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## Introduction

### SIMÃO NHAMBI & BETTY MUBANGIZI

The discourse in this issue is diverse in terms of the geographical regions of the African continent it explores. The arguments in the issue are, however, comparable in that they relate to the issue of nation building, good governance and the credibility of institutions on the African continent

The Republic of Rwanda is one of the few countries in Africa that have been hailed for rapid economic growth and nation building following the dark days of the genocide. Against this backdrop, **Gebresilassie** assesses and analyses the key governance challenges confronting Rwanda after the genocide era by focusing on the underlying issues of good governance that Rwanda and other nations should ideally strive for. The author concludes that the substantial economic growth that has been recorded in Rwanda cannot be a guarantee for the long-lasting stability and solidarity of the society, unless the pressing challenges of good governance are addressed comprehensively, and an open society and democratic government are formed in Rwanda.

**Obedia Dodo** poses the question as to whether elections are a good measure of democracy. Dodo uses Jean Jacques Rousseau's democratic theory as a basis for the discussion. In essence, the argument in this article is that there are countries where the leaders have manipulated the systems so much that democracy ceases to influence political systems. The analysis points to the fact that most of the challenges experienced in the region when it comes to credible elections can be traced to the systems and structures of the region, which are characterised by ethnic tensions, poverty, greed and autocracy.

The pursuit of good governance on the African continent appears to be a moving target with numerous strategies tested and attempted by various countries. Good governance is difficult to achieve under normal conditions but it is even more difficult to achieve with the rise of cross-border terrorism and insurgency. A number of countries in central, east and west Africa have had their share of insurgencies. Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon have particularly been hit with the rise of Boko Haram, which threatens these countries' democratic foundations. It waters down democratic structures, impacting on the provision of public services of health, education and security. The most tragic and worrisome impact of Boko Haram is the recent phenomenon of child insurgents in Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon. **Yakubu** use primary and secondary sources to examine child involvement in Boko Haram operations. Among other issues, the author discusses the nature of conscription and the many roles played by young male and female insurgents and explain the web of child involvement in terrorist activities. The paper concludes with the implications of child insurgent in West Africa and the measures necessary for the reduction of child insurgents.

The authors in this edition add to a growing youthful voice of academics on the Continent that believe in the future of Africa and who have the commitment, courage and the resilience to research, interrogate and disseminate knowledge on pertinent issues relating to development and peace on the Continent.

# Challenges of good governance in Rwanda after the genocide era: A critical review of literature

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## Abstract

*The issue of good governance has become a major concern of local, national and international development actors. It is widely believed that good governance is a crucial weapon to defend the socio-economic and political problems of the world, particularly in developing countries. This paper, therefore, assesses and analyses the key governance challenges confronting Rwanda after the genocide era. It focuses on the underlying issues of good governance that Rwanda should have to pay attention to. To this end, the paper methodology used was secondary data discovered from authenticated articles, reports and research outputs. The findings of this paper thus indicate that even if Rwanda has achieved a remarkable economic growth after the genocide era, as compared to other neighbouring countries, in the area of good governance and democracy, problems are still immense. These include, among others, a narrow political spectrum, restricted media, unresponsive leadership and the unequal distribution of national wealth. Finally, the paper concludes that the substantial economic growth that is recorded in Rwanda cannot be a guarantee for the long-lasting stability and solidarity of the society, unless the pressing challenges of good governance are well addressed, and open society and democratic government are formed in Rwanda.*

**Key words:** good governance, development, Rwanda

## Introduction

### A brief discourse of good governance

Different literature posits that good governance and development are intrinsic goals on their own and that they mutually reinforce each other (Gita and Zahra, 2006). Governance guarantees that political, social and economic priorities are on the basis of the aspiration of the public and that the most marginalised groups are given priority in decision-making over the distribution and provision of development resources (Abdellatif, 2003). By generating and defending a broad commitment to the public welfare, a high-quality democracy with good governance increases the likelihood that public resources will be used to generate public goods that stimulate investment and commerce and raise the

quality of life (Larry, 2005). Supporting this, Oksana (2008) states that good governance is specified as one of the targets of the Millennium Development Goals, an agenda for reducing poverty and sustainable development that world leaders agreed on at the Millennium Summit in September 2000.

According to Cheema (2005), cited in the UN Project Office on Governance (2007), better governance promotes gender equality, sustains the environment and provides tools to reduce poverty, deprivation, fear, and violence. In recognition of the imperative of good governance for development, African countries have made remarkable strides and commitments to partner towards good governance in Africa (NEPAD, 2007). David *et al.* (2010), discovered that evidence from the past three decades show that with the exception of a few countries such as China, Malaysia and Singapore, where some considerable economic progress was realised under autocratic or semi-dictatorial regimes, in the majority of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, poor governance has been the cause of continuing poverty and underdevelopment.

In the course of development, Liou (2007) noted that the main difference between a developed and developing country has more to do with the challenges of democratic governance rather than the availability of resources. Having an abundant resource is not enough by itself if there is no proper management and utilisation of the endowed resources. In Africa, there are countries with rich resources but they have underutilised them due to a bad governance system. This implies that democratic governance is a *sine quo non* for developing countries to achieve long-lasting and sustainable progress.

There was a promising agreement reached among African leaders through the institutional leadership of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), on the significance of democratic governance for attaining the goals of development (Fourth African Development Forum, 2004). Some literature reflects the absence of a direct relationship between governance and development (Chaudhry *et al.*, 2009). However, had it been possible to develop without democracy, Africans and other developing countries would have been the first to develop had they stayed with democracy for stretches of time. Placing a great deal of emphasis on the linkage between governance and development is thus a good strategy for African leaders, though its practical implementation is still in its infancy. This is not the exception in the case of Rwanda as the country has registered a notable economic growth after the genocide era, though its entire national development is still facing different problems related to good governance such as the absence of democratic leadership and the even distribution of national wealth. This paper, therefore, tries to critically explore challenges of good governance in Rwanda's post-genocide era.



## Network Management Theory

This theory asserts that the main task of good governance is to administer a set of connections, networks or the operation of the complex mix of actors effectively in the administration and development affairs of the country (Stoker, 2006). Bevir (2010) also argued that good governance as philosophy exercises and reflects phenomena that are mixed and multi-jurisdictional, with many stakeholders who come together in networks. Moreover, governance networks refer to relatively steady horizontal articulations of interdependent, however operationally self-directed, actors who interact with one another through negotiations that take place within a regulative, normative, cognitive and imaginary framework that is self-regulating within limits set by external forces and that contributes to the production of public purpose (Torfing, 2005). This good governance refers to the synergy and collaboration of various stakeholders in horizontal networks to realise the aspiration of a society in any state at each level. Thus, the challenges of good governance in Rwanda have been analysed through the lens of the Network Management Theory (NMT). To do this, the active involvement of the public in decision-making, the prevalence of independent media, free and credible elections, competing political parties and fair distribution of national wealth among all citizens in Rwanda, have been scrutinised using the Network Management Theory of Governance. Moreover, the interplay among the different actors of development, such as the government, civil society organisations and political organisations, has been analysed using this NMT.

## Problematising good governance in Rwanda

Rwanda has achieved significant improvement in economic growth and delivering better education, health service, and transport networks when compared to other neighbouring countries in the post genocide period (Clark, 2014 and UNDP, 2008). The economy of the country grew at 8% of the GDP in the last ten years during the rule of the incumbent government (Gaynor, 2014). The progress achieved today can be very remarkable for many because being able to attain such types of economic achievement and managing the hostile ethnic conflict is not easy. Thus, as there is a need to sustain and speed up the progress that Rwanda has recently recorded, the linkage between democratic governance and development should be well emphasised and articulated. In this regard, even if it is true that the government of Rwanda itself has tried to pinpoint key governance challenges that can affect its national effort to build a prosperous and peaceful society, and identify future and strategic issues such as strengthening peace and security, promoting inclusive governance, strengthening rule of law and enhancing accountability, the list is not comprehensive and thus needs further investigation. For instance, as Clark (2014) pointed

out, in addition to the challenges of democratic governance identified by the government, the dictatorial nature of the incumbent government and weak internal party cohesion are among other problems that challenge the peace and development endeavours of the country. In various academic literatures, there are two dominant divergent views of Rwanda. The one argument applauds the farsighted leadership, economic growth, a high level of women's representation in the national legislative, and a major reform in the education, health and agricultural sectors. The other argument contends that Rwanda is among the countries with an autocratic rule, grave violations of human rights, ethnic discrimination and rural poverty. It also asserts that the frequent repression and injustice could lead to political instability. This article supports the second argument.

## The substantial drawbacks of good governance in Rwanda

Even though an inspiring economic success has been recorded in Rwanda after the genocide period, there are still unanswered questions of equity and fair distribution of wealth, corruption, freedom of expression, citizens' participation and responsive and accountable leadership. For instance, though the remarkable GDP growth improved the poverty level of its citizens, it disguises an uneven distribution of benefits and enlarges the income disparity within the society. In support of this, McDoom (2011) statistically surveyed that inequality and the poverty level is very high between the urban and rural populations, in which rural poverty accounts for 67% and a good deal of the advantages of Rwanda's economic development has been concentrated in towns, and mainly in the capital city, Kigali. The same author also noted that the major threat for Rwanda is horizontal and spatial inequality more than vertical inequality. There is huge inequality between the Tutsi and Hutus ethnic lines. Furthermore, the majority of Rwanda's rural population is made up of the Hutus. The existence of horizontal and vertical inequality can develop ethnic dissatisfaction, which may result in hostile ethnic conflict.

Such types of income difference are a result, I think, due to discriminatory policies designed for rural and urban areas. This also, in turn, causes social unrest because of the high influx of people from rural to urban areas as a way to seek a better life and job opportunities. My view is that as the huge income inequality and the concentration of wealth in the small pocket of the business class and the rapid rural-urban migration leads to social insecurity. For instance, problems like crime, sexual and labour exploitation, disease like HIV/Aids remain pervasive, and need a strong and committed leadership to tackle them in Rwanda. Needless to say, equity and an equal distribution of advantages demand accountable and transparent leadership and all-inclusive policies.

The exclusion of minority groups is also another problem that the Rwanda government should consider. For instance, according to Beswick (2011), the Batwa, which is the

minority ethnic group in Rwanda, have historically been alienated and continue to face a wide range of social exclusions. The worst of it is, the Rwandan Ministry of Justice in 2004 denied any non-governmental organisation (NGO) support, particularly those targeting the Batwa, by placing them into the category of vulnerable groups (ibid). This implies that domestic and international NGOs, who are working on the realisation of justice and empowerment of the disadvantaged groups, have ceased to operate. NGOs are believed to be important actors for sustainable development and empowerment of the disadvantaged groups to claim their rights. However, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) does not have a good relationship with the civil society organisations (CSO). One of the country's human rights institutions, which is called the League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights in Rwanda (Liprodhor), was disbanded, though it has been opened again due to the introduction of a new management system. Nevertheless, the dissolution caused many of the skilled personnel of the country to leave their country opposing the leadership of the government (McDoom, 2010). Most of the time, what is common, as observed in developing countries like Rwanda, is that human rights organisations and the judicial system are not independent, rather they are expected to serve as the main machinery in strengthening and consolidating the government in power. Such types of political culture can also inevitably hamper the legitimacy of the government and political development.

Maintaining unity of the divided society in a wide-ranging manner is considered a factor that creates a challenge to better governance. Inclusive governance requires transparent rules and procedures that provide a freedom for discussion of varying opinions. However, due to the fear of the previous genocide history of the nation, the restriction on freedom of expression is creating a dissenting ethnic line within the societies (Joint Governance Assessment Report, 2008). As a consequence, Rwanda was ranked 159<sup>th</sup> in 2017 and 161 in 2016 out of 180 countries of the world with regard to press freedom (World Press Freedom Index, 2017). This implies that the incumbent government of Rwanda believes that the genocide was caused due to a free press and the unrestricted freedom of expression of the society.

The constitution of Rwanda allows multi-partisanism and power sharing, but the government's view of competitive multi-party politics is very negative. This is mainly because the government believes that competition and multi-party politics triggers another type of destructive conflict within Rwandan society (McDoom, 2010). Now it seems like the incumbent government is the only one that can stand for the unity, stability and prosperity of Rwanda. The government is seeking legitimacy from the people through pinpointing the genocide scenario that is imprinted in the mind of every Rwandan as a bad legacy. It also uses the loss of public acceptance as the main propaganda to discourage the organisation of an opposition political party. Such reasoning also made the government

disseminate a 'false-dichotomy' or 'limited alternative' fallacy. The government, the government media and other international and national governmental and non-governmental organisations are disseminating this fallacy by arguing that “either the ruling government stays in power or genocide will happen again” type of erroneous argument, which systematically undermines the political parties and the development of the nation. According to Hurley (2005), a false dichotomy political fallacy disseminated when the arguer develops an idea upon the presumption that there are only two options for a given problem. Likewise, the Rwandan government prompts a limited political alternative for the public, as if there are no other alternatives to choose from.

There is also an external security threat that demands further investigation and reconciliation by the government of Rwanda. The Rwandan civil war concluded with the victory of the 'Rwandan Patriotic Front', dominantly composed of the Tutsi rebel groups, which led to the fleeing of the Hutu rebel government into exile in the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (McDoom, 2011). These groups, which are commonly or officially called Ex-FAR Interahamwe and FDLR (Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda), are still operating in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo and killing genocide survivors and eyewitnesses and gorilla fighting against the military forces of the ruling government (Joint Governance Assessment Report, 2008). In this case, unless the government of Rwanda finds a decisive solution such as negotiation and reconciliation, it can erupt as a big problem to disturb the nation and can possibly resume the genocide era.

Social services like 'judicial infrastructures' and trust have been deeply damaged in the aftermath of the conflict (Clark, 2012). The trust of the people in media, police and court institutions which was the catalyst of the genocide, is not easy for Rwandans (Governance Assessment Report, 2008). Besides, due to high reliance on the Gacaca court on the management of the ethnic conflict, lack of skilled and experienced judges can pose another problem in the handling of cases in the existing scenario because it can create capacity gap concerns and overwhelming case accumulation in the nation's court institutions and judicial offices.

It is true that Rwanda, under the rule of President Paul Kagame, achieved relative peace, stability and economic development compared to its neighbouring countries. The ruling party is also relying on the sole leadership of Kagame and that is why there is a plan for the amendment of the constitution to allow Kagame to stand for a controversial third term (Al Jazeera, 2015). He said in a televised address: “You requested me to lead the country again after 2017. Given the importance and consideration you attach to this, I can only accept. But I don't think that what we need is an eternal leader” (*The Guardian*, 2016). Consequently, the law-making organ of Rwanda urged for the amendment of the constitution, which allowed Kagame to run for the third term election in 2017. US Special Envoy to the Great Lakes Region of Africa Russ Feingold argued that changing constitutions

and eliminating term-limits to favour current incumbents are inconsistent with democratic principles, reduces confidence in democratic institutions, which often leads to serious instability, and undermines the legacy and legitimacy of any individual who demands such steps (US Institute of Peace, 2015).

This implies that the American government was against the removal of term limits to pave the way for President Paul Kagame to seek re-election. Furthermore, article 23 of the African Union Charter on Democracy, Governance and Elections in which Rwanda is a state party, outlaws any undemocratic change of government, including “any amendment or revision of the constitution or legal instruments, which is an infringement on the principles of democratic change of government” (African Union, 2007). However, it did not take a decisive decision when the Rwandan government and its cliques amended the constitution to ensure a single person autocracy and the Rwanda’s Patriotic Front’s unfettered supremacy.

Dependence on the single party and specifically on President Kagame developed the concern of what could happen in his absence. When the parliament decides on this issue, it should not take into account the plausibility of another type of ethnic tension that can place the relative peace and stability of the nation at risk. It also magnificently indicates the uncertainties of the people about the future of Rwanda. Furthermore, Clark (2014) noted that there is a disagreement among the highest government officials and the main challenge to the RPF appears from RPF itself, not from the Rwandans. Even though the ruling party dominates all levels of government from the national up to the local levels, instability within the RPF party is occurring while the ruling party top officials are being endangered, factions have formed in the party and administrative bottlenecks prevent them from functioning well.

There are not many other countries except Rwanda where, in the absence of regime change, so many ministers, MPs, high-ranking army officers, civil servants, judges, diplomats, and civil society leaders have been jailed, killed, ‘disappeared’ or driven into exile (Reyntjens 2010:13).

According to Reyntjens (2010), Rwanda has changed from genocide to dictatorial government. This is basically because, “the regime seeks full control over people and space, and the country becomes an army with a state, rather than a state with an army”. The political spectrum of the nation is considered non-democratic and oppressive. These political pitfalls coupled with unhealthy ethnic groups’ quests for historic and socio-economic injustices remain critical challenges of good governance in contemporary Rwanda.

## CONCLUSION

The following is not an acceptable strategy in the 21st century: An authoritarian regime is necessary in Rwanda, because the country is still politically fragmented and rapid economic growth can address the political demands and anxiety. Rather, this damages the democratic spirit and national cohesion of the state of Rwanda. It is empirically insignificant to argue that narrowing the political space is necessary to achieve sustainable and long-lasting development. However, many pieces of literature revealed that the Kagame-led government is marked by a grave violation of human rights, corruption, and assassination of opposition political elites and the imprisonment of journalists. Not only this, Rwanda is also characterised by an incredible and disputable election, which was organised only for the sake of consolidating the power of the ruling government. This is most often the manifestation of a dictatorial government.

Substantial economic developments in Rwanda cannot be a guarantee for the long-lasting stability and solidarity of the society, unless open and democratic society and government is formed and problems related to good governance are adequately addressed. For achieving this, discriminatory policies should be rearranged to equally benefit the people of Rwanda. Moreover, the government of Rwanda should respect the constitution. More importantly, the false promises and improper strategies of the Rwanda ruling party used to weaken the opposition political parties through promulgating a false propaganda need to be corrected in order to encourage the political participation of citizens and political parties, and thus promote the fundamental principles of democracy and good governance in Rwanda.

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## Sit-tight leadership and elections in the SADC. Are elections a credible measure of democracy?

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### Abstract

*This analysis explores standard features for democracy juxtaposing with what has been presented by some sit-tight leaders in the Southern African Democratic Community (SADC). It also investigates why elections have failed to pass a credibility test of measuring democracy outside of other features. The analysis guided by the Democratic Theory by Jean Jacques Rousseau argues that in ideal democracy, elections are supposed to help facilitate rotation in leadership in a manner that fosters peace, unity and development. The study argues that there are two countries where the leaders have manipulated the systems so*



*much that democracy ceases to influence political systems. The analysis also argues that most of the challenges experienced in the region harks back to the systems and structure of the region, which is characterised by fissures, poverty, greed, autocracy and an archaic mentality. Countries in the region need to be frank with each other and get hard on deviants and transgressors.*

**Key words:** sit-tight leadership, democracy, elections, autocracy, greed, conflict

## Introduction

It has become a culture in Africa in general and in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region in particular, that while the world over, democracy is measured among others by elections, and they have ceased to be a credible feature. Some states in the SADC region are known for timely and consistent elections that are, however, illegitimate and often characterised by violence and the abuse of human rights. The same states might also present various other features for a democracy and yet still fail to pass the test. It is often in the same problematic states that the leadership decides to sit in office without any intention of leaving. It is, therefore, the scope of this analysis to explore standard features for democracy and juxtapose them with what has been presented by some sit-tight leaders. The analysis also investigates why elections have failed to be a credible measure of democracy outside of other features.

## Theoretical framework

In order to understand the essence of elections in finding new leadership, the study focuses on the SADC region. The Democratic Theory by Jean Jacques Rousseau is used to guide the arguments. This theory argues that elections are supposed to guide the fair and free selection of new leadership in a credible manner to allow rotation of power. However, with regards to the study area, there are some leaders who seem to ignore the essence of the practice and manipulate the processes. The study stretches its focus back from the independence of the region in the 1960s.

## Background

During post-Africa's independence in the 1960s, it was anticipated that the new leaders would cherish the new freedoms and nurture democracy constructively but most importantly, through elections and possible rotation of power. Most of the early nationalist leaders unfortunately did not have that dream in mind. Most either died or were ousted from power grudgingly.

Of all the nationalist leaders, there is Mugabe and dos Santos in the SADC region who are still in office and claiming popularity. The two leaders have, over the years, consolidated power in a manner that has seen almost all sectors of both the economy and politics manned by their cronies (Lust-Okar, 2009). They have also managed to create a military and security system of their 'liking' wholly made up of 'yes-men'.

Mugabe and dos Santos have, over the years, allowed their subordinates to commit various crimes and pardoned them in a strategic manner that allows them a leash for control and periodic reminders of their crimes. This strategy has managed to keep their supporters in close check. Over the period, the two leaders have directly or indirectly indulged in corrupt practices, thus making them as dirty as their subordinates. Therefore, under such circumstances, it has been difficult for the leaders to think of retiring, lest the new regimes question their past practices.

The two leaders have coined their forms of democracy, which they say empower them to remain in office. Their safety and continued occupation of the offices are guaranteed by the use of the youth constituencies and the state security institutions, which harass, detain and in some cases, kill real and perceived opponents (Lindberg, 2006b). Interestingly, to present some sort of democracy to the world, the two leaders ensure timely conduct of elections. As a result, Zimbabwe has had 10 presidential and legislative elections while Angola has conducted four elections during the tenure of the sitting leaders.

The question has always been "Are the elections properly designed and conducted?" The study, therefore, seeks to understand why despite all the elections, democracy remains a dream and the leaders fail to interpret the voices of the voters.

## Democracy

Democracy is a concept many claim to know and practice and yet, it is misunderstood and misused. There are many sit-tight and dictatorial leaders who claim to be practicing forms of democracy specific to their political, social and cultural practices. They claim championship to democracy. These leaders believe that democracy is all about elections. They never value other factors as defined by various governance scholars and practitioners (Lindberg, 2006 and Matlosa, 2005). They, according to Schmidt (2002), believe that holding elections, no matter their quality and acceptability, is what people desire and expect in a real democracy.

Democracy is a set of philosophies and values around self-determination made up of procedures and practices. These are exercised over time during which personal freedoms are institutionalised, becoming part and parcel of a people (Collier and Levitsky, 1997). Once institutionalisation is complete, the people concerned take the responsibility to safeguard the freedoms. While democracy may not be uniform the world over, it is defined by basic fundamental principles of majority rule and individual rights among others

(Matlosa, 2005). In short, democracy means the government is elected to serve people and not the other way round.

It has been observed that some of these leaders under study have personalised their subjects such that they have almost all the control over them. Therefore, while there are elements of democracy in their countries, they manipulate each of them in their favour so that the voters do not question their existence but rather, the degree to which they are practiced.

## Features of democracy

Citizen participation and empowerment in a democracy means that the people are allowed to play a meaningful role in all the governance processes from well before an election is prepared. Participation, as explained in Dodo (2013), takes into account the education of the people so that they are knowledgeable about their rights and obligations.

In Zimbabwe, there are reports that in some areas, citizens were forced to participate in election processes as a way of punishing them for aligning with the opposition political parties. Some reports (Dodo, 2013) also suggest that there were some individuals who were forced to feign illiteracy so that they could be assisted to vote by either an election official or a member of the police force. Apparently, state security and election officials are biased to such an extent that when they assist, they ensure that a candidate votes for a particular political party even if it is against his/her choice.

Various scholars – Barkan (1993), Crawford (1999), and Ndegwa (2003) – posit that *de jure* free and fair elections have a long-lasting, encouraging influence on the process of democratisation. It is under a free and safe environment that people are able to participate in elections. It is also in the people's participation that elections are declared credible, free and fair, allowing the winner to confidently take office. While Lindberg (2006) contends that elections have a contributing part in the consolidation of democracy, that hypothesis has failed to prove true in the Zimbabwean situation. This has been largely because conducting frequent elections has not changed the inducements on offer to political players and that election campaigns are never allowed to create opportunities for new political contestants. In Zimbabwe and Angola, repeated elections are never a forum for the people to get educated about their rights and obligations because there is never space for civic and voter education.

Under authoritarianism, according to Lust-Okar (2009), the elected demand allegiance and service from the voters without any reciprocal duty to get their consensus for its actions. Demand for allegiance from the voters who seem to like it is a clear sign of a political environment where accountability is a luxury. In essence, leaders are expected to be accountable to the voters and this expectation must be unconditional if democracy is to be real. The challenge with some states like Zimbabwe and Angola is a serious lack of

political literacy; where the generality of the people might have attained secondary education and yet are ignorant of their political rights and obligations. This form of literacy pushes people to feign excitement and a liking for something bad and immoral.

In most democracies, governments recognise the importance of the voters and all the other stakeholders. These governments are often guided by concepts of good governance and transparency, which imply providing a service in a manner that satisfies all. It is under the same principles that governments realise the value of effective communication with the people on the ground, who are updated of whatever happens concerning their well-being.

The Inkhanhla case in South Africa, the misappropriation of donor funds in Mozambique and the disappearance of US \$15 billion in Zimbabwe are classic examples of a lack of transparency in governance. Such cases of criminality and dishonesty on the part of the leadership erode the people's confidence and trust.

When states are run, there are laws that guide to ensure that everyone's essential social, political, and economic rights are protected. The laws also protect people from the threats of lawlessness. Democratic regimes implement authority through the law and are also subject to the law's restrictions. The principle of rule of law means that no single person, whether state president or private citizen, is above the law. Adherence to the rule of law ensures that every citizen has equal access to justice and other services that build confidence in the citizens, especially during election times.

A constitution outlines the basic drives and ambitions of a society. It also serves as the supreme law in a given country. Constitutionalism acknowledges that democratic and responsible government must be tied with plainly outlined parameters on the authority of government. In democracies, constitutionalism is simply about the strict adherence and practice of the constitution. This adherence has no exception.

With constitutionalism, it means that the constitution has to be respected and maintained without any unilateral provisions for amendments. It also implies that the constitution has to be reasonable in as far as its outline is concerned: being clear, interpretable and outlining clear and manageable terms of office. This is in view of the fact that there are some leaders who just amend the constitution to meet their desires. Kaunda, Nyerere, Banda, Mugabe and Santos have amended the constitutions to extend their terms of office while Kabila's attempts have hit a hard wall.

Constitutionalism is the practice of strict and appropriate adherence to the dictates of a constitution without tempering or manipulating it to please the interests of a particular individual. This principle entails electing leaders who respect the mandate from the voters; the constitutional terms define and observe reasonable time limits as determined by various factors like age, ill health and other incapacities. Democracies do not elect leaders who cling on to power beyond reasonable periods or constitutionally stipulated times

(Collier and Levitsky, 1997). Unfortunately, this is what Angola under Eduardo dos Santos, DRC under Joseph Kabila, Zimbabwe under Robert Mugabe, Zambia during Kenneth Kaunda, Tanzania during Julius Nyerere, and Malawi under Kamuzu Banda precisely experienced (Hoffman and Robinson, 2009).

In some states like Zimbabwe, DRC and to some extent Lesotho, the essence of a constitution has been pushed away, leaving the leadership to manipulate unilateral amendments for personal gratification (Cawthra, 2010). The Zimbabwe 2013 new constitution has already been amended, defeating the voices of the people who crafted it, while in DRC and Lesotho, the leaders have also attempted to amend their constitutions so that they can remain in office beyond their terms.

Another of the most important features of democracy is the existence of the separation of powers. In a constitutional democracy, government's power is shared so that the parliament generates the laws, the executive authority implements them, and the judiciary functions quasi-independently (Gutsa *et al*, 2010). It is expected that each of the three arms of government perform its role independent of the others. Unfortunately, in some states that claim to be democracies, the executive has a lot of influence, so much so that it even makes decisions. The amendment to the 2013 Zimbabwe constitution with regards the appointment of the judiciary, is a result of interference by the president. It is the independence of each of the arms that ensures a smooth drive of the governance systems. Pluralism in a democracy entails the existence of a diversity of active institutions that play various roles, from watchdog to complementing government efforts. Some of these institutions include political parties, civic organisations and pressure groups. The existence and operations of these in a normal democracy should not be under some strict and bureaucratic licensing procedures. Rather, any regulation would be to ensure that the masses get a fair deal from their operations (Dodo, 2012a).

Closely akin to the principle of pluralism is the availability of a free and independent media, which plays a third estate role: monitoring and reviewing the activities and service delivery by the state (Baloro, 1992). Where the media is heavily controlled like in the case of Zimbabwe where there are less than seven national newspapers, two television stations and less than 10 radio stations, it is difficult to identify and expose socio-political ills and inform and educate the people on relevant issues around democracy and elections (Gutsa *et al*, 2010). The media ensures a transparent election process through periodic and consistent reportage of the processes. It also instills confidence in the players who feel that their concerns and contributions are also taken on board.

In democracies, the people, through their voted representatives, decide security matters. The principle of citizen control and power over the military is central to democracy. The security must never represent or sympathise with any specific political perspective or ethnic or social group. Ideally, there should be cordial relations between the civilians and

the security. However, what exists in less democratic states is an overly strong military sector with a lot of influence in the three arms of government including politicians (Albuquerque and Wiklund, 2015). The military has overstretched its power and influence in almost every civilian sector. In South Africa, Zambia and Botswana, retired military officers are deployed in civilian areas as part of their resettlement. However, in DRC and Zimbabwe, the military is deployed in civilian sectors as part of a 'deliberate militarisation' programme meant to secure political tenure.

The protection of peoples' freedoms by all the relevant institutions is a fundamental requirement. In a democracy, every citizen must be allowed to express his/her opinion for as long as it is within the confines of the constitution. However, it is necessary that whatever constitution is referred to, it is legitimate and reasonable in that it is not the main tool for the suppression of the freedoms. It has to be realised that it is only under conditions where one is free to engage in anything progressive that he/she also realises responsibilities. In a democracy, wherever there are rights, there are also reciprocating responsibilities. It is then these responsibilities that make a complete citizen who also plays a part in the development and creation of peace.

## Elections and their challenges

Democracy and elections are complementary systems – one legitimising the other (AU, 2007). The world over, legitimate governments are elected and it is that election process that is of interest to this analysis. Elections must be timely, as has been recorded in all the states except in the DRC, periodic, competitive as what all states but Zimbabwe have practiced, and allowing contesting candidates to enjoy freedoms of movement, speech and assembly, among others, like it has been noted in most states except Zimbabwe, DRC, Lesotho and Angola (Hoffman and Robinson, 2009).

Despite the differences in election systems, the fundamentals remain the same throughout the world and adoption of each method is dependent on various factors: culture, historical precedence, availability of resources and constitutional expectations, among others (Dodo, 2016). An election is a process and not an event as is the case with some of the states in the SADC, which give prominence to elections a few months before and immediately vanish soon after the publication of the results. Ignorance of this 'process' aspect has often robbed people of their rights and obligations in as far as elections are concerned. There is usually a need for the voters to be informed about the processes from the pre-election phase, during which delimitation and voter registration and voter education exercises are conducted, to the election phase, up till the post-election phase, when election activities subside, election results are properly secured and violence and hostilities are appropriately addressed (Cheeseman, 2010).

There has been a systematic failure by political parties in power to observe electoral codes of conduct (Dodo, 2016). These are wide and differ with institutions and constitutions and basically define the parameters around which election processes are conducted. They help instil a sense of security and confidence in the participants, which is an ideal for democratic elections. In some of the least democratic states, codes are non-existent, vague or partially adhered to, while in others, they are tampered with on the eve of elections.

Globalisation and modernity have transformed the way in which traditional governance has always existed. In the same vein, modernity has also ushered in technology as a response to the needs of the contemporary political and economic dispensation. In a democracy, there is also a need to adapt to the prevailing world systems, especially if that technology improves features of democracy. The use of technology in the electoral process is a case in point. Zimbabwe has also adopted the use of a biometric system in the elections, hoping to ease the process and bring credibility. However, the biometric approach is also susceptible to manipulation, as has been experienced during the August 2017 Kenyan elections. Besides, Zimbabwe has a complex election management system that has been previously hired to 'run' elections in Malawi in May 2014 and Equatorial Guinea in 2016. The Zimbabwean election management contingent in Equatorial Guinea was deployed from October 2015 to January 2017 to allow the necessary 'cover-up'.

Often, overstaying in power tends to build a mentality of personal ownership of the resources. Some leaders even go to the extent of establishing their homes and investments using state resources. This was seen when Mugabe built his house in Borrowdale-Brooke, commonly referred to as 'blue-roof', where some of the building material and interior furnishings were state sponsored. Similarly, Jacob Zuma of South Africa also financed the upgrades at his home using state funds. Some leaders tend to abuse resources at their disposal to build empires and strengthen their grip on power at the expense of the masses. Some of the resources that are abused include finances, the media, the military and police and some intellectuals, who claim popularity for the leaders without the masses expressing it openly.

Parties in power often abuse government resources and machinery to advance the electoral prospects of their candidates (Baloro, 1992). The ZANU PF party in Zimbabwe, African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Movement for Multi-party Democracy (MMD) for Frederick Chiluba in Zambia, Dos Santos in Angola and Kabila in DRC have been accused of misappropriating state resources for propping up their political parties. The separation of institutional and political resources, according to Posner and Young (2007), is not yet an embraced norm in some African states such that they mistake party structures for government structures. This is also particularly so in Zimbabwe, where the ZANU PF head or the Women's wing is assigned the responsibility to distribute agricultural equipment to members of her political party, bought by government under some bilateral

agreement. The same party uses the Ministry of Youth Development and Ministry of Women Affairs to prop up its programmes, especially mass mobilisation initiatives.

There is a need for an agreed definition of what majority is in any system (AU, 2007). There is also a need to put in place systems that cater for both the majority and minority population, as defined in the constitution, as a way of avoiding a situation where 51% of the voting population oppresses 49% in the name of the majority. What is often ignored is that the voting population does not represent the entire population in a given territory (Bogaards, 2013). The minority voters' interests also need to be catered for in order to prevent resentment and potential grievances and conflicts.

While in other countries, the opposition parties learn from their previous mistakes (Rakner and Walle, 2009), in Zimbabwe, there is never room for the correction of the mistakes, let alone for any coalition attempts. The infrastructure in Zimbabwean politics is such that the security services are technically allowed to infiltrate any opposition movements and possibly destroy from within. Some of these technicalities are positioned within either the laws or structurally such that it is difficult to undo them (Ndegwa, 2003).

## Election-related violence in SADC

Most elections in Africa are characterised by bloody violence. Most of the violence affects innocent voters and is often instigated by political leaders in pursuit of power. The forms of violence often recorded include physical, emotional and psychological. Khadiagala in EISA (2010), while analysing elections in Africa, reported that basically, there are two types of electoral violence that have been established in Africa. He described the two as where state has deep-rooted power asymmetries and when violence arises because electoral management bodies (EMBs) mismanage elections by rigging, theft, and other practices of indiscretion and manipulation. In that respect, Khadiagala disclosed that there might not be any fundamental changes without radical transformation. He then proposed a focus on essential institutional restructurings throughout all spectrums. While he stated that most African conflicts fall into the first type, Zimbabwe has shown traits of both forms of conflicts (EISA, 2010).

Matlosa (2010) states that though the issues that contribute to electoral violence are particular to each country, in Lesotho and Zimbabwe, the violence stems from structural social influences. South Africa's form of violence is psychological, often driven by poverty, while in the DRC and Mozambique; it is largely at the instigation of some power-hungry leaders. Some of the influences, according to Matlosa (2010), include political gurus over the state and its resources and the acquiescence of state establishments to manipulation. It is often this intense violence that frightens innocent and defenceless citizens. In some cases, they are then forced to tow lines that are not amenable to their desires. No wonder



that in states that are characterised by violence during election periods, the voters never question the outcomes, even if they are visibly fraudulent. This is what defines the ‘docility’ and ‘naivety’ of Zimbabweans and Angolans who have endured the continuance of fraudulent elections without tangible reaction.

## SADC’s stance on democracy

The policy framework of SADC considers democracy and general citizen participation as the backbone of economic development and human security. The regional body characterises good governance and democratic systems as consisting of accountability, legitimacy, transparency, constitutionalism, participation by citizens and the rule of law (Dodo, 2012b).

The region houses six of the 10 best-run countries in Africa, according to the Ibrahim Index of African Governance of 2015 (Albuquerque and Wiklund, 2015). However, it also houses two of the worst administered countries in Africa: Zimbabwe and the DRC. Generally, from its inception, the regional body espouses a situation where every member state practices what is enshrined in the laws, conventions and treaties for the good of the entire region. It is evident that over the period, the environment in the region has improved with the coming of new blood in the likes of Mbeki of South Africa, Khama of Botswana, Mwanawasa, Banda and Lungu of Zambia, Kikwete and Magufuli of Tanzania, Chissano of Mozambique and Banda and Mutharika of Malawi. The adoption of new perspectives and the interaction with the outside world have also helped to improve the region. This is especially so following the establishment and adoption of some of the following laws and protocols (Dodo, 2012b):

- African Union (AU) Constitutive Act;
- African Charter on Human and People’s Rights
- AU Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa
- SADC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation
- SADC Declaration on Principles and Guidelines Governing Democratic Elections
- SADC Electoral Advisory Council (SEAC)

The body has, however, faced various challenges from both the leaders who sit in the executive body and the institution itself, whose policies and implementation mechanisms are flawed. Some scholars have noted that the interconnected problems of instituting good governance with a persistent system of democracy in some member states: Zimbabwe, Swaziland, DRC, Angola, and Mozambique, are entrenched in practice, history

and law (Lust-Okar, 2009 and Dodo, 2012b). Practice has influenced some of the regional body's challenges through precedence where other leaders have been allowed to get away with it (Matlosa, 2005). Cases in point include Mugabe post-2002 and 2008 elections and Andry Rajoelina of Madagascar after his 2009 coup (McGowan, 2003). Historically, traditional leaders only left the throne either following a military conquest or death. They also believed that the show of strength and militancy was a symbol of power, bravery and good leadership. Therefore, their cruelty on their subjects and unwillingness to leave the throne has been passed on to the contemporary leadership. On the other hand, laws that guide both SADC as a body and individual states are weak and prone to abuse. In fact, abuses have been allowed along 'brotherhood' lines (Dodo, 2012b).

Operationally, the agenda of the body to ensure standard democracy in all the member states where rule of law, constitutionalism, peace and good governance are practiced has been derailed by glitches in some member states (Matlosa, 2005). While over the years, member states have been improving on their approaches to democracy; some have elected to remain stuck to the old, archaic and retrogressive practices. Swaziland is locked in a crisis where lawmaking power is still in the king, Mswati III, who has the power to veto all laws ratified by parliament. Swaziland has also remained a single-party constitution within the SADC region (Cawthra, 2010).

In Zimbabwe, the constitution is so flexible that it can be tampered with, especially by the executive (Dodo, 2016). This anomaly has seen the President clinging to power in a manner that appears to be 'constitutional and appropriate' and yet it is the constitution and the operating environment that are flawed. The system is such that violence is allowed to flourish in a manner that forces opposition parties to boycott the elections. Abel Muzorewa and Ndabaningi Sithole employed such a strategy in 1996 when United Parties and Zimbabwe African National Union Ndonga, withdrew, leaving Mugabe to contest alone. In 2008, Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) also withdrew from the second round of the election, leaving Mugabe in a lone race.

It is interesting to note that despite all the efforts by the region and other players towards democratisation, Zimbabwe is one of the 23 countries in Africa that refused peer review under the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) (Dodo, 2012b). APRM is an initiative within New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) meant to foster good governance practices.

The DRC is ranked second worst run state in the SADC after Zimbabwe. Its challenges stem from the dictatorial tendencies of Joseph Mobutu sese Seko, who had run the country for decades. Following a coup, Laurent Desire Kabila governed by decree up until his elimination in 2001, after which his son took over (Mbata *et al*, 2008). In 2006, the DRC conducted its second polls before an attempted constitutional amendment that sought to prolong the president's tenure from five to seven years, remove tenure limits and permit

the President to chair the judicial High Council. There has also been wide criticism of the Commission Electorale Nationale Independante (CENI) over its partial conduct of the elections in favour of Kabila (Phezo, 2010).

Angola, endowed with vast natural and human resources, remains trapped in extreme poverty. Despite the fact that the country experienced a protracted civil war that ended after the death of Jonas Savimbi, a rebel leader in 1992, 25 years down the line, no change is visible on the ground. Santos who, over the years has built an empire, tamed the people of Angola through his sit-tight leadership. He has secured all vital posts in the economy and security structure. This has seen the waning of any hopes for democracy in oil-rich Angola.

The situation in Mozambique is unique in that the civilian-driven violence is also complemented by some element of insurgency at the instigation of Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO), an opposition party cum insurgent group. The challenges in Mozambique, according to various scholars, are a result of a skewed constitution, especially the electoral act that allows the ruling party to manipulate the entire process (EISA, 2005 and Cheeseman, 2010). While the elected leaders may be interested in setting the systems right, they also take advantage of the skewed laws to tilt the landscape in their favour.

Capitalising on the already existing problems, the leader of RENAMO, Alfonso Dhlakama, has repeatedly piled his unrealistic demands on an ailing democracy. Dhlakama's acts are in various circles described as criminal and insurgent, and that he deserves no regard. However, because of populism and the need to save lives by the leadership, he has always received some attention.

## Leadership arrogance

Despite common assumptions that some of the SADC leaders are arrogant (Cawthra, 2010), studies simply show that there are a variety of structural and policy discrepancies supported by the culture and history of liberation legacy, which drive leaders to become arrogant. Generally, there has been a culture of nationalism procuring independence through either protracted talks or small-scale wars. It was, therefore, these nationalist leaders who supported each other, even when it was not necessary. Over time, the group of nationalist leaders began to dwindle as some either died or were defeated in democratic elections. For those who have survived, they now seem to play the big brother role. Should they decide to retire, they often anoint a puppet leader to sustain their corrupt tendencies. These include Mugabe and Santos. It was also during the era of nationalist leadership that a culture of impunity was developed and it still haunts the region up till this day (Phezo, 2010). Some of the leaders like Kabila and Mswati take advantage of the *toothlessness* of

the body, hence developing arrogance. Some of the cases where SADC failed to demonstrate good governance include:

- Acceptance of Zaire in SADC, which had just staged a coup in 1996;
- Watching the killing and displacement of people during the land invasion era from 2000 in Zimbabwe;
- Failure to collectively intervene in the 2001 Lesotho crisis;
- Failure to address electoral fraud in Zimbabwe in 2002;
- Failure to intervene militarily in the DRC crisis in 2012;
- Failure to enforce the SADC Tribunal's ruling against Mugabe's confiscation of white Zimbabweans' farms on human rights grounds in 2007;
- Failure to uphold an electoral victory by MDC in Zimbabwe in 2008;
- Failure to enforce a Global Political Agreement (GPA) in Harare in 2008;
- Failure to reverse a coup in Madagascar in 2009 (McGowan, 2003);
- Rubberstamping the contested 2013 election results in Zimbabwe;
- Prioritising sovereignty over cooperation;
- Interventions in various crises have been more of individual efforts than the body; and
- Some leaders like Mugabe simply choose to ignore advice from others as defiance to interfering in domestic matters. He sees his arrogance and sit-tight leadership style from a sovereignty standpoint.

## Frequency of elections in SADC

Since the attainment of independence, almost all the countries in the SADC region have held elections at various times (Cawthra, 2010). Elections are a phenomenon that is gradually being accepted and embraced as they foster democracy, an ingredient for development and peace (Matlosa, 2005). To understand the level of democratisation and the irony in electioneering, statistics of elections that have been conducted in the region have been compiled for analysis.

## Elections in Africa

Country	1 <sup>st</sup> election		2 <sup>nd</sup> election		3 <sup>rd</sup> election		4 <sup>th</sup> election		5 <sup>th</sup> election		6 <sup>th</sup> election		7 <sup>th</sup> election		8 <sup>th</sup> election		9 <sup>th</sup> election		10 <sup>th</sup> election	
	Year	Type	Year	Type	Year	Type	Year	Type	Year	Type	Year	Type	Year	Type	Year	Type	Year	Type	Year	Type
Botswana	1965	FPT	1969	PFT	1974	FPT	1979	FPT	1984	FPT	1989	FPT	1994	FPT	1999	FPT	2004	FPT	2009	FPT
Zambia	1964	Bloc	1968	Bloc	1973	FPT	1991	FPT	1996	FPT	2001	FPT	2006	FPT	2011		2016			
Mozambique	1994	bloc	1999	FPT	2004	Bloc	2009	Bloc	2014	bloc										
DRC	1960	bloc	1965	cou	1997	cou	2001	bloc	2006	FPT	2011	FPT								
Lesotho	1970	FPT	1986	FPT	1993	FPT	1998	FPT	2002	PR	2007	PR	2012							
S/Africa	1994	PR	1999	PR	2004	PR	2009	PR	2014	PR										
Tanzania	1962	FPT	1965	FPT	1970	FPT	1975	FPT	1980	FPT	1985	FPT	1990	FPT	1995	FPT	2000	FPT	2005	FPT
Namibia	1989	PR	1994	Bloc	1999	Bloc	2004	bloc	2009	Bloc	2015	Bloc								
Zimbabwe	1980	Bloc	1985	Bloc	1990	FPT	1995	FPT	1996	FPT	2000	FPT	2002	FPT	2005	FPT	2008	FPT	2013	FPT
Malawi	1966	bloc	1978	Bloc	1983	Bloc	1989	Bloc	1994	FPT	1999	FPT	2004	FPT	2009	FPT	2014	FPT		
Angola	1975	FPT	1979	FPT	1992	PR	2008	PR	2012	PR										
Madagascar	1962	FPT	1992	FPT	1996	FPT	2001	FPT	2002	FPT	2006	FPT	2012	FPT						
Swaziland	1972	Bloc	1978	Bloc	1992	bloc	2013	FPT												

Dr O. Dodo (2016)

What is evident from the analysis is that there is no direct correspondence between the period of independence and the frequency of elections, nor is there any relationship between the number of elections and the number of leaders occupying the office. Table 2 below interprets Table 1 above.

Table 2: Election Frequency Interpretation

RANK	COUNTRY	INDEPENDENCE YR	ELECTION FREQ.	# LEADERS
1	Tanzania	1962	12	5
2	Botswana	1965	11	4

3	Zimbabwe	1980	10	1
4	Malawi	1966	9	4
5	Zambia	1964	9	6
6	Lesotho	1970	7	3
7	Madagascar	1960	7	6
8	Namibia	1989	6	3
9	South Africa	1994	5	3
10	Mozambique	1975	5	4
11	Angola	1975	5	2
12	DRC	1960	5	3
13	Swaziland	1968	4	2

Zimbabwe is the only country that has had one leader since attaining its independence in 1980 despite having conducted 10 plebiscites. This is in direct contrast with countries (South Africa and Namibia) that attained independence well after Zimbabwe but have constitutionally changed leadership three times each.

## Conclusion

It is a widely held view that elections are central in the democratisation of Africa. However, it is unfortunate that such a hypothesis has failed to prove its mettle in some states like Zimbabwe and Angola where elections remain a window dressing. It is unfortunate to note that some institutional forces designed to protect the interests of certain leaders deliberately thwart what most scholars research and document.

Most of the features for an ideal democracy like timely elections are evident in states such as Zimbabwe and Angola and yet the quality and implementation of such leaves a lot to be desired. Democracy has to be understood as a complex system whose effective and efficient existence is dependent on various factors: people, political will, the desire to engage, parameters and a defined destination. Therefore, in the case of Zimbabwe, it takes its people to initiate the process of democratisation. Incumbent leaders take advantage of the absence of the process to extend their stay in office. Actually, they like it when the people are either ignorant or are hesitant to initiate the process. In Zimbabwe, any attempt at initiating the democratisation process is faced with militant resistance and outright condemnation, so much so that there will not be any willing follower or sympathiser. Mugabe has been in office for 37 years, always igniting the memories of the liberation war. However, he fails to realise that the people want prosperity, jobs, a sound economy, a bright future and no more liberation rhetoric.

As much as Bogaards (2013) queries the evidence for Africa's democratisation through elections, this analysis also doubts the validity of the hypothesis. Scholars like Lindberg

(2009) and Bogaards (2013) note how some scholars tend to make general assertions based on a subset of cases. This study observes that the theory of democratisation through elections in Africa appears to be a victim of a similar problem of over-generalisation. SADC, unlike other regional bodies like ECOMOG, has proven to be toothless and mainly bogged down by a 'brotherhood syndrome' where some leaders tend to protect the sins of others in anticipation of reciprocal protection. Some also prioritise respect on the basis of age rather than the dictates of democracy and constitutionalism. It is some of these problems that led to the protection of such leaders as Mugabe when he rigged the elections in 2002 and 2008, and Mswati when he instigated a coup in 1998 and 2001. Others were Santos in his manipulation of the constitution and Rajoelina when he staged a coup in 2009.

The existence of various continental and regional institutions for good governance and the regulation of elections and leadership are immaterial in the midst of an archaic ideology in the leadership of Mugabe and Santos. The regional body needs to have brave and blunt leaders like Mandela, Mwanawasa, Mugafuli and Khama to remind their peers of the wrongs that they do almost daily if it has to adopt democratic practices.

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# Child insurgents in West Africa: The Boko Haram example In Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon

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## Abstract

*One of the most shocking horrors of Boko Haram's rampage in West Africa has been the insurgents' ability to turn captured boys and girls into destroyers and killers. Since 2014, Boko Haram group has used hundreds of young boys and girls to terrorize north-east Nigeria and some of her northern neighbours such as Niger, Cameroon and Chad. A critical aspect of neglect in available materials on this subject is the inadequate presentation and documentation of child insurgents in Boko Haram insurgency. This study examines children's involvement in Boko Haram insurgency. Specifically it discusses the implications of child insurgents on national development.*

**Keywords:** Boko Haram, child insurgent, Cameroon, development, insurgency, Niger, Nigeria.

## Introduction

The involvement of children in war is a disturbing social and political phenomenon. It is a universal problem with adverse security and developmental implications in West Africa. In the 1990s and 2000s, most of the wars in Africa such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, Sudan, Angola, Cote d'Ivoire and Burundi were not without children. Children under the age of 18 were coerced, manipulated and recruited into fighting forces. Despite the protection of the International Convention and Customary International Laws over children, this underaged group is still widely used in armed conflict. The most worrisome is the recent phenomenon of child insurgents in the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon. Since 2014, the use of child insurgents within the selected countries has been on the increase.<sup>1</sup> Young boys and girls have been recruited into Boko Haram terrorist group and are designated both destructive and non-destructive roles. For example, some are foot soldiers with AK47 assault rifles and other sophisticated weapons, while some are trained suicide bombers. Child insurgents perform home chores, intelligent and sexual roles.<sup>2</sup>

A more disheartening scenario of child insurgents in West Africa is that, unlike child soldiering in civil wars, where large number of children voluntarily joined the warring

factions,<sup>3</sup> the majority of child insurgents were kidnapped, manipulated and brainwashed to be destructive.<sup>4</sup> For example, in April 2014, some 276 chibok school girls were abducted in Borno State.<sup>5</sup> Several other girls have been kidnapped by the Boko Haram terrorist group. According to Fatma Samoura, United Nation Humanitarian Coordinator in Nigeria, over 200 000 boys and girls are living in abduction and girls are perpetually in forced marriage and sexual slavery.<sup>6</sup>

The ability to turn captured boys and girls into killers has become a major source of concern to both the governments of Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, and the international community. Rescued captives portend danger to the larger society, as the process of rehabilitation may not successfully detach former abductees from violence or the act of aggression. Child insurgents are a threat to national security and the stability of post-insurgency political order. The years of brutality and violence indoctrinate children into a culture of aggression and cycle of violence.<sup>7</sup> The goal of this study is to examine the involvement of children (under the age of 18) in Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad and discuss the development implications of child insurgents in the three countries.

## Conceptual framework

The search for definitions of a 'child' or what constitute 'childhood' is a difficult and complex exercise. To avoid the many problems surrounding the concept 'child' or 'childhood', this paper will adopt the definition of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). CRC defines a child as "every human below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier."<sup>18</sup> In November 1989, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the above definition. In 1990, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the child (ACRWC) adopted this definition. ACRWC advances a similar definition of childhood – that a child is every human being below the age of 18.<sup>9</sup> The terms 'minor' or 'underage' are sometimes used synonymously to describe children under 18 years of age. A child insurgent is simply defined as any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of irregular force or armed group in any capacity, rising in revolt against established authority.<sup>10</sup> This definition is often stretched to include any person under the age of 18 years who is a member of or attached to armed forces or armed groups, whether or not there is an armed conflict.<sup>11</sup>

## History of children's participation in insurgency

The history of childhood is that of participation. Children have always participated in the lives of their societies, not only on issues affecting them, but also on those affecting the entire society.<sup>12</sup> In Medieval Europe, 'children' were not only economic actors, beginning

apprenticeships at the age of 12 or younger, they were also active political agents, often initiating resistance and uprisings. For example, the Children's Crusade, a peaceful movement of the poor, mainly farmworkers and shepherds, began in the spring of 1212 near Cologne, and was initiated by a 12-year-old boy Nicholas, who led a crowd of approximately 20 000 children and adults over 700 miles across the Alps of Italy.<sup>13</sup> In France, there was a similar movement led by another 12-year-old boy, Stephen, who ushered a crowd of 30 000 into Paris.<sup>14</sup>

Children and young people are political actors, sometimes alongside their parents and sometimes independently. In the 1900s and 1970s, children and young people in Britain were particularly noticeable in strikes and demonstrations.<sup>15</sup> According to Afua Twum-Danso, young people made history by demonstrating against injustice, alongside 'adults' or independently all over the world. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, children and young people were instrumental in the civil rights movements in the USA, where some as young as six years marched against segregation.<sup>16</sup> In the 1960s, children and young people protested against the Vietnam War, and for this, they faced harassment from the authorities, including expulsion from school.<sup>17</sup> The incidence that took place in Tiananmen Square, China, on 4 June 1989, is another noteworthy example.<sup>18</sup> In 1989, in China, children, many of whom were students, demonstrated for the promotion of democracy. Most of these children protesters lost their lives.<sup>19</sup>

The history of children and young people's involvement in violence, armed conflict, demonstration or insurgency in Africa is not that different. Although there are stereotypes against young people just as there are against women, that subordinate children to the power of male elders, nevertheless, this group of people has, over time, been able to play major roles during demonstrations within their societies. Examples abound on children participation in demonstration in Africa. In the pre-colonial era, children and young people who were students of Quranic schools and Fulani pastoralists were actively involved in the Sokoto Jihad of 1804-1808.<sup>20</sup> As the war progressed, senior Shaikhs and older scholars resigned, and the Jihad army came to be dominated by youths.

During the colonial era, young people were part and parcel of the various nationalist movements that erupted in Africa. For example, the Somali Youth League led a protest march towards the attainment of independence in 1960. Lastly, the anti-colonial movement in northern Nigeria was not without youth participation. Young people during the colonial era worked audaciously to topple the colonial government. Politically, Africa's youth and children played a key role to the various liberation movements in the early years of independence. In addition to the aforementioned example of children participation,

other cases included the 1964 Sudan uprising in which Khartoum University students were instrumental in the deposition of the military government of General Ibrahim Abboud; the demonstration of radical students in Ethiopia that initiated the revolution and led to the overthrowing of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974.<sup>21</sup> A more noteworthy example is the involvement of children and young people in terminating British colonial rule in Zanzibar in 1963, and the 1964 revolution, which brought a permanent end to Arab political and economic hegemony in the Islands.<sup>22</sup>

Children's involvement in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa must not be forgotten. In 1976, schoolchildren in Soweto started a protest against the insistence of the government on using Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in schools.<sup>23</sup> The revolt that spread like wildfire beyond Soweto, was brutally suppressed by security forces. Hundreds of people, including children, were killed. After the incident, Nelson Mandela, who was in prison at the time, paid tribute to the young boys and girls. He stated:

*At the forefront of this 1976/77 wave of unrest were our students and youth. They came from the universities, high schools and even primary schools. They are a generation whose whole education has been under the diabolical design of the racists to poison the minds and brainwash our children into docile subjects of apartheid rule. But after more than twenty years of Bantu Education, the circle is closed and nothing demonstrates the utter bankruptcy of apartheid as the revolt of our youth.<sup>24</sup>*

In 1985, seven years after the Soweto uprising, South African children were once again at the forefront of demonstrations against the banning of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS). Thousands of children and young people were imprisoned by the South African regime for their participation in the resistance.<sup>25</sup> Children and young people played a significant role in the struggle to end apartheid in South Africa.

In more recent times, children and young people have been visible in civil wars, insurgencies, and armed conflicts around Africa. This group formed a reasonable fraction of combatants. Conflict is not just the business of older people. It has become the business of children, young people and older people.<sup>26</sup> Children are not only victims of war or insurgency, they are actors and stakeholders. The wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Uganda were not without the involvement of children and young people. The use of children as combatants in Liberia could be traced to the start of the conflict in 1989. Former warlord Charles Taylor, leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, was infamous for the

abduction and use of boys and girls in war. It is estimated that over 6 000 children took up arms between 1989 and 1997.<sup>27</sup> According to UN sources, over 15 000 children were associated with the armed forces between 2000 and 2003.<sup>28</sup> Many of these children were recruited forcibly and involuntarily. Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) widely recruited children between 2000 and 2003.<sup>29</sup>

During the Sierra Leonean conflict from 1991-2002, children were not left out. Children and young people dominated the conflict to the extent that it was labelled a 'Youth Crisis'.<sup>30</sup> Children were involved in the war basically for the devastating effects of the All People's Congress (APC) rule since 1968. The APC rule arguably destroyed the possibilities for young people to carve out a meaningful life for themselves in the cities.<sup>31</sup>

Children's participation in armed conflict during the Ugandan crisis was worst still. During this conflict, the Lord's Resistance Army of Joseph Kony forcibly recruited children into the fighting force.<sup>32</sup> More than 50% of recruits are children. Kony raided children at night time and also abducted children in towns and schools.<sup>33</sup> According to *The Lancet*, an estimated 20 000 children were abducted; about 8 400 of them between June, 2002 and June, 2003.<sup>34</sup>

## Children's participation in Boko Haram insurgency

Having discussed some cases of child involvement in demonstrations and armed conflicts, the focus will now shift to children's participation in the Boko Haram insurgency. Critical attention would be focused on the following areas: conscription, training, roles of child insurgents, security implications of child insurgents, and the government's role in preventing child involvement in armed conflict.

Boko Haram is a fusion of Hausa and Arabic words meaning Western civilisation is evil. Members of this Islamic sect blame the ills of the society on Western culture, especially Western education.<sup>35</sup> They uphold the preaching and establishment of a pristine Islamic state. The *modus operandi* of this group has been a major thorn in the flesh of the governments of Nigeria, Chad and Cameroon. The outrageous, violent activities of Boko Haram can be traced to 1999,<sup>36</sup> when the group resorted to attacks and incessant bombing in public places. In the pursuit of its proposed Islamic state, bombing and abductions of persons were widely embarked upon. Several cases of bombings and abductions abound. For example, the Yanyan bombing and the abduction of Chibok girls is worthy of note. A new dimension, which is the pivotal point of this paper, of Boko Haram insurgency, is the use of children in perpetrating havoc. Since 2014, children have been at the forefront of

bombing activities at different places such as fuel stations, churches, mosques, marketplaces, traffic, army barracks and so on.

## Mode of conscription

Recruitment and the use of children for combat purposes during insurgencies or armed conflicts around the globe is outlawed by various measures of International Human Rights Law, Humanitarian Law, Labour Law and Criminal Law yet a chasm exists between these standards and their application.<sup>37</sup> The practice of using children in armed conflict continues. Despite the regulations outlawing the use of children for combat, little effective actions have been taken against states or individual violators.<sup>38</sup>

In West Africa, the recruitment and use of children in insurgency and armed conflict is on the increase. The trend persists because children are cheap and obedient fighters, and because of their youthful energy.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, subject to persistent violent conflict, there is a shortage of 'eligible men', which necessitate the use of boys and girls.

In armed conflicts in West Africa, recruitment of persons for combat and other war related roles vary enormously from one country to another. Children enter fighting forces in different ways such as active recruitment, volunteering, abduction or gang pressing.<sup>40</sup> In Boko Haram insurgency, abduction is the methodology. Most boys and girls fighting alongside the terrorist group are largely abducted from schools, marketplaces and social gatherings.<sup>41</sup> A noteworthy case of abduction is the 276 Chibok schoolgirls who were abducted in 2014. Boko Haram adopts forceful conscription of children into the fighting force. It has been estimated that since 2012, Boko Haram has abducted as many as 2 000 children, both boys and girls.<sup>42</sup> Generally, since 2012, between 2 000 and 7 000 women and children are living in abduction.<sup>43</sup>

## Training of abductees

Since 2014, captured boys and girls have been turned into suicide bombers and killers alike. Children are ideal weapons for Boko Haram leadership. At security checkpoints run by men, they are often searched less thoroughly, if at all. Explosives are easily concealed under the fabric of dresses or religious gowns worn by girls.<sup>44</sup> Since children are easily perceived to be innocent and less checked by security operatives, they become readily available weapons for the leadership of the group.

To be adequately prepared for suicide bombings and other destructive activities, abducted boys and girls undergo a systematic training programme, which exposes them to the

rudiments of bombing and killing. To Rahila Amos, a former captive of Boko Haram who escaped after months of training, the system of grooming potential bombers involved food deprivation and promises of eternal life. Rahila Amos' testimony reveals "Boko Haram incorporated lack of food into the training". Throughout her spell in Boko Haram captivity, she was fed one meal a day, which made her lose weight drastically. Abductees are kept in a long ditch for several days, eating one meal a day, a corn paste made from powder maize.<sup>45</sup>

According to Rahila, a life and death question precedes the training. Abductees are asked: "Do you want to follow Christ, or do you want to be a Muslim?"<sup>46</sup> The fear of death has made many children, even adults, agree to follow Islam. Training begins immediately after the captives have decided to be Muslims.

In her narrative, there is a six-tiered daily education track to be followed by captives, including boys and girls. The six levels range from primary one to six. The six levels are divided into two: lower and upper levels. Primary one to three is the lower level while four to six is the upper level. The lower level is for open training. For example, the first two levels, primary one and two, are for Quranic training, which includes indoctrination. Among the six tiers of training, level three is fundamental. At this level, captives receive training in suicide bombing and beheading: "How to kill a person and how to bomb a house". Children are taught how to conceal a bomb either under their armpits or on any other part of their body. In addition, they are taught how to hide bombs in baskets and appear as a trader in a fish and vegetable market. To kill, they are taught to sever their enemy's head from behind to minimise struggling. "If you cut from the back of the neck, they die faster."<sup>47</sup> Levels 4, 5 and 6 are more of a cult. The instruction given at these levels of the training are closely guarded secrets among the fighters.<sup>48</sup>

In an interview, Ahmed Abubakar narrates the essence of indoctrination, brainwashing and the use of drugs or substances capable of hardening the minds.<sup>49</sup> To him, this process helps to change the belief and mindset of children, and also hardens their conscience. These techniques are integral parts of the modules for training. According to an interview with Yakubu Gowon, a soldier who has fought against Boko Haram, the promise of easy passage to heaven and intercourse with virgins in the world beyond are parts of the training routine. In addition, child insurgents are drugged.<sup>50</sup> To Eshobuga Okpameh<sup>51</sup>, a Nigerian foot soldier, a liquid substance (concoction) consisting of leaves and seeds of Indian hemp soaked in local alcoholic beverages such as 'burukutu' are given to young insurgents. For girls not used to the consumption of alcoholic beverages, their foods are prepared with



Indian hemp. The brutality and heartlessness of child insurgents is the direct result of the intake of hard drugs and alcoholic beverages.

The hardship of a lack of enough food for child insurgents complements the hardness and brutality caused by hard drugs and other substances such as 'burukutu'. It could be deduced from the above routine that hostages under Boko Haram captivity received training both in the Quran and violence. Rahila's testimony and reports of interviews corroborates this, in that they point to the fact that children are involved in insurgency, trained, brainwashed, and drugged for active participation.

## Child insurgents and Boko Haram terrorism in Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad

Despite the various measures embarked upon by international bodies, the use of children during armed conflict or insurgency persists. The abduction and use of children by Boko Haram is worrisome, and a new trend in the group's *modus operandi*. Abducted boys and girls are major actors in bombing, killing and other destructive activities. They perform roles least expected in the Boko Haram insurgency – as suicide bombers and killers. Despite being under military pressure, the use of children has been able to strike fear across an expansive battlefield covering Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad. Since 2014, as a change of methodology, Boko Haram has deployed young children as newly minted terrorists capable of inflicting a devastating toll.

The Boko Haram terrorist group has used at least 105 women and girls in suicide attacks since June 2014, when a female bomber blew herself up at an army barracks in Nigeria.<sup>52</sup> Since 2014, girls, often with bombs hidden in baskets or their clothes, have killed hundreds of people in attacks on fish and vegetable markets, schools, river docks and even camps for people who have fled their homes to get away from the violence. In addition, according to UNICEF<sup>53</sup>, 85% of the suicide attacks by women globally in 2014 were in Nigeria. In May 2015, it was reported that children have been used to perpetrate three-quarters of all suicide attacks in 2014. Since 2012, according to a recent report from humanitarian groups, young boys have been used as suicide bombers.<sup>54</sup>

In Cameroon, according to Issa Tchiroma Bakary, the Minister of Communications, 22 female bombers, including children, were identified at the beginning of 2016. In Cameroon, girls in their early teens have carried out many of the recent bombings. It was during one such bombing operation that Rahila Amos escaped from her Boko Haram captors. Amos escaped from her captor when they assembled for evening preaching and

prayers. After the preaching, she ran to the Cameroonian border. Amos escaped because she did not want to be a suicide bomber. Her accounts, according to the Cameroonian and Nigerian authorities, matched the experience of other women and children who have escaped from Boko Haram, or who have been arrested before they could detonate bombs.<sup>55</sup> According to Amos, some women and children are happy performing the bombing role. Seven girls out of the 30 female captives enrolled in training with her were enthusiastic about carrying out suicide missions.

In December 2014, bombers attacked Cameroon's far north. In this attack, 80 civilians, 94 militants and two Cameroonian soldiers died.<sup>56</sup> In January 2015, boys and girls were among the suicide bombers who attacked the Kolo Fata area and villages in northern Cameroon. In Kolo Fata, the Cameroonian military lost one officer, while the Boko Haram group lost between 143-300.<sup>57</sup> During the attacks on villages in North Cameroon, 80 people were kidnapped and three others died.<sup>58</sup>

Like in Nigeria and Cameroon, young boys and girls have perpetrated many of the suicide bombings in Chad. The first attack on Chad by Boko Haram took place in Ngouboua on 13 February 2015, the very day that 30 Boko Haram insurgents crossed Lake Chad in four motorboats.<sup>59</sup> On 24 February 2015, Chadian soldiers engaged Boko Haram insurgents in a severe battle. In the ensuing debacle, over 200 Boko Haram fighters and bombers were killed, including boys and girls, while one Chadian soldier lost his life and nine others were wounded.<sup>60</sup>

In mid-2015, twin suicide bomb attacks were unleashed in N'Djamena, the capital of Chad. Major targets of the suicide bombers were the police headquarters and police academy. The bomb attack killed 24 people and left more than 100 people wounded.<sup>61</sup>

A grier and disheartening role played by child insurgents, particularly girls, is one of a wife to male fighters. Girls are not just abducted to carry bombs; some are sex machines, while others serve as 'bush wives'. They are tools for sexual satisfaction of male insurgents or commanders.<sup>62</sup> Girls are raped or gang raped several times a day. Examples of raped girls and bush wives abound. The case of Fati, who was kidnapped in 2014 and later rescued by the Nigerian soldiers in 2016, is quite revealing.<sup>63</sup> She was sexually abused by Boko Haram male fighters. More importantly, Amina Ali's ordeal in Boko Haram captivity is an indication of the 'bush wife' role that girls played. Amina was among the Chibok girls abducted in April 2014. Today, she has a little baby boy, whom she delivered while in Boko Haram captivity. Amina's story is similar to that of the Rwandan lady, Alphoncina Mutuze, who delivered a baby in captivity. She belongs to the minority Tutsi tribe. Mutuze, like Amina, was gang raped, became a sex slave and a wife to several Hutus soldiers and hooligans.<sup>64</sup>

## Security and development implications of child insurgents in West Africa

The Boko Haram terrorist group sees child bombers and killers as ideal weapons. Civilians and security personnel suspect children less. They are cheap and can easily be indoctrinated and brainwashed. After years of destructive activities, these children become a menace to society. The most worrisome of all issues concerning child insurgents is the threat to security and the stability of the post-conflict political order. Child insurgents are a source of threat to national and international security as they pose a major challenge to peace and tranquility to the society. The years of brutal and destructive activities have indoctrinated children into a culture of aggression and a cycle of violence. Moreover, the brutalisation and militarisation of childhood has led to disrespect for constituted authority and elders, and even the sanctity of human life.<sup>65</sup> To former child insurgents, the inclination to use violence and aggression for dispute settlement has become the norm. It should be noted that most of the child insurgents lack family support and have come to perceive the terrorist group as their only family link.<sup>66</sup> The children are seriously traumatised, with their normal educational, social and moral development disrupted and retarded, and they have become both victims and perpetrators of brutality, including bombing and killing.

Furthermore, during the rehabilitation and reintegration process, not much commitment and sustained effort is devoted to the social and psychological reintegration of ex-child fighters beyond the immediate pre-occupation with disarmament and demobilisation. Examples abound in cases of neglect, abandonment and ill-treatment of ex-child combatants. In Liberia, the Disarmament, Demobilisation, Rehabilitation and Reintegration (DDRR) programme of the post-conflict era served less than one third of the estimated 15 000 children associated with the fighting forces during the country's civil war. In addition, children and young people who disarmed during the 1997 DDRR programme did not find viable employment opportunities.<sup>67</sup> As fighting resumed and escalated in 2000-2003, many children who were not adequately catered for under the DDRR programme returned to the armed groups.<sup>68</sup>

One other notable case of ill-treatment and neglect of ex-child combatants is the emergence of the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) in South South Nigeria. The activities and statements of the group have led to restiveness in the region, an indication of a return to the pre-2009 militancy level. The NDA has claimed responsibility for the bombing of pipelines and gas plants, and the economic terrorism perpetrated in the Niger Delta region in recent times.<sup>69</sup> According to Sheriff Mulade, the coordinator of Centre for Peace and

Environment Justice (CEPEJ), NDA is an aggrieved group, which perhaps may have perceived that their benefits were monopolised by their leaders. They therefore resorted to violence to draw attention to themselves and possibly be invited to discuss their own terms and receive their proper benefits.<sup>70</sup> According to Alizie Maureen, these boys (NDA) are not just new recruits, they are younger militants who did not benefit from the 2009 Amnesty Programme of late President Yar 'Adua. They are out to get their own benefits.<sup>71</sup> From the above analysis, it is clear that neglected, ill-treated ex-child fighters have often taken to the streets, protesting against authorities for their failure to fulfil settlement promises, which include the non-payment of reintegration allowances. These demonstrations by the NDA and other militant groups threaten the fragile peace of the society.

More importantly, the recruitment of children into armed conflict affects their education and has its corollary effect on the society. Since November, 2014, it is estimated that 1 million children have lost access to education.<sup>72</sup> Children's lost years of schooling reduce societies' human and economic development potential, and also damage the chances of stable democracies that are demonstrably linked to human and social well-being.

## Findings

Based on the study's analysis, the following findings were established:

- Poverty within the family has engendered children's involvement in insurgency;
- Illiteracy/a lack of primary and secondary education increases children's vulnerability and restiveness;
- An increased unemployment rate and inadequate job creation cause young people to indulge in criminal activities;
- Porosity/an unsecured school environment enables the abduction of children;
- The use of children during insurgency affects the human capital resources needed for sustainable development;
- A lack of child-centered development projects gives rise to children's involvement in anti-social activities; and
- Poor governance and citizens' disenchantment breeds' criminality.

It is important to note that despite the unavailability of accurate figures of child insurgents in Boko Haram terrorist attacks in the aforementioned countries in the sub-region, the study reveals that young boys and girls are physically involved in suicide bombings and other destructive activities. It is a demonstration of the fact that children are still perpetually involved in armed conflicts, including insurgency across West Africa, despite

all the measures stipulated by concerned agencies to protect children. Children under the age of eighteen have been forcibly conscripted into fighting forces, especially as suicide bombers in the three West African states. Some are raped or gang-raped, while others are coerced into 'forced marriage' as they served as 'bush wives'. Children's participation in insurgency and in any form of armed conflict is a regress for both the children and government. Their involvement in conflict has health, mental/psychological, socio-economic and political repercussions. The years of rape have introduced the girl-children to sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/Aids. The trauma associated with rape and being an ex-fighter impairs social relationships within the society. Ex-fighters face the problem of societal acceptability. Children and young people are stigmatised and rejected by their peers and even the larger society. It is instructive to note that these children have been denied the right to contribute meaningfully to the growth of their communities, and the sustainable development of their countries. Suffice to say that children's involvement in conflict impacts negatively on the development goal of nations, in that even though they constitute a viable human resource capital and workforce, they have been cut off.

## Conclusion

The history of children's involvement in armed conflict, demonstration or insurgency in West Africa and Africa in general is not a new phenomenon. Children have participated in a number of conflicts from the pre-colonial period to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. For example, children were fighters during the Sokoto Jihad of 1804-1808; the Somali liberation struggle in 1960; the 1964 Sudan Uprising; the resistance against British rule in Zanzibar in 1963; the struggle against apartheid in South Africa in 1976 and 1984; the Liberian Civil War from 1989-2003; the Sierra Leone Civil War from 1991-2002; and the Lord's Resistance Army Insurgency in Uganda between 2000 and 2003.

Children's participation in the Boko Haram insurgency in West Africa started in 2014. Although about 2 000 women and children, both boys and girls, have been abducted since 2012, the use of child insurgents, bombers or killers began in 2014. The abduction or forceful recruitment and the use of children for destructive activities by the Boko Haram Terrorist Group have serious security implications for Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad and even the children. The periods of brutal and destructive activities indoctrinate children into a culture of aggression and a cycle of violence. Children's education is affected and this reduces societies' human and economic development potential.

To halt or help prevent the involvement of children in insurgency and other forms of armed conflicts, governments' policies should accommodate a robust welfare package for children and their parents. To start with, governments should institute measures to

ameliorate poverty, such as the creation and even distribution of jobs in each country. There is a need for a compulsory and free primary and secondary education. Security alertness and sensitivity is quintessential in the fight against the use of children in insurgency. Governments should beef up security operations within each region, provide sophisticated weapons for security operatives, and be responsive in the wake of distress calls from school heads. The need for children-centered development projects across the various states is imperative. This entails a children empowerment scheme, which promotes skills acquisition, an inculcation of positive and progressive orientation towards development, and a bi-annual children summit to help chart a course for a better child. Above all, both the state and federal governments should sincerely pursue democratic principles and good governance.

The governments of Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad should be proactive in their quest to protect and prevent the use of children during conflict. The various governments should sincerely uphold integrated diplomacy in the fight against Boko Haram terrorism. In conflict-prone regions, a heavily armed security task force should be deployed to secure schools, market areas and other crowded areas where children are found. Finally, there is a need for children empowerment in the following areas: more attention to formal education, vocational training, enlightenment training on how to escape abduction or forced recruitment, and lastly, government should provide alternatives to soldiering to demobilised children, so as to prevent the re-recruitment of this group into fighting forces.

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A book with (an) editor(s)	Driver, E., & Broisen, A. (Eds. ). (1989). <i>Child sexual abuse</i> . Basingstoke, UK: MacMillan Education Ltd. Strunk, W. (Ed.). (1976). <i>Adult learning</i> . New York: MacMillan.	
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Part/chapter of an edited book	<p>Hartley, J.T., Harker, J.O., &amp; Walsh, D.A. (1980). Contemporary issues and new directions in adult development of learning and memory. In L.W. Poon (Ed. ), <i>Aging in the 1980's: Psychological issues</i>, (pp. 239-252). Washington: American Psychological Association.</p> <p>Shirom, A. (1989). Burnout in work organisations. In C. L. Cooper &amp; I.T. Robertson (Eds.), <i>International review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology</i>, Vol. IV (pp. 25-49). New York: Wiley.</p>	
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Date of publication unknown	Wolverton, H. (n.d.). <i>The geological structure of the Black Hills</i> . Wilmington: Prairie Press.	
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Encyclopedia	Bergmann, P.G. (1993). Relativity. In <i>The new Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> (Vol. 26, pp. 501-508). Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica.	If an entry has no byline, place the title in the author position.



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Unpublished manuscript not submitted for publication	Ryder, M. (1987). <i>Wonder woman: An Amazon legacy</i> . Unpublished manuscript.	



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Abstract	Phillips, E. (1985). The Australian scene [Abstract]. <i>Australian Journal of Ecology</i> , 3(2), 25-29.	

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Published dissertation or thesis	Bevins, G.D. (1987). <i>Theory and practice at an Australian university</i> . Doctoral dissertation. Montreal: McGill University.	



Unpublished dissertation or thesis	Little, P. (1965). <i>Helplessness, depression and mood in end stage renal disease</i> . Unpublished master's thesis, Wits University, Johannesburg, South Africa. Or: Unpublished doctoral dissertation...	
Dissertation abstract	Ross, D.F. (1990). Unconscious transference and mistaken identity: When a witness misidentifies a familiar but innocent person from a lineup (Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1990). <i>Dissertation Abstracts International</i> , 51, 417.	
Government publications	<p>According to The Bill of Rights (1996)... Education is in the process of transformation (Department of Education, 1995)...</p> <p>The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the Republic of South African. (1996). <i>Government Gazette</i>. (No. 17678). Department of Education. (1995). White Paper on Education. <i>Government Gazette</i>. (Vol. 375, No. 45621).</p> <p>Commission on Civil Rights. (1967). <i>Racial isolation in the public schools</i>. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. Republic of South Africa. (1997). Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No. 75 of 1997. Pretoria: Government Printers.</p>	<p>When referring to a government publication, the date is sufficient for in text referencing. Provide all numbers, sections, chapters or volume numbers that is available, in brackets.</p>
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Conference proceedings, no author or title	International Microcomputer Conference. (1984). <i>Conference proceedings held at the Western Australian Institute of Technology, Perth, 22-24 May 1984</i> . Perth: Western Australian Institute of technology.	
Conference proceedings, with author	Field, G. (2001). Rethinking reference rethought. In <i>Revelling in Reference: Reference and Information Services Section Symposium, 12-14 October 2001</i> (pp. 59-64). Melbourne, Victoria, Australia: Australian Library and Information Association.	
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Publication of limited circulation	Klombers, N. (Ed.). (1993, Spring). <i>ADAA Reporter</i> . (Available from the Anxiety Disorders Association of America, 6000 Executive Boulevard, Suite 513, Rockville, MD20852).	For a publication of limited circulation, give in parentheses immediately after the title a name and address from which the publication can be obtained.
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Internet document without author	GVU's 8th WWW user survey. (n.d.). Retrieved August 8, 2000, from <a href="http://www.cc.gatech.edu/gvu/user_surveys/survey-1997-10/">http://www.cc.gatech.edu/gvu/user_surveys/survey-1997-10/</a>	
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Electronic copy of a journal article retrieved from database	Borman, W.C. (1993). Role of early supervisory experience in supervisor performance. <i>Journal of Applied Psychology</i> , 78, 443-449. Retrieved October 23, 2000, from PsycARTICLES database.	
Internet articles based on a print source	VandenBos, G., Knapp, S., & Doe, J. (2001). Role of reference elements in the selection of resources by psychology undergraduates [Electronic version]. <i>Journal of Bibliographic Research</i> , 5, 117-123.	If you have reason to believe that the article might be subject to change, you should add the date you retrieved the document, and the URL





<p>Newsgroups, online forums, electronic mailing lists</p>	<p><b>FORMAT:</b> Author. (Year, Day Month). Subject of message. Message posted to Name mailing list, archived at URL Brack, Ernie (1995, 2 May). Re: Computing short courses. Message posted to LisLink mailing list, archived at <a href="http://archive.lislink.com">http:// archive.lislink.com</a> Jensen, L.R. (1995, 12 December). Recommendation of student radio/tv in English. Message posted to IASTAR mailing list, archived at <a href="http://nrg.dtu.dk">http://nrg.dtu.dk</a> Brett, P. (1999, June 6). Experiments proving the collective unconscious [Msg 1]. Message posted to <a href="news://alt.psychology.jung">news://alt.psychology.jung</a> lrm583@aol.com (1996, May 26). Thinking of adoption. Message posted to <a href="news://alt.adoption">news://alt.adoption</a></p>	<p>If you cannot determine the author's name or screen name, then use the author's email address as the main entry. When deciding where in your Reference List to insert such a source, treat the first letter of the email address as though it were capitalised. If the message is not retrievable from an archive, it should not be included in the reference list. It can be cited as a personal communication.</p>
<p>Paper presented at a virtual conference</p>	<p>Tan, G., &amp; Lewandowsky, S. (1996). <i>A comparison of operator trust in humans versus machines</i>. Paper presented at the CybErg 96 virtual conference. Retrieved May 16, 2000, from <a href="http://www.curtin.edu.au/conference/cyberg/centre/outline.cgi/frame?dir=tan">http://www.curtin.edu.au/conference/cyberg/centre/outline.cgi/frame?dir=tan</a></p>	



Abstract	Isaac, J. D., Sansone, C., & Smith, J.L. (1999, May). Other people as a source of interest in an activity. <i>Journal of Experimental Social Psychology</i> , 35, 239-265. Abstract retrieved June 7, 1999, from IDEAL database: <a href="http://www.europe.idealibrary.com">http://www.europe.idealibrary.com</a>	
Article in an electronic magazine (ezine)	Adler, J. (1999, May 17). Ghost of Everest. <i>Newsweek</i> . Retrieved May 19, 1999.	
Newspaper article	Azar, B., & Martin, S. (1999, October). APA's Council of Representatives endorses new standards for testing, highschool psychology. <i>APA Monitor</i> . Retrieved October 7, 1999, from <a href="http://www.apa.org/monitor/oct99/in1.html">http://www.apa.org/monitor/oct99/in1.html</a>	
Review	Parfit, M. (1997, December 7). Breathless [Review of the book <i>The climb: Tragic ambitions on Everest</i> ]. <i>New York Times on the Web</i> . Retrieved October 7, 1999, from <a href="http://search.nytimes.com/books/97/12/07/reviews/971207.07parfitt.html">http://search.nytimes.com/books/97/12/07/reviews/971207.07parfitt.html</a>	
Letter to the editor	Gray, J. (1999, May 7). Pesticides linger in land and air—and in our bodies [Letter to the editor]. <i>Lexington Herald-Leader</i> . Retrieved October 7, 1999, from <a href="http://www.kentuckyconnect.com/heraldleader/news/050799/lettersdocs/507letters.htm">http://www.kentuckyconnect.com/heraldleader/news/050799/lettersdocs/507letters.htm</a>	
Government publication	Bush, G. (1989, April 12). Principles of ethical conduct for government officers and employees Exec. Order No. 12674. Pt. 1. Retrieved November 18, 1997, from <a href="http://www.usoge.gov/exorders/eo12674.html">http://www.usoge.gov/exorders/eo12674.html</a>	
CD-ROM	Hawking, S. (1994). <i>A brief history of time: An interactive adventure</i> [CD]. Sacramento: Crunch Pod Media.	
<b>Electronic sources</b>		
Sound recording	Williamson, C. (1985). Prairie fire. <i>On Arkansas traveler</i> [CD]. Oakland, California: Olivia Records.	

	<i>Rock 'n roll classics</i> . (1986). [Cassette] San Diego, California: Uptown Sound.	
Motion picture/film	<i>Transactional analysis</i> [Motion picture]. (1974). Los Angeles: Research Films. Bertolucci, B. (Producer). (1988). <i>The last emperor</i> [Motion picture]. Los Angeles: Columbia Pictures.	
Television broadcast	Crystal, L. (Executive Producer). (1993, October 11). <i>The MacNeil/Lehrer news hour</i> [Television broadcast]. New York and Washington, DC: Public Broadcasting Service.	
Video recording	<i>Babakuieria</i> . (1986). [Video recording]. Sydney: ABC Drama Department. Sutton, P. (Producer). (1986). <i>Kay Cottee: First Lady</i> [Video Recording]. New South Wales: Direct Video Pty Ltd. Cochrane, C., (Executive Producer) & Graham S., (Director). (1988). <i>The Superkids' fitness video</i> [Video Recording]. Perth: Dynami Australia.	
Microfiche	Illinois State Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (1971). <i>Toys for early development of the young blind child: a guide for parents</i> . (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 065 201)	
Computer programme	<i>Aldus Pagemaker version 3. 0</i> [Computer software] (1987/1988). Seattle, Washington: Aldus Corporation. Schwarzer, R. (1989). Statistics software for meta-analysis [Computer software and manual]. Retrieved from <a href="http://www.yorku.ca/faculty/academic/schwarze/meta_e.htm">http://www.yorku.ca/faculty/academic/schwarze/meta_e.htm</a>	

### Commonly used abbreviations

Appendix – app. Chapter – ch. Column – col.

Columns – cols.

Editor – ed. Editors – eds. Edition – edn. Editions – edns. Number – no.

Numbers – nos. No date – n. d. No publisher, no page – n. p. Page – p.

Pages – pp. Paragraph – para.

Revised – rev. Reprinted – rpt.



Supplement – Suppl.

Technical Report – Tech. Rep. Translated, translator –  
trans. Volume – vol. Volumes – vols. Written – writ.

**Rule:** a capital letter for the abbreviation for editor or editors i.e. Ed. or Eds. Use lower case for edition i.e. 2nd edn.

### **Latin abbreviations**

And others – *et al.* (et alii) Used where there are too many authors to list

In the same work – *ibid.* (ibidem) Signifies the same work as the one cited immediately before, but a different page

The same – *id.* (idem) The item cited is by the author of the item cited immediately before

In the work cited – *op. cit.* (opere citato) Refers the reader back to the author's previously cited work, but to a different page Without place – *s. l.* (sine loco)

### **For more resources visit:**

<http://www.waikato.ac.nz/library/apaguide.shtml> •

<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/560/07/> • <http://library.osu.edu/sites/guides/apagd.php#articleone>

This referencing guide is compiled from various resources, our appreciation to

[http://www.infosecsa.co.za/Reference\\_](http://www.infosecsa.co.za/Reference_)

[Techniques.pdf](#)



## NOTES

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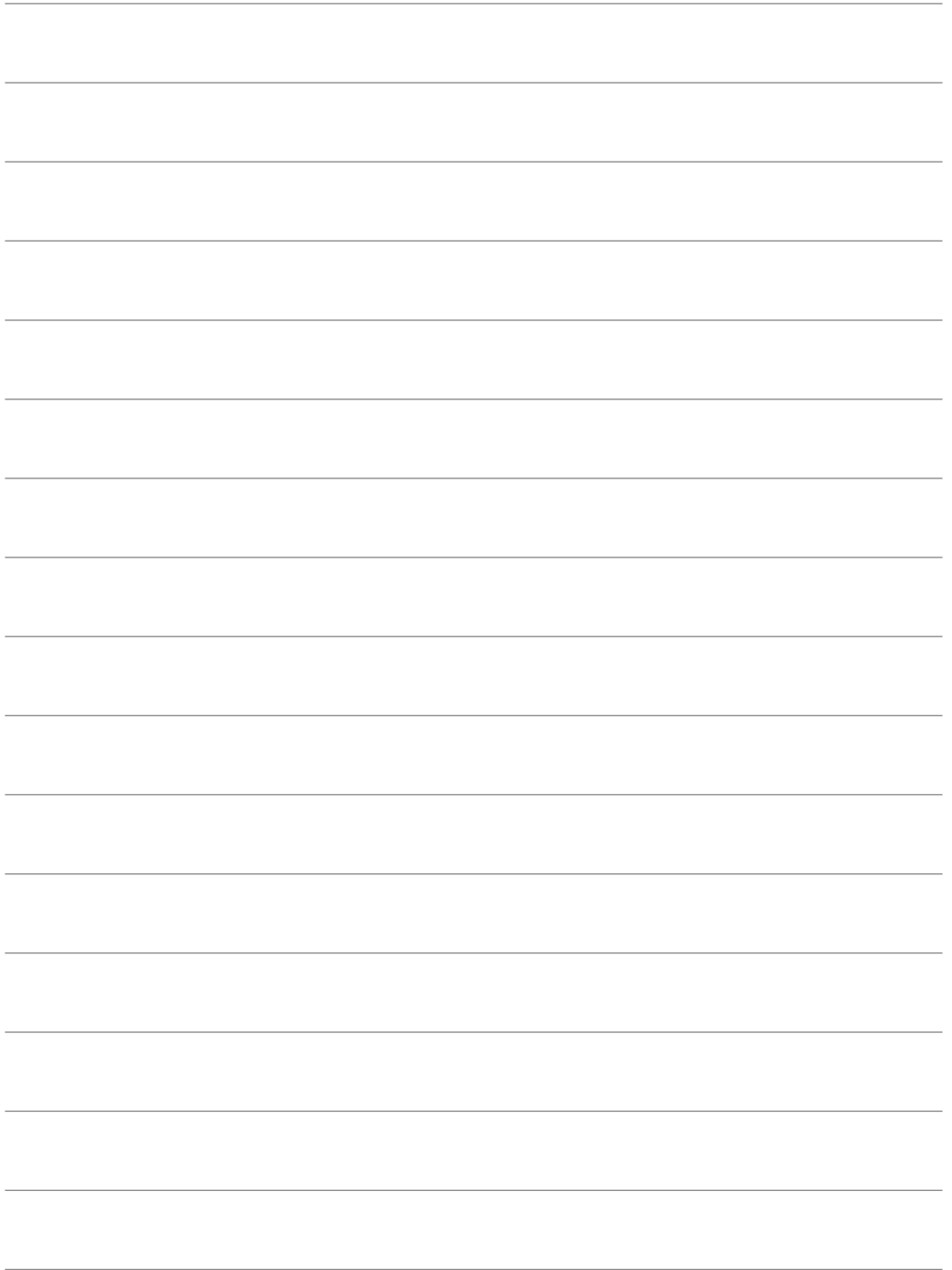
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