African Ideologies and Socio-political Issues

Innovative Trends and Advances

Edited by
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Proceedings of the International Conference of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies on African Ideologies and Innovative Trends and Advances: Honouring the Past and Shaping the Future, 25th May, 2021

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DEDICATION
To all the members of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies

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INTRODUCTION

The year 2021 marks the beginning of a promising decade for Africa. In spite of the Covid-19 pandemic, the continent continues to be home to seven of the world's ten fastest-growing economies. Ours is a continent that has continued to give birth to beautiful and inspirational stories, in spite of difficult circumstances. It is on this basis that the Association for the Promotion of African Studies on 25th May, 2021 had her Annual International Conference on the theme: *African Ideologies and Innovative Trends and Advances: Honouring the Past and Shaping the Future*.

The 2021 International Conference did not only highlight the triumphs of past years but focused on strategies for tackling forthcoming challenges in the African continent. The collective action of the members of the association as scholars in discussing innovative trends and advances within Africa is representative of the shared energy and excitement around Africa's academic potential.

This conference was inspired by a retinue of questions that have bothered the inquisitive minds of the members of APAS and beyond. This is, therefore, the proceedings of the effort by the members of APAS who took up the challenge to respond to these questions through research.

The date for the conference, 25th May which was AFRICA DAY, established by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU) in a bid to enhance change and freedom in Africa, is very significant for the association and the conference. As the association marked this day in a great style, the present work is a part of the ideas generated for greater change and freedom in Africa.

The present piece titled: *African Ideologies and Socio-Political Issues: Innovative Trends and Advances- Proceedings of the International Conference of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies on*

African Ideologies and Innovative Trends and Advances: Honouring the Past and Shaping the Future, 25th May, 2021 is part of the outcome of the conference.

AFRICAN IDEOLOGIES AND THE INNOVATIVE TREND: TOWARDS PRIORITIZING AFRICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE IN THE DIGITAL AGE

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Abstract

This paper examines African ideologues and the innovative trend embodied in the new digital technologies. It prioritizes African history and culture as a necessary balance for the digital age. In as much as there are many advantages of the innovative technological devices in African societies today, there are also multiple challenges associated with them that meddle on African history and culture which have the capability of devaluing them if not checked. The current technological trends and innovations have almost everyone and every nation entangled in it, either for the best or for the worst. African youths and children are most vulnerable to the negative side of this. This paper examines African ideology and the new trend of the technological/digital age. It highlights history and culture as the major factors that must be prioritized in present times for the sake of Africa's balanced future. The paper relies on archival and written sources. The findings here will help researchers in cultural studies, historians, and those in African studies.

Keywords: African ideologies, innovative trend, history, culture

Introduction

The word "innovation" has different meanings. It encompasses the creation of so many things. This paper focuses its discourse on digital technological innovations and advancement. Digital technology is trending recently and has reached almost every part of the world. The world is digitally expanding and the continent is moving along with it as it continues to engage in all necessary technological and digital outlets. Nowadays, all nations and individuals need digital technology for the effective running of businesses and individual achievements in vast ways. Mastering the technicalities enclosed in digital technology is paramount to avoid being cheated out along the way. Maximizing and implementing the strength and power of digital technology in this era is crucial, and seeking the right discourse will balance Africa's future history and culture. In the view of Asante (2015:1), history is always about ancestors, their lives, families, failures, successes, behaviours, cultural institutions, and their deeds, political, economic, and social. Jerven (2015) also believes that history matters for economic development.

Africa is the pride of the black race and the resource hub of the world. It is the cradle of civilization with centuries and sequential historical occurrences, rich cultural ethnic groups, and physical displays, rich flora and fauna.The continent had been and remains the center of attraction for tourists and foreigners. Thus, prioritizing and preserving her history and culture in the face of digital advancement are vital towards safeguarding the future of Africa. In the words of Isichie (1997:13), the dominant impulse in the 1960s was to prove that black Africa had a history at all, a history as worthy of study as any other. Africa, just like the rest of the world's continents, needs to thrive and engage in developmental activities, otherwise it shall remain behind. History, culture, and the embedded ideologies of a given people have made popular nations of the world stand out. Collins and Steams (2020:17) said that it is almost impossible for people not to look at history, and this means there is every reason to learn how to study it

well. Similarly, Falola (2008:3) observed that culture opens the window to understand social classes and elite behaviour, to socialize its members, and to reproduce established practices and values. Nkoh (2006:1) also noted that at the heart of one strand of the debate surrounding Africa's development/underdevelopment is African culture.

Engagements in African history discourse by African scholars are a priority for the the sake of the continent's future, even as the digital age continues to boom. There is no doubt that Africa's digital technological ability and smartness are still far lower than those of developed countries, like Europe and America; yet, the limited level present in the system is already influencing the lives of individuals and nations positively and negatively, depending on the approach. There is no denying the fact that the innovative digital/technology trend has its fair share of disadvantages that are equivalent to its successes. What is more, the digital maturity and discipline expected to be applied by some adults, youths and children are regrettably lacking, hence the negative reports on fraudulent activities using digital devices by some youths in this digital era. Social networking, for instance, engages the youths as well. Bishop (2014:119) affirmed that the social networking service, Facebook, was at a time one of the most popular websites of its kind. African ideology and philosophy have been the foundation for the continent's solid existence for centuries; hence, prioritizing its history and culture at this period is crucial towards her future.

The concept of African ideology
The term "ideology" has many forms of approaches for discussion, such as political ideology. Here, the ideology being discussed is the African ideology. African ideology is observed in the mode of conduct, philosophy, and worldview of the people. Speeches, proverbs, rituals and ceremonies are all part of the socio-cultural ideology. African thoughts and ideology are different from those of

the rest of the world because of how the system is formed. African traditional ways have helped in the smooth operation of the society in the past. Before now, the people's lifestyle was far more undiluted and more conserved than what is being experienced presently. African ideology and worldview are firmly observed and expressed more by the elders, who understood it well, than the youths in this digital age. The presence of digital technology and various electronic devices tends to interfere with African cultural values. Historians are increasingly concerned to challenge and complicate that logic by exploring processes of continuity and change that transcend the pre-colonial and colonial eras and extend in turn to the time of renewed sovereignty from the 1960s (Parker and Reid 2013).

Naturally, Africa, as mentioned earlier, is a traditional society and the land of the black race. An invaluable African belief is a belief that elders have wisdom, and old age is golden and honorable. Respect is, therefore, paramount, while words are spoken with caution, and heavy negative news are broken down with the use of proverbs and idiomatic expressions. The thought that one can be hurt by spiritual forces when one errs or hurts fellow human beings is one of the ideologies that knit the society together. Again, religion is ritually observed and surrounded by some defined ideology. The philosophy that life comes after death and that the well-lived people will later become cherished ancestors sanitizes society. According to Committee on how people learn II (2014:3), an individual's brain develops and is shaped by the set of experiences and influences unique to her - a process that occurs through the pruning of synapses and other neurological developments that take place through adolescence.

Innovative trend and digital technology
The word "innovation" is expansive in meaning. It talks about value and value creation in society. It is a word that explains the development of new ideas and knowledge and in this context the digital technological development. Innovation in science and technology is trending presently in Africa and other world countries.

Technology has impacted so much on the production of goods and services. Anderson (1994:4) noticed that the enabling technology which has brought about the current information explosion includes microelectronics, computation, signal processing and communications. In its most basic form, a computer is essentially a machine that receives, stores, manipulates and communicates information. Strader (2011:1) also observed that digital computer systems use databases, algorithms, to store and deliver digital information on a vast array of applications. He further stated that networks, most notably the internet, interconnect these computer systems across the world, enabling the exchange of data and information. Africa is not yet fully technologically advanced per se, but it is tagging along with other world countries very fast. Fortunately, too, it has notable men and women who have invented or are involved in various technological and digital productions and services all over the world.

Technology is what is currently driving the world. There was a period when the manufacturing of airplanes and cars was celebrated as the highest technological innovation in our world. Today, technology has expanded and improved. Daily, new ideas continue to be introduced. Technological breakthroughs have a massive effect on nations and individuals' output. It has been seen touching the political, economic and socio-cultural lives of the world's citizens and nations. Digital technology improves lives, productivity and communication. People use or consult it for their economic activities, education, political activities and to transmit general knowledge and expand information. Nevertheless, operating or mastering digital devices requires some introductory knowledge and education. Some tech giants, such as Google, Microsoft, Amazon and the likes, have so far helped scholars, historians and the general populace to acquire information and knowledge on one puzzling item or the other, while the present social platform techs, like Facebook, Whatsapp, YouTube and so on, have helped the people to advertise, sell and buy products and services and

also socialize far better than before. Similarly, many people learn new skills and handicrafts such as cooking, making beads, etcetera. In all these, using these apps, digital devices and other technological machines requires efficient skill, maturity and competent handling for effective results and productivity.

African history: past and present

Africa is the second-largest continent in the world and the continent with multiple ethnic groups and cultures. The continent has accommodated, apart from the indigenes, other categories of foreigners in the course of her history. African history has been painstakingly building up sequentially from one period to another period and from century to century. Africa has a history even before the coming of the European colonialists. The debate by some European writers that Africa has no history is, therefore, untrue. History is unique and it is the foundation of any successful nation or continent. Prioritizing history is important. According to Collins and Steams,

> The study of history does more than satisfy our curiosity. Without a profound understanding of the past, societies, organizations, and individuals will make needless mistakes and fail to take full advantage of emerging opportunities (Collins and Steams 2020:17).

Major historical events that occurred in Africa include: the era of the early men, the presence or journey of different explorers into Africa, the period of the colonial rule, the scramble for Africa, the period of the slave trade, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, the abolition of the slave trade, various initiations of independence parties, treaties, meetings and struggles, the actual independence of various African nations starting with Ghana in 1957, Nigeria in 1960, Cameroon 1960, Togo 1960 and so on, the actual post-colonial period. There are also many events and activities which include: neo-migration issues, new Chinese interest in Africa, wars and conflicts, refugees issues, constant intertribal conflicts due to wrong division of borders by the colonial masters, and other events. There is also an account of the

activities of the Arab and European merchants in Africa. It is pertinent that African history must, therefore, be valued by all. All national and state archival materials must be well-preserved. Access to them, whenever, bystudents, historians and scholars who consult them for research must be permitted. Knowledge of African history, past and present, is a basic tool at this period of rapid digital transformation.

Right from time immemorial, the continent has been endowed with rich mineral and human resources. The evidence of this is seen in the number of foreigners that trooped into the continent in the past and in the present times for one business venture or the other. The continent is blessed with human and mineral resources. Africa has ancient kingdoms, worthy warriors, organized societies, queens and kings of repute, successful trade merchants and rich agricultural products. Priceless African artifacts were carted away by the Europeans from Benin and Nok in the past, but some of them are being returned to Africa in the present days. Discussions are presently going on to return Nigeria stolen artifacts by Europeans during their presence in Africa. African cultures, ideology, rituals, traditions, artifacts, totems and ceremonies are all part of African great history. According to Newell and Okome (2014: xvi), a wide spectrum of evaluations are attached to each of these terms: the traditional is afflicted with ideas of cultural heritage and the preservation of moral values; the modern is affiliated with ideas about progress, education, enlightenment and superior status, but also with corruption, loss of authenticity and degradation.

The leadership situation in some African nations such as Nigeria is not worthwhile and many influence African history and state of affairs of the continent of Africa. Most of these nations do not have good governance and the decision-makers are engaged in looting and fraudulent practices that destabilize the African economic and political success. Chitonge (2015) observed that it was common knowledge that Sub-Saharan Africa's economies had been declining since the

1970s. Proper management and the use of technology can reduce corruption and improve governance in Africa. So far, there are some well-meaning elders, stakeholders, youths, Diasporas scholars and citizens who have continued to speak and write about Africa and the events that shape Africa. Meetings on how to improve nations in Africa are ongoing at different quarters. It is also the desire of astute African scholars to write and discuss constantly how to improve African history, identity and place in this digitalized age. It is worthy to note that so far there are many Africans who are contributing their best in leaving lasting legacies towards Africa's growth. Africa has a set of smart surgeons and medical experts, technologists, engineers, etc. Also, many have, through their creativity and skills, promoted African culture and history. In the literary world, novelists and writers, such as Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, Ayi Kwei Armah, and others, have used their textbooks, novels and plays to capture the history and culture of Africa, as seen in *Things Fall Apart*. This must be carried out by capable Africans. Historical plays, like *Ovonramwen Nogbaisi* that captured Benin history and the forceful carting away of Benin objects, remain invaluable.

Moreso, African movies and cinemas are fast capturing African history and events in the movie and visual form, like it is being done in Nollywood. African music and musicology industry, embellished with African native languages and traditions, is also involved in this campaign, as seen in Flavour's "Ada Ada" track, for instance, which promotes African culture. Musicians like Miriam Makeba, Onyeka Onwenu, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, Brenda Fassie, Sunny Ade, amongst others, have trended in the world as musicians of repute, while carrying African history and culture along with them. The presence of technological digital devices such as computers, flashes, amongst others, now helps in the preservation and documentation of African records and history.

African culture and the digital trend

Culture is essential in every society. It is the way people live. African culture is unique and versatile, because the continent has multiple ethnic groups which speak different languages and have different styles of portraying their community or regional cultures. In sum, African culture is seen in their arts, rituals and ceremonies. Falola observed that,

> The African elites, irrespective of their location and sources of ideas, regard culture as the number one tool in creating a difference between Africans and non-Africans, consolidating national and ethnic identities, addressing most of the issues associated with European encounter, evaluating the impact of foreign religions and cultures, and seeking enduring answers to contemporary problems of economy and politics. (Falola 2008:3)

Handicrafts, such as pot making, iron smelting and designings, are given to illustrate the African culture and traditions. Masquerades and mask designs vary from one African region to another but exist for social control and entertainment in the society. Also, across Africa are museums and cultural homes where African cultures are tangibly exhibited. Similarly, food, music and dance steps showcase the beauty of African culture. Traditional wisdom and knowledge are valued more than Western knowledge, because they have the needed ingredients to sustain the people in life. Thus, African culture is seen in the people's artifacts, the stories they tell, their dressing, food, language, expression of proverbs, mode of behaviour and conduct. The people value old age and give reasonable respect to elders. Also, sacred objects and natural phenomena are feared and respected. Hard work is encouraged and innovations and skills are part of the African system.

In recent times, digital technology is trending and is available in many shapes. Digital devices or electronics such as computers, phones, televisions, etc., are easily available and within reach of

everyone. The presence of information communication technology and apps has made interaction easy. Engaging in the use of these devices, without adequate discipline amongst the youths, destabilizes African culture. In recent times, the youths are cherishing foreign music and dance styles to traditional cultural ways. Handsets and computers have been abused by children, youths and young adults, as many of them play immoral videos and music with these devices. Youths have easily engaged in cyber because of the availability of computers. Fraud and fraudulent practices are against African cultural values. Lies are easily told with mobile phones, while laziness has been encouraged amongst the youths who play endless online or downloaded games. WhatsApp and Youtube platforms have been wrongly indulged in by some young people, and today some of them have engaged in immoral acts. These are against African cultural ethics and values.

Africa's future and the presence of digital devices
Africa's future is important and needs to be safeguarded. New innovations and developments that aspire to interfere or dilute the basics must be evaluated and readjusted. Though a traditional society, Africa is also modern in many ways. Thus, it is right that it moves with the trend and emulates other world-developed nations in technological growth. While engaging in digital technology, its future and values and heritage must be preserved for her future identity. Traditional moral and ethical values which have made the continent unique among other world nations must be practised now, despite the presence of digital technology and modernization. There is need for the African political structure to be reassessed. The economy of Africa needs to be readjusted as well. Not every mineral resource must be exported. Industries and processing factors using digital technology to perfect the system must be adopted. Safeguarding the African future requires creating employment for youths to stop them from migrating to European countries in larger numbers to earn a better living. Already, there is high rate of brain drain. Massive exodus affects African ideology, values and integrity. Technology can be used to

create jobs for African youths. There should be African history and cultural apps and not only game apps for the benefit of the young people. Presently, science and technology rule the world, and any given country that fails to safeguard and project its history and culture will slip away with modern technology. Already, laziness is being created by digital devices such as phones amongst youths and these attitudes can affect nations if not curtailed. The strength and energy of African youths is important for the future of Africa. Neo- and illegal migration in recent times is encouraged by Africa's internal and external economic and political crisis. Thus, imbibing and creating the right platforms for them at this time will enable Africa's future growth. African democratic governments must, therefore, be concerned about the welfare of African youths. Wasserman (2011) noted that the very concepts of democracy and development cannot be taken for granted, nor can the relationship between them be seen as without contradictions and tensions. Therefore, civilization seen in technological advancement must marry African core values and not disintegrate them.

Prioritizing African history and culture in the era of digital technology
Within the past two decades, there has been a super advancement in digital technology and innovations around the world. Almost everything has become digitalized. Individuals, organizations, companies and governments need the efficiency and enablement that are embedded in this technology to grow faster and achieve more. African nations and their governments are not silent on these. They have welcomed this advanced technology as well as enabled them to grow. But then, there is no gainsaying the fact that this digital technology may have a monumental effect on African traditional ideology, history and culture if not checked. Asante (1997:9) observed that these developments have presented extraordinary challenges to Africa. Already, many youths are becoming passive as they spend quality time on phones and computers. Nowadays, children are

learning vulgar languages and slang through phones and computers. Quest for fast cash through illegal means is against African culture. African history and culture need to be prioritized as most valuable at his time more than ever before. The advantages of observing and knowing the benefits of these two histories must be made known to all African youths. Digital technology can be used efficiently in preserving African history and culture rather than misleading the younger generations. Similarly, digital technology can be used positively in learning and education. To prioritize African history and culture, more discourse is needed, while African leaders, decision-makers, historians, scholars, custodians of culture, traditional rulers and elders must emphasize this so that all can hear and do the right thing. Starting early to inculcate the value of history and culture in pupils and students is vital. Oral traditions, folklores, family get-together, recitation of the activities of African heroes to the children are important factors towards preserving African history and culture in this age of digital technological presence and growth.

Africa's traditional way of life and fundamental core values must be encouraged by traditional rulers and cherished by all citizens. African history, culture, rituals and ceremonies must not be blacklisted as archaic by Africans or foreigners. Ethnographic museums and archival homes, as well as libraries, need to be erected in every urban center and rural villages, and access must be free for children and youths. The act of reading needs to be revived amongst the youths, as the presence of phones and computers is fast taking away the reading culture amongst African youths. African ideology, philosophy and worldview must be recited and often. Proverbs and idiomatic expressions have helped create an orderly African society that is full of local wisdom. Reviving them, therefore, is crucial for the continuation of history and culture in Africa. In essence, indulgence in positive parts of digital technology is vital, while at the same time African history and cultural values must be kept in the realm of affairs and minds of every African. The use of technology must not be allowed to interfere with the history and culture of Africa, because

these two factors have been the foundation that sustained the continent from century to century. Already, Mentan (2010:xi) believes that the ideological strength of African rulers is wavering as their common sense is challenged more and more consistently.

Recommendations and way forward for African history and culture

Although the level of digital technology in Africa is still limited and not as sophisticated as the ones seen in the Western world, its influence is already making an impact on the people and the nations. For instance, digital devices such as phones and laptops are commonly available and can be operated by the young and old. The entrainment and distractions therein are already affecting some children, youths, and marriages (relationships). Thus, to retain African history and culture as well as preserve her world view and ideology, the following must be observed: teaching history of Africa and culture in primary, secondary and tertiary schools across African nations must be prioritized. Reviving folklores, storytelling and moonlight stories and games is also vital. Education is important for sustainable development and must be made compulsory for every African child. Children, adults, maids or housekeepers, must all have access to formal and informal education. Africans, whether in the Diaspora or within Africa, must engage in building African history and traditional knowledge exchange. Yearly traditional festivals, rituals and ceremonies that promote history and culture must be allowed to continue. Governments must emphasize the promotion and preservation of national monuments and artifacts across nations and states. They promote history, culture and unity. Thus, museums and cultural homes must be revived and funded adequately. African ideology must be activated and the traditional belief system revived. The use of proverbs and idiomatic expressions is important. Local industries must be revived in all African communities. Each African community is blessed with one or more traditional skills or handicrafts and multiple resources.

Innovations and inventions being produced by African youths should be sponsored and recognized. Roschenthaler and Schulz (2016) affirm that what is remarkable is that young men and women can become someone in society, achieve status, and accumulate wealth through the making of pastoral careers in a general context where the possibilities for social climbing are constrained. There should be adequate investment in science and technology across Africa to enable African nations and citizens to compete favourably with the rest of the world in development. Security of life and property is important for sustainable development and for the people to have a sane environment to engage in the display of their cultural activities. Archival homes and libraries must be adequately preserved and access is given to the people to consult the materials therein.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the importance of prioritizing African history and culture at this time when fast innovative trends are going on around the world. It examined the problems and interference of digital technology in the African environment, especially amongst the youths, that are detrimental to African history and culture. The paper agreed that the African continent has the right to engage in digital advancement to survive and meet world standards. Technological advancement is trending all over the world presently and almost everything has become computerized and digitalized. Nations are becoming diversified and more progressive using digital technology and other forms of technological outlets that permit the expansion of resources. The paper pointed out that while accepting and indulging in technological advancement, African history and culture remain a top priority for Africans and the continent itself. These two, therefore, must be preserved, respected and cherished. The paper also suggested that certain factors must be activated again in Africa, such as storytelling and passing on of oral traditions to the younger generations, teaching history and culture in schools, retrieving all African artifacts in British museums, and preserving them adequately. The paper recommended the importance of giving African scholars

and students access to archival materials during their research. Proper digital computerization and documentation of African history and culture are also advised.

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AFRICAN DIPLOMACY: THE STRATEGY AND SEARCH FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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Abstract
The desire to maintain peace and security that guarantee free flow of trade, productivity and people, as well as coexistence, is the key bedrock of African diplomacy. African diplomacy predates recorded history. Nevertheless, as the framework upon which peaceful inter-communal/tribal and inter-governmental relationships rest, its relevance to the socio-economic development of Africa cannot be ignored. Although challenged by geographical location, leadership instability, war and conflicts and differences in socio-political cum cultural ideologies, African leaders have made stringent efforts in terms of making prompt innovations towards enhanced inter-governmental relations; yet, not much have been achieved, as the continent is still bedeviled by myriads of new global challenges. Therefore, as the contemporary international system becomes more interconnected, there is the urgent need for for a collective and shared responsibility amongst Africans and their leaders, in order to champion and chart a more practical and new means of coexistence in this era of globalization. This paper seeks a review of its foreign policy and a closer integration.

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Keywords: Conflict,   crisis,   diplomacy,   integration, insecurity

Introduction

As Western culture and civilization is gradually infiltrating into Africa through the intensification of globalization and its sequels, the endless desire and search by African leaders and Africans to checkmate its negative impacts, in order to maintain peace and stability cannot be overemphasized.   Since independence in Africa, the continent has been sporadically engulfed with flashes of crises and conflicts here and there sprawling in various dimensions from one country to the other, inflicting huge costs, and in dire need of urgent diplomatic solutions to the lingering crises continentally. Although diplomacy is as old as humanity, and as people relate or interact with one another, country to country through dialogue, negotiations, compromises and treaties were applicable, via international cooperation's, solutions to the crisis situations are amicably resolved. To this end, therefore, in situating the way forward, Chan (2017) asserts that much of this has to concern peacekeeping and its allied diplomacy. He further enthused that since 1960, there have been eighteen (18) full-fledged civil wars and eleven (11) what have been called genocides. In the decade of the 1980s, there were over 3 million fatalities of such violence. At the beginning of the 1990s, 43% of the world's refugee population were within Africa and the racist apartheid regime in South Africa.

African leaders since independence have made frantic efforts at fighting these challenges and being able to expose the iniquities of colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid on the global stage; hence, they rallied global support in the United Nations, the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement in order to defeat the scourge of colonial domination, racism and oppression. Again, it is worth mentioning here that despite Africa's initiatives, countries were not generally supportive, except those from other parts of the world, such as Asia and the Middle East, that shared the same history of oppression, colonialism and racism. The capitulation of the apartheid regime in South Africa in 1994 and the birth of a non-racist and

democratic administration with Nelson Mandela as President was in every respect the climax of Africa's success in the struggle for liberation and a defining moment in its involvement in global affairs (Uhomoibhi, 2014).

Conceptual Definition of Terms
The definition of the following terms will be apt here for a proper understanding and appreciation of this work, in order to clarify the salient issues bordering on the imperatives of African diplomatic initiatives towards the economic development of the continent.

Integration
In the words of Adebayo Adedeji (1977), after independence, the neo-colonial development strategy adopted by the majority of the African states has not only re-enforced dependencies of their economics in virtually all areas, it has continued to sap the remaining confidence. Thus, the self-confidence regenerated by political independence in the 1960s has been neutralized or diffused by increasing dependent economic relations, which have made Africa an economic under-dog and instilled the belief even in many highly placed Africans that the continent cannot succeed on its own. However, in spite of the Eurocentric perspectives about Africa, recent global trends have called for the motivation of Africans, especially the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) towards regional integration. For Lyakurwa (1996), most integrations (in Africa) were instituted as a result of disillusionment with international political and economic systems that were viewed as unfavourable to developing countries like Africa.

To this wise, therefore, Africa's desire for regional integration became as a result of the strong and deep-rooted integration in Europe which has over the years attracted global attention. The challenges beset the implementation of integration are enormous and which border to some extent on the reason this work is explored, in order to help reshape African integration initiatives through a vibrant and robust diplomacy for the development of Africa. Unfortunately, in the words of

Aryeetey and Oduro (1996), regional integration arrangements in Africa have generally been perceived as a vehicle for overcoming the constraints of small economic sizes of nations. Their sizes are seen to have hampered their ability to industrialize efficiently, particularly within the context of import-substitution, an approach that many African countries adopted soon after independence in the 1960s. Regional integration was conceived as a means to facilitate the structural transformation of African economies.

However, Lyakurwa (1996) hasargued that regional integration in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and Africa at large is not a recent phenomenon. According to him, at least two unions, the Southern African Customs (SACU) and the East African Community (EAC), have existed since 1910 and 1919 respectively. The majority of regional integration in Africa was instituted in the 1970s. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), now African Union (AU), is an encapsulation of the visions of African leaders towards the de-colonization of the continent from the Western economic and political hegemony, in order to ensure a peaceful, strong, united and prosperous Africa, to erase crisis and ignorance, in such a way that Africa will be effectively integrated into the global economic and political systems as an equal and respected partner (Agubuzu, 2002).

The importance of regional or a continental integration in Africa cannot be overemphasized, although it has not achieved much in spite of its appeal (Foroutan, 1993; Lyakurwa, 1995) because of the undeniable fact that integration as a policy was formed without proper considerations of the incentives to be given to the different partners (Fine and Yeo,1994), or it has been pursued for the very wrong reasons in Africa (Gunning, 1995), or because of reasons associated with the absence of peace and security (Adetula, 2014).

Another main criticism of integration in Africa under the OAU was that it was made the exclusive rights of African leaders and the governments whose practice of unquestioning solidarity and non-interference with national sovereignty was not conducive to the

attainment of the aim of African economic integration. The policy was not people-driven and the need for political survival became a major challenge to its success. In fact, African leaders were, regrettably, more self-centered and politically concerned than in ensuring the strengthening of regional cooperation and integration within Africa for sustainable development. Unfortunately, sustainable development is often a co-traveler with "globalization", a concept that views the whole world as "a global village" and which seeks to break hitherto incompatible frontiers between nations of the world in favour of mutuality and complementarily for the sake of humanity. Africa, the once touted "cradle of civilization", and indeed, the fore-runner of science and technology has not fared well in all of this, as she lags behind in almost all indices of human development, which measure the socio-economic advancements and well-being of nations (Obennd).

The continual rise in crisis in Africa has drained the resources of each state and inconsequential attention has been paid to the boiling economic issues because Africa's political leaders are yet to understand the root causes of the problems in Africa. According to Leonard and Straus (2003) and Ake (1987), " we are not going to understand the current crisis in Africa much less contain it: as long as we continue to think of it as an economic crisis. What is before us now is primarily a political crisis. Its economic consequences are serious as we know only too well, but they are nonetheless incidental. Not only as the crisis essentially political in character, it is also political in its origin". Since independence, political instability, mismanagement, policy inconsistency, internecine wars, poor leadership, corruption and ethnicity as well as nepotism and others have become the bane of Africa's march to economic development fuelled by the unbridled global trend (Onuoha, 1999).

Globalization
Globalization is indeed a reality. It is a concept which represents the apparent and current picture of our complex world that is becoming a

global village. Globalization is a continuous process and not a destination and so much needs to be done to achieve a globalized world. The concept "globalization" has many faces and impacts on unprepared economies of developing nations like Africa. It has many interpretations. In other words, the term "globalization" has remained controversial and trite amongst development scholars. Globalization as a widespread concept is with a considerable degree of ambiguity. This ambiguity does not mean that it remains unclear or ill-defined. Globalization has been viewed from different perspectives and dimensions, particularly in relation to different interests, subject areas and scope. Hence, it has been difficult adopting a standard definition for the term (Adesoji, 2006 and Akindele et, al, 2002).

Globalization is a powerful real aspect of the new world system, and it represents one of the most influential forces in determining the future course of the planet. It has manifold dimensions: economic, political, security, environmental, health, social, cultural, and others. Globalization has had significant impacts on all economies of the world, with manifold effects. It affects their production of goods and services. It also affects the employment of labour and other inputs into the production process. In addition, it affects investment, both in physical capital and in human capital. It affects technology and results in the diffusion of technology from initiating nations to other nations. It also has major effects on efficiency, productivity and competitiveness, according to Majekodunmi and Adejuuwon (cited by Intriligator, 2003:1; 7).

The term "globalization", according to International Monetary Fund (IMF) (cited by Anyanwu, 2000), is the growing economic interdependence of countries world-wide through the increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services and of international capital flows, and also through the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology. The essence of the globalization process is to make the whole world a global community. It is a place where countries, companies and people are coming closer together as communication gets better, finance moves faster and the cultural

assumptions of democracy and free markets spreads. For Oyejide (1998), globalization refers to the increased integration, cross countries of markets for goods, services and capital. It implies, in turn, accelerated expansion of economic activities globally and sharp increases in the movement of tangible and intangible goods across national and regional boundaries. In other words, globalization as a concept preaches about the erosion and eruption of any form of nationalistic trade barriers, openness to trade, finance and investment from one country to the other.

From the foregoing, globalization is the acceleration and intensification of interaction and integration among the people, companies, and governments of different nations. This process has effects on human well-being (including health and personal safety), on the environment, on culture (including ideas, religion, and political systems), and on economic development and prosperity of societies. Globalization has been described as another phase of imperialism. It has significantly reduced the barriers to interstate relations among nations. The core of globalization lies in freeing a country's economic frontiers to allow unrestricted international trade in goods and services, entry and exit of foreign capital and technology and giving the foreign investors a treatment similar to that given to domestic investors (Narula, 2003).

How has Africa fared with globalization? What should be done by Africans? In the words of Chulu (2017), Africa is endowed with natural resources not equal to the developed world but remains underdeveloped. A continent rich in natural resources, one of the key important determinants of development but is widely recognized as one of poorest regions of the world. Even though Africa is wealthy in natural resources, this condition has not necessarily contributed to the well-being of its people. Corroborating the above view, Momah (1994) asserts that:

> Sub-Saharan Africa (Africa), has always been at the sad end of epoch making events and the blessing of others have often turned out to be her woes....The discovery of diamond and gold in South Africa rather than garner blessings for Africans, led to the obnoxious apartheid policy, the discovery of the 'black gold' (petroleum) instead of being a means to Africans economic emancipation has chained her to economic slavery epitomized by the prevailing debt burden.

The impact of globalization on Africa is overarching; however, according to Samuriwo (2000), 'Africans view globalization with distrust and serious doubt', against the backdrop of past experience. He argued further that African pursuit of globalization further leads to the marginalization of Africa and her economies based on the unequal development status between the West (Europe) and Africa, as seen in the following areas: in trade, where 82 percent of world export markets of goods and services go to the richest countries, while just 20 percent of it goes to the poor countries; In technology, where about 93.3 percent of shares of internet users go to the richest countries, while only 0.2 percent go the poorest countries; In investment, where about 68 percent shares in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) go to the West, whereas 1 percent goes to the poor countries. The same imbalance is seen in the other sectors such as communication, entertainment industry and information technology which comes with cultural imperialism. And more so, Africa and her economy have been reduced to spectators and victims.

Africa was(is) deliberately exploited and underdeveloped by European colonial regimes and a combination of power politics and economic exploitation of Africa by Europeans led to the poor state of African political and economic development, evident in the late 20th century (Rodney 1972;Thirwall, 1994). Regrettably, the OAU (1987) Heads of States assert that:

> Africa is the most impoverished continent in the world, with twenty-seven out of the world's thirty-seven least developed countries, and a constantly declining per capita income. At a time when Africa is involved in the implementation of Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER) and the United Nations Programme of Action for Economic Recovery and Development (UNPAAERD), we are still in no position to mobilize adequate resources to honour our obligations.

In this wise, therefore, Annan advices that, if globalization is to succeed, it must succeed for the poor and the rich alike. It must deliver rights no less than riches. It must provide social justice and equity no less than economic prosperity and enhanced communication. On this note, according to Anyanwu (2000) and the World Bank report (1997), the idea of globalization rests on the need for connectivity, inter-dependence and interaction on a global level. African leaders, since independence, have initiated many reforms and policy frameworks geared towards revamping, restructuring and re-invigorating the African ailing economy. From Omega plan, Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery (APPER) to NEPAD, Africa has remained at the back seat of development. NEPAD, being the most recent, constitutes a compact between African leaders and their peoples. African leaders have taken a solemn pledge to eradicate poverty in their countries and put them on a path of sustainable growth and development. The programme is anchored on the determination of Africans to extricate themselves and the continent from the malaise of underdevelopment and exclusion in a globalizing world (Atta-Mills, 2002:11).

However, despite the reforms implemented in Africa to attract development, Aja-Kpuru-Aja (2001) agrees that Africa is still backward, but he reveals the truth about globalization and Africa by stating that, the growth of globalization in Africa has not had an equal effect everywhere. It is not expected to have "even" impacts on

countries, regions, economic groupings and corporate enterprises on the world economic systems. Gain or loss is just a function of what roles and strategies every actor has for the single global market, Nigeria inclusive. Development should be understood to be much more than simply economic growth, because it is far beyond the objective of increased average national income (Meier, 1984 and Rodney, 1972).

Globalization comes with new changes as well as challenges that are unprecedented and new. Therefore, in view of these realities, according to Adedeji (1993), there is now almost a unanimous agreement that the African economy is not improving in any fundamental sense. Unfortunately, African states are not developing the necessary capacities to participate in and exploit the new opening in the capitalist-driven global order (Ihonvbere, 2004). Thishas prompted Candesus (1995) to opine that:

> Indeed, especially in the case of Africa, let us be clear that the task now before us is to ensure that these countries gain more and more from opportunities afforded by the closer integration into the world economy that such a globalised world can offer them. If they fail to take advantage of these opportunities, the risk of their marginalization will only be increased.

The above position clearly reflects the paradoxical location and the role of Africa in the emerging global division of labour and power. The end of the Cold War and the increasing integration of the global economy with the triumph of the market and the demise of communism have posed several challenges and opportunities for the African continent. On the other hand, there are opportunities for Africa to fully integrate into the emerging global capitalist order to exploit the developments in science and technology, the new information revolution and the expansion of the global market (Ihonvbere, 2004).

Insecurity

The security challenge in Africa has assumed a frightening dimension that requires a multi-stakeholder approach, in checkmating the menace that threatens Africa's development and sovereignty. Omede (2012) sees security as a dynamic condition which involves the relative ability of a state to counter threats to its core values and interests. McGrew (1988) holds that the security of a nation hangs on two important pillars which are (1) the maintenance and protection of the socio-economic order in the face of internal and external threat and (2) the promotion of a preferred international order, which minimizes the threat to core values and interests, as well as to the domestic order.

The importance of security in Africa cannot be overemphasized. Security is sine qua non to economic development which guarantees the well-being of Africans (UNDP, 1993; Collier, 2006 and Beland, 2005). However, in the words of Nwolise (2006), security is an all-encompassing condition which suggests that a territory must be secured by a network of armed forces; that the sovereignty of the state must be guaranteed by a democratic and patriotic government, which in turn must be protected by the military, police and the people themselves; that the people must not only be secured from external attacks but also from devastating consequences of internal upheavals, such as unemployment, hunger, starvation, diseases, ignorance, homelessness, environmental degradation and pollution cum socio-economic injustices. Sadly, for the past fifty decades, Africa has been engulfed by the menace of insecurity. Nigeria, in particular, since the assumption of President Muhammed Buhari, has not known peace; from the Boko Haram terrorizing the North East, to the Niger Delta Avengers in the South-South oil rich region, to the separatist movements and agitations from the IPOB in the South East and Oduduwa Nation in the South West region of Nigeria. The damage caused by insecurity to Africa's economy is humongous.

African Context

The globalization of insecurity is being heightened because of the eruption and corrosion of states boundaries that has speeded up the undue and unfortunate infiltration of foreign values and cultures that are anachronistic, alien and averse to the internal dynamics of African polity and aspiration as a sovereign and independent continent. According to the Oxfam Briefing Paper (2007), Africa suffers enormously from conflict and armed violence. As well as the human tragedy, armed conflict costs Africa around $18 billion per year, seriously derailing development. This global threat has brought misgivings, mistrust and adulteration of Africa's cultural values systems, heritage and identity. To Adetula (2014*),* many African countries are either embroiled in conflict or have just emerged from it. There is scarcely any part of Africa without its share of major conflict, either ongoing or recently resolved. It is possible to identify conflicts of secession, of ethnic sub-nationalism, self-determination, military intervention, and over citizenship and land ownership. Again, Adetula (2014) opines that African conflicts and the resultant security challenges continue to be of utmost concern to the international community. The complexity of these inter-related processes cannot be easily denied.

It is now apparent that the creation of a global system, village or market brought a divided world. Globalization, instead uplifting the lives of Africans, further subjected Africa and Africans to unacceptable level of underdevelopment. Globalization is for the prepared economies and Africa was not readily prepared to face the new global economic challenge. Sadly, in most African states today, about thirty-eight per cent of the world's armed conflicts are being fought in Africa(UNDP, 2005), and in 2006, almost half of all high-intensity conflicts were in Africa (HIIK, 2006). There are still conflicts where the human toll is enormous and currently with little hope for swift settlement (like Darfur, Somalia), as well as a considerable number of protracted and lingering conflicts (like in Algeria, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)), and the tendency for conflicts to become regionalized (in Nigeria-the Oduduwa, Boko

Haram, IPOB and the Niger Delta agitators) or internationalized, involving other countries (for example, the conflict in Darfur has drawn in neighboring Chad and the Central African Republic) (according to Oxfam, 2007).

Furthermore, according to the latest terrorism Index, which is produced annually by analysts, VeriskMaplecroft, seven of the ten (10) highest risk countries are on the African continent. Amid the terrible human suffering and loss, the research provides useful information on the scale and direction of the attacks carried out. Five countries received the lowest possible score of 0.00 out of 10.00 in the index: Burkina Faso, Mali and Somalia in Africa, alongside Afghanistan and Syria. The rest of the top ten comprises, in descending order: Cameroon, Mozambique, Niger, DR Congo and Iraq. Nigeria is ranked in the 11th position. In addition to the seven African states ranked in the top 10, the research found that another nine witnessed "significant increases in the frequency and severity of attacks". Over the course of 2020, four of the five countries to experience the biggest falls in their index rating were in Africa. Burundi saw the greatest deterioration, falling 37 places to become the 27th-riskiest nation worldwide. Côte d'Ivoire and Tanzania experienced similarly dramatic declines, falling to 30th and 32nd positions respectively (Ford, 2021).

Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpor-Robaro (2013) argue that the proximate factors that have contributed to the state of insecurity in Africa are porous borders, rural-urban drift, social irresponsibility of companies resulting in negative externalities which provoke social unrest within their host communities, unemployment and poverty, terrorism, among others, which globalization preaches. The value of the Human Development Index (HDI) drops, pushing the average conflict country from medium to low development (UNDP, 2006), and according to the World Economic Outlook (2007), GDP per capita is reduced by $1120 (63 percent). Costs are not borne equally

across the population, and inequalities often rise, as many conflicts are fought along regional, social, religious or ethnic lines (Oxfam, 2007). The damage is horrific and inestimable and, therefore, it is in this wise that Mimiko (2010), in trying to buttress on the extent of the damage, insists that in Africa,

> the social fabric was (has being) completely devastated and a new culture of violence (is being) was implanted. Traditional African systems of conflict resolution were destroyed and, in their places, nothing was given. The democratic process, rudimentary though it was, but with great potential as accompanies every human institution, was brutally uprooted and replaced by the authoritarianism of colonialism. A new crop of elites was created, nurtured, and weaned on the altar of violence and colonialism armed with the structures of the modern state to continue to carry out the art and act of subjugation of the mass of the people in the service of colonialism.

Colonialism, as an extension of globalization, summarily had over the years ensured and enshrined disunity, instead of uniting Africans and their leaders(Awake, 2002), because Africans were not aware, well-positioned and prepared for the new global challenges, importantly in the areas of solving transnational challenges, such as; global terrorism, fight against the transnational drug problem, the fight to reduce HIV and AIDS, and insecurity, none of which can be resolved singly (Bhandari, 2018). However, Portugal (2008), in corroborating the above views, states that no one country can overcome all the complex and interrelated challenges on its own. International cooperation and institutions are needed to help find internal or global solutions to interrelated global problems. Is Africa to be blamed? Who should be blamed? According to Rodney(1972), 'certainly the fault is not in Africans who have been adjudged and described as industrious people, whose effort, sweat, material resources and blood built the factories, cities, plantations, and large markets. But it lies in the African history, a history unique and peculiar for its unprecedented brutality and human exploitation which has bequeathed Africa and Africans with a

legacy of brutal history and continuously widening gap between the North and the South', due to foreign affiliations, trade treaties and other engagement with some international cooperations and their stringent conditionality (Onuoha,1999).

Unfortunately, the contact initiated cultural, language, currency and ideological differences that fuel crisis in Africa (Omifade et.al., 2013). As a result of these conflicts, post-colonial Africa is now under the hegemonic vestiges of the Western neo-colonial imperialist. The Westfurther actualized this through the intensification of the information technology, trade liberalization and inflows of foreign aids to Africa which almost come with very excruciating stringent economic measures difficult to meet (Onuoha, 1999).

Therefore, African conflicts and the resultant security challenges continue to be of utmost concern to the international community. The complexity of these inter-related processes cannot be easily denied. It is interesting that scholars of African conflicts, particularly in the post-Cold War period, are moving away from the previous state-centric perspective. Also, the perspective that African conflicts are often related to the crisis of the African state is fast gaining prominence (Ohlson, 2012). To this end, therefore, the situation in Africa now is deplorable and unacceptable because development cannot strive under a state of insecurity in any nation (Collier, 2007 and Omifade, et.la 2013). Onyegbula (2000) holds that the diminishing standard of living and the deteriorating social infrastructure, like roads, refineries, hospitals and the educational system have all contributed to a nation (continent) of desperate people.

In this wise, Mupedziswa (1992) agrees that Africa is and was faced with a severe economic decline as a result of the balance of trade deficits, and a hostile international economic environment. In fact, some African countries have, in the last decade or so, resorted to a number of economic recovery measures, including structural

adjustment programmes, but with mixed fortunes. However, at the launching of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in the early 1960s, Africa pledged to become self-reliant. Unfortunately, the economic programmes initiated did not quite achieve the set targets. Consequently, other strategies had to be introduced later. One of these strategies came in the form of the Lagos Plan of Action which was launched in April, 1980 (Mupedziswa, 1992 and Bujra, 2002). Awojobi (2014) wonders why Africa is blessed with abundant natural resources; yet, the continent remains the poorest and most underdeveloped among the continents of the world; "African states ought to have changed for the better after many years of political independence." For example, Nigeria has been facing development crisis for more than half a century (Omotoye, n.d). The recent security challenge in Nigeria is unbecoming of a country, and one that threatens the very survival of the giant of Africa.

Nigeria's history is filled with a series of highly corrupt public officials who have used their political connections to exploit the country's resources. If the generated revenue from crude oil and taxes is effectively used and channeled to the right place, Nigeria would not have any issues of sporadic power supply, bad infrastructural facilities, poor medical services, high level of insecurity, high rate of poverty, low level of job opportunities and the high rate of school dropouts, leading many people into illegal business (Awojobi, 2014 and Agbiboa, 2010). The resurgence of militancy in the oil-rich Niger Delta region, especially the destructive activities of the Niger Delta Avengers, undoubtedly had inflicted untold levels of destruction on key oil sites and put a serious dent on production (Oluniyi, 2017). The influx of wealth also contributed to rampant corruption, making Nigeria one of the most corrupt governments in the world. The country's oil sector is regarded as one of the least transparent globally. In a 2010 survey of 44 National and International Energy Companies by the Revenue Watch Institution (RNI), the NNPC brought up the rear (Katsouris and Sayne, 2013 and Agbiboa, 2010).

However, the recent transformation of the OAU to the more inward-looking African Union in 2000, in Sirte, was to help African states control the impact of globalization on Africa; or put clearly, the AU is Africa's response to the increasing intensification of globalization in Africa, with major changes in its Articles that empower AU to intervene in member country's affairs to prevent escalation of crisis. Succinctly put in the words of (Lehmann,2008 and Bujra, 2002), the AU brought about some important political innovations, such as in the African Peer Review Mechanism, a mutually agreed instrument voluntarily acceded to by currently 29 AU member states, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council(ECOSOCC) through which civil society can at least interact with the organs of the AU, and a more plausible move from non-interference to non-indifference, as evidenced by the exclusion of military regimes from Cote d'lvoire, Comaras and Guinea Bissau from African summits. With this transformation, Awojobi (2014) claims that the post-colonial era ushered in a period where African countries could now realign themselves in global politics. Basically, the re-emergence of African states from their colonial masters steered in a period where they would introduce their own economic growth and developmental models, moving forward.

The AU has adopted and instituted many reforms and institutions through an internal framework indigenous to them, in order to engage the global comity diplomatically to control the global challenge and to create an enabling environment for African development introspectively through international cooperation with the rest of the world. Africa's diplomatic launch into the global space has attracted much concern from its foreign partners that currently, Africa is now seen as the economic destination of the world (Devemont, 2018).

Unfortunately, previous African programmes for economic development, such as the LPA, NAI, MAP, Omega Plan and the new NEPAD, have no framework and indicators relating peace and security to development goals in Africa (Adetula, 2014). However, in

spite of the transformations and innovations in the AU and others geared towards re-engineering the scope of African foreign policy objectives to effectively respond to global pressure, the level of the socio-political cum economic instability in Africa is still embarrassing and at an alarming rate (Bujra, 2002 and Liadi, 2004). Truly, AU's formation was to bring Africa closer through economic integration for the development of the African continent. Regrettably, since its inception as an Africa's economic policy, political unity and economic integration in Africa is yet to be achieved (Foruntan, 1993; Gunning, 1995 and Meier, 1984).

In fact, many of Africa's foreign counterparts want to harness the region's political sway at the UN and secure their support in international rows. It is difficult to advance a UN Security Council (UNSC) resolution without the support of Africa's three non-permanent members (Lehmann, 2008). Hence, opening the diplomatic space entails loosening the impediments to their political participation (Kapur, 2003). For example, the Sub-Saharan Africa's foreign counterparts are forging closer partnerships with the region because they see new openings for trade and investment, as well as growing threats from terrorism, criminality, epidemics and irregular migration. Just like China, these countries believe that Africa is increasingly important to a wide range of economic, security and political goals (Devermont, 2018).

African Development Challenge

The following constitute the major challenges to Africa's economic emancipation and development: corruption, foreign aid, debt, policy inconsistency, financial mismanagement, poor leadership, nepotism, ethnicity, external influences as well as lack of good governance and others (Onuoha, 1999; Adedeji, 1987; OAU, 1987; Awojobi,2014). These factors are the major constraints to Africa's development and as such all hands must be on deck to fight these monsters for Africa to move forward. These are the root causes of insecurity in Africa (Omifade, et al, 2013). Africa's democratic institutions must be

strengthened with strong institutions backed by enabling laws vital to the achievement of a sustainable development.

This is to ensure that Africa's economy is robust, efficient, goal-oriented, and the way for Africa to break off from the vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism and to have a more unified voice in global politics, especially in internal economic cooperation. The lack of a unified voice has been the cause of Africa's economic woes and political quagmire, since its emergence in the United Nations Organization (UNO), in spite of the presence of the AU (Bujra, 2002). Generally speaking, the issues of insecurity and corruption should, as a matter of urgency, be dealt with. Corruption in Africa has gone viral and endemic. It is a monster and cankerworm that have eaten deep into the fabrics of Africa's system. Greed is the root cause of insecurity and underdevelopment in Africa. Indeed, Africa cannot have a strong and united voice or foreign policy under the state of insecurity (Agbiboa, 2010 and Lehmann, 2008). For instance, Agbiboa (2010) notes that between 1960 and 1999, Nigerian officials had stolen more than $440 billion. That is six times the Marshall Plan, the sum total needed to rebuild devastated Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War. The African Union has reported that corruption drains the African region of some $140 billion a year, which is about 25% of the continent's official GDP (Ribadu, 2006). As national resources are stolen, whatever confidence that is left in the idea of just leadership ebbs away.

As a result of this, over the last two to three decades, many studies have been undertaken pertaining to corruption, both from an Afrocentric and Eurocentric perspective. African leaders, because of their unfortunate inkling to corruption, are not respected or taken seriously globally; since they lack trust, it is difficult for the West to have a strong relationship with them.

Conclusion

Insecurity of lives and properties are major threats to development in Africa. The conscious need for ideological re-orientation in Africa is overarching and a necessity. The NEPAD initiative provides a veritable diplomatic framework for African renaissance, provided African leaders are committed to the development of Africa. It encapsulates and encompasses the African burden and the way out through integration, trade treaties and international alliances under the United Nations Organization. African leaders must create strong institutions to fight corruption and bad governance. This is sine qua non to development in Africa. It will not be out of place to state that the ideological differences that engulfed Africa after independence are still rearing their ugly heads. Africa today is divided along cultural, ethnic and ideological blocs, thereby making all efforts at uniting Africa through AU and the Peer Review Mechanism difficult and inchoate. The desire to build infrastructure for speedy transformational development cannot be achieved and sustained because these differences and rise in political and economic instability/crisis that have grossly impeded Africa's internal dynamics, democracy and development. The African diplomatic space needs to be opened to be overarching. The need for Africa to restructure and re-engineer its foreign policy posture cannot be overemphasized but is overarching.

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CHRISTIANITY IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT: THEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF 1 CORINTHIANS 9:19-23

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Abstract

Christianity was introduced to Africa from the West. The available options for studying and learning Christian religion are all conveyed from the Western perspective, utilizing references, cultural norms and experiences that have no relevance to Christians in Africa. The cultures and traditional values of African people are important and have valid influences in their Christian life. To avail African Christians same opportunities to strengthen their faith like the Westerners, biblical resources must be contextualized. Contextualization does not mean changing the meaning of sacred Scripture. Paul himself explains, in 1 Corinthians 9:19-23, that he worked to be relevant to each culture to which he brought the gospel. Notwithstanding that the truth contained in God's Word are universal and will not change, the illustrations, applications and additional contexts provided prompt deeper understanding and should change according to the audience. This will create greater opportunities to know, understand and apply God's word in daily life experiences. In this study, we are going to identify and

study some reasons why context matters. The way the Bible is understood comes with context. The Bible itself must be understood within its settings and cultures. The researchers made extensive use of exegetical and hermeneutical methods of interpretation to study 1Cor 9:19-23. From the backdrop of the result from the interpretation, the paper then posits contextualization of scriptural messages as a necessity if the Bible will remain valuable to all cultures, especially Africa.

Keywords: Christianity,   African,   theology, contextualization, culture

Introduction

Africa, though the seat of Christianity, lost her position as the first recipient of the good news to the West before the religion became institutionalized. Formal Christianity was, therefore, introduced to Africa from the West wearing Western culture. At the advent of Christianity to Africa, there were no available options for evangelization other than the Western culture. Niebuhr (1951) asserts that Christianity is not a culture, but the Christian faith can be expressed and communicated only through cultural media. Hence, Christianity cannot be expressed or communicated without a cultural medium. Ironically, Christianity in Africa is introduced cloned with Western culture. This is inevitable because culture is a medium for the expression and communication of all religions. Jacobs (cited in Niebuhr, 1951) likened the Christian faith to a jockey who rides a racing horse as long as the horse is a fast runner. When the horse loses its racing ability, the jockey chooses another horse, and by so doing he remains on the racecourse.

Christianity portrays the culture in which it is developed. There is nothing like *Christian Cultures*, but Christians in a culture can greatly influence the culture. Lamentably, those that evangelized Africa imposed the Western culture on the peoples, on the assumption that Western culture was "*Christian*ity, while other cultures were

dismissed as "pagan" and "heathen". This is a theological error. The Christian faith can be effectively expressed and communicated only in "culturally designed" media. For the work of a missionary to be effective, an evangelizer must learn to appreciate the culture of the people whom he is evangelizing. He must learn their language and appreciate their art, music, dance, architecture, ritual and all other aspects of their culture. He must identify himself with the community of those whom he is introducing to Jesus Christ. Then he must go further and translate his understanding of the Christian faith into the cultural terms familiar and traditional to his prospective converts. He must be willing to be changed. This is a very difficult task, but effective Christian mission demands nothing less. Saint Paul, one of the greatest missionaries in the history of Christianity, appreciated this demand, and lived up to it. In the 1 Corinthians 9:19-23 he says:

> Even though I am a free man with no master, I have become a slave to all people to bring many to Christ. When I was with the Jews, I lived like a Jew to bring the Jews to Christ. When I was with those who follow the Jewish law, I too lived under that law. Even though I am not subject to the law, I did this so I could bring to Christ those who are under the law. When I am with the Gentiles who do not follow the Jewish law, I too live apart from that law so I can bring them to Christ. But I do not ignore the law of God; I obey the law of Christ. When I am with those who are weak, I share their weakness, for I want to bring the weak to Christ. Yes, I try to find common ground with everyone, doing everything I can to save some. I do everything to spread the Good News and share in its blessings.

It is regrettable that these profound insights from Paul are not observed in the modern missionary enterprise. The effect of this theological error is that many African converts to the Christian faith are taught to accept the view that becoming a Christian means dropping one's cultural heritage and adopting the cultural norms of foreign missionaries. Conversion is determined through behavioural norms, in terms of abandoning traditional African customs and

adopting Western ones. This results in a life of double standards among African converts. On the one hand, they accept the norms introduced by the missionaries who see nothing valuable in African culture. On the other hand, the converts cannot deny their own cultural identity. They cannot substitute their denominational belonging for their cultural and religious heritage. Yet, they cannot become Europeans or Americans merely by adopting some aspects of the missionaries' outward norms of conduct (Taylor, 2001).

Early Christian Missionaries Encounter with African Culture
A big question mark is placed on the content and method of catechesis being used by the European missionaries towards conversion of the locals. There is no doubt that the message of Christianity brought by the Europeans is coated with Western culture and taught with a kind of imperialist tone. In most instances, the message Africans receive from the missionaries is that their culture and traditional practices are not good. According to Edusa-Eyison (2006), these European missionaries did not respect the people's culture, as they perceive "everything Africa as primitive, pagan, fetish, and heathen." Hence, Africans are told that in order to become Christians, they must renounce their cultural practices and accept that of the Europeans. On Ndigbo axis, Nwosu (1987) affirms that "the missionaries adopted a negative attitude that was tantamount to condemnation of disproval of traditional Igbo society." The adverse effect of this teaching is that it makes people develop inferiority complexes concerning their cultural identity. This is because they now believe that in order to be a Christian, one must abandon his/her culture, since they are thought to be "barbaric" and "heathen". According to Schreiter (1994), all these "have undermined African Christians in two ways: by demeaning their own sense of worth and dignity as Africans." This situation is, therefore, confusing, as the scenario is not clear as to whether the missionaries are really Christianizing or Westernizing. Critical observation could claim that they are Westernizing more than Christianizing, and they might have done this consciously or unconsciously, but the fact is that they acknowledged European culture with Christianity. The outcome of their evangelization is the

imposition of the Western culture on the Africans which resulted in the denial of African cultural heritage. The missionaries consider the white man's civilization as good for the so-called 'heathen" Africans, and as such, they caricature African cultures and traditions, presenting theirs as superior. Ifemesia (1972) affirms that some missionaries are not actually presenting Christ but the superiority of their culture and personality.

The problem now emanates from the fact that the first African converts assimilate this wrong teaching as the real gospel message and passed it on to their brothers and sisters. They thought that accepting their cultural identity/traditional cultural practices and the message of Christianity preached by the missionaries is a rejection of their cultural practices. For them, being a Christian and a traditionalist are two different states of life. It is either this or that. Hence, those who see the good in the message of Christ and embrace it but still want to maintain their cultural heritage have to resort to a kind of hypocritical life. They practice Christianity during the day and go during the night to participate in their cultural rituals and ceremonies. This causes lots of misunderstanding in local Christian communities and families, as members are embarrassed and are called "pagans" and "heathens" by their fellow brothers/sisters, just because they participate in a traditional ceremony.

This phenomenon raises a big theological question for African Christians on how to understand the relationship between the message of Christ and cultures of those that receive it. There is need to critically examine culture in relationship with Christ and how to understand the message of Christ communicated through cultures.

Christ and Cultures

If culture is a way of life of people ordained by God, one can then ask: why must a person do away with his/her cultural identity in order to accept the message of Christ? Is it because the message of Christ cannot fit into these receptor cultures without annihilating them? Some people obviously thought so, among whom are the early

missionaries to Africa; however, let us also note that the same problem reared its ugly head during the early days of Christianity.

The Apostles of Christ and early Christians come in contact with people of other cultures right at the outset of Christian missionary. Consequently, there are cultural problems in the early Church of the Acts of the Apostles, between the gentiles who accept the message of Christ and the Jewish followers of Christ (Acts 15:1-35). One of the issues raised concerns circumcision, a Jewish cultural practice that marks one as a member of the Jewish community. The problem is that some Jewish Christian elders want the gentile converts to become circumcised and also to abandon some of their cultural practices and accept the Jewish ones. Their reason being that it should be so since Christianity is born into the Jewish tradition and assumes its religious worldview. However, the Apostles and elders meeting at the first council in Jerusalem are enlightened to realize the problem in asking people to leave their cultural identity and accept that of the Jews because they want to accept the message of Christ. So they rule that circumcision is not necessary for Christians, but that they should abstain from cultural practices that involve idolatry and immorality. In effect, they are able to discern that the message of Christ is not culturally bound, as Peter had earlier asserted that in any culture anyone who receives Christ pleases God and is saved (Acts 10:34). Hence, the message of Christ can fit into other cultures without altering or uprooting them. Ilogu (1974) asserts that, "Christianity is intended to be the religion not of one particular race of people, but of the whole world; but in different countries it will wear different clothes." Such different "clothes" take the shape of the cultures of the people to whom the Christian Gospel and faith is brought. Paul VI (1975) observes that, "there are many links between the message of salvation and cultures as God spoke according to the culture proper to each age." St Paul at Athens was able to make people understand the way to the true God, through their own traditional religion (Acts 17:22-28). Paul was the epitome of a good missionary who understands that the message of Christ can find means of expression in different cultures without uprooting or annihilating the said culture.

Hence, Christianity can find a way of growth in any culture; but this can only be possible, if the evangelizers of the Christian message adopt the approach of the Apostles of Christ and Paul. Regrettably, this message could be hampered when the evangelizers, like some missionaries to Africa, cannot distinguish between their own cultural bias and the Christian message they bear. It is this failure that has resulted in the conflict between Christianity and the African culture.

Christian Missionary Hegemony on African Culture
African societies start to disintegrate when traditional religion is attacked. Achebe (1959)   portrays a situation in which an African indigenous missionary succeeds in separating a son from his African parents so that the son can become a Christian. As the son leaves his parents' house for the mission compound, the missionary quotes the Bible, "Blessed is he who forsakes his father and mother for my sake" (Matthew 19:29). Ngugi wa Thiong'o similarly depicts a situation in which the family is utterly divided as a result of the parents' conversion to Christianity. A rift occurs between the family and the extended family. Instead of bringing reconciliation and understanding, Christianity, in this case, brings division. This is because converts are instructed to leave everything behind, including families, for the sake of the gospel. African religion looks at life in a holistic way. There is no dichotomy between the sacred and the profane; hence, many people are horrified when the first converts want to set themselves apart, away from other members of the community. This is why indigenization is important, as it enables the African Christian to see and experience life in a holistic manner without doing needless violence to cultural values.

The missionaries endeavour to jettison the culture and religion of the African. They term it conversion, both spiritually and culturally. Murzorewa (1985) observes that the missionaries are convinced that unless Africans adopt much of the Western culture and civilization, it was difficult to measure the success of the missionary work. With this attitude, they launched a contagious attack on African social

organisations, such as family, marriage, rituals, festivals, funeral rites and entire worldview. To this extent, Christianity becomes synonymous with westernization. They apply strategies such as prohibition of polygamy, the ancestral cult and rituals and food taboos, the introduction of western formal education and the creation of separate Christian communities, among others.

Contextualizing Christianity in Africa

Contextualizing Christianity in Africa is a crucial venture if Christianity is to communicate to the Africans. Among many religions, Christianity is the most universal religion; hence, it has to find an expression within each and every cultural context it finds itself, if her evangelization is to be meaningfully advantageous to the adherents. However, this adventure may result in syncretism among the African Christians if not properly checked. Prior to the advent of Christianity, Africans have their indigenous religion which is part and parcel of their culture. Their culture is their religion and their religion is their culture. Both are interwoven. According to Mbiti (1969 p1), "Africans are notoriously religious." Africans can never and will never be separated from their culture or religion.

There is a strong move by many African scholars to contextualize Christianity. A great number of African scholars contend for the contextualization of Christianity, which aims at providing a link between the African culture and Christian foundations. A process where Christianity will be at home in Africa and Africans will be at home with Christianity. Late Prof Bolaji Idowu made a significant contribution in making Christianity at home in Africa and Africa at home with Christianity. He succeeded in creating Christian versions of the rites of naming, marriage and burial. But what seems to be lacking in this debate is the critical evaluation of how Christianity can fully be expressed or practiced within the cultural context. Even though it is apparent that Africans long to experience Christianity within their cultural setting, it still remains to be established how Christianity can best be communicated within an African cultural context. So far, the attempt to contextualize Christianity seems to permit syncretism. It

results in the emergence of "African Christianity", which is the amalgamation of Christianity and African Traditional Religion (ATR). The amalgamation of Christianity and African Traditional Religion appears to overlook the essence of both religions, as the elements of one religion are expressed through the other.

In an effort to contextualize Christianity, certain terms will be unavoidably used: adaptation, inculturation, Africanization and indigenization.

- **Adaptation**: This refers to areas of apparent similarities and contacts between Christianity and African cultural practices. To the proponents of this view, immediate adaptation is experienced when elements of Christianity are taken to mean something that is already familiar. For instance, when missionaries go to different African communities, they adopt the term for God that is used by the traditional religion. Thus, in Igbo, God is Chukwu, in Yoruba, God is Oluwa, in Hausa, God is Ala. This intends to show that Christians worship the same God as the traditionalists, the difference being in the understanding of who this God is.
- **Inculturation** : The term "inculturation" expresses the encounter between Christianity and African traditional religion, which is basically an encounter between two cultures. Since Christianity comes to Africa from another culture, it is expected to grow within the African culture in order to become truly African. There is a process of transformation that takes place in order for Christianity to reflect authentically the African cultural milieu.
- **Indigenization**: While "indigenization" basically means the same thing as inculturation, indigenization is meant to emphasize the incarnational aspect. The concept, drawn from Christology, means that just as Jesus became human in order to redeem humankind, so must Christianity become African in order to reach the African soul. Christianity must grow within

the African environment so as to acquire the characteristics, forms and trappings of African spirituality.

Generally, African people believe in God as the Supreme Being, called by different names in different communities. God is worshiped through different rituals according to the traditions of the people. Africans believe that everything has its origin in God and nothing comes into existence without divine sanction. African people also believe that there are lesser spirits through whom God speaks to people and who serves as mediators between God and humans. Included in this category are the ancestral spirits or the spirits of the living-dead who, together with the living, make up a community. Going back to time immemorial, African religion is interwoven with the experiences, history and cultures of the African peoples. It prepares the ground for the reception of Christianity and Islam (Idowu, 1965). African Christians see the hand of God at work in and through African religion. Hence, it is obvious that the Western missionaries made a grave mistake when they jettisoned African religion as fetishism, spiritism, animism or paganism.

The Ways Forward
The first step towards solving the contemporary conflict between Christianity and the African cultures in general and Igbo cultures in particular is to make efforts towards re-catechizing people by returning to the essential Christian proclamation of the sovereignty of the one God in three persons, and the incarnation, passion, death and resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ who has redeemed us and made us members of God's family. The belief that many traditionalists have about God can then be rejuvenated and integrated into the Christian faith. Strip the Gospel of non-essential elements and concentrate on the person of Jesus Christ. This idea can foster a reflection on what is acceptable in the moral code of the local people that does not contrast with Gospel values. The consequence should also be a re-thinking of the ways to worship God and to administer the Sacraments in rituals that carry the proper symbolism for the people and reflect the inner theology of the sacred actions.

Furthermore, most of the problems faced by African Christians who try to maintain their culture and still be good Christians are provoked by the colonized brothers and sisters, who are in charge of catechesis at the different levels of Christian communities. These converts adhere to the early teachings of the missionaries and have refused to accept the fact that people can retain their cultural identity and still belong to Christ. Hence, they help in widening the chasm between Christianity and African cultures and this is evident in some of the demands they make of people. For example, to baptize a child or a convert in most parishes in Igboland, some catechists or parish priests insist on using a foreign saint's name; and one does not really understand for what theological reasons this request is made, when many local names show a connection to God. In fact, the natives have good names, most of which are traditional religious names that tell of the great works of God in their lives; so why should they not be allowed to use such names? People should be allowed to use names that have meaning for them and show a focus in their lives.

Ndigbo have a strong traditional religious background and also valuable cultural practices. The concept of a supreme God is not alien to the Igbo religious psyche; they refer to the supreme God as Chukwu (Big God). They believe that God works and blesses them through their ancestors and the lesser gods and goddesses of the land identified with the nature around them; hence, they have gods/goddesses dedicated to hills, rivers, lands, trees, animals, seas, etc. The rituals and festivals of Ndigbo are thus geared towards the worship of God and reverence of the gods and ancestors of the land. On the side of cultural ceremonies in Igboland, such prestige-taking ceremonies like the Ozo, Nze, Ichie and chieftaincies are done in order to recognize deserving members and elders of the community as vanguards of the moral fibre of the communities. These ceremonies are ritualized and sacrifices are made to invite Chukwu, the gods of the land and the ancestors to come and sanctify and sanction the installations. Other rituals include those done by the masquerade cults and the elders

during initiation of young men into adulthood, sacrifices made as part of sending a dead into the world of ancestors, etc. All these have caused lots of misunderstanding resulting in those who participate in them oftentimes excommunicated from parishes and regarded as heathens.

Looking at these ceremonies, one notices that there is no element in them that contradicts the law of love in Christ. It is true, however, that in the past, some of the sacrifices involve humans, but these days, people know this evil and have abolished such sacrifices and used other means to sanctify these ceremonies; yet, it still causes lots of problems. The issue of traditional rituals and sacrifices are a no-go-area for some of our priests and African theologians. They condemn them as part of idolatry; but then, it is no problem to talk about the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. One cannot but ask why the fuss about sacrifices? Christians got their idea of sacrifice from that of the Hebrew religion and this involves blood, so why should that of Africans be such a big issue? We must understand that sacrifices are means by which people are reconnected with the sacred and divine, as evident in the sacrifice of Christ which reconnected sinful humans to God.

The Igbo culture and traditional religion asks to be understood. The misunderstandings between the Church and Igbo culture stems from the fact that the Church leaders in Igboland have not understood that to be a Christian, Ndigbo need not abandon their cultural heritage and those practices which identify them as such. According to Ilogu (1974), "the Ibo Christian...can be taught to feel at home from the totality of his (sic) being, as obtained in his past and his present experiences, both as a Christian as well as a member of his societ". Hence, there is need for dialogue between the theologians in Igboland and the experts of Igbo traditional religion and culture towards finding ways in which inculturation can be realized between the two cultures.

Pauline Adaptability: A Textual Analysis of 1 Corinthians 9: 19-23

> For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all, that I might win the more. To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews; to those under the law I became as one under the law, though not being myself under the law, that I might win those under the law. To those outside the law I became as one outside the law, not being without law toward God but under the law of Christ, that I might win those outside the law. To the weak I became weak, that I might win the weak. I have become all things to all men that I might by all means save some. I do it all for the sake of the Gospel, that I may share in its blessings (1Corinthians 9: 19-23).

Paul began this narrative by first declaring himself a man 'free from all men' who makes himself 'a slave to all'. It is really remarkable for a man to be free and yet enslaves himself for the sake of what he believes in. Why does Paul declare himself a slave for all? Why would a free man make himself a slave (or enslave himself)? These are questions we need to tackle in the course of this study to unearth how it contributes to genuine evangelization in Africa.

Pauline adaptability in the text has been analyzed by different scholars and viewed with different nomenclatures. (Tucker 2012) perceives Paul as a 'spiritual chameleon', while Richardson (1980) considers Pauline adaptability as 'Pauline accommodation'. Others analyses of Pauline adaptability are as follows: 'Pauline flexibility' (Longenecker, 1964), 'Pauline incarnational principle' (Daube, 1956), 'Pauline versatility' (Prior, 1993) and 'Pauline inconsistency" (Carson, 1982).

Nonetheless, all agree that Paul's 'adjustment' is for the penetration of the Gospel into the complex lives of the people. To begin an exploration, therefore, into his adaptability, it is necessary to identify the explicit groups Paul is referring to in his 'becoming all things to

all men'. A study of verses 20 to 22 reveals four categories of men (Reuf, 1977).

1. **The Jews:** These are those Jews who do not accept the Messianic reality of Jesus.
2. **Those under the Law:** These are Jewish Christians who still observe the prescription of the Jewish law, though they accept Jesus as the Messiah.
3. **Those outside the Law:** These are the people that the law is not meant for because they are non-Jews. They constitute the Gentile nations.
4. **The Weak:** These are Gentiles who hold strongly and naively on the pagan world view, though they accept Jesus as the Messiah. They are weak in conscience and weak in faith.

For these four classes of people for whom Paul adjusts himself, he has but one aim - 'to win'. The word 'win' (kerdaino) appears repeatedly five times in the text, and can also be seen in 1Cor. 6:16 and Rom. 9:14. Afterwards, the focus is changed by moving from 'win' to 'save' (1 Cor.19: 22), pointing to the essence of the winning strategy, which is saving. The word 'save' (sozo) states what 'win' (kerdaino) can imply. kerdaino is used in the active sense of an Evangelist. Prior (1993) opines that due to the implicit consideration for sozo, Paul was ready to adapt to or adopt any legitimate 'means' from efforts to win people.

Paul identifies with the Jewish point of view, as when he wants Timothy circumcised or agrees to share vow at Jerusalem (Acts 16:3; 19:20 ff). He enters into the feelings of the Jews, considering their thinking pattern and frailties, and seeks with sympathy and empathy to appreciate their world view. With pagans born outside the law *tois onomois,* Paul declares, "I make myself" or "I become as" "one outside the law *hos anomos* ,"(not becoming 'lawless' in any sense or 'an outlaw' (Prior, 1993). Paul refers to his freedom from the code of Torah, but subject to the law of Christ. He also identifies with the weakness of his contemporaries in order to strengthen their faith and consciences as touching controversial matters. He stoops low to raise

them. In this way, he becomes a slave to all in order to rescue them from the pending judgment which will not recognize their cultural differences. Dodd (1968), in his *Ennomous Christou,* agrees that Paul saw himself as *Ennomous Christou* (1Cor.9:21) who would not use all his *Exousia* (right or freedom), rather as an expression of his commitment in his apostolic ministry.

This consciousness Paul has that he owes the Gospel to all, whatever their nationality, temperament or social class, carries him far beyond the restrictions of pharisaic dispositions. Going by his Pharisaic training, Paul is not supposed to associate with pagans in any social standing, but under the law of Christ, the law of love, the apostle Paul has the spiritual mandate to bridge the gap and save the souls. Paul's intent is to discover, combine and use any collection of methods, strategies which would combine the greatest integrity with the greatest impacts. Paul is the most versatile of men who is never locked into any single way of operating. Prior (1993) submits that "Paul's versatility in seeking to win men of all backgrounds to Christ challenges us to cross the culture-gap between the Christian sub-culture and the pagan culture of our local community."

It is not uncommon that Paul is accused of maintaining double standards in the affairs of dealing with the different sects. Paul is certain of his mission, not leaving any man as he meets him. Prior (1993) explains that Paul's life is that of self-discipline, self-control, while aligning himself with all sorts and conditions of men. In Prior's word, the fact that Paul lives daily in the light of eternity, means for him evangelism with integrity, relationship with adaptability and personal holiness with single-mindedness. Paul places himself alongside the people and not against them (Hargreaves 1978). There is an alignment for purpose. Joseph (2012) asserts that the phrase "all things to all men" does not mean that Paul is not the same person to all groups of people; rather, he is sensitive to the challenges of each cultural group. Joseph (2012) therefore, concludes that the basis of Pauline adaptability is determined by the norm of the Gospel.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE ROLES OF CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING AS INNOVATION FACILITATORS IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Code-switching and code-mixing are common phenomena found in multilingual societies, such as Nigeria. These phenomena usually occur when multilinguals and bilinguals need to communicate effectively through a foreign language. This is to say that code-mixing and code-switching are effective communication tools, which can, directly and indirectly, facilitate innovations. The objective of this paper is to analyse the impacts of these linguistic phenomena and to reflect on how it can influence Nigerians to become more innovative. The study anchored its analysis on Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity and Rogers' Innovation Diffusion Theory to reveal how communicating with people's

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language could aid innovation. The researchers, thereby, concluded that since Nigeria is a multilingual nation, where a foreign language – English – is the only unifying factor, code-switching and code-mixing should be adopted for effective communication between innovators and the prospective adopters of their innovations.

Keywords: innovation, code-switching, code-mixing, communication

Introduction

Innovation is a phenomenon that is appreciated and celebrated all over the world. Countries are evaluated yearly to discover their innovative capabilities. Different organisations release their innovation indexes to capture the countries that are considered more innovative than the others. One of the organisations that do this is Bloomberg, which has recently released its list of the most innovative countries in the year 2020 (Damm, 2020). The Bloomberg Innovation Index presented the result of the evaluation it conducted on sixty nations, which were assessed based on their investment in research and development, manufacturing capability and concentration of high-tech companies (Damm, 2020). According to this innovation index, the ten most innovative countries are Germany (1st), South Korea (2nd), Singapore (3rd), Switzerland (4th), Sweden (5th), Israel (6th), Finland (7th), Denmark (8th), the United States (9th), and France (10th). No African country made it to the top ten.

Another innovation index that is worth mentioning is that of the Global Innovation Index for the year 2020. Here, one hundred and thirty-one (131) countries were assessed and Switzerland ranked the best innovative country. The other countries that made it to the top five were Sweden (2nd), the United States (3rd), the United Kingdom (4th) and the Netherlands (5th). The first African country to make the list is South Africa, which was ranked the 60th in the list. Nigeria took the 117th position.

Innovation does not happen in a vacuum. Something has to motivate and influence it. This is to say that there are factors that must exist before innovation can take place. Among these factors are education, government policies, markets, and a positive social environment (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2019). Each of these factors can either mar or enhance innovation, depending on how they featured. For instance, market here includes the availability of customers, suppliers, competition, and workers. If an innovator is unable to find viable markets, he will be unable to sell his invention. This will discourage him from creating new things in the future. Furthermore, people living in a positive social environment will be willing to accept the changes brought by innovation. However, for the social environment to become positive, innovators have to maintain constant communication with its members. Failure to do so could cause them to reject change.

For a person to communicate effectively, he needs to use the language that is understood by the parties involved in the communication event. Using a foreign language can lead to the misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the message, which will, in turn, elicit negative responses (Taiwo, 2014). Hence, for an innovator to interact with the prospective users or adopters of his invention and be able to convince them to accept change, he needs to use the language they are conversant with.

Coincidentally, the five most innovative countries, as depicted by the Bloomberg Innovation Index and the Global Innovation Index, adopted one or more of their native languages as their official and/or national language(s). For instance, in Switzerland, which is a multilingual nation, German (Swiss German), French, Italian and Romansh are the country's official languages (Swiss Info, 2019). In Sweden, the official language is Svenska (Britannica, 2013). And in Germany, German serves the purpose (BBC, 2014). Since these countries adopted their official languages, innovation will be easier to

achieve because the people are communicated to in the languages they are conversant with. This, however, cannot be said about countries, such as Nigeria, where English, a non-native language, is used as the official language that bridges the communication gap caused by multilingualism. This is to say that Nigerians need to find a way to accommodate the English language so that it can perform its communicative functions without hindrance.

The objective of this study, hence, is to find out the impact of language on innovation. Specifically, the study aims to ascertain if code-switching and code-mixing can aid innovation in multilingual nations, such as Nigeria. The study will reflect on Roger's Innovation Diffusion Theory and Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis on Linguistic Relativity to determine if language aids innovation.

Literature Review
Meaning of Code-Switching and Code-Mixing
Code-switching and code-mixing are two phenomena that occur in many multilingual societies. The concepts exist as a result of multilingualism and bilingualism (Gardner-Chloros & Weston, 2015). This is to say that people that have the ability to communicate or use two or more languages are most likely going to code-switch and code-mix at one particular time or the other.Code-switching simply means switching or moving from one language to another during communication events. According to Taiwo (2014), the concept is a linguistic phenomenon that occurs when people "use two languages simultaneously or interchangeably in a communication" (p. 99). This switching, he states, occurs at the sentential level of a discourse or at the major constituent level of a sentence. But then, code-switching does not only occur when people use more than a language, interchangeably, during a communication event. According to Akindele and Adegbite (1999), code-switching also refers to situations, whereby an individual uses different languages or language varieties at different occasions. They state that individuals that speak more than one language usually choose the right language or language

variety that suits specific occasions or situations. The need to use the most appropriate language for an occasion, Akindele and Adegbite opine, could be as a result of the need to accommodate participants in the communication, meet the occasion's language demand, and/or be able to discuss the topic involved. A good example of this description can be found when an individual speaks English in the office, pidgin in the market, and vernacular at home. In this case, he or she has code-switched because he switched from one language to another at the three different occasions.

Code-mixing, on the other hand, involves the use of more than one language during communication but the alternation is found at the minor constituent level of a sentence. This concept involves the juxtaposition of different languages within a single sentence, almost at the word-to-word level (Meyerhoff, 2006; Akindele & Adegbite, 1999). Hence, when bilinguals and multilinguals introduce words or phrases from other languages into a sentence, the outcome is known as code-mixing. For instance, in the sentence, "*Mechie* that door when you leave," *mechie*, which is Igbo for 'close', is a word from a different language, which the speaker introduced into a sentence constructed in English.

Reasons for Code-Switching and Code-Mixing
Code-switching and code-mixing are, in most cases, unconsciously adopted by bilinguals and multilinguals during conversations. Nevertheless, there are situations, whereby these devices are used consciously with the intension of creating desired effects on the listeners. For instance, in political speeches, classroom lectures, church sermons, seminars, and literary writings, people may adopt code-switching and code-mixing as tools for communicating effectively to their audience. In other words, the reasons for code-switching and code-mixing are embedded in the functions the devices perform for their users.

One of the major reasons code-switching and code-mixing are adopted during communication is to accommodate participants. Holmes (2013) opines that people code-switch and code-mix in order to bridge the communication gap between them and their audience. She also states that the devices can be used to widen the gap. For instance, an English scholar may decide to speak in vernacular in an event because there are uneducated persons in attendance. This is her way of accommodating them. But when the scholar decides to exclude those persons, she will widen the communication gap by speaking to the audience in Standard British English or in another language they are not familiar with. Nevertheless, some linguists, such as Hudson (2001), argue that code-switching and code-mixing are mostly used when addressers opt for the language the addressees will understand. However, since code-switching and code-mixing can be used to accommodate participants, they can play vital roles in reducing and eradicating misunderstanding and misinformation.

Another good reason people code-switch and code-mix is to solve linguistic needs during communication. Sometimes, second language users forget or are unaware of the name some concepts bear in the target language. At other times, the concepts or items in question may not have names in the target language because they do not exist in the culture of its owners (Hudson 2001). When these second language users find themselves at loss with the right words to use, they may have to use code-switching and code-mixing to fill the gap. This saves them from the discomfort they may feel if they stopped in their speeches to think of the right words to use. Furthermore, Taiwo (2014) reveals that by making it easier for pauses in conversations to be filled, code-switching and code-mixing help in preventing the loss of interest of the audience. What this means, in essence, is that, through code-switching and code-mixing, concepts that have no name in a second language can be described with their names in the speaker's native language. This does not only aid flow of communication but also aids comprehension and attentiveness.

Code-switching and code-mixing are also adopted for topics that could not be discussed with the main language of communication. According to Holmes (2013), people that speak more than a language find it easier to discuss some topics in a particular language than in others. For instance, a Nigerian may prefer to narrate the experiences he had within his local environment by using his mother tongue. But that same person may choose English for discussions bordering around science and technology. By doing this, there exist ease of communication and comprehension.

Code-switching and code-mixing are also adopted for several other reasons, such as marking identity and emphasising statements. According to Akindele and Adegbite (1999), multilinguals and bilinguals, sometimes, switch languages to specify their involvements in communication or to mark their group identity. Holmes (2013) agrees with this because she explains that code-switching and code-mixing can come up when a speaker wishes to "signal" group membership and "shared ethnicity with an addressee" (p. 35). Hence, by using the language of the audience, the speaker can create the impression that he is one of them and so win their attention and, sometimes, favour.

Furthermore, Taiwo (2014) states that code-switching and code-mixing can be used to amplify utterances, especially when their usage makes the statement more informative and/or meaningful. In this case, code-switching and code-mixing are used to create the desired effects in the audience and make them respond positively.

Language Situation in Nigeria

Nigeria is a multilingual nation with an estimated range of 200 to over 400 indigenous languages. According to Oyetade (2003), the language situation in Nigeria can be described as being linguistically fragmented. Jowitt (1991) agrees with this because he states that it is almost impossible to determine the exact number of languages

indigenous to the country. He further reveals that Nigeria can pass as a good example of a country with individuals, who are bilingual or multilingual. This is to say that almost every Nigerian can speak more than a language.

The causes of multilingualism in Nigeria, according to Ogunwale (2013), can be traced to colonialism and state creation, both of which did not consider the diverse nature of the communities brought together. People from different linguistic, cultural, and religious backgrounds were brought together as a nation, a state, and a local government. They have to live and interact amongst themselves as one nation, community, and/or society. As a result, the number of the native languages in Nigeria became too numerous to be counted. However, three languages – Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba, have assumed the position of the major native languages because they have native speakers that ran into tens of millions (Jowitt, 1991; Oyetade, 2003) and have major speakers in one or more of the six political zones. These major languages can, sometimes, be used to bridge the communication gap that exits among speakers of the many Nigerian languages.

Among the languages that exist in Nigeria is the English language. English is currently a second language in Nigeria because Nigerians already had their mother tongue before it came (Ekpe, 2010). The language, though widely used in the country, has not yet assumed the position of a native language. English, when used alone, cannot fully help Nigerians to express their experiences within their local environment (Akindele & Adegbite, 1999; Taiwo, 2014). To solve this problem, many Nigerians have resorted to code-switching and code-mixing as their tools for effective communication in the country.

Theoretical Frameworks
The theories adopted for this study are Roger's Innovation Diffusion Theory and Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis on Linguistic Relativity.

Roger's Innovation Diffusion Theories

The Innovation Diffusion Theory, also referred to as Diffusion of Innovation Theory or Classical Innovation Theory, was propounded by E.M. Rogers in 1958, after he studied the diffusion of agricultural innovations during his doctoral research that ended in 1957 (Bukkabulindi, 2014). This theory considers the conditions that encourage the acceptance and spread of innovations. Rogers postulated that there are three conditions, which could enhance or discourage the adoption of innovation in any society. These are the characteristics of the potential adopter, the adopter's perception of the innovation, and the characteristics of the society the potential adopter lives in (Bukkabulindi, 2014). For an innovator to succeed, he needs to put these three factors into consideration before making his creations.

Concerning the characteristics of the potential innovation adopter, Rogers states that the individual characteristics of a person can determine whether he will accept the change caused by the innovation or not. Here, it is believed that the level of exposure adopters has about the object of change, their age, education, gender, economic class, ability to interact with innovators, and personal experiences can influence their decisions towards innovation (Bukkabulindi, 2014). Rogers was also of the opinion that the way potential adopters perceive new objects can influence their decisions to adopt them or not. In this case, the use of the objects, their advantages over existing products, their compatibility with the potentials' needs, and so on are considered before a decision is reached. Hence, an innovator needs to convince potential adopters to use his products or, better, provide them with what they need. Finally, Rogers stated that an innovation can only be adopted by users if it resonates with the social system of the society, within which they live and operate. This is to say that if the object of change goes against the culture, values, and belief systems of the potential adopters, it will not be accepted. In other words, an innovator needs to study the community of his adopters before creating something new for them. One way he can do this effectively is by

relating directly with them.

Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis on Linguistic Relativity

This theory was named after the American linguist, Edward Sapir (1884 – 1939), and his student, Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897 – 1941), who propounded it. Sapir investigated the relationship between language, culture and personality. He argued that language is a guide to social reality. Sapir states that the world is unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group (Akindele and Adegbite, 1999). He was of the opinion that people's behaviours and experiences are linked to the language habits of their communities, which predisposes them to certain choices of interpretation. Hence, the knowledge a person possess is limited to the language or languages he knows and uses.

Whorf, while performing further research on Sapir's theory, realised that there is a relationship between language and thought. He believed that an individual's language conditions how he views the world because it influences his mental activities. For instance, he states that people that have past tense markers in their language think about the past more than those that do not have such features in their languages (Akindele and Adegbite, 1999). By this, Whorf extended his master's theory by postulating that people that speak different languages view the world differently. This means that understanding the language of a community can help in determining how they can react to innovations. If innovators bear this in mind, they will have ideas of what communities need as well as how they can convince their members to adopt their new inventions.

Code-Switching and Code-Mixing as Innovation Facilitators in Nigeria

According to Rogers' Innovation Diffusion Theory, prospective adopters must be willing to accept changes before innovation can take place. This can be achieved if the new item is better than the existing ones and conforms to the prospect's social environment. This means that an innovator has to study the lives and environments of his target

adopters before creating his new invention. He can easily do that by interacting with them so he will have first-hand information about their needs.

Furthermore, Sapir-Whorf's Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity postulates that the best way to understand people's way of life, value systems, beliefs, needs, and knowledge is through their language. According to this theory, a person's language embodies his reality. Hence, to understand the perspectives of these prospective adopters and be able to communicate with them effectively, an innovator needs to speak their language, at least to some extent. This theory also postulates that an individual's language has the ability to condition his mental activities, meaning that the use of his language can influence how he perceives a concept. This can explain why people relate more with those they share the same language with than with people that speak other tongues. An innovator can, therefore, impress his prospects, win their trusts, and convince them to adopt his invention when he communicates to them in their language.

However, in a country such as Nigeria, where many languages exist, it will be impossible for an innovator to learn how to speak about five hundred languages. If such a person wants to have personal touches with his prospects, he will have no other choice than to code-switch and code-mix where and when necessary. These devices will be most important during information dissemination about the new product. For instance, the innovator may have to adopt the local terms for the ingredients and materials used for making the products or what they will be used for. That way, the prospects will identify with the inventor and his creation and may be willing to adopt it.

Another important way code-switching and code-mixing can aid innovation in Nigeria is through education, especially in the Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM). Since code-switching and code-mixing aid comprehension, using the local names

of some concepts, especially the abstract ones, while teaching about them, could help the students to understand the lessons more. It is possible that many Nigerians are not innovative because they fail to identify the concepts being taught as the objects that exist in their communities. Nevertheless, further research should be conducted to ascertain how code-switching and code-mixing can aid innovation through education.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Code-switching and code-mixing are two phenomena commonly found in multilingual and bilingual societies. They involve the use of more than one language by an individual in a communication event or in separate communication events. These devices perform functions, which ranges from identity markers to comprehension enhancers. Because of the multilingual nature of Nigeria, code-switching and code-mixing are language features of the country. However, the country has not been able to harness their functions to aid innovations. Based on that, the following recommendations are made:

a.   Innovators should employ these devices while introducing their creations to their target markets in different Nigerian communities. They can use them for advertisements, radio and TV interviews, in social media, and so on.

b.   Teachers should be encouraged to code-switch and code-mix while handling topics that may sound abstract to the students.

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SOCIO-POLITICAL ROOTS OF CONFLICTS IN AFRICA: THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

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Abstract

Conflict is a major issue in any given human society, and often it is inevitable, but violence is avoidable. In Africa, conflict is very often the result of the interaction of political, economic and social instability frequently stemming from bad governance, dictatorial governance or dictatorship, failed economic policies, fundamental human rights abuse and inappropriate development programmes stemming also from exacerbated ethnic and religious differences in society. The paper therefore examines the importance of land ownership in a pluralistic society like Africa. The researcher adopted observational and qualitative method with the use of theories, such as relational theory, primordialism religious theory, instrumentalism religious and political theory, fundamentalism religious theory, structural conflict theory, human needs theory, grieve and grievances theory and (protracted) social conflict theories as methods in eliciting relevant data required to do justice to this research. The fundamental issues discovered in conflict are the religious beliefs and practices, land ownership and resource competition, political patronage and competition, the nature and character of the African nations' politics, ethnicity, boundary disputes, poverty, marginalization/discrimination, unemployment and underdevelopment. The paper shows that the Church and her leaders have the potential to manage and resolve conflicts in Africa through their religious resources

or values and frameworks involving love, forgiveness, contentment, justice, peace, respect and tolerance. The paper concluded with some possible avenues of achieving this, which is through dialogue, interfaith dialogue, religious peace-building, seminars and workshops, as the church's media of evangelizing and restoring hope in the country with their gospel of peace.

Keywords: Conflict, socio-political, Church, pluralistic society, sesolution/management

Introduction

Federal states all over the world vary in many ways, such as in the nature, character and significance of the underlying political, economic, cultural and social diversities. Indeed, conflict has received various definitions and interpretations. For the researcher, it simply means '… a friction arising from the desire that I want something and you also want the same, but we both cannot have it all'. Lamle (2015: 3) views conflict as "Opposition among social entities directed against one another". The term "conflict" is derived from the Latin word *confligere,* which denotes "to strike together" (3). Fernandez, in Ekpenyong (2011), views it as difference in perspectives: what one sees, think, feel and believe may be different from what another sees, thinks, feels and believes (118). This means that conflict is part of all human interactions, and it can have positive influence and sometimes negative influence, depending how the parties in conflict want it to be. Again, DFID report of 1997, as quoted by Bassey (2007), has noted that: Violent conflict generates social, political division, reverses economic progress, impedes sustainable development and frequently results in human rights violations. Large population movement-triggered conflicts threaten the security and livelihood of whole regions (xvi). Best (2011) says conflict originated from the Latin word *confligere,* meaning 'to clash or engage in a fight'. It connotes a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends (23).

The Nigerian example of federalism, like other developing African countries, is confronted with a lot of complex challenges which on many occasions have shaken the nation to its foundations. Some of these challenges are the issues of politics, economic and social instability frequently stemming from bad governance, dictatorial governance, failed economic policies, fundamental human rights abuses and inappropriate development programmes stemming also from exacerbated ethnic and religious differences in society. These problems have posed a lot of difficulties to the continent, and government at all levels seems to be helpless and hopeless in the resolution of crisis and conflict arising from them. Most Nigerians who had lived peacefully together for years now suddenly take up arms against themselves on issues bordering on politics. Several communities that were previously living together peacefully suddenly took up arms against one another as a result of claim of ownership of land and as a result of politics. The paper, therefore, examines the importance of land ownership in a multi-ethnic and pluralistic society like Africa and the importance attached to the socio-political status of citizens in the continent. The paper concludes that for Africa and the Church to make progress and for Africa to be a developed continent, they must find a way of tackling the problems associated with socio-political conflicts. It also explained the root causes of conflicts, examined the ideological platforms and the role of socio-political conflicts by giving historical evolution of the ethnic, social, economic, politics and identities in Africa and to understand the African positions of the different constitutions on land and other root causes of conflict including the relationship between claims to land, ethnic ideology and how they either cause or escalate conflicts. The paper indeed shows that the Church and her leaders have the potential to manage and resolve conflicts in Africa through their religious resources or values and frameworks involving love, forgiveness, contentment, justice, peace, respect and tolerance (Dajwan, 2021: 1-3).

Theoretical Perspectives
Here, the researcher asks whether religion, social and politics are root causes of conflicts and what role the Church can play in the management of conflicts in Africa. Seven broad categories have been singled out to guide our understanding   of how religious identity is engaged in challenging governance. These are: relational theory, structural conflict theory, human needs theory, grieve and grievances theory and (protracted) social conflict theory.

Relational Theory
Relational theory attempts to provide explanations to violent conflicts between groups by exploring sociological, political, economic and historical relationships that have existed between groups. Culture, values and interests all have a way of influencing the relationships between migrants – settlers- indigenes, more especially at the sociological level where differences between cultural values is a challenge for group identity formation processes which, in turn, creates the tendency to view others as intruders who should be prevented from encroaching   into established cultural boundaries (Best, 35-37).

The Socio-Political and Inter-Religious Conflict Relationship
According to Jonathan (2000), religious belief systems are essential aspects of the identities of those who follow them. Accordingly any attack, real or perceived, on one's religious framework is not an attack on the religion alone; it is also an attack on a vital element of one's identity. Given this, it is not surprising that this can cause a defensive reaction that is often violent. Wentz describes this phenomenon metaphorically as defending the 'walls of religion'. Lewis makes this argument with respect to Islam and Christianity, noting that these religions' claims to exclusive truths are a major source of conflict (Jonathan, 2000:7-8).

Again, Gurr, in Jonathan, says one way to understand the ethnic conflict process is described as basic model posits that discrimination,

or even differences in status between groups, causes deprived minority groups to form grievances. Gurr specifically deals with grievances over social, political, autonomy and economic issues. These grievances cause the minority to mobilize for conflict. These mobilized groups finally engage in conflict. This is the core of Gurr's model. He also accounts for the influence of the group's cohesion, size, and geographic concentration, regime factors like democracy, democratisation, state power, and economic development, international contagion and diffusion, international support for both the state and the minority group, and repression. Although Gurr does not deal with religion directly, by analogy religious discrimination should lead to religious grievances which, in turn, should lead to mobilisation followed by conflict (Jonathan, 2000:9).

Economic perspective on the causes of civil war is based on empirical patterns globally over the period 1965-98. During this period, the risk of civil war has been systematically related to a few economic conditions, such as dependence upon primary commodity exports and low national income. Conversely, and astonishingly, objective measures of social grievance, such as inequality, a lack of democracy as in political, and ethnic and religious divisions, have had little systematic effect on risk (Collier, 2006:1). Identities have historically been significant in the African political process (Nigeria in focus), under colonial rule as well as in the post-colonial dispensation. Under colonialism, administrative exigencies warranted "the invention of traditions", and the nurturing and exacerbation of an "us" *versus* "them" syndrome: Muslim *versus* Christian; Northerner *versus* Southerner; Hausa-Fulani *versus* Yoruba *versus* Igbo, and so on. Religious, regional and ethnic differences were given prominence in conceiving and implementing social, educational and economic development policies and projects under the indirect system of colonial administration favoured by the British. Thus, the differential impact of colonialism set the context of the regional educational, economic and political imbalances which later became significant in

the mobilization or manipulation of identity consciousness in order to effectively divide and rule, as well as in the politics of decolonisation and in the arena of competitive politics in the post-colonial era (Jega, 2000:15-16).

Human Needs Theory (HNT)-Maslow, Burton, Rosenberg and Max-Neef

Dinshak affirms that human needs theorists argue that conflicts and violent conflicts are caused by unmet human needs. Violence occurs when certain individuals or groups do not see any other way to meet their need, or when they need understanding, respect and consideration for their needs. In order to live and attain well-being, humans need certain essentials called human needs or basic human needs. Human needs theorists argue that conflicts and violent conflicts are caused by unmet human needs. That violence occurs when certain individuals or groups do not see any other way to meet their need, or when they need understanding, respect and consideration for their needs (Dinshak 2018:9-12).

Greed and Grievances- Collier and Hoeffler

Greed versus grievance is an argument that seeks to understand the motivations of combatants in civil warfare. The greed model holds that combatants perform a cost-benefit analysis and take up arms when fighting in order to better their situations. It also holds that the grievance-based explanations of civil war are wrong, and that combatants in civil wars fight for economic benefits such as loot, and that economic agenda appear to be central to understanding why civil wars get going. Conflicts are far more likely to be caused by economic opportunities than by the grievance model. Combatants are motivated by religious, ethnic, identity and social class grievances: ethnic or religious hatred**,** political repression**,** political exclusion**,** economic inequality and social discrimination (Dinshak, 2018:15).

(Protracted) Social Conflict Theory- Azar

Protracted social conflict is "the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions an economic participation". Azar identified the major impetuses in the creation of contemporary violent conflict to be:communal content (identity issues),deprivation of human needs (e.g. security, development and political access), failure of structural governance to provide for those needs,and international connections and dependency (Dinshak, 2018:17).

Socio-Political and Religious Conflicts

In religious conflicts, it is clear which aims are achieved. Gopin (1997), however, regards political, ethnic and economic aims as primary. In his view, religious conflicts form a specific form of conflict between groups which differ ideologically along religious lines within a pluralistic setting, with each striving for socio-political relevance. In a similar vein, Takaya, in Dajwan et al (2018:109) and Batson, Schoenrade and Pych (1985) emphasize the behavioural and political character of religion. To them, "religions are parochial and emotional socializers. They specialize in building one-faith exclusive brotherhood communities. Religion, at some point, is politics and is the most potent and long lasting political association. Moreover, religious creeds excite and extract the deepest possible sociopolitical and psycho-emotional and physical loyalties from their adherents when in political competition with people of other faiths" (Richardson in (Dajwan, et al 2018:109).

One significant element driving conflicts of this type is the attitude of superiority that religious persuasions often adopt in their dealings with or assessment of others that is mainly related to the sense of stenotype, prejudice and discrimination shared by members towards people from other faiths (Allport, 1954; Franzoi, 2000). This attitude tends to exclude others, seeing them as out-groups and classifies them as

ignorant and doomed, which, invariably, creates an atmosphere of conflict and hostility. This atmosphere of hostility tends to intensify where opposing religious and political persuasions see their numerical strengths as social and political advantage. In such a situation, the leaders think that new socio-political and religious perspectives as threats to the hegemonies enjoyed (Brown, 1985; Richardson, 1985). Furthermore, where the social, political, religious or economic factors are unfavorable, messianic rhetoric can exacerbate the tensions by way of playing on the psyche and mind-set of adherents.

Nwaomah as observed by Dajwan et al (2018) that conversation campaigns, as in Nigeria, by opposing religions(s) and fanaticism arising from indoctrination of the adherents, mostly due to parochial education, which can also reinforce religious conflicts special are the unique effects of religious doctrines on the perception of the adversaries, the formation of the motivational psychological values as well as religious values towards the religion, and the central role of feelings and emotions for group identification (2018:110).

Socio-Political and Religious Conflict and its Manifestations in Nigeria

Before delving into the discussion of socio-political and religious conflicts in Nigeria, it will be useful to devote some space to introduce the country's religious communities that form the conflict parties. Nigeria has two major religions (Christianity and Islam) that are always in constant conflict, and a third one- African Traditional Religion (ATR), which has a current population estimate of about 178.5 million (WPR 2016 in (Dajwan et al, 2018:110). Muslims are estimated to be 50%, Christians 40% and practitioners of African Traditional Religion are put at 10% (Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2005 in Dajwan et al, 2018:110).   This estimation excludes practitioners of alternative religious ideologies from the eastern world. This population estimate of the different religious groups, as imagined by the Human Rights Watch (2005), has been heavily disputed by the Christians and followers of African Traditional Religion, who argue

that the long-time domination of the nation's polity by military dictators, who are mostly Muslims from the Northern part of the country (1960-1966; 1975-1976; 1979-1999), placed them in the best position to manipulate the figures in favour of Muslims. A second argument against the above-mentioned figures, which appears to be true, is the erroneous generalization of all northerners, including all people from the Middle-belt states, as Muslims (Dajwan et al, 2018:110). The introduction of "borrowed religions" - Christianity and Islam - is said to breed conflicts in the nation, both socio-political and religious wise.

The Socio-Political Causes of Conflict in Nigeria(Summary)
a) Land Issue

In the Nigerian state, indigeneity is associated with land ownership. This is not only limited to Nigeria; land ownership is an issue all over Africa. As such, anything that affects the land affects the people and must be resisted by all means. Eme Awa supports this view when he asserted that indigeneity is strong in Nigeria because people are seeing the land as a primary form of property or inheritance in the traditional society and is seen as a form of wealth (Awa, 1985). This accounts for the deep-rooted animosity between the indigenes (land owners) and the settlers (tin miners and traders) in Plateau State. The desire of the settlers to have access to the land at the expense of the indigenes is the major problem in the state. The crisis in Plateau is first and foremost a struggle over land, as majority of Plateau State indigenes are Christians who are tied to land as peasant farmers or workers in the civil service, while the settlers, mainly Muslim minorities, are Hausa dry-season farmers and cattle rearers; while the Igbo, Urhobo and Yoruba are dominating the business life of the state (Danfulani 4). The crisis remains intractable and the dominant Christian (indigene) population in Plateau State is insisting that until the problem is given a constitutional solution, the hospitality of the people of the state should not be abused by settlers, particularly the Hausas who make

outrageous and bogus claims for rights and privileges which do not exist anywhere else in the Federation (4).

b) Political Patronage/Competition

One of the major factors that triggered the indigene/settler crisis in Plateau State is political exclusion. The return to civil rule in 1999 saw the indigenous people using their population to advantage by voting massively for Plateau indigenes, while the settlers are finding it very difficult to occupy positions of authority as a result of their minority status. This is contrary to what obtained under military rule. During that period, the Hausa/Fulani dominated the strategic positions in various military governments and they always used that to their advantage in putting Hausa settlers in Plateau State into positions, against the wishes of the indigenous people. Therefore, the opening up of the political space under civilian rule has been accompanied by intense ethnic competition at all levels in the state. The indigenous elite have consolidated their power and control of the state, excluding the settlers, particularly on the basis of religion and ethnicity (Higizi, 2011).

The creation of Jos North Local Government in 1991 by the Babangida administration was the major issue that sowed the seed of discord between the indigenous people and Hausa/Fulani settlers. The new local government was created to cover the area inhabited by the Hausa-Fulani settlers. It can be said that it was created solely for the Hausa-Fulani settlers. The indigenous population saw this as an affront and a deliberate plot by Northern-Muslim dominating military regime to legitimize and legalize the indigenous status of the Hausa-Fulani settlers. In the real sense of it, it seems this was what was in the mind of the military top brass, since such a thing was not replicated in other areas. For example, in Kano State, there is an area known as Sabon Gari solely inhabited by the settlers'- such as Yorubas, Igbos, etc.; but instead of creating a separate local government, the military government divided the area into different local governments. In such local governments, settlers are in minorities and cannot be seeking to

occupy any major political position. If the creation of a separate local government for the settlers in Plateau State is good, why is it that has not been replicated in other states, particularly the Northern-Muslim States? (National Orientation Agency (NOA) 21).

c) The Nature and Character of the Nigerian State Politics

To situate the phenomenon properly, it is necessary to point out that the current central paradigm of Nigerian politics allows the state to have dominating and unchallenged sole distributive clearing power for economic and political spoils, and as such, Fadakinte (282) asserts that the enormous resources at the disposal of the state accruing from the sale of petroleum resources have led to the intense competition for power, leading to the widespread use of money and armed thugs. The state, as the avenue for the control of decision-making apparatus of political spoils and economic patronage, raises the competition to the level of vicious struggle (Fadakinte, 283). According to a special report by the National Orientation Agency (NOA) (1-15), some of the socio-economic characteristics of the zone which when manipulated negatively prepare the ground for the conflicts and result into the situation at hand presently in the zone include, but not necessarily limited to, the following:

1. *Over 50% of the ethnic groups in Nigeria are found in the zone.*
2. *Apart from rich mineral resources, the zone is endowed with massive land and grazing activities (this explains the massive influx of people from other areas, particularly cattle-rearing Fulanis from the North to the zone).*
3. *In terms of development, the zone is one of the least developed, in spite of the location of the federal capital close to it.*
4. *The zone has a very large pool of ex-servicemen and it is important to note that majority of these ex-servicemen were disengaged from service at very young ages and have not really been gainfully employed since their retirement (NOA 1-15).*

It is, therefore, worrisome that despite the fact that the people of this zone are known to be hospitable, accommodating and peaceful, how

come they suddenly changed and began to engage in frequent violent inhuman clashes?

d) The Problem of Nigerian Constitution

No doubt, the crisis in Plateau State has opened a renewed debate on the use of the terms "settler" and "indigene". In the nation's 1979 Constitution, the phrase "belongs or belonged to a community indigenous of Nigeria" was used in the definition of citizenship (Section 23, Sub Section (1) (a), while the phrase "federal character" also entered the Nigerian Constitution in 1979 to denote a principle of minority group inclusion in the federal government and its affairs (Ostien 2-4). Section 147 (3ii) of the 1999 Constitution also states that "…the President shall appoint at least one Minister from each state, who shall be an indigene of such a state" (FRN, 1999). Subsequently, conflicts persist in Plateau State and Chief Obasanjo Olusegun, in a seminar which the African Leadership Forum (ALF) organized on Conflict Prevention and Management, in his opening speech, stated that:

The concept of settler or non-native syndrome has of recent hardened into a theory of ethnic exclusiveness and molded and propagated to foist a pejorative meaning to advance economic and political control among competing elite groups for interest during democratic regimes.

In Plateau State, among the key flashpoints (areas) where the indigene/settler confrontation has raised and is raising dusts intermittently in Jos are between the indigenous Afizere, Anaguta and Berom against the settler Hausa-Fulani, and the indigenous Wase-Kadarko tribe against indigenous Taroh and Jukun. In Shendam, the Bakin Chiyawa and Saya areas are also witnessing armed rivalry between the indigenous and settler tribes. Accordingly, it applies to and endows a person with full political and civil rights within the context of the modern state. In the history of political community, the question concerning who are settlers and who are indigenes exhibits the fact that the whole argument is within a realm of citizenship. Thus, it remains a fertile ground for exclusion and permanent contestation

(op.cit 2-4). The most significant cause of political and communal violence in Nigeria is the entrenched divisions throughout the country between people considered indigenous to an area and those regarded as mere settlers.

Christian Churches and Conflict Management

Ekpenyong (2011) maintains that the proper role of the Church or religion (Christianity) has been:

✓ To provide a higher purpose and meaning to human life, one that transcends limited self-interest;
✓ To counter-balance the disruptive tendencies of politics and economics with shared values able to hold society together;
✓ To provide a moral structure in which human beings act (social ethics);
✓ To stand up for and protect the "little ones", those who are marginalized and oppressed within the usual power schemes (125).

Writing on the impact of Christianity on any society, Kukah, according to Ekpenyong (2011), observes and agrees that:

> The new trends, especially among Christians, on seeking to use religion for social and political change may offer a new perspective to the definition of the trends in political competition in Nigeria that is assuming that both Muslims and Christians can let their religious beliefs motivate and direct their political behaviours (125).

Again, Ekpenyong stresses the fact that those who believe that religion should play this political role need to think out more clearly and gauge the claims of charlatans from the Gospel, emphasizing more on the potentials of human goodness, justice, love and service. For him, "the poverty of the Nigerian state makes it impossible to keep all forms of sentiments away from the political process" (126).

Tracing the origin of conflict from the disobedient attitude of Adam and Eve, as we see in Genesis account of creation, Adam Olekun (2006) opines that conflict comes into the society due to

misunderstanding, communicating gap, injustice, power imbalance, clash of interest or values, and intolerance. He further stresses that Christians should engage in peace-making (rather than the government strategy of peace keeping) in their communities through dialogue, love, and reconciliation. He states that, "a just community must be built on honesty, truth, and social justice" (22). From the above wisdom and scholarly discussions, one can comfortably conclude and submit that Christians are called and meant to be peacemakers. In this light, Oyeshola (2005) postulates that working for and promoting peace is an instrinsic content of Christianity. Therefore, we may not run away in the face of conflict, war or civil strife or friction. We must confront them according to our capacity and responsibility. More importantly is the fact that we must work and create the enabling environment for peace (35).

It is in this capacity that the Church has been called to be a good tool for managing conflict today in Africa and the world at large. Acknowledging the above assertion, Hays (1996) writes thus: "when the Church as a community is faithful to that calling, it prefigures the peaceable kingdom of God in a world wracked with violence" (343). Although various peaceful negotiations have failed to achieve the desired peace or conflict resolution in Nigeria, Christianity, on the other hand, has served as a great instrument of mediation and peaceful resolution of many conflicts in many parts of the country, Nigeria and the world at large. This fact, therefore, means that Christianity does not compromise her mediatory and peace-building functions as an ideology because Christ is the Prince of Peace. This also means that for peace to reign in Nigeria, Christians Churches have to marshal out their instrument of peace, which is the Gospel of Christ and also a life of holiness and righteousness and pursue peace with all men (Hebrew 12:14).

The Christian Churches play this role of conflict management and resolution through:

Dialogue

Etymologically, dialogue means a speech across, between, through two or more people. Dialogue comes from the Greek *dialogos*. *Dia* is a preposition that means "through," "between," "across," "by," and "of." *Dia* does not mean two, as in two separate entities; rather, *dia* suggests a "passing through" as in diagnosis "thoroughly" or "completely." Logos comes from *legein*, "to speak" (Crapanzano cited by Emilia and Chukwuemeka 354-355). Logos means "the word," or more specifically, the "meaning of the word," created by "passing through," as in the use of language as a symbolic tool and conversation as a medium. As Onians points out, logos may also mean thought as well as a speech–thought that is conceived individually or collectively, and/or expressed materially. Consequently, dialogue is a sharing through language as a cultural symbolic tool and conversation as a medium for sharing. Accordingly, dialogue refers to the mutual exchange of experience, ideas and opinions between two or more parties, i.e. a conversation. Dialogue is a two-way or multi-way communication. It presumes the opportunity to reply on several occasions in order to enhance a line of reasoning. The concept of dialogue contains a dimension of simultaneity and direct contact, either physical or via technical aids. In order to achieve genuine civic participation, there must be some form of dialogue between citizens and those in positions of power. In a dialogue, everyone taking part must be given the chance to study the other parties' suggestions and opinions, contemplate them and respond (31-34). According to Turner, cited in (355):

> Dialogue is a culturally and historically specific way of social discourse accomplished through the use of language and verbal transactions. It suggests community, mutuality, and authenticity–an egalitarian relationship. So understood, dialogue provides a meeting ground, *communitas*, and

manifests itself in a variety of spontaneous and ritual modes of discourse in which nature and structure meet.

Listed below are some of the phrases used by people who have engaged in dialogue in different schools, corporations, government, non-profit organizations, communities and families:

- a level playing field with respect for all
- a chance to get all our cards up on the table and play with a full deck
- space and pace that allows for all to hear and be heard, recognition and strengthening of relationships
- an exploration of our individual and group assumptions to reveal our thinking and generate new possibilities
- building shared understanding of differing points of view
- ability to hold the tensions of complexity and paradox and see systemic patterns

Dajwan (5-6) defined the concept of dialogue as the conversation between two or more persons of different faiths and belief systems, ethnic groups, cultural backgrounds, norms, philosophy and people of different understandings. He went further to say that the purpose of dialogue is "seeking mutual understanding and harmony". Again, that it is essentially a process of shared thinking, in the course of which a valuable form of relationship may emerge. He concluded that dialogue encompasses a broader range of activities in which people of different cultures, religions, social, political or professional groups come together and interact. Dialogue is not just something that takes place on an official or academic level only – it is part of daily life during which different cultural and religious groups interact with each other directly, and where tensions between them are the most tangible. Therefore, dialogue can be seen as the mode of interaction which makes any human life, in any society, worth living example is the Africa value of communality (6).

Forgiveness

Christian Churches under different umbrellas, such as Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) and Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), should inculcate in their members the spirit to forgive and forget. They should also create effective awareness among their members that this is not a time to sit down to recount the past, or to retaliate, nor is it a period for regretting or appraising any good done, but a period for forgiveness, reconciliation, constructive dialogue, and a period for reconstruction, settlement and re-union. It is for this purpose that, "the Nigerian Church has recently gathered in Ibadan, its first national Pastoral congress with the theme, "the Church: family of God on mission" during the congress, the Nigerian Church among other things discussed on "what role Christians have to play in restoring peace to a troubled land (Nigeria), in promoting mutual forgiveness for past hurts, in fostering mutual understanding and acceptance (Ekpenyong, 2011:129).

Christians have the imperative of forgiveness; the practice of which Pope John Paul II says is "the only guarantee for lasting peace". He observed in the *Encyclical Dives* in *Misericordia* that a world without forgiveness is a world of endless violence (Ehusani, 2009:2). He again further stressed that with the Christian virtue of forgiveness, past hurts and wounds, and bitterness and resentment over such hurts and wounds could be adequately healed, and wholesome human relationships can once again begin a fresh. He said that to buttress his deep thought of forgiveness (Ehusani, 2009:2). Therefore, we can emphatically say that forgiveness is a balm that heals past wounds and our working relationship, thereby giving birth to a fresh wholesome human positive relationship and peace again.

Promotion of Social Justice

Christian leaders and churches should, as a matter of necessity, inculcate in their members and the public at large the need for social justice. On the relevance of social justice, Socrates writes that justice

is a moral physician and cures human beings of their excesses and makes them better people. Social justice advocates equal jurisdiction and judicial order in any given constituted group or society. It serves both the least as well as the greatest, the poor as well the richest. Obviously speaking, social justice, if given precedence, audits injustice, oppression, suppression, denominationalism, sectionalism, apartheid, victimization, nepotism, tribalism, racism and even domination (Ekpenyong, 2011:129).

Therefore, Christianity as a religion is to help inject the spirit of social justice, forgiveness, order, understanding, tolerance, discipline, reconciliation, peace and decorum into the lives of Nigerians. Consolidating on this noble truth, Ikwun (2002) opines that religion (Christianity) is that which promotes and encourages social justice and fair play, mutual trust and respect. Indeed, without religion (Christianity), morality and discipline suffer blatant decadence in the citizens and in the society at large (71). Ikwun again stresses that religion (Christianity) is the primary and basic institution and source of morality and spirituality. Religion is said to be 'a belief in someone else experience while spirituality is you having your own experience'. In the absence of religion (Christianity), man's inhumanity to man reigns and anarchy becomes institutionalized (71). Christian leaders and churches should teach their members and the public at large the necessity of social justice which cures people of their excesses and makes them better human beings.

Evangelism and Prayer Convocation
The Christian churches under different umbrellas, such as Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) and Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), should mobilize and inject in their members the spirit of mass evangelism and prayer convocation in various parts of the country, especially in those dispute areas of the country. These bodies and their affiliates should, as a matter of urgency, move into the villages and communities in Nigeria for effective evangelism (Ekpenyong, 2018:130).

Prayers bring down the power of God to solve human crises, checkmate the power of Satan and evil vices such as corruption, discrimination, dishonesty, conflict, violence, and prosper the work of God. Through her ministry of prayer for the nation, the Church also addresses societal ills (1Tim. 2:14). Pike corroborated this fact when he declared that the United Nations is not the final court of appeal in the affairs of Nations. The Church could dominate politics from her prayer room, if this priority were observed (198). Indeed, these were the strategies used by the Four Hebrews while in Babylon, referring to Daniel, Meshack, Shedrack and Abednego in the den, especially from chapter one to chapter four. In the same vein, Tennyson (1965) affirmed that, more things are wrought by prayer than this world can dream of. Wherefore, let thy voice rise like a fountain for me night and day (348). According to Engelkemier (1993), *"prayer can change conflict situation"* (128). There is nothing that prayer cannot do!

Eschatology

This is one of the greatest instruments the Nigerian Church can use in resolving conflict. The Church enlightens humans with an adequate and satisfying eschatology, through an acceptable explanation of the mystery of death and life- after-death. Christianity, in discharging this eschatological function of religion, offers her adherents the prospects of a personal God who will, after death, judge every human being for reward or punishment, according to each person's stewardship here on earth (Iwe, "The Inseparable Social Trinity: Religion, Morality and Law" II 2003).

Further, the judgment will be based on motives and deeds of everyone, believer and/or unbeliever. St. Paul declares as follows: "so each of us shall account of himself to God" (Rom. 14:12).

Serving as the Prophet and Conscience of Society

The Christian churches, under different umbrellas, such as Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) and Christian Association of Nigeria

(CAN), should serve as the prophet and conscience of the society. Christianity plays this revolutionary role by calling on both humans and society as they go astray along the path and precipice of self-destruction, crisis, corruption, dishonesty, anarchy, and other social vices and injustice. Christianity is armed with its transcendental reference points and standing as the acknowledged custodian of ideals and values formations which constitutes eminently the necessary and salutary critique for any given prevailing situation in human society (Iwe, 2003:9).

According to Convey (1990), the character ethic is a principle-centred paradigm, which is on the fundamental idea that there are principles that govern human effectiveness. These are natural laws in human dimension that are just real, just as unchanging, and arguably there are laws such as gravity in the physical dimension (32). He further reaffirmed that these principles are not values per-se, but they are guidelines for human conduct that are proven to have enduring values. They are self-evident and, therefore, are unarguable like the Ten Commandments.

Workshop
The Christian churches under different umbrellas, such as Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) and Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), should organize workshops in the different parts of the country, for the different groups in crisis. The Christian churches can use a workshop or seminar in solving a conflict. According to *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, workshop is a meeting at which people try to improve their skills by discussing their experiences and doing practical activities (1653). Therefore, in conflict resolution, the two or more parties or individuals in the conflict discuss their experiences of the conflict and devise practical ways of tackling the conflict. It is at workshops that decisions and resolutions are made, and agreement reached on practical ways of providing viable solutions.

Advocacy Visits

Christian leaders of PFN and CAN should organize quarterly advocacy visit to the governors and the president intimating them of the need for development, promotion of social justice, forgiveness and peace in Nigeria. They should also intimate the leadership of Nigeria of the need to learn to feel the pulse of the nation, to hear the cry of the people, and to react with utmost sense of responsibility to the desires and aspirations of the constituent units of the country for that kind of unity and peace that is based on mutual forgiveness for past hurts and wounds, and a mutual commitment to righting the wrongs of the past, and building our society on justice and fairness (Ekpenyong, 2011:132-133).

They should further create in the mind of the leadership of Nigeria, an understanding that dialogue is the answer to all conflicts and it brings peace and not deployment of military troops which breeds killings, bitterness, hatred, anger and genocide. Indeed, Christians, that is the Church, are responsible for peace making, while the military are often responsible for peace keeping by the use of arms. Finally, the Church should be bold enough to speak against the suppression, oppression, discrimination, ethnicism and injustice in the country and to call on the youths and warlords of different ethnic groups to sheath their swords and down their weapons for peace to reign. They should also call on the faith-based organizations and the government to address, as a matter of urgency, the issues of unemployment and underdevelopment (133).

Conclusion

This writer, from the available facts, is of the view that any realistic attempt to deal constructively with the conflicts in Nigeria must address the roots of conflict, such as ethnic differences, poverty, high unemployment, revenue distribution imbalances, electoral malpractices, corruption and political godfatherism.

The churches and her leaders should draw the attention of their members to the fact that everything in this world is temporary and man will give account to God about his/her stewardship here on earth on the day of judgment. Again, Church leaders should speak out strongly against the vices and ills of their society. Besides, Church leaders must do all within their power to inculcate in their members and the general public the virtues of peace, honesty, love justice, forgiveness, tolerance and public integrity, and must also see that men/women of proven integrity, honesty and transparent character are placed in public officers (Ekpenyong, 2011:134).

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CORRUPTION: THE MAJOR THREAT TO AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

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Abstract

The African continent is endowed with both human and natural resources. It has also attracted development aids and grants from the developed and concerned nations of the world. Despite these, the continent remains undeveloped. Different reasons have been attributed to the Africa's development crisis. The paper pinpoints that corruption is the core reason behind Africa's underdevelopment. Corruption has continued to plague numerous sectors of the African economy. It has been identified as one of the greatest challenges militating against Africa's development. The upsurge of corruption in Africa in recent times is disturbing, pathetic and pitiable. This paper, therefore, is aimed atidentifying the causes and how to address the prevalence of corruption in Africa.The study will further examine the extent of the effect of corruption on the development of Africa. The effects of corruption on the continent vary from one country to another. Literature on the effects of corruption in Africa shows the following: high rate of illiteracy, poverty, youth restiveness, discourages investors, increased social evil, insecurity, political instability and so on. Workable recommendations are made, aimed at

addressing the identified challenge of corruption facing the continent. Among other recommendations, the paper strongly supports policy reforms (especially economic and legal) in the continent and recommends a review of the ongoing policies (especially anti-corruption policies) towards ensuring effective control of corruption in the continent.

Keywords: Corruption, development, legislation, anti-corruption, Africa

Introduction

Corruption is like a cancer. The earlier it is removed the better. It is linked to poverty, violent crimes and extremism, which are major threats to individuals, no matter the social or economic status. It has been identified as one of the greatest challenges in pursuing national development. It is a deviation from the set down moral standards to hold society together, and these are trust, rectitude, honesty, discipline, right attitude to work, courage and national consciousness (Ighovohah, 1998). The upsurge of corruption in Africa in recent times is disturbing. It seems the menace has defied all previous treatments, and the damages it has done to the national life cannot be quantified.

The quest for good welfare and economic development for over fifty years had insignificant success in the African countries, as lack of good health facilities and basic amenities, nutritional problems, visionless leadership and bad governance, social and internal insecurity, religion and ethnicity crisis, civil wars, increase in poverty incidence, high level of unemployment, still dominate the continent. The level of development determines the level of corruption and extent of political instability, as less developed countries tend to be more corrupt and politically unstable, compared to the developed countries (Montinola & Jackman cited in Hammed, 2018).

Development is seen as the process by which a positive change is introduced into a system in order to improve social arrangement. It involves a structural transformation of the economy, society, polity and culture of a country. The level and rate of development of any particular society is influenced by so many variables, such as the political culture, leadership and patriotism. In Africa, corruption has been at the centre of development, an impediment to true and real development in the society. Corruption has ravaged the entire African system, causing the continent to be the most corrupt in the world. The World Bank has identified corruption as one of the greatest obstacles to economic and social development. Corruption is a problem throughout the world. However, it is more widespread in countries with weak leadership and institutions, where citizens are poorly represented.

Africa is blessed with human and a variety of natural resources, agricultural products, good weather and climate, and near absence of natural disasters. However, corruption has proven to be more prevalent in certain sectors of society, such as the public sector, the infrastructure sector, sectors utilizing valuable natural resources, as well as the education industry. Those who suffer most from corruption are the weakest and poorest members of society. Corruption leads to an increased cost of living and limited or no access to fundamental social services. In turn, this reduces the opportunities to break the cycle of poverty, and those who are already poor risk becoming even poorer.

Conceptual Clarification
Corruption
Etymologically, corruption is derived from the Latin word "corruptus" which means to break or destroy. Literally, corruption means to break away or depart from morality, ethics and civic virtues. Corruption has been defined by many social scientists and institutions. According to

Lawal (2007), corruption is a term that has been perceived in various ways by various scholars. Its conceptualisation has attracted, in recent past, competing and numerous views and approaches. It is, therefore, seen as a worldwide phenomenon which has long been with every society in the world. It has been identified as the bane of most political and economic growth in societies. Corruption is again considered as an enemy of development because of its various vices. It includes, for example, bribery, forgery, embezzlement and favouritism. Adegbola, cited in Adebimpe et al (2010), sees corruption as the use of position to extort something, either in cash or kind, from the public in furtherance of personal gain, contrary to expected behaviour attached to the position occupied. According to the World Bank(2006), about 25 percent of procurement cost in Africa and other developing countries is wasted in corruption, while the figure could be less than 10 percent in developed countries. To justify this claim, Ezoem (2010) avers that corruption is seen as, among others, the abuse of public office, the abuse of all offices of trust, misappropriation, private and selfish gains, bribery, extortion, earning a wage without working for it, etc.

Obi and Obikeze (2006) described corruption as a situation whereby government officials and private economic agents allow personal interests to override considerations of public interest. Corruption has been so much practiced in Africa that it appears to be part of official policy in public and private transactions. It involves both the high and the low and covers all areas of the people's life. Radio and television stations, newspapers and magazines are awash with stories about corruption manifesting in cases of illegal acquisition of wealth through public office, misappropriation of public funds, profiteering, gratification and all manners of bribery (Akpochafo, 2010). In a nut shell, corruption in the personalization of public resources.

Development
Development has been one of the most ambiguous terms in social sciences discourse and it continues to generate debate among various

scholars. The word "development" as a concept is a victim of definitional pluralism. Like many other terms in the social sciences, it is subject to diverse definitions or descriptions from different people at different times. Generally, development simply connotes improvement in the quality of anything (include human life). However, attempts have been made by erudite scholars to conceptualize development. Development reflects in the economic, social, educational and political aspects of a nation. Fadeiye (2005) strongly felt that development could be descriptive of those changes or progresses which enhance better quality of life for the generality of the people in the society. According to him, development should involve the active participation of all and sundry so as to bring about concrete and meaningful transformation in the lives of people in the community, state or even the country at large. Concurring with the above definitions, Chrisman, cited in Lawal and Oluwatoyin (2011), views development as a process of societal advancement, where improvement in the well-being of people are generated through strong partnerships between all sectors, corporate bodies and other groups in the society. It is pertinent to state that development is not only an economic exercise, but also embraces socio-economic and political issues and pervades all aspects of societal life.According to Okobia (2018), development is the gradual growth of a people and a society, so that they become better, more advanced, leading to an unfolding of the potentialities of the individuals in that society.

It is pertinent to state that development is not only an economic exercise, but also embraces socio-economic, human capital and political issues and pervades all aspects of societal life. Hence, Gboyega, in Oloya and Egbule (2016), captures development as an idea that embodies an attempt to improve the conditions of human existence in all ramifications. Development will bring about improvement in personal security, livelihoods and expansion of life chances. It entails the conversion of a peasant society into an

industrial one, and a change in the whole way of life, in expectations and motivations, and even the physical environments of daily life itself. A more compressive and comprehensive definition of development has been given by Adedeyi, cited in Atong and Udo (2014), as a process of socio-economic and political transformation of structures in a society, in such a way that it leads to improvement in the level of living of the people, including education, housing, health, nutrition and other related social services, decreasing inequality in the distribution of income, urban-rural imbalances, and political and economic opportunities.

Causes of Corruption in Africa
A number of factors have been identified as being responsible for corruption in Africa. Some are discussed below:
First, there is the desire in many Africans to fulfill the cultural expectation of their people. A "successful person", apart from marrying and having children, ought to own a personal house, a car, indulge in flamboyant life style, carryout expensive burials, marriages and chieftaincy titles. The inability to do these may be regarded as failure or "having not arrived". He even argued that the desire to achieve the above has led people into ritual murder and kidnapping.
Two, there is great inequality in the distribution of wealth in the African society. Too few own too much, while too many own too little. Those who do not have much struggle to meet up with their responsibilities at home and in society. They struggle to provide the basic necessities of life, like food, shelter, education, health care, etc. To avoid failure or being ridiculed, the individual resorts to corruption as a way of helping himself to cope with responsibilities.

Third, some political officeholders see politics as a quick means of acquiring wealth. This is why they indulge in electoral corruption, which is expensive - they buy votes, prevent voting in some places, arm youths with weapons to intimidate opponents or even kill or maim them, and all these cost money. As soon as they get into

political positions, they plunder the office and amass wealth for themselves, more so, when there are little or no checks and balances.

Fourth, one of the greatest problems with African countries today is bad leadership (Achebe, 1983). The tragedy of it all is that all the shortcomings of the past governments for which they were either toppled, as in military coups or voted out through the ballot box, are hardly corrected; they get worse in succeeding administrations (Egbule, 2018). Governments of African countries also, by their action or inaction, create room for corruption to take place. In Nigeria, for instance, between 1999 and 2007, the Federal Government of Nigeria claimed to have spent over $16billion on integrated power supply, road construction and maintenance but still wallop in epileptic power supply and unimaginable deplorable roads (Obayelu, 2007; Mba, 2010).

Fifth, the supply of basic necessities of life is sometimes of low quality or irregular. Facilities like water, electricity, schools, hospitals, roads and so on are usually provided by government. The provision of these public utilities is either irregular or sub-standard. It, therefore, puts the responsibility on the worker to provide superior or alternative services to his family. Meanwhile, the worker is either on a low or irregular pay, worse still, if he is a pensioner, widow/widower and the like. These situations push people to look for extra means of survival, and when opportunity comes, they resort to corruption.

Sixth, it is also argued that the socio-economic system we practice contributes to corruption. Africans practise capitalism, which is exploitative, materialistic, competitive, egoistic and full of greed. It is a game of "winner-takes-all". Under such an economies system, as the one we practice, loyalty, integrity, honesty and job satisfaction are ignored and people are more concerned about economic survival. This leads to plundering and embezzlement of public funds to take care of personal problems.

Additionally, weak legislation fosters corruption in Africa. The fight against corruption and the anti-corruption agencies in the continent are very weak. African governments should intensify their fight against corruption, indiscipline and tribalism, if the continent must be corruption-free. On their part, the judiciary should stop treating charges of bribery and corruption as political issues, but should adhere strictly to the provisions of the constitution, irrespective of who is involved.

Effects of Corruptionon the Development of Africa

A nation that condones corruption is often besieged with many economic, political and social vices. Many studies have concentrated on the evils or consequences of corruption. However, this paper has summarized or drawn conclusions as examined below:

Labour Migration Brain Drain Syndrome

Labour migration involves the transfer and flight of technical know-how and skills from one nation to another - for the purpose of securing a better job and establishing a new residence. It has consequences for the individual, the area of origin and the area of destination (Egbule, 2019). It is an indisputable fact that labour migration has adverse effects, ranging from social, cultural, political to economic, upon the emigrant's country. Over the last decades, an increasing number of developed countries have put in place different mechanisms to encourage the immigration of only the most talented, skilled individuals from developing countries. A good example is the international visa lottery scheme. This scheme is put in place perhaps because developing countries cannot fully exploit the abilities and skills of human capital, as they do not have enough jobs to offer. Thus, Africa and other developing continents have become a human capital-generating machine for the developed world.

Poverty

Fighting corruption is achievable when there are efforts to improve the living conditions of people living in poverty. Poverty has been blamed

on a lack of infrastructure and human capital formation. No poor country has good infrastructure before it emerges from poverty. Infrastructure is financed by prosperity and, with respect to human capital, the West has earmarked billions of dollars in vocational training programmes to prepare local workers. African politicians often blame the rest of the world, either because it does not open its borders to African products or because it opens them too wide, and Western products flood its markets. The truth is that the world has not marginalized Africa; it has opened up its markets to it and given it financial means so that, properly managed, it can develop. Because of poverty, many parents are unable to meet up with their financial obligations. Many of such impoverished parents encourage their children into labour, forgetting that they are exchanging their children's future and happiness.

It Discourages Foreign Investors
Corruption scares foreign investors, since bribery and corruption, the culture of late payment, delays or refusal of payment for services already done do not make for a good business environment, as cash flow is the life blood of any company. Investors now prefer Eastern Europe to Africa.

Citizens' Lack of Confidence on the Government
Corruption destroys the legitimacy of a government. If an incoming government secured its mandate through electoral corruption, many would be unwilling to accord it recognition. Corruption has taught the African a dangerous and wrong lesson that it does not pay to be honest, hardworking and law abiding.

Loss of Foreign Aid
Corruption leads to loss of foreign aid, as some foreign donors do not give aid to corrupt nations. For instance, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has withdrawn development support from some nations

that are notoriously corrupt. The World Bank has introduced tougher anti-corruption standards into its lending policies to corrupt countries. Additionally, according to Kunhiyop (2008), other effects of corruption include:

Erosion of moral values
It perverts a nation's sense of right and wrong. In a corrupt society, the right becomes wrong and the wrong becomes right.

Increased social evils
It provides fertile soil for tribalism, nepotism, fraud, dishonesty, selfishness, kidnapping, prostitution, human-trafficking, maladministration and armed robbery. It may also lead to murder, religious bigotry, civil war and other vices.

Lack of transparency
Corruption encourages those in authority to shun transparency and accountability. Calls for public officials to be transparent and accountable elicit defensive and vindictive responses. Other effects are high level of unemployment, youth restiveness, adequate basic amenities, malnutrition, political instability, ethnic crisis, high rate of illiteracy, etc.

The Way Forward
Rather than completely blaming the developed countries and globalization for her human capital flight and underdevelopment, Africa should consider the following options as remedial strategies, in order to benefit maximally from her human resources.

Technological Development and Revolution
Science and technology are twin factors that tend to revolutionize the world today. A country has to be fully integrated into the world economy in order to harness the benefits of such integration. She has to first embark on serious technological revolution such that it will be able to play a significant role in the globalization process. Any nation

that is not making concerted efforts at technological revolution is doing so at its own peril. This understanding gave Usman (2000), cited in Ikem & Ebegha (2013), the impression that only the nations that embarked on technological revolution can effectively join the globalized world. Science and technology should be made the key to developing countries' developmental efforts and should be seen to be pursued with zeal and zest.

Quality and Functional Education
Education is a veritable tool for any developmental efforts, the world over. Quality education is the education and experience that is able to meet the yearnings and aspirations of the people. It is the outcome that encompasses knowledge, skill and attitudes, and is linked to national goals of education and positive participation in society (Akporehe & Obielumani, 2013). It should be of paramount importance that the educational system in developing countries is qualitative and functional, laying emphasis on the development of science and technology, as well as skill acquisition (entrepreneurial education). The key infrastructure and facilities for qualitative education should be made available and the human resources should be well-trained to competently handle them, such that developing countries' products are highly competitive in the international arena.

Free Competitive Economy
Developing countries also have to adopt a free competitive economy. They have to transit from government-regulated market to a free competitive economy, liberalizing its economy for foreign investors. Capitalist economy (competitiveness) is known all over the world as the economic policy that creates wealth and promotes real growth, as production is geared towards profit-making.

Provision of Conducive Working Environment

Based on the premise that unsatisfactory working environment, owing largely to dilapidated and obsolete facilities, was and is still partly responsible for human capital flight in Africa, it is suggested that urgent and massive overhaul of facilities, especially in the universities, hospitals and research centres, be undertaken. In the view of Ekundayo et al (2010), apart from the physical working environment, there is also the compelling need to make the psychosocial environment conducive. In this regard, there should be proper appreciation and recognition for intellectual and professional worth. Also, African governments should address and review all the various policies that have triggered the migration stream of intellectuals from universities and other professionals like doctors, pharmacists, nurses, engineers, etc, from the country.

Foreign Investment

African governments have to attract foreign investments, both wholly and in partnership with indigenous entrepreneurs, in the areas of construction, power generation, oil refining, real estate development, telecommunications, and gas stations infrastructural provision. In concrete terms, foreign investment has been quite staggering. Globalization and indeed its neo-liberalist expansionism in the African space have opened up a wide economic movement and multi-national labour market orientations (Nwankwo & Ofozoba, 2016).

Improved Human Resources

The governments of Africa should develop their human resources to meet up with the knowledge requirements of the globalization process. Most developing countries have a large chunk of human resources ready to be utilized by foreign firms. Their human resources should be properly developed so that they are able to contribute and participate in national and international economic activities. In the education sector, for instance, the governments of the developing countries should sponsor teachers to attend conferences and seminars, both locally and internationally. This will help to update their knowledge

on current global issues, especially the application of ICT in the teaching-learning process.

Efficient and Effective Economic Management
No country is poor, as far as distribution of natural resources is concerned. I believe the main challenge of African countries is the mismanagement of available resources, both natural and human, as well as money politics. Hence, they should pursue efficient and effective economic management of their resources so as to raise the people's standard of living and overall economic development of the nations. The resources of the nations should not be wasted through high-level corruption, ethnic sentiment, self-centredness and embezzlement.

Advancement in Research
Research is a careful search and systematic investigation towards increasing the sum of knowledge. It is the most important tool for advancing knowledge and relevant skills. Knowledge induces productivity. Without advances in research, human capital development will be at a standstill. In fact, research cannot be divorced from human capital and economic development. Education through quality research is needed to produce knowledge innovations and entrepreneurial skills to achieve overall development. There is ample evidence to show that research and education (especially the higher education) have contributed to the rise in and expansion of the world's knowledge-based economy.

Conclusion
This study has evaluated the challenges of corruption in the African society. It is discovered that corruption as a problem to Africa is characterized by economic sabotage, terrorism, kidnapping, armed robbery, human trafficking, prostitution, and the likes, which are responsible for underdevelopment in Africa. This paper serves as a

clarion call to all democratic institutions, the courts, the law enforcement agencies, the judiciary and the mass of the people to see corruption as an unnecessary and avoidable evil that must be fought and conquered. Africa is dreaded among other continents because of its carriage of corruption in almost all facets of life. In Africa, institutions have been linked seriously with corruption. Corruption is probably the main means of accumulating quick wealth in Africa. Corruption occurs in many forms, and it has contributed immensely to the poverty and misery of a large segment of the African population. Governments implementing anti-corruption measures have to demonstrate seriousness in order to achieve results and to build public confidence.

Recommendations

Having studied the present indices of corruption in Africa, the following recommendations are proffered to ameliorate the phenomenon and to enthrone an ethical space in Africa, compatible with global anti-corruption practices: There is a need for African countries to develop institutions such as the civil service, the parliament and the judiciary, which in turn will create interlocking systems of oversight and self-regulation. All of these institutions have to be free of corruption themselves and be active players in the fight against corruption. The establishment of special corruption courts will be a welcome development that must be nurtured and promoted. It is a strategic and worthy intervention to ensure cases of corruption draw the full attention of law and are given speedy trials. It is a demonstration of commitment to fight corruption in a unique way.

There is need to re–orientate the generality of Africans towards a better value system. Africans require better attitudes and values in their relationship and workplace. For corruption to be unattractive, the norms and values concerning acquisition of wealth should be re–examined. Hard work, honesty, integrity and moral uprightness should be rewarded, while greed, selfishness, ethnicity and favoritism should be condemned.

All anti-corruption agencies in Africa should be given free hands to operate, and as much as possible, they should not be appendages of the executive arm of government. They should be well-financed to achieve optimum performance. There is a positive correlation between improved workers' satisfaction and reduction in corruption, as reported by Chungish (2004). Hence, the paper is recommending enhanced welfare package for workers. In the same vein, honesty, commitment and diligence should be acknowledged and rewarded by giving national honours to transparent officers/workers.   There should be a total overhaul of the nation's psyche through ethical and moral orientation programmes. The orientation would provide a new template capable of tilting Africans' outlook to the things that matter in life: self-esteem, self-awareness, self-reliance, self-supporting and self-renewal. There should also be a total restructuring of the present system of public governance in Africa to usher in a new ethical paradigm, explaining leadership as a role for those men and women who desire to serve the state and the citizenry. When such leaders emerge, corruption shall diminish. The Africa Union should strengthen institutions and establish a continental anti-corruption agency to holistically combat the deadly cancer called corruption. Convicts should be jailed and their properties confiscated. Court rulings have to be protected from political interference, and judicial independence has to be assured. The African Union should maintain her integrity to avoid the humiliating phrase: "toothless bull dog", often used to describe it.

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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: A GLOBAL THREAT TO HUMAN DIGNITY

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Abstract
This work stems from the basic self-motivation to disabuse many minds of systemic tendency of spousal abuse which commonly is the brain-child of gender injustice. The objective is to expose the menace of domestic violence. It will also propose a way forward, with regard to Buber's relational approach, to facilitate a web for coexistence and habitation among spouses. Most violence is within the confines of the home, and sometimes devoid of any physical contact, making it difficult for any third party to discern. This social problem has now come to be conceptualized with the term 'domestic violence'. Domestic violence has been perpetrated in various forms all over the world and has assumed a global concern. It is a violent confrontation among family or household members, involving emotional or verbal abuse, denial of access to resources or money, restraint of normal activities or freedom, including isolation from friends and family, sexual coercion or assault, threats to kill or to harm, and physical intimidation or attacks. Although men are sometimes abused by their female partners, but there is no doubt that women are mostly victims. The nature of domestic violence has been a tragic element in the evolution of human dignity and is entirely subjective and lacking in mutuality. In many cultures, domestic violence has been an accepted fact of life because one may think it

is difficult to solve. In recent years, it has been viewed as a criminal problem. This research work discusses the forms, implications, causes, and the devastating effects of domestic violence on its victims and on human dignity. Preventive and remedial solution is proffered as a way forward in abolishing this ugly phenomenon. The works reveals that victims of domestic violence experience both short-term and long-lasting effects. Physical injuries can range from bruises, cuts and bums to broken bones, stab wounds, miscarriages and death.

Introduction

Among the major concerns of many nations today is how to eradicate the problem of relationship inequality which eventually has metamorphosed into domestic violence. This social problem that has now come to be conceptualized with the term "domestic violence" or "violence in intimacy" first received international attention and definition at the Second World Women's Conference held in Copenhagen in 1980. The Conference, under resolution 5 on "Battered Women and Violence in the Family", resolved that the abuse of family members must be internationally recognized as a problem of serious social consequence that is often perpetrated from one generation to another.

Domestic violence is the physical or mental assault of one member of the family by another member i.e. where the victim and the perpetrator have some form of personal relationship or where they have had such a relationship in the past.[1] The term "domestic violence" encompasses violence against women, child abuse, be it physical, psychological or sexual, violence between siblings, abuse or neglect of the elderly, and abuse of parents by children. It consists of acts committed in the context of an adult intimate relationship mainly in marriage, which has incidentally become a monster in the society. It is taken to be one of the most under-reported social injustices which consequently have dragged the dignity of the human person to the

margin. Research has shown the widespread nature of it (domestic violence) across all socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, while women are revealed to be more susceptible to becoming the likely victims than men. Evidently, this situation is eminent in Nigeria, as the 2001 survey by *Project Alert on Violence Against Women* disclosed the worst number (49%) of domestic violence. In the light of the Amnesty International, the federal and state governments of Nigeria were partly blamed for such a shocking and embarrassing number due to lack of awareness and sensitization programmes. This means that abuse has taken seat-tight position in most of our cultures and has consented to spousal violence as a disciplinary measure.

Recently, more than ever before in Nigeria, there were cases of spousal rape and physical assaults which resulted in facial disfigurement, loss of sight, and some other life-threatening injuries. All had both men women as the potential victims. Following the reports of the US Department of State's Country Reports on Human Right Practices for 2013, one in four married women experienced physical, sexual, or emotional violence.[2]

Discussing on the *Domestic Violence in Nigeria,* the *National Crime Victimization Survey* of 2013 showed that the Nigerian government has taken legal proceedings to prosecute men who abuse their women in several states. And currently, there is a push in Nigeria for federal laws concerning domestic violence.[3] Although men are sometimes abused by their female partners, there is no doubt that domestic violence is most often directed towards women. Whichever way it goes, it is of great worth to assert that domestic violence has become a corporal punishment in many households. This defies Martin Buber's philosophy of dialogue that advocates for mutual recognition of the other. Central to his thought is the idea of community as the framework in which potential intersubjectivity relationship is realized. His contribution is his basic insight that real, genuine being is being in relation.[4]

In this paper, however, the terms 'domestic violence' and 'gender violence' will be used interchangeably. This work stems from the basic self-motivation to disabuse many minds of systemic tendency of spousal abuse which commonly is the brain-child of gender inequality. The objective is to expose the menace of domestic violence. It will also propose a way forward with regard to Buber's relational approach to facilitate a web for coexistence and habitation among spouses.

Explication of the Concept 'Domestic Violence'

Domestic violence or spouse abuse refers to physically or emotionally harmful acts between husbands and wives, those who have a biological or legal parent- child relationship or between other individuals in intimate relationships. Domestic violence is sometimes referred to as intimate violence. It includes violence that occurs in dating and courtship relationships, between former spouses, and between gay and lesbian partners. It is a violent confrontation between family or household members, involving emotional or verbal abuse, denial of access to resources or money, restraint from normal activities or freedom, including isolation from friends and family, sexual coercion or assault, threats to kill or to harm, and physical intimidation or attacks. In extreme cases, domestic violence may result in the death of a partner. Many experts and lay people use the terms "domestic violence" and "spouse abuse" interchangeably. Some scholars and activists consider the term "spouse abuse" inappropriate. They assert that because the term is gender-neutral; that is, it can refer to abuse of either husband or wife, it gives the impression that men are as likely as women to be victims of abuse. Because police and hospital records indicate that the majority of victims of domestic violence are women, some experts use the term "violence toward women" to refer to domestic violence. These experts tend to view violence in intimate relationships as a problem of coercive control of women by their partners.

Experts agree that domestic violence is a widespread problem. Its actual extent is difficult to measure. Researchers as well believe that the extent of violence between intimate partners is higher than reports indicate. Data based on official documents, such as police or hospital records, tend to underestimate the extent of violence because many instances of abuse are never reported. Surveys of individuals generally produce higher estimates of violence than official records, but they are also assumed to underestimate the actual extent of domestic violence. For a variety of reasons, respondents may fail to report violence that occurs with an intimate partner.

According to a study published in 1998 by the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), women in the United States experienced about 840,000 nonlethal incidents of violence committed by an intimate partner in 1996. These incidents consisted of physical assault, robbery (theft that is accomplished by a threat of violence or actual violence), and rape or other sexual assault. The DOJ report indicated that intimate violence occurs almost equally among women of all races and is slightly more likely to occur among women with low incomes. The report showed that the most common victims of intimate violence are younger women, between the ages of 16 and 24.

Experts widely disagree over the extent of male victimization. According to the Department of Justice, men in the United States were victims in about 150,000 incidents of intimate violence in 1996. The department's data indicate that women are about six times as likely as men to experience victimization by an intimate partner. However, in a privately funded survey conducted in 1993, American men and women reported experiencing similar rates of intimate violence.

In some cases, domestic violence results in homicide. According to the *Federal Bureau of Investigation* (FBI), more than 500 men were killed by their wives and girlfriends in 1996, representing about 5

percent of all male homicide victims in the United States. That same year, more than 1,300 women in the United States were killed by their husbands or boyfriends—approximately 30 percent of all female homicide victims. Murder by intimates accounts for about 9 percent of all homicides in the United States each year. Two surveys of married couples in the United States conducted in the 1970s and 1980s found that some kind of violence between spouses had occurred during the previous year in 16 percent of the homes surveyed. In addition, 28 percent of couples surveyed reported marital violence at some point in their marriages. Researchers have found comparable rates of domestic violence in numerous other nations, including Canada and New Zealand.

Causes of Domestic Violence
No single factor explains why men and women assault and abuse their partners. The factors most closely related to spouse abuse are youth of both the offender and the victim (between 18 and 30 years old), low income, growing up in a violent family, alcohol or substance abuse, unemployment, sexual difficulties, and low job satisfaction. While no single personality factor causes domestic violence, offenders committing the most serious abuse tend to have antisocial personality disorders. People with such disorders have an impaired ability to feel guilt, remorse or anxiety.

The family structure in Nigeria gives men the power over women. As a result of this, it reinforces the subordinate position of a wife which can then increase her chances of being the target of abuse. Violence against women is a portrayal of power relationship existing between men and women. Power seems to be the overriding influence in wife battering. If a woman proves to be disobedient, she is beaten in order to demonstrate the control and power a man has.

Social and cultural influences also contribute to spouse abuse. There is no doubt that the social context of violence in Nigeria is based largely on its patriarchal society, because most victims of intimate

violence are women. Researchers who analyze social factors contributing to spouse abuse often focus on the role of women in society. In most societies, economic and social processes operate directly and indirectly to support a patriarchal (male-dominated) social order and family structure.

Patriarchy is associated with the subordination (restriction to inferior status) and oppression of women. In this condition, violence against a wife is seen as a tool that a husband uses to chastise his wife and to improve her.[5] The common loss of women's right upon marriage in Nigeria and its implicit obedience and deference towards men are socially encouraged within the society. This is why the Yoruba women refer to their husbands as "Olowo Ori mi" which means he who owns me.[6] In effect, marriage gives up a woman's right to herself. In practices where the pride price is paid, it is common for the husband to believe that by paying the bride price, he now owns the wife. The act of marriage is seen to give the husband full ownership of the woman. She gives up her right to her body to him, as well as her agency.[7]

Another cause of domestic violence is infertility. Reports from the fertility clinic have revealed the reaction of some infertile women who reported some form of domestic violence. There were also trends showing that women from the Yoruba tribe were more likely to experience violence in this case.[8] This is why some analysts believe that patriarchy accounts for the historical pattern of violence directed against women in intimate relationships. The violence is often institutionalized, or formalized in societal structures, especially in traditional laws and customs that permit husbands to physically punish their wives. Also, analysts have equally opined that patriarchy contributes to lower economic status for women, which may make women dependent on men. This dependence may increase a woman's likelihood of becoming involved in an abusive relationship or may limit a victim's ability to leave such a relationship.

Domestic Violence and Womanhood in Nigeria

Domestic violence is a problem in Nigeria, as in many parts of Africa.[9] It was widespread and often considered acceptable. This has gained much prominence within the Nigerian societies, following the deep cultural and clannish belief (mentality) of beating a woman as a corrective measure. Women are often the victims and men the victimizers.

Domestic violence against women takes different forms such as physical violence. In a survey released on November 23, 2009, 28 percent of women reported experiencing violence after the age of 15, the majority of which was inflicted by a husband or partner. Police did not intervene in domestic dispute. In rural areas, the courts and police were reluctant to intervene to protect women who formally accused their husbands of abuse, if the level of alleged abuse did not exceed customary norms in the areas.[10] According to the 2003 *Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey* (NDHS), 64.5 percent of women and 61.3 percent of agreed that a husband was justified in hitting or beating his wife for at least one of six specified reasons, including burning food and not cooking on time.[11]

This syndrome was also highlighted in the report of *Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey* of 2013, which states that nearly three in ten Nigerian women have experienced physical violence since the age offifteen.[12] In the view of the same source, one in four married women in Nigeria has experienced physical abuse by their husbands or partners.

Stephane Mikala, a staff of the Amnesty International, was outraged over the level of violence against women in Nigeria. According to her, on daily basis, Nigerian women are beaten, raped and even murdered by members of their family for supposed transgressions, which can range from not having meals ready on time to visiting family members without their husband's permission.[13]

Tragically, husbands and partners are responsible for most of the violence against women. Most often in Nigeria, women are exposed to the warning signs of physical violence such as hair pulling, biting, slapping, punching, confinement, not allowing them to freely use the cars, etc. Furthermore, in some cases, women were victims of vicious acid attacks which eventually left them with horrific disfigurement and mutilation. And some incidentally embraced untimely death as a result of these attacks. We can have as a good reference point in the case of the beauty pageant winner that rejected her boyfriend's attempts to rekindle their relationship. In retaliation, he threw acid in her face with words "let me see how any man will love you now".[14]

The second is sexual violence against women. This is rampant because the abuser believes that abuse is acceptable, justified, or unlikely to be reported. It largely goes unreported due to insufficient proof and evidence that are necessary for conviction. This, in effect, can create a cycle of abuse during which tensions rise and act of violence is committed, followed by a period of reconciliation and calm. The major reason behind the under-reporting is that it is seen as a taboo to involve the police in family matters.[15]A study looking at domestic violence in southwest Nigeria found that there are only 18.6% reported cases of domestic violence. This statistic shows that there may be a tendency for under-reporting, which can occur for various reasons.

The third is economic violence. This is defined as making or attempting to make an individual financially dependent. Most women are prevented from getting or keeping a job, while some are denied or deprived of the privilege of having access to family fund. Most men claim or clamor for exclusive control over household finances and consequently prevent the involvement of their female partners in important financial decisions. This entails that women without resources or living below the poverty line are at greater risk of domestic violence.

The fourth is psychological abuse which has exposed women to coercion and threats. Other elements of psychological abuse include: causing fear by intimidation; threatening physical harm to self, partner, children or partner's family or friends; destruction of pets or property; and forced isolation from family, friends, or school and work. This can also take the form of undermining an individual's sense of worth or self-esteem using such means as criticism, diminishing one's abilities, name-calling, or damaging one's relationship with his or her children.

Effects of Domestic Violence on Victims
Victims of domestic violence experience both short-term and long-lasting effects. Physical injuries can range from bruises, cuts and burns to broken bones, stab wounds, miscarriages and death. Partner abuse of women has been associated with preterm deliveries of low-weight babies. Victims experience depression and other psychological distress, eating disorders, and alcohol and substance abuse problems, and they are more likely than other people to contemplate or attempt suicide. Children who witness domestic violence experience depression and psychological distress and are more likely than other children to be physically violent. Spouse abuse often involves repeated episodes of violence. In the past, people sometimes blamed victims for failing to leave abusive relationships or marriages.

Domestic violence also has a major public consequence. Research reveals that 25%-50% of homeless families have lost their homes as a result of intimate partner abuse. Such victimization is also associated with high health-care cost and low work productivity.

However, considerable research indicates that most victims are not passive in response to abuse. Victims call the police; they go to social workers or mental health agencies; they flee to the homes of friends or parents; and they fight back physically. Studies find that many factors-economic, interpersonal, cultural, and social—prevent victims from leaving violent relationships. Victims who seek help from

community services often find that agencies are overwhelmed and limited in their resources. People who are dependent on their partners emotionally and economically learn to endure abuse and remain in unhealthy relationships, a process that has been labeled "learned hopefulness." Learned hopefulness refers to an abuse victim's belief that the abusive partner will change his or her behaviour or personality.

Most experts agree that economic and cultural factors play an especially powerful role in contributing to and perpetuating repeated abuse of women. Because women, as a group, tend to have less power in society, they are more likely to be victims and are less able to end abuse once it begins. Traditional beliefs, customs and laws restrict the roles women may play and limit their economic opportunities, contributing to their dependence on men. Some scholars assert that the process of socialization teaches boys and girls a belief system that devalues women—especially unmarried women—and creates a sense of female responsibility for the maintenance of the family. Women who believe that the end of a relationship or marriage represents a personal failure are less likely to leave abusive relationships.

Domestic Violence and Human Dignity in Nigeria
In reflection with Aquinas, human dignity entails an exposition of those intrinsic qualities that all together shape the greatness of man, such as eminence, nobility, excellence,[16] etc. with Immanuel Kant, human dignity is used to indicate that persons should always be treated as ends in themselves and never merely as means, and it also makes a person irreplaceable.[17] The notions of human person and human dignity transcend ideological, cultural and political differences. Regardless of colour, religion, creed and belief, we all should enjoy equal dignity. This fundamentally gave rise to human rights.

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The human person is endowed with an inherent dignity that demands respect. Martin Buber believes that relationship between humans should be characterized by a respectful reciprocity. For him, man is a being whose existence is validated by the affirmation of the other. He contends that the human person must be valued in his uniqueness and otherness. By this, he discourages the prevailing forms of thingfication, objectification and depersonification common in interpersonal relationships. Therefore, violence in all its forms gravely offends that dignity and is, at the same time, against the human person. This is particularly true of the violence that takes place within the home. Abuse, whether physical, mental, verbal or sexual, that takes place among family members is known as domestic violence, which is a tragic reflection of the violent society of our day. The educated elite in Nigeria today have raised their opinions in denouncing the menace of domestic violence that erodes the dignity of the human person.

One cannot ignore the violence that is destroying our families and scarring our common humanity and respect. Hence, domestic violence is a violation of human dignity and marital love. Cases of violence against women abound. The media is awash daily, with stories of women, seeking for dissolution of their marriages over acts of violence and disrespect against them.

There is an unbroken spectrum of violence that women face at the hands of people who exert control over them. In some societies, women are often looked upon as representatives of the honour of the family. When women are suspected of extra-marital sexual relation, even if in the case of rape, they can be subjected to the crudest form of indignity and violence, often by their own fathers or brothers. Women who are raped and are unable to provide explicit evidence are sometimes accused of unlawful sexual relations, the punishment for which is often death by stoning. Such laws serve as a great obstacle to their dignity. This sometimes involves female genital mutilation as a cruel form of disciplinary measure.

This violence against women is deeply rooted in the culture of discrimination which denies women in their homes and marriages the equal right with men. This, in essence, legitimizes the appropriation of women's bodies for individual gratification, and thus defies their dignity. There is no doubt that this condition stands in stark contradiction to the dignity of the human person. It has reduced human interaction, especially among married partners, to a subject-object relationship in which existential beings are regarded as valuable objects. It is manifested in various forms: degrading comments, manipulation of financial resources to intimidate the abused partner, use of physical strength to bully and, ultimately, to injure or kill. This is why Buber's theory of existence is too critical of partnership inequality. In his view, domestic violence defies the development and nurturance of genuine dialogical relationship and in this manner affects the dignity of the human person. Domestic violence exchanges the natural bond of love and nurturing for the unnatural relationships of aggressors trampling mercilessly on the dignity, right and aspiration of the abused.

The nature of domestic violence has been a tragic element in the evolution of the human person and his life. It is entirely subjective and lacking in mutuality. In this situation, one relates with the other in a pure utilitarian manner. Domestic violence is like the I-It relationship – the relationship that does not recognize the dignity and inviolability of the other. It is world of manipulation where the other is weighed, measured, categorized and controlled to serve one's purpose[18] which poses the danger of the subject deliberately placing a distance between the object being observed and himself and in effect drags the dignity of the other to the margin. It crosses all socio-economic, religious and ethnic boundaries.

Economically, domestic violence situates the abused in a social structure in which he/she cannot escape being subjected to the inhuman yoke of exploitation. Buber will see in this the seed-bed of

man's destruction where the abused is thingfied to the realm of disrespect. Due to male gender dominance, the abused (mainly the woman) is relegated to the background, as she is seen only in relation to economic value. Many people in our society have experienced and continue to experience the terror of living in danger of being attacked by another family member. For generations, violence and disregard for human dignity and respect in the home have been common and go virtually unchallenged. It takes courageous women and men to bring the ugly reality of domestic violence into public forum.

Solution – A Call to Action

A variety of programmes and services, both for victims and offenders, exist to treat and prevent domestic violence. Since 1964, more than 1,800 shelters or refuges for battered women have been established in the United States. Initially designed to provide simply a safe place for victims (and often victims' children), shelters now provide a wide range of programmes. At shelters, victims of abuse receive legal assistance, counseling for themselves and their children, referral to other treatment programmes (such as substance abuse rehabilitation), and additional treatment and advocacy services.

Project Alert on Violence Against Women, a local NGO, continued various outreach efforts to combat domestic violence, including training to sensitizethe police to domestic violence, support groups and programmes for male abusers, and provide assistance to faith-based counseling victims of domestic abuse.[19] Project Alert also operated a shelter, Sophia's Place, for victims of domestic violence, which offered services such as counseling, legal aid and skills acquisition. The Women's Rights Advancement and Protection Alternatives also served as a leading voice in the campaign about violence against women and continuously advocated passage of legislation to protect women's right.[20]

An increasingly common response to domestic violence has been the establishment of treatment programmes for offenders. Courts often

require offenders who are found guilty of physically or sexually assaulting their partners to attend these programmes as a condition of their sentences. The length of programmes varies, but many are short term—lasting from 6 to 32 weeks. Although programmes for offenders vary in form and in underlying theory, most involve group therapy. Many are educational and offer a feminist perspective on domestic violence. Such programmes seek to educate male offenders about the role of patriarchy and to demonstrate that men's attitudes and behaviour about control and power lead to abuse of women. The programmes also encourage men to examine their attitudes about what it means to be a man. Many treatment programmes also emphasize anger management for offenders. Counselors teach participants to recognize cues of anger and then use a technique, such as waiting a period of time to calm down before reacting, to control the anger and avoid violent behaviour.

The laws of all 50 U.S. states provide that domestic violence is a crime. These laws have made it easier for victims to obtain protective or restraining court orders that prohibit offenders from having contact with them. Also, laws in most states allow police officers to arrest people suspected of committing domestic violence, without the victim filing charges. Before the 1980s, arrests were uncommon, in part because many victims were unwilling to press charges and also because many law enforcement officials were reluctant to make arrests. Instead, officers typically attempted to calm the violent parties down or restore order. In response to criticisms by feminist activists and as a result of research indicating that arrests seemed to reduce subsequent violence, many cities changed their intervention policies.

In 1994 the U. S. Congress passed the Violence Against Women Act, which authorized more than $800 million in federal funds for state and local programmes to combat domestic violence. This law makes it a federal crime for a person to travel from one state to another in

order to violate a restraining order. It also prohibits an individual, who is subject to a restraining order, from possessing firearms. Although the title of the law refers to women victims, both male and female offenders are subject to its provisions.

The vast majority of programmes that deal with intimate violence—such as shelters, police intervention programmes and treatment groups—are implemented after a severely abusive incident. A few programmes and policies attempt to prevent intimate violence before it occurs. The most widespread prevention programmes have been community and national public awareness campaigns that identify intimate violence as an important social problem.

Effective solutions for preventing intimate partner abuse include, providing economic opportunity, mentors and role models who are survivors of domestic violence, organizing community programmes for youth and families and a school environment that promotes prevention of abusiveness in any relationship. Also, adult family members can help prevent domestic violence in any relationship by nurturing and providing consistent, structured supervision. Raising the awareness about intimate partner violence in society at large, which takes place during Domestic Violence Awareness Month each October, can be invaluable in educating people about this issue.

Furthermore, everyone can help find ways to stop domestic violence, either by donating money or time to a domestic-violence organization, learning more about the problem, teaching children about healthy and abusive relationships, listening in a nonjudgmental way to a domestic violence victim when he or she shares what they are going through, and giving victims information about where to get help.

Supporters of intimate partner abuse victims can discourage sexist jokes and remarks, boycott movies that gratuitously depict intimate partner violence and violence against women, and write legislators to support laws that protect and support intimate violence victims and

sufferers. In the workplace, those who want to help stop domestic abuse can organize a drive or fund-raising to assist a domestic-violence organization. Solution to the issues of domestic violence can also include continuing to improve the effectiveness of treatment and to strengthen legal protection for victims, as well as accountability and treatment for abusers. This will help to manage the unique issues faced by individuals who are in gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender relationships.

Conclusion
There is no doubt that disagreements develop from time to time in relationships. But it is at the same time of great importance to note that domestic violence is far more hurtful and vicious than disagreement. It is rather a whole pattern of behaviours used by one partner to establish and maintain power and control over the other. These behaviours can tan take the forms of hair pulling, biting, shaking, pushing, pinching, choking, kicking, confinement, slapping, hitting, punching, forced intercourse, etc.

Domestic violence is also not only physical and sexual violence but also psychological. This means intense and repetitive degradation, creating isolation, and controlling the actions or behaviours of the abused partner through intimidation or manipulation, to the detriment of the individual. This can also degenerate to a more degrading and dehumanizing stage of making light of the dignity of the abused. Consequently, these have the tendency of becoming frequent and intense over time. This is capable of destroying the home. Therefore, no one deserves to be abused.

Domestic violence can happen to anyone, regardless of race, age, sexual orientation, religion or gender. So, it might be a misconception to view women as the only victims of domestic violence. There have been cases of domestic violence against men. It is important to observe that domestic violence does not only affect those who are

abused, but it does also have substantial effects on family members, friends, co-workers, other witnesses, and the community at large. Children, who grow up witnessing domestic violence, are among those seriously affected by this crime. This implies that frequent exposure to violence in the home predisposes children to social and physical problems, and also exposes them to violence as a normal way of life, thereby increasing their risk of becoming the next generation of victims and abusers in the society.

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RIGHT TO HEALTH IN AFRICA: AN EXPOSITION

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Abstract

Human rights can be ordinarily referred to as natural rights. These are the moral rights that human beings everywhere ought to have simply as human beings with morality and rationality. It is of universal application and is also unchangeable. However, certain rights are treated specially to demonstrate that human beings are special beings and need to be treated fundamentally special. There are several of these fundamental rights of man, but we shall concentrate on the right to health. Everyone has the right to enjoy the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. The World Health Organization recognizes the right to health as one of the fundamental rights of every human being, without any form of distinction based on race, religion, and political belief, economic or social condition. Right to health does not function in isolation, other basic human rights have to be put in place, such as access to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation, nutritious foods (safe food), adequate nutrition and housing, health-related education and information, gender equality and safe environment. The African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Banjul

Charter) also recognizes the right of every individual to enjoy the best attainable state of physical and mental health and urges every state to take measures to protect the health of their people. In Africa today, is this right to health a myth or reality? Do African states provide sufficiently for their citizens as to guarantee their right to health? In this work, we shall consider some African states as per their observance of their citizens' rights to health. This shall be carried out by appraising the constitutional provisions of these African states.

Keywords: Rights, Bill of Rights, health, constitution, fundamental human rights

Introduction

One may wonder why lawyers are interested in health which is medical and scientific. Law is all-encompassing and it pierces the diverse spheres of man, his existence and essence in the community and state. There exist diverse health laws, policies and programmes in our communities and states. Law and medicine are like brothers, the same applies to health and human rights. Any violation of man's human rights has a negative effect on his health, physically, psychologically, socially or otherwise. Also, it takes one's right to health to be intact so that the same man can enjoy so many other of his fundamental rights, such as right of movement, right to dignity of human person, right to vote, right of association and so many other rights as contained in the constitution. Thus, the right to health ensures that a man is healthy and strong and only then can he even seek the enforcement of his human rights when violated. Therefore, the right to health of a person should take a right-based approach, instead of being policy-based (A publication of the AIDS Legal Unit, Right to Health-OHCHR. P. 1).[1]

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[1]A publication of the AIDS Legal Unit. Right to Health- OHCHR.
https://www.ohchr.org>publications>factsheet31

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Human rights are human entitlements by virtue of one being a human being. They are guaranteed by international standards. Thus, it has the protection of the law so it cannot be waived or taken away (p. 3). The right to health can be seen as an effective and integrated health system encompassing health, which is responsive to national and local priorities and accessible to all. The United Nations Special Rapportteur sees right to health as the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health (2006).

The right to health was first articulated in the World Health Organization (WHO) Constitution, 1946, which provides that it is 'the enjoyment of the highest attainable standards of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being....'

Afterwards, in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), in its Article 25, identified health as part of the right to an adequate standard of living.[2]

The right to health entails everything that must be put in place for one to enjoy good health. It was thus narrowed out in Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966). Thus, to realize and make right to health practicable in reality, the government must put other underlying factors in place, such as right to housing, nutrition, sanitation, clean water and air, access to sufficient health care (medical, preventative and mental), access to information, non-discrimination, job-related health

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[2]World Medical Association . Right to Health. Retrieved from
http://www.wma.net/what-we-do-/human-rights/right-to-health/#

consequences (resulting from unhealthy and dangerous working conditions).

The Human Rights Council, in 2002, created the Special Rapporteur which are independent experts appointed to examine and report back on a country's situation on observance of their human rights in that population. This is usually when the abuse involves women, children, migrants and persons with disabilities (WHO op.cit).

Human Rights and Fundamental Human Rights
Human rights are entitlements that are accruable to human beings because they are humans existing in a certain state. Human rights are universal and inalienable. Some of the rights are fundamental which means there are some of these human rights that are core and of utmost importance to human existence and livelihood. Thus, among the human rights, there are others classified or separated by each country's constitution as the 'Fundamental Human Rights' (Surbhi S. (Sept. 15, 2017).

Surbhi S. (2017) pointed out some differences between fundamental rights and human rights; human rights have global acceptance; thus, every human being enjoys these rights. They are basic to a real life and have international recognition. Thus, human rights emerge from the ideas of civilized nations. Whereas, fundamental rights are derived democratically from the views of the citizens; thus, they are guaranteed under the constitution of the country and are specific to each country. The enforceability of human rights is by the United Nations Organization.

Both fundamental rights and human rights are only the entitlements of human beings and both are essential for the livelihood and development of the citizens in each state.

Right to Health: An Overview

It has been generally accepted that 'Health is Wealth'! As human beings, we care a lot about our health, as it is our basic and essential asset; this is regardless of our differences in gender, age, ethnicity, social strata, age or any other disparity. The right to health is a fundamental part of our human rights.[3]

Health is seen by the World Health Organization as 'A state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease.' On the other hand, right can be seen as a moral or legal entitlement to have or do something.

Putting the two definitions together, the right to health means the legal entitlement of a person to enjoy a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, not minding the presence or eminence of diseases.

The right to health was first articulated in the 1946 Constitution of the World Health Organization. In 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in its Article 25, identified health as part of the right to an adequate standard of living.

In 1966, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Right, in its Article 12, also identified the right to health as a human right. The right to health is relevant to all states. This is because every state must have ratified the International Human Rights Treaty recognizing the right to health. This could be international declaration, domestic legislation and policies and international conferences.

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[3]Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights OHCHR. World Health Organization on the Right to Health.   P. https://www.ohchr.org>publications>factsheet31

This right to health does not exist in isolation; there are underlying determinants of health. They ensure that health is upheld in reality. They include:

a. Safe drinking water and adequate sanitation
b. Safe food
c. Adequate nutrition and housing
d. Healthy working and environmental conditions
e. Health-related education and information
f. Gender equality

When these determinant factors are fully put in place by the government, same would help to reduce sicknesses, especially among the needy ones whose source of income is minimized and cannot afford safe food and water, adequate nutrition and housing. The government ought to provide adequate housing for her citizens. Working environment should be healthy and free from any environmental hazards. Also, no gender should be discriminated against, as this discrimination could lead to emotional breakdown and other health challenges. There should be functional public health care facilities and they must be readily provided for by the government. No state can be reasonably excluded from having to take action to realize the right to health on the complaint of the country's poor economy. Thus, all states must work towards its realization.

Human Rights and Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy

Okere Obinna (1983, p. 214)[4] observed the definition of the Constitution Drafting Committee which defined fundamental objectives as the identification of the ultimate paths which lead to those objectives, whereas directive principles lay down the policies

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[4]Okere Obinna (1983): Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State's Policy under the Nigerian Constitution, 1979. *International & Comparative Law Quarterly*. 32 (1). Http://doi.org/10.1093/iclqaj/32.1.214. http://doi.org/10.1093/iclqaj/32.1.214. Pp. 214-228 @ p. 214

which are expected to be pursued in the efforts of the nation to realize the national ideals.

Uwais Maryam (2005, p. 276- 297)[5] observed that in the Nigerian Constitution of 1999, chapter 2, which is titled 'Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy,' was meant to actualize the promises as stated at the preamble to CFRN, 1999 by providing for the socio-economic welfare of the citizen.

This chapter 2 of the Constitution (Chapters 13 -24) provides for the political, economic, social, educational, foreign policy and environmental objectives. It also includes Nigerian cultures, obligation of the mass media, national ethics and duties of the citizens. However, the enforcement of this socio-economic human rights of Nigerian citizens, as contained in chapter two is not enforceable per se in the law court.This is as stipulated in Section 6 (6) (c) which provides that judicial powers shall not extend to any issue or question as to whether any law or any judicial decision is in conformity with the provisions of chapter 2. This chapter has been discriminated by scholars. Many have seen these rights in chapter 2 as unattainable and unachievable rights. However, Uwais M. (2005, P. 278-279) highlighted the views of some Jurists like Dennis Lloyd, Goodhart and Roscoe Pound, who believe that a sanction is not an essential element of the law and its functions.

He further noted that although the court cannot enforce the provisions of chapter II in the court of law, but it can be enforceable by the public

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[5] Uwais Maryam (2005) Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy: Possibilities and Prospects (Sections 13 -24 of the 1999 Constitution) in Eds. Okpara Okpara & ors. Human Rights Law & Practice in Nigeria. Chenglo Ltd. Enugu. Pp. 276- 297)

through public opinions and elections. This chapter 2 in its Sections 13 stated that it shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of government and of all authorities and persons to apply the provisions of this chapter of the 1999 constitution. Thus, the right to health is provided for in Section 17 (3) (b-d); however, it is not enforceable in the court of law.

The Constitutional Provisions of the Right to Health in African States

Every state is guided by the constitution as her grund norm. In this work, we shall review the constitutional and other statutory provisions that relate to the right to health in African states. We shall divide it into four regions: Northern Africa, Southern Africa, Eastern Africa and Western Africa.

Northern Africa

The following four selected states in Northern Region of Africa, which we shall review in this work, include the following states: Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Libya.

Right to Health in Morocco

Morocco is a democratic Muslim state which is guided by Morocco's Constitution of 2011. In its Article 1 of the 2011, Morocco's Constitution stated that 'Morocco is a Constitutional, democratic, parliamentary and social monarchy'.

Article 31 of Morrocco's Constitution, 2011, provides for the right to health care. It states thus, 'the State, the public establishments and the territorial collectivities work for the mobilization of all the means available to facilitate the equal access of the citizens (feminine) and the citizens (masculine) to conditions that permit their enjoyment of the right:

- Right to healthcare
- To social protection, to medical coverage and to the mutual or organized joint and several liability of the state

- To decent housing
- To the access to water and to a healthy environment
- To lasting (durable) development and so on.

The WHO (2018)[6] observed that Moroccan health system is composed of a public and private sectors. The public health which comprises the local, provincial, regional and tertiary level has about 2689 primary health care facilities and 144 hospitals; whereas the private sector comprises 6763 private practices and 439 clinics (WHO estimates as at May, 2018).

Thus, we have seen that in Morocco, the right to health is constitutionally provided for and the government is as well trying in its various policies, schemes and programmes to ensure every citizen enjoys this right maximally.

Right to Health in Algeria

Algeria got her independence on 1st November, 1954. Islam is the religion of the state, while Arabic is the national and official language of the state.

The right to health is provided for in Article 54 of the Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, 1989 (Amended in 1996), where it stipulated thus, "All citizens have the right for the protection of their health. The state ensures the prevention and the fight of endemics and epidemics."

This shows that the state/country has the obligation to protect the right to health of her citizens. This was provided for under chapter IV of the Constitution, titled 'Rights and Liberties.'

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[6]WHO (2018) Morocco: Country Cooperation Strategy at a glance. https://www. Who.int>iris>handle>

Right to Health in Libya

Libya is an Islamic state, whose constitution came into being on 7th October, 1951. It entrenched the rights of the citizens therein in its chapter 2 of the 1951 Libyan Constitution.

The Libyan Constitution was subsequently amended in 2011 through 2012. The right to health seems not to have been specifically provided for in the Libyan Constitution. However, it has been observed that in Libya, several rights to health are said to have been violated, more especially the access to healthcare, and this has been consequent upon the premise of several years of armed conflict in Libya.

Right to Health in Egypt

This state is guided by the Egypt Constitution of 2014. Egypt is very significant in world history, as the wonders of civilization were created there. Egypt is also the cradle of religions.

Egypt is an Islamic state (Article 2) that practices a democratic republic system which is based on citizenship and the rule of law (Article 1).

The right to health is enshrined in Article 18 of the constitution, and it is titled 'Health Care'. Article 18 states that every citizen is entitled to health and to comprehensive healthcare with quality criteria. The state guarantees to maintain and support public health facilities that provide health services to the people and work on enhancing their efficiency and their fair geographical distribution. The state commits to allocate a percentage of government expenditure that is not less than 3%of gross Domestic Product (GDP) to health. The percentage will gradually increase to reach global rates. The state commits to the establishment of a comprehensive health care system for all Egyptians, covering all diseases. The contribution of citizens to its subscriptions or their exemption there from is based on their income rates. Denying any form of medical treatment to any human in emergency or life-threatening situations is a crime. The state commits

to improving the conditions of physicians, nursing staff and health sector workers and achieving equity for them. All health facilities and health-related products, materials and health-related means of advertisement are subject to state oversight. The state encourages the participation of the private and public sectors in providing health care services as per the law.

This is a relatively comprehensive provision on the rights to health so far seen in Africa. This Egyptian Constitution recognizes right to health as a fundamental human right.

The World Health Organization (2018), however, recognized that there are a few challenges on healthcare in Egypt and they are equity in access to health services, equity in health financing, etc. But generally, Egypt is doing very well as per health care delivery services to her citizens.

African States in the South
Right to Health in Namibia
Namibia is a sovereign, secular, democratic and unitary state, and it recognizes her constitution as the supreme law of Namibia (Article 1 of the Namibia's Constitution of 1990 with Amendments through 2010).

According to the publication of the AIDS Law Unit, Legal Assistance Centre (p. 12),[7] there are certain obligations placed on government, as it relates to the right to health. The government should respect, protect and fulfill the citizens' rights to health and protect it from violation; there should be proper implementation of same.

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[7]AIDS Law Unit, Legal Assistance Centre (   ). Right to Health, http://www.lac.org.na/project/sjp/pdf/right-to-health.pdf. retrieved on 20th May, 2021

In Namibia, the following national and international instruments regulate their observance of the right to health:

1. The Namibian Constitution: The Constitution did not specifically provide for the right to health. However, Article 95, which is in chapter 2 titled Principles of State Policy, stipulated in its paragraph 'b' of Article 95 of the Namibian Constitution that 'the state shall actively promote and maintain the welfare of the people by adopting inter alia, the enactment of legislation to ensure that the health and strength of the workers, men and women and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter vocations unsuited to their age and strength.

2. In furtherance of this, the government enacted two policies:
a. National Policy on HIV/AIDS
b. Patient Charter and others
c. The Namibian Public Service Charter

3. International Instruments: The Namibian Constitution provided in Article 144 thus 'Unless otherwise provided by this constitution or Act of Parliament, the general rules of public international law international agreements binding upon Namibia under this constitution shall form part of the law of Namibia.' Thus, Namibia recognizes international agreements as binding on the country. They include:
a. The African Charter on Peoples and Human Rights
b. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

Right to Health in Zambia

Zambia is a sovereign democratic state that recognizes her constitution as the supreme law. Zambia gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1964.

'It is my aspiration that health will finally be seen not as a blessing to be wished for, but as a human right to be fought for'- United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan [8]

Mabika A. H. & London L. (2007, p. 3) recognized that Zambia's health services are composed of mostly public sector and few private sector.

The Constitution of Zambia does not enshrine the right to health in its Bill of Rights. However, it makes such similar provisions relating to health in its Article 112 which is under Part IX of the constitution, which is titled 'Directive Principles of State Policy and the Duties of a Citizen.' The provisions set out under this Directive Principles of State Policy are not justiciable, that is, they cannot be referred to as rights in certain instances; they cannot be legally enforceable in any court, tribunal or administrative institution or entity. That is to say a Zambian citizen cannot go for the enforcement of the right to health in the law court.

Right to Health in Lesotho
Lesotho is a sovereign democratic state whose supreme law is the Lesotho's Constitution of 1993 with Amendments through 2011.
Lesotho gained independence from the United Kingdom on 4th October, 1966. The government is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy.

The National Health Strategic Plan (2016, p. 11) noted that in Lesotho, there are three levels of delivering health services, There are

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[8]United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan in Mabika A. H. & London L. (2007). Zambia: The Right to Health and International Trade Agreements, University of Free State Law Faculty and the Ford Foundation. Retrieved from https://www.equinetafrica.org>files. P. 3

primary or community level, secondary or district level, and tertiary levels of health care.[9]

Mulumba M., Kabanda D., & Nassuna V. (2010, P. 8)[10] observed that the constitution of Lesotho did not provide for right to health in its Bill of Right; rather, the health-related provisions are contained under the part on Principles of State Policy which is non-justiciable (Sections 28, 30b and 36 of the Lesotho's Constitution).

Right to Health in South Africa
The supreme law in force in South Africa is The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, which was adopted on May 8th, 1996 and amended on 11th October, 1996. South Africa is a sovereign and democratic state.[11]
Section 27 of the South African Constitution, 1996, is titled 'Health care, Food, Water and Social security' and it provides in its subsection (1) thus, "Everyone has the right to have access to −
  (a) health care services, including reproductive healthcare
  (b) sufficient food and water and
  (c) social security, including, if they are unable to support themselves.
Subsection 3 states that 'No one should be refused emergency medical treatment'. This is part of the Bill of Rights of the citizens of South Africa.

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[9]http://www.childrenandaids.org>lesotho

[10]Mulumba M., Kabanda D., & Nassuna V. (2010, P. 8). 'Constitutional Provisions for the Right to Health in East and Southern Africa, EQUINET Discussion Paper 81, Centre for HEALTH, Human Rights and Development (CEHURD) in the Regional Network for Equity. Health in East and Southern Africa (EQUITNET) https://equinetafrica.orgs Diss81-ESAConstitution.pdf

[11] Article 1 of the South African Constitution, 1996

Thus, the government is under constitutional obligation to respect, protect, promote and fulfill the right to health and other rights as enshrined in the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution).

In order to run an effective health care system, the government created:

1. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)- as an independent institution to help promote and monitor the observance of human rights in South Africa
2. National Health Act 13 of 2013, which gives effect to the right to access health care services in South Africa

African States in the East
Right to Health in Ethiopia
The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is guided by the 1994 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia.

Chapter 3 of the constitution provides for the fundamental rights, and there is no right to health contained therein. However Article 90, which falls within chapter 10- National Policy Principles and objectives - provides that to the extent the country's resources permit, policies shall aim to provide all Ethiopians access to public health and education, clean water, housing, food, and social security. Thus, in Ethiopia, the right to health is not a fundamental human right and is thus not justiciable.

Right to Health in Kenya
The supremacy of the constitution is recognized by Section 2 of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010.
The Bill of Rights is contained in chapter 4 of the constitution. Section 43 (a) −(f) provided that every person has the right to the highest attainable standard of health, to accessible and adequate housing and to reasonable standards of sanitations, to be free from hunger, to clean and safe water, to social security and to education.

We commend Ethiopia, as this is complete in all sense of the elements attached to ensure right to health.

The Kenyan Constitution also provides for the right to health of children by Article 53 (1) (c) and (d) which provides that 'Every child has the right to basic nutrition, shelter and health care and to be protected from abuse, neglect, harmful cultural practices, all forms of violence, inhuman treatment and punishment and hazardous or exploitative labour.'

Right to Health in Rwanda

Rwanda is a democratic and secular state. It is guided by the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda which was adopted on 26th May, 2003.

Chapter one of the Rwanda Constitution provides for the fundamental human rights, which comprises right to life, right to private property, right to asylum, right to movement, etc.

Chapter two of the said constitution provides for the rights and duties of the citizens, and it includes the following: right to participate in the government of the country, right to relate to other persons without discrimination, right to activities that promote national culture, right to a healthy and satisfying environment, etc.

The right to health is not directly mentioned in the Bill of Right; however, Article 49 states that 'Every citizen is entitled to a healthy and satisfying environment and that every person has the duty to protect, safeguard and promote the environment.'

Right to Health in Uganda

The 1995 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Uganda does not expressly guarantee the right to health; however, it protects maternal health rights. Objective XIV (b), which is under the National Principles and Objective of National Policy, sets out the duty of the government to ensure access to health.

Article 39 affirms the right to a clean and healthy environment.

Objective XIV states that, 'The state shall endeavor to fulfill the fundamental rights of all Ugandan to social justice and economic development as shall in particular ensure that all Ugandan enjoy rights and opportunities and access to education, health services, clean and safe water, work, decent shelter, adequate clothing, food security and pension and retirement benefits.

African States in West Africa
Right to Health in Mauritania

Mauritania is an Islamic and democratic Republic. It is guided by the Mauritania's Constitution of 1991 with Amendments through 2012.

There is no constitutional provision in Mauritania's constitution on the right to health. However, Article 10 provides for human rights, such as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, presumption of innocence, right to strike, etc.

Right to Health in Senegal

The Republic of Senegal is a French-speaking democratic state (Article 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of Senegal, 2001).

The Senegalese Constitution provides for several human rights in the constitution, such as right to life (that the human person is sacred and inviolable (Article 7), right to individual freedoms, economic and social rights as well as group rights (Article 8).

This same Article 8 further enumerated that these freedoms and rights include Freedom of opinion, civil and political liberties, freedom of association, union freedom, freedom of enterprise, the right to education, right to work, right to health, the right to a healthy environment and the right to a variety of information, etc. and that these freedoms and rights shall be exercised under the conditions provided by the law.

Right to Health in Ghana
The Ghana's Constitution of 1992 with Amendments through 1996 is the supreme law of Ghana, and any law inconsistent with it is to the extent of its inconsistency null and void.

Chapter 5 provides for the fundamental human rights and freedom. They include protection of right to life, protection of personal liberty, respect for human dignity, protection from slavery and forced labour, and so on.

In Chapter 6 of the constitution titled 'The Directive Principles of State Policy', it stated in Section 34 (2), that the President shall report to Parliament at least once a year, all the steps taken to the realization of the policy objectives contained in this chapter and in particular, the realization of basic human rights, a healthy economy, the right to work, the right to good healthcare and the right to education.

Right to Health in Nigeria
Health is a fundamental human right and it indicates majorly the existence of sustainable development of a state.

The right to health extends to ensuring clean water, sanitation, food nutrition and comprehensive healthcare.

The fundamental human rights are provided for under chapter 4 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. However the right to health is not provided for among these fundamental rights. In Nigeria, the right to health is better covered by Section 17 (3) (c) of the 1999 Constitution which falls under chapter 2 of the constitution titled 'Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy.'

Section 17 (3) (c)provides that the state shall direct its policy towards ensuring that '… the conditions of work and work and humane, that the health, safety and welfare of all persons in employment are

safeguarded and not engendered or abused, that there are adequate medical and health facilities for all persons, etc.'

It should be noted that these provisions are not justiciable- you cannot enforce it in a law court.

Recommendation/ Conclusion

Having considered the constitutional provisions of various African states, one is left to wonder whether some countries or states love their people much more than others. Why would some states make the right to health a fundamental right, while others do not see it in the same perspective?

Our exposition shall, however, lead us to further research work as to discover the rationale and historical background that propelled the countries that specifically provided for right to health as a fundamental right to do so. Relying on the background that health is wealth and health is everybody's concern, why would African states not make it a matter of necessity to make the right to health a fundamental human right, with constitutional backup? It surely seems to the researchers that some states love their citizens more than others and are really ready to provide the basic needs of her citizens and protect their fundamental human rights, especially when it relates to health.

Every individual has the inherent right to health, and ignorance of this right or non-provision of this right in the constitution does not in any way mean that the right is nonexistent. Thus, we recommend that individuals/citizens at different levels play their part in ensuring that the right to health is observed. This is by engaging in the little daily activities that would promote our complete wellness, physically, socially, economically and otherwise. Individuals can also help one another in providing adequate accommodation, adequate food and others within their reach. Since government is under no enforceable

obligation (in most African states) to provide these basic amenities to her citizens, citizens should thrive to prioritize the need to promote and protect the universal right to health. Communities should strive through community-based projects to provide safe drinking water and adequate environmental sanitation in the respective communities. This would in turn lead to a healthier environment. Also, health workers and enlightened people at different levels or spheres of life can also utilize opportunities at social and religious gatherings to chip in sensitive health talks as a way of enlightening the public. Thus, we believe that as time goes on and as the sensitization on the core value of right to life reaches the grassroots, even the state would see the need to legitimize the right to health as a fundamental right and not just as a non-justiciable provision of the constitution.

We, therefore, conclude by adopting the statement of Kofi Annan (Former Secretary General of the United Nations) as a prophesy which we align ourselves with that it would manifest soonest in Africa. He stated thus: "It is my aspiration that health will finally be seen not as a blessing to be wished for but as a human right to be fought for." We hope to see the reality of that assertion in Africa where right to health will be seen as a human right to be fought for, especially in the event that the government fails to make provisions for those underlying determinants of health. However, we believe that our government would as well change for the better and make available for her citizens safe drinking water, adequate food, adequate accommodation, sanitation, health education, safe working environment and gender equality so as to promote the health of her citizens and thus reduce mortality rate in Africa.

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THE NORTH AND THE REST OF US: A HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF THE PARADOX OF ONE NIGERIA, 2007-2020

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Abstract
Nigeria, a country with a population of about two hundred (200) million people and about two hundred and fifty (250) ethnic groups with the Igbo, Hausa and the Yoruba as majority, is currently under the domination of the North. Under the 1960 constitution and subsequent constitutions, Nigeria was to practice a Federal System of Government, which implies that all governmental powers are to be shared between the central government and the component units. Thus, one Nigeria was born under a federal system. But from 1960 when Nigeria gained her independence till date, it is evident that one section of the country (North) is heavily dominating the rest. Thus, this paper seeks to answer the questions bordering on the following; is Nigeria really one? Is Nigeria actually practicing federalism? Is the north actually dominating the rest of the country? What are the evidences to show the dominance of the north against the rest of the country? What is to be done to ensure that equity is achieved in Nigeria? Methodologically, the paper adopts the historical investigative method. Data for this paper were from both primary and secondary sources. The paper found that Nigeria is one in theory but in practice is heavily divided, with most of the section marginalized. It, therefore, suggests true federalism as a panacea to the problem of Northern domination against the rest of Nigeria.
Keywords: Nigeria, amalgamation, federalism, domination, restructuring

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Introduction

The lowering of the British Union Jack and the mounting of the Green and White flag, which symbolizes the independence of Nigeria from her colonial overlord, was greeted with such enthusiasm like that of an apprentice who served out his master with high hopes of becoming his own master. The British, through Lord Lugard, had in 1914 amalgamated the northern and southern protectorates made up of different ethnic groups and gave it the name 'Nigeria' by Flora Shaw, a British journalist who was later to become the wife of Lord Lugard. With the birth of Nigeria in 1914, Nigeria became the official property of the British until October 1, 1960 when they handed the reins of power to Nigerians in a parliamentary system of government in which the Queen of England was represented by the President, in the person of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

Nigeria was looking forward to feeling the great joy that India felt in 1948, or perhaps the joy that Ghana must have felt in 1957, when they eventually laid off the British apron string which tied them to their then colonial masters (Achebe, 2012). But it was unfortunate that unlike India or Ghana, Nigeria had no idea of where she was going or even how to get there because the union in which they are about to enter had no solid foundation, as was the case of India and Ghana. The British had lured the different ethnic groups into a forced union for their own selfish interest; perhaps, to use the riches of the south to develop the north and get the best of its resources for onward repatriation to their home country. The amalgamation negated the saying that two cannot work unless they agree. Thus, the north and south had nothing in common. They have different cultures, languages, religions, educational abilities as well cordial human relations with one another.

Soon after independence, the two separate-but-now-married regions began to sow seeds of discord among themselves, resulting in ethnic, tribal and religious competitions for resource control in the country.

Prominent among the crisis was the Kano riot of 1953, census crises of 1962-1963 and the electoral crisis of 1964 (Anyaele, 2003).These crises were mainly ethnic in nature, as different ethnic groups tried to consolidate and retain the state power which is a vital tool for any region or state to survive.

According to Mbalisi and Okeke (2020), the fusion of northern and southern Nigeria in 1914, under British colonial rule, laid the foundation for ethnic-based politics in Nigeria. This is so because even before and after independence, the leaders of the different ethnic groups developed ethnic consciousness in their dealings among other ethnic groups. For instance, political parties were formed along ethnic lines. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) was formed in 1951 which metamorphosed from the Northerner's Cultural Organization known as Jam'iyyar Mutanen Arewa (Anyaele, 2003). It had absolute political control in the north and had automatic northerners' allegiance with a strong tradition of obedience to Islam and support for traditional rulers.

The Action Group was formed in March 1951 through the conversion of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa - a Yoruba Cultural Organization. The party was a Yoruba-oriented party with its leaders and executive officers from the west and also located in the west. Other minor political parties were also formed along ethnic lines which deepened ethnic consciousness and rivalry in Nigeria. Such parties include: the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and the Niger Delta Congress (NDC) (Ojiakor, 2021).

Again, all the recorded military coups and counter-coups in Nigeria were done along ethnic lines, starting from the first to the last, with the north having the highest coup plotters and executors, all in a bid to maintain the dominance of the entity called Nigeria. This was in

furtherance of their belief that they were born to rule, not minding their lack of exposure to modern way of life and the development of human resources, as they have the least number of educated elite and with the philosophy that Western education is a taboo, as envisaged by the Boko Haram sect (Allison, 2020). This paper seeks to address the question of whether Nigeria as a country is really one, as always acclaimed by our leaders who address it as one Nigeria. It will appraise the relevant areas that show Nigeria is not one in reality, because of the tendencies of the northerners who resolved to dominate the rest of Nigeria.

Historical Evolution of the Nigerian State, 1914-1960
Nigeria officially came into being in 1914 when Lord Lugard amalgamated the northern and southern protectorates into one entity (Ojiakor, 2001). The economic motive of the amalgamation was to create a big trading empire for the purpose of sourcing raw materials and markets for the British industrialized goods. In order to achieve this, it became necessary for the British to allow separate developments of Nigeria economically, socially, culturally and religiously. Therefore, this informed the British introduction of the divide and rule approach into colonial Nigeria. The political development of Nigeria was characterized by many problems such as ethnicism, corruption, constant drifting apart of various peoples of Nigeria, hatred, of which the climax was the military takeover and the resultant civil war. It was the British Secretary of State for Colonies, James Harcourt, who presented a proposal to the British House of Commons to merge the southern and northern protectorates. According to Tamuno, quoted in Ojiakor (2001),

> The protectorate of northern Nigeria proved a relatively poor neighbourwithout direct access to the sea, with large area and population, with costly railway construction, the protectorate of northern Nigeria experienced serious financial difficulties only slightly relieved by the annual grant in aid from her imperial treasure.'

This proposal finally gave birth to what is called Nigeria today, with the attendant consequences of using the riches of the south to develop the north. Although this proposal was rejected by Sir Ralph Moore who saw no reason why the riches of the south should be used to develop the north, it was approved on Ist January, 1914, apparently because Britain did not want any financial commitment to the development of Nigeria. Lugard was appointed its first Governor General.

Nigeria's constitutional development and movements to independence could be traced to 1922, with the introduction of elective principle by the Clifford Constitution which gave birth to the development of first political party in Nigeria in 1923, the Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP). The constitution was a landmark in the constitutional development of Nigeria. The elective principle, which it introduced, was the first of its kind in the whole of tropical Africa. The constitution promised more rapid progress towards self-government for Nigeria. But the constitution has one major defect. It was for the southern protectorate alone. The north continued to be administered by proclamation from the governor. Europeans and other business representatives from the north were in the Legislative and Executive councils and thus spoke for the north on matters of financial policy (Onwudufor, 2017).

The Hugh Clifford Constitution of 1922 increased political agitations in Nigeria. Several newspapers also appeared, such as the Lagos Weekly Records and the Lagos Daily News, which helped to create more consciousness in Nigerians. The formation of the National Council for Nigeria and the Cameroon in 1944 gave more impetus to the struggle. It was led by Sir Herbert Macaulay, with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as secretary. Its views were propagated by the West Africa Pilot. By means of these media, Nigerian nationalists agitated against British misrule and lack of constitutional progress as promised by

Clifford Constitution in the last 20 years. These agitations, therefore, gave rise to the Richards Constitution of 1946, which was another milestone to the achievement of the independence of Nigeria (Falola, 2003).

In 1948, the British colonial administration in Nigeria at the instigation of the British government took a number of measures to address several of the nationalist grievances. This included the revision of the much-hated Richards Constitution, acceleration of the Africanization/Nigerianization of the civil service, rapid and substantial democratization of the native authority system and the extension of facilities for higher education. The year 1948 was significant in two ways. First, there were political reforms, as demanded by the nationalists since 1945 (Falola, 2003). Secondly, an important segment of Nigeria's population previously inactive or opposed to the ideas and methods of the National Congress for Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC) became increasingly articulate and started to agitate, though along different lines, for the same self-government.

In 1951, for reasons of expediency, the NCNC also opted for regionalism which was earlier favoured by most educated elite of western and northern origin. This resulted in the establishment of Houses of Assembly in the regions and in the federal parliament in Lagos. Between 1954 and 1957, the country witnessed yet another important political development. These developments were the holding of election into the House of Representatives and the attainment of self-government by western and eastern regions of Nigeria. The Western and Eastern governments of Nigeria were to attain full self-government in 1957. At the last major constitutional conference of 1957, the North opted for self-government in 1959. At the conference, a 'national government' under the leadership of Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was established.

On January 14, 1960, Alhaji Tafawa Balewa moved the independence motion which was unanimously passed. On October 1, 1960, a united Nigeria became an independent sovereign nation within the Commonwealth. When it became independent in 1960, Nigeria comprised three autonomous regions of varying sizes. But in August 1963, the Mid-West region was carved out of Western Nigeria. Thus, Nigeria became a federation with four regions.

Nigeria and the Practice of Federalism

Federalism is a system of government in which all governmental powers are shared between the centre and the component regions i.e. the state and local governments. Federalism in Nigeria is a product of the colonial administration. The Richards Constitution of 1946 provided the groundwork for the take-off of the federal constitution. But it was the Lyttleton constitution of October 1954 that introduced real federalism in Nigeria which was made up of three regions of north, west and east. In 1963, the Mid-West region was created, making it a federation of four regions. The aim of this federation was to carter for the diverse elements that made up the Nigerian nation and to protect the interest of the minority (Anyaele, 2003).

On 29th May 1967, under the administration of General Gowon, the four (4) existing regions were subdivided into twelve (12) states, with powers and functions similar to those of the regions. This was an attempt to weaken the administrative area of Lt. Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu, the then governor of Eastern Nigeria, and to prevent him from seceding from the federation with the whole region. The four regions were restructured into twelve states, with the former Northern region having six, the Eastern region having three, the Mid-West having one, the Western region having one, and the old Lagos colony with some parts of the Western region making up a state. A military government headed each state, with the exception of the East Central State, with a civilian administrator.

The General Murtala Muhammad regime created additional seven states on 3rd February, 1976, making a total of nineteen states. In 1987, the Babangida administration created two more states, and in 1991, under the same administration, nine more states were created, bringing the number of states to thirty, with Abuja as the Federal Capital Territory. The Abacha regime finally created six additional states on 1st October, 1996, to bring the total number of states to thirty-six, which it presently enjoys.

The replacement of the regions with states hijacked the regional status of Nigerian federalism and made it a kind of federal-unitary state, with the federal government controlling almost everything in the country, as against the provision of a regional government which stipulates that different regions control its resources. To this end, the federal government controls the affairs and resources of the thirty-six states. This formally gave the federal government the right to use the resources of one region to develop other regions, while neglecting the affairs of the regions which own the resources. This implies that Nigeria is not practicing the federal system of government.

The North and the Rest of Us: An Appraisal
This section seeks to appraise the unequal relationship of the north with the rest of the regions that made up Nigeria. The north, which comprised the Hausa/Fulani extraction since independence, has been lording it over all other sections of the country, despite their educationally disadvantaged status in the polity. The north has the highest number of non-educated persons, highest number of out-of-school children, uneducated women because of their Pudah status (Chukwuokpala, 2020), as well as people with disabilities. How this low-profile status of the north improved to make them the ones controlling the affairs of Nigeria is unimaginable.

It was because of this low status of the north and the fear by the northern leaders that they may be dominated by south that delayed the

attainment of independence of Nigeria (Falola, 2003). But from 1960 when Nigeria achieved her independence, the north had devised means and strategies through which they manipulated and controlled the rest of the country, against the stipulations of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Because of their land mass, they claim the highest population in the country, even when the population is only measured in quantity without quality.

From independence till date, the north has produced the highest number of presidents, both military and civilian, as against the true nature of federalism which should have been rotational, so that all sections of the country would have a taste of the national leadership, as is found in a federation. For instance, out of the fourteen presidents of Nigeria (civilian and military), the north has ten, while the rest have four (www.google.com). Thus, the north has made the marginalization of the rest of the sections of the country an instrument to weaken them and maintain absolute supremacy over them. Let us examine the regimes and administrations of northern leaders and how they have clearly allocated everything that belongs to Nigeria to themselves, which informed our decision to title this article 'the north and the rest of us.'

First, in Nigeria's 60 years of existence, the north has presented ten leaders at the top, made up of six military and three civilian leaders. This is not because of their excellent leadership abilities and good performance, but because of their burning desire to be at the top and dominate the affairs of the country. In fact, from records of presidential administrations by leaders of northern (Fulani) extraction, with the exception of late Umaru Musa Yar'dua, the northern leadership in Nigeria is adjudged the worst since the independence of Nigeria, with the current administration of General Muhammadu Buhari as a template(Igwe, 2020). It is equally true that all the

Nigerian leaders so far have performed beyond expectation, but those of the north are absolutely worrisome.

Nigeria is a secular state with major religions as Christianity, Islam and the African Traditional Religion. But the north has constantly tried to make Islam the official religion of the country and this happened during the leadership of someone from the northern extraction. Aitah (2020) writes that Nigeria joined the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation in 1986 under the leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida. This was to make Nigeria an Islamic country. What a foolishness?

His action was in solidarity with his northern kinsman, General Buhari. Buhari had, in 1983, when he was the Nigerian military Head of State diplomatically wished to promote Nigeria's membership of the conference by writing to the Nigerian foreign affairs ministry under Ibrahim Gambari who ostensibly advised against the move since Nigeria is a secular state, according to the 1979 constitution (Aitah, 2020). But the intentions of the Buhari regime concerning Nigeria's full membership of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation never materialized, as he was removed from office by General Ibrahim Babangida on August 27, 1985. The above analyses show how the northern leaders were hell-bent on making Nigeria an Islamic state, despite the secular nature of the country and its constitutional provisions. Thus, the north is in the business of making Nigeria a northern property.

Second, the north favoured the introduction of Sharia law in Nigeria's legal system, which was not originally supported by the Nigerian constitution. On October 27, 1999, the then governor of the northern state of Zamfara, Ahmed Sani, introduced Sharia for criminal law in the state. The Sharia Establishment Law was introduced in Zamfara State on October 27, 1999 and came into force on January 27, 2000. The introduction of Sharia in Zamfara State attracted a huge

amount of attention, and Ahmed Sani became the self-appointed champion of Sharia in Nigeria (Human Rights Watch, 2004).

The controversies generated by this singular action raised the suspicion of what the north wanted to achieve with the Sharia law, because after the introduction of Sharia in Zamfara State, other states in the north followed suit.Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Niger, Sokoto and Yobe adopted Sharia in their states' legal system. These twelve states are so far the only states in Nigeria where Sharia courts have the jurisdiction to try criminal cases. The primary concern about the introduction of the Sharia law is because the states mentioned above comprised Muslim and Christians alike. Thus, adopting the law of the north by the north in Nigeria meant subjecting the whole section of Nigeria to northern domination. The leadership of Umaru Musa Yaradua, though acclaimed the best among his kinsmen, was no better in his political appointment and the sharing of the national cake cum commonwealth. Otherwise, how can you explain that notable ministries in the federal service, including Petroleum Resources, Justice, Agriculture, Water Resources, Finance, Works and Housing, National Planning, Federal Capital Territory, Defence, amongst others, were in the hands of the north.

During Yaradua's era, Minister of Agriculture, Alhaji Abba Ruma was from Katsina State. The Minister of Federal Capital territory (FCT), Adamu Aliero, was from Kebbi State. The Finance Minister, Dr Mansur Mukhtar, was from Kano State; Minister for National Planning, Shamsudeen Usman, also hailed from Kano; National Security Adviser, Major Gen. Abdullahi Sarki Mukhtar (rtd.), Kano; Chief of Army Staff, Gen Dambazau, was from Kano State; Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria also hailed from Kano (Alazua, 2009) The Chief Economic Adviser to the President, Alhaji Taminu Yakubu, was from Katsina.

Again, in the Ministry of Petroleum Resources, the same lopsided arrangement also played out. For the avoidance of doubt, the Petroleum Minister, Dr Rilwanu Lukman, hailed from Kaduna State; the Group Managing Director of the NNPC, Sanusi Barkindo, hailed from Adamawa State. The Director General of the National Petroleum Directorate, Alhaji Bello Gusau, hailed from Zamfara. The Executive Secretary of the Petroleum Technology Development Fund (PTDF), Mustapha Rabe Darma, hailed from Katsina. This is unfortunate, for it seems the country is a northern country.

Going by this appointment, it revealed that nobody from the south has ever been appointed Executive Secretary of PTDF; nobody from the south has ever been appointed Agriculture Minister; no southerner has equally tested the Ministry of Water Resources as a substantive minister, and nobody from the south has been appointed the FCT Minister since its creation. But that was just the beginning, as President Muhammadu Buhari is to confirm the northernization agenda of Nigeria, as is being justified by his appointments, developmental projects and security appointments/strategies and deployments.

In 2015, Major General Muhammadu Buhari was elected the president of Nigeria. His election was as a result of what people believe about him, 'a man of integrity', but they easily forgot that a leopard can never change its skin. The north has one agenda which every northern leader pledges to uphold, the Islamization/northernization of Nigeria. The first political appointment of the president left much to be desired. The rule of law was undermined; the federal character status of Nigeria was relegated to the background, while glorifying northern supremacy over the rest of Nigeria. Premium Times and The Guardian recorded that Buhari approved the appointment of the following as Service Chiefs of the federation: Major-General Abayomi Gabriel Olonishakin – Chief of Defence Staff - is from Ekiti State; Major-General T.Y. Buratai – Chief of Army Staff - comes from Borno

State; Rear Admiral Ibok-Ete Ekwes Ibas – Chief of Naval Staff- from Cross River State; Air Vice Marshal Sadique Abubakar – Chief of Air Staff - hails from Bauchi State; Air Vice Marshal Monday Riku Morgan – Chief of Defence Intelligence - hails from Benue State, while Major-General Babagana Monguno (rtd.) – National Security Adviser - is from Borno State **(**The Guardian, July 2015).

From the above, we can clearly see that the north had the lion's share of the appointment, as out of the six appointments, only the north had four (4) slots, South West, one, the South South had one, while the South East had none. Where is the federal character in practice here? Where is the presence of one Nigeria? As if that was not enough for public outcry, below was his appointment of other security chiefs: the Inspector General of Police, Ibrahim Kpotun Idris was from the north; L. M Daura was appointed the Director General of the State Security Service, replacing Ita Ekpeyong of South South extraction. The head of immigration was David Paradang from the north; the Commandant General of the Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps, Abdullahi Gana Mohammadu, hailed from the north; the Comptroller General of the Nigerian Customs, <u>Hameed</u> *Ali, is also from the north, the Director of Fire Service is from the north, the head of National Emergency Management Agency (NEMA) is from the north. The Chairman of Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) also comes from the north. It was only the Director of National Intelligence Agency and the Corps Marshal of Federal Road Safety Corps that are from the South West (Saturday Punch, July 2016). What happens to the South South and South East? A breakdown of the following appointments revealed that out of the ten appointments, eight are from the north, while only two are from the 'Rest of Us'*
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It beats one's imagination that in a country with different ethnic nationalities, languages, cultures and orientations, that only one group of people dominates the National Security Council which determines

the safety, security and otherwise of the entire nation. This indeed is an aberration to democratic norms which Nigeria claims to be practising. The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides for the Federal Character Commission which guides all federal appointments in the country. Thus, all the states, tribes and regions are to be duly and equally represented in any federal appointments, recruitments and distribution of both infrastructure and social amenities in the country. It is surprising that the president who has been trumpeting constitutionality and the rule of law mantra could brazenly subvert without a sense of guilt the very constitution he implored Nigerians to abide by. Section 14(3) of the 1999 Constitution clearly affirms that appointments from the same state and ethnic group in a particular federal agency are a breach of the law of the land.

In November 2015, Buhari approved the appointment of thirty high court judges distributed as follows: north 16, South West, 4; South East, 3 and South South 7 (Premium Times, November 28, 2015). When did the north suddenly become educationally more advantaged than the rest of us? It could be recalled that just before the general election of 2019, that the president removed the Chief Justice of the Federation, Justice Walter Onnoghen, with a flimsy allegation and backed by his northern apologist and replaced him with Justice Tanko Mohammed from the north. His decision was informed by his greed to perpetuate his stay in government, despite his incompetence in the business of governance.

The North, Boko Haram, Fulani Herdsmen and the Rest of Us
The Northernization/Islamization of Nigeria was to be carried out by Boko Haram terrorists and killer herdsmen activities. In 2002, a northerner, Mohammed Yusuf, conceived the Boko Haram sect, which is also known as Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-Da'wah wa'l-Jihād. The group has since 2009 unleashed unprecedented terror on Nigerians through massive attacks on churches, mosques, markets and

parks and killing thousands of people and destroying properties worth billions. Abduction and kidnapping are also another strategy used by the sect to unleash mayhem on the Nigerian populace.

Meanwhile, the term "Boko Haram" is derived from a combination of the Hausa word'boko' which means book and the Arabic word 'haram' (forbidden). Thus, Boko Haram means "Western education is forbidden"(Agbiboa, 2013). However, since 2009, the Boko Haram, sect based in the north east Nigeria, has been responsible for more violence than any other armed group in Nigeria. They have bombing both military facilities and other installations and kidnapping people at will. In April 2014, a total of 276 students of Chibok in Borno State were abducted from their school (Abubakar, December 30, 2020).Some escaped from their custody, while others are still held by the sect.

On December 25, 2011, Boko Haram bombed St. Theresa's Catholic Church, Madalla, killing at least 43 people—the highest death toll in a single church bombing (HRW, 2012). Again, the nation's capital, Abuja, witnessed several Boko Haram bombings, including attacks on the United Nations building on August 25, 2011 and This Day newspaper office on April 26, 2012. Boko Haram jihadists, believed to be from the IS-supported faction loyal to Abu Mus'ab Al-Barnawi, attacked three military bases in northeast Nigeria, destroying one military base and killing a soldier, according to the military and vigilantes (Vanguard, 2017).

In the face of all these attacks, the federal government, led by a northerner, had never taken any decisive decision on how to end the menace of the Boko Haram sect, simply because, according to them, an attack against Boko Haram is attack on the north (All Africa news, June, 2013). The implication of the statement is that Boko Haram should be allowed to operate.

The Fulani herdsmen of the same northern extraction descended massively on farmers, destroying their farms and killing anyone who dared to challenge them. They were seen carrying arms prohibited by the government and the same government came out to say that the herders carry arms to protect themselves. This was in the words of Bauchi State Governor Bala Mohammed **(Oyeleke, 2021).** They are notorious for attacking poor farmers for trying to protect their farms. Sundry examples abound on the Fulani herdsmen attack on communities which try to stop them from destroying their farms. We shall use some communities in all the all the six geopolitical zones to buttress our examples.

On February 2016, no fewer than 7,000 persons were displaced in the wake of a crisis between Fulani herdsmen and Agatu farmers of Benue State. The displaced persons who were sacked from Okokolo, Akwu, Ocholonya, Adagbo, Ugboku and Aila by the rampaging herdsmen were camped at the Ochi Idoma square in Otukpo, Ugbokpo, Adoka, Ojantele, Ikobi and other neighbouring communities (Duru, 2016).

In a related development, a middle-aged woman, Mrs. Grace Zeku, was attacked by suspected armed herdsmen who chopped off her left arm at Gboogyo village in Guma Local Government Area of the state (Duru, 2019).

Vanguard reported in Enugu State, that on April 2016, about 40 persons were killed by some Fulani herdsmen at Nimbo in Uzo-Uwani Local Government Area of the state. About seven villages in Nimbo (Nimbo Ngwoko, Ugwuijoro, Ekwuru, Ebor, Enugu Nimbo, Umuome and Ugwuachara) were among the areas attacked. Ten residential houses and a church, Christ Holy Church International, were also burnt by the herdsmen, just as vehicles and motorcycles were destroyed and domestic animals killed (Vanguard April, 2016). In Abia State, a community in Arochukwu council was invaded and

attacked by Fulani herdsmen, and another community, Ozu Item in Bende council, was again attacked three weeks afterwards with scores of farmers sustaining life-threatening injuries.

In Benin, herdsmen raped a woman and beat her husband to a pulp, at a farm in Ubuneke-Ivbiaro, Owan East Local Government Area of Edo State. The husband of the rape victim, Umoru Agunu, confirmed that armed herdsmen, numbering six, invaded his farm at about 10.30am, beat him up and raped his wife (Vanguard, May 17, 2017).
 In Ikoyi-Ile in Orire Local Government Area of Oyo State, farmers were allegedly attacked by Fulani herders. They also cut off the hand of one of the workers and destroyed their farm produce. Another farmer was attacked with machete and two minors were also raped (Ajayi, August 6, 2020).

In all these attacks, the federal government had done nothing to stop its re-occurrence, and that is why it keeps reocurring every month and every year. The federal government may claim to have been doing something about it, but they were only paying lip services to dowse tension from unsuspecting Nigerians. If we are one Nigeria, then the government should do something to protect the life and property of all Nigerians, instead of treating some like sacred cows.

In the recent past, the federal government declared the non-violent, armless and cause-fighting independent peoples of Biafra a terrorist group, while granting amnesty to Boko Haram sect and Fulani herdsmen whom the international community classified as the third worst terrorist group in the world. This is simply because the IPOB members are not from the north and are not Muslims. If the IPOB had come from the Fulani extraction, would the federal government treat them the same way as they are doing to the eastern agitators who are fighting a just cause? What cause are the Boko Haram and Fulani herdsmen fighting? The above assertion is supported by a statement

credited to the federal government when they insisted that Fulani herdsmen would be treated with deodorant, while the IPOBS would be treated with insecticide. According to the Vice President Yemi Osinbajo,

> IPOB is a threat to Nigeria's unity and we the federal executive must crush them and their activities by fire by thunder. So we beg true Nigerians to provide our security agencies with IPOB's information/plans/activities for proper action to be taken immediately!" But when asked about Fulani herdsmen killings, he had this to say;" I plead to Nigerians, don't retaliate Fulani herdsmen killings, pray for them instead; just as we the Federal Executive are praying hard now. (www.nairaland.com)

What an injustice coming from one who is supposed to make peace and reconcile all aggrieved sections of the society as a solution to the problem plaguing the country!

Concluding Reflections
The Federal Republic of Nigeria, as enshrined in the 1963 Republican Constitution, is only in theory than in practice since the creation of twelve state by General Gowon. From then, the federal government seems to have taking the place of the regions in practical terms, while the regions operate only in theory. A federal structure entails that the regions have their own powers and maintain their own separate administrations, while maintaining close ties with the central government. In a federal system, the regions share, among other things, governmental powers with the federal government. In Nigeria, the federal government is the custodian of all powers. They control all security apparatus such as the army, the police, Department of State Services, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps and the Immigration Service.

But since the northern Fulani have been at the helm of power, the federal government has hijacked all the government apparatus with which they use to intimidate the rest of the regions in Nigeria. This is simply because of their agenda to dominate the rest of the country. The northern leaders do not believe in the leadership of any other tribe in Nigeria, that is why they do everything to remain in power. They, therefore, ensure that all strategic positions in the country are controlled by their northern kinsmen, as was recorded above. They clamour for one Nigeria because they are using the riches of the south to develop the north, knowing full well that the north offers nothing.

If the country is really one, the federal government should be fair in dealing with all sectors of the country and ensure equity in the distribution of all resources and amenities. For instance, the ongoing construction of railway has not found its way into the east, while the north and some parts of the west have as many railways as possible, even ones constructed to connect the north to its Niger neighbours. The federal government that is controlled by the north is clearly dominating the rest of the country and they know it. It is the position of this paper that Nigeria is not practicing federalism of any sort.

Therefore, we recommend that for the term "one Nigeria" to reflect its meaning, the following must be considered by the federal government; otherwise, one Nigeria will remain a paradox.

First, the constitution must be altered to ensure that true federalism is practised, so that the regions that made up the federation have a sense of belonging and develop at their own pace. In this way, the whole region will control its resources and end marginalization of the federal government against the regions.

Second, the constitution must be revisited to include rotational presidency so that each region will be allowed to produce the president when it is their turn. This way, domination of one section of

the country (the north) against others will be a thing of the past, as each section should know that whatever evil meted against one section should be remembered against them when they assume the leadership of the country.

Third, the federal character principle must be strictly adhered to in terms of any appointment and recruitment in the federation, so that equity and fairness is achieved. The north will no longer take it all. What is due for one section will equally be for all other sections. It is, therefore, believed that if the following recommendations are strictly adhered to, Nigeria will come out of its present state of ''Northern Republic of Nigeria''.

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USING GAAP IN DETERMINING THE ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY IN FIGHTING AGAINST CORRUPTION IN AN AFRICAN UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

The study assessed the use of GAAP in determining the accountability and transparency in fighting against corruption in an African university. Three research questions guided the study. The study was carried out in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The population was 104 respondents. The entire population was used and simple random sampling was used to select 76 staff of Bursary Department and 32 staff of Business Education Department. The study adopted descriptive survey design. The instrument for the study was structured questionnaire designed by the researchers. The questionnaire was validated by experts, while the internal consistency of the questionnaire items was ascertained through Cronbach Alpha technique which yielded a reliability coefficient of 0.86. The questionnaire was administered personally by the researchers. A total of 104 copies of the questionnaire

were administered, retrieved, analyzed and used for the study. Based on the data analyzed, the study found that the level of corruption in University of Nigeria was high, the extent of utilization of GAAP in fighting corruption was low and the application of GAAP was generally not effective in fighting corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Hence, the study recommended that: the University authority should insist on the full implementation of financial reporting to enhance transparency and accountability in the University community; individuals that break the principles of GAAP needed in fighting corruption should be sanctioned or prosecuted so as to serve as a deterrent to others. The research also recommended that the federal government should employ individuals to strictly monitor the activities of the Bursary Department to ensure that transparency and accountability are strictly adhered to and lecturers in universities should be given grants to encourage them engage in GAAP research so as to ascertain strategies for improving on it.

Key Words: GAAP, accountability, transparency, corruption

Introduction
Accountability and transparency are very important when handling public finance. Accountability in public or private organization involves managing and providing reports on its finance, building good quality and openness into financial and non-financial analyses, monitoring the sustainability of benefits that accrue from its investments, and fulfiling performance reporting and fiduciary obligations to its constituent. Accountability is the obligation of an individual or organization to account for activities, accept responsibility for them and to disclose results in a transparent manner (Osho and Afolabi 2014, Adaolekan 2008). Accountability can be

seen as social relationship which requires of an individual or organization the obligation to explain and justify every action to someone else (Bovens 2007). In the opinion of Egwu (2001), accountability is the fact of being responsible for what an organization does and being able to give a satisfactory reason for it. Accountability is often used synonymously with words like responsibility, answerability, blame worthiness and liability, and these are words commonly associated with expectation of account giving. In many organizations, the term "accountability" is usually used alongside transparency.

Transparency involves operating in such a way that it is easy for others to see what actions are performed. It is a situation in which business and financial activities are done in an open way without secrets, so that people can trust that such activities are fair and honest (Ifesinachi, 2004). In the opinion of Egwu (2001), when an organization or government's meetings are open to the press and the public, its budgets may be reviewed by anyone and its laws are open to discussion, it would be regarded as transparent. Transparency involves granting access to the public, including financial documents to view and check how the organization functions (Williams, 2011).Transparency as well as accountability is very important for the effective running of public organizations. However, many people in Africa, particularly in Nigeria, occupying public positions, seem not to be conscious of accountability and transparency, hence corruption.

Corruption is one of the greatest threats to socio-economic and political development of any nation. Olukowade and Ogodor (2015) opine that corruption is an anti-social behaviour conferring improper benefit contrary to legal and moral norms and undermines the authorities' capacity to secure the welfare of all citizens. Corruption (Obuah 2010) is the misuse of entrusted power or a dishonest use of one's office or position for personal gain. The author further posits

that it is a cancerous global phenomenon, which has continued to cripple the developmental efforts of Africa and manifests in the form of misappropriation, kickback, over invoicing, bribery, embezzlement, tribalism, nepotism, money laundering, outright looting of the treasuring, and so on. In Africa, most of the elected and appointive public officeholders and top bureaucrats use their positions of authority to actively engage in corrupt practices. Emechele (2009) asserts that corruption is a problem that confronts all nations of the world, particularly Africa, explaining that the only difference is that its frequency, severity and tenacity vary from one country to another. Dong (2014) notes that the threat of corruption is beginning to receive increased local, national and international attention, in part, due to an increasing consciousness of the damaging effect of corruption worldwide and changes in political and economic reform. Nevertheless, Grunner (2013) argues that corruption does not vanish as countries develop and modernize; rather, it takes a new form.

The indulgences in corruption remain a major challenging issue facing Africa, especially Nigeria, since the colonial period (Okoye, 2005). Asaolu (2013) claims that corruption has become a cankerworm that has plagued deep into the objects of the Nigerian system. Nevertheless, its remedies lie in our hands as individuals (Adedeji, Soyinka &Sunday, 2018).The study of Rotimi and Obasaju (2013) revealed that many developed and developing nations have put in place different mechanisms to checkmate and curb incidences of corruption. For instance, the Nigerian government has taken various measures, reforms and strategies to address the incidence of corruption in the country. These measures include whistle-blowing policy, Bank Verification Number (BVN), public services reform, Public Procurement Act, Fiscal Responsibility Act, Treasury Single Account (TSA), adoption of International Public Sector Accounting Standard (IPSAS), establishment of anti-graft agencies (such as Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), Independent Corruption Pracitces and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC)

and the on-going sanitization in the Nigeria National Petroleum Co-operation (NNPC) (Adams, 2014 ; Rotimi and Obasaju, 2013).

Despite the achievements attained by these institutions, the situation remains unpalatable as corruption continues to infiltrate and influence every aspect in our society and national life in Nigeria (Nweze, 2013). In Nigeria, corruption is a major challenge, as evident in the country's rank in 2020 Corruption Perceptions Index in which Nigeria ranked 146th worst corrupt country, out of 175 countries. In line with this, Transparency International, in its 2021 Corruption Perception Index (CPI), ranked Nigeria 149th worst corrupt country in the world, out of 180 countries and 2nd most corrupt country in West Africa (Sahara Reporters, 2018 and Adesoji, 2020). Corruption in Nigeria is evident in almost all sectors, especially the public sector. The growing level of corruption in the public sector is a very serious encounter to the nation's economy. This is because the financial records do not reflect the true and fair view of the accounting records (Amaefule & Iheduru, 2014). This challenge is due to lack of good system of internal control and there are lots of collaborations in the utilization of public funds to the extent that funds allocated through the budget are not properly utilized. Onuorah and Appah (2012) assert that the budgets are not reviewed in time and deviations are not examined to ensure prompt remedial action which will re-direct and re-orientate plans towards budgeted levels. In line with this, Nwali (2010) conducted a diagnostic survey into the federal government public procurement. The study revealed that Nigeria lost several hundred billion of naira over the last few decades due to scandalous abuse of procedures, enormous corruption, lack of transparency and merit in the award of contracts in the public sector and accountability dilemma. This could be as a result of lack of compliance to Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP).

Procedures for computing financial results in a particular region or country are known as Generally Accepted Accounting Practices (GAAP). According to Rotimi and Obasaju (2013), GAAP is the framework which accountants in any country's record and summarizes transactions and presents them as financial statements. The author further posits that it is made up of conventions, rules and guidelines regarding preparing financial statements of any organization. In the opinion of Will (2019), Generally Accepted Accounting Principles (GAAP) refer to a common set of accepted accounting principles, standards and procedures that companies and their accountants must follow when they compile their financial statements. The authors further state that GAAP is a combination of authoritative standards (set by policy boards) and the commonly accepted ways of recording and reporting accounting information. GAAP improves the clarity of the communication of financial information and ensures that financial reports of different entities can be compared and analyzed without any ambiguity (Nwali, 2010). The presence of GAAP ensures that financial reports of different companies can be compared and analyzed without any ambiguity and this is a major advantage to banks, financial experts, tax officials, shareholders and potential investors who can compare the results and decide on better performing companies (Nweze, 2013). The mission of GAAP can be summarized into ten principles.

The Generally Accepted Accounting Principles include principles of: regularity, consistency, sincerity, performance of methods, non-compensation, prudence, continuity, periodicity, materiality and utmost good faith (Will, 2019). The principle of regularity states that accountants have to adhere to GAAP rules and regulations as a standard. The principle of consistency states that professionals commit to applying the same standards throughout the reporting process to prevent errors or discrepancies. Principle of sincerity states that the accountant strives to provide an accurate depiction of a company's financial situation. The principle of permanence of methods states that the procedures used in financial reporting should be consistent. The

principle of non-compensation states that both negatives and positives should be fully reported with transparency and without the expectation of debt compensation. The principle of prudence means emphasizing fact-based financial data representation that is not clouded by speculation. The principle of continuity means that while valuing assets, it should be assumed the business will continue to operate. The principle of periodicity states that entries should be distributed across the appropriate periods of time. The principle of materiality states that accountants must strive for full disclosure in financial reports. The principle of utmost good faith presupposes that parties remain honest in transaction. In the opinion of Asaolu (2013), countries such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom have utilized GAAP in determining the accountability and transparency in the fight against corruption which has reduced the cases of corruption in the public sectors in the country. The author further posits that reduction in corruption in public sectors has increased infrastructural development, reduced poverty and enhanced national development. The fight against corruption has not been effective over the years. Although the government has introduced various measures in checking corruption, such as utilization of Treaury Single Account, utilization of EFCC to fight crime and utilization of BVN, these measures have not really curbed corruption in the public sectors in Nigeria. Furthermore, a lot of literature talks about corruption in Nigeria, although these are focused on wider communities, rather than university communities. However, no previous studies have utilized GAAP in determining the accountability and transparency in fighting against corruption in public sectors like University of Nigeria, Nsukka, where every African is represented, either as a student or a staff.

The University of Nigeria, Nsukka, commonly referred to as UNN, is a federal university located in Nsukka, Enugu State, Nigeria. The University of Nigeria has three campuses, Nsukka, Enugu and Ituku-

Ozalla, all located in Enugu State. The main campus, which is in Nsukka, has ten faculties, namely; Agriculture, Arts, Biological Sciences, Education, Engineering, Pharmaceutical Sciences, Physical Sciences, Social Sciences, Veterinary Medicine and Vocational and Technical Education. The University of Nigeria, Nsukka campus has about 2070 staff, consisting of academic and non-academic staff. There have been instances of corruption in the university, such as lack of accountability for owing a lot promotion arrears, arrears of salaries for those who were employed between 2015 and 2019 and other allowances, unequal distribution of resources, promotion of ethnicism and nepotism in employment, employing people without advertisement or interview, payment of money for various courses and ineffective policies that enhance corruption. Corruption can be caused by poverty, cultural foundations, failure of government to sanction corruption, weak government institutions for checking corruption, and lack of exemplary leadership. Having seen developed countries like United States of America and the United Kingdom make progress in utilizing GAAP to determine the accountability and transparency in fighting against corruption and the improvement in their public sectors, it became important to ascertain the effectiveness of using GAAP in public sectors to eliminate the consequences of corruption and lack of transparency in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Statement of the Problem

Corruption is a detrimental force that hinders development in many countries in the world, including Nigeria. Forms of corruption that exist in the public sector include: nepotism, favouritism, procurement scam and ghost workers phenomenon. Corruption is evident in Nigeria's public sector, including the University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN).

In the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, reported cases of corruption include; nepotism, favouritism, over budgeting and ghost workers phenomenon. These have led to negative consequences, such as employment of unqualified staff, poor infrastructure, constant

borrowing of academic staff, among others. The effects of corruption could result in delay in salaries, non-payment of various arrears of promotion and other allowances, inadequate infrastructure such as classrooms and offices, employing unqualified staff, denying the students who merit certain courses admission, as well as some lecturers seeking money from students before they would pass courses. Corruption could make students and products of the tertiary institutions suffer from loss of self-confidence, hopelessness and loss of confidence in handwork and societal value. It could lower the image of academic and non-academic staff, as well as members of governing councils of most public tertiary institutions in Nigeria. Hence, there is need to promote the fight against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. It is based on this that the study sought to find out how GAAP can be used in determining the accountability and transparency in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Purpose of the Study
The major purpose of the study is to use GAAP in determining the accountability and transparency in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Specifically, the study sought to;
1. Identify the level of corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
2. Ascertain the extent of utilization of GAAP in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.
3. Ascertain the effectiveness of GAAP in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Research Questions
The following three research questions guided the study:
1. What is the level of corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka?

2.   To what extent is GAAP utilized to fight against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka?
3.   How effective is GAAP utilized for fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka?

Methodology

The study adopted a descriptive survey research design and was carried out in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The population for the study was 104 respondents. The entire population was used and simple random sampling was used to select 76 staff of Bursary Department, UNN and 32 staff of Business Education Department, UNN. The instrument for data collection was a 29-item structured questionnaire, consisting of four sections. Section A was on demographic data and sought information from respondents on their personal data. Section B was on the level of corruption and had response options of Very High (VH), High (High), Low (L) and Very Low. Section C was on the extent GAAP was utilized in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and it had response options of Very High Extent (VHE), High Extent (HE), Low Extent (LE) and Very Low Extent (VLE). Section D was on the effectiveness of GAAP in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka and had response options of Very Effective (VE), Effective (E), Slightly Effective (SE) and Not Effective (NE). The instrument was validated by five experts, all from the Department of Business Education, University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The inputs, corrections and comments by the experts guided the researcher in modifying the final copy of the instrument. Cronbach alpha reliability of 0.86 was obtained for the entire instrument and the data were analyzed using the IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

The questionnaire for the study was distributed and collected by the researchers with the help of two research assistants. Out of the total of 104 copies of the instrument administered, 102 copies were retrieved, representing a 98% return rate. The data collected were analyzed using mean and standard deviation to answer the research questions.

Mean cut-off point was applied in decision-making; thus, any item that had a mean value of 2.50 or above was regarded as High (H), High Extent (HE) and Very Effective (VE) for research questions 1, 2 and 3 respectively, while items that have mean values less than 2.50 were regarded as Low (L), Low Extent (LE) and Not Effective (NE) for research questions 1, 2 and 3 respectively.

Results

The results of the study were obtained from the research questions through data collected and analyzed.

Research Question 1

What is the level of corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka?

Table 1: Mean Ratings of the Respondents on the Level of Corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

N=102

S/N	ITEMS	$\bar{X}$	SD	REMARK
1	Misappropriation of funds by those in authority	2.72	0.76	High
2	Over budgeting	3.16	0.80	High
3	Taking bribes to give people jobs	3.54	0.54	High
4	Taking bribes to give admission to individuals	3.32	0.66	High
5	Embezzlement of university funds	2.82	0.92	High
6	Tribalism	3.60	0.98	High
7	Nepotism	2.94	0.88	High
8	Lack of accountability for not paying salary arrears	3.60	0.62	High

S/N	ITEMS			
9	Employing people without advertisement or interview	2.88	0.78	High
10	Ghost workers phenomenon	3.10	0.82	High
	Overall /grand mean	**3.17**	**0.78**	**High**

Key: N = Population; $\overline{X}$ = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation

In table 1, the mean scores of all the items in the table ranged from 2.72 – 3.60 which indicates that the level of corruption was high. The standard deviation of all the items ranged from 0.54 – 0.98, implying that the respondents were similar in their opinions.

Research Question 2
To what extent is GAAP utilized in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka?

Table 2: Mean Ratings of the Respondents on the Extent GAAP is Utilized in Fighting against Corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

	N=102			
S/N	ITEMS	$\overline{X}$	SD	REMARK
1	Procedures used in financial reporting are consistent with accepted guidelines to prevent financial manipulations.	3.13	0.60	HE
2	Public office-holders should not convert officials school properties such as official cars to private use.	2.10	0.74	LE

3	Public office-holders are adequately supervised by their superiors to prevent money laundry.	2.48	0.68	LE
4	GAAP emphasizes that financial reporting is done utilizing single currency to avoid discrepancies.	3.06	0.63	HE
5	Activities of public officers are adequately checked through monitoring and evaluation of procedures used.	2.30	0.65	LE
6	Financial statements are reported on a particular date to ensure the readers know during which period the business transactions were conducted.	2.52	0.50	HE
7	Transparency in reporting any financial expenditure	2.66	0.86	LE
8	Bursary is required to reveal every aspect of the functioning in their financial statements.	3.04	0.84	HE
9	School administration should provide clearly communicated policies, procedures and rules to	3.11	0.77	HE

		$\overline{X}$	SD	
	assist public officers conform to required standards.			
10	Accountants are shrewd when dealing with errors, especially huge sums, to enhance accountability.	2.60	0.62	HE
11	Accountants adhere to GAAP rules and regulations when reporting to avoid discrepancies.	2.70	0.91	HE
12	Mandating public officers to make available financial activities for public scrutiny	1.40	0.79	LE
13	Reporting should be on fact-based financial data representation that is not clouded by speculation.	2.39	0.63	LE
	Overall /grand mean	**2.28**	**0.72**	**LE**

Key: Key: N = Population; $\overline{X}$ = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation, HE = High Extent; LE = Low Extent

The mean scores of 8 out of the 13 items in table 2 ranged from 2.52 – 3.13. This indicates that the 8 items were the ways GAAP was utilized to fight corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. On the other hand, the remaining 5 items had mean scores which ranged from 1.40 – 2.48. This indicates that the 5 items were lowly utilized to fight corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The standard deviation of the items ranged from 0.50 – 0.91, implying that 8 respondents were similar in their opinions, while the opinions of 5 respondents were far from the mean.

Research Question 3

How effective is GAAP utilized in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka?

Table 3: Mean Ratings of the Respondents on the Effectiveness of GAAP in Fighting against Corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

N = 102

S/N	ITEMS	$\bar{X}$	SD	REMARK
1	Procedures used in financial reporting should be consistent with accepted guidelines to prevent financial manipulations.	2.83	0.81	E
2	Public office-holders are adequately supervised by their superiors to prevent money laundry.	1.48	0.70	NE
3	GAAP emphasizes that financial reporting is done utilizing single currency to avoid discrepancies.	2.84	0.45	E
4	Financial statements are reported on a particular date to ensure the readers know during which period the business transactions were conducted.	2.49	0.84	NE
5	Enforcement of sanctions for shortfalls in compliance to serve as deterrent to others.	1.40	0.55	NE
6	Bursary is required to reveal every aspect of the functioning in their financial statements.	3.00	0.62	E
7	School administration should provide			

		$\overline{X}$	SD	
	clearly communicated policies, procedures, and rules to assist public officers conform to required standards.	2.95	0.92	E
8	Financial Department should reveal income and expenses in the same time period in which they were accrued.	2.06	0.90	NE
9	Accountants should be shrewd when dealing with errors, especially huge sums, to enhance accountability.	2.60	0.60	E
10	Accountants adhere to GAAP rules and regulations when reporting to avoid discrepancies.	2.90	0.86	E
11	Negatives and positives should be fully reported with transparency and without the expectation of debt compensation.	1.80	0.34	NE
12	Reporting should be on fact-based financial data representation that is not clouded by speculation.	2.20	0.76	NE
13	Audit of enforcement agencies to expose the corrupt ones.	2.14	0.64	NE
	Overall/grand mean	**2.18**	**0.71**	**NE**

Key: Key: N = Population; $\overline{X}$ = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation, E = Effective; NE = Not Effective

In table 3, the mean scores of 6 out of the 13 items ranged from 2.60 – 3.00. This indicates that the 6 items were effective ways GAAP was utilized to fight corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The standard deviation of 6 items ranged from 0.45 to 0.86 and this showed that the respondents were similar. The remaining 7 items had mean scores which ranged from 1.40 – 2.49 and standard deviation ranging from 0.34 to 0.90. This indicates that the 7 items were not

effective ways of using GAAP to fight corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

Discussion of the Findings

The findings from table 1 revealed that the level of corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka is high and is exhibited through: misappropriation of funds by those in authority, over budgeting, taking bribes to give people jobs, taking bribes to give admission to individuals, embezzlement of university funds, tribalism, nepotism, lack of accountability for not paying salary arrears, employing people without advertisement or interview and ghost workers phenomenon. The findings are in line with Obuah (2010) who found out that the level of corruption in public sectors is high and is exhibited through misappropriation of funds by those in authority, over budgeting, taking bribes to give people jobs and taking bribes to give admission to individuals. The findings are in agreement with Emechele (2009) who found that tribalism and nepotism are forms of corruption exhibited in the public sector.

The findings from table 2 revealed that the extent GAAP is utilized to fight against corruption in the University of Nigeria include: procedures used in financial reporting is consistent with accepted guidelines to prevent financial manipulations; GAAP emphasizes that financial reporting was done utilizing single currency to avoid discrepancies; financial statements were reported on a particular date to ensure the readers know during which period the business transactions were conducted; Bursary Department is required to reveal every aspect of the functioning in their financial statements; school administration should provide clearly communicated policies, procedures and rules to assist public officers conform to required standard accountants are shrewd when dealing with errors, especially huge sums, to enhance accountability and accountants adhere to GAAP rules and regulations when reporting to avoid discrepancies.

The findings are in line with Will (2019) who found out that GAAP is utilized in school administration to provide clearly communicated policies, and accountants should be shrewd in financial reporting.

The findings from table 3 on the effectiveness of GAAP in fighting corruption revealed that the following GAAP techniques were effective in fighting corruption: ensuring that procedures used in financial reporting were consistent with accepted guidelines to prevent financial manipulations; GAAP emphasizes that financial reporting was done utilizing single currency to avoid discrepancies; Bursary is required to reveal every aspect of the functioning in their financial statements; school administration should provide clearly communicated policies, procedures, and rules to assist public officers conform to required standard and accountants adhering to GAAP rules and regulations when reporting to avoid discrepancies helps to fight corruption. The findings are in line with Asaolu (2013) who found out that GAAP emphasizes that financial reporting was done utilizing single currency to avoid discrepancies and Bursary staff are required to reveal every aspect of the functioning in their financial statements were effective ways of fighting corruption.

Conclusion

The study was carried out to ascertain the use of GAAP in determining the accountability and transparency in fighting against corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The study found out that the level of corruption in UNN was high. The study also found that the extent of utilization of GAAP in fighting corruption was low. It also found that the GAAP was generally not effective in fighting corruption in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Having seen the importance of GAAP in fighting corruption, it was important to ascertain ways of improving its implementation in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Hence, the following recommendations were made.

Recommendations

1. The University authority should insist on the full implementation of financial reporting to enhance transparency and accountability in the University community.

2. Individuals that break the principles of GAAP needed in fighting corruption should be sanctioned or prosecuted by the University Council, so as to serve as a deterrent to others.

3. The federal government should employ individuals to strictly monitor the activities of the Bursary Department to ensure that transparency and accountability are strictly adhered to.

4. Lecturers in universities should be given grants to encourage them engage in GAAP research, while staff of Bursary Department should be sent on regular workshops so as to ascertain strategies for improving on their job.

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POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING AND SUSTAINABLE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM AND STRUCTURE, 1999-JULY 2021

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Abstract

Nigeria inherited an unbalanced federal structure from her colonial master, Britain, leading to persistent agitations to better the lives of the masses. The paper gave conceptual explication of restructuring and sustainable development. It adopted the structural functionalist theory as theoretical framework and collected data from secondary sources. Furthermore, the paper pointed out some issues that needed to be restructured in Nigerian federalism as contained in the constitution. It was discovered that the Nigerian federalism is devoid of nationalism and patriotism at the national level. The research unearths some abnormalities in the Nigerian federation. On that note, the paper recommended imperative restructuring of the federal system and change of constitution anchored on the premise that political structure and system are seen and used as the engine and agent that drive the entire nation. Underdevelopment as seen in Nigeria today is as a result of bad federal structure that has led to bad governances, giving birth to corruption, tribalism, friction, marginalization, agitations, insecurity and other anti-social vices. Development will be a mirage in an atmosphere of insecurity and friction. The asymmetrical imbalances in the federal system are

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responsible for poor governance and leadership style, leading to other factors that have quagmire national unity and development. The political system, including the constitution, needs to be restructured and amended to accommodate all the issues that have been on the front burner for equity and justice, considering the pluralistic and heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian nation. Restructuring will be like a rebirth if properly done. People should be called for renegotiation and dialogue on how they wish to be governed and live together, or the contrary. Agreement will not lead to friction and dissatisfaction; rather, it will produce a healthy united nation where peace and development can be achieved and sustained. The paper concluded that there should be reorientation and sensitization of the people about restructuring and practice of true fiscal federalism that will guarantee national unity and national development through restructuring.

Keywords. Restructuring, sustainable, national, development

Introduction

The issue of development has been of serious concern to any responsible government anywhere in the world, either in a developed or developing nation. The abundance of both natural and human resources in Nigeria is not reflected in terms of national development. This has led to agitations about marginalization from some ethnic nationalities. In response to that, government has engaged in the establishment of one board or another and adoption of development policies, initiatives, reforms and development plans from the attainment of political independence till date.

Despite all these, development has been elusive, as Nigerian is tagged the headquarters of poverty in the whole world (Poverty Index 2019).

There have been a series of agitations, sequel to the attainment of political independence, for good governance, proper representative and participatory government, equitable distribution of resources and justice, from one group to another, all claiming one form of marginalization or another from the federal government. This has snowballed into friction, insecurity and the formation of strong ethnic groups to champion the cause for freedom either in Nigeria or a call for secession. The Nigerian civil war of 1966- 1970 was fought because of the above reasons.

Restructuring has remained a prominent concept in Nigerian political lexicon and has attracted national and international debate, mostly in the current fourth republic that started on May 29, 1999 till date. There have been issues bordering on restructuring before the attainment of political independence and steps taken to address it by the federal government, with cosmetic approach, such as constitutional change and amendment, electoral reforms, creation of states and local government, establishment of one ministry or the other. All these remediation has never helped the nation, as there is increase in incessant agitations and complaints from almost all the ethnic groups alleging cases of marginalization and neglect by the federal government.

Nigeria's political system is anchored on federalism as the driver that will usher in national development. Sad to note that for over 60 years of its existence, Nigeria is engulfed by underdevelopment and its excruciating features, like insecurity, poverty, unemployment, high death rate, infant and maternal mortality, nepotism, low income per capital, illiteracy, population explosion, to mention but few.

The federal system of government as practiced in Nigeria seems to be different from what is practised in other civilized federal states like the United States of America, Swaziland, India, Canada. Federalism is

a system that allows for the autonomy and development of the components states, regions and units under a central government with less responsibility, operated with a federal constitution. In a federal system, powers are shared to other component units that make up the federation. The sharing of power in a federal system is backed up with responsibility and autonomy enshrined in a written rigid constitution.

The uniqueness of Nigerian federalism is ostensibly seen in the way powers are shared. The Nigerian federalism is unitary and military in nature, supported with a military constitution where the federal government controls almost everything with stringent condition of amendment. There are many flaws in the federal system which have hindered the nation from development, promoted idleness and ushered in friction, ethnicity, nepotism, insecurity and other anti-social vices in the nation.

The call for correction of the above-mentioned abnormalities that have enveloped Nigeria is what is called restructuring. Restructuring is an embedded concept that connotes so many things. Etymologically, restructuring simply means that there was an existing structure that could not or is not meeting the needs and yearnings of the people that need to be corrected. The current federal system has failed woefully, with the federal constitution. Nigerian federalism was British-created, which undermined the interest of the people, their pluralistic, heterogeneous and different population sizes of all the ethnic nationalities. The forceful unification of all the tribes, nations and ethnic groups in 1914 witnessed calls and clamors for restructuring in a very low tone. As event progressed, it continued to resurface gradually, which later led to the civil war in 1966-1970 and other anti-social behaviors in the current republic.

The study interrogated the relationship between political restructuring and sustainable development. Why is Nigeria still underdeveloped, despite all her human and natural resources? What are the forces against restructuring? Who are the beneficiaries of the current structure? Are there consistent contentious issues that need to be

addressed in Nigerian federal system and the constitution? In the same vein, the paper examined the nexus between restructuring and sustainable development. These and many more the paper addressed and made recommendations on way forward to attain sustainable development.

Conceptual Explication

Restructuring: philosophically and etymologically speaking, to restructure means that there is an existing structure that has failed to meet the yearnings and aspirations of the masses that need to be addressed or restructured. The sporadic clamors and calls for restructuring by almost all the ethnic nationalities in Nigeria are a glaring evidence that the existing structure has myriads of problems which, if not addressed, might lead to friction, if not total disintegration of the geographical entity called Nigeria.

Restructuring is a construct that needs other concepts for proper explanation, as seen in Nigeria's political scenario. It means different things to different people, according to the way individual authors viewed it. For instance, Okonkwo (2019) posited that to restructure is to change an existing status quo in order to make it more functional. Global Publisher Time Knowledge (2020) defined political restructuring as a transition from a lopsided federal political structure to a true federalism characterized by political inclusiveness, people-oriented constitutional amendment, resource control, electoral processes, political representation, sharing of offices, citizens rights, protection of lives and properties and building of enduring political infrastructure.

Amechi (2019) stated that there are different types and shades of meanings to the issues of restructuring being agitated. Some are clamoring for eco-political restructuring, while others agitate for social restructuring; others believe we need geographical

restructuring, while some believe it is constitutional restructuring, and others systemic restructuring. From above definition, it is obvious that the entire system needs to be overhauled for positive output and for development to be achieved. It connotes that the concept is multifaceted and multidimensional, covering all areas of human endeavours.

Epelle & Nweke (2019) submitted that political restructuring connotes sustained clamor for true federalism by some federating states and ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. It entails a radical attempt by certain ethnic nationalities and federating states in Nigeria to question their continuous existence in the political configuration and the entity called Nigeria, in which they were forcefully impedeto live among a people with perceived irreconcilable differences by the instrumentality of the British-imposed federal constitution. They also maintained that political restructuring is a radical movement by ethnic and state nationalities to unbundle the no-go areas in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, as amended, with the sole aim of devolving power to the component units, comparable to other developed federations globally.

According to Soludo (2018), political restructuring is a movement that promises to ensure socio-political and economic autonomy of the federating units (that is the states, geographical zones, or regions as the case may be) in the country.

From the above definitions of restructuring, it is obvious that Nigeria inherited a defective and lopsided federal system whose super and substructures have refused to yield any benefits to the people. The agitations, calls, complaints, movements to correct all the lopsidedness, abnormalities, aberrations, asymmetrical imbalances, centrifugal and centripetal forces inherent in the current federal system by individuals, corporate organizations, states, ethnic groups and the society in order to meet the required standard of true federalism as practiced in other civilized nations of the world are

restructuring. This definition etymologically means that there is already an existing system and structure which is the current federal system in practice. It has been established that the current federal system has failed and needs to be reexamined, reevaluated and restructured, if the nation must witness development or continue to exist as an entity. Other civilized nations of the world that have similar pluralistic and heterogeneous nature are yardstick for measurement and assessment of the Nigerian federalism. Although federalism evolves, but there are basic features to all functional federal systems that have led to speedy development of component units at its pace, such as Canada, USA, India, Australia, to mention but few.

Sustainable Development

Stoddart (2021) viewed sustainability as the efficient and equitable distribution of resources intra–generationally and inter–generationally within the operation of socio-economic activities within the confines of fitness ecosystem. Thomas (2015) posited that sustainability brings into focus human activities and their ability to satisfy human needs and wants, without depleting or exhausting the productive resources at their disposal.

Tjarre & Zenite (2016) averred that sustainability is a concept relating, connoting, improving and sustaining a healthy economic, ecological and social system for human development. Bein-Eli (2015) sees sustainability as a dynamic equilibrium in the process of interaction between the population and the carrying capacity of its environment, such that the population develops to express its full potential, without producing irreversible adverse effect on the carrying capacity of the environment upon which it depends.

Furthermore, DESA-UN (2018) stated that the ultimate objectives of the concept of sustainability in essence is to ensure appropriate

alignment and equilibrium among society, economy and the environment, in terms of the regenerated capacity of the planet's life-supporting ecosystem.

To understand the duo concepts, sustainable development was best conceptualized by UNO (1987). Their definition is the most comprehensive and widely accepted by the World Commission on Environment and Development (UNO) in 1984. Under the chairmanship of Gro Harlem Brundtland, in October, 1987, it submitted a report which contained the definition of sustainable development. In that report, it defined sustainable development "as the development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs".

This definition is measurable and focuses on two main points, namely; the environment and human beings. In qualifying and quantifying growth and development, the two must be taken into consideration in terms of developmental projects, programmes or policies aimed at improving the life of the people and have a better natural environment for the present, with the future generation not put in jeopardy Chinnah (2019).

Methodology
This study made use of secondary data, which include textbooks, journals, periodic publications, newspapers and other relevant documented literature, both soft and hard copies, while content analysis was used to analyze data objectively.

Theoretical Framework
Structural functionalist theory was adopted for this study as the theoretical framework. It views society through a macro-level adjustment based on social structure and social functions that work in harmony to shape the whole society. This theory centered on

exploring and maintaining order, stability and cohesion based on independency, socialization and systemic change.

Spencer (1899), Durkhein (1916), Mahnowaski (1922), Powson (1939), Marton (1949), Radcliff-Brown 1935 and other political scientists too numerous to bementioned theorized on structural functionalism. They introduced structural functionalism theory into political science and public administration in comparing and analyzing political systems. Offiong (1997) opined that structural functionalist theory is an offshoot of system theory.

The theory states that each organ/sector within a system must perform their respective functions effectively for the betterment of the general political/economic system. Performing a function in a ruptured and fractured system will be an action in futility. The system controls the function in any given society. Sustainable development can only be achieved in Nigeria, if all the ethnic nationalities, groups, states, geographical zones, local government areas, other components and subordinate units within the Nigerian federalism function in a restructured system that can usher in peace, growth and development, as restructuring is imperatively needed if the nation must grow.

 Functions and duties can be performed by all and sundry when there is unity and equity, with authority and responsibility delegated to all the components and units in the federation. This directly connotes the devolution of powers to all the units with from the over centralized federalized system. When justice and equity are at play, obedience is not solicited but surfaces naturally, not forcefully orchestrated. It will overtly swallow and get rid of all agitations, clamors and insecurity, and above all, usher in development.

The basic thrust of structural functionalism includes:

4. Society consists of both structures and functions that are interconnected and interdependent and ultimately, focuse on maintaining or mediating society equilibrium (Red-Cliffe Brown, 1935).

5. Social systems consist of both structures and functions that are necessary for the ongoing health or survival of that system (Chilcolt, 1998).

6. The structural exists to meet the functional needs of a society (Merton1949).

7. Systemic functionality across and within structural services to reinforce and maintain the stability of the system's structures in the content of an ever-changing complex and unpredictable system.

The practical application of the structural functionalist theory in Nigeria is that all system structures, sub-structures and super-structure must perform their respective functions efficiently and effectively for the betterment of the entire society. There must be cordial and mutual relationship, interaction and interdependence of all the structures and functions for the benefit of the society. All the ill-functional structures must be restructured through restructuring via dialogue and mutual agreement. This can only be achieved through mutual dialogue via restructuring and general overhauling of the fragile, tensed and fractured system Chinnah (2019). A bad structure cannot produce good output, no matter how efficient and effective is the input. The rotten structure must get input infected to produce bad output. It is a vicious cycle (Chinnah, 2021a). Structural functionalism is seen as an offshoot of system theory.

Issues that Need to be Restructured in the Nigerian Constitution and Federalism

There are many abnormalities in the Nigeria federalism and constitution that need to be restructured, if the nation must move forward and witness substantial growth and development. A faulty

foundation can never hold a big edifice, as a faulty federalism cannot guarantee good governance and sustainable development.

 In an attempt to solve the issue of agitation for restructuring, the government in 1995 created six geo-political units and the zoning/rotation principle introduced, apart from the creations of states adopted by past military heads of state, the National Political Reform Conference of 2005, the National Conference of 2014, and the All Progressive Party Committee Report on true federalism. The federal government set up a committee on restructuring in 2018 under the chairmanship of El-Rufai. The committee raised the following contentious issues:

➢ Creation or merger of states and the framework and guidelines for achieving that
➢ Derivation principle, bordering on what percentage of federal collectibles revenue from mining should be given back to sub-national from the commodities extracted
➢ Federating units; should Nigeria be based on regions, zones, or retain the 36 states structure
➢ Fiscal federalism and revenue allocation
➢ Devolution of power. What items on the exclusive, legislative list should be transferred to other list, especially states and community police, prison, etc
➢ Forms of government, (parliamentary or presidential)
➢ Independent candidacy
➢ Land tenure system
➢ Local government autonomy
➢ Power sharing and rotation of political offices
➢ Resource control
➢ Type of legislature –part time or full time, unicameral or bicameral

The above points were identified and raised as contentious issues by the Report of APC Committee on Restructuring (2018). The irony is

that nothing was done to address all the issues raised, based on the existence of the same failed and fractured federal system, which is a pointer that there are people that are against restructuring. Those people are benefiting from the current structure.

Furthermore, Epelle & Nweke (2018) posited that some of the issues that featured consistently in the quest for political restructuring include, but not limited to, the following: reviewing the non-justifiability clause contained in the fundamental objectives and directives principles of state policy of the constitution, need for independent candidacy in election, need for rotational presidency among the six geopolitical zones, financial autonomy of the state Houses of Assembly, removal of joint state/local government account, removal of ambiguities for state creation, creation of at least six more states, one from each geographical zone, recognition of the six geographical zones as administrative units in the constitution, removal of the immunity clause, scrapping of the bicameral legislature, franchise for Nigerians in Diaspora, single tenure of six years for president, governors and their deputies, uniform tenure of three years for local government areas, rotational governorship among all the senatorial districts, at least 20% derivation, 50% -10% resources control for the state, scrapping of presidentialism for parliamentarianism, inclusion of role of traditional rulers in the constitution, need for state police and abrogation of the obnoxious Land Use Act, etc. All these are important considerations for Nigeria to extricate herself from the quagmires and clutches of centrifugal forces and appendages that have continued to undermine the peaceful co-existence of the country, exacerbated by her years of military rule and difficulty in breaking through the rank of majority-dominated federal government and the National Assembly.

Pam (2021) posited that Lagos and Kano States are almost of the same population and their economy is nearly the same; while Kano has 44 local government areas and 24 members in the House of Representatives, Lagos has only 20 local government areas and 10

members in the House of Representatives. This is a clear case of marginalization that has led to calls for restructuring; democracy is a game of number. All these and many more abnormalities must stop if the nation must move forward on the path of progress.

Ifesinachi (2006) noted that poor federal practices had engendered consistent agitation for justice, consultation, opening of political space, re-negotiation of the Nigerian pacts and now restructuring. He went further to say that political restructuring is orchestrated by the separatists and irredentist aspirations against perceived structural defects, institutional deformities, injustices, functional inequalities, vexacious transition processes and controversial constitutional review and reforms in Nigerian federalism. These points are seen and noticed everywhere in Nigeria, hence the need for restructuring.

Other issues include, religious matter, such as the practice of Sharia in some states, as against Nigeria being a secular nation; minority agitation; boundary dispute and adjustment; problem of secession; favoritism; ethnicity; dominance by major ethnic groups, minimum wage for Nigerian workers.

They perceived intolerable imbalances in the federal structure as currently constituted, imbalances in appointments and imbalances in the distribution of resources. They equally perceived the system of governance in practice as unitary, contrary to their yearning for federalism.

The agitation for restructuring has lingered so much because there are people benefiting from the current system, mostly the Northerners. The Hausa/Fulani have directly and indirectly appropriated Nigeria as their personal ATM card. The military unitary constitution gave them express advantage over other ethnic extractions in so many things as enshrined in the constitution. Imagine how many times Allah and

Sharia are mentioned in the constitution in a secular nation. The number of local government areas in Kano State alone is more than three states put together in the southern Nigeria. Democratically what do you expect from the National Assembly, if restructuring motion is raised. All the resources from the south are used to develop places like Kano, Kaduna, Katsina, Gombe, to mention but few, to the detriment of where the crude oil is gotten from. A call for resource control or true fiscal federal will always fall on deaf ears, because all the states in the north are not economically viable to stand on their own without allocation from federal pause.

Summary

The study argued strongly that restructuring is urgently needed as the nation can be described as a time bomb waiting for explosion which might not be too good for her corporate existence. The current nature of corruption, insecurity, herdsmen killings, banditry, cattle rustling, kidnapping, militia group formations, calls for secession and other agitations against marginalization, all over the country, is a clear indication that restructuring is imperative. The current federal arrangement or structure is only beneficial to few Northern aristocrats and their southern cronies that have been fortunate to be in power. They have prebendalitically appropriated our patrimonial wealth to themselves, their children and the unborn generation, leaving the masses to the vagaries of nature and a state of survival of the fittest. The marginalized, pauperized and deprived masses have resorted to self-help by forming militia groups, groups for secessions, and groups in perpetrating one heinous atrocious crime or the other, leading to high insecurity and palpable fear all over the country.

The paper submitted that to curb all the vices and anti-social behaviours and to achieve development, and even sustainable development, there is need for restructuring. This must start from political restructuring.

Recommendations

The study made the following recommendations: that there is an imperative need for restructuring for cooperate existence of Nigeria and for sustainable development.

There should be mass campaign, orientation and sensitization on the meaning of true fiscal federalism and the need to adopt it as a form of government. Political restructuring, through a thorough sensitization and orientation, can easily lead to mind and attitudinal restructuring. Human beings by nature are naturally created to learn, unlearn and relearn every day.

All the ethnic nationalities should meet to dialogue and harmonize all the identified issues that need to be restructured, and take a concerted and united decision based on justice and equity.

The pursuance of good governance and sustainable development starts from restructuring. To change the structure and rewrite the narrative from underdevelopment to development, restructuring seems eminent and imperative.

The constitution must be reviewed and be rewritten to accommodate all ethnic groups and religions, irrespective of population and size. Federal, states and units, including institutions, should be strengthened with some level of autonomy and independence, as seen and practised in other civilized federal nations.

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A COUNTRY DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF (I KINGS 12:1-24): SOCIAL INJUSTICE AND INSECURITY IN EASTERN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This article examines insecurity in Eastern Nigeria in the light of I Kings 12:1-24. In the pericope, social injustice was committed against the people of northern Israel by Rehoboam. Rehoboam supported his southern brothers but neglected the northern inhabitants. The northern inhabitants used diplomacy to drive home their grievances, but Rehoboam was hell-bound on continuing his authoritarian rule and injustices against the northern people. This made the northern Israelites resort to arms struggle. They killed Adoram, who was sent by Rehoboam to them. In fact, Rehoboam narrowly escaped. The situation in Eastern Nigerian is similar to what happened in the pericope. The people of Eastern Nigeria have been calling on the government of Nigeria to amend the arbitrary policies against the region. But all pleas have fallen on deaf ears and the social injustice against the people of Eastern Nigeria has continued to escalate. The situation of things has reached the point where there is the systemic killing of security men of the government in Eastern Nigeria. Literary analysis was used as the research methodology. Findings reveal that it is the blatant and obscene injustice against the Easterners that has led to the increasing insecurity in Eastern Nigeria. It

is believed that the pericope will speak anew to the increasing insecurity situation in Eastern Nigeria.

Keywords: 1 Kings 12, Insecurity, Social injustice, Adoram, Eastern Nigeria

Introduction

*Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it; and this I know, my lords: that where laws end, tyranny begins....**William Pitt***

The Igbo people deserve to live in security, safety and dignity. This was the background of the Biafra war. The 1967 Nigeria-Biafra war heralded tough times for the people of Eastern Nigeria. It was a war that lasted for three years (1967-1970). The Nigerian government was on the offensive side, while the Igbo were on the defensive. During this period, the people of Eastern Nigeria suffered social, economic and political neglect. The 30-month (1967–1970) genocidal war launched by the Nigerian federal government against the indigenes of the Eastern part of the country (Biafra) was conducted without any observance of international rules of engagement (Obioma, 2021). It was an agitation by the Igbo against the social injustices and unfair treatment from the Nigerian government. Many Igbo paid the first price for this agitation and they include the death of millions of Biafrans before, during and after the Nigeria-Biafra war (Ugorji, 2017). There was also the destruction of property and other infrastructures, famine and kwashiorkor outbreak (a terrible disease caused by starvation), Igbo political exclusion at the federal executive branch of government, unemployment and poverty, interruption of the education system, forced migration leading to brain drain in the region, underdevelopment and healthcare crisis, among others (Ugorji, 2017). Socially, the people of the east were excluded from other Nigerians. Economically, seaports, land ports, and airports were destroyed and left to this day.

For seaports, places like River Niger have not been dredged. The dredging would have opened the Eastern region to businesses—nationally and internationally. Politically, Eastern Nigeria has been strongly sidelined in the scheme of things. They have been denied the presidency since the aftermath of the civil war. The people of Eastern Nigeria no longer feel comfortable with the structure of Nigeria. They had to speak the language that the Nigerian government would understand, that is, civil disobedience. This was practicalised in the high rate of destructions of government structures, killing and maiming of security personnel, and the declaration of a memorial day for Biafran fallen heroes of (1967-1970). These were methods the Easterners adopted to show their displeasure with their exclusion from the scheme of things in contemporary Nigerian society. In order to properly analyse this development, a theological response is important. The narrative in I kings 12 is similar to the situation in Nigeria.

I Kings 12 is a narrative on social injustice during the reign of Solomon that came to a climax during the reign of Rehoboam. One of the root causes of the problem was that Solomon had subjected the people to enormous taxes (1 Kings 4:19) to maintain the lifestyle of the palace and the monarchy (Moussa, 2019). The people of the north felt they were greatly humiliated and sidelined by Rehoboam's government. This increased the level of agitations and insecurity in Israel, to the point that one of the servants of king Rehoboam eventually lost his life. This led to agitation and a call for secession that eventually materializes during the reign of Rehoboam. The division of the kingdom following Solomon's death, which severs ten tribes from the domain of the Davidids, constitutes a major transition in Israelite history (Knoppers, 1990:423). This is similar to the current agitations that have materialized into increased insecurity in Eastern Nigeria. This research is believed to speak anew to the rising insecurity in southern Israel.

Understanding I Kings 12:1-24

An example of Israel's failure of leadership occurs when King Rehoboam finds himself in need of advice on a difficult matter (TOW, 2021). The difficult matter was to give a positive answer to the prayer of the people of Israel to reduce the burden that Rehoboam had placed on the people. Instead, Rehoboam insisted on increasing the plight of the people, especially those of northern Israel descent.

Solomon lived a flamboyant lifestyle, which made him take a lot from the people to maintain his status. This came in form of heavy taxation and forced labour. The people of Israel wanted relief from the heavy taxation and forced service of Solomon's reign, and they offered allegiance to Rehoboam if he agreed to this (Guzik, 2021). Instead, Rehoboam, just like leaders with hubris, decided to embrace the arrogance of authoritarian leaders.

I Kings 12 shows that leaders are supposed to listen to the problems submitted by special interest groups (ethnic or tribal or religious), with empathy and respect, to examine the grievances or suggestions as quickly as possible, while paying close attention to the real roots of problems (Moussa, 2019) . This is all the more important because "the same causes will always reproduce the same effects as long as we do not tackle the root causes, the real determinants of conflict and crises" (Vettovaglia 2015: 3).

The people of northern Israel came to Rehoboam with great expectations. They thought that Rehoboam would not behave like Solomon. They deemphasised the notion that Rehoboam would borrow wicked traits from his father. The elders knew that Rehoboam was not Solomon, and could not expect the same from the people that Solomon did. Rehoboam had to relate to the people based on who he was, not on who his father was. If he showed kindness and a servant's heart to the people, they would love and serve him forever. This was good advice (Guzik, 2018).

Ackroyd (1997:9) was of the view that when Rehoboam disregarded the counsel of the elders, it constitutes "a turn of events from the Lord for the sake of establishing word which the Lord spoke by the hand of Ahijah the Shilonite to Jeroboam ben Nebat" (1 Kgs 12:15). Thus, God was the one who made it possible for Rehoboam to insist on ensuring the suffering continues for the people of northern Israel.

Selected Themes in I Kings 12:1-24

A close reading provides important themes that will provide a better understanding of the background of insecurity in ancient Israel.

a.   **Deontological leadership team:** Leading by example is the hallmark of deontological leadership. In I Kings 12:6, the elders who Rehoboam consulted, the elders who demonstrated spiritual maturity and wisdom over many years serving King Solomon, and although they had been appointed by Solomon, listened to Jeroboam with an open mind, resulting in their advice to Rehoboam to overturn Solomon's policies (TOW, 2021). However, Rehoboam responded with hubris and narcissism (I Kings 12:8).

b.   **Civil obedience:** The people of northern Israel demonstrated obedience to the government of Rehoboam. They assembled in Shechem to make Rehoboam king (I kings 12:1). This assemblage shows that the people of Israel expected their leaders to be up and doing in everything they do.

c.   **Social injustice:** Because of the oppressive nature of the forced labour, the people's request for relief appears reasonable to the older advisors of the king. But instead, Rehoboam listened to the "young men" (v.10-11), and promptly rejected the simple request of the people of the north. Rehoboam's coterie suggests that the king showed strength by declaring, "My little finger is thicker than my

father's loins"(I Kings 12:10). Although the young men perceive the statement as strong and bold, in actuality, it reveals the king's pettiness and insecurities, qualities attributable to the Pharaoh of the Exodus (Roger, 2015).

d. **Civil disobedience:** The people responded to Rehoboam's harshness by rebelling against the new king and making Jeroboam king over Israel (I Kings 12:16–20). Only the tribes of Judah and Benjamin followed Rehoboam, son of Solomon (Gotquestions, 2021). The other ten tribes sided with Jeroboam. Rehoboam thought that the rebelling regions were joking and he sent Adoram to collect the usual high taxes, and Abiram met his sudden death. He was killed by the rebels and Rehoboam ran away (I Kings 12:18).

e. **Power and Oppression:** First, it was Solomon who used power to oppress those Israelites that were not from his tribe. Second, his son Rehoboam used his power to harass those persons that were not from his tribe. Third, Rehoboam used his military might to intimidate the northern tribes (I Kings 12:21). I Kings 12:24 revealed that King Rehoboam gathered 180,000 warriors in an attempt to take back the ten tribes, but God prevented it, saying, "This is my doing". So King Rehoboam returned to Jerusalem, the capital of Judah. Jeroboam reigned from Shechem and later from Tirzah in Israel (Got questions, 2021).

Social injustice and Insecurity in Eastern Nigeria

Insecurity is aggravated by biased economic, political and social structures in the society. Pepple (2021) reveals that the issue of insecurity in the nation has invincible social sponsors like poverty and

unemployment; this contributes to frustration and anger that can result in one taking to armed robbery.

Since the beginning of 2021, Eastern Nigeria has continued to wallow in increasing insecurity levels. It has to be mentioned that Eastern Nigeria has Igbo as the dominant language. The people of Eastern Nigeria practise Christianity, with a percentage of the population practising African Traditional Religion and Islam. Eastern Nigeria has five states viz, Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo States. Also, there are Igbo populations in Rivers, Delta, Cross River and Akwa Ibom.

The Igbo people of Eastern Nigeria feel highly marginalised by the government of Nigeria. These marginalisations are strongly believed to be from the economic, political and social spheres. How did the people of Eastern extraction respond to these sad developments? First, it they carried out civil disobedience to the Nigerian government. Second, militant groups arose that carried out attacks on security posts and outfits, such as police units, army posts and even prisons in Eastern Nigeria. Agbo (2021) reported that between February 23 and March 9, 2021, at least 10 police officers were killed and six police stations razed in a wave of attacks targeting security forces in the South-East and South-South regions of Nigeria.

On April 11, 2021, the governors of the five Eastern states and the heads of security agencies, such as the police, army navy, air force and other paramilitary agencies, met in Owerri, the Imo State capital. The reason for the choice of Imo was that it was the centre environment for the escalations in civil disobedience in Nigeria. According to reports, no fewer than 2, 000 inmates at the headquarters of the Nigerian Correctional Service (NCS), Owerri, Imo State were set free by unknown gunmen on April 5, 2021 (SaharaReporters, 2021:1). Ikechukwu (2021) reported that over 50 vehicles were destroyed and the entire police command was demobilised, literally.

The youths of Eastern Nigeria carried out serial agitations against the state and federal authorities. There were protests and calls for secession from Nigeria by the youths. In fact, the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) became a prominent force of Igbo nationalism under the leadership of Nnamdi Kanu in 2012, and prior to this, its leaders had been involved in pro-Biafran agitations through Radio Biafra, a station in London (Maiangwa, 2021). In further quest to achieve the supposed emancipation of Eastern Nigeria from the oppression, IPOB declared every Monday as work-free day for all Easterners. It was a call for secession for Eastern Nigeria.

Causes and Impacts of Insecurity in Eastern Nigeria
The major causes of the rising insecurity in Eastern Nigeria include the lack of justice, fairness and equity. Injustice is a lack of justice. It is alleged by the Eastern people that gross injustices have been perfected on them. According to Ikechukwu (2021),

> . . . agents of the Nigerian state have behaved as if Ndigbo don't matter. They have treated the people with so much contempt and disdain and any attempt to express their frustration was seen as an affront and greater force are used to crush it. They are reminded through acts of omission and commission that they don't have a say in Nigeria. It is so bad that President Muhammadu Buhari asked a journalist who wanted to know why Ndigbo are being treated so disdainfully in his first and only official media chat locally: "What do the Igbo want?"

In a further appraisal, Itua (2021:1) quips that Nigeria has descended into a "depth of insecurity, due to the failure of governance across the country, and particularly because of inequities and injustices of political leadership in Nigeria. . . .the perception of unfair and unequal treatment of citizens compounds the insecurity crisis". It is the imbalance or unjust treatment of the Eastern people that has led to this response by violence. Also, when justice is not given to the people of

Eastern Nigeria, the impression is that they are people from a different place (Anigbogu, 2021). Expressing shock, Odiegwu (2021:1) says:

> Look at the northernisation policy going on in the country. Appointments are skewed in favour of the north, in total disregard to the feelings of other areas. Key positions in the Ministries, the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Customs, Police, you name it, are all given to northerners. There are 17 security arms, 14 of them are headed by northerners. Yet one expects that there shall be national unity. Of course, it will not be possible. There must be dissatisfaction and agitation.For instance, look at what is happening in the South-East today. Our critical national assets are being attacked almost every day. People are killed, maimed. While one is gravely against such a method of expressing grievance, the people are pushed to the wall. The South-East geopolitical zone could rightly be described as the most disadvantaged.

In a twist of events, Ohanaeze Ndigbo, on 7th June, 2021, accused the north of being the brain behind the insecurity in the South-East geo-political zone (Akpa, 2021). According to a report, the north is busy sending mercenaries to Eastern Nigeria to destroy properties and waste lives. They insisted that the north does not want Eastern Nigeria to be peaceful so that economic and social services will be crippled. In fact, the governor of Imo State stated that those who are doing the destruction in Eastern Nigeria, most of them were brought in from outside Imo State (Timilehin, 2021).

The militarization of Eastern Nigeria has further infuriated the people, especially the youths of the region. Hardly do you pass any highway in the region without seeing the presence of police and army tactically extorting from motorists. It is also alleged that security personnel now pay a high bribe for them to be posted to Eastern Nigeria because it is believed that extortion of civilians is a lucrative business. This has made youths to see security personnel as part of the oppressive structures that the federal government of Nigeria has placed to subdue

and subject the region to an abysmal state. Even after the civil war (massacre) that took the lives of millions of the Igbo people, there seems to be a harsh reality that the war is not over, especially when you see the heavy tribalism, hate, siege of opportunities, and unnecessary militarization of the Eastern part of Nigeria (Ajuzieogu, 2021).

The increasing insecurity levels have caused untold hardship on the people. It has led to loss of revenues due to the disruption of economic activities. Food crops that are usually transported from northern Nigeria to the east were stopped, owing to the increasing insecurity level. For instance, the Arewa Consultative Forum (ACF) issued a very strong advisory to all northerners who may wish to travel to the South East. The forum advised northerners to weigh the importance and necessity of such travels (AbdulGafar and Duruiheoma, 2021).

Hermeneutic Analysis: 1 Kings 12:1-24 and Eastern Nigeria
Israel came to endorse Rehoboam as king (I Kings 12:1-3). The pericope reveals that the majority of the citizens in any organized society elect their leaders. Israel was an organized society. They gathered to endorse the kingship of Rehoboam, similar to what is obtainable in Nigeria. Nigeria's president is elected and endorsed by all Nigerians (North, East and West). During elections, all Nigerians, including citizens of Eastern region, go out to elect their leaders. Even after elections, all Nigerians trooped out to witness the coronation of their leader.

Citizens expect much from their leaders. Israelites expected Rehoboam to look into their plights and the social injustices against them by Solomon (I Kings 12:4). They came to Rehoboam to complain about their predicament. The people thought that Rehoboam would ameliorate their plight, but the reverse was the case. Rehoboam, as with selfish leaders, decided to use delay gratification. He asked them to go back and come back in three days. This is similar to what is happening in Nigeria. Nigeria is immensely in tyrannical

leadership and ethnically inclined policies. The people of Eastern Nigeria have come up to put forward their pains and feeling of injustice by the Nigerian government. But, the Nigerian government has openly come out to defend their maltreatment of the people of Eastern Nigeria.

In I Kings 12:10, Rehoboam aligned with the bad people, whom he was part of.   The bad people of his government advised him to continue to rule with oppression and injustices sustained by his predecessor. Rehoboam represents typical Nigerian leaders, who have continued to sustain the injustices meted out against the Igbo man since the end of the civil war. The Igbo man has been denied strategic positions in the scheme of things in Nigeria—army, police, airforce, navy, and the presidency. There is no seaport in Eastern Nigeria. There is total neglect of Eastern Nigeria in terms of good roads, hospitals and federal presence.

In I Kings 12:14, Rehoboam insisted on emphasizing the evil policies against the northern tribes that his government has sustained. He said: "My father made your yoke heavy; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions." This is a very disconcerting statement to a human being. Rehoboam did not hide his feelings, but insisted that he   would continue to support his tribe, with lesser emphasis on the minority tribes. With respect to Eastern Nigeria, the federal government has continued to make it clear that it will never support the Igbo cause. For instance, the current Nigerian president said: "I hope you have a copy of the election results. The constituents, for example, gave me 97% [of the vote] cannot in all honesty be treated on some issues with constituencies that gave me 5%" (SaharaReporters, 2015). The constituencies that gave him 5% were the people of Eastern Nigeria. The federal government also made it clear that the Igbo man is just a dot in Nigeria, with negligible influence in the scheme of things in Nigeria, thus:

> …is just like a dot in a circle. Even if they want to exit, they'll have no access to anywhere. And the way they are spread all over the country, having businesses and properties. I don't think IPOB knows what they are talking about. In any case, we say we'll talk to them in the language that they understand. We'll organise the Police and the military to pursue them.

This was a blatant and obscene threat to the people of Eastern Nigeria. Unfortunately, this has fuelled the hate of Easterners against other regions and made the Easterners continue to agitate for secession from the union called Nigeria.

Furthermore, the northern region felt betrayed by the government of Rehoboam. They finally resorted to secede. They said: "What share do we have in David, what part in Jesse's son? To your tents, Israel! Look after your own house, David!" This was a call for civil disobedience. People of northern Israel felt strongly sidelined in the scheme of things by the people of the north headed by Rehoboam. This is the state of things between the people of Eastern Nigeria and the government of Nigeria headed by Muhammadu Buhari. Instead of the political leaders of Eastern extraction to press home the citizens of Eastern Nigeria, they are busy fighting for a political future that is blunt. Osmund (2021:1) lamented that the only way out is for the region's political leaders to wake up from deep slumber and that they should worry less about their political future and take firm and decisive actions.

Recommendations
The following recommendations would help in resolving the increasing spate of insecurity in Eastern Nigeria.
1.   There is the need to call for a national conference where the peace, growth, and development of Nigeria would be discussed. In this conference, the demands of the Igbo people

should be listened to, and where need be, emphasis must be placed on the demands.

2. The Federal Government of Nigeria should see all Nigerians as part and parcel of Nigeria. There should be no segregation between the Igbo person and other Nigerians. This will engender peace, unity and, in the long-run, development.

3. The intimidation of the people of Eastern Nigeria by the presidency is uncalled for. The federal government should stop using hate speech to harass and mentally enslave Easterners.

4. The African values of love, unity and honesty which are the hallmarks of social justice should be emphasised by the Federal Government of Nigeria, rather than the growing nepotism, hubris, and narcissistic lifestyle of the federal government.

5. Social workers should begin serious sensitization of the youths in villages in Eastern Nigeria. Most of these youths are on drugs due to the harsh economic conditions they find themselves in. They are the ones that are mostly involved in the destruction of lives and property. These should be made to know that destruction of lives and property is not good and it is highly at the disadvantage of the citizens of Eastern Nigeria.

Conclusion

No country survives underdevelopment in the midst of social injustice and governance entrenched in nepotism. The insecurity in Eastern Nigeria is just a form of civil disobedience to the escalating social injustices from the federal government to the people of the region. I Kings 12 provides civil ways of resolving conflicts that favour all ethnic groups. It is the authoritarian leadership that resulted in the secession call by the northern tribes. It is also the root cause of the agitation by the northern tribes against Rehoboam's leadership. Nigeria has a lot to benefit from this development in the pericope. Justice, fairness and tranquility should be the watchword of whatever government is in power—at the federal level in Nigeria. This will help

to curb the rising insecurity in Eastern Nigeria. Eastern Nigeria is part and parcel of Nigeria and is needed if Nigeria is to ever attain sustainable development goals.

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