Assessing Ethno-Religious and Political Violence as a Bane on the Performance and Sustainability of Small and Medium Scale Business Enterprises in Abuja Area Councils, Nigeria

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Abstract: The socio-economic structure of Nigeria and Abuja particularly have paved way for frustrations which is triggering constant violence that is affecting the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium scale Business Enterprises (SMEs). The objective of this study was to assess ethno-religious and political violence as a bane to the performance and sustainability of business Enterprises in Abuja, Nigeria. The study is a survey research sampling the opinion of 207 respondents. Their opinion was collected using a structured questionnaire. The data obtained was analysed and formulated hypotheses tested using Kendal coefficient of concordance, and the findings revealed that ethno religious violence, Political violence, election campaign violence, thuggery and youth restiveness and gangsters have significant negative influence and is bane to the performance and sustainability of small and medium scale business enterprises in Abuja Area Councils. The study concluded that ethno-religious and political violence which to all intents and purposes retards development, peaceful coexistence, performance and sustainability of business enterprises. Therefore recommended among others that there should be impartiality in handling ethno-religious matters in the Abuja Area Councils; Campaign rallies should be issue based and not making derogatory statements about persons or contestant to avoid campaign violence that threaten businesses in Nigeria; insecurity in its entirety should be addressed because it is moving Abuja business enterprises away from the path of sustainable development.

Keywords: Ethno-Religious Violence, Political Violence; Small & Medium Business Enterprises Performance; Sustainability.

1. Introduction

The success of any business is dependent on its ability to adapt to its environment, especially turbulent environment. Business as part of man’s activities thrives in conducive and sustainable environment. Conducive and sustainable environment most times depends on the thinking and activities of the political class otherwise known as political factors. It also depends on availability of infrastructure put in place by the government. Sustainable development on the other hand is maintaining a delicate balance between the human need to improve way of life, maintain and guarantee continuity of a business and feeling of well-being on one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend.

According to Chinelo and Ejike (2022) insecurity has affected the activities of business in Nigeria where shops, business centres, offices, are closed very early due to theft, armed robbery, kidnapping, assassination and fraud as well as killings among youths of the universities. Insecurities also cause operation management to stop production or utilization of available resources such as material, men, and machines etc. which invariably is a bane (causes misery, ruins or distress) on the performance of Small and Medium scale businesses in Nigeria. Recently on the 25th December 2017 violent broke out in Bwari Area Council leading to the burning of the main market in the town, houses were destroyed and businesses were closed down and curfew were imposed which restricted movement (Punch., 2017). Also on the 18th May 2022, there was riot in Dei Dei market in Abuja Municipal Area Council which led to the burning down of fifty shops and twenty motor cycles and loss of lives (Guardian., 2022).

Ethno-religious and Political violence in Nigeria dates back to the early years of our independence. Political violence has become a central part of political competition across much of Nigeria and it takes many forms-from assassinations to armed clashes between gangs employed by rival politicians, pre-
election, election, and post-election violence, thuggery, armed demonstration, youth restiveness etc. It is unfortunate that after independence Nigeria has been sinking in a spring of these politically motivated violence aided by desperate politicians who want to acquire power at all cost, because occupying public office is the surest way to stupendous wealth accumulations in Nigeria.

The business enterprise is obliged to be cognizant with its operating environment in order to heighten its performance. Furthermore, the environment and business enterprises are in a mutually interdependent interaction. This is because an enterprise exists in the world of threats, resources, limits, and opportunities.

Ethno-religious and Political violence affects all strata of the business society, all forms of commercial activities at the same time would be reduced because an unsecured environment is not attractive to business persons to invest in. Hence, there will be reduction in economic output and sustainability.

It is in the light of this that the study intend to assess the ethno-religious and political violence as bane to the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium Scale business enterprises in the Area Councils of Federal Capital Territory Abuja.

1.1. Statement of the Problem

The socio-economic structure of Nigeria and Abuja particularly have paved way for frustrations which is triggering constant violence that is affecting the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium scale Business Enterprises. Businesses have packed up, staggered, collapsed, and relocated as a result of unfavourable conditions of the ethno-religious and political violence. The overall implication for sustainable development is that the economy is fast deteriorating. The government has failed to provide a secure and conducive environment for protection of lives, properties and the conduct of business and numerous economic activities leading to lack of interest and dissatisfaction among business investors (Chinelo and Ejike, 2022). Hence, it is important for a business to keep a pace with the various changes in the environment, especially the time of ethno-religious and political violence as recently witness in Abuja, Nigeria, and has become injurious to small and medium scale business activities.

On the whole this study will provide answers to the following pertinent questions;

a) How does ethno-religious violence affect Small and Medium Scale business enterprises performance and sustainability in Abuja, Nigeria?

b) Does election campaign violence have influence on the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium Scale business enterprises in Nigeria, particularly the federal Capital territory, Abuja?

c) What impact does post-election violence have on the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium Scale business enterprises in Abuja, Nigeria?

d) Are there any significant impacts of political thuggery on the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium Scale business enterprises in Abuja, Nigeria?

1.2. Research Hypotheses

The following hypotheses have been postulated for validation by this study:

H₀¹: Ethno-religious violence has no significant effect on the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium Scale business enterprises in Abuja, Nigeria

H₀²: Election campaign violence has no significant effect on the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium Scale business enterprises in Nigeria, particularly the federal Capital territory, Abuja

H₀³: Post-election violence has no significant influence on the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium Scale business enterprises in Abuja, Nigeria

H₀⁴: Political thuggery has no significant effect on the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium Scale business enterprises in Abuja Nigeria.

2. Review of Literatures

2.2.1. Concept of Violence

Violence is any behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something by another person. Violence could be an instrument employed by non-governmental organizations, individuals and groups to press forward their demands. However, violence when it is
endemic and persistent or unmanageable may become an impediment to political stability and economic progress. In our conceptualization, electoral violence is synonymously used as political violence, looting, arson, thuggery, kidnapping etc. spontaneous or not, which occur before, during and after every election and which are injurious, spoils or disrupt business activities.

2.2.2. Ethno-religious violence
By ethno-religious conflict, it means a situation in which the relationship between members of one ethnic or religious group and another of such group in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society is characterized by lack of cordiality, mutual suspicion and fear, and a tendency towards violent confrontation’ (Salawu, 2010). Ethno-religious conflict is distinguished from other types of social conflict in that it involves ethnic groups, which are of different religions
According to Ngwoke and Ituma (2020), Ethno-religious conflicts have taken a historical toll in Nigeria. They manifest in different patterns and have led to the destruction of lives, displacement of people and destruction of property. The experience of these ethno-religious conflicts has affected Nigeria’s sustainable development. Some authors have attributed the cause of these conflicts to various factors ranging from marginalisation and competition for economic and political spaces to sharing of land, economic and mineral resources (Canci and Odukoya, 2016; Ngwoke and Ituma, 2020; Onah et al., 2017). And this study is in line with these opinions as regards to Area Councils in Abuja, Nigeria.

2.2.3. Political Violence:
Political violence can be defined as hostile or aggressive acts motivated by a desire to affect change in the government. It is the use of or threat of physical act carried out by individual or individuals within a political system against another individual or groups and property, with the intent to cause injury or death to persons, damage or destruction to property, and whose objective, choice of targets or victims, surrounding circumstance, implementation, and effects have political significances, that tends to modify or change the behavior of others in the existing arrangement for the political system. Fisayo and Adeyemi (2022) linked socioeconomic adversity to political instability. This study is of the opinion that political violence in Abuja occurs as a result frustration and feeling of deprivation by the citizens and it is bane to business performance and sustainability.

2.2.4. Election violence
Electoral violence includes any acts or threats of coercion, intimidation, or physical harm perpetrated to affect an electoral process or that arise in the context of electoral competition. It is used to influence the outcome of elections; to delay, disrupt or derail polls; and to protest election results or suppress protests against election results. Electoral violence is used to influence the outcome of elections because parties cannot win through fraud alone and because candidates cannot rely on fraud agents to perpetuate fraud for them because fraud is hidden and violence is not (Emile et al., 2014). Election violence in Abuja Area Councils is characterized by ballot snatching and intimidations by political thugs.

2.2.5. Political thuggery
The Oxford Dictionary of Current English (1998),defined thuggery as violent act or behaviour by ruffians. It is observed that thuggery has relationship with violence activities. Thuggery is an act which is associated with stealing, killing, rudeness, hooliganism, touting, intimidation and harassment. It is a behaviour that contradicts peace, harmony and co-existence among groups. Political thuggery is an illegitimate and violent means of seeking political power with a view to subverting national opinion for parochial ends through self imposition. Therefore, political thuggery is simply the criminalisation of politics. When politics is criminalized, it is left in the hands of ruffians, thugs and hooligans, because the good people are scared away. In fact, contemporary events, across the country have clearly demonstrated that Nigerian politics has been hijacked by political thugs (Salawu, 2010). The politicians recruit the youths comprising of men as their thugs and touts. These thugs compelled innocent people to vote against their wishes. The party agents at the polling booths will be threatened to compromise, and electoral commissioners or officials will be forced to do what they would not have done ordinarily.

2.3. Small and Medium Scale Business Enterprises (SMEs)
According to Orji et al. (2022a), and The National Association of Small and Medium Scale Enterprises, SMEs are businesses employing less than fifty (50) people and with an annual turnover of one hundred million naira. The association further defines a medium scale enterprise as a business with
less than 100 employees and with an annual turnover of five hundred million. There are many definitions of SMEs and there is no uniformity among them. However, in Nigeria, it is based mainly on capital which should be revised from time to time due to the devaluation of the Naira and the high inflationary trend in the economy. But this study considers Small and Medium Scale Enterprises as those businesses own by individuals with small capital ranging from One Naira to Hundred Million Naira without government participation in their management or ownership in Abuja Area Councils.

2.4. Business Performance

The idea of business performance is hanged on the position or premise that it is a combination of productive assets made up of human, physical, and capital resources, for the major reason of fulfilling a dream, vision or accomplishing a shared purpose. Business performance is a measure of how a manager efficiently and effectively utilizes the resources of the firm to accomplish its goals as well as satisfying all the stakeholders.

According to Orji et al. (2022b) Organizational or business performance can be financial and non-financial. The proponents of each financial and non-financial performance measures tried to support their point of view. Although the majority of the studies measuring organizational and business performance used the account-based measure, this study chooses the non-financial measures due to the following reasoning. Firstly, financial metrics of business performance are not quite stable hence making them sensitive to industry related change factors. Secondly, financial metrics can be easily manoeuvred preventing it from reflecting actual performance. Finally, the financial metrics lacks the long term focus since they mainly focus on past performance which in many cases can be misleading especially when used to predict the future performance as in case of Small and Medium Scale business sustainability.

2.5. Influence of Ethno- Religious and Political Violence on Business Performance and Sustainability in Abuja

The main reason for sustainable development is to have a stable relationship between human activities and the natural world. Life and indeed business organisations like Small and Medium scale businesses cannot succeed in the chaotic atmosphere where killing and arson persist. As stated by Chinelo and Ejike (2022), Sustainable development is maintaining a delicate balance between the human need to improve way of life, maintain and guarantee continuity of a business and feeling of well-being on one hand, and preserving natural resources and ecosystems, on which we and future generations depend. Thus, Ethno- religious violence and other Insecurity makes investment unattractive to business investors. As a result it discourages potential business investment. This is because it accelerates the cost of doing business either through direct loss of goods and properties or the cost of taking precautions against business risks and uncertainty (Chinelo and Ejike, 2022). These costs could have a negative impact on business development and progress, as have been witnessed severally in Abuja Municipal Area Council (AMAC) and Bwari Area Council in Federal Capital Territory, Nigeria.

Ethno-R eligious violence has caused the periodic disruption outright shutting down of many small and medium scale business enterprises in Abuja, especially in the areas where incidences of insecurity are rife on a daily occasion to protect of the life of workers and business properties. For instance in 2017 December of Bwari violence, so many small businesses were destroyed along the main market road, and curfew was imposed between 6pm to 6am in the town that lasted for several months. That disrupted the night business life which is the hallmark of performance of Small and Medium Scale Business enterprises in that environment. Also on 18th May 2022 bout 50 shops and 25 vehicles were set ablaze during the unrest in Dei Dei market of Abuja Municipal Area Council (Guardian., 2022). This is injurious, harmful and bane to the performance and sustainability of several of such small and medium scale businesses. And it can equally be assumed that there is increasing urbanization problem in Abuja, Nigeria. As pointed out by Aggrey et al. (2022) ‘Continuing and increasingly rapid urbanization is likely to cause significant increases in the consumption of energy, land and water, putting a large strain on natural resources in cities’ which may easily trigger violence among citizens. And in line with United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 12, taking urgent action today is crucial, as there is an enormous potential for integrated solutions to improve efficiency in terms of resource extraction, energy use, and waste management in urban cities to avoid conflicts and violence that will ruin small and medium scale businesses.
2.6. Theoretical Frameworks

This study is hinged on the following theories, namely; Frustration/aggression theory and Trickledown Theory

a) Frustration/Aggression Theory:
   This theory laid emphasis on identity group mobilization and conflict resulting from the inability to achieve certain human development needs. As stated by Fisayo and Adeyemi (2022) social conflicts arise as a consequence of the failure of social groups or classes to attain basic material expectations. Frustration/aggression theory is premised on the notion that acts of violent are manifestations, in violent form, of unattained socioeconomic development on the personal level by all individuals across a stratum or strata of society. In this context, if the expected gratification is not met, aggressive tendencies will build up within the strata of that society.

   In other words we can conclude based on this theory that it is frustration as a result of deprivation that leads to ethno-religious violence. Furthermore the theoretical framework gives clarification for violent behavioural nature resulting from the inability of a people to achieve their human needs. It is based on the common premise that all humans have imperative needs which they seek to fulfill and that any barricade to the fulfillment of these needs by individuals or groups elicit violent reactions. This is the reality in relation to ethno-religious and political violence in Abuja Area Councils, where the various ethnic groups in the area always have feeling of marginalization, deprivation and denial of their God given resources by governments and other settlers, and at slight provocation violence reactions takes place.

b) Trickledown Down Theory
   The Trickledown Theory propounded by Anderson (1964), as stated by Orji et al. (2022a) opined that laying much emphasis on the growth in the short run will substantially promote equality in the long run. Six propositions are depicted by the theory which are linked in chronological order, these includes: (1) business can be encouraged so long as there is a direct profits to entrepreneurs or investors; (2) such encouragement will hearten the growth of the enterprise; (3) the profits realized from the growth will be invested or reinvested; (4) new jobs will be created from the investment; (5) the jobs will assist in satisfying the total needs of poor persons employed; (6) through earnings, savings and fresh opportunities in an open society including vocational training, education etc., consequently inequality may be reduce eventually. In line with this theory, the growth realized at first benefits only the high income groups which later descend to lower income groups after sometimes. The wealth created by entrepreneur as well trickle down to other poor family members and the society through wealth distribution which will reduce frustration and violence behavior which is the concern of this study.

3. Research Method

3.1. Population of the Study
   The population for this study comprise of all Small and Medium Scale business Enterprises in two area Councils, Abuja Municipal and Bwari Area Council of the federal Capital territory, Abuja, Nigeria; and their various customers. However since these are numerous and so cannot be determined in certainty; suitable sample was adopted as basis for study.

3.2. Sample Size and Sampling Techniques
   The sample size was determined using the Z-score formula by Cochran (1963:75) for large populations’ as below:

   \[ S = Z^2 \times \frac{(p) \times (1-p)}{m^2} \]

   Where:
   \( S \) = sample size for infinite population
   \( Z \) = z-score
   \( p \) = population proportion (assumed to be 50% = 0.5)
   \( m \) = margin of error

   Z score is determined based on confidence level. Confidence level is defined as the probability that the value of a parameter falls within a specified range of values. Considering a 95% confidence level then
z-score is 1.96. Margin of error is a small amount that is allowed for in case of miscalculation or change in circumstances. Generally the margin of error is considered as 5% (0.05)

\[
Z \text{ score } = 1.96 \\
P= 0.5 \\
M= 0.05 \\
S= (1.96)^2 (0.5) (1-0.5)/(0.05)^2 \\
S= 3.8416 \times 0.25/0.0025 \\
S= 384.16
\]

3.1. Methods of Data Analysis

The method of data analysis for this study is the simple descriptive percentage method and Kendall coefficient of concordance. The percentage is for the comparisons of respondents that responded for or against a particular question in relation to the over- all respondents expressed as a percentage in order to see the pattern of response. However, the questionnaire measurement of the study used a four-point Likert rating scale as justified by Orji (2017), Orji et al. (2021) and Orji (2022) who argued that respondents have behaviour of either survey optimizing or satisfying thus, including neutral point could lead to decrease in measurement quality. Weight was assigned as follows:

- Strongly Agreed 4, Agreed 3, Disagree 2, Strongly Disagree 1

The Chi-square derived from Kendall coefficient of concordance method is used in testing a hypothesis concerning the differences between a set of observed frequencies of a sample and a corresponding set of expected or theoretical frequencies.

Model specification

This formula serves as a representation of it:

\[
W = \frac{12\sum (R_i - \overline{R})^2}{K^2 (N^3 - N)}
\]

Where K = Number of Responses.  
N = Number of weighted questions.

\[\overline{R}= \text{ Mean}\]

\[X^2= K (N - 1) W; \]

\[X^2 = \text{Chi-square}\]

3.2. Justification of Technique

This method is justified on three reasons: Kendall coefficient of concordance allows all relevant questions in the questionnaire to be part of the test and result. This position buttressed by Siegel (1986) is also statistically straight-forward, as justified by Orji and Ezinmuo (2019). Also, the study data under analysis was based on the sample drawn from different respondents that cut across every stratum of the business community in the area, as every member of the population cannot be reached. Kendal coefficient is suited for this purpose too according to Orji et al. (2021).

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Results

Out of 384 questionnaires administered, 207 were returned valid. This represents 54% of the total number of questionnaire administered. Since this percentage is substantial enough we can rely on it for analysis and probable outcome. Because according to Orji (2017) in social science research thirty percent of sample size is enough to form valid opinion.
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Table 1. Kendal Coefficient of Concordance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/NO</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q5: Ethno religious violence has effect on performance and sustainability of Small and Medium scale business Enterprises in Abuja Area Councils?</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q6: Election campaign violence has affected the activities of Small and Medium business Enterprises in Abuja Area Councils?</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q7: Post election violence is a threat to Small and Medium business Enterprises in Abuja Area Councils?</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8: Youth restiveness and gangsters are threat to SMEs performance and sustainability in Abuja Area Councils?</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q9: Political thuggery has effect on the performance and sustainability of SMEs in Abuja Area Councils?</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q10: Political intolerance among politicians &amp; parties breeds political violence in Abuja Area Councils?</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Each cell of Respondents was multiplied by the weight assigned e.g. 78 x 4 = 312.

Table 4.2. Kendal Coefficient of Concordance, Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S/NO</th>
<th>WEIGHT</th>
<th>Ri</th>
<th>Ri – $R^-$</th>
<th>$(R_i – R)^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>665</td>
<td>-40.16</td>
<td>1612.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>-21.16</td>
<td>447.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>12.84</td>
<td>164.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>17.84</td>
<td>318.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>724</td>
<td>18.84</td>
<td>354.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>11.84</td>
<td>140.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>4231</td>
<td></td>
<td>3038.86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Ri = Addition of Rows
$\bar{R}$ = Mean = $\frac{(\Sigma Ri)}{N}$

$W = 12 \frac{\Sigma (R_i - \bar{R})^2}{N^3 - N}$

$X^2 = \frac{36466.32}{16 (216 - 6)} = 10.85$

$X^2 = 20X 10.85 = 217$

4.2. Discussion of Findings

This study has empirically assessed ethno-religious and political violence as bane to the performance and sustainability of small and medium scale business enterprises in Abuja Area Councils of Nigeria. The study attempted identifying, determining and ascertaining the extent by which the various aspect of violence like, ethno religious violence, election campaign violence, post election violence, and political thuggery has affected business performance and sustainability in the Area. Four research questions and hypotheses each were formulated as guide for the study. The study covered Municipal Area Council and Bwari Area Council of Abuja business owners and its environ. The conceptual framework provided a base as it explores the concepts of violence, political violence, ethno-religious based political violence and thuggery, business performance and sustainability.
Based on the findings above, the decision rule is to reject the Null Hypotheses (Ho) and accept the Alternative hypotheses since the calculated $X^2$ (217) is greater than the tabulated (24.99). The tabulated $X^2$ was arrived at by determining the degree of freedom.

The degree of freedom (df) = $(c - 1) (r - 1)$

$C = \text{Column total of observed value}$

$r = \text{Row total}$

= $(4 - 1) (6 - 1)$

= $3 \times 5 = 15$

Degree of freedom (df) at specified level of significance at 0.05 = 24.99

Fisher and Yates, (1974). Therefore, we reject the Null Hypotheses at 95% confidence level and critical value of 0.05% level of significance.

This means that:

1. Ethno-religious violence has effect on performance and sustainability of Small and Medium scale business Enterprises in Abuja Area Councils, Nigeria
2. Political violence has effect on the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium scale business Enterprises in Abuja Area Councils, Nigeria
3. Election campaign violence has affected the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium scale business Enterprises in Abuja Area Councils, Nigeria
4. Post election violence is a threat and bane to the performance and sustainability of Small and Medium scale business Enterprises in Abuja Area Councils Nigeria
5. Ethno religious violence has effect on performance of Small and Medium scale business Enterprises in Nigeria
6. Youth restiveness and gangsters are threat and bane to Small and Medium scale business performance and sustainability in Abuja Area Councils
7. Political intolerance among politicians & parties breeds political violence in Nigeria and is a bane to the performance and sustainability of small and medium business enterprises.

5. Conclusion

This study draws its conclusion from the fact that that ethno-religious and political violence which to all intents and purposes retards development, peaceful coexistence, performance and sustainability of business enterprises. Thus, in Nigeria’s political firmament they are big threats and bane to business performance and sustainability.

6. Recommendations

On the basis of findings and conclusions, the following recommendations are made:

i. There should be impartiality in handling ethno-religious matters in the Abuja Area Councils

ii. Campaign rallies should be issue based and not making derogatory statements about persons or contestant to avoid campaign violence that threaten businesses in Nigeria.

iii. Insecurity in its entirety should address because it is moving Abuja business enterprises away from the path of sustainable development.

iv. There is the need to ensure proper and adequate training of all personnel involved with election matters both permanent and adhoc staff to avoid malpractices that may lead to violence

v. The existing sentiments and parochial cleavages such as ethnicity and religion should not be a pre-requisite when it comes to attracting the suitable qualified candidates for public/political office

References


