidity

Liquidity is the ease, economy and speed with which assets could be converted into cash. Liquidity ratio is a regulatory measure prescribed by the Central of Bank of Nigeria (CBN) to determine the amount of liquid assets that deposit-taking financial institutions like microfinance banks, and other deposit money banks, must keep in their vaults or in liquid form to meet up the prudential guidelines on liquidity.

### Concept of Economic Growth

Economic growth could be defined as the increase in the amount of goods and services in a given country at a particular time. It can also be described as the monetary value

of all goods and services produced in an economy over a specified period, usually one year (Ufoeze et al. 2018). Economic growth is measured by the increase in the amount of goods and services produced in a country. It is the increase in the productive capacity of a country which reflects in the increased produced goods and services (Jhingan, 2013).

**Theoretical Review**

This study reviews two theories, namely, the Public Interest Theory of Regulation and Keynesian Theory. Pigou's public interest or welfare theory of regulation considers regulation as lending a helping hand in response to the demand by the public of the need to correct inefficient or inequitable market practices and thus government regulation of certain prices in order to avoid consumer exploitation (Uche, 2001).

Keynesian view of monetary policy is that it monetary policy plays a crucial role in affecting the economic activity. It contends that a change in the supply of money can permanently change economic variables such as interest rate, the aggregate demand, and level of employment, output and income. Keynesian theory advocates a managed economy predominantly private sector with active role for government intervention during recessions and depressions.

**Empirical Review**

Jalilian et al (2007) explored the impact of regulation on economic performance in developing countries and proved from correlation test and regression analysis that there is a positive strong causal link between regulatory quality and economic growth and confirm that the standard of regulation matters for economic performance in developing countries. Manamela (2012) investigated the impact of financial regulation on economic growth in developing countries using correlation and regression techniques. The research measured financial regulation by financial freedom index and gross domestic product as the indicator of economic growth. From the regression analysis, the study shows that financial regulation contributes positively to economic growth in developing countries which implies that the stricter the financial regulations in developing countries, the higher their economic growth. The study advocates that developing countries should embrace high financial sector regulations in order to achieve economy growth. In another study, Koeniger and Silberberger (2015) examined the causal relationship between financial regulation and growth in the presence of international trade and find evidence that both regulation and trade have a significant positive influence on economic growth. In the Nigerian context, Nwokediuko et al. (2019) examined the effect of financial regulation on economic growth in Nigeria using Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) and Error Correction Model (ECM). The authors used real gross domestic investment as the proxy for economic growth while indicators of financial regulation used in the study are monetary policy rate, liquidity ratio, credit to private sector and interest rate. The study found evidence

of positive and significant link between private sector, and interest rate, and economic growth. From the analysis, the research argues that financial regulation is promoter of the growth of the Nigerian economy.

Fasanya et al (2013) evaluated monetary policy's influence economic growth in Nigeria. The research indicate that money supply has negative non-significant impact on economic growth in Nigeria. Nwoko et al (2016) applied OLS regression in the evaluation of the effect of monetary policies on economic growth nexus in Nigeria and submit that monetary policy exerts significant effect on economic growth in Nigeria in the study period. Similarly, from the OLS regression analysis of the effect of monetary policy on economic growth in Nigeria, Ufoeze et al (2018) show among others that, monetary policy rate has insignificant positive effect on economic growth in Nigeria. In the same vein, the studies of Adigwe et al (2015), Iheanacho (2019), and Adaramola and Dada (2020) show that monetary policy exerts a positive impact on economic growth. Furthermore, Ayodeji and Oluwole (2018) confirm that money supply had a positive but fairly insignificant impact on economic growth in Nigeria. Sang (2019) also examined the impact of monetary policy on economic growth in Vietnam based on Vector Autoregression (VAR) method. The results of the study show that money supply has a positive significant impact on economic growth of Vietnam. From study of the impact of money supply, liquidity ratio on Nigeria economic growth using OLS technique, Ekechukwu et al (2020) indicate that money supply does not exert significant influence on the Nigerian economic growth.

In Nigeria, Babalola (2015) based on pair-wise correlation and cointegration and error correction mechanism, examined the impact of fiscal policy on economic development. The empirical results of the research reveal that government recurrent expenditure and government investment have significant positive impact on economic development. Olowofeso et al (2015) shows that government expenditure has a significant impact on economic growth in Nigeria. Kiane and Olotu (2016) examined the relationship between market liquidity and economic growth in Nigeria. The study indicates lack of causality between market liquidity and economic growth in Nigeria. Ojiegbe et al (2016) determined the effect of bank liquidity on the economic growth of Nigeria. The results of the study reveal the existence of a positive and significant relationship between total bank credit ratio and economic growth in the country. Symoom (2018) examined the impact of fiscal policy on economic growth in four countries of South Asian coutries- Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, using ECM, Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) model and panel OLS estimators. The study reveals that government expenditure and tax revenue have no significant impact on economic growth in the selected South Asian countries. Gupta (2018) also investigated the impact of government expenditure on economic growth in Nepal. The author argues that total current and recurrent expenditure are negatively associated with economic growth in the country. Okpabi et al (2021) conclude that public expenditure has significant positive impact on the growth of the economy in the long run. Olisaji

and Onuora (2021)'s study found an insignificant and negative relationship between government expenditure and economic growth of Nigeria.

According to the findings of Ayodeji and Oluwole (2018), in Nigeria, liquidity ratio has a negative and significant impact on economic growth and economic growth granger cause liquidity ratio in the country. However, Iheanacho (2019)'s findings revealed that liquidity ratio exerts positive long run relationship with GDP. In agreement with Iheanacho (2019), other studies that reported the positive role of liquidity on economic growth of Nigeria include Obiakor and Okwu (2011), Kehinde (2013) and Andabai et al (2019) show that liquidity has significant positive effect on economic growth of Nigeria. Ekechukwu et al (2020)'s study indicates that liquidity ratio does not have statistically significant influence on the growth of the Nigerian economy.

The empirical review above reveals that relatively few extant studies focused on financial regulations nexus with economic growth. Most of the studies reviewed focused on monetary policy, fiscal policy, bank policies vis-as-vis their role on economic growth. This lacuna spurs the need for this current empirical research on the subject matter of financial regulations-growth nexus in a developing economy like Nigeria.

**Methodology**

This study adopts *ex-post facto* research design where historical data were used in establishing relationship between financial regulations and economic growth in Nigeria. Time series data on the variables from 1981 to 2020 were analyzed using the Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) technique, after preliminary tests like descriptive statistical test, unit root test and cointegration test were performed on the annual data. ARDL enables the estimation of both short run and long run coefficients when variables are either 1(1) or the combination of 1(1) and 1(0) (Pesaran et al., 2001). To ensure all data are in the same scale and to avoid the problem of multicollinearity, all the variables were expressed in logarithmic form (Igbinosa, 2012).

In this study, Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP) is the dependent variable and is used to represent economic growth while financial regulations, being the explanatory variable was represented by monetary policy rate (MPR), government expenditure (TGEX), and liquidity ratio (LQR). Inflation rate (INFR) constitutes the control variable in the model of study. Except inflation rate fetched from World Development Indicators of the World Bank, all other data were obtained from the statistical bulletin of the CBN.

Following the model of Nwokediuko et al (2019), the ARDL model for this study is specified in equation (1).

$$\Delta LogRGDP_t = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{n} \beta_{1i} \Delta LogRGDP_{t-1} + \sum_{i=0}^{n} \beta_{2i} \Delta LogMPR_{t-i}$$

$$+ \sum_{i=0}^{n} \beta_{3i} \Delta LogLQR_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{n} \beta_{4i} \Delta LogTGEX_{t-1}$$

$$+ \sum_{i=0}^{n} \beta_{5i} \Delta LogINFR_{t-1} + \sigma_1 LogRGDP_{t-1} + \sigma_2 LogMPR_{t-1}$$

$$+ \sigma_3 LogLQR_{t-1} + \sigma_4 LogTGEX_{t-1}$$

$$+ \sigma_5 LogINFR_{t-1} \dots \dots \dots \dots \dots \dots \dots \dots \dots \dots \dots (1)$$

Where; $\Delta$ denotes first difference operator; $\beta_0$ = the drift component; $\mu_t$ = the error term; $\beta_1$ - $\beta_5$ = the parameters of the short-run dynamics of the model; $\sigma_1$ - $\sigma_5$ corresponds to parameters of the long-run relationship.

## Results and Discussions

### Descriptive Statistics

The descriptive statistics of the variables of study are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1: Descriptive Statistics**

|              | RGDP     | MPR      | LQDR     | GTEX     | INFR     |
|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| Mean         | 36843.40 | 13.03750 | 48.05888 | 2244.000 | 18.99905 |
| Maximum      | 71387.83 | 26.00000 | 81.42000 | 10164.60 | 72.83550 |
| Minimum      | 16048.31 | 6.000000 | 26.39000 | 9.640000 | 5.388008 |
| Std. Dev.    | 19785.11 | 4.002223 | 12.50536 | 2820.974 | 16.86844 |
| Skewness     | 0.631816 | 0.702213 | 0.677640 | 1.296550 | 1.823484 |
| Kurtosis     | 1.794414 | 4.437047 | 3.214904 | 3.793414 | 5.159020 |
| Jarque-Bera  | 5.083673 | 6.729197 | 3.138280 | 12.25612 | 29.93625 |
| Probability  | 0.078722 | 0.034576 | 0.208224 | 0.002181 | 0.000000 |
| Observations | 40       | 40       | 40       | 40       | 40       |

Source: Authors' computation (2021).

Over the 40 years (1981-2020), the average Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP) and total federal government expenditure (TGEX) in Nigeria is ₦36843.40 and ₦ 2244.00 respectively while 13.03%, 48.05% and 18.99% constitute the mean values for

monetary policy rate (MPR), liquidity ratio (LQR) and inflation rate (INFR) in Nigeria respectively. The comparison of the mean values with the standard deviation shows TGEX to be widely dispersed from its value while other variables, whose mean exceed std. Dev, are regarded as relatively stable around their mean. Considering the Jarque-Bera statistics, RGDP, MPR and LQR pass the normality test at 5%, 1% and 10% respectively while TGEX and INFR are seen not to be normally distributed. All the variables are positively skewed.

## Unit Root Test

A test of unit root becomes necessary considering the time series nature of the data used and in order to avoid spurious regression results which estimates are time-variant. In addition, the stationarity test also give insight into the order of integration of the variables of study. Hence, the augmented Dickey-Fuller unit root test was applied to the series and results are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2: Augmented Dickey-Fuller Unit Root Test**

| Variable | ADF at level | p-value | ADF at 1$^{st}$ diff | p-value | I(d) |
|----------|-------------|---------|----------------------|---------|------|
| LogRGDP | -1.054009 | 0.7234 | -3.773122 | 0.0066* | I(1) |
| LogMPR | -3.187227 | 0.0284** | | | I(0) |
| LogTGEX | -1.544102 | 0.5008 | -7.856085 | 0.0000* | I(1) |
| LogLQTR | -3.214753 | 0.0266** | | | I(0) |
| LogINFR | -3.447845 | 0.0151** | | | I(0) |

Source: Authors' computation (2021).

Note: ** and * denote rejection of null hypothesis of unit root at 5% and 1% respectively.

Table 2 indicates Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP) and total federal government expenditure (TGEX) to have unit root (non-stationary) in their levels but after first difference, they become stationary. However, other variables (Monetary policy rate (MPR), liquidity ratio (LQR) and inflation rate (INFR)) become stationary at level. This is based on the fact that the hypothesis of unit root in each of the variables was rejected since the probability values of the ADF test are less than 5%.

## Cointegration Tests

Since all the variables are not stationary (at level), there is the need for cointegration test and so far the variables are of mixed order of integration, the Bounds test for cointegration becomes applicable. Table 3 contains the results of the F-Bounds test of cointegration.

**Table 3: F-Bounds Test of Cointegration**

| F-Bounds Test | | Null Hypothesis: No levels relationship | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Test Statistic | Value | Signif. | I(0) | I(1) | |
| F-statistic | 7.429419* | 10% | 2.2 | 3.09 | |
| K | 4 | 5% | 2.56 | 3.49 | |
| | | 1% | 3.29 | 4.37 | |

Source: Authors' computation (2021).

Note: * reject the null hypothesis of no levels relationship at 10%, 5% and 1% since the F-stat>I(1) value at the respective levels of significance.

According to Table 3, since the F-statistics (7.429419) exceed all the critical values at the upper bounds I(1), the study safely rejects the null hypothesis of no levels relationship among the variables of study. It can therefore be concluded that the variables are cointegrated which implies that there is a long-run relationship between financial regulations and economic growth in Nigeria.

**Model Estimation**

To determine the impact of financial regulations on economic growth in Nigeria, this study applies the Autoregressive Distributed lag (ARDL) technique after ascertaining that the variables are integrated of a combination of order one and zero [I(1),and I(0)]. Both long-run and short-run cum error correction models are estimated and the results of the ARDL long-run model as presented in Table 4.

*ARDL Long-Run Estimates*

**Table 4: ARDL Long-Run Estimates**

| Dependent Variable: LRGDP | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variable** | **Coefficient** | **Std. Error** | **t-Statistic** | **Prob.** |
| LRGDP(-1) | 0.904887 | 0.035573 | 25.43739 | 0.0000* |
| LMPR | 0.010984 | 0.027098 | 0.405350 | 0.0687*** |
| LLQDR | -0.041851 | 0.027621 | -1.515182 | 0.1392 |
| LGTEX | 0.026362 | 0.008044 | 3.277214 | 0.0025* |
| LINFR | -0.018179 | 0.010997 | -1.653080 | 0.1078 |
| C | 1.033400 | 0.353679 | 2.921860 | 0.0062* |
| R-squared | 0.994809 | Durbin-Watson stat | | 1.313445 |
| Adjusted R-squared | 0.994023 | F-statistic | | 1264.860 |

Source: Authors' computation (2021).

Note: ***, **, and * represent significant at 10%, 5% and 1% respectively.

Table 4 reveal that in the long-run, monetary policy rate has positive (0.0109) and significant (p=0.0687) impact on economic growth in Nigeria. Liquidity ratio is negatively signed (-0.0418) but not statistically significantly related to economic growth in Nigeria. Government expenditure has positive (0.0263) and significant (0.0025) impact on economic growth in Nigeria. Inflation rate is negatively signed (-0.0181) signed with economic growth but the relationship is not statistically significant (p=0.1078).

The coefficient of determination of the long-run model ($R^2$) of 0.99 suggests that 99 per cent of the changes in economic growth are jointly explained by the changes in the independent variables. The test of overall fitness of the model (F-statistic) shows the model to be of good fit considering the statistical significance of the test at one percent. The Durbin-Watson statistics of 1.3134 (less than 2) slightly makes the model susceptible to autocorrelation issue.

## *ARDL Error Correction Regression Estimates*

ARDL error correction regression estimates are presented in Table 5.

**Table 5: ARDL Error Correction Regression Estimates**

| Dependent Variable: D(LRGDP) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variable** | **Coefficient** | **Std. Error** | **t-Statistic** | **Prob.** |
| Error correction term | -0.095113 | 0.013276 | -7.164533 | 0.0000* |
| R-squared | 0.368766 | Durbin-Watson stat | | 1.313445 |
| Adjusted R-squared | 0.368766 | | | |

Source: Authors' computation (2021). Note: * significant at 1%.

Table 5 shows the Error Correction Term (ECT) to be -0.095113. The speed of correction of the long-run model as shown by the error correction term is statistically significant at one per cent (0.0000) which implies that about 9.5 per cent error in the model is corrected annually. This is however, a slow rate of convergence of the model to long-run equilibrium in case of any disturbance to the model.

**Post-Estimation Diagnostic Tests**

To ascertain the degree of reliance that could be placed upon the estimates of the ARDL models, some post-estimation diagnostic tests were conducted and the results of the tests (namely, Breusch-Godfrey serial correlation LM, Jarque-Bera normality test, ARCH heteroskedasticity test and Ramsey RESET test) are summarized in Table 6 as well as model stability test depicted in Fig.1.

**Table 6: Post-Estimation Diagnostic Tests**

| Diagnostic Tests | F-statistics | p-value |
|---|---|---|
| Breusch-Godfrey Serial Correlation LM Test | 2.761667 | 0.0788 |
| Jarque-Bera Normality  Test | 0.160431 | 0.922918 |
| ARCH Heteroskedasticity Test | 0.405846 | 0.5281 |
| Ramsey RESET Test | 0.081044 | 0.7777 |

Source: Authors' computation (2021).

The Breusch-Godfrey serial correlation LM test implies that the model suffers little or no serial correlation problem. The Jarque-Bera normality test's result indicates that the model is normally distributed. The ARCH heteroskedasticity test also indicates that the model is not heteroscedastic in nature. In the Ramsey RESET test, the model is indicated to the correct functional form in specification.

In the same vein, the CUSUM test of the model stability in Fig.1 shows the model to lie within the critical boundaries and therefore could be said to be relatively stable over time.
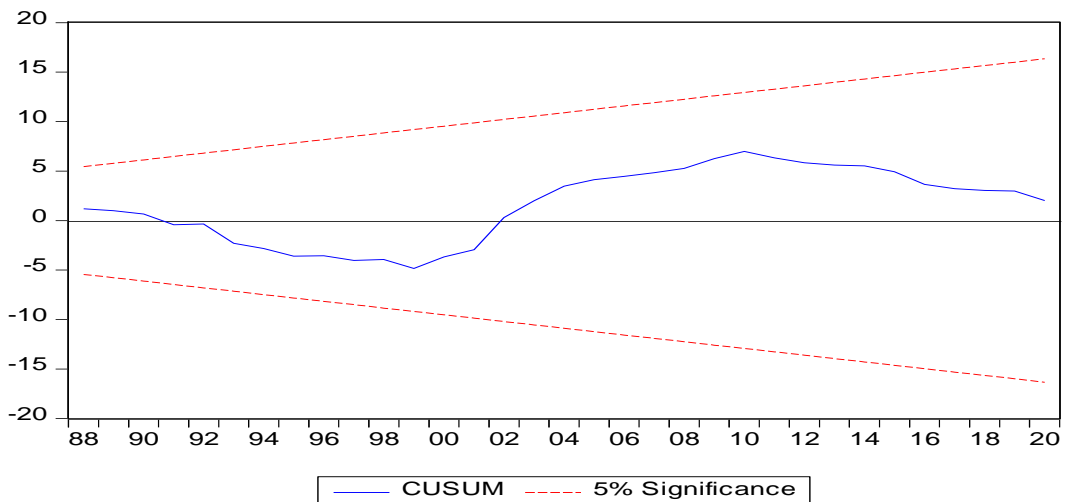


**Fig.1. CUSUM Stability Graph.**

Source: Authors' design (2021).

**Discussion of Findings**

From the empirical examination of the effect of financial regulations on the economic growth of Nigeria, this study reveals that financial regulations in the form of monetary policy has the tendency to promote the growth of the Nigerian economy. This is typical of developing countries where more financial regulations are advocated for promoting

economic growth (Manamela, 2012). Perhaps, this may not be unconnected with low level of development of financial market infrastructures, frameworks and systems which enable market forces of demand and supply to freely determine market performance and in turn (indirectly) affect economic growth. This finding is in consonance with finding of previous studies like Adaramola and Dada (2020), Iheanacho (2019), Andabai et al (2019), Adigwe et al (2015). However, other study such as Fasanya et al (2013) has a contrary finding of negative influence of monetary policy on economic growth.

In the same vein, this study confirms that government expenditure, an instrument of fiscal policy as financial regulation has positive and significant effect on the Nigerian economic growth in the long-run. Similarly, this finding is in consonance with findings of Babalola (2015), Olowofeso et al (2015), Okpabi et al (2021). Gupta (2018) have a contrary finding of negative influence of government expenditure on economic growth.

This study also shows that financial regulation in the form of liquidity ratio though negatively signed but its influence on economic growth of Nigeria is statistically significant. This implies that liquidity ratio does explain variation in the Nigerian GDP in the long-run. This finding is in line with previous studies (such as Kiane and Olotu (2016), Ekechukwu et al (2020)) but fails to support the conclusion of empirics like Ayodeji and Oluwole (2018) which argues a negative role of liquidity in the economy as well as studies like Iheanacho (2019), Obiakor and Okwu (2011), Kehinde (2013), Ojiegbe et al (2016), which postulate a positive role of liquidity in the economy.

Generally, this current study, just like previous studies (such as Manamela (2012), Nwokediuko et al. (2019), Koeniger and Silberberger (2015)) posits that financial regulation rather than hampering economic growth, it has the capacity to spur the economy of Nigeria to a long-run greater heights. Thus, the findings of this study therefore generally align with the positive school of thought on regulation-growth nexus and also upholds partly the public interest theory of regulation which emphasizes the role of regulation as a helping hands in improving the situation of the public thus promoting the general good of the people with their economy not left untouched positively by the influence of the regulations, particularly, financial regulation.

**Conclusion and Recommendations**

This study examined the short and long run impact of financial regulations on economic growth in Nigeria using annual time series data for the period 1981 to 2020 employing ARDL analytical technique. Results from this study revealed that there is existence of a long-run relationship between financial regulations and economic growth in Nigeria. Furthermore, this study argues that monetary policy rate and government expenditure have positive and significant impact on economic growth in Nigeria. This suggests that high financial regulations in the form of monetary policy

and government expenditure could bring about increased economy performance of the Nigerian economy.

Therefore, this study concludes that financial regulation has positive significant long-run effect on economic growth in Nigeria. This suggests that financial regulations by ways of government expenditure (fiscal policy instrument) and monetary policy rate (monetary policy instrument) could significantly explain the variation in the Nigerian economic growth in the long-run.

This study offers the following policy recommendations: the government should increase her expenditure in the Nigerian economy, particularly, those directed towards financial system infrastructure and growth and stability; the monetary authority should keenly monitor the monetary instrument and manipulate it to the benefit of the financial system and the general economy; and the idle liquidity of banks should be re-engineered towards promoting its positive role in the Nigerian economy. Nigeria as a developing economy should promote high financial regulations in order to ensure sanity in the financial market and ultimately improve economy performance.

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# Green Training and Development Practices on Environmental Sustainability: Evidence from WAMPO Plc

**Fapohunda, Tinuke Moradeke**
*Department of Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management*
*Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos State, Nigeria*
*tinuke.fapohunda@lasu.edu.ng*
&

**Genty, Kabiru Ishola**
*Department of Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management*
*Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos State, Nigeria*
*ishola.genty@lasu.edu.ng*
&

**Jayeoba, Foluso Ilesanmi**
*Department of Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management*
*Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos State, Nigeria*
*Foluso.jayeoba@lasu.edu.ng*
&

**Olanipekun, Lateef Okikiola**
*Department of Industrial Relations and Human Resource Management*
*Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos State, Nigeria*
*olanipekunokikiolalateef@gmail.com*

## Abstract

*Green training and development practices have been acknowledged as veritable tools for addressing environmental challenges; it is also a key ingredient for promoting the acceptance of environmental conservation in the workplace because in the long run, it helps to creating a win-win situation for both management and employees. To this end, this study examined effect of green training and development practices on environmental sustainability with the objective of examining the effect of developing green abilities on environmental awareness; and examining the relationship between green knowledge and employees' commitment towards the environment. Primary data were collected through the quantitative means from 175 employees of WAMCO Nigeria plc. Findings revealed that developing green abilities accounts for only 93.7% of variations in environmental awareness. This implies that developing green abilities have positive significant effect on environmental awareness as an indicator of environmental sustainability; in the same vein, there exists a positive and significant relationship between Green Knowledge and Employee Commitment towards the Environment which is a component of Environmental Sustainability with (r=0.942, p-value<0.05). The study concluded that green training and development practices are veritable tools for promoting employees' consciousness towards the overall achievement of sustainable development goals. Thus, employee engagement and involvement in green activities should be prioritised and strengthened through periodic training and development centered on the attainment of green goals.*

**Keywords**: Developing Green Abilities, Green knowledge, Environmental Awareness, Employee Commitment, Environmental Sustainability.

## I.    Introduction

Constant revitalisation of the surrounding where production activities and processes are carried out is a prerequisite to achieving sustainability and ensuring a balanced ecosystem. Thus, enhancing the texture of the environment of work is a core responsibility of every 21$^{st}$ century management and this requires that employees are well equipped, educated and well-grounded in the knowledge towards the significance of effective environmental management. The increasing quest to achieve competitive advantage has necessitated manufacturing firms to start giving cognizance, attention and importance to empowering their employees towards exhibiting pro-environmental behaviour for the sake of actualising environmental sustainability goals and fostering sustainable development (Chung, 2020).

Green training and development practice is an economically and eco-friendly approach for enhancing green value (Teixeira, Jabbour, de Sousa Jabbour, Latan, & De Oliveira, 2018). Green training and development practice is an important component of green human resource management and it is a process of designing education and creating awareness among employees and integrating environmental sustainability goals and objectives into the organisation's wider agenda (Yusoff, Nejati, Kee, & Amran, 2020). Environmental sustainability as a subject has been attracting attention from many scholars in management especially in the human resource management parlance (Pinzone, Guerci, Lettieri, & Redman, 2016) due to its strategic importance in the development of sustainable organisations that will contribute towards the realisation of sustainable development goals (Ren, Tang, & Jackson, 2018).

Developing green abilities which falls under the common umbrella of green training and development delineates that an organisation invests resources in the holistic development of employees' behavioural attitudes, traits, knowledge and skills towards effective environmental management to enhance its sustainability and avoiding degradation (Amankwah-Amoah, 2018).Commitment of employees towards environmental sustainability delineates that employees are attached to the organisations and this specifically reflect that employees are in tune with the values of the organisation and are willing to be partners in progress, thus, accepting the organisations's targets and goals (Paillé & Boiral, 2019). Therefore, when an employee becomes committed to the environmental sustainability agenda of the organisation, it is reflected through their attitudes and behaviour as well as their continuous interest in pursuing the green value of the organisation.

The sustainability goals of any organisation will be a mirage until employees in the process of formulating environmental goals and strategies; and in this regard, employees become adept, well versed and highly motivated towards enhancing the course of environmental sustainability. In furtherance, employees' commitment towards environmental concern is a pertinent component of the organisation's business wider scope of environmental enhancement; which on the long run significantly bring

about sustainability and competitive advantage (Wang, Tong, Takeuchi, & George, 2018).

Globally, the concern for environmental sustainability is among the most pertinent and pronounced social challenges (George, Howard-Grenville, Joshi, & Tihanyi, 2017). The issue of sustainability has also become an important focus for many organisations as a result of climate changes, pressures from regulatory bodies and increased demand for greater responsibility towards the environment by the society. According to Osuagwu, (2016), many Nigerian manufacturing organisations take less or no cognizance of their environment by situating factories in areas meant for residential. On many occasions, Nigerian citizens have bitterly expressed their displeasure on the high level of pollutions that these organisations have meted on the environment in the course of carrying out their production activities (Ihonvbere, 2015).

Furthermore, a study by Appel, (2017) and Oyedokun, (2019) made it known that employees in the manufacturing organisations display high level of indiscipline towards the environment through constant degradation. Since environmental performance of an organisation is a reflection of demonstrating the degree of awareness and commitment towards conserving the natural environment (Lather &Goyal, 2016). Large manufacturing organisations have been increasingly confronted with pressures to develop environmental friendly activities and practices during their production process. Marcus and Fremeth, (2017); argued that to achieve this requires employees green knowledge and abilities by the management in order to foster employees' commitment towards the environment (Teixeira, Jabbour, de Sousa Jabbour, Latan, & De Oliveira, 2018).

To ameliorate and improve in sustaining the quality of the environment, a component of green human resource management which is green training and development practice becomes a mechanism for creating awareness, developing abilities and enhancing knowledge to foster employee commitment and consciousness towards protecting the environment.

Based on the above arguments, this study examined green training and development practices on environmental sustainability among employees of WAMCO plc, Lagos State with the objectives of:

  i.    examining the effect of developing green abilities on environmental awareness; and
  ii.   examining the relationship between green knowledge and employees' commitment towards the environment.


Thus, this study anchored two research questions which are:

i.   To what extent will developing green abilities affect environmental awareness?

ii.  Is there any significant relationship between green knowledge and employees' commitment towards the Environment?

## 2.   Conceptual Review

### 2.1   Green Training and Development Practices

Green training and development practices is the process for reducing wastes, efficient and effective resource utilisation, conservation and preservation of energy and curtailing acts of environmental debasement. From the Nigerian perspective, green training and development practices can serve as an avenue for developing employees green abilities on the pertinence of environmental sustainability (Ullar, 2017). Thus, green training and development practices should involve seminars and workshops that will enable employees acquire requisite knowledge and skills to properly manage the environment effectively; so that they can exhibit pro-environmental behaviours and at the same time become eco-friendly (Hosain & Rahman, 2016).

Also, aspects relating to the environment such as energy, safety, recycling and management of wastes should top the list in educating employees during training and development programmes (Genty, 2021). Furthermore, when the organisation practice and extend green training and development through induction for new employees; it makes them more committed towards protecting the environment because the content of the induction programme would have been intensive enough to usher the trainees into understanding the policies of the organisation and its procedures towards green management (environmental sustainability).

### 2.2   Indicators of Green Training and Development Practices

Table below highlights the indicators used in this study for measuring green training and development practices.

**Table 1: Indicators of Green Training and Development Practices**

| S/N | Green candidate selection process | Sources |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---------|
| 1.  | Developing Green Abilities | Bishop, Daily and Mssoud, (2012) and Jabbour, (2015), (Ullah, 2017), Yusliza, Othman and Jabbour, 2018), Shah, (2019), (Schaltegger, Burritt & Petersen, 2020). |
| 2.  | Green Knowledge | Horbach, (2019), (Cheng, Yang &Sheu, 2020). |

**Source**: Researcher's Framework, 2022

### 2.2.1 Developing Green Abilities

Sustainability is a vital issue in this modern dispensation as damages from environmental degradation through carbon emissions, toxic bio-degradable wastes are greatly affecting the planet (Ullah, 2017). So, maintaining environmental quality requires clean air, non-toxic water, a stable climate, green management of wastes and renewable energy (Shah, 2019). All these are expedient as future generations are looking forward to a better world and the earth must be sustained by developing green abilities by organisations at an early stage (Yusliza, Othman, & Jabbour, 2018).

Developing green abilities requires equipping employees with the know-how to perform and solve environmental related problems. This is centered on trainings to focus on employees' mind-set, abilities, knowledge, skills as well as their attitudes towards developing and supporting an environment that is friendly and resource-efficient (Schaltegger, Burritt, & Petersen, 2020).

### 2.2.2 Green Knowledge

In this paper, green knowledge is considered as knowledge which is created, applied and developed to understanding environmental challenges and creatively proffers probable solutions using eco-innovative approach. As put forward by Horbach, (2019), green knowledge is a crucial driver for achieving a green economy. Just as economies are taking giant steps to becoming more sustainable. Green knowledge is required to develop and cultivate a green life style by applying the right approach towards curbing and reducing carbon emissions and conserving environmental texture (Cheng, Yang, &Sheu, 2020).

The move to achieve green economies has been gaining momentum globally, and one of the key areas for developing employees is to equip them with adequate trainings so that they can acquire a contemporary strategic mind-set for mitigating both current and future environmental concerns (Shah, 2019). This necessarily requires much more teaching research as well as continuous green training and development practices.

### 2.3 The Concept of Environmental Sustainability

Environment can be described as a concept which is made of both physical and social conditions that surrounds an individual and influences their behaviour. According to Gana and Tola, (2015), environment can be said to be both objective and subjective; this is because it comprises both bodies in terms of animals, deserts, forests, grasslands, landmass and human; the interplay of these aforementioned takes place within the environment. Drawing inference from the position of Nanda, (2019) environment implies all aspect natural endowments which is provided and furnished by man in a bid to make life comfortable; these ranges from air, water, land and all other materials needed for accomplishing his aspirations.

Environmental sustainability therefore implies the safe keeping, maintaining, managing and reasonable usage of natural resources in a manner which aids at maintaining uprightness of each ecosystem, support all lives, ensure effective preservation of the environment and preventing any form of degradation (Kuria&Mose, 2019). In the opinion of Diri, (2021) environmental sustainability can be viewed as an equilibrium which allows the human society to satisfy its current needs using natural resources without compromising or violating the ability of future generations to satisfy their comprehensive needs. Environmental sustainability is a conscious effort and responsive interplay with the environment with a view to preserving natural resources through the development of alternative power sources, reducing pollution or any negative impact that may erode environmental quality (Atmaca, Kiray, & Mustafa, 2019).

## 2.4    Indicators of Environmental Sustainability

Table below highlights the indicators used in this study for measuring environmental sustainability.

**Table 1I: Indicators of Green Recruitment and Selection Practices**

| S/N | Green candidate selection process | Sources |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---------|
| 1. | Environmental Awareness | Liu, Vedlitz, and Shi, (2017), Umuhire and Fang, (2018), Ham, Cela and Horvat, (2018), Atmaca, Kiray and Mustafa, (2019), Jannah, Halim, Meerah, Fairuz, Subahan and Fairuz, (2019). |
| 2. | Employee Commitment towards the Environment | Raneiri and Paille, (2016), (Pinzone, 2017), (Perez, Amichai-Hamburger and Shterental, 2019); (Paillé and Boiral, 2019). |

**Source**: Researcher's Framework, 2022

### 2.4.1    Environmental Awareness

Environmental awareness as a concept implies the incorporation of environmental science, psychology, sociology and other disciplines. Environmental awareness is a fragment of environmental literacy which can be regarded as an act of blending motivation, knowledge and skills together (Jannah, Halim, Meerah, Fairuz, Subahan, &Fairuz, 2019). Environmental awareness implies being in the know of the intending consequences of environmental abasement orchestrated by man's attitude and action (Ham, Cela&Horvat, 2018). Environmental awareness also connotes the ability of individuals to comprehend the nexus between environmental quality and human activities as well as their willingness to participate in environmental conservation and protection (Liu, Vedlitz, Shi, 2017; Umuhire, Fang, 2018).

### 2.4.2    Employee Commitment towards the Environment

Commitment of employees towards environmental concerns is a reflection of the core internal motivation of individual employees (Perez, Amichai-Hamburger, &Shterental, 2019); and this is linked with employees attachment and identification with the organisation's values as well as the acceptance of organisations green goals and targets (Paillé&Boiral, 2019). Thus, when an employee becomes committed towards environmental concerns; it reflects through positive change in attitudes and behaviour to assist the organisation pursues and achieves its green goals.

Furthermore, once their interest is stimulated towards the understanding of the benefits inherent in being committed towards environmental sustainability and the negative consequences of degradation; employees would be willing exert extra energies and efforts to ensure that the green goals of the organisations is achieved (pinzone, 2017). From the above, it is crystal clear that employee commitment to the environment is a significant component of the holistic business environmental agenda which is geared to enhance sustainable performance and promote sustainable development (Liu, Li, Zhu, Cai, & Wang, 2018).

### 2.5    Theoretical Review

### 2.5.1    Ability-Motivation-Opportunity (AMO) Theory

This theory is considered as one of the most dominant theories for explaining green practices and their outcomes both on employee and the organisation. This theory tacitly insinuated that HRM practices in sustaining the environment can only be achieved through the enhancement of employees' **Ability;** that is, by attracting and developing employees abilities on green concerns; enhancing employees' **Motivation** and level of commitment using strategies such as trainings, effective education; and availing employees the **Opportunity** to engage in knowledge sharing and problem solving activities through the provision of employee involvement programmes. In summary, this theory, affirms that human resource management practices can be employed to influence employees' discrete behaviours towards sustaining the environment using green training and development practices (Shen, Dumont, & Deng, 2018).

### 2.5.2    Social Exchange (SET) Theory

This theory was propounded by Emerson (1976), stressed that an organisation and its employees enjoy mutual trust and quality relationship in terms of adherence to the rules of exchange; and knowing fully well that there exists a reward for employees who are conscious of their environment and have acquired skills to keep it in shape. Because management has invested greatly in green human resource practices, therefore, employees will be willing to cooperate with the organisation to guard against any forms of environmental degradation. That is, employees will be highly motivated and oblige to carrying out their duties without any injury or damage to their environment. The

thrust of this theory holds that an organisation's policy on environmental sustainability in terms of awareness and green knowledge will lead to employees' pro-environmental behaviours at work.

## 2.6    Empirical Review

Khurshid and Darzi (2016) investigated the habit of going green in an organisation human resource management practices. The authors found that green HRM plays a significant role in securing a sustainable development environment through a set target on economic, social and other organisation related goals of the environment.

However, Nisa, Mahmood, Sandhu, Kanwal, and Iqbal (2016) posited in their study where they investigated the effect of green HRM practices on sustainability with reference to some selected companies in Pakistan that, a significant effect exists between all elements of GHRM and environmental sustainability. Five hundred (500) employees of 10 selected manufacturing firms were employed in the study and findings proved that there is a significant effects on of green development through employee capacity enhancement on environmental sustainability with ($R^2$= 0. 793: p= 0.000<0.05)

Guerci, Longoni, and Luzzini (2016) examine the effect of stakeholder pressures on environmental performance while banking on green HRM as a mediating variable. The study found that green training and involvement, as well as green performance management and compensation, all have a significant effect on environmental performance, while green recruitment was denied with no relationship with environmental performance.

Also, Ooi, Amran, Goh, and Nejati (2017) emphasised on the importance of GHRM to stakeholders of an organisation in Malaysia. The study identified six components of GHRM and found that green talent management, green performance management, green training and development, green employee engagement, green reward system and green employee separation are pivotal to Malaysian financial services industry.

A study carried out by Chowdhury, Sanju, and Asaduzzaman (2017), submitted that engaging employees on periodic green training and development practice would create environmental consciousness and reduces the negative environmental impacts of the organisation and increases the positive environmental impacts of the organisation. Chowdhury, Sanju and Asaduzzaman (2017) concluded in their study that green training and development practices in developing environmental sustainability are likely to results into minimization of wastage, reservation and preservation of natural resources, thus a very strong correlation exists among CSR, GHRM and sustainability. A sample of 300 employees was selected as respondents for the study and findings from the study revealed that developing employees green capacities significantly impact positively on employee consciousness towards environmental sustainability at ($R^2$= 0. 846: p= 0.000<0.05).

Based on the above, this study hypothesised that:

$H_{01}$:     Developing green abilities does not significantly have an effect on environmental awareness.

According to Ullah (2017) in the research carried out to examine comprehensively the review of GHRM and environmental sustainability in HRM. The study found that the implementation of GHRM in an organisation is likely to result into efficiencies, economical utilization of resources, less wastage, improved job-related attitude, improved work/private life, lower costs, improved worker execution and maintenance which help organisation to ensure environmentally sensitive, resource efficient and socially responsible workplace.

In another study carried out in Vietnam by Pham, Thanh, Tuˇcková and Thuy, (2020), reported that green training was one of the predictors of employees' commitment to the environment, organisational citizenship behaviour for the environment, and corporate environmental performance. The positive linkage between green training and employees' environmental commitment was also reported in another study conducted in Tanzania by Mashala, (2019). The study raised three objectives, answered three questions and tested three (3) null hypotheses at 0.05 alpha level of significance. Data were analysed using one-way Analysis of Variance, t-test independent sample. All the null hypotheses were rejected; finding thus reflected that green training and development practices positively influences employees' environmental commitment.

Genty, (2021) carried out a study on Green Human Resource Management and organisational sustainability; this study employed the usage of discourse content analysis as a means for data collection; the outcome of his study bared that achieving sustainability depends on green training intervention as a means of understanding and reshaping the environment; his study reflected the importance of green training and development practice as a veritable tool for creating environmental awareness and consciousness. The outcome of his study validates the first hypothesis of this study which stated that developing green abilities brings about environmental awareness.

Based on the above, this study also hypothesised that:

$H0_2$:     There is no significant relationship between green knowledge and employees' commitment towards the Environment.
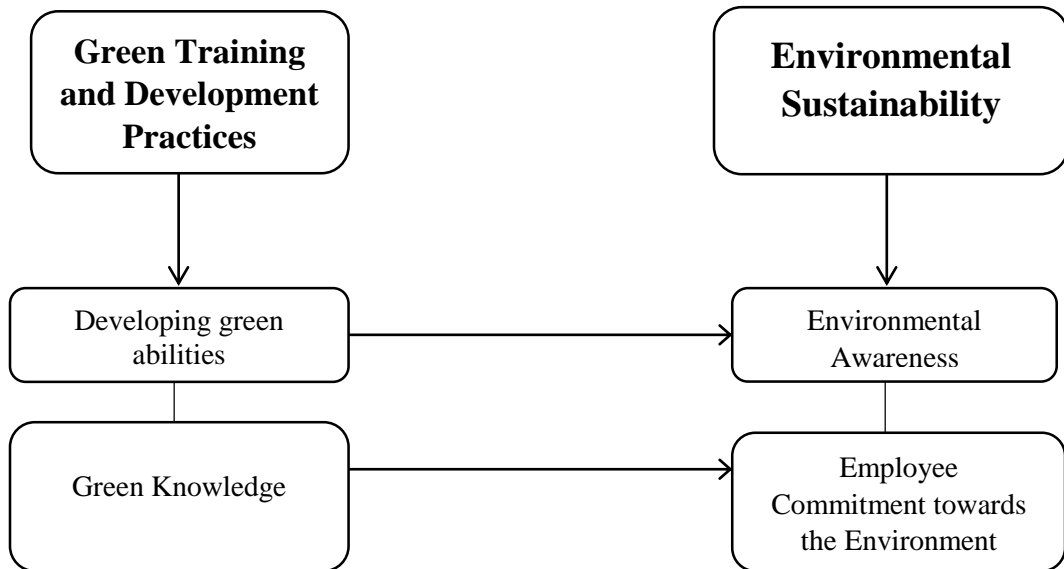
## 2.7 Conceptual Framework



**Fig I**: Conceptual framework analysing the effect of green training and development practices on environmental sustainability in WAMCO plc, Lagos, Nigeria.
**Source:** Researcher's Construct, 2022

## 3. Methodology

This section of the study analyses the procedures employed in carrying out this study; this section houses the study design, population of the study, sample size, sampling methods, instrument for collecting data, validity and reliability of the research instruments, method of data analysis, ethical consideration. This study adopted a descriptive research design. This design was adopted because it assists the researcher to explicitly explain the variables under study in a clear and simplistic manner.

As obtained from the human resource desk in January 2022, the population for this study was four hundred and fifty six (456) employees. This comprised both male and female employees of the selected organisation across different cadres and status. The area for the study was West Africa Milk Company (WAMCO) plc, Ikeja, Lagos State, Nigeria. This organisation was selected due to its large staff strength and it huge commercial activities.

Sample size for this study was 209 (Two Hundred and Nine) employees which was drawn at from www.raosoft.com/samplesize.html at 95% confidence level and 0.05 error rate. The study employed a multi-stage sampling technique which comprises: non-probability sampling technique (purposive) and probability sampling technique (stratified and simple random sampling techniques) was adopted for the study. This method was appropriate because it assisted in obtaining a satisfactory representation of various subgroups within a population.

At the *first stage*, a non-probability sampling technique, purposive sampling technique, was employed in the selection of the organisation (WAMCO) plc, Lagos State. The *second stage* was stratified sampling technique which was used in ensuring adequacy and equal representation of the sample. The population was divided into homogenous sub-groups, and then the *third stage*, a simple random sample was taken. The main characteristic of a randomised procedure is that every employee in the selected organisation has an equal chance of being selected. The simple random system was used to compliment the stratified sampling to select samples from each Department (stratum) and the number of employees selected from a particular Department was proportional to the stratum's share of the total population.

Primary data was obtained using a questionnaire. The questionnaire was divided into three sections and consisted of close-ended questions. Section A was structured to obtain biographical information from respondents while section B and C were centered on green training and development practices; and Environmental sustainability respectively. The questionnaire was built on 5 Likert Scale system from "Strongly Disagree" =1 to "Strongly Agree" =5 and it was distributed by the researcher.

**Table III**: Cronbach Alphas of the study Variables

| S/N | Variables | Authors | No of Items | Cronbach Alpha |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Green Training and Development Practices** | | | | |
| 1. | Developing Green Abilities | Bishop and Mssoud, (2012) and Jabbour, (2015), (Ullah, 2017), Yusliza, Othman and Jabbour, 2018), Shah, (2019), (Schaltegger, Burritt & Petersen, 2020). | 5 | 0.904 |
| 2. | Green Knowledge | Horbach, (2019), (Cheng, Yang &Sheu, 2020). | 5 | 0.992 |
| **Environmental Sustainability** | | | | |
| 1. | Environmental Awareness | Liu, Vedlitz, and Shi, (2017), Umuhire and Fang, (2018), Ham, Cela and Horvat, (2018), Atmaca, Kiray and Mustafa, (2019), Jannah, Halim, Meerah, Fairuz, Subahan and Fairuz, (2019). | 7 | 0.887 |
| 2. | Employee Commitment towards the Environment | Raneiri and Paille, (2016), (pinzone, 2017), (Perez, Amichai-Hamburger, &Shterental, 2019); (Paillé&Boiral, 2019). | 5 | 0.807 |

**Source:** SPSS 2022

To ensure internal validity of the research instrument, the researcher carried out a pilot study and pre-testing with employees of two (2) selected firms around Itele Ota Area of Ogun State. This was carried out in order to achieve the face, content, construct and criterion-related validity of the research instrument. Fifty employees from both firms were used for the pilot study to test the reliability of the research instrument. Employees were stratified according to their employment status. The researcher also put into cognizance gender equity of the employees. It was expected that the reliability test result will not yield less than 0.70 co-efficient.

Data obtained were analysed at both descriptive and inferential level of statistics using frequency distribution and simple percentage, through the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 26.0. The study employed regression and correlation analyses as the statistical tool for testing the two stated research hypotheses.

## 4.     Data Analyses and Results

**Table IV:** Result on Questionnaire Administration

| Detailed Response Rate | Distributed Copies | Retrieved Copies | Copies not Retrieved | Used Copies |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | 209 | 197 | 12 | 175 |

**Source:** Field Survey, 2022

The above table reflected that 209 copies of questionnaire were administered, 197 were retrieved and 175 were found usable; this showed a response rate of **83.7**%.

## 4.1     Results

**Hypothesis One**

**H0₁:     Developing green abilities does not significantly have effect on environmental awareness.**

**Tables 5, 6, 7: Results of Linear regression analysis on the effect of developing green abilities on environmental awareness.**

**Table 5:** Model Summary of Regression Analysis on the Effect of Developing Green Abilities on Environmental Awareness.

| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | .968[a] | .937 | .937 | .341 |

 a. Predictors: (Constant), Developing Green Abilities

Table 5 above showed that there is a correlation at R = .968 between developing green abilities and environmental awareness. An examination of the table revealed that the R square = .937 which connotes that developing green abilities accounts for only 93.7% of variations in environmental awareness. Thus, developing green abilities have positive significant effect on environmental awareness as an indicator of environmental sustainability.

**Table 6**: ANOVA of Regression Analysis on the Effect of Developing Green Abilities on Environmental Awareness.

| Model | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Regression | 299.942 | 1 | 299.942 | 2582.558 | .000[b] |
| 1 | Residual | 20.092 | 173 | .116 | | |
| | Total | 320.034 | 174 | | | |

a. Dependent Variable: Environmental Awareness

b. Predictors: (Constant), Developing Green Abilities

Table 6 showed that the F-value is the Mean Square Regression (299.942) divided by the Mean Square Residual (20.092), yielding F=2582.558. The model in this table showed that the independent variable which is developing green abilities statistically significant at (Sig =.000) and positively have an effect on environmental awareness of employees towards sustaining the environment.

**Table7:** Coefficients of Regression Analysis on the Effect of Developing Green Abilities on Environmental Awareness.

| Model | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | t | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | | |
| | (Constant) | .184 | .073 | | 2.528 | .012 |
| 1 | Developing Green Abilities | .948 | .019 | .968 | 50.819 | .000 |

a. Dependent Variable: Environmental Awareness

Tables 5, 6 and 7 presents the result of the linear regression that were calculated to predict environmental awareness based on developing green abilities as component of

green training and development practices. A significant regression coefficient was found (F $(1,173)$ = 2582.558, p=.000), with $R^2$ of 937. This presupposes that 93.7% variation in environmental awareness was as a result of developing green abilities. Evidence in table 7, also is the beta value under the standardized coefficients which shows that developing green abilities equivalently contributes to the change in the dependent variable (environmental awareness) ($\beta$=.968, p=.000). Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected because results showed that, developing green abilities as an indicator of green training and development practices significantly have effect on environmental awareness.

**Hypothesis Two**

**H0$_2$:    There is no significant relationship between Green Knowledge and Employee Commitment towards the Environment.**

**Table 8**: Results of Bi-Linear Correlations analysis on the relationship between green knowledge and Employee Commitment to the Environment

| | | **Green Knowledge** | **Employee Commitment towards the Environment** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Green Knowledge** | Pearson Correlation | 1 | .942** |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | .000 |
| | N | 175 | 175 |
| **Employee Commitment towards the Environment** | Pearson Correlation | .942** | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | |
| | N | 175 | 175 |

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The above correlation table reflected that there exists a positive and significant relationship between Green Knowledge and Employee Commitment towards the Environment which is a component of Environmental Sustainability with (r = 0.942, p-value < 0.05). This implies that a significant relationship exists between green knowledge and employee commitment towards the environment. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected because results proved that green knowledge which is an indicator of green training and development practices have significant relationship with employee commitment towards the environment which is an indicator of environmental sustainability.

## 4.2    Discussion of Findings

Result from hypothesis one delineated that developing green abilities significantly have effect on environmental awareness; this symbolises that when employees' abilities are developed towards enhancing the environment; they become more aware and conscious of their surroundings; they will become pro-environmental and exhibit eco-friendly behaviours. Finding from this study is in agreement with the study by Subramanian, Abdulrahman, Wu and Nath, (2018), who opined that green training and development presents real opportunities for intellectually managing the environment. They further stated that green training and development practice enhances employees' capabilities to promote positive environmental attitudes and behaviours.

Findings from this study also aligns with the result of a study conducted in India by Srivastava and Shree (2019) whose report summarised that green training and development practices helps in strengthening the positive association between employees' green involvement and corporate social responsibility. Finally, the result from this study corroborates the submission of Genty, (2021) whose study finding revealed that green training and development practices helps organisations to educate and engage employees in environmental problem solving skills.

For hypothesis two, findings revealed that Green Knowledge has a strong and positive significant relationship with Employee Commitment towards the Environment which is a component of Environmental Sustainability. Findings from this study also corroborates the submission of Owino (2016) whose study concluded that offering green training and development programmes towards environmental consciousness of employees will help organisations to improve its environmental sustainability agenda.

In furtherance, findings from this study is also in tandem with the position of Kim, Kim, Choi and Phetvaroon, (2019) whose study documented that green training and development are important tools to promoting environmental management in an organisation and finally, the findings from this study agrees with the submission of Atiku, (2020) who posited that green training and development practices through green knowledge helps in fostering employee commitment towards the environment as well as improving employee green efficiency.

## 5.    Conclusion

Environmental sustainability cannot be achieved in isolation; and without harmoniously aligning the employees who are partners of the organisation and key stakeholders in the actualisation of organisation's green objectives. Since green training and development practices have been verified and confirmed as veritable tools for promoting and enhancing employees' awareness and consciousness towards effective waste management, conservation of energy, reduction of carbon foot prints

and green gas emission; thus, the practice should be made a periodic event by the management so as to imprint and ingrain the goodwill of being eco-friendly and eco-innovative on the workforce towards advancing environmental sustainability for the overall achievement of sustainable development goals.

## 6.    Recommendations

Based on the outcome of this study, the researcher recommends the followings as recipes towards advancing environmental sustainability.

  i.  Employee engagement and involvement in green activities should be prioritised and strengthened through periodic training and development centered on the attainment of green goals.
 ii.  Managements should constantly motivate employees to embrace green practices and provide them with ample opportunities to apply the skills, knowledge and education received during trainings on environmental management.
iii.  Management should always reward employee(s) green consciousness; in order to inculcate the goodwill of environmental sustainability into the workforce.

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**'Bimbo Ogunbanjo**
*Department of Politics and International Relations*
*ISM Adonai University, Republic of Benin.*
*+229 60803878, +234 8037128002*
*mbimboogunbanjo@yahoo.com*
*&*

**Modupe Albert, PhD**
*Department of Politics and International Relations*
*Lead City University, Ibadan, Nigeria*
*oluremialbert@yahoo.com*

## Abstract

*This paper begins with a brief overview of the role of power before moving to examine the politics of the current human rights regime within the institutions of the United Nations Organization. The argument presented here is that the birth of the human rights regime cannot be understood solely as a response to the horrors of Nazism, as is often claimed. This paper stresses that while the shock of the concentration camps and the revelations of the Holocaust certainly played a part, a further insight is gained by looking at the postwar regime as a response to international and domestic economic interests. It opines that following the collapse of the Cold War, and the decline in influence of the socialist states, an understanding of universal human rights that serve particular interests has achieved even greater legitimacy than in the past. In short, economic and social rights that could have empowered the poor in their fight against exploitation and exclusion, now take second place to civil and political rights, or those rights that support freedom in the private sphere of economic interests. This paper then looks in detail at the tripartite structure of human rights discourse. It argues that the dominant conception of human rights reflects the central principles upon which the current global order is built, including ideas of economic growth and development, individualism, and free market economics. This paper emphasizes that, as in other eras, hegemonic power does not rely upon force and the threat of force alone, but also seeks to maintain order by providing a normative framework that justifies the activities of particular interests. It shows that in the current period, the responses to violations have centred largely upon the formal machinery developed for protecting human rights, which assumes that the individual is responsible for his or her actions. This largely ignores the possibility that the causes of violations may be found within the social, economic and political structures that define the current order.*

**Keywords:** Human Rights, Politics, International Law, Cold War, Global Order, Freedom

## Introduction

This paper places the development of the universal human rights regime within the context of post-Second World War global order. It begins with an examination of the relationship between human rights and configurations of power that characterized the post-World War order. This suggests that the current conception of human rights, like all dominant conceptions of rights, is the outcome of a political struggle aimed at achieving moral legitimacy. These questions are explored in more detail in this paper, where the tripartite nature of human rights talk is also discussed. A section looks at the rise of human rights in the post-Second World War order and, more particularly, the role of the United States in placing human rights on the global political agenda. A further section looks at the socialist and less developed countries' challenge to the US's conception of universal human rights. The clash of ideologies, which was at the core of all Cold War struggles, meant that the United States moved to distance itself from the human rights regime under construction at the United Nations. Rather than engage in a global dialogue on the nature of human rights that gave voice to a full range of cultures, religions, and ideologies, the US used its considerable political and economic power to promote a particular conception of human rights that sought to legitimate its own interests and those of global capital[1]. A section suggests that the post-Cold War order, which some suggest marks the end of the contemporary struggle over the concept of human rights, will not provide a more propitious context for rights than in the past. Another section then looks in more detail at the tripartite structure of human rights discourse. It argues that the dominant conception of human rights reflects the central principles upon which the current global order is built, including ideas of economic growth and development, individualism, and free market economics. This paper emphasizes that, as in other eras, hegemonic power does not rely upon force and the threat of force alone, but also seeks to maintain order by providing a normative framework that justifies the activities of particular interests. It shows that in the current period, the responses to violations have centred largely upon the formal machinery developed for protecting human rights, which assumes that the individual is responsible for his or her actions. This largely ignores the possibility that the causes of violations may be found within the social, economic and political structures that define the current order.

As this paper noted, to gain an insight into the politics of human rights requires an appreciation of power. It was argued that shifts in the normative structure of social life occur at historic moments, as exemplified by the French Revolution. In the post-Second World War era, which was marked by the rise of United States' hegemony, and the ideological struggle that was the Cold War, the project for universal human rights was intended to provide a normative context that supported the emergent postwar global political and economic order[2]. Although the attempt to create a human rights regime was often punctuated by conflict, disagreement and discontent, the politics of

rights was often masked by the creation of international law, which suggested global consensus and steady 'progress' toward a rights-protected global society.

The justification for presenting the promotion and protection of human rights as a discourse of 'progress' has attracted little comment[3]. This could, of course, be explained as mere oversight. However, given repeated claims that human rights are the 'idea of our time', and widely held assertions that human rights represent a universal and eternal truth, which is now recognized by international society, the lack of reflection on the authority and relevance of the formal human rights regime remains a puzzle.

This is not to argue that the literature consistently fails to engage in criticism of the international human rights regime. On the contrary, criticism is not hard to find, particularly that aimed at the failure of international society to solve the problems associated with compliance and implementation. However, these criticisms are commonly concerned with refining, polishing and elaborating accepted norms and standards, in an attempt to make the regime more elegant, sophisticated, imposing and magisterial. As one commentator has observed, it is criticism undertaken by committed human rights experts, resolutely 'advancing the faith'[4].

What this approach conceals is a lack of critique. While criticism is confined to arguments about particular theories, philosophies, beliefs, ideologies and regimes, critique is more concerned to investigate the ways in which these claims to truth are achieved, legitimated and presented as the authoritative guide for action. If criticism can be thought of as part of a technical debate, intended to refine particular truths, then critique is concerned with the 'politics of truth' itself[5]. As such, critique is concerned to expose the interests served by the production and maintenance of particular truths, and the processes that enable some forms of knowledge to be accepted as complete and legitimate while other forms are labelled partial and suspect. In this sense, critique occupies a limited space within the human rights literature.

## Human Rights as Politics

The creation of the United Nations placed universal human rights at the centre of global politics. Human rights are mentioned in the UN Charter seven times, including Article 68, which calls for the creation of the Commission on Human Rights. The Commission completed the final draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) during its first eighteen months of deliberations, a remarkable achievement, rarely matched before or since, for reaching any international agreement. That the UDHR remains the single, most important statement of human rights norms, more than fifty years later, places this achievement into even sharper perspective[6]. In the following decades the Commission drafted a series of legally binding treaties, the most important of which are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Other legally binding instruments include the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment

of the Crime of Genocide (Genocide Convention), the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatments or Punishments (Torture Convention) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Commission also put in place procedures for implementing the rights set out in these treaties, including monitoring, periodic reports and arbitration. The Americas, Africa and Europe have also established regional human rights regimes with varying degrees of effectiveness.

Yet, despite all this activity, violations of human rights are almost a commonplace. Newspapers and other news media are filled with graphic reports and images of human rights violations, describing acts widely acknowledged as unlawful under international law. The disjuncture between the formal norms set out under international law and the normal practices of governments, transnational corporations, international financial institutions, the military and the police suggest two possibilities. The first, which human rights scholars widely accept, is that the international community has not matched its enthusiasm for setting human rights standards with a similar enthusiasm for creating the necessary machinery to implement those standards. Although the Commission on Human Rights has developed monitoring procedures and advisory programmes for implementing state obligations under international law, commentators generally acknowledge that these are weak. The problem of how to secure universal values in an international system of sovereign states, defined by the principles of domestic jurisdiction and non-intervention, remains at the centre of this observation. The second possibility concerns an approach to securing human rights that emphasizes post-violation redress, rather than an alternative approach that looks at the causes of violations and the means of prevention. This approach is reflected in the recent creation of an International Criminal Court and the courts set up to try perpetrators of human rights crimes in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. That the causes of many violations might be found in the structures of the global political economy, and the interests that these structures support, may offer some insight into why redress is favoured over structural reform.

The theory and practice of human rights is generally conducted in the language of legal and philosophical reason, which focuses upon international law, methods of implementation and the source, justification and meaning of rights[7]. If political questions concerning power and interest are considered at all, commentators usually view them within a realist or international society conception of global politics, which stresses the principles of sovereignty, domestic jurisdiction and non-intervention in the affairs of legitimate states[8]. In this construction of the human rights debate, the legal, philosophical and political discourses that constitute 'human rights talk' adopt a liberal framework[9], leaving little room for alternative conceptions or interpretations that might raise challenging questions about current theory and practice. What legitimating role do human rights play in the current global order? Do all individuals and groups benefit from the dominant conception of universal human rights? Why do powerful Western

liberal democracies so vigorously defend their particular conception of human rights? What role does the global political economy play in securing or denying access to the means for protecting human rights? Is international law the most effective way of promoting all human rights? Can we sustain the claim that human rights and democracy are two sides of the same coin, as many Western commentators assume? What is the future of human rights in the age of globalization? Although some authors have attempted to look at these questions in recent times, the dominant epistemology of human rights does not encourage such enquiry.

The convention of understanding 'progress' in the field of human rights by reference to law, including the creation of international institutions, reflects a widely held assumption that reason and rationality have triumphed over politics. These assumptions are often reflected in the assertion that the creation of the UDHR represents a symbolic moment of 'arrival', when the reason of rights finally prevailed, following two hundred years of struggle[10]. At the end of the Cold War, which for some marks the 'end of history'[11], all that is left for the human rights debate are technical issues to do with improving implementational procedures and drafting new international laws that clarify already legitimated and universally accepted norms. If politics has any further role, it is confined to disagreements over these technical issues, which are themselves conditioned by the 'givens' of the existing, liberal world order. Power and interests are no longer part of the struggle for human rights. Consequently, with 'depressing regularity', those engaged in the theory and practice of human rights are prone to offering us exhortations of optimism and hope, which are 'almost always expressed in the passive voice to increase its apparent authority'[12]. What such an approach indicates is that the author's argument is based more upon his or her perceptions of human nature, including a vision of how human beings 'ought' to treat one another, rather than the theory and practice of the current human rights regime.

For the critical reader, or simply the puzzled observer, the optimism found in the literature cannot be reconciled with the overwhelming evidence of human rights violations. What this situation reveals is the failure to take full account of the social and political construction of rights, the particular configuration of world order in which the current human rights regime operates and the interests that the current regime sustains. Given the political context of both the French and American revolutions, which are widely understood as seminal moments in the modern human rights movement, this seems a strange omission. These revolutions represent the climax of the struggle to overthrow an old social order and legitimate the new. They are revolutions in the sense that they sought a radical transformation of the accepted principles of social organization, rather than a mere seizure of power within the existing order. Thus, the principles of the new order – the people as sovereign, the authority of the civil administration and the rights of the citizen – replaced the principles of the old order – the divine right of kings, the authority of the Church and a duty to obey the monarch. Following the success of these revolutions, the old order,

which for centuries provided the social context for political and economic action, was revealed as oppressive and tyrannical and the new as offering the conditions for human dignity, personal freedom and a future without fear. From these historic events we can conclude that moral claims are closely linked to processes associated with the legitimation of interests. In other words, 'ideas and practices concerning human rights are *created* by people in particular historical, social and economic circumstances'[13].

The regimes that emerged from the French and American revolutions sought to legitimate their authority through the new language of natural law and human rights, which suggested an inclusive harmony of interests. The separation of private and economic life from public and political life, which is central to natural rights, was presented as a moral imperative in the interests of all the people, not the outcome of new power relationships that served the interests of particular groups. Although natural rights did not reveal 'any universal truths about the relationship between individuals, society and the state'[14], it provided a moral justification for overthrowing the old order and replacing it with one that legitimated the interests of the dominant group in the new. As Issa Shivji has argued, human rights 'mirror the struggles and concerns of the dominant groups in society at a particular time as these groups organize and reorganize to maintain their position' or to overthrow the existing order[15].

The political discourse on human rights therefore seems to offer two possible views of the role of power. The first suggests 'power to the people'; where appeal to human rights offers a moral claim that trumps all other claims to the legitimate use of power, including law. The second sees human rights as 'power over people', expressed in exclusionary practices that deny the full participation of those who fail to support the interests of the dominant group[16]. If the contradictions between ideas of freedom and the practice of exclusion are noted at all, the dominant group typically justifies these by arguing either that the excluded do not have the moral capacity to engage fully in decision-making processes or by simply labelling them 'mad'[17]. Thus, the concept of human rights often supports competing conceptions that give a focus to deeply rooted political struggles. Put another way, the formal, institutionalized and legal practices of human rights reflect and sustain the interests of a dominant group in the existing order, while informal, privately motivated and, on occasion, extralegal action reflects the interest of an alternative order[18]. Such a conclusion does, of course, raise questions about the role and status of many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who seek to promote human rights through formal means. The answers to these questions are not pursued here, but may rely upon understanding NGOs as co-opted organizations that lend further legitimacy to the established order, rather than a radical movement that seeks to challenge that order[19].

## Hegemony and Human Rights in the Post-Second World War Order

The United Nations Charter placed the promotion of human rights at the centre of the post-Second World War order. Given the historic relationship between human rights

and interests described above, we have little reason to believe that the postwar order is any different from that of the past: human rights and interests remain inexorably linked[20]. During much of the postwar period, hegemony has referred to the existence of a single dominant state, possessed of the material capabilities and political will to maintain a world order that reflects the hegemon's own interests[21]. In this context, the promotion of universal values, like human rights, might seem a distraction, particularly in an order said to be characterized by sovereignty, hegemony and the principles of non-intervention. However, social and political control is not maintained solely through the threat of military coercion, although on occasion the threat and use of force may be necessary, but rather through a system of formal and informal norms and rules that legitimate and shape the actions of weaker states. Recalling the French and American revolutions, at times of radical change in world order, the emergent hegemon seeks to distinguish itself from the past by articulating values that express its moral superiority in the new era.

Explaining this phenomenon requires an examination of the hegemon's need to command obedience to rules that support its own interests without resort to the costly use of force. Recent attempts to explain this phenomenon have drawn upon the work of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci argues that coercion alone cannot guarantee the long-term success of a hegemon, particularly where the resources necessary for coercion do not grow at the same rate as the hegemon's sphere of influence. Instead, the hegemon must foster a consensus around a set of values that support the hegemon's interests. Hegemony is therefore sustained in two ways: first, *externally*, by administering rewards and punishments and, secondly, *internally*, by providing 'intellectual and moral leadership' that shapes the beliefs, wants, opinions and values that reflect the hegemon's interests[22]. In Gramsci's conception of hegemony, order is maintained through a 'common social-moral language' that expresses a singular vision of reality, 'informing with its spirit all forms of thought and behaviour'[23]. The highest form of hegemony is exercised when the hegemon's values are accepted as 'common sense'[24]. Expressed more formally, less powerful actors are subject to processes of 'socialization' that bind the ruler and the ruled in a consensual order that legitimates power[25].

In short, the hegemon exercises control through a combination of might and the legitimation of right. Gramsci's conception of hegemony offers the prospect of gaining an insight into the postwar politics of rights, including the role of the United States as the new global hegemon. The postwar economic potential of the United States was greater than any other country. US interests held more than 70 per cent of global financial assets and manufacturing output nearly doubled between 1938 and 1946, while other industrialized economies either declined or stagnated[26]. To exploit this historic opportunity, the United States sought to establish a new postwar world order safe for American export of goods and capital[27]. Without finding new markets, postwar overproduction promised high unemployment, social unrest and a return to the days of

the Depression. Added to this were isolationist calls to withdraw US troops from Europe immediately peace broke out, which, if heeded, would add millions to the ranks of the unemployed. To circumvent these dangers, the United States pursued two broad policies: first, support for postwar reconstruction in Europe and other regions of the world, a policy intended to re-establish markets as quickly as possible; and second, the establishment of a high-profile military presence in selected strategic countries to protect and police those markets. It was therefore important that the United States did not return to its historic policy of isolationism, which informed its foreign policy during the interwar years[28]. Supporting human rights as a universal principle – as a symbol of solidarity related to ideas of universal freedom and *laissez-faire* – offered the potential to resolve some of these problems by mobilizing public support for a new international political and economic order with the United States actively at its centre[29].

During the years of war against fascism, wartime leaders saw the idea of human rights as a symbol that inspired the necessary ethos to sustain public support for a prolonged struggle. The call for the universal application of human rights inspired a sense of solidarity. The US Federal Government did not ask Americans to fight merely fora patriotic cause but for the survival of human freedom itself. Fascism not only represented a threat to state security but a threat to the life, liberty and happiness of all people everywhere. The Roosevelt Administration, for example, stressed that to be an American one had to act to protect a set of values that were the very rationale for the creation of the United States itself[30]. At the core of these values were the ideas of limited government, individual freedom, liberalism and *laissez-faire* economics, which some have argued have their roots in the motivations of the early settlers[31]. In a speech to the US Congress on 6 January 1941, President Roosevelt articulated these values, an event that is often cited as marking the birth of the modern human rights movement[32]. In that speech, Roosevelt sketched his blueprint for a new world order founded upon four essential freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear and freedom from want.

Although at first sight these freedoms appear to go beyond a liberal conception of rights, the freedom from want was not intended to suggest freedom from economic deprivation or a right to social welfare. Instead, freedom from want was defined as an 'economic understanding which will secure for every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world'[33]. Thus, the freedom from want did not suggest that the deprived, the poor and the excluded had a right to claim assistance from those who benefited most from the prevailing structures of the global political economy but, rather, a duty to remove structural, commercial and cultural barriers between states, where such barriers threatened the potential expansion of liberalism on a global scale[34]. Such an approach to freedom from want remains prevalent today. For example, the economic assistance policies of the international financial institutions, particularly structural adjustment programmes, are aimed at creating the necessary

conditions for a strong private sector at the expense of public policy designed to support the poor and excluded[35].

The postwar project for universal human rights therefore provided a vital image in gaining the support of Americans for US entry into the war and, later, an important image in justifying the United States' global role in the postwar order[36]. The Roosevelt Administration argued that Americans had a duty to remain engaged in world politics and to defend the universal human rights of all people everywhere[37]. However, the project to promote universal human rights should also be seen within the context of hegemony and power[38]. By defining human rights as that set of rights associated with liberalism, the United States sought to project its sphere of influence over a much wider area and to gain access to world markets[39]. As the new economic and moral leader of the emerging postwar order, the United States sought to legitimate its role and thus justify intervention whenever and wherever others failed to act according to the interest of American capital. Crucially, the success of the project rested upon gaining popular international approval for a set of civil and political rights associated with liberalism, or more accurately, with that particular set of rights already enshrined in the Constitution of the United States of America.

## The Postwar Development of Human Rights

Richard Falk has pointed to the obvious tension between the need to promote universally accepted values, like human rights, and the exercise of hegemony[40]. The legitimation of universal values places constraints on all states, even the hegemon. The potential difficulties found in this tension are ameliorated if the hegemon is successful in gaining legitimacy for a set of rights that reflect its own existing social order, beliefs and practices.

As early as the Dumbarton Oaks Conversation, which paved the way for the creation of the United Nations, US policy makers found it difficult to sustain a human rights agenda that supported the expansion of American interests. This was for two reasons, one internal and the other external. Internally, isolationist fervour re-emerged in some quarters, bringing with it a fear that the proposed United Nations Organization would develop into a 'World Government', which would enmesh the United States in a set of values that were 'un-American'[41]. Externally, as the debate on human rights gained momentum, conservatives came to realize that the rights clearly associated with 'being an American' were not necessarily those that other countries accepted willingly[42].

The introduction of New Deal policies in the United States during the 1930s, which increased the role of the federal government in civil rights and welfare issues, had alarmed many conservative groups. These groups argued that the New Deal threatened to erode the constitutional rights of the states incrementally. These fears were further heightened by the racial integration of troops during the war and the growing concern in Washington over segregated education. A report by the Commission on Civil Rights that recommended outlawing certain racist policies also added to conservative fears.

Conservatives saw the federal Constitution as the only bulwark against a federal government intent on imposing programmes of civil rights that challenged state laws on segregation, interracial marriage and restrictions on the ownership of property by some racial groups[43]. Eleanor Roosevelt, the chairperson of the Commission of Human Rights during the drafting debate on the Declaration, was warned by one of her Department of State advisers that 'certain elements among the southern contingent and the reactionaries from other parts of the country' would vigorously resist any treaty that might serve either as a basis for federal civil rights legislation or for establishing economic and social rights enforceable under international law[44]. Domestic resistance to the United States taking a full part in the United Nations or entering into any legally binding agreement on universal human rights took several forms. First, under the Constitution, international treaties are enforceable in all of the states. Ratifying a human rights treaty had the potential of challenging the separate lawmaking powers of the states and overturning existing laws that discriminated on grounds of sex, race, colour, language, property, birth or opinion. The influential American Bar Association argued that a binding human rights treaty would outlaw existing state laws relating to women, miscegenation, and membership of the Communist Party. Second, conservative groups argued that the ratification of any international agreement on human rights would lead to the annulment of existing federal laws on immigration and naturalization, forfeiting the right to determine who should or should not enter the country. In speeches with titles like 'Giving America Away' and 'The Greatest Threat to Our American Heritage', the erstwhile president of the American Bar Association, F.E. Holman, argued that a human rights treaty threatened to open the floodgates, forcing the United States to accept a 'multitude' of Chinese, Indian and Indonesian people who wanted to leave their own 'already overpopulated countries'[45]. Third, conservatives argued that any human rights treaty would empower the federal government to enact new civil rights and social legislation that would not be otherwise enacted[46].

At the international level, resistance to the US conception of human rights was also growing. The feeling of solidarity, of being engaged in the 'great adventure' to transform the principles of world politics by placing human rights as its centre, was short-lived[47]. The United States soon discovered that the conception of human rights associated with 'being an American' did not satisfy all countries. While the characteristics of 'being an American' included the virtue of tolerance, such tolerance did not extend to alternative visions of the future, particularly if those visions promoted collective, economic and social rights[48].

Although the potential for disagreements over the conception of human rights was exposed during the discussions on creating the United Nations, they were not confronted until the Commission on Human Rights convened. The socialist states mounted the early resistance to a liberal conception of human rights. Drawing on Marxist theory, these states argued that the end of the Second World War marked the

dawn of a new epoch, which would see a transition from capitalism to socialism. Human rights should therefore reflect the forces of history that would bring a 'new and bright future for the individual in the vast field of social rights'[49]. It followed from this that any durable agreement on human rights should reflect the values of a future world order, not those of the past, including economic and social rights, such as the right to work and social security. According to the socialist countries, those rights developed in the US and Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were nothing less than a reactionary attempt to legitimate a set of outmoded, middle-class, bourgeois values that did little for the interests of the poor and excluded. In short, socialist countries argued that their view of human rights was progressive, while that of the West clung conservatively to outmoded ideas and values. Expressed cogently by the Ukrainian representative during the drafting debate for the Declaration, the human rights regime supported by Western countries was the product of minds ignorant of the forces of history, 'directed at the past not the future'[50].

Less developed countries supported the socialist countries' criticisms of the liberal conception of human rights in three ways. First, the less developed countries argued that the UN Charter had already placed human rights at the centre of the new world order. The UN therefore had a right to take action in defence of human rights, despite the provisions of Article 2(7), which prohibits intervention. Accordingly, any additional international law concerning human rights was likely to obfuscate the principles set out in the Charter and make the protection of human rights more difficult[51]. Second, the less developed countries agreed with the socialist states that economic and social rights should not take second place to civil and political rights. While civil and political rights remained important, their fulfilment could not be divorced from economic and social rights. Third, less developed countries took the principle of self-determination at face value, including permanent sovereignty over natural resources. Such an interpretation of self-determination was unacceptable to Western states, who saw it as a threat to legitimate the nationalization of foreign corporations and the expropriation of capital.

The arguments presented by the socialist and less developed countries only served to strengthen the resolve of conservative and isolationist groups within the United States to press the federal government to recant on the commitment to play a full role in the human rights regime. In particular, conservatives saw the drive to prioritize economic and social rights, or even to grant parity with civil and political rights, as an attempt to ensnare the United States in a complex international and legal system that sought to penetrate, influence and finally bring down the traditional social and political freedoms for which America stood[52]. In short, some Americans began to see the effort to promote human rights as a means to achieving what President Eisenhower once referred to as 'socialism by treaty'[53]. Although the conservative and isolationist lobbies failed to remove all references to economic and social rights in the UDHR, conservatives continued to press the federal government for a reassurance that the United States

would never ratify any legally binding international treaty on human rights. Indeed, it can be argued that the UDHR was accepted by the United States only because of its non-legally binding status. This left the government of the United States with a dilemma. On the one hand, the federal government had invoked human rights as the rationale for engaging in a European war and had raised the expectation that human rights would play a central role in the postwar order. On the other hand, the emergence of competing conceptions of human rights heightened conservative fears about the challenge that human rights presented to existing social and economic values and practices. Furthermore, the federal government was aware of the importance of securing moral leadership in support of the US's new hegemonic role. To add to this complexity, the practical application of the principle of self-determination promised rapid decolonization, increasing the proportion of UN members from less developed countries and, consequently, the creation of a growing majority that sought to challenge the liberal conception of human rights. Although the progress of the Universal Declaration caused the United States some anxiety, the generality of the language and its non-binding legal status presented few threats. However, as the debate turned to the creation of legally binding international law, the United States sought to debase the importance of the formal human rights debate at the UN[54]. Instead, the United States attempted to use its hegemonic power to assert a conception of human rights that supported its own interests within the postwar political economy[55].

The examination of the human rights debate as a political discourse offers an insight into the tensions between optimism and pessimism in the literature. Optimists point to the impressive amount of international law generated at the UN, together with the institutions created to monitor and implement human rights, which offers the impression that the world takes human rights seriously. However, one author has likened such optimism to an alien from outer space who, having noted both the number of international treaties and the extent of the ratifications, reports to its home planet that the protection of human rights is one of the great achievements of us earthlings[56]. Pessimists, on the other hand, point to continued reports of gross violations of human rights, inconsistencies between theory and practice and the cynical use of human rights as a political tool in foreign policy[57].

For most of the period since the end of the Second World War the formal human rights debate carried out at the UN has lacked the political commitment of a hegemon and has thus 'pirouetted around a missing centre'[58]. The political programme initiated by the United States, which attempted to withdraw from the formal debate while vigorously promoting a narrow conception of rights that supported US interests, failed to offer any clear leadership. Throughout the years of the Cold War, human rights were treated by both sides as a domain in which to play out the ideological struggle between capitalism and socialism. Both sides sought to promote their own particular conception of human rights as a way of demonstrating their respective moral superiority and legitimating their respective political systems. As the conception of human rights

supported by the socialist states gained support from an increasing number of newly independent countries, the United States promoted human rights through a less formal, political debate, which stressed only those rights that supported American capital and its hegemonic ambitions. In this way, the politics of rights ensured its status as an unfulfilled promise.

**The Post-1989 World Order and Human Rights**

This section looks at some of the most important themes to emerge in the human rights debate following the end of the Cold War. Many of these issues are mentioned here in the context of power, hegemony and rights.

For many commentators, the end of the ideological struggle between East and West promised a new world order that placed humanitarian issues at the heart of international politics. In the early years of the post-Cold War period, the United Nations seemed ready to support intervention whenever and wherever gross violations of human rights occurred. For example, human rights were invoked as a justification for the First Gulf War, and for intervention in Bosnia, encouraging the view that the new world order would at last enable the United Nations to fulfil its obligations under the Charter. The end of the Cold War was said to mark the beginning of a period where the international community moved on from the agenda of standard setting that dominated the previous four decades, to an agenda concerned with methods for implementing human rights. However, this optimism was built upon a set of assumptions that continued to reflect old Cold War thinking, rather than a knowledge of the post-Cold War order.

During the Cold War, states were often prepared to subordinate their own interests to the wider ideological interests of the bloc[59]. In the case of human rights, the benefits of keeping faith with the bloc far outweighed the costs. This solidarity enabled a well-defined consensus to emerge within each bloc, simplifying the politics of human rights by reducing the debate to little more than a straightforward ideological struggle over prioritizing particular sets of rights that reflected the values of either socialism or capitalism. Disagreements within the bloc were therefore subsumed by a system that tended to mollify dissent on many issues, including human rights[60].

In the post-Cold War era, however, the shift from a bipolar to a multipolar international system, which is not as susceptible to bloc pressure, forces us to reassess past assumptions on consensus, including that claimed for human rights. As states begin to exercise their sovereign independence, free of Cold War constraints, the necessity to support a particular view of human rights is less pressing. If this is correct, and the end of the Cold War signals a new assertiveness by sovereign independent states, then the positive consequences of the post-1989 order may not materialize and, for human rights in particular, may see old problems brought into even sharper focus[61]. Alston, for example, argues that the causes of the United Nations' failure to fulfil the promise of human rights are the same today as they were during the Cold War: the failure to afford economic and social rights parity with civil and political rights; the failure to

acknowledge the limitations of international law; the failure to develop new techniques for preventing violations; the failure to come to terms with a dynamic international system, and the failure to confront the tensions between universal and particular claims[62]. The so-called 'war on terrorism' might be seen as the most recent example of the failure to address these issues. Given the time and energy devoted to human rights at the United Nations during the last five decades, it seems reasonable to exclude apathy as the root cause of these failures. Instead, if the argument presented here is accepted – that power and interests define the dominant conception of human rights in any historic period – many of the problems of human rights are likely to remain unchanged, despite changes to world order.

### Globalization, Human Rights and World Order

While the context of the post-Cold War international era offers considerable scope for reflection on human rights, the new conditions of globalization add further complexity to our assessment of the future. Although it is common to find human rights commentators writing under the assumption that the post-Cold War order remains an order of states, over which the hegemony of the United States presides, a growing body of scholarly work argues that in the current period hegemony cannot be understood simply as the dominance of a single state. According to this thesis, in the age of globalization, power is located within what Cox has termed the *nébuleuse*, a group of formal and informal institutions without democratic pretensions[63]. Included in the *nébuleuse* are organizations like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the Trilateral Commission, Davos meetings and the Group of Seven. According to Cox and other globalization theorists, rather than understanding hegemony as a state-centric, core–periphery phenomenon[64], today hegemony describes a complex of non-territorial, core–periphery social relations that generate and sustain new patterns of economic growth and consumption[65].

The conclusion drawn from this approach to globalization is that while the state continues to play a significant role in the new global order, the state no longer initiates policy but, rather, reacts to global forces against which it can mount little resistance[66]. The new role of the state under conditions of globalization is to act as a unit of administration, to orchestrate the conditions of globalization rather than to act as the independent political decision maker described by traditional theory. Furthermore, the development of a global free market in financial services, which represents another powerful characteristic of globalization, has restricted governments' scope to run deficits, causing major cuts in spending on health, education, housing, food subsidies and social welfare payments[67]. As expressed by Panitch, in the age of globalization states are the 'authors of a regime that defines and guarantees, through international treaties and constitutional effect, the global and domestic rights of capital'[68]. Decisions made at the international level may temporarily disrupt patterns of globalization, but states cannot resist in the long term. Globalization has therefore diminished the state's

traditional decision-making role, forced the privatization of key industries and services, and brought job cuts and increased levels of unemployment. Thus, the impact of globalization on human rights, particularly, but not exclusively, on economic and social rights, will have consequences for human rights that are not yet fully understood.

Given this analysis of the current global order, all issues of global politics must be subordinated to the imperatives of globalization, including human rights. Central to these imperatives are the principles of free market capitalism, which enjoins all countries to pursue economic growth and development above all other objectives[69]. Under conditions of globalization, the traditionally conceived tensions between state sovereignty and individual rights are replaced by those between the imperatives of globalization and individual rights. Critics see evidence for this in the intolerance shown to those who attempt to reject the 'logic' of free market economics. Critics also point to the prejudice in favour of a conception of rights that continues to diminish the role of social and economic rights at the expense of civil and political freedoms. The examples of large-scale engineering projects that displace tens of thousands of people against their wishes, the ease with which governments overlook the violations of human rights perpetrated by important trading partners and the continued supply of military equipment to strategic allies regardless of their human rights record readily come to mind in this respect[70].

Central to the globalization thesis is the issue of how to reconceptualize democracy in an era that has transformed the political economy role of the state, from one understood as primary decision maker to that of reactive facilitator[71]. Given that the non-democratic decisions of multinational corporations and international institutions touch the lives of people across the globe, it seems strange that questions of democratic participation and self-determinations remain largely unanswered. However, several points should be emphasized here, all of which cast doubt on the often-assumed positive relationship between democracy and human rights. The first is to reiterate the argument that under conditions of globalization the capabilities of the democratic state to pursue the wishes of its citizens are severely constrained[72]. The second is to note that the recent enthusiasm of some states to abandon old authoritarian ways and embrace the idea of democracy does not necessarily mean that the human rights of citizens are any better [73]. Third, we should question the liberal assertion that conducting economic and trade relationships necessarily has a 'civilizing' influence on those who violate human rights, an argument that both the former British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher and former US President Ronald Reagan used to defend their policy towards apartheid South Africa[74]. Finally, we should question the role of aid and structural adjustment programmes in the context of development, human rights and democracy[75].

Globalization therefore challenges us to rethink many of the principles and concepts of the past and forces us to ask hard questions about their value within the current and

future world order. Does globalization offer us an opportunity to develop a clear consensus on human rights? Are we really moving from the age of standard setting to the age of implementing human rights? Can we continue in the belief that the state remains the principal institution for protecting human rights in the age of globalization? Does international law offer the best hope for protecting human rights, or do we need to develop new systems of law best described as 'transnational law'?[76] Following from this, can the existing international organizations devoted to the protection of human rights be expected to fulfil the tasks they were created to perform or do they merely offer the appearance of progress? Although commentators often fête the spread of democracy, if our conception of participation remains limited to the national level, how do we expect this to support the demand for universal human rights? Globalization raises these and many other questions.

A further challenge to any programme for securing human rights is presented by the assumption that the forces of globalization are 'irresistible and irreversible'[77]. Taking this assumption at face value, many authoritarian governments have sought to defend their human rights record by arguing that they are powerless to resist the imperatives of economic growth and development, which often create the context for violations of human rights. These governments therefore plead for patience and leniency in judging their human rights records, arguing that their status as transition economies often produces circumstances that are not commensurate with their international obligations.

The plea for tolerance takes one of two forms: the 'stability' argument or the 'progress' argument. The 'stability' argument asserts that the legacy of colonialism has left many less developed states with the task of forging a nation from a diversity of religious, ethnic, racial and cultural groups, which brings the constant threat of conflicting interests, social unrest and political turmoil. To achieve stability, which is understood as a prerequisite for economic growth and development, governments may have to adopt repressive policies for dealing with factionalism, including the denial of certain human rights. The 'progress' argument asserts that in the name of social reform and democracy the less developed economies must achieve a rapid transformation from traditional to modern modes of production and consumption. It is therefore imperative that conservatives and traditionalists who resist the processes of modernization are swept aside in the interests of the nation and future generations[78]. If this means that governments cannot always fulfil their human rights obligations, then the world should exercise patience and understanding as nations respond to the imperatives of globalization with actions that foster the birth of mature economic and political systems. Either or both arguments might be invoked, for example, if a community is forcibly moved from its traditional lands to accommodate a large-scale infractual development or in cases where brutal police and military intervention is used to put down peaceful resistance to industrial developments that threaten to pollute tribal farmland[79]. Accordingly, nation building, modernization, economic progress and the common good are used as a defence against accusations of human rights violations. If

development strategies, investment programmes and trade agreements do lead to violations of human rights, then international society should be tolerant in the name of stability and progress[80].

Some of these issues concerned with the post-Cold War era and globalization are identifiable in the recent appeal to 'Asian values'. Asian countries first articulated their alternative approach to human rights at a regional conference in Bangkok during 1993, preparatory to the United Nations-sponsored conference on human rights held in Vienna. The declaration that emerged from the Bangkok meeting affirmed the sovereign authority of the state as a bulwark against the West's proclivity for imperialist control by meddling in the internal affairs of Asian states. Furthermore, while the declaration accepts the universality of human rights, it seeks to promote a conception founded on a set of explicitly 'Asian values', which stresses the importance of national and regional particularities and the historical, cultural, social and religious contexts of Asia[81].

While the post-Cold War order and the conditions of globalization play a considerable part in setting the new context for human rights, the tradition of individualism continues to obscure our vision of the structural causes of violations[82]. Within the human rights debate, scholars and practitioners routinely take the individual as both the claimant of rights and the perpetrator of violations. The priority afforded to civil and political rights supports the interests of free market principles, which seek to promote a socio-economic environment in which innovation, endeavour and enterprise are highly prized. Given this understanding and purpose of personal freedom, it follows that we must also hold the individual responsible for all of his or her actions, including violations of human rights. This convention, which has its roots in the Judeo-Christian notion of sin, tends to deflect attention from those economic, social and political structures that support the interests of particular groups. Consequently, investigations into the causes of human rights violations seldom go beyond the assumption that all violations can be explained by reference to the wilful acts of evil, brutal, despotic and cruel individuals, excluding the possibility, for example, that the principles of international politics, the rules that govern world trade or the principles of the global economic order itself may also lead to human rights violations.

Noting that the practices associated with the current structures of the global economy cause many violations of human rights does not suggest that individuals are not, on occasion, responsible for heinous crimes against humanity or that evil does not exist. However, it does raise questions about current approaches to implementing rights. For example, if the current structures and practices of globalization do cause many violations, the emphasis given to a system of implementation that seeks to identify human rights violators, bring them to trial and administer punishments seems misplaced. As Galtung, Tomoseviski, and Chinkin note, the current emphasis given to agency over structure impairs our ability to identify the causes of violations and offers

an over-optimistic vision of the power of international law and current methods for protecting human rights[83]. The creation of a permanent International Criminal Court, following the experience of tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, may therefore have little impact on protecting human rights[84].

It might, of course, be argued that notwithstanding the weakness of international courts and tribunals in addressing structural causes of violations, they none the less provide a powerful deterrent. While this argument may have some limited force, experience demonstrates that politics often intervenes, exposing courts and tribunals to charges of inconsistency. Why, for example, was a tribunal set up to prosecute those responsible for crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia but not for those who ordered the bombing of defeated and retreating troops on the road to Basra during the First Gulf War? We might also ask why the powers given to the tribunal on the former Yugoslavia, which permits the 'arrest if encountered' of indicted individuals, are widely interpreted as 'avoid encounter at all costs'[85].

The conclusion to draw from the above discussion is that an enduring consensus on human rights remains elusive. Many commentators would refute the analysis offered above on the grounds that in the post-Cold War era human rights and human dignity have at last achieved a genuinely universal acceptance, based upon a concept of the 'common good'. According to these arguments, the triumph of capitalism over Marxism and socialism paves the way for all peoples to enjoy the fruits of democracy, which will guarantee global justice, human rights and human security. The ideologically motivated conflicts of difference that characterized the Cold War are over. Instead, the new order is marked by a global consensus on the purposes and principles of economic, social and political life, which are understood in terms of a single global history. However, as Pasha and Blaney have argued, these conclusions are, at the very least, premature: We need not appeal to a conception of unassimilable differences to make this point. We need only gesture to the contested status of human rights within world politics, to debates about the nature of democracy, or to disputes about who can speak for nature and the implications for the character of the human relationship to the environment, in order to suggest that consensus is mostly lacking. Or we might point to the contested status of the very idea of a cosmopolitan view of justice? Or we might simply ask: how does one know, short of the global democracy that TAL [transnational associational life] is said to be in the process of creating, that a consensus exists?[86].

In this view, ideas of consensus and the common good may be little more than the assertions of those who benefit most from a particular conception of human rights, democracy and environmental security. In short, notions of a consensus and the common good are never free of power and should be scrutinized within the context of power. Symbolic of the triumph of interests, as opposed to that of the common good, is the United States' ratification of the ICCPR, following decades of a policy not to

ratify any international law on human rights. While at first sight the United States' ratification appears to signal the end of its historic objections to accepting any human rights treaty that did not reflect exactly the rights set out in the Constitution, and a willingness to lend hegemonic support for the formal global human rights regime, on closer inspection this may not be the case. Importantly, critics argue that the ratification is little more than an attempt to attract the moral status attached to the treaty without accepting any of its obligations[87]. According to critics, this was achieved by the cynical use of reservations, declarations and derogations, a system that allows a state party to a treaty to reject, restrict and redefine particular obligations articulated in that treaty. Notable among these in the United States' ratification is the federal government's declaration that the Covenant does not come into effect until Congress has passed the necessary legislation, a device that avoids historic arguments about the treaty-making powers of the president and the imposition of new social norms on the states[88].

The influential Lawyers Committee on Human Rights has observed, for example, that the limitations set by the reservations, declarations and derogations in the United States' ratification, reinforces the US's historic policy on human rights. Thus, the Lawyers Committee argues that the US's ratification is 'hypocritical' because it suggests 'one set of rules applies to the United States and another to the rest of the world'[89]. In a similar vein, the prominent US international lawyer Louis Henkin has accused the United States of seeking moral legitimacy without accepting any international obligations, arguing that the ratification reaffirms the historic record, that is, human rights conventions are for 'other states, not the United States'[90]. The UN Human Rights Committee also articulated its own concerns following the ratification, although without explicitly naming the United States. In a 1994 report, the Committee expressed its dissatisfaction with reservations that 'essentially render ineffective all Covenant rights which would require any changes to national law to ensure compliance' so that 'no real international rights or obligations have been accepted'[91]. The United States already ratified the ICESCR, which would certainly suffer from the same, if not greater, limitations.

**Human Rights as Discourse**

The term 'discourse' refers to the argument that language is not merely a way of describing external reality – a technique for labelling objects – but acts to signify generalized, socially constructed categories of thought to which important social meanings and values are attributed. Discourses promote particular categories of thought and belief that guide our responses to the prevailing social environment. In this sense, discourses lend structure to our experiences, and the meanings we give to our experiences. An example of this can be seen when we use the term 'lawyer', which does not simply describe an individual by professional category but also invokes a bundle of other meanings, expectations and understandings that go far beyond mere empiricism. Included among these are assumptions about authority, fairness, social class, punishment, justice, legitimacy, erudition and notions of social order. Discourses

therefore provide sets of values and beliefs that inform our social responses and actions, although not always self-consciously. Professional and intellectual discourses are among the most influential in this respect. Crucially, as professional, intellectual and interest-based groups move to 'privatize' and institutionalize discourse – through the introduction of specialized language, images and concepts – the veracity, reliability, integrity and authority of discourse 'experts' is reinforced, while other voices from outside the discourse are marginalized, derided, excluded and sometimes prohibited[92].

Discourses therefore act as the meeting place for power and knowledge[93]. Foucault, for example, rejects the liberal notion that knowledge can flourish only in the absence of power. Instead, he argues that there can be no knowledge without power or power in the absence of knowledge[94]. To gain an insight into the truth-claims emanating from discourse must therefore include an enquiry into power relations. However, such an investigation does not imply that the generation of truth is necessarily corrupted by power but, rather, that the social world described by discourses always involves power relations. In this sense, liberal concerns that power can be defined in terms of legitimacy and illegitimacy misses the important point that even the legitimate exercise of power also excludes, marginalizes, silences and prohibits alternatives. Mutua illustrates this clearly in his discussion of the human rights discourse, which he argues is often expressed through images of the 'saviour' overthrowing the 'savage' to restore human rights to the 'victim'[95]. While the image of good triumphing over evil to save the wretched may inspire a sense of moral righteousness, it fails to acknowledge that the wretched may aspire to an alternative view of dignity, rights and the 'good life' than that offered by the saviour. Within the current global order, while the saviour will attempt to promote a set of negative rights associated with liberal freedoms as a universal truth and justification for intervention, the victim may harbour other expectations, for example, group rights and rights to economic and social equality, which liberalism finds difficulty in accommodating[96]. Following this approach to discourse suggests that human rights are better understood as three overlapping discourses, each with its own language, concepts and normative framework. These discourses are the philosophical, the legal and the political.

At the centre of the philosophy of rights discourse is the project to discover secure foundations upon which human rights claims might be built. This project has seen investigations into many possibilities, including the existence of a deity, human need, self-evidence and theories of justice. In the most recent period, where the values of liberalism have achieved a global reach, the tradition of natural rights has accomplished an unchallenged, though often unspoken, place as the rationale for building the post-Second World War global human rights regime. Claims that all rational nations now subscribe to the 'settled norm' of human rights[97], and that 'amazing progress' has been achieved in recent decades[98], reinforce this view. Together, the idea of the 'settled norm' and the still prevalent naturalist account of

human rights, suggest the discovery of a final 'truth', making all further foundationalist enquiry redundant. Indeed, the president of the United Nations General Assembly once noted that the 'quest for the basis of human rights to which philosophers, jurists and politicians devoted their interest and concern in the past … [has] lost its significance'[99]. For critics, this conclusion is part of a 'culture of contentment' that assumes discourse 'closure' is possible and desirable, rather than an alternative understanding of discourse as inexorable process[100]. For some commentators, this error marks the contemporary philosophy of rights discourse as 'as much round and round as ever forward'[101], as a point of 'arrival' for liberal cosmopolitanism, rather than a point of 'departure' towards new ways of conceptualizing rights and social order[102], and as a conservative rather than a radical project[103].

In contrast to the moral abstract nature of the philosophical discourse, the legal discourse focuses upon a large corpus of international human rights law, mostly generated under the auspices of the United Nations. The legal discourse focuses upon the internal logic of the law, its elegance, coherence, extent and meaning, which the application of legal reason is said to reveal[104]. A second aspect of the legal discourse investigates questions concerning the extent to which human rights law can be said to have transformed the principles of international law into a system perhaps more appropriately labelled transnational law[105]. The purpose of this move is to resolve the contradictions between the cosmopolitan claims of human rights and the principles of sovereignty, non-intervention and domestic jurisdiction, upon which the tradition of international law is built. Although this move may have noble motives, critics argue that it 'impedes the application of basic international legal doctrine to human rights law; impedes its conceptual and academic development and obscures conflicts between the two'[106]. In common with natural rights foundationalism, which, reason reveals, stands above the values that describe any particular society, culture or civilization, international human rights law claims to articulate a set of 'neutral' values to which all reasonable people should subscribe[107].

Lastly, the political discourse seeks to contextualize the prevailing values expressed in law and philosophy. It is therefore concerned with questions of power and interest associated with the dominant conception of human rights and the expression of those interests as legal and philosophical 'truths'[108]. While the application of reason and claims of neutrality have tended to legitimate the historic contribution of philosophy and international law, the political discourse is often seen as a value-laden, ideological project; a potential cause of conflict over human rights rather than a source of further 'progress'. From both the philosophical and legal perspective, to take account of power and interests in the human rights discourse raises the spectre of old conflicts over foundationalism, fosters doubts about 'settled norms', offers comfort for cultural relativists, raises questions over the legitimacy of international law, and thus threatens to bring down the whole post-Second World War project for universal human rights. The political discourse is therefore treated with suspicion.

In response, those engaged in the political discourse argue that the failure to include an account of power and interests obstructs further investigation into human rights within a changing world order. Mutua, for example, argues that the 'end of history' thesis promoted by Fukuyama and others[109], which proclaims the triumph of particular truths over all previous heretical doctrines, fails to understand the dynamic nature of social formation. For Mutua, the human rights movement is still young and its youth gives it an experimental status, not a final truth. The major authors of human rights discourse seem to believe that all the most important human rights standards and norms have been set and that what remains of the project is elaboration and implementation. This attitude is at the heart of the push to prematurely cut off debate about the political and philosophical roots, nature, and relevance of the human rights corpus[110].

Consequently, the rejection of the political discourse on human rights disables our abilities to imagine new futures. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, the attempt to cut off further debate deflects our attention from the project to understand the causes of human rights violations. Instead, the human rights discourse seems content to orchestrate debates on the best means for redressing consequences. Put simply, it can be argued that the legal discourse plays the dominant role, while the philosophical discourse has atrophied, and the political discourse is marginalized. The consequence that flows from this argument is that the discourse of human rights is routinely conceptualized as a narrative that passes through several chapters before reaching its inevitable conclusion.

This narrative begins with the horror of Nazism, moves to the centrality of human rights in the UN Charter, eulogizes the Universal Declaration, applauds the achievements of standard setting as set out in the major international covenants, offers detailed analysis of methods of monitoring, and, finally, speculates on the future of compliance and enforcement. Today, it is often argued, the narrative is on a cusp; somewhere between developing methods for monitoring existing human rights practice and reaching agreement on creating methods for achieving greater levels of compliance in the future. The often-stated assertion that the 'major deficiency of the regime in the eyes of many professional observers is poor *compliance* to the purposes of a treaty', reflects a commonly held perspective on the narrative of universal human rights[111]. Although there is, of course, some pessimism over continued reports of torture, genocide, structural economic deprivation, disappearances, ethnic cleansing, political prisoners, the suppression of trade unions, gender inequality, religious persecution, and many other violations of internationally agreed human rights, the dominance of the international law discourse brings many commentators to the conclusion that a rights-based international order is not only possible but has already made considerable advances. While there is still much work to do, the literature reflects a view that the normative power of rights, together with the development of an extensive system of international law on human rights, provides a clear indication of steady 'progress' towards achieving the aims of the regime.

The habit of assuming that human rights is best understood as a singular discourse, a discourse upon which general agreement has been achieved, therefore obscures important and continuing disagreements that are seldom confronted. Most importantly, the substitution of legal norms for human rights norms, reinforced by drawing a line under the philosophical discourse and denying the political discourse, offers an illusion of concord that is often inconsistent with social movements and social protests, both locally and globally.

## Discipline and Human Rights

The atrophy characteristic of the philosophical discourse on human rights, together with the marginalization of the political discourse, privileges the legal discourse as the sole source of truth-claims for the global human rights regime. If the assertion that there actually exists a global consensus on human rights is correct, theory and practice would be in harmony, assuming that international law represented an accurate reflection of that consensus. Questions of power and interest would not arise because the international human rights regime, through the medium of international law, would express the interests of all rather than particular groups. However, an increasing number of scholars argue that it is no longer acceptable that we view the human rights discourse as an 'unproblematic articulation of moral progress in the twentieth [or twenty-first] century, as allegedly demonstrated by near-universal state recognition of the [Universal Declaration of Human Rights] and subsequent instrumentalities'[112]. If this assessment is apposite, and claims of global agreement are indeed premature, then the privileging of international law as a solution to an imagined consensus raises many questions[113]. What, for example, is the role of international human rights law in the global order? Why is international law so privileged within the discourse of human rights if no consensus exists? What interests does the privileging serve? What power relations are supported by the dominant conception of human rights? An insight into these questions can be gained through the concept of 'discipline', which is closely related to that of discourse. Discipline refers to a mode of social organization that operates without the need for coercion. It is a form of modernist power that imbues the individual with particular ways of thinking, knowing and behaving, thus instilling modes of social consciousness that make social action predictable. Discipline is learned and practised in the day-to-day complex of social life, through institutional training received, for example, in the school, the university, the military, the workplace, the church and the prison, where notions of correct and incorrect behaviour and thought are clearly delimited. The epithet 'common sense' is achieved when a particular mode of thought and conduct is unquestioningly accepted as normal[114]. This is not to argue that the disciplines cannot be defined as systems of rules, but these are not necessarily the rules articulated within the pages of international law. Instead, these rules are concerned with 'norms' and the generation of 'normalization'[115]. In this sense, the disciplines, which are the domain of global civil society, operate without 'compulsory

obligation, but nevertheless, [exert] a collective pressure and [obtain] objective results in the form of an evolution of customs, ways of thinking and acting'[116].

The maintenance of disciplinary power is conducted through systems of surveillance: the processes of data collection through observation, recording, measuring, inspecting, reporting and monitoring, which today are more easily facilitated by systems of electronic data collection[117]. Data accumulated from the observation of large numbers defines the 'normal', opening the possibility of specifying the attributes of 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable' behaviour within the values, terms and language of dominant discourses of truth. Those who violate the norms of acceptable behaviour are therefore identifiable, enabling appropriate sanctions to be applied, while those who conform are rewarded. Giddens argues that the form of disciplinary power operating within the contemporary world order emerged during the eighteenth century, noting ironically that 'the Enlightenment, which discovered the liberties, also invented the disciplines'[118].

While the idea of discipline may suggest a social order rife with ideological intent and conspiracy, such a conclusion would be a mistake[119]. Instead, the conceptualization of discipline is an attempt to understand the ways in which knowledge is accumulated, and truth and rights established as the foundation for legitimate social action. From the perspective of discipline as social knowledge, power is not located within governments or particular factions, classes, institutions or cadres, but is instead exercised in the actions of everyday life. In contrast to the pre-modern period, where the exercise of power was associated with a readily identifiable agent, who operated irregularly and intermittently, modern forms of disciplinary power operate continuously and without agency. The distinctive nature of disciplinary power is that it replaces violence and the threat of violence with more temperate modes of action associated with visibility through surveillance[120]. This is not to argue that we can expect violence and the threat of violence to play no further role in the contemporary world order. As Robert Cox has observed, there may still be times when disciplinary power breaks down:

> To cope with the excluded and potentially disruptive, the institutions of global governance have devised instruments of global poor relief and riot control. Humanitarian assistance (the poor relief component) has become a top priority of the United Nations and a major activity of a vast range of nongovernmental agencies. Where poor relief is inadequate to prevent political destabilization, then military force (the riot control component) is evoked by the international community. Together, they help to sustain the emerging social structure of the world by minimizing the risk of chaos in the bottom layer[121].

From the perspective of disciplinary power, critics of liberal notions of power have argued that the institutionalization of discourse, which produces and promotes truth-claims, obscures and conceals the processes of domination that lie beneath normal

social practice[122]. Following Gill, I will refer to the most prominent of the disciplines within the current global order as 'market discipline', which stresses economic growth and development, deregulation, the free market, the privatization of public services and minimum government[123]. Market discipline describes a set of normative relationships with a global reach, supported by discourses of truth, and widely accepted as 'common sense'. These relationships are manifest at both the domestic and global level, for example, in national and international economic planning, market-based solutions for environmental degradation, the move to privatize social welfare provision, and the move to privatize life itself, seen in the scramble to patent the genes of both human and non-human life forms. Surveillance is undertaken by international and regional agencies, for example, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the World Bank, the European Union (EU) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Each of these is understood as the authentic voice of market discipline and each exercises systems of surveillance and data collection on a global and regional scale. Within the remit of market discipline, as opposed to that of international law, human rights are conceptualized as the freedoms necessary to maintain and legitimate particular forms of production and exchange. These are a set of negative rights associated with liberty, security and property, which offer a moral and normative foundation for justifying actions within the current global political economy. Although the global legal human rights regime is said to embrace the unity of all rights, including economic, social and cultural rights, market discipline pursues only those rights necessary to sustain legitimate claims for liberal freedoms. The catalogue of rights associated with market discipline therefore describes human beings as individuals and agents of a particular kind and type. For critics, the human rights regime is partial. It represents the 'Eden of the innate rights of man' where free will, equality within exchange relations and property converge to create social relations characterized by selfishness, gain and private interests, rather than the pursuit of human dignity and community[124]. Despite the mechanisms of self-discipline at the centre of market discipline, there remains a need for authoritative expert pronouncements and idioms when norms are transgressed[125]. This is a central role of international law, which itself reflects self-discipline through the international legal principle of reciprocity, and articulates the 'neutral' rules of conduct that describe the 'natural' global order as presented by market discipline.

Although today the discourse of human rights, which is a legal discourse, is presented as superior to all other kinds of rules, the predominance of market discipline suggests that human life is valued as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself[126]. This is seen in the greater attention given to trade, property and finance, compared to that concerned with humanitarian issues, for example, poverty, the environment and socio-economic rights. For critics, market discipline implies that 'profit for investors [is] the supreme human value, to which all else must be subordinated', so that '[h]uman life has value as far as it contributes to this end'[127]. The creation of authoritative

international organizations provides the professionalized voice for truth-claims, performs the task of surveillance, ensures adherence to market disciplinary norms, and acts to maintain a particular set of rights and freedoms that are integral to sustaining a particular order. If human rights have any significance within the contemporary global order, they offer a set of values delimited by an assumed normative consensus that legitimates activities associated with market discipline, specifically, negative rights and those associated with property.

Three examples often found in the literature help to illustrate the primacy of market discipline over human rights. First, the tensions between the norms of market discipline and those of international human rights law are manifest in the changing role of the state in the current global order. Robert Cox has argued that the current world order should be seen as a complex of social relations where the social core and social periphery cut across national boundaries, creating new patterns of economic growth and consumption. While in the previous stage of world history it was assumed that the state could adopt national strategies for ordering the national economy, today the global organization of production and finance means that states assume the role of administrators, with the mission to ensure the smooth, efficient, uncontested operation of the global economy[128]. The state no longer assumes its traditional role as guardian of rights but, instead, acts to create and manage a global order that expresses the values found in an emerging global civil society, which is informed by market discipline[129]. Market discipline provides the guide for action within self-defining parameters that include human rights of a particular kind.

Second, the centrality of market discipline within the current world order can be seen in the work of the WTO, which is concerned with arguments over the exercise of liberal freedoms. Indeed, the WTO was intended not merely to secure the old rights and freedoms associated with liberal trade but to extend the agenda into new areas of property rights not previously explored; for example, intellectual property rights and investment rights[130]. Some commentators have suggested that the powers given to the WTO, including the authority to strike down the decisions of sovereign states[131], signal the dawning of a new legal system, based not upon the normative order of states or concern for human dignity and freedom, but upon the normative order of market discipline[132]. The authority given to the international human rights regime will therefore depend upon its relevance to achieving the aims of market discipline, while all claims outside this aim are rejected.

Third, a further indication of the consequences of market discipline is seen in what I will refer to later as the 'Dutch auction' of human rights. Under the terms of this auction, the force of market discipline sees countries bidding against each other to provide a low-cost, low-risk economic environment that is attractive to investors. Policy decisions taken for this purpose include low or non-existent levels of environmental protection, employment law, trade union law, human rights regulation,

and protection for health and safety[133]. Similarly, aid conditionality brings consequences for human rights when, for example, less developed countries are asked to reduce substantially, or withdraw completely, from social programmes on health, education and housing. Such programmes are seen by international banks as a drain on resources better directed at future economic growth, which is a central tenet of market discipline[134]. In both the case of the 'Dutch auction' and that of conditionality, priority is given to the exigencies of market discipline rather than human rights, dignity and welfare. When critics accuse companies of engaging in activities that make them complicit in human rights violations, environmental degradation and increasing incidents of ill health, corporate managers remain confident that 'normal' business practices remain largely immune from punishment. In the rare cases where legal action is brought, corporations are fully aware that their investment and financial muscle provide powerful arguments in their defence.

It must be stressed that the consequences of such examples are not restricted to economic and social rights. The low social standards offered as a magnet for investment lead the disadvantaged, dispossessed, marginalized and excluded to organize politically, perhaps by creating independent trade unions and citizen groups to resist the harsher consequences of market discipline. In such cases, violence and the threat of violence is often used against those daring to voice a contrary view that challenges market disciplinary principles and the neoliberal rationale for economic development. Since all governments take economic development as a central policy objective, the deprivations suffered by those whose environment is degraded, culture devastated, freedom to protest peacefully suppressed and traditional ties with the land forcibly severed are seen less as the victims of human rights violations and more as the generation who must bear the cost of economic progress for the good of the wider, future, community[135]. Those who continue to protest are referred to pejoratively as insular, conservative or traditionalist, bent on denying the benefits of modernization to the mass of the people.

Consequently, developing countries often defend their human rights record with a market discipline response, rather than by reference to international law. For example, a Singapore Ministerial Declaration in 1998 stated that the developed economies' invocation of human rights was merely an attempt to 'overcome the comparative advantage of low-wage developing counties', rather than a genuine concern for humanity[136].

Caught between the demand for market discipline from above, and the demand for human rights from below, the rhetoric of the international human rights discourse offers a response that need not necessarily damage the prospect of achieving economic growth and development. As Mittelman observes, although in theory governments are assumed to protect their citizens' human rights, 'in practice leaders are accountable to market forces, most notably debt structures and structural adjustment programs'[137].

Thus, the necessity to respond to market discipline has seen many governments plead for special tolerance of their human rights record. Many of these governments argue that their attitude to human rights is conditioned by two important factors that set them apart from developed countries. The first is the need to build a nation on the remains of colonial institutions, which were created with no concern for human rights and dignity. Given this legacy, many less developed states stress the need for a transitional period, which will allow the necessary conditions for stability to be implemented. From this perspective, questions of human rights should be framed within the context of whether a particular human right helps or hinders the process of nation building and the move from postcolonial to a mature state.

Second, in common with all states, less developed countries embrace the idea that economic development in accordance with market disciplinary principles is of paramount importance to achieving the goal of long-term stability and security. Hence, governments must not allow traditional values, alternative versions of development and dissident voices to deflect the nation from achieving the goal of economic development through full integration within the current liberal market order. Violations of human rights, suppression, and the coercion of those who attempt to stand in the way of social, cultural and political changes necessary to achieve this goal are therefore legitimate, in the interests of future generations[138].

Typical of this approach is that of Kishore Mahbubani, who argues that conditions in most developing states necessitate a 'period of strong and firm government', committed to radical social reform in order to 'break out of the vicious circle of poverty sustained by social structures contained in vested interests opposed to real change'[139]. Those who support this approach point to the success of authoritarian governments who achieved the so-called East Asian 'miracle', where governments promoted a very circumscribed definition of democracy and human rights. Economic collapse in these countries during late 1997 and early 1998, which coincided with a growing demand for democracy and rights domestically, only serves to remind political leaders and economic interests that such demands may damage the prospect of further economic growth, which should be countered by measures to strengthen 'market preserving authoritarianism'[140].

Market discipline therefore provides a deep structure for the conduct of the global political economy, rather than for promoting human rights and human dignity. Vivid evidence of the dominance of market discipline was seen at the press conference given at the opening of the United Nations 2000 annual human rights assembly. Although the representatives of the world's press questioned the High Commissioner on Human Rights, Mary Robinson, on a wide range of high-profile abuses of civil and political rights, not one question was asked about economic and social rights[141]. While the international law formally recognizes the unity of human rights, global civil society

promotes only those rights that support market discipline, through rhetoric, policy and action. These are the embedded principles upon which global action is secured.

## Market Discipline, Normalization and Law

Market discipline may now be seen as 'counter-law'; as a guide for action that stands above the rules that describe the international human rights regime. However, it does not follow that the regime is of little consequence for market discipline. On the contrary, as Gill has observed, international law in general, and international human rights law in particular, plays a central role in an emerging 'constitutional' global order, which is characterized by a growing concern to promote sets of common rules that guide economic, social and political action[142]. The dominance of human rights as a legal regime, and the marginalization of the philosophical and political discourses of rights, acts to reify the freedoms necessary to legitimate market discipline by providing a framework that is promoted as immutable and binding. Thus, while criticism is commonly found in the literature on human rights, such criticism is confined to disagreements within a framework of rights that seldom attract critique. In short, inasmuch as the politics of rights is considered at all, what passes for politics is framed within a set of rules that are incontrovertibly accepted, while the framework itself remains unquestioned.

One difficulty with this argument is that the legal regime also includes rights that are often seen as antithetical to market disciplinary interests. The claim for the unity of all rights, which is often repeated in declarations and policy statements, cannot be denied, at least at the formal level represented by international law. However, this argument fails to place human rights within the context of market discipline, which represents the dominant values for action. The intellectual gymnastics conducted by way of avoiding this contextualization include the claim that although all rights are equally important, economic, social and cultural rights are of a different order from civil and political rights; that economic, social and cultural rights should be considered as 'aspirations' rather than real rights to be claimed immediately; and that although there is a unity of all rights, the duty to protect economic, social and cultural rights cannot be discharged until civil and political rights are secured. Following these arguments, market discipline provides a mode of discipline designed to secure compliance and conformity to particular values that are 'counterposed to the prohibition model of law'[143]. From this perspective it can be argued that international human rights regime acts as a mask for structural inequalities characteristic of market discipline. In the contemporary global order, which is increasingly characterized by globalization, the arena in which rights are exercised is defined by the mechanisms of discipline, rather than the rules of the international human rights regime.

The tension between the formal/legal human rights regime and the norms of market discipline is at its most visible within global civil society. In particular, the notion of 'civility' emanating from global civil society, and represented by the formal human

rights regime, narrows the political agenda and thus excludes some groups from full participation. Stressing this point, Pasha and Blaney argue that the effort to promote particular notions of civility, for example, by attempting to universalize a particular conception of democracy or human rights, adds to the 'sense of grievance that motivates a politics that transgresses civility'[144]. In other words, the more vigorously global civil society promotes market discipline, and its associated human rights values, the greater the resistance, creating a periodic and irresolvable problem of policing the non-civil in civil society. Those who adhere to the norms of civility, and aspire to the ends promoted by global civil society, are included, while those who offend against the 'normal', perhaps through critique, reflective alternatives or a stubborn refusal to participate, are excluded. Disapproval may be registered by the agencies of global civil society in a number of ways; for example, by including aid conditionalities that emasculate government decision-making powers, by threatening intervention, by simply labelling alternative voices 'mad', or by asserting that the excluded do not possess the moral capacity to engage fully in decision-making processes about their own best interests.

At the forefront of the shift towards a singular notion of civility, and its formal expression, are transnational professional, business and financial organizations, which have grown in number and power under conditions of globalization. As Wilson has noted, these groups are mindful that the 'future prosperity of transnational corporations and financial institutions depends not only upon the context of competition in the global market but also on an ability to influence the rules that govern the market'[145]. Several illustrations of this phenomenon are explored by Millen and Lyon[146]. For example, in 1997 the chief executives of ten major transnational corporations met with UN leaders and high-ranking government officials from several countries to discuss avenues for a formalization of corporate involvement in the affairs of the United Nations. The International Chamber of Commerce has identified environmentalist, human rights and social protection groups as a possible threat to the further expansion of corporate activities and has moved to gain as much influence at the UN as possible to counter these forces. Similarly, the Australian delegation at the Uruguay Round of talks on world trade included eight representatives of business but rejected all attempts by nongovernmental organizations with an interest in human rights to gain a seat. A final example is seen in Cargill's involvement in developing the US's negotiating position during the Uruguay Round. Christian Aid reports that the corporation, which controls half the global trade in grains, was given responsibility for the final draft policy document[147]. The history of corporate–government relations is therefore one characterized by corporate pressure to expand corporate rights, not those rights expressed in the human rights regime.

The complex tensions between the demands of human rights and those of market discipline have encouraged two opposing interpretations of the status of human rights within the current world order, one optimistic and one pessimistic. Both optimists and

pessimists begin by noting significant shifts in the spatial reach and intensity of networks of social relations, including social movements, non-governmental organizations, interest groups, indigenous peoples' organizations, citizens groups and business interest groups[148]. Although disagreement continues over the exact nature of these changes[149], optimists argue that the ubiquity of social networks promises to increase the demand to secure human rights, democracy and environmental protection for all. While the old order meant that arguments over sovereignty and the national interest often stood in the way of making progress on these issues, optimists argue that, today, such arguments are untenable. The greater interconnectedness characteristic of globalization, and increasing demands for transparency, means that the demand for human rights cannot be circumvented. The vast body of international human rights law created in the last few decades is seen by optimists as the formal expression of normative changes that place human rights near the top of the political agenda. For optimists, the new order represents 'power to the people' in as far as human rights offers the oppressed, the excluded and the victims of tyrannical governments an opportunity to gain the 'moral high ground' in the struggle for emancipation and freedom.

For pessimists, on the other hand, international human rights law also offers an opportunity to exercise 'power over people', by promoting particular modes of thought and practice that support market discipline. From this perspective, the freedoms described and 'normalized' by market discipline accentuate processes of inclusion and exclusion, equality and inequality, to the detriment of human rights. Pessimists feel vindicated, for instance, when a leading member of a prominent investment house, commenting on the possibility of human rights within the current global order, remarks that the great beauty of globalization is that no one is in control. While international human rights law includes a wide spectrum of rights, the values associated with market discipline remain the dominant mode of thought for global political, social and economic action.

The human rights regime therefore supports competing conceptions that often provide a sharp focus for deeply rooted political struggles. While the formal, institutionalized and legal regime is presented as guaranteeing protection for human rights, and offers encouragement to a growing number of non-governmental organizations, the informal, privately motivated and extra-legal normative order associated with global practice suggests that the values of market discipline take precedence.

Such a conclusion raises questions about the role and status of NGOs that seek to promote human rights through formal means, for example, by gaining the right to a seat during negotiations for a new treaty. Although the answers to these questions cannot be pursued here, some scholars have suggested that the most prominent NGOs do not offer a radical challenge to market disciplinary values but, instead, are co-opted organizations that lend further legitimacy to the existing order. In cases where NGOs

have given some attention to economic and social rights (Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, for example), the potential for withdrawing formal recognition within the UN system and other international organizations acts as a constraint on developing a critique of market discipline. Furthermore, high-profile NGOs accept that international law provides the most effective means for securing universal human rights, but have little to say about the contemporary disciplines that are often the cause of violations[150].

**The Mask of International Human Rights Law**

Such is the success of human rights associated with market discipline, it is common to see claims that in 'virtually all regions of the world … there is broad acceptance of the triad of human rights, free markets and democracy as desirable, attainable policy objectives'[151]. Of course, the rights referred to here assume a particular conception of rights, defined as the freedom of the individual to invest time, capital and resources in processes of production and exchange. However, while it may be possible to claim that all regions of the world do now embrace the concept of human rights, there can be no certainty that the conception of human rights associated with market discipline has achieved universal acceptance. While there may now be a clamour for human rights globally, we might ask how do we know that this is the same conception of rights currently expressed in international law? The status of universal human rights has always been contested, and will remain so until deliberative processes are established that demonstrate the existence of consensus.

What, then, is the role of legal discourse on human rights, if no global consensus exists? In taking centre stage within the discourse of human rights, international law obfuscates the distinction between legal rules and normal social practice. While on one hand international law is presented and promoted as the solution to problems of human rights, on the other, the practices of market discipline continue to provide the context in which human rights are violated. International law might therefore be seen as a 'mask' that conceals the true causes of many human rights violations. The professional and intellectual discourse of law provides the 'authentic' voice in the human rights discourse, although this voice has little to say about power and interests associated with the dominant conception of human rights. As the dominant voice, the legal discourse also subordinates alternative voices with an interest in exposing the causes of human rights violations. The hegemony of international law may therefore be seen as an attempt at 'closure', rather than an attempt to protect the rights of the persecuted and excluded.

Finally, and following from the above, the practices that flow from 'normal' market disciplinary practices produce particular patterns of inclusion and exclusion[152]. Many examples of this are offered in the recent literature on globalization[153]. Emphasizing this point, Roy Bhaskar argues that human rights and human emancipation 'depends upon the transformation of structures rather than just the amelioration of states of

affairs', which is the task most suited to international law[154]. Similarly, both Katerina Tomasevski and Christine Chinkin have stressed that while international law may have the capacity for redressing consequences, it cannot address causes[155]. In short, structures cannot be judicial persons with intentions and capabilities, nor can they be arrested, put before a court, punished for their crimes or subjected to sanctions. The dominance of the legal discourse therefore acts as a barrier to investigating the causes for human rights violations, many of which might be attributable to market discipline. This suggests that we should exercise caution if we are to avoid confusing the 'sites' of violations with the 'causes' of violations, a confusion that dominant legal discourse of rights encourages.

## Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to explore the politics and discourse of rights, particularly the important role of power in human rights talk. It was argued that although rights are often expressed in the language of moral philosophy, the current status of the global human rights regime has more to do with legitimacy, conflict and struggle. This argument was developed within the context of the politics of the UDHR, the ICCPR and the ICESCR. It was further developed within the context of the post-Cold War era, which is understood as the age of globalization. Accepting that the politics of rights plays an important role in determining the types of rights we can claim, and the institution through which claims might be made, allows us to understand rights as both sustaining existing forms of dominance and providing a powerful tool with which to challenge those forms. It also helps explain why proponents of rights often seem over-optimistic while critics often seem over-pessimistic.

Finally, it was argued that, given the dynamism of politics and society, rights should be understood as a process that reflects particular historic configurations of power relations. We should therefore attempt to understand human rights within the context of the new post-Cold War order and the dynamic context of globalization, which creates new problems for the struggle for rights. It should be stressed that the discussion presented in this paper should not be understood as a wholesale rejection of either international law or human rights. Nor is it a rail against the priority given to liberal notions of civil and political rights within the current world order. Instead, the intention here is to gain an insight into the ways in which power is exercised through the discourse of human rights. While the literature presents human rights as a concept that empowers those threatened by state violence, the concept also offers an instrument for domination. In particular, the discussion here has sought to show how international law, legal institutions and regulations associated with human rights, which provide the main focus for the human rights discourse, transmit a set of ideas associated with notions of freedom *and* a set of ideas that reflect relations of power and dominance. Thus, the human rights regime must be understood as a discourse of both freedom and

domination, and cannot be understood as one or the other. Seen in this way, the dominance of the international legal discourse on human rights, which supports a particular conception of rights, acts to mask power relations and stifles the possibility of engaging in critique.

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**Ademola Aderogba**
*Lagos State University of Science and Technology, Ikorodu, Lagos State*
*https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1732-1997*
*molaaderogba2019@gmail.com*
*aderogba.a@mylaspotech.edu.ng*

**Abstract**

*The focus of this paper is to examine how far is social media engaged for participatory democracy in Nigeria. Media is indispensable in democratic decision making process. However, traditional media still dominates the process of political engagement. Access to the traditional media by the masses for political participation is constrained by mode of operation and ownership, hence the need for another platform. The problem is that, with increasing access to media through social media, yet the quality of outcome of governance in Nigeria calls the participation and activeness of the citizens to question. Therefore, the objective of this paper is to examine how social media engagement for participating in democratic governance processes can be improved in Nigeria. In doing this, data was collected through questionnaires from 100 Private Secondary Schools' Teachers in Lagos state which were within the voting age (18 years and above) and also active on social media, to determine the level to which they engages social media for political participation. Both qualitative and quantitative (inferential statistic) methods were adopted in data analysis. The result confirms alternative hypothesis that social media engagement can be improved to strengthen political participation. The implication is that though, the respondents were active on social media, it was more for other social activities, and little for political involvement Therefore, suggestions offered, to encourage more engagement of social media for democratic governance processes include; provision of digital infrastructure by the government and agenda setting by civil societies.*

**Keywords:** Social media, Participatory Democracy, Good Governance, Citizens, Decision Making.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Nigerians first attempt at fostering participatory democracy was the introduction of elective principles in 1922 constitution by Sir Huge Clifford who was then the colonial governor of Nigeria. Although it was a limited participation restricted to both Lagos and Calabar, it exposed the Nigerians to western democratic values and culture. From an inactive elected Nigerians in 1922, the Nigeria's democratization journey moved to

selection and election of more Nigerians into regional legislative houses in the 1946 constitution, the 1951 constitution and appointment of Nigerians as regional premiers by 1954. The 1960 independence and republic status granted in 1963 offers Nigerians greater opportunity to participate more on democratization exercise. Furthermore, the misadventure of the military into governance in Nigeria since 1966 down to 1999 did incalculable harm to various attempts to develop and nurture participatory democracy in Nigeria. However, with the return of Nigeria to democratic governance since 1999 there are various concerted efforts towards developing and strengthening democratic governance (Alake et al, 2018).

One of the most prominent institutions that made its mark on this movement is the media. The focus of the people is more on the traditional media which has its own inherent weakness, of being ineffective for interpersonal interaction between the voters and aspirants. The problem is that though citizens are increasingly engaging social media, but the quality of governance outcomes does not confirm its being engaged for active political involvement. Although the traditional media have its own strength, the objective of this paper is to examine how social media engagement can be improved as an alternative media platform to strengthen participatory democracy in Nigeria. To do justice to this, the paper outline is as follows: Introduction, Literature review, Methodology, Analysis, Result and Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations.

## 2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Theoretical Framework

There is no meta-theory to explain the concept of social media. However, the paper triangulates the following theories because they are social and communication theories that illustrate the influence of social media on interpersonal communication. They include; Social Identification Model of De-Individuation Effect (SIDE) by Reicher, Spears and Postmes (1995), which focused on how the group behaviour is influenced through computer-mediated communication by anonymity and identification.

Another is Social Information Processing (SIP) theory, propagated by Joseph Walther (1992), which explains how through computer-mediated platform and without nonverbal cues, relationship is developed and managed by the people.

De sanctis and Poole (1994), in their Adaptive Structuration Theory (AST), attempts to emphasize social aspect of technology over technological determinism i.e. Techno-centric perspective of technology. To them, the usefulness of technology, for instance, information technology when compare to the dissenting view of technology centered, determines the perception and roles of technology and its application.

One of the theories that actually described how social media operates is Social Network Theory (SNT). The theory propagated by social scientist like, Biehl, Kim and Wade (2006), Barnes (1954), Granovetter (1982), Milgram (1967) etc. centre on the effect of

nodes and ties on social relationship. Nodes represent individual participant or actor within the network e.g. the politicians, opinion leaders, smaller organizations etc. on the other hand, Ties represent the interactions, connections or relationship amongst the members of a network. Whereas a network can be a town, a country, or global organization; Node is the smallest unit in a network the bigger the network the bigger the node. For instance, Nigeria could be a node within the United Nations or African Union Network.

Three types of social network exist, namely; Ego-centric network in which a single node connect to others e.g. friends. The second is socio-centric networks which is a closed network for instance a member of an organization like an employee. The last is open system networks which are without a clear boundary like the relationship among large organizations or web of nodes responsible for a particular decision. While this theory explains the connection within the network and clarification of content, the interpretation of relationship could be subjective at times.

Moscovisi (1980) actually illustrates how the view of everybody counts in a community (and web community), which is the corner stone of participatory democracy. In his conversion theory it explains the process by which minority exerts influence and converts the majority to their demand or effort, though it may be a slow process. This is done by validating the position or view of the minority by the majority as oppose to comparing their position with that of the majority.

The factors that can enhance the process include; the minority consistency in opinion; minority confidence in validity of ideas and opinion in question; an unbiased appearance of presentation; and resistance to the majority's social pressure.

## 2.2 Concept of Participatory Democracy

According to Brown (2010), officially and by extension technically, all the citizens are participant in the political decision process. This can be interpreted as direct democracy. This view may be erroneous because of its attempt to ignore the participation regulations in respect of age, residence and citizenship as contained in the constitution of countries like Nigeria. Also, it can be viewed as the participation of each citizen in political decision and policies that may impact on their existence through direct involvement as oppose to elected representatives (dictionary.com.). Again, this view is capable of misleading by creating impression that participation can only be through direct active involvement. Furthermore it is a process that enhances broad participation of the citizens in the direction and operation of political system (Wikipedia.org). It creates and broadens opportunity for participatory decision making. Historically, it is opined that the idea of participatory democracy originated and developed in the United States in 1960s and 1970s, (ecpr.eu).

Aragones and Sanchez (2009) described it as a process of collective decision making in which citizens are offered opportunity to assess and adopt the policies of

government. It bridges the gap created by representative democracy, if participatory democracy is about public involvement in governance process. Renn and Schweizer (2009) adduce six broad theoretical and conceptual features to highlight and classify the processes by which public contributes toward public decision making. They are:

- Functionalism; in which participation is assumed to be dedicated to improving quality of decision making or output.
- Neo-liberalism; which is assumed to be representing values and preferences, as commensurate to the size and population.
- Deliberative; Consensus here is a consequent of deliberate competition and argumentation.
- Anthropological; this represents harmonization of competing values and knowledge, it may accommodate lay persons or social categories like gender, locality etc.
- Emancipatory; attempt here is aimed at changing status-quo by empowering the less privilege groups.
- Post modernizing; the goal here is not to achieve the same target or adopting the same procedure for an intended claims but through manually recognized individual strategies. It recognizes variability, plurality and legitimacy of views.

Participatory democracy may take the form of; involvement in voting, public opinion, forming interest group, positive actions like protest, lobbying, litigations, partnership with other private activists, and monitoring government programmes etc. (NRC, 2008).

## 2.3 Conceptualizing The Social Media

As a developing concept writers have been using various terms to represent the social media. Such terms include; communication channels, media channels, other media, other outlet (designer.com). Also, Owyang (2007) uses concepts like; socializing media, conversational media and new media to represent social media.

Historically, Bradley (2011) claims that social media was originally associated with web 2.0 which initially focused on publishing but later expanded to a platform to accommodate sharing of content and opinion by the people. As an improvement on web 2.0, Enterprise 2.0 was introduced to accommodate the functions of web 2.0 and the corporate world.

Further, Bradley conceptualized social media in three different ways; the first is as an umbrella term representing all applications of the new social technologies. For example, idea engines, social networks, blog etc. The second is as a term for environments on the web like, social web, collaborative web, Read write web, and web 2.0. The last is as a term for environments created by non-web organizations to

facilitate collaboration between employees, customers, and supplies, for example; Enterprise 2.0, Social business, and Social enterprise.

Whatis an online dictionary describes social media as series of online communication channels meant to facilitate community-based input, interaction, content-sharing and collaboration (Whatis.techtarget.com). Also, it represents the websites and applications that enable users to create and share content or to participate in social networking (geogle.com). In another view, it is seen as websites and other online means of communication that are used by large groups of people for sharing information and developing social and professional contacts.( dictionary.com).

Buettner (2011) explains social media as the computer-mediated tools that allow people to create, share or exchange information and career interest. From their own perspectives Kaplan and Heinlein (2010) posits that, social media is a group of interest-based applications that build on ideological and technological foundation of web 2.0 which enables the creation and exchange of user-generated content. It includes various relatively affordable electronic tools with flexible accessibility that can facilitate publishing, information accessibility and collaboration on a common effort or relationship (Dhiraj, 2013).

Meanwhile, Bradley (2011) identifies six principles or pillars that are germane to the conception and operation of social media. They are:

- Participation: the values of social media come from the participation not technologies. Therefore the masses must be massively mobilized to engage media for more political participation.
- Collective: mass mobilization towards an effort is ensured when people makes deliberate attempt to contribute to the content.
- Transparency: the participants must be given an opportunity to validate, critique and organize the content of engagement.
- Independence: no any previous relationship or intimacy is required amongst the participants. Individual contribution is independent of others.
- Persistence: innovative ideas and solutions to problems endure when it is viewed, shared and applied by others.
- Emergence: it propelled each community on the platform to come up with new patterns and methods. The engagement behavior is not pre-modeled but self-directing for greater benefit.

However, social media is distinct from other media technologies because it depends on mobile and web-based technologies to create the platform. Also, it introduces change to communication between businesses, organizations, communities and individuals as oppose to the "technoself" thinking i.e. given emphasis to the technology over the social benefit it offers (Kietzman, 2011). In addition, it differs from traditional industrial media because it operates in a dialogue transmission system i.e. many sources to many receivers as oppose to the

latter which operates in a monologue transmission model i.e. one source to many receivers (Parlik, 2015). To sum it up, with social media; it is not compulsory to be a journalist, a politician, a chief executive officer, special or professional in any field to be able to interact with others (investopedia.com).

## 2.4 Classifying Social Media

Various classifications abound on social media; however, six types can be identified (seppressor.com and delvalle.org);

a) Social Network: It facilitates connection and sharing among the people with common interest and background. It can also be used to locate a person. Example is face book, Google +, and Linked in.

b) Social Bookmarking**:** It provides opportunity to save and organize links to identified online resources and websites. A user is able to tag various resource lines, for easier search and sharing with followers, for example Stumble upon.

c) Social news: other users are expected to vote on the items and the items with highest would be mostly displayed for example Reddits.

d) Social media sharing: It facilitates sharing of various media, like pictures and video. Other features include opportunity to create profiles and comments on uploaded images, for example You Tube, Vimeo and vine.

e) Micro blogging: It enables the users to post on the "walls" of all subscribers short entries, updates, other social media links and social views, for example twitter and tumblr.

f) Blog comments and forms: It enables users to respond and participate in the community messages and conversations, usually focused on a specific issue. For example Google's Blogger and Word Press.

## 3.0 METHODOLOGY

For the purpose of assessing and confirming the effect of social media on participatory democracy in Nigeria, data was collected within Lagos state to validate various assumptions and hypothesis.

The research instrument adopted for this study was questionnaire; divided into two parts. The first part was meant to elicit background information about the respondents while the second part contained questions to be answered by the respondents. 12 Final year Students of Lagos State University of Science and Technology living in different parts of Lagos (since the school is non residential) were randomly selected as research assistants. The respondents were private secondary school teachers residents, selected through simple convenient sampling. They were selected on the basis that they are literate enough to understand the subject matter. Each research assistant was given 10 questionnaires to be distributed and retrieved back from the respondents in their areas. 100 questionnaires without any error were carefully selected among the 118 returned.

The respondents must have confirmed the following in the first part of the questionnaire for it to be selected; be a Lagos residence, a voter with voters card, active in social media, and must be a teaching employee of private secondary school. These selection criteria assisted in selecting only questionnaires that are very relevant to the study.

## 4.0 ANALYSIS, RESULT AND DISCUSSION

## 4.1 Analysis

$H_0$: Social media cannot significantly Strengthen Nigeria's Democracy

$H_1$: Social media can significantly Strengthen Nigeria's Democracy

Level of significance, $\alpha = 0.05$ (i.e 5%)

Test Statistic: Chi-Square

Decision Rule: Reject $H_0$ if Chi-square calculated is greater than Chi-square tabulated

Computation of Test Statistic:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Where

O is the observed frequency

E is the expected frequency

**Table 1: Test Statistical Table (Source: Research Data, 2022)**

| O | E | (O-E) | (O-E)$^2$ | (O-E)$^2$/E |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 44 | 20 | 24 | 576 | 28.8 |
| 32 | 20 | 12 | 144 | 7.2 |
| 4 | 20 | -16 | 256 | 12.8 |
| 16 | 20 | -4 | 16 | 0.8 |
| 4 | 20 | -16 | 256 | 12.8 |
| 100 | 100 | | | 62.4 |

$\chi^2_{cal} = 62.4$ and $\chi^2_{tab} = 9.49$

P-value=0.0000

**Decision**: Reject $H_0$ since Chi-square calculated (62.4) is greater than Chi-square tabulated (9.49) and we conclude that Nigeria's Democracy can be strengthened

through social media at 5% level of significance. This implies that we are 95% sure that social media can strengthen Nigeria's Democracy

## 4.2 Result and Discussion

The result of hypothesis testing indicates that Nigeria's Democracy can be strengthened through social media. This corroborates similar earlier finding by Abdalsalam et al (2013) in their study of effectiveness of Egyptian government social media platform, where they concluded that it was used more for posting information than means of engagement and feedback. Also, Mossberger et al (2013) in their study of the use of social network and analysis of group discussion in 75 largest US cities between 2009 and 2011 found that it was more of government one-way strategies than opportunities for citizens' interactions and engagement. In addition, Hofman et al (2013) in their study of social media engagement of local governments with citizens in Germany found out that online communication was more in conventional way than adapting to social media norms.

However, Owen (2018) argues that new media is a double-edged sword with wide ranging implications for democratic governance and political practices because; On one hand, new media is beneficial to democracy by serving as watchdogs in scrutinizing public officials; providing unprecedented access to information, including uninterested audience through personalized peer-to-peer channels like Facebook and twitter; fostering community building that transcends physical boundaries; and engaging the public directly in political activities such as voting and protests. On the other hand, new media has enhances activities that can undermine the ideal aims of a democratic press by introducing an increased level of instability and unpredictability into the political communication process, through dissemination of trivial and unreliable political content.

The submission of Olaniru et al (2019) in his assessment of the relationships between political knowledge and access to mass media and social media is contrary to the finding.. The paper concludes that the socialization and enlightenment functions of the mass media increased knowledge about politics and government activities in Nigeria.

In the same vein, Omotayo and Foloruno (2020) investigated the use of social media for political participation among youths in Oyo State, Nigeria. The findings of the paper pointed out that the perceived usefulness, perceived ease of use, subjective norms, and computer self-efficacy significantly influence the use of social media for political participation. The finding also reveals that social media was highly used by the youths to participate in political advocacy, political campaigns, communicating with politicians, political discussions, monitoring and reporting electoral malpractices, public consultations, joining interest groups engaging in lobbying, blogging about political issues, and writing letters to public officials respectively.

Similarly, For Ibrahim and Aliyu (2020), it is a proven fact that social media can foster free and fair elections and promote stable and sustainable democracy in the ethno-political-cum religious crisis-ridden regions of Africa. He asserts that in an age when information equates to power, the use of social media in politics have direct impact on good governance as it brings about a diversity of opinion which can actually lead to more creative problem solving and more equitable outcomes in a society.

Uwalaka (2021) also corroborates the above submission in his submission. The finding of his examination on the impact of social media use, and protest experience, in political participation and efficacy formation among students in Nigeria showed that, the use of social media as well as protest experience significantly impacts on political participation among students in Nigeria. Nigerians use their online presence to engage in political discussions and this has led to an increase in political protests against undemocratic practices. The paper further stated that the experience of collective action as well as social media usage increases the likelihood of further political participation as well as evaluations of the quality of governance.

The above findings revealed the acceptance and engagement of social media among the respondents; however it was observed that the engagement was more for other purposes than participating in the process of public democratic governance. Social media for facilitating access to governance is becoming more imperative because of changing face of governance to diffusion of governance. According to Moore and Hartley (2010), this new form of governance innovation creates web of activities that can facilitate network-based public service production system. Legitimacy and accountability are now more collaborative than authoritarian; citizens prefer to be more involved to being informed, the approach which Keane (2009) termed "monitoring democracy". The consequence of monitoring democracy is what Frederickson (2005) refers to as new governance with emphasis on whole-of-government approach and whole-of-society approach, while the former indicates the imperative of synergy, both horizontally and vertically, amongst the institutions of government, the latter points to the synergy in contribution to the decision-making process of goverment amongst the private and civil society. Governance is the interaction and decision-making process between the government, other social organizations and the citizens (Graham et al, 2003). Governance refers to the tradition and institution through which a country is administered. (Kaufman, 2005:82) Governance means the way by which the authority is exercised in the process of managing a nation's resources for overall development (World Bank, 1992:3). The contemporary functional governance is meta-governance in nature which refers to general scope of responsibilities of government including structuring and arranging of governance, mobilizing resources, efficient institutional service delivery, democratization, and accountability (Bell and Hindmoor;2004). However, Wilke (2007) advocates smart governance, that is, institutional adaptation to increasing interdependence in which decision is based on evidence rather than on normative considerations. It entails combinations of principles and factors that can

enhance governance which would respond to demands and challenges of knowledge society.

 All the above analysis exposes the weakness of traditional democratic participation and communication in which the citizens only vote and engages government through traditional media controlled by government and censored by government officials and political actors. This is the gap social media is out to fill. Social media ensures transparency and accountability in governance process and the conduct of public officials (Abbo et al, 2020, Jimada, 2019, Msugher, 2019).

Social media has four major benefits; it facilitates interaction; empowering the users to express themselves by democratizing media; and time advantage by removing any delay in action (Bertot et al, 2010:266). Social networking sites has the potential to set public issues and policies and can facilitate feedback on governance and service delivery (UNDP, 2011: 1-21)

Social media as a political tool has its own strength and weakness. Without prejudice to other benefits derivable from social media, the focus in this paper is on political relevance to participatory democracy. It impacts on all the aspects or components of participatory democracy, like campaign, analysis of government policies, opposing views and feedback and decision making process. The following are identified benefit of political campaign through social media (Campaignon.Com):

a) Reach: It enhances large coverage and saves time. Aspirants are able to reach large number
   of voters within the short period of time.
b) Engagement: Voters confidence and acceptance of candidate is rekindled due to direct and active engagement between the voters and the aspirants.
c) Sharing ideas and Goals: Campaign process is more participatory because it facilitates sharing of ideas and benefit about the political parties and their aspirants among the members of the web community.
d) Behind the scene: Some information is better disseminated to the web participants or voters behind the scene because of their strategic nature.
e) Converting Digital followers into voters: Not everybody or participants are potential voters but the aspirant can deliberately attempt to convert the on-line followers into potential voters
f) Analysis: It offers opportunity for tracking the engagement of the aspirants

Furthermore, social media provide platform for recruiting, motivating and empowering supporters (Filpac.com). Social media is a forum for political activism, stimulating voters' engagement in political activities. Feedback, conversations and debates are stimulated on-line (epthinktank.eu). It bridges the gap between the voters and politicians including their political parties. Electoral processes and credibility of the conduct of voting are monitored and information shared online.

Security information necessary for safe voting process can also be shared online. In the same vein, critical information needed as exhibit in prosecuting election disputes may be obtained from the witnesses online.

Notwithstanding the perceived significant positive political impact of social media, Shirky expresses two strong reservations against the optimism of positive influence of social media on politics. First, to him the tool is ineffective. Although this assertion is debatable; he based his position on the view of Malcolm Gladwell which he terms "Slacktivism". This explains how casual participants depend on low-cost activities to agitate for social change. For instance, joining face book group dedicated to a social effort in Nigeria like "safe the Chibok Girls" with little result to show at the end.

The second skeptism is that, mass media to some extent is also harmful to democratization because the autocratic and anti-democratic governments are also cleverly employing it as a tool to suppress opposition.

Another similar view is that, social media as a tool in measuring opinion may be deceitful. In some cases the participants may not be voters or may even be residing outside the country where the political activities are in process. In addition, it may be costly when it is goal-directed and deliberate. For instance Obama second re-elected campaign cost about $50 million on social media i.e. about 17 cent per person (Filpac.com).

Social media may also be restrictive in nature to be a medium for political rally point; because only the on-line participants are reached thereby excluding others. Above all, it may expose the participants to very dangerous risk, example was the death sentence imposed on the blogger Hossein Derakhshan in Iran which was later reduced to nineteen and half years in prison and the suspicious death of Oleg Bebenin, the founder of Belarusian Opposition web site charter 97. (Stirky, 2010).

## 5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 Conclusion

The paper examines the impact of social media on governance. For proper illustration a study was conducted within Lagos State to verify the relationship between the two variables and the finding reveals that many people active on social media but not for participation in public democratic governance. However, further discussion on the finding attempts to justify that a proper and structured intervention on the engagement of social media towards this objective by government would add value to participatory democracy and public democratic governance.

### 5.2 Recommendations

For social media to impact more significantly on participatory democracy in Nigeria there must be a deliberate intervention to strengthen it by the government, political actors and civil societies. The recommendations include:

1. Government must recognize the need to deliberately intervene and fund development of tools that can facilitate access to internet. This is refers to as instrumental approach by Stirky (2010). This approach may depend on foreign support meant to prevent states from engaging in censorship, although it is not without its own weakness.

2. Social media must be integrated with the social needs as a long-term tool to strengthen civil society and the public sphere. This is refers to as environmental approach by Stirky. Social need is considered as input to other fundamental political freedom which must be strengthened as a fundamental agenda for social media.

3. Also, civil society groups must always identify and regulate political issues to be discussed and shared by participants, to aid informed political decisions and informed coordinated political actions.

4. Government can deliberately enhance the social media platform to be robust, for national rebirth and re-orientation

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# International Political Theory and Global Environmental Issues

**'Bimbo Ogunbanjo**

*Department of Politics and International Relations*
*ISM Adonai University, Republic of Benin.*
*+229 60803878, +234 8037128002*
*mbimboogunbanjo@yahoo.com*
*&*

**Yonmo, Ebiotubo**

*Department of International Relations*
*Ecole Superieure d'Administration, d'Economie, De Journalisme et des*
*Metiers de l'Audiovisuel (ESAE) Cotonou, Republic of Benin*
*Email: ebiotuboy@gmail.com*
*+229 67085204*

## Abstract

*As environmental problems transcend national boundaries, they come to be a feature of international politics. This paper seeks to draw a distinction between two ways of thinking about the relationship between international political theory and the global environment. It scrutinizes five sets of arguments which suggest that the traditionalist account of the scope of international political theory provides an inadequate basis for apprehending, comprehending and rationalizing the problems of global environmental change, and which, in disparate ways and to a varied extent, do indeed open up the possibility of a 'fundamental discontinuity in the system of states'. This paper points out that detailed consideration of these arguments is imperative both to understand and illuminate the still very important state-centred agenda of 'traditional' international political theory and to understand the ways in which environmental problems and politics may be altering dominant frames of reference and suggesting a broader, if murkier, scope for international political theory. This paper also indicates that environmental issues have become increasingly prominent on the international agenda over the last sixty years assisted by the effects of globalization. It shows how this has prompted attempts to arrange cooperation between states and surveys the form and function of such activity with reference to some of the main international environmental regimes. Because climate change has become a problem of such enormous significance, a separate section is devoted to the efforts to create an international climate regime. This is followed by a brief consideration of how some of the theoretical parts of international relations (IR) relate to international environmental politics.*

**Keywords:** Environment, Global Environment, Political Theory, Climate Change, Global Economy, Civil Society.

## INTRODUCTION

The fragility of international society and the propensity of international relations to frustrate hopes for progress make it important to adopt a broad definition of the scope and purpose of political theory and to insist at the outset that normative conceptions of how we should tackle the environment challenges facing us be firmly anchored in a realistic appreciation of the possibilities of effective political action. As John Dunn puts it:

> *The purpose of political theory is to diagnose practical predicaments and to show us how best to confront them. To do this it needs to train us in three relatively distinct skills: firstly in ascertaining how the social, political and economic setting of our lives now is and in understanding why it is as it is; secondly in working through for ourselves how we could coherently and justifiably wish that world to be or become; and thirdly in judging how far, and through what actions, and at what risk, we can realistically hope to move this world as it now stands towards the way we might excusably wish it to* (2000:193).

Although humankind as a whole now appears to be living well above Earth's carrying capacity, the ecological footprints of individual states vary to an extraordinary extent. Indeed, if everyone were to enjoy the current lifestyle of the developed countries, more than three additional planets would be required. This situation is rendered all the more unsustainable by the process of globalization, even though the precise relationship between environmental degradation and the over-use of resources, on the one hand, and globalization, on the other, is complex and sometimes contradictory. Globalization has stimulated the relocation of industry, population movement away from the land, and ever-rising levels of consumption, along with associated emissions of effluents and waste gases (Anichebe 2016; Udonbana 2017). While often generating greater income for poorer countries exporting basic goods to developed country markets, ever freer trade can also have adverse environmental consequences, by disrupting local ecologies and livelihoods.

On the other hand, there is little evidence that globalization has stimulated a 'race to the bottom' in environmental standards, and it has been argued that increasing levels of affluence have brought about local environmental improvements, just as birth rates tend fall as populations become wealthier. Economists claim that globalization's opening up of markets can increase efficiency and reduce pollution, provided that the environmental and social damage associated with production of a good is properly factored into its market price. Similarly, globalization has promoted the sharing of knowledge and the influential presence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in global environmental politics. Whatever the ecological balance sheet of globalization, the resources upon which human beings depend for survival, such as fresh water, a clean atmosphere, and a stable climate are now under serious threat.

Global problems may need global solutions and pose a fundamental requirement for global environmental governance, yet local or regional action remains a vital aspect of responses to many problems; one of the defining characteristics of environmental politics is the awareness of such interconnections and of the need to 'think globally—act locally'. NGOs have been very active in this respect.

Despite the global dimensions of environmental change, an effective response still has to depend upon a fragmented international political system of over 190 sovereign states. Global environmental governance consequently involves bringing to bear inter-state relations, international law, and international organizations in addressing shared environmental problems. Using the term 'governance'—as distinct from government—implies that regulation and control have to be exercised in the absence of central government, delivering the kinds of service that a world government would provide if it were to exist.

This paper, which is divided into nine sections, distinguishes between two perspectives on the relationship between international political theory and global environmental issues. It examines five sets of arguments that argue that the traditionalist account of the scope of international political theory is insufficient for apprehending, comprehending, and rationalizing the problems of global environmental change, and that do indeed open up the possibility of a "fundamental discontinuity in the system of states" in various ways and to varying degrees. This paper argues that a thorough examination of these arguments is necessary both to comprehend and illuminate the still vital state-centred agenda of 'traditional' international political theory, as well as to comprehend how environmental problems and politics may be altering dominant frames of reference and suggesting a broader, if murkier, scope for international political theory. This paper also shows that, thanks to the consequences of globalization, environmental issues have become increasingly prominent on the international agenda over the last sixty years. It examines how this has prompted attempts to organize inter-state cooperation, as well as the form and function of such activity in the context of some of the most important international environmental regimes. Because climate change has become such a significant issue, there is a special section devoted to efforts to establish an international climate regime. Following that, a brief discussion of how some theoretical aspects of international relations (IR) connect to international environmental politics is presented.

## WHY THE ENVIRONMENT IS AN ISSUE

Why should we be led to consider environmental problems and the prospect of global environmental change at all? Part of the answer rests on our growing awareness of the material limits to the kinds of progress and development around which Western political theory has traditionally been constructed, and on the real possibility that our dominant forms of political organization may be inadequate to manage the relationship between humankind and the natural environment on a lasting and sustainable basis.

The international political salience of environmental issues has increased enormously over the last three decades. This has been the result of accelerating rates of environmental degradation, improved scientific knowledge and heightened popular awareness of the seriousness of the ecological challenges facing humanity. Whilst much of the picture remains obscure and whilst the claim that we are already 'beyond the limits' is much contested, there is growing evidence that human social and economic activity is placing excessive strains on the physical limits of the ecosphere and that, in a crude but real sense, we are filling up the ecological space available to us (Daly and Cobb 2006; Meadows, Meadows, and Randers 2012). This, it should be noted, means that a political theory of the environment is concerned not simply with the ideas of the 'good life', but also with the means to ensure human survival best, thereby overcoming what has often been taken to be one of the critical distinctions between domestic and international political theory (Wight 1966).

A further part of the answer concerns the inherently trans-border, and increasingly global, character of contemporary environment issues, and it is this which takes us directly into the realms of international political theory. There are three senses in which the environment has become a global issue. First, and most obviously, humanity is now faced by a range of environmental problems that are global in the strong sense that they affect everyone and can be effectively managed only on the basis of cooperation between all, or at least a very high percentage, of the states of the world: controlling climate change and the emission of greenhouse gases, the protection of the ozone layer, safeguarding biodiversity, protecting special regions such as Antarctica or the Amazon, the management of the sea-bed and the protection of the high seas are among the principal examples.

Second, the scale of many originally regional or local environmental problems, such as extensive urban degradation, deforestation, desertification, salination, denudation, or water or fuel-wood scarcity, now threatens broader international repercussions: by undermining the economic base and social fabric of weak and poor states, by generating or exacerbating intra- or inter-state tensions and conflicts, and by stimulating increased flows of refugees. Moreover, although many such problems are 'localized' in that their *effects* are felt locally, their causes often lie far beyond national borders, as local ecosystems are tied into transnational structures of production and exchange.

This leads to the third, and in many ways most important, aspect of globalization, which derives from the complex but close relationship between the generation of environmental problems and the workings of the now effectively globalized world economy. On the one hand, there is the range of environmental problems caused by the affluence of the industrialized countries; by the extent to which this affluence has been built upon high and unsustainable levels of energy consumption and natural resource depletion; and by the 'ecological shadow' cast by these economies across the economic

system. On the other, there is the widely recognized linkage between poverty, population pressure and environmental degradation, a linkage which was given prominence by the Brundtland Commission in 1987 and which emerged as the central theme of the Earth Summit in Brazil in June 1992 (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). Sustainable development is an inherently global issue both because of the high levels of economic interdependence that exist within many parts of the world economy and because it raises fundamental questions concerning the distribution of wealth, power and resources between North and South (Daige and Mhfutau 2019).

Perhaps the most important shift to have taken place in the twenty years that separate the UN Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972 from the UN Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit) held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 concerns the emergence of a paradigm of global environmental change and a sense of global crisis. Dominant understandings of the most pressing environmental problems have moved from the discussions of the 1970s about the impact of localized pollution and the limits to natural resources (the predictions of the Club of Rome, the emergence of the idea of 'limits to growth', the shock of the OPEC price increases, etc.) to an increased emphasis on the notion of 'global environmental change' and on the limited capacity of the planet to absorb the wastes produced by economic activity: in shorthand, a shift from 'resource limits' to 'sink limits'. Of course, definitions of 'global' are politically constructed and hence politically contested. How many millions of people have to be affected by water scarcity before it qualifies as a global problem? Moreover, to talk of the environment as a global issue is certainly not to imply that all environmental problems have global repercussions, still less to argue that all problems need to be managed on a global basis. Rather, it is to argue that the material foundations of international political theory are necessarily limited by the carrying capacity of the earth as a whole and that the ways in which politics is organized globally have become a critical factor influencing the long-term sustainability of the relationship between human beings and the natural world.

Above all, the emergence of a new and unprecedented set of environmental challenges has highlighted the disjuncture between a single integrated, enormously complex and deeply interdependent ecosystem and the still dominant form of global political organization: a fragmented system of sovereign states, normatively built around the mutual recognition of sovereignty, and politically forming an anarchical system in which co-operation has historically been limited and in which war and conflict are deeply rooted, and for many an inherent feature.

How has international relations theory responded to the issues raised by the problems of global environmental change? What sorts of questions does it ask? What kinds of answers might it provide? Very broadly, two clusters of theories can be identified.

## INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL THEORY AND THE ENVIRONMENT: THE TRADITIONAL AGENDA

The first cluster of theoretical approaches stays close to the 'traditional' concerns of international relations theory: the belief that states remain the primary actors in world politics; that international relations constitutes a largely autonomous sphere of political action; and that the central focus of enquiry should be on the power and interests of states competing in an anarchical international political system and on the identification and explanation of patterns of conflict and co-operation between states. From this perspective, the emergence of environmental issues raises a number of pressing, but essentially familiar, questions, of which three are especially important. First, in what ways do environmental issues affect the distribution of power and give rise to new patterns of alignment and antagonism? To what extent, for example, have environmental concerns rekindled a structural conflict between rich and poor states, between North and South? Second, to what extent do environmental issues threaten new sources of violent conflict between states? And third, how do the institutions of international society and existing mechanisms for inter-state co-operation facilitate (or hinder) the identification and management of environment problems?

It is with this last question that international relations theory has been most centrally preoccupied. Feeding directly into the debates of the 1980s between neo-realists and neo-liberal institutionalists, much work has been done on inter-state environmental co-operation, on the politics of regime formation, and on the theories that best explain how and why such co-operation is possible. (For samples of a voluminous literature see Young 1999; Hurrell and Kingsbury 2002; and Haas, Keohane and Levy 2003). Within the somewhat narrow confines of political science (and particularly US political science) the dominant focus has been on the role of 'international regimes' in managing conflicts and in solving collective action problems. More generally, however, the study of inter-state environmental co-operation has also encompassed a large amount of work within international law – at the level of academic analysis but also, very importantly, involving diplomatic practice. (See, for example, Kiss and Shelton 2011; Birnie and Boyle 2013; Kemi-Smith 2015).

This work has provided an invaluable framework for analyzing the politics of regime formation and isolating the most important variables that affect that process. Yet, as the discussions of the Earth Summit illustrate all too clearly, there is little consensus on how the growing number of international environmental agreements, negotiations and institutions should be understood or evaluated. Liberals remain inclined to believe that the reality of ecological interdependence will create problems that can be solved only by new and more far-reaching mechanisms of co-operation. Radical environmental degradation of the planet will involve losses for all and, more so than in the case of economic interdependence, states are locked into a situation from which they cannot escape and about which they will be forced to co-operate. Moreover, for

the liberal, increased scientific understanding of environmental problems will work to redirect state interests and to facilitate international co-operation. On this optimistic view, we are already witnessing the emergence of a complex structure of global environmental governance with new sets of institutions and an array of new legal concepts. Indeed, for the optimists, the effectiveness of many environmental regimes does not derive solely from their individual strengths but, rather, from the extent to which they tie states into a continuing and institutionalized process of negotiation: hence the importance of provisions for regular meetings and for the generation and dissemination of information; hence the view of regimes as frameworks around which political pressure on states can be effectively mobilized. Building on these ideas, positive interpretations of the 1992 Earth Summit highlight the importance of the institutions that were created (most importantly the Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD) and an enhanced role for the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) and the fact that the framework conventions on biodiversity and global climate change establish institutionalized procedures for further negotiation (For an assessment of the Earth Summit, see Grubb *et al.* 2013; Zainaib and Zanowski 2016).

Sceptics, on the other hand (who include both realists and many environmentalists), continue to highlight the many obstacles to co-operation: the weakness of most international institutions and the absence of sanctioning power; the unprecedentedly high levels of co-operation and policy co-ordination required to deal with many of the most pressing environmental issues; the pressures on states and state representatives to place a high priority on their immediate short-term interests and on the protections of political autonomy; the mismatch between the time horizons of politicians and political processes on the one hand and the extended time frames needed to address and deal with many of the most serious environmental problems on the other; the fact that there is no easy link between increased scientific knowledge and the growth of international co-operation, the extent to which the loose rhetoric of 'interdependence' disguises a wide variety of problems whose specific dependence structures may sometimes work to promote co-operation (as in the case of ozone) but may also militate against it (as in the case of global climate change); and, finally, the extent to which these difficulties have to be set against the large number of deep-rooted historical conflicts that exist between states and the cultural, political and economic heterogeneity of the international system.

These traditional questions are, and will remain, fundamental to the international politics of the environment, and hence to international political theory. For better or worse, environmental issues have to be managed within the constraints of a global political system in which states continue to play a major (although by no means unchallenged) role. Moreover, the issue of how the biosphere can be protected within a fragmented and historically relatively unco-ordinated political order brings the traditional and distinctive concerns of international relations very mush to centre-stage. International relations has often been viewed as on the margin of the core concerns of

political theory – either because political theory was concerned essentially with ideas of furthering the good life within the state (the dominant attitude of Western political theory), or because the conditions of anarchy that existed between states were deemed tolerable and posed no particular challenge (the position of Hobbes and Pufendorf), or because international life was viewed as not amenable to change and improvement (the position of both realists and despairing liberals such as Rousseau). In considering the problems of the global environment, however, 'political theory in one country' is no longer an intellectually adequate option. Having moved centre-stage, it is very important that international political theory does not lose or forget the distinctive insights of its past.

At the same time, it is difficult to see how international political theory can make much sense of our environment dilemmas if it remains confined to its traditional domain and to its traditional discourse. The traditional agenda, as sketched out above, is too narrow in its conceptualization of the processes by which environmental problems are generated, in its appreciation of the political forces that impact on environmental issues, and in its treatment of the normative dimension.

## INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL THEORY AND THE ENVIRONMENT: TOWARDS A NEW AGENDA?

A second cluster of writings has therefore tended to view the problems associated with global environmental change from a broader, and often more radical, perspective and to identify a number of developments that challenge the adequacy of traditional ways of thinking about international political theory. Indeed, of all contemporary claims that traditional conceptualizations of world politics need recasting, those relating to the impact of global environmental change are perhaps the most resonant and the most intuitively plausible.

The most important thread running through these diverse arguments is their questioning of the empirical and normative basis of state sovereignty – the central, if all too easily unexamined, concept around which international relations as a discipline has traditionally been organized. Ecological challenges force us to reopen questions about the nature and limits of state sovereignty. Claims to sovereignty are being called into question by the limited capabilities of states to deal with environmental threats (both locally and globally), by the mobilization of new social actors around environmental issues, by the loss of state control of the workings of the global economy, and by the increasingly dense set of international institutional arrangements designed to manage environmental problems. Moreover, for some writers, growing awareness of environmental problems and of environmental interdependence has created a new sense of planetary consciousness which is leading to new forms of non-territorially based political identity and to new mechanisms of political organization and action. This section of this paper will examine five sets of arguments about the ways in which international political theory might need to be broadened, recast or

transformed in order to understand global environmental problems and the ways in which these can, or should be, tackled.

### The Erosion of Sovereignty from Above

The first set of arguments builds directly on the traditional agenda but claims that the creation of a dense and wide-ranging juridical and institutional structure of environmental agreements in itself represents a fundamental challenge to sovereignty and to our understandings of the dynamics of world politics. On this quintessentially liberal view, the global environmental challenge and the consequent process of 'institutional enmeshment' are leading to a 'fading away of anarchy' at the inter-state level and to a 'denationalizing' or internationalizing' of the state.

> *Basically, it is no longer accurate to conceptualize states as having their traditional degree of autonomy because of the network of formal and informal regimes in which they are becoming increasingly involved, and this process of enmeshment is likely to progress (albeit in fits and starts) throughout the coming years* (Zacher 2012:60).

On this view power is shifting to institutions above the level of the state, driven by the need to solve common problems in an increasingly interdependent world. As a result, we are seeing a fundamental shift in the balance of rights and duties between the particularist claims of nominally sovereign states on one hand, and the authority of international society on the other. Regimes and international institutions are coming to form new centres of authority that challenge the authority of national governments (Schachter 2001; Held and McGrew 2003; Adeyemi 2004). Increased levels of institutionalization are therefore placing growing constraints, practical and normative, on the sovereignty of states. States are constrained by an ever denser set of international principles, rules, norms and institutions, and by fact that, in an interdependent world, even the 'powerful' rely on co-operative arrangements that restrict their power and give influence to others.

Yet, whatever its weaknesses in providing a full account of inter-state environmental politics, realism provides powerful grounds for questioning the extent to which these processes have thus far eroded or undermined state sovereignty. It is certainly true that the number of environmental agreements has increased very significantly. It is also true that attitudes to sovereignty, particularly in the developing world, have shifted very substantially since the Stockholm Conference in 1972. Developing countries such as India or Brazil have moved away from the rigid dichotomy between environment and development visible at Stockholm. They have come to lay greater weight on the importance of protecting the environment and on moving towards more sustainable patterns of economic development. There is, then, increasing consensus on the ways in which environmental protection can reinforce economic development. There is also increased awareness of the threats posed to the South by unchecked environmental

degradation. Indeed, the persistent poverty in many parts of the developing world means that the South is less able to afford to put reversible damage to the environment and also less able to manage the process of adaptation to whatever global environmental changes do occur. In addition, the South has come to accept that environmental degradation within states is a matter of legitimate interest to the outside world, being both of 'international concern' (suggesting that it is legitimate for other states to become involved), and of 'common concern to humankind'.

Yet the concern for sovereignty remains a fundamental factor in global environmental politics in both North and South and the political acceptance of the erosion of sovereignty is less apparent than legal declarations would tend to suggest. This is well illustrated by the impasse at the Earth Summit on those critical issues that threatened to bite really deeply into the sovereign prerogatives of governments: the near absolute refusal of the North to accept that sustainability might require a change in its consumption patterns and resource use; or the bitter resistance of developing states to the negotiation of a convention on the protection of forests.

The idea that we may be witnessing a fading away of anarchy is also called into question by the continued obstacles to international environmental co-operation noted earlier and by the limited scope of most existing environmental agreements. The number of agreements may well be large but sanctions for compliance are weak. There is a marked preference for non-binding targets/guidelines which states are free to implement at whatever pace they see fit rather than the acceptance of firm and unambiguous obligations. Indeed, the agreements negotiated at Rio on global climate change and biological diversity are peppered with caveats, ambiguities and qualifications. No existing environmental treaty contains inescapable requirements that states resort to binding third-party procedures for settlement of disputes. States remain extremely keen to maintain firm control over reporting, monitoring and inspection procedures. And although much is made of the increased willingness of states to co-operate with non-governmental organizations (NGOs), it is interesting to note that the newly created Commission on Sustainable Development has an exclusively inter-governmental membership (partly balanced by its mandate to enhance co-operation with NGOs, and by the creation of a high-level advisory board which will include experts drawn from the NGO community).

Finally, claims about the 'internationalization' of the state are misleading in that they underplay the extent to which global problems and global processes can often work to reinforce the centrality of the state. Thus, the proliferation of environmental regimes can be seen as evidence of the way in which state authority is being extended and reasserted in the face of new challenges and of how states are willing to trade a degree of legal freedom of action on a particular issue in return for a greater degree of practical influence over the policies of other states and over the management of common problems.

To argue in this way is certainly not to claim that nothing has changed or that realism is capable of providing an adequate account of the historically remarkable degree of international environment co-operation. There has indeed been a most important shift in emphasis away from the individual rights of states and towards an acceptance of common duties. We have seen a very important change in the character and goals of international society: away from minimalist goals of co-existence towards the creation of rules and institutions that embody notions of shared responsibilities, that impinge heavily on the domestic organization of states, that invest individuals and groups within states with rights and duties, and that seek to embody some notion of the planetary good. Yet the still evident limits to these changes (certainly within the area of environmental issues) undermine arguments that increased institutionalization and enmeshment should force us to recast completely traditional accounts of the nature of international political theory. Indeed, many of the arguments that we are moving 'beyond Westphalia' overlook the extent to which sovereignty was always a socially constructed right: not something that could be claimed solely on the basis of power, but a quality grounded in a common and evolving set of understandings between a group of states.

## *Eroding the Distinction between the 'Domestic' and the 'International'*

Many of the most important traditions of thought in international relations have been built on the claim that international relations represents a distinctive sphere of political activity that can be studied within its own terms. This is most obviously the case with realism/neo-realism. But it is also true of more recent forms of neo-liberal institutionalism which (leaving behind their roots in theories of interdependence and transnationalism) have sought to explain inter-state co-operation on the basis of realist premises and assumptions. And it is also true of those who have sought to explain international relations in terms of the existence of international society, a form of society that is seen to be different in scope and character from that which exists within states. A second set of arguments points to the extent to which the complexities of the international politics of the environment are eroding the analytical validity of this kind of distinction.

One example has already been mentioned, namely the link between environmental degradation and violent conflict. It is certainly possible to conceive of such conflict in traditional realist terms – the image of 'resource wars' occurring between states (for example, over water resources in the Middle East); or the possibility of inter-state conflict resulting from the impact of environmental degradation on the balance of power or from a failure to agree on the management of a particularly important environmental problem (Myers 1999; Deudney 2002). But such a perspective runs the risk of missing the most important dimensions of environmental security: the (already apparent) risk of environmental degradation undermining the social fabric of weak states and provoking internal social disruption and violence. In other words, ideas of

environmental security cannot be usefully conceptualized in terms of a clear-cut distinction between domestic and international conflict or between military threats and other forms of insecurity (Enebe 2018).

A second example concerns the identification of state interests. The realist assertion that interests can be derived principally in terms of the relative power position of a state has always been fragile. But it is impossible to understand the identification of state interests on environmental matters in such terms. It is for this reason that analyses of environmental politics have come to lay greater stress on the relationship between science and policy; on the role of scientific knowledge in shaping state interests and fostering processes of 'environmental learning' by states; and on the role of domestic actors and domestic values in shaping foreign environmental policy objectives (Caldwell 2002; Haas 2000, 2002).

A third example that goes to the heart of the traditional agenda concerns the effectiveness of international environmental institutions. Within the traditional agenda, a great deal of intellectual effort has been devoted to the issue of regime formation, to links between regimes and power, and to the factors that explain the durability of regimes. The question of implementation, of whether and how regimes actually affect state behaviour, has been far less directly examined. Yet the weakest link in the chain of international environmental co-operation may well not lie in the difficulties of negotiating formal agreements but, rather, in ensuring that those agreements are effectively implemented. It is already very clear that many of the most serious obstacles to sustainability have to do with the domestic weaknesses of states and state structures. Providing a convincing account of the effectiveness of environmental regimes therefore involves paying far closer attention to the problems of implementation and this, in turn, forces the theorist to consider the impact of a wide range of domestic factors.

These three examples provide a powerful argument that international political theory needs to focus far more intensively on the interactions between domestic and international politics. But they also raise a nagging and more subversive doubt. To what extent can states implement effective environmental policy within their own borders? To what extent do the declining domestic capacities of states suggest an erosion of sovereignty from below? To what extent are the empirical claims to statehood of many 'quasi-states' being gutted of any real meaning – partly as a result of the difficulty of managing environmental degradation, but also of chronic economic failure and the loss of political legitimacy (Jackson 2010)? An affirmative answer to these questions would undoubtedly undermine the validity of building international political theory around the claims to effective authority and legitimacy implicit in the idea of sovereignty.

It is certainly plausible to interpret what is happening in many parts of the world in precisely these terms. The traditionally clear distinction between 'international

anarchy' and 'domestic order' has been blurred in many parts of the world. The difficulty, however, comes in knowing how general trends towards the erosion of statehood from below actually are, or are likely to become. If, as seems likely, their impact is partial and uneven, the result will not be a move towards a neo-medieval world in which sovereignty ceases to be a central organizing principle. Rather, it will reinforce the already marked inequality that has become such a central feature of the post-Cold War international system and lead to new patterns of dominance and dependence.

## The 'Environment' and the Global Economy

The greatest difficulty of discussing international political theory in relation to the environment comes from the impossibility of treating the 'environment' as if it were a discrete aspect of human life. As has often been remarked, the environment is everywhere and nowhere, and there are no obvious or uncontested boundaries.

This problem is well illustrated by examining debates about the nature of sustainability and sustainable development. Definitions of sustainability are necessarily concerned with the interaction between human beings and the natural world. Whilst they might begin with a narrow view of such interactions (for example, protecting particular kinds of natural resources), they tend to move rather quickly to a broader analysis of the kinds of societies and forms of political and economic organization that would balance economic development with the carrying capacity of the planet. For this reason, many argue that sustainable development is a multidimensional concept: a pattern of development that maintains the integrity and long-term viability of the biosphere, but that is also sustainable in economic, social and political terms. According to one formulation it is a pattern of development that is sustainable in terms of biological system goals (genetic diversity, resilience, biological productivity), economic systems goals (stabilizing production of goods and services whilst satisfying basic needs and reducing poverty) and social system goals (cultural diversity, social justice, gender equality, participation) (Holmberg 2012).

Sustainability remains an essentially contested concept in both the philosophical and political senses and it is impossible to examine the debate in any depth here. But even to raise the issue is sufficient to underline the very close linkages that exist between the various structures and systems that together comprise the world system. In particular, any discussion of international political theory in relation to the environment is likely to be very deeply concerned with the workings of the international economic system and with theories of international political economy.

In terms of the traditionalist agenda, this means that it is no longer possible to treat ecology and international political economy as separate spheres. For example, the institutions that matter cannot be confined to those that have a specifically 'environmental' label (such as the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), the CSD or

the GEF), but, rather, are the core institutions that manage (or at least seek to manage) the world economy (the World Bank/International Monetary Fund (IMF), the GATT, the Group of Seven). In addition, these interconnections place the dominant techniques of international environmental co-operation under increasing strain. International environmental regulation (especially legal regulation) has traditionally relied on separating issues and negotiating particular agreements to deal with particular problems. Yet attempting to give meaning to sustainability at the international level is necessarily about managing the environmental implications of a diverse and highly politicized set of relationships (for example, links between trade and environment, between debt and environment, between military spending and environment). Unsurprisingly international society has found this task to be a daunting one and the most notable step in this direction (the negotiation at the Earth Summit of an 800-page international programme of action for achieving sustainable developments entitled *Agenda 21*) was marked by omissions, by lack of overall coherence, and by a reluctance to prioritize and to specify any too clear link between impressive aspirations and effective action.

Yet exploring these linkages also raises further nagging doubts about the adequacy of the traditional agenda. If it is indeed the case that power in the global economy is exercised increasingly by non-state actors and, in particular, by transnational companies, the utility of a predominantly state-centred approach to international political ecology is also likely to be limited. Many of the most important environmental policy 'decisions' are not taken by states, but emerge out of the production, technological and trading strategies of a relatively small number of powerful transnational companies. Equally, both the generation of many 'local' environmental problems and the capacity of states to deal with those problems are heavily influenced by the pressures and constraints of an increasingly globalized world economy (for example, linkages between structural adjustment policies and environmental degradation or, more broadly, the transmission via the market of Western lifestyles, of a particular vision of modernity and progress, or of particular kinds of environmental knowledge).

Conclusions about the proper scope of policy co-ordination and global environmental governance are likely to be very heavily influenced by assessments of the character of the global political economy and by one's views of the adequacy of market-based approaches to environmental problems. Indeed, it is precisely doubting about the compatibility of an increasingly globalized world economy with any notion of global ecological rationality that have given rise to an emerging radical ecological critique of the world economy. This has very important implications for international political theory. For a long time, International Relations (IR) has debated the merits of dependency and world systems approaches that posited a clear link between global capitalism and structural inequality. Justifiably or not, much of the force of such radical arguments has been removed by the widespread move to market liberalism and by the

alleged triumph of neo-classical economics. Although containing many disparate strands, ecological critiques of the global economy throw up a new and equally important set of questions that challenge the predominantly market-liberal assumptions that characterize Northern policies and attitudes (Daly and Cobb 2006; de la Court 2008; Goodland, Daly and El Serafy 2012; Ekins 2013).

In the first place, these critiques challenge the dominant reformist liberalism that has characterized so much international thinking on the environment – the idea that a revitalization of global growth (albeit of a more sustainable character) is an essential part of averting future environmental catastrophe and of securing some form of 'global bargain'. For those who see a deep contradiction between this continued emphasis on growth and the finite nature of the earth's ecosystem, the distributional conflicts, above all between rich and poor, are likely to be far more intense and politically significant than the comforting rhetoric of 'Brundtlandism' and 'sustainable development' would suggest.

Second, the critics argue that the existing global economy works to intensify environmental degradation, to undermine the effective authority of states, and to frustrate efforts at effective environmental regulation. From this perspective the choice is a stark one: either to 'bring the world economy under control' and to move to more centralized political co-ordination, or to try to reverse the powerful contemporary pressures towards integration and globalization, to decentralize economic and political power, and to build a sustainable future around grassroots democratic participation and locally generated economic transformation. Indeed, the attenuation of sovereignty as part of a project of radical decentralization forms a common plank of much of the environmentalist agenda.

### The Emergence of 'Transnational Civil Society'

The fourth set of arguments attacks the state-centredness of traditional international political theory from a related, but distinct, perspective. The focus here is on the increased role of specific sets of transnational actors and NGOs, loosely collected under the broad heading of the 'environmental movement'. This encompasses both the scientific community and transnational environmental pressure groups concerned with the interlinked issues of sustainable development, the promotion of grassroots democracy, and the protection of indigenous peoples. The strength of such groups rests on their ability and propensity to develop and disseminate knowledge, to articulate a powerful set of human values, to harness a growing sense of cosmopolitan moral awareness, and to respond to the multiple weaknesses of the state system, both local and global. As a result, we are seeing the 'emergence of a parallel arrangement of political interaction … focused on the self-conscious construction of networks of knowledge and action, by decentred, local actors' (Lipschutz 2012:390). This set of arguments is related to the previous claim in that the increased level of economic globalization provides the 'infrastructure' for increased social communication – the

role of communications technologies in facilitating the flow of values, knowledge and ideas and in allowing like-minded groups to organize across national boundaries.

One line of enquiry is to consider the impact of such groups on the ways in which states deal with environmental problems, to maintain the traditional agenda but to broaden its focus. One approach looks at the particular role of what Peter Haas has called epistemic communities: 'networks of knowledge-based communities with an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within their domain of expertise' (2002:3). Here understandings of the 'problem to be solved' and definitions of state interest are influenced by the existence of transnational coalitions based on technical knowledge of a particular set of environmental issues.

Another approach, still predominantly within the traditional agenda, is to examine the impact of the environmental movement on international environmental co-operation. On many accounts environmental NGOs have played a major role in shifting public and political attitudes towards the environment and placing environmental issues high on the political agendas of an increasing number of states: in publicizing the nature and seriousness of environmental problems; in acting as a conduit for the dissemination of a scientific research; in organizing and orchestrating pressure on states, companies and international organizations; and in providing one of the most important mechanisms for helping to ensure effective implementation of environmental agreements. Certainly, environmental NGOs have been able to harness an impressive array of resources (financial, technical, legal and scientific) and the role of the 1,500 or so NGOs at the Earth Summit was one of the most commented-upon aspects.

Yet, the emergence of 'transnational civil society' is also held to have subverted the traditional agenda: by challenging the hegemony of statist world politics; by establishing a non-territorially based focus of political identity (Ruggie 2013; Lippman and Soludo 2018:226); by creating new forms of political organization, particularly in areas where the writ of the state has quite literally ceased to run; and, perhaps most importantly for our purposes, by giving concrete embodiment to the idea of a global moral community. The sceptic has traditionally denied the importance of the idea of a global community by claiming that it is no more than the figment of the theorist's imagination. Attempts to root such a community in the workings of the global economy drastically underplayed the difference between being part of a common (and often exploitative) system and having a real sense of belonging to a single community (Beitz 2019). The notion that the environmental movement can give concrete political expression to the idea of a global community is therefore one which carries particular resonance.

Speculations of this kind certainly provoke many questions and provide fertile ground for further research. One problem, however, is that the empirical evidence to support such claims is not yet available. The literature on environmental movements – above all, outside the industrialized world – is limited and uneven, and work that focuses in

detail on their transnational character is even more limited. What we do know suggests that the influence of environmental groups is uneven, that it has probably risen in aggregate, but that it can also recede quite dramatically. Another problem concerns the criteria for evaluation. Should we focus merely on the capacity to mobilize concrete resources ('resource mobilization theory') or should we try to assess the power of ideas and the importance of attempts to reconstruct or re-imagine world politics?

Finally, there may be a degree of romanticization about the potential capabilities of such movements to define a new pattern of politics: both within states, where the undoubted retreat of the state that is occurring in many parts of the world can all too easily lead to the breakdown of all political order; and, even more, at the 'international' level. Those who see in the spread of such movements a new non-exploitative and inherently co-operative pattern of environmental action have yet to explain in detail how or why the many conflicts that surround environmental issues will be resolved. Is it not possible, for example, that the persistent calls from the environmental movement for 'global democratization' will in fact sharpen distributional conflicts between the industrialized and non-industrialized world? How compatible are the projects of radical decentralization on the one hand and calls for a fairer distribution of the world's resources on the other? Given the extent of existing global inequality, is there not a risk that decentralization will in fact result in a reduced capability to protect weak communities from external pressures? (For a strong claim of the potential transformatory impact of new forms of political action, see Ekins 2013).

### *The State System as an Obstacle to Managing the Global Environment*

Whatever the difficulties of establishing that the central theoretical category of sovereignty has in fact been eroded, the increased seriousness of environmental problems, the emergence of a stronger planetary consciousness, and the manifold obstacles to effective international co-operation have undoubtedly strengthened the arguments of those who believe that sovereignty ought to be restricted, if not reconsidered. As we have seen, the emergence of global environmental issues is held to have undermined the assumptions on which ideas of sovereignty and non-intervention previously depended. The state is both too big and too small to deal with many of the most pressing environmental challenges: too big for the task of devising viable strategies of sustainable development, which can be developed only from the bottom up; and too small for the effective management of global problems, which by their nature demand increasingly wide-ranging forms of international co-operation. On this view, the fragmented system of sovereign states has become a fundamental obstacle to the effective and equitable management of an interdependent world in general and of the global environment in particular.

More abstractly, the emergence of global environmental problems and the greatly strengthened awareness of a global common interest among all peoples in protecting the environment and safeguarding the future of humanity have provided a powerful

stimulus to the growth of a cosmopolitan moral consciousness. The notion of sharing a world, the essential interconnectedness and interdependence of the global environment, and the scarcity of the resources available to the humanity that need to be distributed both within and between generations all create conditions within which it becomes much harder than in the past to accept that consideration of justice in general, and of distributive justice in particular, end at the borders of states. For many people, then, global environmental interdependence has given greater plausibility to visions of a cosmopolitan global community, to what John Locke (1632-1704) once called 'the great and natural community of the species'.

Such arguments lead to two sorts of demands for the restriction of state sovereignty in the interests of environmental management or stewardship. On the one hand, the emerging sense of a global moral community strengthens the duty of all states to protect the rights of individuals and groups within states and to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth as part of the promotion of sustainable development. On the other, such considerations increase the legitimacy of calls to curtail the sovereignty of states as part of the common management of the global ecosystem, for example by restricting fossil fuel consumption, controlling the use of ozone-depleting substances, or limiting the destruction of tropical rainforests.

It is impossible to debate these claims in any detail in a short paper of this kind. But is it important to highlight the tensions and dilemmas around which this kind of explicitly normative political theory is likely to revolve? In the first place, there is the tension between the use of centralized power by the international community to promote sustainability from 'above' or from 'outside' and the growing recognition that sustainability must also be built from 'below', on the basis of local knowledge, local values and the direct involvement and empowerment of local communities – a tension between globalism and parochialism. Such a tension feeds into the now well-established debate in normative theory between cosmopolitan and communitarian approaches (Brown 2016; Anichebe 2016).

Both sides can claim that environmental dilemmas strengthen their case. We have already noted the increased urgency of cosmopolitan claims. Yet one can also argue that the general communitarian argument in favour of pluralism and diversity assumes particular importance in the environmental field. The relationship to nature and the natural world is often a defining feature of a community's sense of itself. Moreover, there can be no universal definition of sustainable development that can be applied in a mechanistic fashion in all parts of the world. Environmental policies and priorities will inevitably and legitimately vary from one country (and from one community) to another. This reflects the immense variation that exists in the physical world, in the nature and scope of environmental challenges, and in the different perspectives on environmental problems that come from different levels of economic development. There is certainly a good deal of room for positive reinforcement between different

goals and priorities. But sustainability is unavoidably about making trade-offs between different priorities: between the maximum preservation of the natural environment and the pursuit of continuously high levels of economic development; between rapid economic growth and the protection of traditional cultures or improvements in equity and the social justice; or between importing the latest technology and safeguarding traditional practices and cultures.

Similarly, differing cultural and historical circumstances will influence the allocation of environmental values. Definitions of sustainability are inextricably bound up with the allocation of values and the distribution of costs and benefits between individuals and groups both within this generation and across time. Whilst there is widespread agreement that the benefits of environmental protection and the costs of environmental damage need to be made far more explicit and internalized within both markets and government policy-making, there can be no 'objective' and universal way of determining these costs and benefits. This is especially so when it comes to assessing the intrinsic value to be placed on the natural world and its preservation, the idea that what makes nature valuable to human beings is its very 'naturalness' and irreplaceability (Goodin 2012; Enebe 2018). The importance of subjective and culturally determined judgements also arises because of the need to make assumptions about the needs and desires of future generations.

The second source of tension takes us back to the view of political theory with which this paper began, a definition which stressed the need both to delineate a vision of the good life and to show, in principle at least, how such improvements might be achieved. Universalist claims that ideas about sovereignty are outmoded and obstructive can easily overlook the extent to which the new moral cosmopolitanism is still frail. The idea of a functioning global moral community is still largely a rhetorical construct, particularly when seen in terms of the political institutions by which the emerging idea of a global community could be given concrete and practical expression. The principles of global justice remain tentative and uncertain: at the level of theory but even more of practice. More important, the distribution of the costs and benefits of managing the global environment will continue to be determined, not by principles of justice, but by unequal political bargaining between states and by the operation of global markets over which the most powerful states continue to exercise a significant degree of authority. The negotiation of environmental agreements in a profoundly unequal world will affect both the distribution of costs and benefits and the degree to which sovereignty and autonomy are in practice restricted.

Given these circumstances, there is a very real danger that proposals to restrict sovereignty will reinforce an unequal sharing of the burdens of moving towards sustainability which will continue to be characterized by a lack of reciprocity between rich and poor. The coercive restriction of sovereignty may therefore easily become a lever used by Northern governments to press for changes in the environmental policies

of developing countries, whilst they themselves are subject to no such constraints. It may also become a way of shifting the focus of the environmental debate: towards those issues in which Northern countries have a particular interest (biodiversity, climate change, tropical deforestation) or which particularly engage the emotions of Northern publics; and away from often less headline-grabbing problems that are of the greatest concern to the peoples of the South (desertification, water and fuel-wood scarcity, lack of access to safe drinking water, clean air and decent sanitation) and, above all, from the pressing need for continued economic development. It may thus divert attention away from the grave need for the industrialized world to adopt changed patterns of economic development involving lower resource use, the full internalization of environmental externalities, strict pollution-abatement measures and a lower relative share of both the earth's resources and its 'sinks'. Finally, increased levels of external involvement in determining the domestic priorities of states run the risk of undermining the importance of accountability and representation. How can governments be held accountable for policies and priorities over which they have only limited control or authority?

The drama of global environmental change and the extent to which environmental problems threaten to overwhelm our existing forms of political and economic organization make it particularly tempting to devise new schemes of how the world ought to be organized: to put forward arguments about desirable reforms in the way in which states negotiate and co-operate; to argue that sustainability requires both a radical redistribution of the world's wealth and a new form of global democratization. Yet, however impressive the abstract principles on which such schemes or proposals may be based, they will be of limited utility unless related to the actual process of social and political change by which they might plausibly be implemented and to the existing institutions of international society.

The challenge posed by Martin Wight's seminal paper 'Why Is there no International Theory?' (1966) is not that it opens the door to a blank wall of necessity and despair, nor that it forces us to be content with an introspective and egotistical ethic of responsibility. Rather, it (and the tradition of prudential ethics of which it is representative) reminds us of the fragility of international society and of our ideas about what it may be reasonable to expect. Within states we can identify how ideas of order and justice have historically been established, however imperfectly. Between states political theory cannot ignore the fact that the very possibility of a sustained co-operation (and certainly of the kinds of highly extensive co-operation around which much of the environmental debate revolves) has never been firmly established. Hence, at a minimum, we need to anchor ideas of the good life in an understanding of the social, political and economic forces that could plausibly explain how such improvements could be achieved.

## ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES ON THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA

Before the era of globalization there were two traditional environmental concerns: conservation of natural resources and the damage caused by pollution. Pollution, like wildfire, does not respect international boundaries and action to mitigate or conserve them sometimes had to involve more than one state. There were also numerous, mostly unsuccessful, attempts to regulate exploitation of maritime resources lying beyond national jurisdiction, including several multi-lateral fisheries commissions. The 1946 International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling and its International Whaling Commission (IWC) offer an interesting move away from the original goal of conserving the whaling industry by regulating catches, towards the preservation of the Great Whales *per se* through declaring an international moratorium on whaling. This shift still generates bitter confrontation between NGOs, most IWC members, and the small number of nations—Japan, Norway, and Iceland—that wish to resume commercial whaling (Barnett 2011:88).

Post-Second World War global economic recovery brought with it evidence of damaging pollution of the atmosphere, of watercourses, and of the sea, notably the Mediterranean, leading to international agreements in the 1950s and 1960s covering such matters as discharges from oil tankers. This worthy activity was, though, hardly the stuff of great power politics. Such 'apolitical' matters were the domain of new United Nations Specialized Agencies, like the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), but were hardly central to diplomacy at the UN General Assembly (UNGA) in New York. This neglect was reflected in academic writing at the time, as exemplified by Hans Joachim Morgenthau's famous text, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (1955), which mentions the natural environment only as a fixed contextual factor or a constituent of national power.

However, the salience of environmental issues grew in the 1960s, and in 1968 the UNGA accepted a Swedish proposal for what became the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE) 'to focus governments' attention and public opinion on the importance and urgency of the question'. This Conference led to the creation of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the establishment of environment departments by many governments. Yet it was already clear that for the countries of the South, constituting the majority in the UNGA, environmental questions could not be separated from their demands for development, aid, and the restructuring of international economic relations. This was the political context surrounding the emergence of the concept of sustainable development but before this was formulated by the Brundtland Commission in 1987, the environment had been pushed to the periphery of the international agenda by the global economic downturn of the 1970s and then the onset of the second Cold War.

Environmental degradation continued nonetheless. Awareness of new forms of transnational pollution, such as 'acid rain', joined existing concerns over point-source

pollution (when the pollutant comes from a definite source), followed by a dawning scientific realization that some environmental problems—the thinning of the stratospheric ozone layer and the possibility of climate change—were truly global in scale (Barry and Eckersley 2015). The attendant popular concern over such issues and the relaxation of East-West tension created the opportunity for a second great UN conference, for which the connection between environment and development had been explicitly drawn through the Brundtland Commission's notion of sustainable development. Though subject to many subsequent interpretations, its political essence is an accommodation between the environmental concerns of developed states and the development demands of the South, without there could have been no Earth Summit and no Rio process.

The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) or 'Earth Summit' was the largest international conference so far held, raising the profile of the environment as an international issue while concluding several significant documents and agreements, such as Agenda 21 and international conventions on climate change and the preservation of biodiversity. The event's underlying politics were captured in its title—a conference on 'environment and development'—where the most serious arguments concerned aid pledges to finance the environmental improvements under discussion. A process was created at the UN to review the implementation of the Rio agreements, including meetings of the new Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) and a Special Session of the UNGA in 1997.

On UNCED's tenth anniversary in 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) was held in Johannesburg. The change of wording indicated how conceptions of environment and development had shifted since the 1970s. Now discussion was embedded in recognition of the importance of globalization and of the dire state of the African continent. Poverty eradication was clearly emphasized, along with practical progress in providing clean water, sanitation, and agricultural improvements (Adeyemi 2004; Dauvergne 2015; Daige and Mufutau 2019). One controversial element was the role to be played in such provision by private-public sector partnerships.

While the UN conferences marked the stages by which the environment entered the international political mainstream, they also reflected underlying changes in the scope and perception of environmental problems. As scientific understanding expanded, it was becoming a commonplace, by the 1980s, to speak in terms of global environmental change, as most graphical represented by the discovery of the 'ozone hole' and the creeping realization that human activities might be dangerously altering the global climate itself.

Alongside actual environmental degradation and advances in scientific knowledge, the international politics of the environment has responded to the issue-attention cycle in developed countries, peaking at certain moments and then declining. The causes are

complex and during the 1960s reflected the counter-cultural and radical movements of the time along with wider public reactions to a series of trend and events. The most totemic of these was Rachel Carson's hugely influential book *Silent Spring* (1962), which powerfully conjoined the conservationist and anti-pollution agendas by highlighting the damage inflicted upon bird-life by industrial pesticides like DDT. Well-publicized environmental disasters, such as the 1959 mercury poisoning at Minimata in Japan and the 1967 wreck of the *Torrey Canyon* oil tanker close to Cornish beaches, fed public concern. The failure of established political parties to embrace these issues effectively encouraged the birth of several new high-profile NGOs—Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, and the World Wildlife Fund for Nature—alongside more established pressure groups such as the US Sierra Club and the British Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. The interest in environmental action at the international level and, indeed, most of the NGOs exerting pressure to this end was an almost exclusively developed world phenomenon. Public attention then receded until the ending of the second Cold War coincided with a new concern over global environmental problems, providing the political impetus for the 1992 Earth Summit. Interest waned again during the ensuing decade, although by 2005-2006 public alarm over the impact of climate change again propelled environmental issues up the political agenda. The demand was, of course, for international action and governance, but what exactly did this mean? The next section attempts to answer this question by reviewing the functions of international environmental cooperation.

**THE FUNCTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL COOPERATION**

International cooperation establishes governance regimes to regulate transboundary environmental problems and sustain the global commons. Regimes encompass more than formal agreements between states, although these are very important. Moreover, there are other functions and consequences of international cooperation beyond regime formation.

The pursuit of power, status, and wealth are rarely absent from international deliberations (Brenton 2004; Adeyemi 2004:98). This is often neglected in discussions of international environmental cooperation, even though many of the great international gatherings and even some of the more mundane ones clearly reflect struggles for national and organizational advantage. Organizations seek to maintain their financial and staff resources as well as their place within the UN system. UNEP, for example, despite extensive debates over granting it the higher and more autonomous status of a UN Specialized Agency, remains a mere programme. Some suspect that much of the activity at international environmental meetings is simply to issue declarations convincing domestic publics that something is being done, even if environmental conditions continue to deteriorate.

## Transboundary Trade and Pollution Control

When animals, fish, water, or pollution cross national frontiers the need for international cooperation arises and the regulation of transboundary environmental problems is the most long-established function of international cooperation, reflected in hundreds of multilateral, regional, and bilateral agreements providing for joint efforts to manage resources and control pollution.

An important example is provided by the 1979 Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution (LRTAP) and its various protocols. They responded to the growing problem of acidification and so-called 'acid rain' by providing mechanisms to study atmospheric pollution problems in Europe and North America and securing commitments by the states involve to control and reduce their emissions. Another set of multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs) regulates the transboundary movement of hazardous wastes and chemicals in the interests of protecting human health and the environment, and requires that when hazardous chemicals and pesticides are traded, the government from whose territory the exports originate shall obtain the 'prior informed consent' of the importing country.

Controlling, taxing, and even promoting trade has always been one of the more important functions of the state, and trade restrictions can also be used as an instrument for nature conservation (Birnie and Boyle 2012). The 1973 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) does this by attempting to monitor, control, or prohibit international trade in species (or products derived from them) whose continued survival might be put at risk by the effects of such trade. Species at risk are 'listed' in three appendices to the Convention; some 600 animal and 300 plant species currently enjoy the highest level of protection (a trade ban) through listing on Appendix I, though decisions on the 'up-listing' and 'downlisting' of species are sometimes controversial, as in the case of the African Elephant.

The use of trade penalties and restrictions by MEAs has been a vexed issue when the objective of environmental protection has come into conflict with the rules of the GATT/World Trade Organization (WTO) trade regime. Such a problem arose when the international community attempted to address the controversial question of the new biotechnology and genetically modified organisms (GMOs). There was much resistance to the claims of biotechnology corporations that had made huge investments in developing GMO seed, pharmaceutical, and food products, and argued that these innovations had positive environmental and development potential (through reducing pesticide use and increasing crop yields). European publics, supermarkets, and some developing countries were very wary of GMO technologies on safety and other grounds, leading to pressure for controls on their transboundary movement and the negotiation of the Biosafety Protocol to the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) that had been agreed at Rio in 1992. The resulting Cartagena Protocol was signed in 2000 and establishes an advanced informed agreement procedure between

governments to be applied when GMOs are transferred across frontiers for ultimate release into the environment. The criteria to guide decisions on blocking imports reflected a precautionary approach rather than insistence on conclusive scientific evidence of harmfulness. Much of the argument in negotiating the Cartagena Protocol concerned the relationship of these new environmental rules to the requirements of the trade regime and arose from the concern of the USA and the other potential GMO exporters that the Protocol would permit a disguised form of trade protectionism (Sombre 2016; Zainaib and Zanowski 2016: 231). Whether the WTO trade rules should take precedence over the emerging biosafety rules was debated at length until the parties agreed to avoid the issue by providing that the two sets of rules should be 'mutually supportive'.

### Norm Creation

The development of international environmental law and associated norms of acceptable behaviour has been both rapid and innovative over the last thirty-five years. Some of the norms mentioned above are in the form of quite technical policy concepts that have been widely disseminated and adopted as a result of international discussion. The precautionary principle has gained increasing but not uncritical currency. Originally coined by German policy-makers, it states that where there is a likelihood of environmental damage, banning an activity should not require full and definitive scientific proof. As we saw in the example of GMOs, the latter has tended to be the requirement in trade law (and indeed in UK environmental policy before European Community doctrines on precaution took hold). The norm of 'prior informed consent' has also been promoted alongside that of the 'polluter pays'. In the longer term, one of the key effects of the climate change regime (dealt with in detail below) may well be the dissemination of new approaches to pollution control such as emissions trading and joint implementation.

The UN Earth Summits were important in establishing environmental norms. The 1972 Stockholm Conference produced its 'Principle 21', which combines sovereignty over national resources with state responsibility for external pollution. This should not be confused with *Agenda 21*, issued by the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, a complex 40-chapter document of some 400 pages that took two years to negotiate in UNCED's Preparatory Committee. *Agenda 21* was frequently derided, not least because of its non-binding character, but this internationally agreed compendium of environmental 'best practice' subsequently had a wide impact and remains a point of reference. For example, many local authorities have produced their own 'local Agenda 21s'. Under the Aarhus Convention (1998), North American and European governments agreed to guarantee to their publics a number of environmental rights, including the right to obtain environmental information held by governments, to participate in policy decisions, and to have access to judicial processes.

## Capacity Building

Although not a specific norm of the type dealt with above, sustainable development provides a normative framework reflecting an underlying deal between developed and developing worlds. Frequent North-South arguments since Rio about the levels of aid and technology transfer that would allow developing countries to achieve sustainable development have seen many disappointments and unfulfilled pledges. In 1991, UNEP, UNDP, and the World Bank created the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) as an international mechanism specifically for funding environmental projects in developing countries. In 2003-6 it attracted donations of around US\$3 billion. Most environmental conventions now aim at capacity building through arrangements for the transfer of funds, technology, and expertise, because most of their member states simply lack the resources to participate fully in international agreements. The stratospheric ozone and climate change regimes aim to build capacity and could not exist in their current form without providing for this function.

## Scientific Understanding

International environmental cooperation relies upon shared scientific understanding, as reflected in the form of some important contemporary environmental regimes. An initial framework convention will signal concern and establish mechanisms for developing and sharing new scientific data, thereby providing the basis for taking action in a control protocol. Generating and sharing scientific information has long been a function of international cooperation in such public bodies as the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and myriad academic organizations such as the International Council for the Exploration of the Seas (ICES) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN). Disseminating scientific information on an international basis makes sense but it needs funding from governments because, except in areas like pharmaceutical research, the private sector has no incentive to do the work. International environmental regimes usually have standing scientific committees and subsidiary bodies to support their work. Perhaps the greatest international effort to generate new and authoritative scientific knowledge has been in the area of climate change, through the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

## Governing the Commons

The global commons are usually understood as areas and resources that are not under sovereign jurisdiction—they are not owned by anybody. The high seas and the deep ocean floor come within this category (beyond the 200-mile exclusive economic zone), as does Antarctica (based upon the 1959 Antarctic Treaty). Outer space is another highly important common, its use being vital to modern telecommunications, broadcasting, navigation, and surveillance. Finally, there is the global atmosphere.

The common all have an environmental dimension, as resources but also as 'sinks' for waste products that have been increasingly degraded. The fish and whale stocks of the high seas have been relentlessly over-exploited to the point where some species have been wiped out and long-term protein sources for human beings are imperiled. The ocean environment has been polluted by land-based effluent and oil and other discharges from ships. It has been a struggle to maintain the unique wilderness of the Antarctic in the face of increasing pressure from human beings and even outer space now faces an environmental problem in the form of increasing amounts of orbital debris left by decades of satellite launches. Similarly, the global atmosphere has been degraded in a number of highly threatening ways, through damage to the stratospheric ozone layer and, most importantly, by the enhanced greenhouse effect now firmly associated with changes to the Earth's climate (Dryzek 2007; Kemi-Smith 2015). This is often characterized as a 'tragedy of the commons'. Where there is unrestricted access to a resource owned by no one, there will be an incentive for individuals to grab as much as they can and, if the resource is finite, there will come a time when it is ruined by over-exploitation as the short-term interests of individual users overwhelm the longer-run collective interest in sustaining the resource.

Within the jurisdiction of governments, it may be possible to solve the problem by turning the common into private property or nationalizing it, but for the global commons such a solution is, by definition, unavailable. Therefore, the function of international cooperation in this context is the very necessary one of providing a substitute for world government, to ensure that global commons are not misused and subject to tragic collapse. This has been done through creating regimes for the governance of the global commons, which have enjoyed varying degrees of effectiveness. Many of the functions discussed above can be found in the global commons' regimes, but their central contribution is a framework of rules to ensure mutual agreement between users about acceptable standards of behaviour and levels of exploitation, consistent with sustaining the ecology of the commons.

Enforcement poses difficult challenges due to the incentives for users to 'free ride' on these arrangements by taking more than a fair share, or refusing to be bound by the collective arrangements. This can potentially destroy regimes because other parties will then see no reason to restrain themselves either. In local commons regimes, inquisitive neighbours might deter rule-breaking and a similar role at the international level can be performed by NGOs. However, it is very difficult to enforce compliance with an agreement on the part of sovereign states, even when they have undertaken to comply—a fundamental difficulty for international law and hardly unique to environmental regimes. Mechanisms have been developed to cope with this problem but how effective they, and the environmental regimes to which they apply, can be is hard to judge, as this involves determining the extent to which governments are in legal and technical compliance with their international obligations. Moreover, it also involves estimating the extent to which state behaviour has actually been changed as a

result of the international regime concerned. Naturally, the ultimate and most demanding test of the effectiveness of global commons regimes is whether or not the resources or ecologies concerned are sustained or even improved.

Some of the first and least successful global commons regimes were the various fisheries commissions for the Atlantic and elsewhere, which sought agreement on limiting catches in order to preserve stocks. Pollution from ships has been controlled by MARPOL (an international marine environmental convertion—short for marine pollution) and there is a patchwork of other treaties to manage such issues as the dumping of radioactive waste at sea. For the Antarctic, a remarkably well-developed set of rules designed to preserve the ecological integrity of this last great wilderness has been devised within the framework of the 1959 Treaty. The Antarctic regime is a rather exclusive club: The Treaty's 'Consultative Parties' include the states that had originally claimed sovereignty over parts of the area while new members of the club have to demonstrate their involvement in scientific research on the frozen continent. There is a comprehensive agreement on conserving the marine ecosystem around the continent and in the late 1980s preparations for regulated minerals mining were defeated and replaced by a new Protocol on Environmental Protection including a 50-year mining ban. The success of a restricted group of countries in governing this crucial laboratory for understanding global environmental change, with only a minimal level of formal organization, demonstrates what can be achieved by international action.

Antarctic science was crucial to the discovery of a problem which resulted in what is perhaps the best example of effective international action to govern the commons. In 1985, a British Antarctic Survey balloon provided definitive evidence of serious thinning of the stratospheric ozone layer. A diminishing ozone layer is a global problem *par excellence*, because it protects the Earth and its inhabitants from the damaging effects of the sun's UV/B radiation. A framework convention was signed about the issue in 1985, followed in 1987 by its Montreal Protocol, imposing international controls over ozone-depleting chemicals. The further evolution of the ozone layer regime offers the paramount example of how international cooperation can achieve an effective solution to a global environmental problem. The problem's causes were isolated, international support was mobilized, compensatory action was taken to ensure that developing countries participated, and a set of rules and procedures were developed which proved to be effective, at least in reducing the concentration of the offending chemicals in the atmosphere, if not yet fully restoring the stratospheric ozone layer.

## CLIMATE CHANGE

Unlike the ozone layer problem, climate change and the enhanced greenhouse effect had long been debated among scientists, but only in the late 1980s did sufficient international consensus emerge to stimulate action. There were still serious disagreements over the likelihood that human-induced changes in mean temperatures

were altering the global climate system (Elliot 2014). The greenhouse effect is essential to life on Earth. Greenhouse gases (ghgs) in the atmosphere insulate the Earth's surface by trapping solar radiation. Before the industrial revolution, carbon dioxide concentrations in the atmosphere were around 280 parts per million, and have since grown exponentially (to a 2018 figure of 379 ppm) due to burning of fossil fuels and reductions in some of the 'sinks' for carbon dioxide—notably forests. Methane emissions have also risen with the growth of agriculture (IPCC 2019:11). The best predictions of the IPCC are that, if nothing is done to curb intensive fossil fuel emissions, there will be a likely rise in mean temperatures of the order of 2.4–6.4$^{\circ}$C by 2099. The exact consequences of this are difficult to predict on the basis of current climate modeling but sea level rises and turbulent weather are generally expected. According to the European Union (EU), to avoid climate catastrophe, it would be necessary to hold temperature increases below 2$^{\circ}$C by keeping atmospheric $CO_2$ concentrations below 550 ppm. In the first decade of the twenty-first century unusual weather patterns, storm events, and the melting of polar ice sheets have added a dimension of public concern to the fears expressed by the scientific community.

As a commons problem, climate change is on a quite different scale from anything that the international system has previously encountered. Climate change is really not a 'normal' international environmental problem—it threatens huge changes in living conditions and challenges existing patterns of energy use and security. There is almost no dimension of international relations that it does not actually or potentially affect and it has already become the subject of 'high politics', discussed at G8 summits and in high-level meetings between political leaders. Indeed, the UK Foreign Secretary stated in 2016 that climate change and climate security must not be a priority for foreign policy.

One way of examining the dimensions of the problem and the steps taken at the international level to respond to the threat is to make a comparison to the stratospheric ozone problem discussed earlier. There are, of course, some similarities. CFCs are in themselves greenhouse gases and the international legal texts on climate change make it clear that controlling them is the responsibility of the Montreal Protocol. The experience with stratospheric ozone and other recent conventions has clearly influenced efforts to build a climate change regime, as shown at the very start of climate discussions, when the same approach of a framework convention followed by protocols was adopted.

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC) was signed at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. It envisaged the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and their removal by sinks, hoping that a start could be made by including a commitment from the developed nations to cut their emissions back to 1990 levels by 2000. In a US election year this proved to be impossible and the parties had to be content with a non-binding declaration that an attempt would be made. There was a binding commitment,

however, for parties to draw up national inventories of sources and sinks. As this included the developing nations, many of whom were ill-equipped to fulfill this obligation, there was also funding for capacity building. Most importantly, the convention locked the parties into holding a continuing series of annual conferences—the CoPs—to consider possible actions and review the adequacy of existing commitments, supported by regular meetings of the subsidiary scientific and implementation bodies (Lipschutz 2014:99). By the second CoP in Kyoto in 1997, the parties agreed a 'control' measure—the Kyoto Protocol involving emissions reductions be developed countries facilitated by 'flexibility mechanisms'.

The problem faced by the framers of the Kyoto Protocol was vastly more complex and demanding than that which their counterparts at Montreal had confronted so successfully in 1987. Instead of controlling a single set of industrial gases for which substitutes were available, reducing greenhouse gas emissions would involve energy, transport, and agriculture—the fundamentals of life in modern societies. Whether this must involve real sacrifices in living standards and 'impossible' political choices is a tough question for governments, although there are potential economic benefits from cutting emissions through the development of alternative energy technologies.

A second key difference from the ozone regime experience was that, despite a quite unprecedented international scientific effort in support of the IPCC to establish the causes and consequences of warning, there was no scientific consensus of the kind that has promoted agreement on CFCs. There was scientific disagreement over the significance of human activities and projections of future change (which has since narrowed dramatically). There were those who had an economic interest in denying or misrepresenting the science, including fossil fuel interests and producers such as Saudi Arabia. At the other end of the spectrum, the Alliance of Small Island States, some of whose members' territory would simply disappear under projected sea level rises, were desperately concerned that these projections be taken seriously.

There is a further problem in that, even though the effects of climate change are not fully understood, there is enough evidence for some nations to calculate that there might be benefits to them from climatic alterations. Regions of Russia, for example, might become more temperate with rises in mean temperature and more suitable for agricultural production (although one could equally well argue the extremely damaging effects of melting permafrost in Siberia). One generalization that could be made with certainty is that it is the developing nations, with limited infrastructure and major populations located at sea level, which are most vulnerable. In recognition of this and on the understanding that a certain level of warming is now inevitable, international attention has begun to shift towards the problem of adaptation to the inevitable effects of climate change as well as mitigation of its causes. Once again, the comparative simplicity of the stratospheric ozone problem is evident—the effects of ozone

depletion were spread across the globe and affected North Europeans as well as those living in the southern hemisphere (Paterson 2016).

At the heart of the international politics of climate change as a global environmental problem is the structural divide between North and South. For the Montreal Protocol there was a solution available at an acceptable price, delivered through the Multilateral Ozone Fund. Once again, climate change is different. One of the most significant principles set out in the UNFCCC was that of common but differentiated responsibilities. That is to say that while climate change was the 'common concern' of all, it had been produced as a consequence of the development of the old industrialized nations and it was their responsibility to take the lead in cutting emissions.

The achievement at Kyoto was to bind most of the developed nations to a set of emissions cuts that varied. This achieved at least part of the objectives of the European Union, but it was soon seen to be wholly inadequate in terms of the projected scale of the global warming problem.  In return, the European Union accepted the US proposal for the Kyoto mechanisms and has since become their enthusiastic champion. However, none of the detail of what was to become a highly complex and innovative agreement had been worked out. It was to take a series of difficult CoPs to achieve this, to write the rules for the operation of the Protocol, and, above all, to meet the demanding requirements for its ratification and entry into force. These were that 55 parties had to ratify the agreement and that these parties must also produce over 55 per cent of global emissions. It was very evident that the United States would not ratify Kyoto and the administration of George W. Bush actually denounced US signature of the Protocol, claiming it to be 'fatally flawed' and that the emissions cuts required would be impossibly damaging to the US economy. Australia also refused to ratify, thus making it essential that Russia and Japan should ratify alongside the European Union. Much of the burden of ensuring that Kyoto eventually entered into force fell upon the EU and tested the diplomatic capabilities of this new type of international actor and its component member states in what became a direct contest with the US government. The EU also pioneered the world's first international emissions trading system which commenced operation at the beginning of 2005. This was in the hope that it would not only help to achieve the EU's Kyoto target of an 8 per cent reduction in emissions by 2022, but that it would also encourage other countries to join the scheme.

The climate regime has been afflicted by the 'free rider' problem. If some countries join together and agree to make cuts which are costly, then others who do not can enjoy the environmental benefits of such action without paying. Thus, proceeding without the USA has been very difficult, not only because it produces around one-quarter of global carbon dioxide emissions, but also because its failure to be involved affect the willingness of others to participate and particularly the fast-developing economies of the South. There is some hope that the Kyoto targets may be achieved by 2022, but

even that is uncertain. The Bush administration has resolutely opposed Kyoto and from its entry into force in 2005, discussions have been proceeding as to how a new regime might be constructed that involves all of the main industrialized and industrializing countries in a collective scheme to make significant cuts in their greenhouse gas emissions, but also to work together to adapt to the effects of climate change that are already becoming evident. There is probably no more urgent or important task for international cooperation.

## THE ENVIRONMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY

The academic study of the international relations of the environment has naturally tried to understand the circumstances under which potentially effective international cooperation can occur. The preceding discussion of climate change shows that this question remains important. Most scholars have used the concept of regime as explained earlier. Note, for instance, how the defining characteristics of regimes–principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures–can be applied to the environmental cases. Those who try to explain the record of environmental regimes tend to adopt a liberal institutionalist stance, stressing as a key motivating factor the joint gains arising from cooperative solutions to the problem of providing public goods such as a clean atmosphere. One important addition to the regime literature, made by scholars of environmental politics, reflects the important of scientific knowledge and the roles of NGOs in this area. Whereas orthodox regime approaches assume that behaviour is based upon the pursuit of power or interest, students of international environmental cooperation have noted the independent role played by changes in knowledge (particularly scientific understanding). This cognitive approach is reflected in studies of the ways in which transnationally organized groups of scientists and policy-makers—often referred to as epistemic communities—have influenced the development of environmental regimes.

Liberal Institutionalist analysis of regime creation may still be the predominant International Relations (IR) approach to global environmental change, but it is not the only one. It makes the important, but often unspoken, assumption that the problem to be solved is how to obtain global governance in a fragmented system of sovereign states. Marxist and Gramscian writers would reject this formulation. For them, the state system is part of the problem rather than the solution, and the proper object of study is the way in which global capitalism reproduces relationships that are profoundly damaging to the environment. The global spread of neo-liberal policies accelerates those feature of globalization—consumerism, the relocation of production to the South, and the thoughtless squandering of resources—driving the global ecological crisis. Proponents of this view also highlight the incapacity of the state to do anything other than assist such processes. It follows that the international cooperation efforts described here, at worst legitimize this state of affairs and at best provide some marginal improvements to the devastation wrought by global capitalism. For example,

they would point to how free market concepts are now routinely embedded in discussions of sustainable development and how the WTO rules tend to subordinate attempts to provide environmental regulation of GMOs. This argument is part of a broader debate among political theorists concerning whether the state can ever be 'greened'. The opposing view would be that within any time frame that is relevant to coping with a threat of the immediacy and magnitude of climate change, the state and international cooperation remain the only plausible mechanisms for providing the necessary global governance and we shall simply have to make the best we can with existing state and international organizational structures.

The other theoretical connection that must be made is to the pre-eminent concern of orthodox IR—security. This link can be thought of in two ways. First, it is argued that environmental change contributes to the incidence of both internal conflict and even inter-state war, even though the causal connections are complex and involves many factors. It is already evident that desertification and the degradation of other vital resources are intimately bound up with cycles of poverty, destitution, and war in Africa. However, if we consider such predicted consequences of climate change as mass migrations of populations across international boundaries and acute scarcity of water and other resources, the outlines of potential future conflicts come into sharper focus.

The link between environmental change and armed conflict is essentially an extension of traditional thinking about security, defined in terms of collective violence and attacks upon the state (Vogler 2018). A more intriguing question is whether we should now redefine the idea of security to encompass environmental threats as well as those stemming from terrorism and war. As the public becomes more sharply aware of the full magnitude of the climate problem, political discourse begins to 'securitize' the environment, that is, to characterize the environment as a security problem. Because governments usually prioritize security matters, people wishing to mobilize political attention and resources, and encourage potentially painful societal adaptation, will be tempted to stretch traditional definitions of security.

## CONCLUSION

This paper has sought to draw a distinction between two ways of thinking about the relationship between international political theory and the global environment. As John Ruggie has argued, there is a striking gap between the traditional and dissenting accounts.

> *The global ecological implosion inherently invites epochal thinking, yet analytically informed empirical studies of 'ozone diplomacy' or of attempts to save the Mediterranean invariably focus on negotiations processes and the dynamics of regime construction, as opposed to exploring the possibility of fundamental institutional discontinuity in the system of states* (2013:143)

This paper has examined five sets of arguments which suggest that the traditionalist account of the scope of international political theory provides an inadequate basis for understanding the problems of global environmental change, and which, in different ways and to a varied extent, do indeed open up the possibility of a 'fundamental discontinuity in the system of states'. The argument of this paper has been that detailed consideration of these arguments is necessary *both* to understand and illuminate the still very important state-centred agenda of 'traditional' international political theory *and* to understand the ways in which environmental problems and politics may be altering dominant frames of reference and suggesting a broader, if murkier, scope for international political theory. Rather than be seen as two different kinds of project, a great deal of international political theory in the future is likely to be concerned with the complex ways in which these two agendas relate and interact.

This paper has also shown, briefly, how environmental issues have moved from the margins to an increasingly central place on the international agenda. Climate change is now widely perceived to be at least the equal of any other issue and arguably the most important faced by humankind. The rise to prominence of environmental issues is intimately associated with globalization due to the strain that this places on the Earth's carrying capacity in terms consumption levels, resource depletion, and rising greenhouse gas emissions. Globalization has also facilitated the growth of transnational green politics and interventions by NGOs to raise public awareness, influence international conferences, and even monitor the implementation of agreements by states. At every stage, two distinctive aspects of international environmental politics have played a central role. The first is the complex relationship between scientific understanding of the biosphere, politics, and policy, as exemplified by the interplay between the IPCC and the actions of governments building the climate regime. The second is the connection between environment and development, which has been expressed in the shifting meanings given to the concept of sustainable development and whose acknowledgement has been a precondition for international action on a whole range of environmental issues. Nowhere is this more evident than is debates about the future direction of the climate regime.

The international response to environmental change has been in the form of attempts to arrange global environmental governance through extensive cooperation between governments. This paper has attempted to provide some insight into the range and functions of such regime-creating activities, which provide a basis upon which the international community is attempting to grapple with the climate problem. The academic community has generally followed this enterprise by concentrating upon the question of how regimes may be formed and sustained. More critical theorists will take a different view of the meaning of international cooperation. Furthermore, the challenges posed to international theory by the global environmental predicament will undoubtedly involve the need to think through the connections between security, climate change, and globalization.

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# 21st Century Effects and Influences of Audio-Visual Media Advertisement on the Contemporary Children

**ANUZU, NDUBUEZE JOSIAH**
*Department of Mass Communication*
*Ecole Superieure d'Administration, d'Economie, De Journalisme et des*
*Metiers de l'Audiovisuel (ESAE) Cotonou, Republic of Benin*
*+234 8035650149*
*emmavicedu.consult@yahoo.com*

## Abstract

The effects and influences of audio-visual advertisement such as Audio-Visual Media and cinemas on the psycho-social development of children is very profound and well pronounced in this our contemporary time. The frequent exposure of children either Audio-Visual Media or cinema advertisement has the acute potentials to generate in them both positive and negative influences on them.Moreover, it is a corroborated facts that have clearly showed that audio-visual media advertisements create violence scenes, sex appeal, use of offensive languages which can cause adverse effects in children. The 21st century audio-visual media have succeeded in making advertisement more sophisticated in the sense that children have to register the adverts in their mind and memory. When one can trace back to the genesis and development of advertisement started with mere signs to identify products by the owner's couple with signs and signals to show existence of a particular product. It is a fact that, the advent of science and technology has drastically put advertisement where it is today especially on non-print media. This is the vehicle that succeeded in piloting advertisement to its zenith today. This is borne out of incessant and catchy advertisements broadcast embark by audio-visual media which eventually manipulate the choice of children and same time allow for compulsive shopping by the children. Every existence of any development must have both the advantages and disadvantages. It is pertinent to observe that the effects and influences of audio-visual media advertisements are enormous and also having adverse effects on children. Therefore, efforts should be made to unravel the effects and the influences on this paper as regards to contemporary children  Based on this constant repetition,  it has often led children to become dictators to their parents and materialistic as well and this incessant trend, they find it difficult to abstain from it.

## TERMS AND DEFINITION

1) **Audio-Visual Media**: Electronic media possessing both visual and sound component at same time.

2) **Advertisement**: It can be seen as any paid message delivered through non-personal media by an identified sponsor with the purpose of selling something to a defined target market or prospects.

**3) Children:** The class of people who have not yet reached adulthood whether natural, cultural or legal.

4) **Influence**: The power to affect, control or manipulate something or someone, the ability to change the development of fluctuating things such as conduct, thought or decisions.

## INTRODUCTION

The effects and influences of audio-visual media advertisement on the psycho-social devopment of children is alarming and sensitive in nature. Thus it is important and expedient for adequate check-making by the parents and guardians in order to curb the adverse effects and influences of it on the growing children.

They should know the type of advertisements their children or wards watch and their exposure to media in general.

Audio-visual media advertisement is a kind of advertisement that employs both hearing the action and same time seeing the intricacies of the action.

Infact audio-visual media advertisement has the capability to generate both positive and negative effects and negative effects and influences of it out numbered the tiny positive impacts of it.

This paper is set-up to look at the negative impacts on our growing children in our society. An individual child's development is very sensitive in such a way that a child can be easily influenced on what he watches either positive or negative.

As a matter of fact, not all the audio-visual media advertisements are inappropriate but statistics showing that a child who is exposed to the advertisement is proned to violence, sexually induced and offensive language.

Surely, there are some diversifications of advertising programmes on audio-visual media such as Audio-Visual Media and cinema. We have advertising on violent films, romantic films including products advertising such as cigarette, alcoholic e.t.c

Children engaging in watching audio-visual media advertisements limit their time for vital activities such as reading, solving home assignments, doing home chores, spending time with peers and family, story telling, participating in regular exercise and developing other necessary physical, mental and social skills.

In addition, apart from engaging on some of the vital issues of life, other factors the children are influenced include the child's developmental level, individual susceptibility even whether the children watch alone or with their parents.

Conversely, audio-visual media advertisement can be a powerful teacher, watching at it can facilitate children imbibing ethnic harmony, co-operation, kindness, solving simple arithmetic and the alphabet through educational programmes learning from public zoo, library book-store, museum and other active recreational settings. The educational videos can certainly serve as powerful tool or device for teaching. The educational value of audio-visual media have been shown to improve the reading and learning skills of its viewer.

More recently and well - controlled studies show that one to two hours of daily unsupervised audio-visual media advertisement viewing by school-aged children have a significant negative effects on academic performance especially reading.

Audio-Visual Media and cinema media of mass communication is a very strong tool especially when it comes to advertisement. Several studies shown that the two have more advantages over other media of mass communication. This is based on its devices of hearing and seeing. It is also rich in persuasiveness, convincing and influences on one's behaviour more quickly. This is as a result of its dual advantage of sound and visual.

However, children who mostly learn better in practical or experience are prone to digest advertisements on audio-visual gadgets especially, when they are not properly monitored by their parents or teachers in school to know what kind of advertisement on a  screen that the children are exposed to. Audio-visual media unlike audio media in which most of its messages, even though simple, precise and concise leaves the audience some times to imagination. As a matter of fact, advertisement is aimed at promotion different products and its features but someone perceives it differently, it may have larger sociological influences.

On average, if a child views almost twelve thousand violent scenes on any audio-visual either advertisement or other programmes per year and majority of them are murder, sex and corrupt languages. And paradventure the programmes are on the violent contents and the children are male ones, definitely the children would be more of hostile in nature.

In the other hand, young children get inspiration more than any other age group from the audio- visual commercials as they believe what they see. The linking for advertisement by children depends upon simplicity and clarity of the message presented in the advertisements.

There are a lot of research works on the inter-relationship between watching violent programmes and aggressive attitude of the viewers especially children.

Due to the important role children play in buying decision, advertiser targets the children not only at homes but also in schools (Ajanaku 2008) A single advertisement may create a strong will for the advertised product that is well done. (Armstrong, 1999)

In addition to advertisement, the purchasing decision can be influenced by parents, teachers, friends and direct experiences.

Other factors may include socio-economic status and cultural background of the children and also the education levels of their parents. For instance, now those advertisers mostly use sex appeal in to advertising most of their products like bathing soap, cream, clothes, make-ups, vehicles and so many other products are advertised using sex appeal. These are actually detrimental to young minds or predisposed children to moral decadence.

Children are considered as minors and are classified under vulnerable groups by advertising laws and ethics around the world, the classification is based on the fact that their reasoning fall short of the required wisdom to evaluate advertising messages and make informed decision. To address the problem and others, the Nigerian government set-up the advertising practitioners council of Nigeria.

(APCON): the regulatory body has certain laws in place to protect children but the problem remains.

For instance, advertising messages that play around sex appeal band wagon effects, prestige among others. None of the three strategies offer the child anything good. Most sex appeal adverts create pornographic scenes that can lead to children to teenage sex. Others like contraceptives and condom advert seems to encourage children on pre marital sex.

Moreover, commercials that play on bandwagon effect induces children to desire the advertised products and trouble their parents over getting them the product just because their peers are using the product. Children who are class conscious often trouble their parents over a particular advertised products following the prestige such advert creates on the users.

The issue is not the children desiring to belong or have a taste of great things but stressing their parents to provide them what their parents cannot afford.

Children in their low level reasoning would conclude that drinking the brand of malt gives one the extra power to perform similar act and they go trying it.

APCON laws ensured such warnings like keep drugs out of the reach of children; total abstinence from pre- marital sex but most children pay no attention to such warnings.

To this effect this paper is geared towards stepping into the effects and influences and looking away to overcome this predicament on children.

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The following questions are addressed in this study.

1) What type of audio-visual media advertising are considered harmful to children?

2) What are the effects and influences of audio-visual advertisement on children?

3) How do we curtail negative effect and influences of advertisement on children?

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This aspect of this article reviews the related literatures on the 21st Century effects and influences of audio-visual media advertisement on the contemporary children.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### The Uses and Gratification Theory

The theory is used because it is a mass communication theory and also it belongs to the indirect effect theory.

It is concerned with what people do with the mass media and the influences and effects mass media have on people. This is as a result that people are not just passive receivers as far as media message are concerned but active influences of the messages effects. This is because they selectively choose, attend to perceive and retain the media messages on the basis of their needs belief etc.

The theory applied on this write-up was propounded by Elihu Katz, lay Blumber and Michael Gurevitch in 1974.

Blumber and Katz's values are clearly seen by the fact that they believe that media consumers can choose the influence media have on them as well as the idea that users choose media alternatives merely as a means to an end.

The uses and gratification theory is the optimist's view of the media. The theory takes out the possibility that the media can have an unconscious influence over our lives and how we view the world. The idea that we simply use the media to satisfy a given need does seem to fully recognize the power of the media in today's society.

The uses and gratification theory has been concerned with why people use media. The core assumptions of the theory according to Elihu Katz, Jay Blumber and Michael Gurevitch in 1974 are as follows:

- The audience is concerned as active. This idea focuses around the assumption that the viewers are good originated and attempt to achieve their goal through media source.
- In the mass communication process, much initiative in linking need gratification and media choices lies with audience member. This is encompassing the idea that people use the media to their advantage more often than the media use them. The receiver determines what is to be aborted and does not allow the media to influence them otherwise

The theory "uses and gratification" is seen to be relevant to this study simply because it is a theory that best explains vividly why people got themselves exposed to or rejects

some media which is one of the objectives of this given paper which is set out to achieve. The theory also states that people get themselves exposed to a particular media because of the benefits they derive from the media.

This therefore applies to this write up, children who understands and learn faster when pictures are displayed along side demonstration and accompanied with sound find audio-visual media advertisement more enticing than others than other medium because most of the advertisement they watch on audio-visual media are mostly displayed and done by young children.

This theory is in other words vital to this study because it perceives the recipients as actively influencing the effect process, since they selectively choose, attend to, perceive and return the media messages on their needs.

## ADVERTISING LAWS AND ETHICS

The federal government in 1988 established the advertising practitioners council of Nigeria (APCON) Act 55 of 1988 which established APCON as the statutory regulatory agency for advertising. They are empowered to do the following:

1. To determine who advertising practitioners are
2. To determine the standard of knowledge and skill required to be attained by persons seeking to become registered as advertising practitioners, and reviewing the standard from time to time.
3. To establish and maintain a register of person's entitled to practice advertising in Nigeria and publication of the register from time to time.
4. To regulate and control the practice of advertising in all its aspect and ramifications.
5. To conduct examination in the profession and award certificates or diplomas to successful candidates.
6. To perform other functions conferred on it by the law.

The law provides for the composition and power of the council, registration of persons to practice advertising privileges of registered persons and penalties for practicing without registration, publication of register of practitioners, training and accreditation of institutions for the intending practitioners, disciplinary measures for erring registered practitioners.

Advertising regulations come into two forms, self regulation and statutory regulation.

Self regulation refers to the ethics which practitioners through their respective pressure groups put in place to help themselves and maintain healthy rivalry. In Nigeria, the following sectorial association have been instrumental for ethical standard in advertising practice.

1. Association of Advertising Agencies in Nigeria (AAAN) for creative and general advertising agencies.

2. Media Independent Practitioners association of Nigeria (MIPAN)
3. Outdoor Advertising Association of Nigeria (OAAN) for outdoor/ billboard hoarding.
4. Newspaper Proprietor Association of Nigeria (NPAN)
5. Broadcasting Association of Nigeria (BON)

Statutory regulation, on other hand refers to laws enacted by government to maintain standard practice. This practice looks similar in most countries of the world. There are statutory laws and ethical codes of conduct governing the practice advertising in most countries of the world.

For instance, self regulatory is more pronounced in the United States and South Africa; the federal trade commission takes action against unlawful advertising in the United States of America.

## REGULATED PRODUCT ADVERTISING

APCON classified advertising products or services into two categories namely; regulated control products and general goods and services. Advertising messages for regulated products must pass through APCON vetting for they will be exposed to the public. Nzeribe (2003) listed the regulated products as follows; food items, personal hygiene products, drinks, medicines, multivitamins, and mineral, advertising directed at children, tobacco products, alcoholic beverages, home videos promos, financial services, religious revivals/conventions, political advertising, trado- medicine and telecommunication.

The products and services not found in the above list fall under the category of general goods and services. Advertising messages for general goods and services do not attract heavy regulation as in the other category. The regulated products are sensitive and could be harmful if their advertising programmes are not controlled.

## THE CONCEPT OF AUDIO-VISUAL ADVERTISEMENT

The gradual increase in the broadcasting of children advertisement causes the curiosity of how these advertisement affects a family and its purchasing behaviour. In essence, a family's budget is often disrupted by the children in the family. The reason for this action is due to the fact that children who watch advertisement are mostly attracted to the items or products that are being advertised leading them to have an understanding on what is needed and what is not as children have a constant urge to know whatever that is being advertised to them. Therefore, "the change is surely true" (Demsetz 1974).

A marketer's concern is on how advertisement communicates to the majority (children) while the consumer, are only aware that the purpose of advertisement is to sell a product. Moreover, children of today are accustomed to accessing information easily and faster with little or no effect. Also most children between the ages of five to eight years have the ability to discriminate between commercials and programmes but may

not understand the purpose of the commercials (Butter, paula, Robert and Rogers, 1981, Stephen's and stutts 1982).

According to Goldberg and Gom (1978) Audio-visual advertisement encourages children to choose materials objects over more socially oriented alternatives, increases the rate of parent-child conflict and is likely to return in making a child unhappy and Robertson (1980) suggest that they train on child-parent relations would be greatest among the economically disadvantages, who would have to deny more of these requests.

This my result in maladaptive behaviour with parents changing their family's consumption patterns to meet the children's demands, some of the advertisement being viewed by children may be misleading and may not communicate the information they send out. The use of nude people amongst others in advertisements is a major problem which depicts of violation of ethics to the advertising department.

On negative effects of Audio-Visual Media advertisement on children however, Nixton (2004) opines that children show increasing signs when there is an issue in controlling their weight of being the worst generation yet. Nixton goes on to illustrate how advertisement could be harmful to children through the underlisted points

1. Advertisement encourages children to persuade their parents to buy products that are being shown in the commercials irrespective of whether they are of good use or not. Although the younger ones have the tendency to be obstinate if the products they want are not being brought for them.
2. Children have the tendency to misunderstand the messages that the commercials are trying to pass across. They disregard the positive side and base their concentration more on the negative side.
3. Most advertisement viewed by children now includes dangerous tricks or stunts, which usually are performed only by experts. Even though the commercials broadcast the statutory warnings with the advertisement children often try to practice the stunts at home which usually ends up disastrous.

In most cases, children of marketers and advertising firms are the most vulnerable audience (Petty Cacciopo and Schumann 1983) knowing this a marketer then uses various strategies to get to the heart or weak segment of the market maybe done through various children. A marketer's aim is to satisfy the needs and wants of the children as well as make a profitable business.

These marketers or advertising agents may usually do not see wrongs in providing explicit materials for advertisements thereby causing a psychological damage or harm to the children because their may or concern is not the after effect of the advertisement on children but the response they get from the audience or viewers.

Marketers knowing that a child's decision counts in the family continues to use the tactics of determining how to reach the most influential consumers in a family.

## METHODOLOGY

According to Miller (1970) methodology is a body of knowledge that describes and analysis method by indicating their limitations and their resources clarifying their supposition and consequences.

Design of the study simply refers to the process of designing method of inquiry. There are different types of methods in research, these methods include, content analysis, focus group discussion, observation, experimental and Survey. Considering the topic under review critically and its objectives, the researchers considered survey method to be more viable to be used in collecting the data of this research. It is because it involves the use of questionnaires which brough about rightful responses from different set of people regarding the subject matter.

The researcher adopted a descriptive research design to obtain information for the study. A well constructed and structured, modified Likert attitudinal scale survey questionnaire was used for the generation of the data for the study.

The questionnaire were administered by the researcher in his domain Ojo local government Area in Lagos State in other to determine the effects and influences of audio-visual media advertisement on the children. The questionnaire provided two scales of response of YES and NO from which the respondents were to express their opinion.

Questionnaires were administered on the spot and retrieved immediately to prevent loss. All administered questionnaire were collected and found usable for the study. The administration of questionnaire lasted for one week.

Responses were presented on frequency distribution table to determine the relationship between the observed and expected values. Brief analytical discuss followed each frequency table. Findings of the analysis provided basis for the confirmation or rejection of the stated hypothesis.

## POPULATION AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUES

The population used for the study were basically children and parents resided in Ojo Local Government Area in Lagos State. The sample of the population used for the study comprises of two hundred (200) subjects who were selected using a aproportionate stratified random sampling because of the different status of the respondents.

## METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Method of data analysis is defined according to Wimmer, et' all (2000) as the "the process of extracting useful information from the given data series, that would be useful in taking important decision". In same vein, Shamoo and Resnik (2003) see it as the various analytic procedures which provide a way of drawing inductive inference from data and distinguishing the signal (the phenomenon of interest) from the noise (statistical fluctuations) present in the data.

Seeing that this research uses quantitative approach, descriptive statistic was used to analyse primary data through the use of table and chart and simple percentages.

Tables are capable of summarizing information that a thousand words may not present adequately.

## ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

## RESPONDENT OBSERVATIONS

**Table 1: Are you a child or Parent?**

| Respondents | Frequency | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| Children | 50 | 25 |
| Parents | 150 | 75 |
| **Total** | **200** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

Reflection in the table above indicated that children were 50 representing 25 percent while parents were 150 representing 75 percent. That shows that parents were higher in number that constituted the respondents.

**Table 2: Do Children Watch Audio-Visual Media Programmes?**

| Respondents | Frequency | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 196 | 98 |
| No | 04 | 02 |
| **Total** | **200** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

Reflected in the table above is the response of the respondents on the said question which 196 respondents representing 98 percent affirmed that yes children watch Audio-Visual Media programmes, while 4 respondents which represents 2 percent said no, children do not watch Audio-Visual Media programmes giving the total sum of 100 percent.

**Table 3: What Kinds of Audio-Visual Media Programmes Do Children Like Watching?**

| Response | Frequency | Percentages |
|---|---|---|
| News | 04 | 02 |
| Cartoons | 76 | 38 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Advertisement | 118 | 59 |
| Others | 02 | 01 |
| **Total** | **200** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

The table above is the reflection of the responses of the respondents on the kind of Audio-Visual Media programmes children like watching, 4 respondents which represents 2 percent affirmed that children like watching news, while 76 respondents which represents 38 percent affirmed that children like watching cartoons, 118 respondents which represents 59 percent affirmed that children like watching advertisements and only 2 respondents which represents 1 percent that children like watching other Audio-Visual Media programmes giving the total sum of 100 percent.

**Table 4: How Many Times Do Children Watch Audio-Visual Media Programmes in A Day?**

| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentages** |
|---|---|---|
| Once | Nil | Nil |
| Twice | 02 | 01 |
| Thrice | 04 | 02 |
| Often | 194 | 97 |
| **Total** | **200** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

The table above is the reflection of the responses of the respondents on the time children watch Audio-Visual Media in their respective homes where we have nil respondent which represents 0 percent on once basis while 2 respondents which represents 1 percent affirmed that children watch Audio-Visual Media twice in a day and 194 respondents which represents 97 percent affirmed that children often watch Audio-Visual Media giving the total sum of 100 percent.

**Table 5: Do you think Audio-Visual Media advertisement has any effects on children?**

| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentages** |
|---|---|---|
| Yes | 178 | 89 |
| No | 22 | 11 |
| **Total** | **200** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

The table above is the reflection of the respondents in trying to ascertain whether or not Audio-Visual Media advertisements have effects on children. Responding to the question however, 178 of the respondents which represents 178 percent affirmed that yes it has effects on children while 22 respondents which represents 11 percent

affirmed that Audio-Visual Media advertisements have no effects on which giving the total sum of 100 percent.

**Table 6: If the above question is yes, what kind of effect has it on children?**

| Response | Frequency | Percentages |
|----------|-----------|-------------|
| Positive | 36 | 18 |
| Negative | 164 | 82 |
| **Total** | **200** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

The table above is the reflection of the responses of the respondents where 36 respondents which represent 18 percent affirmed that Audio-Visual Media advertisement has positive effects on children while 164 respondents which represent 82 percent affirmed that Audio-Visual Media advertisement has negative effects giving the total sum of 200 percent.

**Table 7: If it is negative, which of these areas of their lives does it affect most?**

| Response | Frequency | Percentages |
|----------|-----------|-------------|
| Education | 112 | 56 |
| Morality | 36 | 18 |
| Psychology | 04 | 02 |
| Both | 48 | 24 |
| **Total** | **200** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

The table above is the responses of the respondents in trying to ascertain the aspects of children's lives that is more affected by advertisement where 112 respondents which represents 56 percent that affirmed that Audio-Visual Media advertisement affects educational aspect of children most, while 36 respondents which represents 18 percent affirmed that morality of children is more affected by the influence of Audio-Visual Media advertisement, 4 respondents which represents 2 percent affirmed that it affects more of the psychology of the children and 48 respondents which represents 24 percent affirmed that it affects both aspects of the lives of children giving the total sum of 100 percent. By these responses, it is obvious that Audio-Visual Media advertisement affects more of the education of the children mostly.

**Table 8: How do you think the negative effects of Audio-Visual Media advertisement on children can be reduced if not completely eradicated?**

| Response | Frequency | Percentages |
|----------|-----------|-------------|

| By monitoring the children by their parents to know the Audio-Visual Media advert they watch | 176 | 83 |
|---|---|---|
| By stopping them completely from watching any Audio-Visual Media programmes | 34 | 17 |
| Others | Nil | Nil |
| **Total** | **200** | **100** |

**Source: Field Survey, 2022**

The table above is the reflection of the responses of the respondents on ways to curb the effects of the Audio-Visual Media advertisements on children. 176 respondents which represent 83 percent affirmed that by monitoring the kind of Audio-Visual Media programmes children watch would help curb the effects, while 34 respondents which represent 17 percent affirmed that by stopping the children completely from watching any Audio-Visual Media programme would help curb the effects. It is obvious that, monitoring the kinds of the Audio-Visual Media programmes children watch advertisements on children.

## RESEARCH RESULTS

1) Children watch audio-visual media advertisement constantly.

2) Children often prefer watching audio-visual media advertisement than other programmes on the screen.

3) Frequent exposure of children to Audio-Visual Media advertisement has the tendency of affecting children negatively more than positively.

4) Watching of Audio-Visual Media advertisement by children has more of negative effects on them than positive.

5) The negative effects of the Audio-Visuals Media advertisement impart on the educational lives of the children who are frequently exposed to watching of the advertisement program.

## RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

1. Audio-visual media advertisements encourage children to persuade their parents to buy products that are being shown in the commercials irrespective of whether they are of good use or not. Although the younger ones have the tendency to be obstinate if the products they want are not being bought for them.

2. Children have the tendency to misunderstand the message that the commercials are trying to pass across. They disregard the positive side and base their concentration more on the negative side.

3. Most of audio-visual media advertisement viewed by children now include dangerous tricks or stunts which usually are performed only by experts. Even though, the commercial broadcast the statutory warnings with the audio-visual

media advertisement children often try to practice the stunts at home which usually ends up disastrous.

4. The catchy advertisement on audio-visual media broadcast in Audio-Visual Media or cinema allows for compulsive shopping by children.

5. Usually after watching the excitements at audio-visual media advertisements that have to offer children materialistic tendencies and find it hard to abstain.

6. They usually get more attracted to highly priced products hereby disregarding the low cost and useful one that are not shown in the advertisements they watch.

7. Children tend to develop bad temper when they are deprived of the lastest toys and clothes that are exhibited in the advertisement.

8. Unhealthy foods also known as junk foods such as burgers, cakes, pizza and soft drinks are heavily promoted during children's Audio-Visual Media viewing time. This therefore develops a desire for fatty, sugary and fast foods in children, thereby affecting them adversely health wise.

## CONCLUSION AND RECOMMEDATIONS

Seeing that audio-visual media advertisements have effect and influences on children because their senses of reasoning is still low to be able to differentiate between positive and negative effects of what they watch on the screen, they tend to be affected as the result. These advertisement they watch on audio-visual media have negative effects on them. In view of the above, the researcher therefore, recommend the following that if judiciously followed would help facilitate or reduce to a minimal and bearable level some of these effects and influences of audio-visual media advertisement on children.

1. Parents should monitor whatever their children view on the screen especially the advertisement.

2. They should limit their spending on unnecessary demands by their children

3. Government should regulate misleading advertisements especially the ones that concern children

4. Children should be educated by their parents on the differences between audio-visual media shows and commercials

5. Today's business world cannot exist without children and advertisement but there should be a limit to which these two factors can be operated in such that it does not impact negatively on children.

6. Mass media organizations which serve as a channel for advertising should be just and fair in their adverts by not over exaggerating and over blowing things.

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# Good Governance and Democratic Crisis in Nigeria Fourth Republic: Challenges and Implications

**Babalola, Rasaki Ajani**
*Department of Politics and International Relations,*
*Lead City University Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria*
*Email:lolababs1261@gmail.com*
*&*

**Prof Akeem Amodu**
*Department of Politics and International Relations,*
*Lead City University Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria*
*Email:*

## Abstract

The transition of government from military system of administration to democratic system of government in May 1999 fulfil the much expectation of Nigerians who yearn for a democratic system. The expectation of the citizens is that the needed dividend of democracy would be delivered via good governance to improve the socio-economic situation of the populace. However, the country has been bedevilled with democratic crisis since the inception of democratic rule in the first republic to date. The study examined good governance and democratic crisis in Nigeria fourth republic: challenges and implication. The study adopted a descriptive survey research design to gather adequate information from the respondents. The study involved an in-depth inquiry involving a structured questionnaire and interview session to collect data from the respondents. The study population of (372) consists of (102) executive members of the ruling party (APC) and major opposition party (PDP), (120) senior staff of (INEC) and (150) electorates in the selected states of Southwestern Nigeria. In addition, interview sessions were conducted with the Secretary of the selected political parties, INEC officials and Electorates. The findings of the study revealed that the history of the country, political ideologies of players directly involved in the game of politics and colonialism as the foundation of Nigeria politics were the cause of democratic crisis in Nigeria. The study concluded that democracy can be practised in the country devoid of crisis. The study recommends among others that political players involved in the game of politics should place national interest above tribal, ethnic and religious interest.

**Keywords:** Democracy, Crisis, Good Governance, Democratic Crisis

## Introduction

Political struggle is considered to be a usual occurrence in Nigeria probably because it is connected to competition. Usually, power and political struggle are gripped with violence. Political actors motivate political violence Igiebor (2019). They see politics as a do or die affair and also an extension of birthrights of groups or certain individuals either imaginably or real thus muzzling opposition or bad still get them eliminated. Political relevance and recognition are the driving force behind some well-positioned individuals and groups who perpetually enjoy obstinacy of office at the detriment of other less-advantaged individuals or groups. Most political office holders were smuggled into office by the few powerful who have formed themselves into cabal and that is why such people cannot do but dance to the whim and caprices of their godfathers Afolabi & Agunyai (2017). The consequence is a failure of governance while the few continuously pocket the resources of the nation. Therefore, politics is seen as a money doubling venture in Nigeria where the few high ups continue to get richer and others remain poor. The few accumulating wealth are not doing it through legitimate ways, but through white-collar crimes like contract inflations, budget padding, bribery, unperformed contract and misappropriation of financial resources.

Democratic space in Nigeria becomes tense and emphasis is placed on politics and political relations. Non-accommodation is sacrificed on the altar of Intolerance; conflict in place of collaboration and prevalence of rancour rather than unity. Alarmingly, political violence has become a stable characteristic of democratisation as campaigns are oftentimes drenched in violence, threats and killing Adesote & Peters (2015). Such vehemence has the capability of cutting short democratic tenets, processes or benefits as expected. The process of democratisation in Nigeria through evolving but at a lethargic pace. Hence, this has threatened the foundation of political stability, strengthened sectional political domination and deepened the root of political gerontocracy Katsina (2016). Political violence has been institutionalised within the corridors of power. Thus, political activities and politics exclusively become rights of a certain category of people who play nothing but muddy politics regardless of set rules and regulations therein some 'dirty' politicians who in the first place make politics dirty. Comparatively, outside the shores of Africa, politics is largely fair and square a clean game. The reason why it gets unfavourably diluted regionally has been described by some as an infestation of tribalism, greed, intolerance, parochial nature of political leadership and injustice.

Broadly, Nigeria political parties exhibit major threats to the democratic process by their operations and practices. Ebijuwa (2019) noted that there exists the challenge of party control by some wealthy politicians who finance party activities as their private program(s). These sets of party members, call the shot on who takes what and how in the parties while expecting victoriously emergent candidates to be submissive to their control in the execution of plans and policies affecting the state. From the foregoing,

the democratic crisis in Nigeria has severe implications on good governance thus having a tendency of failing to stand the test of time, hence this study.

## Evolution of Democratic Crisis: Nigeria

Udo (2015) states that one of the causes of catastrophe in Nigeria's democracy is the absence of lineage connections or sources within self-developed roots in Nigeria's political culture. Democratic crises persist due to lineage connections as in contrast to global north nation-states. To this end, democratic crisis is associated with the federating system in Nigeria's political environment (Gowon, 2016). A democratic crisis exists when good governance is absent, personalising all-inclusive participation, restrictions on human rights, prevalent in corrupt acts, electoral malpractices with little or no tolerance for the rule of law. Asia (2001) accounts for democratic crisis politically in Nigeria. This extends to the development of political platforms before the independence of Nigeria as a sovereign state.

In this regard, political affiliations were inaugurated vis-à-vis the regional injections from Northern protectorates, Eastern and Southern protectorates. On the account of forming stage, the Yorubas' instituted Action Group (AG) chaired by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the Hausas established Northern People's Congress (NPC) headed by Sir Ahmadu Bello, while the Igbo people initiated the National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) presided over by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe. Consequently, the beginning of democratic crisis in Nigeria began with the disparity in beliefs, ideologies and sense of belonging. The action sent a signal to each region as though they were amalgamated yet, they are separated in achieving good outcomes on common ground. Furthermore, the influence of each political group and parties nonetheless put to litmus test as NPC only had regional outlook rather than national outlook which AG and NCNC enjoyed in spreading their tentacle to claim several seats across their regions. Despite the limited outlook NPC had nationally, NPC was made the prime minister and it generated several controversies within and out the country. The below table shows the result of elective positions attained by different political parties in 1959-1960. In another development, votes fraud and rigging also spurs another dimension of democratic crisis in the southwestern part of the country in 1964-1965

**Table 1:** Breakdown of the General election results of 1959 in Nigeria

| Regions | AG/UMBC | NCNC/NEPU | NPC | Others/Independent Candidates |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Northern | 25 | 8 | 134 | 7 |
| Eastern | 14 | 58 | - | 1 |
| Western | 33 | 21 | - | 8 |
| Federal Territory (Lagos) | 1 | 2 | - | - |
| **Total** | **73** | **89** | **134** | **16** |

**Source:** Ikelegbe (1988:316)

**Fourth Republic**

Democracy and Nigeria's political environment has been incompatible with existence. This believes as democracy thrives in the country despite protracted challenges confronting the popular participatory government according to Ikelegbe (1988). In that spirit, representative government is otherwise known as democracy is not against all odds in Africa or strange, but the universally accepted democracy has been undermined on the African continent. Being optimistic about the successful exercise of self-government in Nigeria as the giant of Africa, since its commencement in 1999 till date, is yet still baby seated and struggling to count the first move with her leg (Ajayi & Ojo, 2014). At the beginning of the subject matter, one would have thought positively that the democratic adventure will turn the lives and well-being of Nigerians for good, though being labelled as liberal in the outcome, the outstanding features in Nigeria today has been spending so much on leaders rather than her citizens. Also casting heavy investments on the brand of her democracy, with meagre output through pathologically corrupt officials has become hydra-headed (Ashindorbe, 2018). For example, the 2021 appropriation bill for the National Assembly (NA) estimate about $500,000,000, while education and health are just one quarter and above what is budgeted for the officers of the NA. Thus, the quest for officials and leader satisfaction is paramount to Nigeria's brand of democracy rather than the people.

In correlation to the above example, Ojukwu, Mazi-Mbah and Maduekwe (2019) stated that from the national budget of 2012 about 176 million went for extension of Aso Rock Villa gate, 280 million went for purchasing of 2 bulletproofs, 36 million for power extension to the statehouse, 52.4 million was slated for presidential guest house, 127.5 million was the budget for changing of power plants at the presidential lodge, 512.54 million was for redecoration and revamping of the presidential family wing, 101.67 million went on fixing of sub-station transformer in the presidential house, and 97.95 million also for the extension of a car park at the presidential park (Gowon, 2016). Punch Newspaper reports that Nigeria's democracy that is barely sitting like an infant has the largest presidential air fleet globally with almost 10 air fleets.

Foreign travel is closely related to the preceding. President Jonathan's international visits were budgeted at 684.74 million in 2012, and 1.289 billion in 2013, despite the President promising to severely decrease his abroad excursions following nationwide protests against the withdrawal of fuel subsidies in 2012. In 2014, the President spend 1.159 billion on foreign trips and 1.219 billion on domestic trips; 483.279 million on vehicle maintenance; 426.493 million on publicity and advertisements; 56.786 million on medical expenses; 23.9 million on foodstuffs; 173.3 million on refreshments and meals; 122.9 million on lubricants; 320 million on honoraria and sitting allowances, among other. The Presidency's office overall budget under the Federal Republic of Nigeria's 2014 Budget is 33 billion but all of Nigeria's federal roads, the majority of

which are accident-prone due to a lack of management, received a pitiful sum of 100 billion (Abdulhameed & Olaide, 2018).

Before the inception of democracy in Nigeria in 1999, expectations were on the power bloc of African continental expectations to restore normalcy in the continent. This expectation was based on the transition from a military regime to a civilian administration. In that circumstance, electorates turned out in volume to choose the preferred candidate to upturn the contingency of the political environment. Meanwhile, President Olusegun Obasanjo was elected Grand Commander of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, a victory for the Elite. The democracy of Nigeria was thrown into a base of bribery, looting of public resources, abandonment of projects, undermining of court orders and the rule of law, infringement of human basic rights, election misconducts and fraud, and Niger-Delta militancy during Obasanjo's administration 1999-2007 (Okuchukwu, 2015)

Oke and Ariyo (2018) posit that there was a network of an absence of answerability and decent administration, abandoning of projects, decay in organisations, a spendthrift lifestyle of leaders, inequality in social status and achievement and continuous deterioration of democratic governance. The 2007 election for the presidency witnessed the return of Alhaji Umaru Musa Ya'radua as the successor of President Olusegun Obasanjo. In other words, Yar'adua / Jonathan administration presented the Niger/Delta amnesty programme, which considerably alleviated challenges confronting the south-south zone. On the other hand, the demise of late President Umaru Musa Yar'adua in May 2010, led to the inauguration of vice president, Dr Goodluck Jonathan. During the administration of Dr Goodluck Jonathan, Nigeria's democracy again was laced with immense corrupt practices, misappropriation and looting of public funds, unilateral injections by the executive through sabotaging and usurping affairs of legislative and judiciary arms of government, infringements on human rights.

## Challenges of Good Governance

The triumph of the comprador bourgeoisie, the reign of the mercantilist political middle class, is the challenge of good governance from an elitist perspective (who do not consider the people or common man in their agenda or policies). These are merchants, usurers, feudal lords, and tribal aristocrats who see a political party as a trading commodity, buy them off, and use them to win elections, only to milk the treasurer compradors are merchants, usurers, feudal lords, and tribal aristocrats who work against national interest for personal or ethnic gain (Ray & Das, 2015). This is demonstrated by the budgeting pattern, in which capital expenditure is significantly lower than recurrent expenditure, which is the channel via which politicians and their public employees' plunder the public coffers which annoy the public are handled with a kit glove. Unlike in the United Kingdom, where the Office of Budget Responsibilities is an independent body with data that are not influenced by the government and is

chaired by a respected professional rather than a civil servant. Every mature democracy recognizes the need for a credible and trustworthy impartial statistics agency to achieve successful government.

According to Adegbami and Adepoju, this will make it simpler to at least agree (regardless of political party) on the basic state of our economy without political overtones (2017). The current statistics organisation, as well as all other budget-related bodies in Nigeria, are too enslaved to the current government. Its makeup is likewise in question. That is most likely why there is widespread mistrust of government in Nigeria, as well as a scarcity of genuine and independent financial reports emerging from official agencies.

True democracy will never come to Nigeria until political reengineering gives birth to a system that allows for equality in political parties, according to Egwu (2015). Meaningful citizen participation in governance will foster trust, commitment, and contentment, as well as much-needed political stabilityHe also claimed that the federation's current structure breeds ethnic and religious political parties, which must be addressed if significant growth and decent government are to be achieved. The party, which is the agency for recruiting political leaders who invariably govern, must begin the democratization of governance (which is not yet in place in our system). As a result, if the agency that sponsors them is undemocratic, it's difficult to expect excellent governance from responsive and responsible leaders. The governance system is in place to enhance resource efficiency while also requiring accountability for resource stewardship. The goal is to align the interests of individuals, corporations, and society as closely as feasible.

**The Implication of Democratic Crisis on Good Governance**

According to Mercy (2015), stated that the implication of democratic crisis is a failure of governance with subsequent effects on political corruption, bureaucratic corruption, corruption, election corruption, bribery, fraud, embezzlement of public funds, favouritism and nepotism. One of the major causes of democratic crisis in Nigeria according to Nicholas-Omoregbe, Kehinde, Imhonopi, & Evbuoma, I. K. (2016), noted that the implication of democratic crisis on good governance is inadequate concentration and direction on the part of the political leader on issues of national interest, such a leader would spend most of is time to ensure that the litigation before him/her is settled in the law court which might take is attention away from the needs of the electorate. Democratic crisis is not devoid of implications on good governance Okpe and Othman (2021), identified poor capacity building, corruption, leadership interference, disrupted democratic ethics of accountability and transparency. They further noted lack of equitable distribution of resources, public policies such as lawmaking oversight and implementation suffered critically, unnecessary delay in the budget proposal, economic deprivation, political instability and increase in poverty. According to Khotami (2017), the implications of democratic crisis on good

governance are weak public institutions, insecurity of lives and property, increase in crime rate, a decline in citizens trust in political leaders and democratic system, electoral malpractices, religious crisis, lack of stable political system and persistence crisis between the legislature and the executive arms of government. He concluded that for democracy to strive it must be devoid of crisis.

**Methodology**

The study collected data through both primary and secondary sources. The administration of questionnaires and the execution of interview sessions were used to gather primary data. Secondary data was gathered from a variety of sources, including textbooks, journal articles, conference proceedings, institutional records, and the internet. The study population of (372) consisted of (51) Executive members of All Progressive Party (APC), (51) People's Democratic Party (PDP), (120) Senior staff of Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) and (150) Electorate. The study adopted a multi-stage sampling procedure. At the first stage, states in Southwestern Nigeria were stratified into three axes of Lagos/Ogun, Oyo/Osun and Ondo/Ekiti. At the second stage, Lagos, Oyo and Ondo were purposively selected representing 50% of the states. The selection of the states is premised on the fact that they are the oldest states from the axes. At the third stage, purposive sampling techniques were employed to select two political parties (APC) and (PDP) in the selected states. The parties were selected because they are the ruling and opposition party in the region. The purposive sampling technique was used to select senior INEC staff in the selected states. INEC staff were selected because they are saddled with the constitutional duties of conducting elections in the country. Also, a convenient sampling technique was employed to select Electorates from the selected states. The electorates were selected because they were beneficiaries of good governance. In addition to these respondent's interview sessions were also conducted with the Secretary of the political party, Senior staff of INEC and Electorates. Data generated were analysed using SPSS and content analysis.

**Discussion of Findings**

This chapter aimed at analyzing participants' views on good governance and democratic crisis in Nigeria's fourth republic: challenges and implications. In this regard, Table 1 revealed the frequency and percentage distribution of respondents on each of the statements and its value/responses were organized using Likert scale measurement to elicit information from the respondents. In addition, the mean value and standard deviation of each of the investigated variables were stated. Data generated from interview sections were analysed qualitatively using the contents method to support the quantitative data collected.

In the distribution in Table 1, the respondents were asked to respond to the assertion that the absence of politics as a guide of ethical considerations and the application of a set of appropriate rules militate against the democratic practice in Nigeria's fourth

republic. In their reactions, 88(26.5%) strongly agreed and 76(22.8%) of the respondents agreed to the statement. 56(16.8%) of the respondents were undecided on the statement. While it was contrary to the view of 63(18.9%) who disagreed and 50(15%) of the respondents strongly disagreed with the assertion. This was confirmed by the mean value and standard deviation ($\bar{\chi}$ = 2.59, SD= 1.016). This data imply that 164(49.3%) of the respondents affirmed that the absence of politics as a guide of ethical considerations and the application of a set of appropriate rules militate against the democratic practice in the study area.

In respect to the second assertion, the founding charters, norms, and principles of governance of the state have not been established by the people. In their response 79(23.7%) strongly agreed and 80(24.1%) of the respondents agreed to the assertion. It was contrary to the view of 74(22.2%) who disagreed and 56(16.8%) of the respondents who strongly disagreed with the statement while 44(13.2%) of the respondents were undecided on the assertion. This data representation shows that the majority of the respondents 159(47.8%) agreed that the founding charters, norms, and principles of governance of the state have not been established by the people in the study area. The mean value and standard deviation for this variable were ($\bar{\chi}$ = 2.51, SD= 1.013).

With respect to the third assertion, 153(45.9%) strongly agreed and 64(19.3%) of the respondents agreed with the assertion. However, 54(16.2%) disagreed and 40(12%) strongly disagreed with the assertion while 22(6.6%) of the respondents were undecided to the statement on a challenging assertion that corruption among political leaders is one of the major challenges militating against the democratic practice. In this respect, this result showed a remarkable agreement level with 65.2% of the respondents on the assertion. The analytical implication of the data shows that majority of the respondents agreed that corruption among political leaders is one of the major challenges militating against democratic practice in Nigeria's fourth republic with a mean value and standard deviation of ($\bar{\chi}$ = 2.64, SD= 1.025).

In the fourth assertion in Table 1, the respondent was asked if excessive political control by government functionaries is a challenge militating against the democratic practice in Nigeria's fourth republic. This finding was revealed by 108(32.4%) disagreed and 94(28.2%) of the respondents strongly agreed to the assertion. 43(12.9%) strongly agreed and 56(16.8%) of the respondents agreed to the assertion while 37(9.7%) of the respondents were undecided about the assertion. This assertion was with a mean value and standard deviation of ($\bar{\chi}$ = 3.63, SD = .735). The implication of this data is that majority of the respondents 60.6% affirmed that excessive political control by government functionaries is not a challenge militating against the democratic practice in the study area.

It was however asserted for the respondents to either agree or disagree with the statement that lack of political will to drive the democratic process is one of the major

challenges confronting democratic practice in Nigeria's fourth republic. Responding to the fifth assertion, 78(23.4%) strongly agreed and 103(30.9%) of the respondents agreed to the statement. It was contrary to the view of 56(16.8%) who disagreed and 62(18.6) who strongly disagreed with the assertion while 34(10.2%) of the respondents were undecided about the statement. However, the agreement level of 54.3% of the respondents was substantial to accredit the assertion. This data representation showed that lack of political will to drive the democratic process is one of the major challenges confronting democratic practice in the study area. The mean value and standard deviation for this variable were $(\overline{\chi} = 3.08, SD = .980)$.

It was also asserted for the respondents to react to the lack of institutionalism in Nigeria, which ensures strong institutions over individuals' political influence as one of the major challenges confronting democratic practice in Nigeria's fourth republic. In their response to the sixth assertion, 85(25.5%) strongly agreed and 66(19.8%) of the respondents agreed to the assertion. 17(5.2%) of the respondents were undecided about the statement. While 91(27.3%) disagreed and 74(22.2%) of the respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. The analytical implication of the data shows that 49.5% of the respondents disagreed with the assertion while 45.3% of the respondents agreed to the statement in the study area with a mean value and standard deviation of $(\overline{\chi} = 3.47, SD = .704)$.

**Table 1. Good governance and democratic crisis in Nigeria fourth republic challenges and implications**

| Variables | Strongly Agree | Agreed | Undecided | Disagreed | Strongly Disagreed | Descriptive Statistics N= 333 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | f (%) | f (%) | f (%) | f (%) | f (%) | Mean Value | Standard Deviation |
| 1. Lack of politics as a guide for ethical considerations and the implementation of a set of suitable rules | 88 (26.5%) | 76 (22.8%) | 56 (16.8%) | 63 (18.9%) | 50 (15%) | 2.59 | 1.016 |
| 2. The people have not formed the state's founding charters, conventions, or principles of government. | 79 (23.7%) | 80 (24.1%) | 44 (13.2) | 74 (22.2%) | 56 (16.8%) | 2.51 | 1.013 |
| 3. Corruption among the political class | 153 (45.9%) | 64 (19.3%) | 22 (6.6%) | 54 (16.3%) | 40 (12%) | 2.64 | 1.025 |
| 4. Excessive political control by government functionaries | 43 (12.9%) | 56 (16.8%) | 37 (9.7%) | 108 (32.4%) | 94 (28.2%) | 3.63 | .735 |

| 5. Lack of political will to drive democratic process | 78 (23.4%) | 103 (30.9%) | 34 (10.2%) | 56 (16.8%) | 62 (18.6%) | 3.08 | .980 |
| 6. Lack of institutionalism in Nigeria, which ensures strong institutions over individuals political influence | 85 (25.5%) | 66 (19.8%) | 17 (5.2%) | 9 1(27.3%) | 74 (22.2%) | 3.47 | .740 |

**Source: Field Survey, 2021**

**Analysis of interview session with some key respondents**

To complement the quantitative data, an interview session was conducted among key stakeholders. The interviewees provided an outline of challenges confronting democratic practice in Nigeria's fourth republic. From the interview response, all the respondents agreed that the major challenge confronting democratic practice in Nigeria among others is the absence of a free and fair election. An electorate in Lagos State revealed that: The major challenge confronting Nigeria's democratic practice is the lack of free and fair elections in the country. In Nigeria's history, the best election that was conducted free and fair was annulled by the military head of state in the person of Ibrahim Babangida in 1993, the election would have given the country a starting point to a credible election but the reverse was the case. He further stated that the rate at which vote-buying is on the increase in the fourth republic is alarming, the majority of the citizens now prefer to negotiate for their civil responsibility during an election in place of payment rather than casting their civil right without collecting payment.

A senior officer of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in Oyo State in agreeing to the above, explained that "the citizens of Nigeria are not cautious of their civil responsibility anymore, many of them prefer to be paid for voting a candidate rather than do it in fairness to their creator". The politicians also prepared their minds to pay for the vote that should be cast to them freely. An electorate in Ondo State opined that: Election in Nigeria today is do or die affairs because of the winner takes all game of Nigeria polities. He posits that in the past the issues of winner take all in a democratic system of Nigeria today was not in existence, elected politicians in the country always adhere strictly to the provision of the constitution of the country that gives room for collective responsibilities between the ruling party and other opposition parties in the country. He further added that in the first and second republic some appointed positions are given to the opposition parties to ensure that they are carried along in the state affairs.

To collaborate the above statement an anonymous senior officer of the Independent National Electoral Commission in Lagos State revealed that: Vote buying and vote and selling which can be referred to as principles of demand and supply have attracted electorates to vote and franchise in Nigeria as 'godfathers' willingly admit concerning gross misconduct deals in funding and ensuring that 'godsons' declare a winner by

buying electoral victory. He further stated that any successful political arrangements require substantial resources to function, the wasteful expenditure for political justifications in Nigeria is negating democracy and poses a serious threat to socio-economic development in the country. He concluded that despite the guideline of political rules for financing in the electoral act, its application is a mirage. Politicians spend lavishly during electoral campaigns and this enhances vote buying and selling. The second challenge raised by the respondents was the issue of corruption among political and appointed office holders in Nigeria. As expressed in the interview most of the politicians placed personal and party interest above national interest, as such the desire to ensure good governance via the provision of basic social amenities in the country is absent in the study area. Most of the respondents asserted that the politicians lack the political will to drive the democratic process in the country.

An electorate in Oyo State revealed that: The major challenges confronting Nigeria's democratic process is tribalism, religious sentiment and ethnicity, the desire to work for common interest and purpose is no longer in the heart of politicians in the country but the aspiration to protect the interest of their state and the local community over that of national interest. He further revealed that the current administration in the country, if one considers the political appointees and other key positions in the country today, it's obvious that the appointment is lopsided which favours Northern Nigeria over the westerner and the southerners which do not speak well of a truly federal system. Most of the interviewees also stated that the lack of security atmosphere in the country today is a major challenge militating against the democratic process in the country. They further expressed that the security challenge is common in the Northwest and most especially in the Northeastern part of the country where most of the electorate are displaced from our community and as such, they are denied the right to exercise their civic right voting during an election. Few of the interviewees also mentioned the issue of godfatherism in Nigeria's political system as a major drawback to the country's democratic process. The majority of people interviewed responded that a drastic action could be taken to avert and emplace good governance through an holistic sanction which include death penalty, public disgrace, bars from holding public office by any citizens found guilty of political corruption and misconduct by the judiciary.

**Conclusion**

The study concluded that the actions and roles of politicians by placing personal interest above national interest has adversely affected good governance. The excessive of such politicians could be checked by voting them out of government.

**Recommendations**

Based on the findings of the study, policy recommendations are presented to enhance democratic practice and ensure good governance.

1. The executive arm of government ensure all laws that promote political patronage by top public figures, such as the constitutional immunity provision, which has to protect existing public officials from punishment even in cases when there is solid proof of criminal activity, should be repealed. Additionally, constitutional and electoral reforms should be implemented to eliminate flaws and promote good administration.

2. The rule of law should be established and the judicial system enhanced via independent from political interference to ensure the delivery of justice without fear or favour. Progress in the battle against democratic crisis and corruption will be impossible as long as there is so much lawlessness and unfairness in the system, with many people appearing to be above the law.

3. The ministry of budget and national planning should be granted autonomy free from political interference. This will grant them the authority to carry out holistic budget planning devoid of manipulation that would cater for the needs of the populace.

4. True democracy will never come to Nigeria, therefore Political party should ensure political reengineering gives birth to a system that allows for equality in political parties, meaningful citizen participation in governance will foster trust, commitment, and contentment, as well as much-needed political stability.

5. The executive arm of government should sponsor a bill to make public disgrace, bars from public office and death penalty as a reward for any corrupt public and judicial officials guilty of political corruption.

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# China's Oil Diplomacy in Africa: Towards Exploitation or Collaboration?

**Damilola K. OLAJIDE**

*Department of History and International Studies*
Lead City University, Ibadan
*Tel: 08028744377*

## Abstract

*In 1993 China became a net importer of oil, due to its growing needs in both transportation and industry. Since it became a net oil importer, China's resource diplomacy in the hunt for oil supplies has escalated massively and resulted in Beijing's increased presence in Africa's oil industry. As a result, many, especially the West and their sympathizers have condemned China engagements with Africa as a way of exploiting the continent. As a fact, the recent vibrancy in Sino-African relations is viewed with neocolonial lens. To these people, China activities in Africa is likened to European activities of the 19th Century when Africa only served the colonialists interest as source for raw materials and market for European finished manufactured products. Whereas some supporters of China activities in Africa consider it a blessing and collaboration venture as it offers Africans the opportunity of an alternative option aside the traditional partners from Europe and North America. This group also have a strong believe that, due to the fact that China transformation is very recent, much can be learned and copied from the country's transformation experience by Africa. Besides, China still consider herself a developing nation, as such its engagements with Africa symbolizes South-South cooperation. Through an extensive survey and in-depth analyses of empirical literature, this paper seeks specifically to explore a key element of China's policy interest in Africa's resources—oil. In doing so, it examines the socio-economic and political implication of China energy diplomacy in Africa and find out if Chinese engagements is to exploit or collaborate with the people of the continent for growth and economic development.*

**Keywords:** Developing nation, Economic Development, Energy Diplomacy, Growth, South-South Cooperation, Sino-African Relations, West

## Introduction

Chinese activity in Africa is increasing at an exponential rate. According to the China–Africa Business Council, China is now Africa's most important trading partner, ahead of France, the United Kingdom and have surpassed the United

States since 2009. Indeed, the burgeoning of Sino-African links is unprecedented and is becoming *the* main topic of interest in respect of Africa's international relations. In 1999 the value of China's trade with Africa was $2 billion; by 2004 this had grown to $29.6 billion and in 2005 reached $39.7 billion. By 2021, the volume was valued at $254 billion dollars. This trends, according to the Chinese Ministry of Commerce will continue and with possibility that trade volume between China and Africa will top $300 billion mark by the end of the year 2025. The country's exceptionally robust economic growth over the past 25 years has stimulated a huge upsurge in its demand for oil: between 1995 and 2005 China's oil consumption doubled to 6.8 million barrels per day. In 2020, against global consumption of 92.2 million barrel per day, China consumption stood at 14.23 million per day. Second only to the United States consumption totaled 17.21 million barrel per day for the same year. In 1993 China became a net importer of oil, due to its growing needs in both transportation and industry. Since it became a net oil importer, China's resource diplomacy in the hunt for oil supplies has escalated massively and resulted in Beijing's increased presence in Africa's oil industry. In 2003 China surpassed Japan to become the world's second biggest consumer of petroleum products after the United States. Problematically, in 2004, China's oil consumption grew by 15 per cent while its output rose by only 2 per cent and that 2004 consumption figure represented a 16 per cent increase over what it was in 2003. The trend shows an exponential increase in China's demand for oil. If the present tempo is maintained, it is projected that China will rely on imports for 65 per cent of its oil use by 2025. This has massive implications for the global oil industry, given that the International Energy Agency predicts that by 2025 Chinese oil imports will equal current imports by the United States.

According to the US Energy Information Administration, China's demand for oil is projected to increase by 130 per cent to 18.8 million barrels per day by 2025. The administration notes that, as the source of around 40 per cent of world oil demand growth over the past four years, with year-on-year growth of 1.0 million barrels a day in 2004, Chinese oil demand is a key factor in world oil markets. Indeed, if China's imports of oil rise, as projected, from the level of 4 million barrels a day in early 2000s to 7 million barrels a day in 2013, to 18 million barrels a day in 2025 and possibly to 25 million barrels a day in 2030, the consequence of such a monumental increase will drastically affect the availability of oil *and* the cost of crude oil'.

China imports two-thirds of the oil it consumes, with Africa accounting for 22% (1.4 million barrels per day), the second most important provider, after the Middle East. Africa Oil and Power summarizes the Chinese presence in the African oil and gas sector as follows: "By 2014, Sinopec alone was active in 16 countries – Algeria, Angola, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Egypt, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Libya, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Sudan, South Sudan and Tunisia". China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) is currently active in Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Niger, Chad, Nigeria, Sudan, and South Sudan; and China Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) has interests in Gabon, Uganda, Nigeria, Algeria, and Republic of Congo. Africa is home to five of the top 30 oil producing countries; Africa's proven oil reserves are listed at 130 billion barrels (at the end of 2018). More than 57% of Africa's export earnings come from hydrocarbons. Given Africa's richness in oil and gas, it is not surprising that all the international oil companies are strongly present in Africa.

According to the same source, in 2016, Nigeria, a key provider of Chinese oil, signed $80 billion in provisional contracts with Chinese companies to upgrade its oil and gas infrastructure, with Sinopec as one of the 38 Chinese companies. This figure clearly dwarfs the $24 billion ExxonMobil has committed over the past years to energy exploration and development. Chinese oil companies are reported to have total capital expenditure in Africa of more than $ 35 billion with an annual production capacity of 50 million tons of oil and gas.

As shown above, the recent Sino-African rapport is driven by a desire to obtain sources of raw materials and energy for China's continuing economic growth and open up new export markets, it should be pointed out that although oil is a major and obvious source of Chinese interest in Africa, it is far from being the only one. China is actively seeking resources of every kind: copper, bauxite, uranium, aluminum, manganese and iron ore, among others, are all being sought out acquisitively by Beijing. In addition, Chinese textiles and clothing companies are investing heavily in Africa, while China is also becoming increasingly politically engaged with the continent of Africa.

However, it is largely the issues of policies surrounding China's oil quest in Africa and the resultant condemnation by the West as exploitation of the continent resources and the people, particularly in the oil producing states that is the focus and main concern in this paper. Studies have shown that, with the exception of South Africa, which has a well-developed industrial economy, Beijing's main trade connections in Africa are mostly with oil-producing states.

As a result, many, especially the West and their sympathizers have condemned China engagements with Africa as a way of exploiting the continent. As a fact, the recent vibrancy in Sino-African relations is viewed with neocolonial lens. To these people, China activities in Africa is likened to European activities of the 19th Century when Africa only served the colonialists interest as source for raw materials and market for European finished manufactured products. Whereas some supporters of China activities in Africa consider it a blessing and collaboration venture as it offers Africans the opportunity of an alternative option aside the traditional partners from Europe and North America. This group also have a strong believe that, due to the fact that China transformation is very recent, much can be learned and copied from the country's transformation experience by Africa. Besides, China still consider herself a developing nation, as such its engagements with Africa symbolizes South-South cooperation. In view of the foregoing, this paper seeks specifically to explore a key element of China's policy interest in Africa's resources—oil. In doing so, it examines the socio-economic and political implication of China energy diplomacy in Africa and find out if Chinese engagements is to exploit or collaborate with the people of the continent for growth and economic development. To achieve its aim, the paper is segmented into five parts: the introduction, China policy position and perspectives on China-Africa relations, impact of Chinese engagement on African countries, exploitation and collaboration debates and finally the conclusion.

## Understanding China's Policy Position and Perspectives on Sino-Africa Relations

The rise of China in Africa is mainly explained by the quality and strength of its diplomacy in the continent. For sure, China policy in relations with African continent is based on one of its five foreign policy principles of "non-interference in state sovereignty and freedom". These five principles are: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, equality and reciprocity of benefits derived from joint operations; peaceful coexistence. Supporting decolonization gave China an unprecedented opportunity to forge political, economic and cultural contacts with Africans. The principles of peaceful coexistence served as the basis for the organization of the Bandung conference. The respect of these principles by China makes today the greatness and the effectiveness of the bonds which exist between China and the African countries. It should also be noted that thanks to these principles China is

catching up with Westerners in Africa, particularly France and the United States. Indeed, if the West acts in an imperialist way in Africa, China acts in a sincere, respectful and friendly way. According to the Chinese ambassador to Eritrea 'non-interference in state sovereignty and freedom from 'hegemony' has been a theme of Chinese foreign policy in dealing with Africa since the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were formulated in the 1950s as the basis of Beijing's foreign relations'

In extension, for decades the doctrine of peaceful rise has meant that China has tried to secure energy and raw materials without confronting the United States and the West. China's long-standing willingness to deal with states that the West regards pariahs is in part a practical and ideological refusal to make judgments about other countries' domestic policy. It is also in part a recognition that dealing with Sudan, Angola, Iran or Uzbekistan allows China to avoid direct confrontation with Western interests. However, the larger China has become, the sheer scale of its energy needs has forced it more and more to intrude into areas that the United States and the West regards as their own sphere of influence. Wenping, director of the African Studies Section at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing, also argued that 'We [China] don't believe that human rights should stand above sovereignty. We have a different view on this, and African countries share our view. The Chinese ambassador to Eritrea echoes such sentiments, asserting that governments can never have the right to criticize other governments. These policies and position of China had been widely criticized by the Western power. Although the African leaders may share the Chinese view and embrace it; but this may not serve the interest of the generality of Africans, as one pro-west literature concluded, in a continent that lacks social security and characterized with corruption, undemocratic leadership style, electoral fraud, ethnic and religion intolerance among others.

This Chinese policy of noninterference has not gone unnoticed as it has attracted the attentions of many, mostly liberal scholars and those sympathetic to the Western world. According to Philip Snow African elites were more at home with the no string attached posture of Chinese diplomacy in Africa due to the fact that most of them lacks legitimacy and were in most cases disconnected with the masses. This, to Snow made most African leaders prefer dealing with China than Western world which always wanted certain condition met. The assertion by Sierra Leone Ambassador to China that, "The Chinese just come and do it, they don't hold meetings about environmental impact assessments,

human rights, bad governance and good governance" explains better. The Ambassador concluded by saying that Chinese were succeeding in Africa because they don't set high benchmarks.

The pro-west and Chinese critics were quick to cited two countries as examples of where Beijing has intimate dealings, but where standards of good governance by any criterion are woefully inadequate. These countries are Angola and Sudan. According to one literature Angola has been described as a country that moved from 'Afro-Stalinism' to 'petro-diamond capitalism', a state where patronage and corruption reign supreme. International agencies claim that as much as $6 billion in oil revenues equivalent to 10 per cent of GDP has been lost to graft over the past fifteen years. According to one observer, Lack of transparency remains the norm for all key financial accounts, such as those used for oil revenues and diamond revenues and those of the National Bank of Angola and the national treasury. Parliament faithfully votes each year to approve a budget in which a substantial portion of the monies received by the Angolan state simply does not appear. The official budget is thus a document which bears no relationship to reality, and in any case it is just not implemented for the most part. In Sudan, the story is the same. China has been substantially involved in Sudan even long before the secession of the non-Muslim south to become South-Sudan. China was Sudan's largest investor, with total stakes estimated at $4 billion. Apart from the governance and human rights issues in Khartoum, Beijing's weapons-exporting policy and its involvement in Sudan's civil war was questionable. It was noted that China exported arms into Sudan with no respect for human right. Instead, Chinese policy action was solely based on narrow economic interests.

The pro Chinese on the other hand, acknowledges China's noninterference in state sovereignty policy as tool that gives flavour to the extent which Chinese oil diplomacy is picking up speed in Africa. They presented, through factsheet how much impact China has made through her numerous dealings with the people and continent of Africa. In the northern part of Africa (Maghrib) Sinopec Chinese Oil Corporation signed a contract for $525 million to develop the Zarzaitine oilfield in Algeria. It also purchased a number of Algerian refineries for $350 million and signed a deal to explore for oil in two blocks, and concluded with Algeria's Hydrogen Carbide to develop oilfields jointly and construct a refinery. Total Gabon signed a contract with Sinopec under which Gabonese crude oil will be sold to China. In the same vein, an $800 million crude oil sale deal was signed with the Nigerian National Petroleum

Corporation to supply 30,000 barrels of crude oil per day to China. It was also announced that the Chinese were interested in carrying out exploration of manganese, oil and gold in the Ivory Coast, where Sinopec already has investments in an oilfield off the coast, owning 27 per cent of the block. China also agreed to pay $2.3 billion for a stake in a Nigerian oil and gas field. An off shore exploration deal was signed with Kenya, allowing China to explore in six blocks covering 44,500 square miles in the north and south of the country. Beijing also struck a $4 billion deal for drilling licenses in Nigeria. Chinese oil companies were also reported to have signed contracts to begin off shore oil exploration and production with Congo Brazzaville, and have begun oil exploration in northern Namibia, where they are looking into the establishment of an oil refinery. Nigeria also announced that it would give the first right of refusal to CNPC on four oil exploration blocks in exchange for a commitment to invest $4 billion in infrastructure. The deal involves China buying a controlling stake in Nigeria's 110,000-barrel-a-day Kaduna oil refinery and building a railway and power stations. Recently, Zhongyuan Petroleum Company has started exploratory drilling in the Gambella basin of western Ethiopia. Chinese oil companies also investigate forming upstream joint ventures in Madagascar to exploit newly discovered reserves on the island[17]. All these involvements show how potent the Chinese oil diplomacy works in the whole of Africa.

**Impact of Chinese engagement on African Countries**

Since year 2000, and the subsequent establishment of Forum on China and Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), China engagement with Africa has reached unprecedented level and as a result was able to displaced most of African traditional partners from Europe and North America, to emerge as Africa's largest trading partners. Hence China's activities in Africa has stimulated economic growth and substantial poverty reduction on the continent. For instance over 6% GDP growth was recorded in sub-Saharan Africa between 2007 and 2014. To appreciate the contribution of China to African economic growth, the economies of African countries recorded slower growth rate since 2015- a condition attributed to China's slow economic performance within the same period.

Africa countries per capital GDP was averaged 2.8% in the 2000s, compared to 0.6% annual growth in the 1990s. Some of this growth rapidity is attributable to internal developments: such as introduction of new macroeconomic policies and strengthening of Africa political institutions. Debatable, China's entrance

into Africa resource market has led to a better terms of trade and higher export volumes. A major contributor to the African accelerated growth and invariably led to poverty reduction in the region. In the sub-Saharan region of Africa for example, the poverty rate between 1990 and 2002 was static, with 57% of the population living below poverty line of US $1.90 per day. This poverty rate dropped to 44% between 2002 and 2011.

Overall, African leaders and governments generally portray Chinese engagement as positive. Opinion polls show that Africans hold generally positive views of China, but public opinion of China is also negatively affected by perceptions that Chinese investment contributes to corruption, waste, poor working conditions, and job displacement. To better foster sustainable, long-term relationships in Africa, China has increased its efforts to develop soft power (media, culture, and people-to-people exchanges) and provide more aid in areas such as health, sustainability, and security. In earnest however, through China engagement with the continent and people of Africa, and her participation in the oil sector of the African economy, the future is bright due to some expected gains as enumerated bellow:

### Bridging the Infrastructure Gap

In the short term, China's trade with and investment in Africa are of assistance to the development of the continent. China's investment in Africa's crumbling infrastructure *is* needed more than ever. Throughout Africa, Chinese companies are occupied in building hospitals, dams, roads, government offices and stadiums and refurbishing facilities abandoned by western companies. Various programs on resource for infrastructure and concession agreements signed between China and African resource rich countries were made possible as a result of Chinese hope and confidence in their many African partners. Suffice to say that the relationship is symbiosis as both partners are benefitting from one another. Although China could said to be benefitting more at the moment when one consider the balance of trade between China and her African partners. However, the asymmetric trade relations could become symmetric in the long run with the spillover dividends of infrastructure acquired through China-Africa engagement.

### More Income and Increased Growth

In addition, China's demand for energy resources has inflated prices, bringing a windfall to African states' income. Partly as a result of China's interest in Africa the continent's growth rate has increased. As pointed out earlier, China

entrance into oil sector of Africa has made oil prices to appreciate in the international market. As a result, African nations with total reliance oil revenue have more income to finance various developmental projects and also diversify their economies for sustainable growth.

## Knowledge Transfer

It has been observed and established that Chinese oil industry, despite the total backing of government in China through her many agencies such as China Exim bank, China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and China Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC)     still lack the experience to compete with West multinational oil companies that has been on the field in Africa for long. The newness of Chinese oil companies in overseas operations however present Africans the opportunity to learn and tap into the knowledge reservoir of the Chinese to develop their technical-know-how for sustainable economic growth.

## Mitigate Corruption, Encourage Transparency

Chinese engagement in African oil industry somehow has contributed to fight against corruption which is the bane of most African countries. Through various programs on collaboration between China and Africa, the amount of physical cash accruable to African resource rich nations has drastically reduced. Most of the receipts from oil sales are being used to service loans on various programs of infrastructure development facilitated by China. This would eventually lead to transparency on the part of government.

## Job Creation and Poverty Reduction

One of the expected gains from Sino-African relations is gainful employment. Contrary to opinion held by anti-Chinese operation in Africa that believes that China do import most its workmen to work on various projects in Africa. Empirical evidences shows that Chinese operations across the continent of Africa has led to job creation, mostly for the middle cadre or vocational workers such as electrician, iron bender, bricklayer, etc.  as a result many are being lifted out of poverty line

## Makes Africa to be more Competitive

As a result of China participation in African oil industry, the continent has gained tremendous influence in her international dealings. Chinese entrance into African energy market has raised the bargaining power of Africa vis-à-vis other competitors in the world market. Not only that, Africans also, as a result of China participation can reject unfavorable offers most especially from traditional partners from Europe and North America.

## Exploitation and Collaboration Debates

Despite the improved economic performance as a result of deepening China's engagement in Africa oil industry, many has continued to queries, and see China's involvement in the continent's oil sector in negative terms. This is truer in the West, as led by the United States, as both the media and decision makers painted China as "New colonizer", "Exploiter", "Predator" or practicing "Debt trap Diplomacy".

For this reason, the relationship between China and Africa is often portrayed as a case of China colonizing and exploiting Africa to own oil, gas, minerals, and other natural resources and their associated infrastructure to create a secure source of supply to sustain its industrialization rather than compete in the open market. This view is also supported by critics, who stated that "the major reason for China's renewed involvement in Africa is the need for access to Africa's natural resources, primarily energy and minerals". The New York Times detailed some of China's projects citing the US$4.6 billion investment in the Husab Uranium Mine in Namibia, a country of 2.5 million people, and the US$8 billion high-speed railway through Nigeria among others to illustrate China's burgeoning influence in Africa. Alden and Davies gave a very detailed account of the rise of Chinese multinational corporations in Africa and the linkages to the Chinese national strategy and the impact of these companies on Africa. Pigato and Tang discussed the main drivers of China's expansion to Sub-Saharan Africa and how that expansion led to large scale investments and "exploitation" in the region.

Esposito and Tse characterized China's increasing footprint in Africa as "detrimental to Africa's overall competitiveness" because of the opaqueness in identifying projects and participants. Complaints about Chinese companies are cited as another disadvantage to the China-Africa cooperation. Chinese companies employ few locals because they (Chinese companies) choose to employ workers from China ranging from unskilled to skilled workers leaving no room for skill transfer. Even the few locals that are employed are forced to operate under extreme adverse conditions. In Zambia, for example, miners working for Chinese owned mines are given hard hats after working for two years.

Several well-known international figures support the exploitation hypothesis as the motivation for China's cooperation with Africa, most especially in the oil industry. Jack Straw, then British Foreign Secretary, stated that "what China

was doing in Africa was much the same as what Britain had done 150 years ago"   Jack was supported by Hillary Clinton, then United States Secretary of State, who warned that "China's presence in Africa was a new colonialism". In 2014, the Japanese Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe, said "China's aid to Africa was motivated by a desire to secure access to African natural resources. There is no shortage of arguments denouncing the negative impact of China's presence in Africa, particularly in the oil industry.

On the opposite view however, are those that are optimistic about the future of China-African relations. These set of people and organisations are not only viewing China engagement in Africa through collaboration lens but also as a new paradigm in international order, representing South-South cooperation. Starting from an unlikely terrain is a paper commissioned by the United States Military that points to predominantly positive opinion polls regarding the Chinese presence in Africa and concludes that Africans tend to give better marks to Chinese activities and presence than to American activities and presence on the continent. Also, African countries view the relationship with China as based on mutual interest to advance economic development  through access to sustainable energy, improved infrastructure, better international trade, developing natural resources, establishing better financing, and enhancing agricultural performance and environmental solutions.  Furthermore the issue of a win-win situation between China and Africa is often overlooked in the exploitation hypothesis, which in reality lacks empirical evidences.

## Conclusion

Chinese foreign policy in Africa and elsewhere is, like all other countries' foreign policies, self-serving and based on economic and strategic considerations.  In this, the government in Beijing is no different from others. It should further be noted that Chinese expansion into Africa is a natural extension of China's opening up to the world and its pursuit of capitalism policies that have been assiduously encouraged by all western countries, some of which now decry the results of this openness when China is seen to be practicing it by expanding into Africa. Nevertheless, it must be cautioned that currently Beijing has adopted a discourse in Africa that seems effectively legitimizes human rights abuses and undemocratic practices under the guise of state sovereignty and noninterference. The implication of which, already with fragile human rights history, will surely be unpalatable for African states. It must be observed however that China is not doing anything different from what other countries do. The essence of foreign policy is pursuing the country's own

best interest. The above assessment of China is largely precipitated by traditional Western partners—European countries as well as the United States—out of the fear of the diminishment of their own influence on the continent and claims that China undermines the West's environmental and labour standards and disregards human rights and rules of good governance.

The piece however push forward the following for African nations to maximize their gains in Sino-African relations. To start with, political institutions need to be strengthened in the continent to cope with new reality of 21$^{st}$ century, most especially in the globalization era. Also is the key issue of what African leaders do with this sudden influx of receipts from the sales of oil. How do governments use this phenomenon and the increased engagement by China to benefit the ordinary people and promote development in an environment hampered by elite depredation and a lack of capacity? It requires African governments will be transparent to make good use of China's engagements and turn things around for the people of the continent. But certainly in the short term as already stated China's increased engagement with Africa is beneficial in the sense that it is providing much needed investment that was not being offered by others and in the long run helps Africa to bridge the gap in infrastructure deficit.

More importantly, over reliance upon oil and other commodities is deeply problematic for African nations wishing to avoid the typical 'resource curse' that tend to accompany overdependence on one particular commodity and move beyond being suppliers of primary products. The fear is that the commodity boom might give rise to a sense of complacency, which might prevent governments from undertaking the necessary measures to make growth sustainable in the medium term, i.e. investment in human capital and infrastructure, institutional reform, etc. Over- reliance on commodities such as oil threatens to make African nations even more vulnerable to negative price shocks. Overall, Chinese engagement in Africa has had some positive effects: job creation, the development of critically needed infrastructure, and an increase in economic growth, particularly in sectors or geographic areas in which international financial institutions and Western governments and companies have been unwilling to engage..

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