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ENTREPRENEURSHIP RE-DEFINED IN 21ST CENTURY NIGERIAN ECONOMY: THE INNOSON GROUP IN HISTORY, 1970 – 2018

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Abstract

The high rate of unemployment in Nigeria has made the Federal Government to encourage creativity, initiative, skill acquisition and capitalist ideologies, hence venturing into the 21st century global economic trail. Quite aware of the marginal impact of the paucity of the nation's infrastructural base on the productive sector, the commendations of the Federal Government have snowballed into the growth of specific resilient industries and enterprises which has continued to contribute immensely to Nigeria's national development. Given the many ventures of Chief Innocent Chukwuma via the Innoson Group of Companies, it is true to say that the company has profoundly contributed to Nigeria's national development. Privately owned, the Innoson Group of Companies have continued to create detailed Job opportunities, among others, though not without some unhealthy impact to the populace, such as noise and air pollution. This study having evaluated the Innoson Group qualitatively and quantitatively through the Entrepreneurship Concept, vis a vis the group's vision and mission, posits that his trail should be followed by other Nigerians. This work relied more on primary information to aid objectivity.

Key Words: Entrepreneur, Development, Initiative, Unemployment, Business

INTRODUCTION

Even as Nigeria's independence has spanned over half a century, the country is still highly dependent on developed economies for most of its needs, including, and bad enough, ideas. Over the years, the litany of Nigeria's regimes of leadership have, devoid the nation's comparative advantage of enormous human and material resources, continued in their empty usual rantings of transforming the economy into a self-reliant one. Proud to be Africa's largest economy in the contemporary period, most Nigerians live in a pathetic condition, while unemployment figures appear frightening. Poverty, fear and uncertainty continues to threaten the national fragility with insecurity and terror infernos (Ezeonwuka, 2014:68). In the face of unfolding climacteric global trends, it is common knowledge to realize that an import-dependent economy oscillating on a mono-economy of oil, bereft of home-grown patriotism and infrastructures, ethno-religiously polarized, and with a galloping population of over 201 million, according to the 2019 United Nations information (Woldometers: 2019)is lacking in all aspects of National stability. It is really heart-rending to observe that Annual national budgets which should act as the economic compass of the country is voided, even before the legislature would complete deliberations on it.

Unprecedented increase in prostitution, kidnapping for ransom, raping, insurgency and restiveness, political thuggery, drug abuse and suicidal inclinations, among others, remain the appealing attractions and employable resort and reclause. Inept political leadership and corruption leading to dwindling economic engagements and growth have consistently continued to cumulatively under-employ and unemploy many Nigerians. In the unfolding complex scenario, some heeding to the urge and call for entrepreneurship development, resort to the establishment of small and medium scale enterprises.

Entrepreneurship development refers to the act or process of activating the ingenous spirit in people as to have the mindset towards learning and practicalising such activities and thereafter step out boldly and venture into setting up a business for self-employment, employment of others and national economic advancement. According to Robert, Entrepreneurship is the dynamic process of creating incremental wealth. This wealth is created by individuals who assume the major risks in terms of equity, time or career (Robert, 2013:1). Evidences abound of many regions or economies where the promotion of entrepreneurship have promoted and encouraged a drastic reduction in unemployment. Youth unemployment has reached unimaginable levels in Nigeria, making youth entrepreneurship more imperative now than ever, moreso, sequel to the massive downsizing and closure of many companies, considering the nation's descent into recession. Many Nigerians, skilled and unskilled, graduates and school leavers exposed to the harsh economic reality of the times, have resorted to self-determination through self-employment.

It should nevertheless be recalled that apart from the present national economic fiasco, 'the worldwide economic depression of the early 1980s caused a rapid deterioration in Nigeria's economy. Industrial output shrank to an all-time low, and commercial activities were consequently reduced, leading to the loss of employment opportunities for millions of Nigerians (FMOL, 1998:2). Quite aware of the economic dislocation already created within the Nigerian society, pre-empting the impending catastrophe and fully geared up towards mitigating such emergency, General Ibrahim Babangida in October, 1986 established the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) as a parastatal of the Federal Ministry of Employment, Labour and Productivity. The President in his 1987 budget speech had directed the NDE Committee and Board of Directors to concentrate their efforts on the reactivation of public works, promotion of direct labour, promotion of self-employment, and organization of artisans into co-operatives, all geared towards fighting unemployment, poverty and reckless life style.

The President's intention was to create entrepreneurs who would subsequently be spurred into setting up entrepreneurship activities for the production of goods and services needed for better life and national

development. Briefed and programmed, the NDE Board strategically articulated and mapped out a four-pronged practical package for an effective nationwide intervention:

- National Youth Employment and Vocational Skills Developmental Programme.
- Agricultural Sector Employment Programme.
- Special Public Works Maintenance Programme.

In view of this, the NDE went fully out towards motivating and encouraging the establishment of many private-sector driven projects (industries and private schools included) – The Innoson Group, Dangote Group, Ibeto Group, Chicason Group, Igbinedion University, Madonna University among others. These private establishments went fully out to make more profit, create multiple job opportunities for the unemployed, and cumulatively aiding national development.

Unveiling the spectacular evolution and transition of the Innoson Group from an initial capital base of just three thousand naira to the commanding economic height it is presently occupying in Nigeria today, demands in depth historical analysis. Reputed to being the first indigenous automobile manufacturer with viable export capacity, it has gone further towards rendering help to the Nigerian economy by employing over 15,000 Nigerians. Regardless of this envious score sheet, this company is faced with enormous human resource-related challenges, which has affected the general functioning of the outfit (Udeogaranya, 2016:4).

THE CONCEPT OF ENTREPRENEUR
Entrepreneur originated from the French word *entreprendre*, which stands for a person who undertakes some venture. Robert defined Entrepreneurship as the dynamic process of creating incremental wealth (Robert, 2013:40). An innovative and creative response to the environment (Onuoha, 1994:12), in social endeavour, in business, industry, agriculture and education, entrepreneurs are more than just business creators, they are change agents in Society (Schumpeter, 1961:66). Meredith *et al* looks at an entrepreneur as an individual who has the ability to see and evaluate business opportunities, gather the necessary resources to take advantage of them and initiate appropriate action to ensure success; a risk taker, a businessman who braves

uncertainty, strikes out his own and through native intelligence, devotion to duty and singleness of purpose, somehow creates a business and industrial activity where none existed before (Meredith *et al,* 1991:16).

An entrepreneur could be explained as one who applies innovation and creativity towards the production of small, medium and large scale enterprises, which employ people. Entrepreneur as a concept, is not ephemeral, but engaging hence its functional italics must revolve on selected practical theories. Theories presenting Entrepreneurship as an Innovator, Achiever and a religious belief appear to suite this study. Appearing to be the most celebrated, the Schumpeterian theory of entrepreneurship while providing a conceptual change in the definition and function of entrepreneurs, pointed at development as the end factor when new combinations are introduced, hence enterprise. The initiator of this enterprise remains the entrepreneur (Schumpeter, 1961:8). Usually, the entrepreneur would finance his innovative venture through bank credit. The entrepreneurial engagement represents a disequilibrium situation, a dynamic phenomenon and a break from the routine or 'circular flow' or 'tendency towards equilibrium'. Simply put, an entrepreneur engages himself in unaccustomed activity. While swimming with the stream in the circular flow which is familiar to him, he swims against the stream if he wishes to change its channel; what was formerly a help becomes a hindrance, that which was familiar, becomes unknown and where the boundaries of routine stops, many people can go no further, hence the rest can only do so in highly variable manner. In characterizing the motive of the entrepreneurial conduct, he succeeded in identifying two types of individuals – mere managers and entrepreneurs.

Nafziger, while identifying the many shortcomings of Schumpeter's theory, concluded that its validity lies only in a purely capitalist economy, prior to the rise of giant corporations. He went on to state that the theory's applicability is in less developed economies (Nafziger, 1978:9). On the other hand, Peter Kilby observed that the great bulk of Schumpeter's analysis is concerned not with the economic system (Kilby, 1971:9). However, inspite of all these apparent shortcomings, it should be admitted that Schumpeter has put the Entrepreneur theory on

sound footing by making the entrepreneur not only the focal point, but the key functionary of economic development. Innovation being one of the key elements that drives entrepreneurs, therefore the need for creating something new, made Mr. Innocent to start manufacturing vehicles, garbage collecting machines, general tyres and buses among others both for domestic needs and for export.

On the other hand, the Protestant Ethic and the spirit of capitalism theory of social change, propounded by the sociologist, Max Weber while presenting a picture of traditional economic life, very much comparable to the circular flow of Schumpeter, unveils the new businessman, propelled by protestant ethnic in the picture of tranquil routine. In the Weberian System, the entrepreneurial energies are generated through following exogenously supplied religious belief (the protestant ethic). For people who believe in this ethic, hard work in their ways of life is not only to enable them obtain their worldly desires, but for fulfillment in their spiritual needs. Calvinist ethics propels the Weberian System, irrespective of cultural background, personality type or the existing social environment. Weber stressed that entrepreneurial growth is dependent on religious ethical values, since the spirit of capitalism promotes a favourable societal attitude towards the acquisition of wealth, hence capitalism thrives under the protestant work ethics that advocates hardwork, honesty and discipline. (Weber, 1958:8)The Spirit of Capitalism, coupled with the motive of profit results in the creation of a large number of successful business enterprise. In distinguishing between the 'Spirit of Capitalism' and the 'Adventurous Spirit', Weber drew a clear cut line between the force influenced by strict discipline and the later driven by the force of impulse. The right combination of discipline and impulse defines the successful entrepreneur.

Furthermore, while specifically focusing on the mental and emotional elements which drive the entrepreneurial force inside an individual, David McClelland through his Psychological Theory of Achievement Motivation opined that, the need to achieve and the dream to achieve overpowers the monetary or other external incentives, hence the major motivational element that drives entrepreneurship (McClelland, 1971:11). Since the need to achieve appears to remain the main focus of

entrepreneurship and having obtained the enabling capitalist support and encouragement from the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) the Innoson Group have not only invested and taken such route towards profiteering, but reduced poverty in Nigeria, through offering employment opportunities to many. It has endeared it as the first indigenous automobile manufacturer with vehicles that are being exported abroad. These theories bordering on Entrepreneurship as an Innovator, Achiever and Religious ethic definitely suites this study.

Issues of Entrepreneurship in a Developing Economy

Since the creation of better ways of serving people's needs and improving their quality of life and standard of living is a right step into entrepreneurial venture, the process of creative destruction by which existing businesses are made obsolete sequel to the creation of new ones, must be involved. In the context of the Nigerian society, an entrepreneur will be assumed to include any person who runs a business, whether big or small, once his objective is growth and profitability, he continues to innovate and build. History harbours a catalogue of human activities and interactions which engaged farmers, traders and even hunters in dynamic commercial exchange, targeted towards solving human needs. Competition and innovation dictated the face of human success.

Entrepreneurial activities could be traced within the Nigerian environment from the precolonial times, when the traditional business ideas were adopted in not only preserving perishables, but in the management of distribution and sales in the barter system. These astute entrepreneurs, a versed with expertise and commercial experience in the important negotiations and transactions, portrayed a lot of professionalism even with the advent of colonialism. Their inventory control, managerial and distributive capabilities were superb. This expertise was passed on from the iterant commercial activities of some communities and notable figures like Jaja of Opobo, Nana of Itsekiri among others in the Southern Coast, to people like Sir Odumegwu Ojukwu, Dantata, Michael Adenuga, Innocent Chukwuma and Aliko Dangote. Their engagements appeared orderly and organized sequel to the advances in shipping, warehousing, freighting, processing, financial services, packaging, outsourcing, haulage, assembling and logistics.

These solid experiences have added much to the existing principles and concepts, leading to the interchangeable and synonymous use of Entrepreneurship and Small and Medium Enterprise (SME). Moreover, discussions of entrepreneurial activities in developing countries have also included the informal sector and petty capitalism (Smart, 2015:150), just as the World Bank has since 2003 targeted both small businesses and the informal sectors, in its effort to impact on entrepreneurship, since the informal sector in developing countries is an integral source of economic activity. However, while SMEs and entrepreneurship could have different meanings, both are important to an economy, moreso, a developing one. Whether survival/necessity entrepreneurs or opportunity entrepreneurs, the needful may not be the size (in terms of employees and assets), but the Schumpeterian Concept of innovation, involving new products, new markets and new processes. While the Knowledge Spillover Theory of Entrepreneurship in developed countries identify network, knowledge failure and Demonstration externalities as reasons for government intervention into entrepreneurship (Audretsh *et al,* 2006), indeed, the under-production of knowledge and education can be particularly problematic in a developing economy like Nigeria, as a low level of human capital accumulation slows down technological change. Though studying how markets function and fail would help discover how to sustain and expand entrepreneurial activities in an economy, four identified core themes affect demonstration and failure externalities through their effects on entrepreneurial entry, business operations and entrepreneurial exit. Culture, values and norms; views on outsiders and inclusiveness; the level of economic freedom; and an economy's fundamentals including its macro-economic stability, infrastructure and the level of development of its financial markets. These continue to play significant parts in the entrepreneurial development of developing countries. (Cochran, 1960; Kirzner, 1995; Lavoie *et al,* 2002).

Moreover, while many literatures reveal the presence of a somewhat push-pull effect to entrepreneurship in developing countries with a history of deep ethnic fragmentation, definite barriers and significant constrains cannot be totally ruled out where severe ethnic-religious tensions exist. The exclusion and inclusion politics, the 'we' and 'them'

syndrome and the 'insider' and 'outsider' mentality not only marginalizes proper economic freedom, but de-motivates engaged innovations cumulatively. The society suffers in diverse ways. Sectionalizing ethnicity, prebendal inclinations and cultural norms, as predominantly manifest in Nigeria, must not be allowed to affect and dictate the economic climate in a developing economy. While societal norms should allow the freedom of people to choose their occupation, excessive government involvement in the Private Sector with its growing trend towards privatization must be done with strategic caution. Since economic freedom affects demonstration externalities greatly, once withdrawn, the market, interpersonal exchange, private ownership of the means of production, entrepreneurship and private initiative virtually disappear altogether (Mises, 1949:70). Elkan elucidates that giving the Private Sector a greater role in development has two facets: a change in policy regime that removes restrictions on the Private Sector, and the divestiture of activities from the Public Sector Privatization. (Elkan, 1988:70).Some countries governments discourage entrepreneurship, while in others, the government's activity is so pervasive that it 'Crowds' out Private entrepreneurship opportunities. In a pervasive situation, a managerial rather than an innovative entrepreneurship is likely to prevail. A survey of 32 Nigerian SMEs respondents reported that there is 'frequent harassment by government officials who extort money from businesses' (Mambula, 2002).

Issues pertaining to a country's macroeconomic stability, the state of its financial markets and its infrastructure are, pervasive in the literature on entrepreneurship in developing economies, especially in Africa. A Survey of Nigerian entrepreneurs for example, finds that access to credit facilities, poor transportation and infrastructure and the lack of dependable utilities are leading constraints to firm growth (Mambula, 2002). Yusuf and Schindehutte took time to study the effects of macroeconomic performance on about 160 entrepreneurial businesses during periods of economic decline in Nigeria. The authors concluded that despite Nigeria's considerable oil income, Private Sector entrepreneurial businesses did not grow as expected despite the absence of overt hostile government behavior, even as certain government

programs were directed towards the development of indigenous SMEs. However, the study revealed that entrepreneur's motive for starting most businesses at this period in review was because of "extrinsic rewards" rather than the purer "Schumpeterian" entrepreneurial innovative motivations. (Yusuf and Schindehutte, 2005).It would appear that in periods of economic hardship (which unfortunately has for long remained a continuum in Nigeria), necessity entrepreneurship rather than opportunity entrepreneurship becomes more important.

One cannot overlook the important deficient demonstration externality of the quality and quantity of infrastructure in Nigeria. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in their review of the effects of energy infrastructure on international trade, found that the low penetration of electricity in Africa limits the abilities of countries to trade (ECA, Google.org 2004). The dearth of infrastructure increases the cost of doing business, reduces the reliability of production, thereby marginalizing the growth of such businesses, and its ability to generate employment actively. In addition to the paucity of transportation facilities (roads, railways) for haulage, viable seaports and communication penetration, the educational resource capability equally remains a drag on the Nigerian entrepreneur's ability to move into the formal industrial sector. Berkowitz and Dejong in their seminal research on the effects of entrepreneurship and economic growth concluded that education has a strong and positive effect on entrepreneurship (Berkowitz and Dejong, 2005:25) Encouraging demonstration externalities is perhaps the most important issue for developing countries like Nigeria, since most Nigerian SME owners/managers are not adequately organized, qualified or trained, hence hampering their performance and international competitiveness (Mambula, 2002:58). Ensuring market access to talented potential entrepreneurs would require the removal of unnecessary government barriers (high tariffs, foreign currency controls, complex bureaucracies with facilitated corruption and protectionialism).

The Innoson Group
This study cannot simply run a historical discourse on the Innoson Group without at least scratching a piece of the biographical picture of the man behind the mask, Chief (Dr) Innocent Chukwuma Ifediaso.

Innocent, the last of 6 kids, was born on October, 1st, 1961 to Mr. and Mrs. Chukwuma Mojekwu of Uru-Umudim, Nnewi in Anambra State, without the proverbial silver spoon in his mouth. What he appeared to lack in affluent parental background, he made up for with his personal intelligence, hard work, humility and business acumen; qualities that has continued to interplay remarkably in his many ventures. Unable to secure a University admission to enable him pursue his flare for engineering studies, he rose from serving his elder brother (Gabriel) in his Patent Medicine Store to an apprenticeship sojourn under Chief Romans Ezeonwuka, where he learnt a trade. A year later, in 1979, Innocent left his boss and returned to his brother, Gabriel. At this point, he went a step further and registered a business called Gabros International. This business, funded by his brother to the tune of 3,000 Naira with a considerably high value back then, traded in motorcycle spare parts. With total freedom to run the business his own way, Innocent rented a shop and embarked on the purchase and sale of merchandise. By the end of 1980, Innocent and his brother undertook a thorough inventory account of both the medicine store and the spare parts business. Amazingly, it was realized that Gabros International has made ten times more money than the medicine store. (Mmaduanusi, 2017).

Fully acquainted with basic business pursuits and challenges, in 1981, Innocent Chukwuma ventured fully into commercial enterprise under the name Innoson Nigeria Limited, with motorcycle accessories as his main stock. Onudim Benjamin added that, 'when Innocent realized that apart from many people importing used motorcycles into Nigeria, the prices continued to soar, he sought to device a way of bringing in brand new motorcycles into the country at a price far lower than the used ones'. Embarking on a trip abroad, he realized that there were four companies engaged in the importation of new motorcycles at that time – Leventis, Yamaco, Boulous and CFAO. He noticed that they used crates in the importation of these motorcycles, and each crate could only contain one motorcycle, thereby taking up lots of space. This meant that only 40 crates could be put in a 40 feet container, and upon arrival, the motorcycles would become expectedly expensive to buy. This insight gave him a great idea; he would purchase the motorcycles

overseas and dissemble them before shipment. Along the line, he introduced the method (innovation) of packing as many as 240 Completely Knocked Down (CKD) sets (motorcycle components) in one 40 feet container, as opposed to about 80 fully built units hitherto imported in the same long container. Upon arrival, he would reassemble them, and his motorcycles would cost 40% lesser than his competitors prices. Through this strategy, the average cost of a motorcycle was brought down from 100,000 Naira to 50,000 Naira and 75,000 Naira respectively. This simply exploded his sales and revenues (Onudim, 2017).

Consequently, patronage naturally shifted from the imported second-hand motorcycles, which used to sell for about 90,000 Naira, as the later became cheaper, thereby robbing the former of its attraction. From being a leader in motorcycle parts, Innoson Limited later launched into the importation of the same products cheaper from China, and by the turn of the 1990s, had become so popular that its products were doing well across the country, and in the West African sub region. Guided by instincts of a far-sighted investor and entrepreneur, Chukwuma promptly realized that the time had come for him to domesticate the production of the motorcycle with substantial local input. This had the attendant benefits of enhancing the company's grip on the market, and contributing positively to the development of the economy by way of technological transfer, employment opportunities and competitive pricing of the motorcycles.

In 1994, Chukwuma entered into a symbiotic partnership with some Chinese motorcycle manufacturers, which was consummated with the establishment of a facility in Nnewi, where top quality motorcycles were produced (Okoye, 2017). However, the targets of comparatively low prices and transfer of the production technology were only partially achieved owing to the fact that the assembling process was totally manual and did not make for high value output. Later in 1995, Chukwuma defied a major industrial boundary by installing an automated assembly complex at the Nnewi plants, thereby making Innoson Nigeria, the first fully indigenous motorcycle maker, threading on the foot points of some foreign groups like Leventis and Boulous Enterprises. Having realized the high-level plastic components

contained in these motorcycles, 10 years after going into the local manufacturing of motorcycles, Chukwuma branched into plastic manufacturing (Nonso, 2017). Along this pedestral, Innoson Nigeria Limited in 2002 sited Innoson Technical and Industrial Company Limited, located at Emene, Enugu State. The manufacturing of first grade plastic products for household use, motorcycle components, industrial applications and exports, bears even a more astonishing testimony to Chief Chukwuma's reputation.

In February, 2007, Chukwuma embarked on what some analysts classified as mission impossible, when he incorporated Innoson Vehicle Manufacturing Company (IVM) to produce sundry commercial automobiles, utility vehicles, passenger cars or commuters and private cars in collaboration with a consortium of Chinese auto manufacturers (Ohabuike, 2017). With the public display of some of the vehicles at the 2nd Nnewi International Auto trade Fair held at the Beverly Hills Hotels (Gabros Sports Complex) in the last quarter of 2009, IVM did not only silence many critics, but made bold its readiness to achieve the avowed mission of being the first indigenous auto maker to produce truly Nigerian vehicles that could be affordable and reliable. IVM is today a success story that has attracted effusive commendations and awards from various quarters including the nation's seat of power. Just as the ovation for the Nnewi – made vehicles was creating powerful ripples, Chukwuma in collaboration with some investors, established another multibillion naira industrial outfit, Innoson General Tyres and Tubes Limited, located at Emene Industrial Layout, Enugu, fully engaged in the production of tyres and tubes.

The Innoson Group has like a mustard seed flourished and multiplied into many companies which it necessarily and comfortably prefers as official outlets: **The Innoson Nigeria Limited;** incorporated in 1987, the company has grown to become one of the major importers, suppliers, assemblers of motorcycles and its accessories within Nigeria and across the West African region. The company enjoys a marginal increase in its sales in its fast selling CG125, CY80, AX100, Grand King 125, including assorted motorcycle helmets. Innoson Nigeria Limited grew from importation and sole distributorship status to the institution of a functional automated assembly line in Nnewi in 1995,

with the production capacity of more than 1000 units of motorcycles per day. This helped towards not only crashing the price of new motorcycles in Nigerian markets, but dealt a death blow to the importation of fairly-used (Tokunbo) motorcycles in the country. Other products manufactured by the company include farm tractors and tricycles which have enhanced agricultural endeavour and transportation on rural roads. The five-seater-three-wheeler which is produced to the highest standard is not only a multipurpose motor-craft, but has gone a long way in revolutionizing intra-city mobility in Nigeria. Towards actualizing the Federal Government's clarion call for the introduction of reasonable local content in production, the company embarked on this through the production of motorcycle plastic parts.

Innoson Technical and Industries Company Limited, previously known as Eastern Plastic, and owned by the Enugu State Government was later bought by Mr. Chukwuma. Incorporated on 7th June, 2002 and with a work force of about 4,500 Nigerians, and a strong Chinese technical expatriate support, this company is the biggest Plastic Industry in Nigeria. Its product portfolio covers over 150 lines of products including: Plastic Chairs, Tables, Crash helmets, Jerry Cans of various sizes, water storage tanks, pre-paid electric meters, dustbins among others. Sequel to its upgraded production lines featuring more than twelve-state-of-the-art injection moulds, more than 10,000 plastic chairs could be churned out per day.

In February 2007, **Innoson Vehicle Manufacturing Company Limited** was incorporated as the first wholly indigenous and leading vehicle manufacturing company in Nigeria. Conceived to produce truly made in Nigeria vehicles, whereby 60% of the content are of local raw materials, it provides employment for lots of Nigerians at different levels (Uzo, 2017). Sited at Nnewi, Anambra State, IVM has a manpower of 1,800 workforce, and currently has an installed capacity to produce more than ten thousand units per annum. Conceived for Nigerian needs and roads, IVM products include medical, environmental refuse disposal, commuter and utility vehicles, including various security/patrol and militarized special vehicles to the Nigerian Police and Army. IVM appears to be guided by international best practices in the production of these vehicles, since they seem to

compare favourably with other brands in terms of durability, fuel economy and safety. Beginning from 2010 when the first set of vehicles were rolled out of the plant, apart from effusive commendations from the former Governors of Enugu and Anambra States, Former President Goodluck Jonathan hailed Chukwuma 'for the courage of venturing into an industry many ran away from, but also assured him of government's patronage' (The Sun Newspaper, 2010). Even before the President's visit, the company had attracted an official delegation from the Ghanaian government, which through a minister, dangled incentives before Chukwuma, with an appeal to come over to Accra for talks on how he could set up a similar plant in the Former Gold Coast. Putting into consideration consumer preferences, the unfolding national economic challenges, one could say that these vehicles are affordable, serviceable and within the reach of many Nigerians investing in public transportation business as well as individual necessities.

Located at plot IN30/31, General Tyres and Tubes Road, Industrial Layout Extension, Emene is a joint venture between Innoson Group, some Nigerian investors, and some Chinese Technical Partners. Incorporated in May, 2008, and with Innoson Group owning the highest equity, the **General Tyres and Tubes Company limited** is engaged in utilizing the abundant rubber resources in the country to produce premium tyres and tubes for vehicles and motorcycles. With a robust staff strength of about 1000 indigenous workers and a few Chinese expatriates, the company has through its product brand name – Road Visa ventured towards filling the gap created by the previously popular brands like – Dunlop and Michelin.

The penchant for innovation and dynamism led Chukwuma to venture into **Innoson Wood Industrial Limited** and **Innoson Communications Limited**. Though the youngest subsidiary of the Innoson Group, and with great potentials (Innoson Group Profile Booklet, 2016), the company is located at Emene Industrial Layout, Enugu. Manned by an aggressive team of 100 workers, mainly Nigerians, they are engaged in the production and processing of local woods into treated,polished, industrially-laminated woods,mashed compact frames and products for both local consumption and for export (Innoson Group Profile Booklet, 2016). Another subsidiary of the

Innoson Group is the **Innoson Communications Limited**. It oversees the BING TV, the biggest DTH (Direct-To-Home) Digital Television Station across all states in Nigeria, with its headquarters in Abuja (Google, Online Info. 2019). Not quite long ago, Innoson Communications Limited signed a strategic business partnership agreement with Shandong Broadcasting Group and Shandong Cable Interactive Service Ltd China, the world's biggest TV operators with the technical support from Inspur Group Company Limited. Inspur Group is China's foremost leader in cloud computer solution supplier and cloud service provider involving all IT applications.

Worthy of mention at this juncture, are the operational offices of the Innoson Group located at Abuja Central Office, and at Plot I, Block A, Amuwo Odofin Ind. Estate, Oshodi/Apapa Expressway, Lagos State; including the one at Plot I Alarere Akutayo layout, Opp. Oando, along Ibadan – Lagos Expressway, Ibadan. These outlets are equipped after sales services stations and collection points. Subsequently, customers could order for, and collect any Innoson Group products from these outlets without any extra charge, regardless of transportation charges.

Complementary Partnership
The Innoson conglomerate, corporate offices and productive strides wouldn't have been a success story without designate help and assistance in the form of finance, information, professional and technical guides and partnership, among others. The scarcity of foreign exchange (Forex) could hamper the importation of vital components which the company relies on, just in the same way an unstable capital base would delay or even deter projected progress in the company's prospects. However, Innoson Group has flourished with the help of loans they obtained at different times and terms from banks like the Guaranty Trust Bank (GTB), Nigerian Export Import Bank (NEXIM) and the African Export Import Bank (AFREXIM) which was said to have granted a credit facility of 20 million dollars for the purchase of certain production needs aimed at giving substantial boost to regional trade actors West and Central Africa.

In 2013, Guarantee Trust Bank (GTB) granted credit facilities totaling two billion, four hundred million naira to Innoson to finance the importation of motorcycles and spare parts, of which the company

promised to repay the loan as contained in the agreement (The Guardian Newspaper, 2015). However, information has it that the company failed to meet repayment obligations, just as the GTB claimed that the company had cleared several consignments of goods financed by the bank. The bank however secured a *Mareva* orders against Innoson, freezing its bank accounts in all Nigerian banks in September, 2014. On the other hand, the company filed a 30 billion Niara law suit against the bank at the Federal High Court. Be that as it may, early in 2019, Innoson finally obtained a *Writ of Fi Fa* by which it was empowered to seize the assets of GTB, having proven beyond reasonable doubt that GTB is owing him 8.8 billion Niara (Premium Times, 2019).

Eager to improvingly customize its products to suite the taste and needs of its wide clientele, the Innoson Group entered into a balanced partnership agreement with CRETEC Industries Company China, in the area of auto parts manufacturing. On the same note, Shandong firms of China signed a 1 billion dollars trade and partnership agreement with the Innoson Group. This credit facility is expected to attract and invest about 300 million dollars into Nigerian domestic market (Pressreader.com, 2016). Moreover, the Sterling Bank of Nigeria equally entered a very lucrative Partnership deal with the Innoson Group in the area of auto finance.

In 2016, IVM company signed a partnership deal to produce vehicles for the Nigerian army. The IVMG12 series was presented to the Chief of Army Staff, Lt. Gen. T.U. Buratai at the tactical headquarters of 'Operation Lafiya Bole' Maimalari Barracks in Borno State Capital in Nov. 2016 (This Day Newspaper, 2016). Appraising the Functional tactical components in the vehicle, Buratai praised Innoson's vision, and assured him of the organization's partnership with the company in the production of special purpose vehicles. This has led to a recent collaboration with the Nigerian armed forces in the manufacture and supply of bullet-proof and certain armored vehicles specifically deployed in the counter insurgency operations in Nigeria's North-East. A Memorandum of Understanding is existing between the Innoson Group and the Nigerian Air Force for the fabrication and manufacture of certain spare parts (The Sun Newspaper, 2016). Prospectively engaged in establishing vehicle plants in each of the six geopolitical

zones in Nigeria, the Akwa Ibom government has pledged 10 hectares of land to the Innoson Group.

Reflections

The annual turnover of the companies listed under the Innoson Group is encouraging: The Innoson Nigeria Limited records a turnover of 7.2 million naira annually, while the Innoson Technical and Industries Company Limited has an annual turnover of 3.6 billion naira (Google, Innoson Group, 2019). Having sustained and continuously thriving in the tempestuous Nigerian economic arena, and in recognition of the Group's contributions to the business and productive sectors, Chukwuma and his business empire have in their kitty different awards, honours and official recognitions from Officer of the Federal Republic (OFR) in November, 2011 to Officer of the Order of Niger (OON) in February, 2008 awarded by the late Nigerian President, Umaru Musa Yar'adua, it has continued to look good. A National Honours of the Productivity Order of Merit (NPOM) was conferred by former President Goodluck Jonathan. Special Merit Awards were conferred on Chukwuma by the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, and the Nigerian Society of Engineers in December, 2011. A MANCAP Award of Excellence was equally granted to Chukwuma by the Standard Organization of Nigeria (SON) in 2008, while in 2012, the Innoson Motors won the African Business of the year Award at a ceremony held in London, conferred by the Commonwealth Business Council and African Business Magazine.

These awards and encomiums wouldn't have been continued if not for the devoted managerial team imbued with wealth of experiences, versatile and proactive enough, hence always putting the group one step ahead of its competitors. Organized in a somewhat pyramidal structure all together, the more than 7,200 employees (including marketers and Chinese expatriates) continuously undergo various trainings through organized workshops. In this respect, within the Innoson Vehicles Manufacturing Company (IVM) is an academy called the Innoson Kiara Academy, a technical and vocational institution established by an international consulting firm in partnership with the Innoson Group (Innoson Group Profile Booklet, 2016). It offers courses that are tailored around the production processes and procedures of various

factories within the Innoson Group, using modern apprenticeship delivery format. Designed to produce skilled automobile manufacturing/maintenance or plastic manufacturing technology, the aim is to bridge the gap between educational theory and the industrial practical realities.

Courses available include – auto electronics, auto mechanics, and welding, fabrication, auto painting and finishing among others, hence inculcating and ensuring employability and entrepreneurial skills. Continuous Personal Professional Development Courses (CPPD) and online training sessions are equally available 'Timely promotion, prompt salary, allowances and remunerations payments remain' parts of outstanding motivations for the work-force.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Innoson Group, as one of Nigeria's leading industrialists and pioneer automobile manufacturer has established business bound to thrive within the framework of the Federal Government's diversification and industrialization policy(Vanguard Newspaper, 2014).The Group's litany of products, coupled with the proven quality, is simply a clear testimony of initial bold move, persevering entrepreneurial masterpiece and a proven mission to subsist even in the face of an unpredictable Nigerian terrain. Eager to give back to the community, because the land where he built his motor factory at Nnewi was given to him freely by the Community, this study relying on credible information aver that Mr. Innocent Chukwuma has continued to offer employment to the Community youths even without requisite qualifications. Quite aware of the cumulative values accruable from automated industrialization, Chukwuma opted for manual strategy in order to create more job opportunities for the many Nigerian jobs seekers, hence many after learning new techniques, have indeed established their own enterprises (Onusogu, 2017). Towards evaluating the success story of his entrepreneurial gait, one could rightly conclude that the Innoson Group has contributed immensely in poverty alleviation in Nigeria, since if available indices are anything to go by, more than 1 million citizens are economically benefitting from his

many factories, hence contributing greatly to Nigeria's national development.

Innocent Chukwuma is the founder of Centre for Law Enforcement Education (CLEEN), the first African non-governmental organization to receive the prestigious MacArthur Foundation Award for creative and effective institutions (Google, CLEEN 2019). This foundation in ensuring, supporting and overseeing grants and equal access to economic and social opportunities, addresses issues of democratic and accountable governance, freedom of expression, sexuality and reproductive health and rights.

In his exploratory innovation in the academia, Innocent Chukwuma has successfully served as a visiting lecturer at Havard's Kennedy School of Government, where he designed and taught a course on the management of non-profits in the global South (Google, National Enquirer.ng). Apart from successfully converting dependable investment in automobile from an expensive curiosity into a practical conveyance that is still impacting profoundly on the Nigerian economic landscape, Innoson Group has not relented in the area of Corporate Social Responsibility. From the provision of good roads, electricity and pipe borne water in the immediate Nnewi Community, to the upliftment of academic quality and environment for teaching and learning in Nigeria, this Group has blazed the trail. Among his many accomplishments, in 2014 a big classroom block was donated to the Business Administration Department of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka (the Vanguard Newspaper, 2014). The same year, in fulfillment of a previous promise made as a beneficiary of an honorary doctorate degree in 2011 of the Enugu State University of Technology, a multi-million Naira General Studies Departmental building was granted to ESUT. (The Nation Newspaper, Online)

Quite aware of Nigeria's import-dependency, coupled with the demand for foreign currency, the Innoson Group has helped to boost the Nigerian economy through reliance on naira value, hence exporting its products to the West African Sub-region.

All in all, the Innoson Group, considering its complex engagements and innovative outputs cannot viably be afloat without the daily exposure to

and challenges of industrial mishaps and accidents, including some cumulative bizarre environmental/health hazards. From minor puncture injuries to life – threatening industrial accidents, the Group has in place state of the arts clinics and first aid centres for their employees. Major cases are always taken to referral centres. The malady of energy crisis in Nigeria has persisted, hence the Innoson Group's total reliance on generators. Toxic emissions of carbon monoxide and noise pollution in the form of smoke, odour, solvent, dust emissions and waste is harmful to the workers, neighbours and leads to environmental degradation. Lead and acid in batteries, plastics during manufacturing process or incineration during destruction pollutes the air, land and water, hence releasing carcinogens. The manufacture of automobiles through iron are, that of plastics through the petroleum nonrenewable resources, goes through energy-intensive techniques that destroy fragile ecosystem. In the Innoson Manufacturing Tech., the deep waste reservoir which people dread, has according to reliable source drowned one employee who slipped, fell and got drowned (Udeh, 2017). Because industrial challenges and fallouts are always envisaged, this study advocates for the enthronement of better evolved solvents.

Finally, the Nigerian government is encouraged to speedily partner with the Innoson Group in implementation initiatives, social investment programme and skill acquisition scheme, since the company's tenacity, reliability and focus is steady and laudable. The encouragement of made in Nigeria goods could come from granting temporary tax rebates, easier accessibility to loan facilities to Small Medium Establishment (SMEs) since they empower the poor. In many ways, the dismal economic record of most developing countries could each be regarded as a consequence of their inefficiency and lack of motivation in the promotion of SMEs (Udeh, 1999).

One cannot overlook the delicate interface existing between the availability of electricity and industrialization. Subsequently, since most industries have actually closed down sequel to the high operational cost of production relying on generators, the onus lies on any responsible government to do the needful, in order to both encourage players like the Innoson Group to carry on, while spurring\newer entrepreneurs to invest more. Since the Group aims at regional and continental

dominance, government patronage is advocated. A policy should be enacted making it mandatory for all government ministries, departments and agencies to buy only made in Nigeria vehicles, such as IVM products. Such would serve as an elixir for the Innoson Group to initiate factory expansion, more job recruitment and better living standards for Nigerians.

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THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

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Abstract

The doctrine of the Blessed Trinity is perhaps one of the most savagely attacked Christian doctrines of faith. The perplexing reason for these attacks is that this central doctrine of the Christian religion has no practical relevance to human life and community. This study carries out an experimental survey to ascertain the truth value of this claim. The approach is multidisciplinary, using a carefully constructed questionnaire designed to meet the purpose of the study for data collection. The findings show that the doctrine of the Trinity, contrary to the assertions of Immanuel Kant and those who share sentiments with his school of thought, influences social behaviour. The Nike people of Enugu East Local Government Area of Enugu State is mused as a sample case.

Key Words: Behaviour change, relationship, social problem, sociology of religion, trinity

INTRODUCTION

It is common place, in these contemporary times, to pour aspersions on religion and to denigrate its power of influencing behaviour change.

Alongside with that is the denial of any practical relevance or contribution to human life and well-being on the part of the central element of the Christian religion, the Blessed Trinity. These denials precipitate the further denial of some articles of this doctrine as essential components of the revealed religion, and engender the trepidation in contemporary scholarship over investigations into this Christian doctrine of faith, and finally, a loss of the Trinitarian experience in life. The first, though the preoccupation of Christian apologetics and the concern of the teaching office of the Church (the Magisterium), induces systematic investigations into the foundations of faith. The second belongs more to the history of dogma and theological language, a primary concern of theology. The third belongs to the field of sociology of religion which measures the import or role of a people's belief systems in human societies. The concern of this paper revolves round the third, without losing sight of information from the other two. In this multi-disciplinary discussion, a theme in Christian theology is subjected to the searchlight of the social sciences. Understood in this light, an experimental survey approach is adopted in the effort towards ascertaining whether, in reaction to the accusation that this doctrine of God has no practical relevance at all, belief in the Trinity has made or ever makes any influence on social behaviour. Questionnaire is constructed for data collection. The research questions revolve around the following research questions:

1) Does the doctrine of the Trinity influence people's views towards relationship with friends and families?
2) Does the Trinity influence social behaviour?
3) Do different denominations have different views on the Trinity's influence on social behaviour?

The aim is to obtain from stakeholders in the faith whether this doctrine of faith affects their behaviour, and in what ways. A number of literatures would be consulted for the purpose of ascertaining the underlined objective of this study.

This study begins with a clarification of the keywords in the body of the paper, from where it would cast a brief look on religion and its elements, and finally, analyse the data collected in the field regarding the relevance of the doctrine of the Trinity on social behaviour.

Religion: this paper borrows Christopher Ejizu's explanation for a working definition of religion. He views religion as a worldview which tends to provide "a unified picture of the cosmos usually consisting of a web of interconnected beliefs, ideas and symbols that seek to explain rationally the order in the universe, an order that is believed to undergird human life and the universe as a whole" (Christopher I. Ejizu, 2008). Closest to this is A.W. Green's, which defines religion as "a system of beliefs and symbolic practices and objects, governed by faith rather than knowledge which relates man to an unseen supernatural realm beyond the known and beyond the controllable" (A. W. Green, in Ejizu, 2008).

The Trinity: The Trinity is the Christian understanding of God. It is, in point of fact, the central doctrine of the Christian religion. This term is used here specifically in reference to the central element of the Christian religion, that is, as one of the elements of religion (Christian). Granted this understanding the Trinity, the Trinity would be used interchangeably with religion, where the term refers more specifically to the Christian God.

Trinitarian Praxis: This is a theological notion which considers the practical relevance of the Christian doctrine of the Blessed Trinity.

Social Behaviour: Social behaviour is a term used to describe the general conduct exhibited by individuals within a society, which is essentially in response to what is deemed acceptable by a person's peer group and avoidance of behaviour that is characterized as unacceptable (Java Pollecar,). This term is used here in reference to the way/ways each individual assimilates into the crowd or group, and how a group of individuals acts together to achieve set goals (cf. Encyclopedia.com, 2019; Kahn,). The study assumes that trinitarian experience enables social behaviour.

Social Problem: is any undesirable condition, situation or behaviour that has negative consequences for large number of people that needs to be changed. It is used in this context as any general behaviour or condition in a particular society, which is feared to leave negative effects on the society beyond the morally and socially justifiable behaviour, while anti-social behaviours indicate often the loss of this

relevance. The paper assumes that loss of the Trinitarian experience enhances the chances of such anti-social behaviours, like insurgency, socio-political crises like the so-called "Arab Wind", corruption, restiveness, rape, drug abuse, violence etc that rend the air across the globe, particularly in the first two decades of the 21st century AD.

The Problem of Definition of Religion

The problem with religion starts from the very word religion itself. No single definition has been offered that encapsulates all the elements or phenomena of religion. The very experts and owners of the language, religion, leave scholars in a dilemma as to which one to cling to, since they themselves do not have just one etymological root for the word "religion". Where Cicero (106 – 43BC) traced "religion" to the Latin verb, *re-ligio*, *-ere,* (to execute painstakingly and by repeated efforts" (Ejizu, 2008), Lactantius (250 - 325AD) rather drew his definition from another Latin verb, *religio*, meaning to bind back to (that which is taught to be the ultimate source). Both etymological definitions and the numerous definitions of religion by such experts like Maclaver, Durkheim, Ogburn, J.M. Frazer, A.W. Green, H.M. Johnson, Malinowski, Ejizu, and a host of others, remind us of the complexity and difficulty in compressing the phenomenon of religion into one measurable single mould. These make all efforts to find one comprehensive definition of religion widely accepted difficult like a wild goose chase. Ejizu compares it to the analogy of the seven blind men describing an elephant. As for its inadequacies, the countless definitions often portray the various perspectives and biases of the definer. Many definitions reveal more about the one giving the definition than about religion itself (see, Sundermeier, 1999, Beyers, 2010). Bayers, for example, adds that "the majority of definitions of and theories of religion have originated from a Western background. Even the whole existence of the term 'religion' is seen as a 'eurozentrischen' (Eurocentric) term" (Figl 2003 in Bayers, 2010). This opinion finds support in Sundermeier (1999), Magesa (2002), and many African scholars who have chosen to define religion as a worldview. These scholars agitate over the bid to paint African religion in Western concepts. Instead, they opine that religion is a worldview of which Western conceptual schemes would be far from capturing the African

world and religious experience (see Megassa, 2002; Ejizu, 2008; Bayers, 2010).

Attempts to define religion are more often than not trapped in the dilemma of maximization or minimization. The definer may end up with a "definition that is too broad (a maximum definition)", which would "include elements not usually associated with religion" or "One that is too narrow (a minimal definition)", which would "exclude those elements that are normally accepted as religion. On the possibility of defining religion, there are those who would suggest abandoning the term religion ... and those who feel that religion is ideology per se" (Beyers, 2010). This constitutes a major challenge in the study of religion.

The challenges notwithstanding, the phenomenon of religion is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the *homo sapiens.* Humankind is not only a *homo rationalis* (rational animal), but also a *homo religiosus* (religious animal). Aside from the more widely acclamation of the characteristic of the human being from the rest of class *mammalia*. Anthropologists, for example, have identified the use of tools and language; social philosophers and scientists see this being, above all, as *"ens socialis" (a social being)*, so many other disciplines have their specialized visions of the human person. While each addresses with expertise, an angle of the many constituents of this complex reality called man (*homo*), none captures the philosophical conception of man as a composite of body, mind and spirit. Whereas these have their focus on the empirical, observable components of his being, yet each person encounters religion everyday (Cnaan *et al.,* 1991), religion alone seems to capture the holistic picture of man, the *homo religious*. This alone, gives consideration to those webs of interactions that undergird the human life and his universe. It becomes therefore inadequate the conclusions of the sciences that accept as relevant only those empirically based and observable components of human behaviour. This aspect of the human reality contains components that provide answers to the great puzzles of life, components like the unseen supernatural realm that lies far beyond the known and the controllable grasp of any empirical science and its scientific method. The Trinity, says Varghese, is "the breath-taking Truth that makes sense of all

truths, the Luminous Mystery that illumines all other mysteries, the dazzling sun that allows us to see all things except itself ... It is the revelation that makes sense of everything in our experience" (Varghese, 2010). This is one of the elements of the Christian religion.

Elements of Religion

Despite the difficulty in arriving at any one generally accepted definition of religion, scholars are agreed on certain elements are associated with religion. While these may vary according to the views of many authors, and more importantly, according to the various religions in the world, certain fundamental elements run parallel in all these religions. An example of such is the idea of the "holy" and the existence of the supernatural. This "holy" is often identified as God/Gods/Spirit-beings or Divinities, among theistic faiths like Christianity, Islam and Judaism, amidst other elements of religion. Among non-theistic religions like Buddhism and other Eastern religions, there is belief in an impersonal force or power (an impersonal empowering process, ultimate enlightenment, Nirvana) to which is tied the idea of the "holy". Accordingly, Ejizu (2008) notes that religion is belief in the "holy".

Central to the many definitions given by the above mentioned authors is the idea that religion is tied to this "Holy" as to an ultimate source, or to that reality upon whose laws the entire cosmos rests, a reality that "transcends" all others. Jaco Beyers calls it "Transcendence"; and this could mean a personal God or Nirvana. Christians conceive this Transcendence as God, and more specifically, as the Trinity. Regarding religious experience, Ejizu remarks that "the experience of the holy evokes a feeling of reverence and awe *(mysterium et fascinosum)* in most known religious traditions of humankind" (Ejizu, 2010). Under this aegis, salvation would mean either right relation to this God or transformative enlightenment. Thus, in religion, as Ejizu opines, the human being experiences the holy and ultimate reality, and the expression of that awareness in concrete life.

Religion and Social Behaviour

Religion is as old as the human society itself and has played enormous roles in the history of any people in all land and clime. According to

Nahid Eva (2015), "religion is an important part of life for many people. Even for people who are not all that religious by nature consider it to be important." The belief that the rules of what is acceptable for society are largely based on religion is beyond dispute. What could be debated is whether religion is required to make humanity good. Eva (2015) enumerates as much as 12 principal roles religion plays in the life of a people, foremost among which is regulation of behaviour.

Many scholars have attested that the interaction with religion makes enormous impacts that bear on both private lives and social behaviour in both theistic and non-theistic religious circles. Doetzel (2001) in Baloch, *et al.* (2014) points out that religion "binds us together as people or community". This underscores the importance and relevance of religion to social behaviour. As a general frame that underscores the importance of religion in the society, Ikenga-Metu holds that "...people's worldview is defined as the complex of their beliefs and attitudes concerning nature, structure and interaction of beings in the universe with particular reference to man" (Ikenga-Metu, 1972). This worldview shapes behaviour and sets the standards for acceptable conduct. The experience of the holy, for example, impacts conduct since it provides a moral compass for members of the given society. With its overriding presence in all religions and serving as "the binding wire" behind exclusivity in religious memberships and gatherings, religion becomes the force and thrust behind behaviour change, though susceptible to one form of extremism or the other. Belief in the gods or in the Supreme Being is held to be "the fountain of justice". It is "the glue that keeps members of larger groups from turning on each other or freeloading" (Nicole Greenfield, 2008). Greenfield's analysis of 186 societies shows that cultures with large populations tend to subscribe to religions that enforce human morality. The conclusion reached shows that religion can stabilize large human societies, otherwise destined for collapse. Greenfield instantiated this hypothesizing that religious beliefs, by signaling a person's willingness to sacrifice for others, help people to get along better (Nicole Greenfield, 2008). This has been corroborated by Okeke, Ibenwa, and Okeke (2017), where these authors assert that religion "colours" people's consciousness.

Researches in the sociology of religion, and psychology of religion alike, attest that religion shapes social behaviour (Pablo Branas-Garza, *et al.,* 2013; Kathleen R. Speeth, 1993; Baloch, *et al.,* 2014; Einolf C.J., 2011; Saroglou, *et al.,* 2005; Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen, 1991), enhances social cohesion (Hervieu-Leger, 2006*)*, influences personal life (Baloch, *et al.,* 2014), impacts cultures and civilization, and even spousal relationships and sex (Farmer, et al., 2009; Wong, 2009. Interestingly, all these affirm the power of religion in shaping human life and social behaviour. These agree with the conclusions of Beyers, Opoku, Sundermeier, Hervieu-leger and Nahid Eva. All these scholarly works assert in unison that religion "encapsulates the whole human being, as this being stands in a holistic relationship with reality" (Beyers, 2010) and pervades all spheres of human life and the human environment. There is no aspect or sphere of human life that remains impervious to religious influence. Hence Hervieu-Leger affirms that it has "implications that extend far beyond the realm of religion itself" (Hervieu-Leger, 2006), while Sundermeier calls it the foundation of all life (Sundermeier, 1999). This becomes possible because humans, says Beyers, stand in a holistic relationship with all reality. He makes bold to say that all life has to do with religion, while Opoku defines it as "the source of life and meaning" (Opoku, 1993). Eva notes the following: Religion is "the central element in the life of civilization. Throughout the ages it is a proof of its values. It has been the propagator of basic values and ethical code which provide cohesion to society and integration to personality" (*Eva, 2015)*.

The import of religion on life covers both conducts of individual persons and social relationships, as well as the shaping of civilizations and cultures. To show its role in shaping the culture and civilization of any society, Eva lists as much as twelve of such functions whereas Hervieu-Leger makes the following observation:

> *If we truly wish to take the measure of the presence of religion in European societies, we must dig deeper, and look into the political, cultural, ethical, and symbolic structures that make up the framework for collective life in the societies concerned. At this level, one can gauge the extent to which both institutions and*

> *mentalities are imbued with and shaped by religion,*
> *even in the absence of any explicit reference to the*
> *religious traditions involved in the development of the*
> *civilization's values. Civilized values have developed,*
> *broadly speaking, within a Judeo-Christian cultural*
> *context (Hervieu-Leger, 2006).*

He illustrates this with the French experience where the programme of public institutions (everything from schools to hospitals, courts, universities, *etc*.) is entirely based on, and has continued to operate (though, obviously, not explicitly) with reference to the Catholic model. "It is impossible to appreciate the discussion of many questions in French public life which have nothing strictly to do with religion (from food quality to the ethical regulation of science, the management of hierarchical relationships in business, the future of rural society, societal expectations of the State, and demands for workers' rights) without being aware of the extent to which French culture is impregnated with Catholic values" (Danièle Hervieu-Léger, 2006).

These authors could reach such conclusions since they all agree that religion is a subject we encounter everyday (Cnaan *et al.,* 1991), even when we claim we are a-religious. Religion's influencing power lies in the fact that it adds meaning and purpose to the lives of the followers, helping them to appreciate the past, understand the present and hope for the future as well as giving psychological stability (Smith *et al.,* 2004 in Baloch *et al.,* 2014). This position affirms the assumption of this paper that the Trinity, the central element of the Christian religion, contributes crucially to the production of norms and values that Christians to govern their collective lives. The reference to Europe's religious (or spiritual) heritage in Hervieu-Leger illustrates how religion contributes to the emergence of a shared worldview. This bring one to the question; how does the belief in the Trinity impact social behaviour?

The Trinity and Social Behaviour

If for theistic faiths, religion means belief in God and activities related to it (Lim *et al.,* 2010), it would mean belief in the Triune God in Christianity. Secondly, if religion could influence social behaviour, then, Christianity, and its major element, the Trinity, do as well influence social behaviour. Thus, Christians find in this doctrine the

Christian conception of God, around which all phenomena of religious experience revolves, and go on to profess faith in the Triune God. Hence, Christians "believe in One God (Credo in Unum Deum) the Father… Son… the Holy Spirit." And put in the Trinitarian formula, the Christian worships God who is Triune: "We worship One God in Trinity and Trinity in Unity (the *Quicumque Vult* of St. Athanasius, see Nwachukwu, A.U. 2018). They believe and confess that there are Three Persons in One God – the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Thus, belief in the Trinity is central among the elements of the Christian religion. This requires a little flashlight.

The Trinity as the Central Element of the Christian Religion

Christianity shares the same monotheistic faith tradition with Judaism and Islam. As one of the Abrahamic religions, it professes belief in one God, against the polytheism of the Asian mystery religions. But it distinguishes itself from Judaism and Islam by its confession of a form of plurality within the inner being of this One God. While agreeing with Tertullian's assertion that God, if He is not One, then He is not God, Walter Kasper explains that in Christianity, God is not simply *Unus* but at the same time, *Uniqus*. His Unity is Unique, this uniqueness lies in the mystery of His essence (ousios/substantia), which is One, and the Three hypostases or Persons. This is summed in the concept of "Trinity" (Walter, 1984). This understanding of the being of God stems from the teachings of the Sacred Writ, liturgical worship and experience of faith of the apostles who, Christians believe, are the foundation stones of the Christian religion (cf. Varghese, 2010). This faith, says there are Three Persons in One God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

It belongs to the history of dogma to narrate the evolution or development of this doctrine of the Christian faith, as one can find in O'Collins (1999), Kasper (1984); Edmund J. Fortmann (1981); Nwachukwu (2018), and many others. Suffice here to have this doctrine interpreted as the central element of the Christian religion, to whom humans relate in their religious experiences.

The Christian Doctrine of the Trinity: A Retrieval

The word "Trinity" is the English Equivalent of the Latin: "*Trinitas*", an abstract noun that evokes the idea of "three-ness". It is perhaps on this note that Kaushik employs it for his ecommerce business (Avinash Kaushik,). "Three-ness" is in consonance with the Christian experience of God as witnessed in Sacred Scripture and the experience of faith and worship in the early Church. In articulation of their faith, the second and third generation theologians (in the post-Apostolic era) provided this term in explanation for the Christian experience of God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit (Nwachukwu, A.U., 2008) in both scripture and tradition. It became a dogma of faith, first at Nicaea I (325AD), complemented in Constantinople I (381AD), and clarified in the later Ecumenical Councils of Lyons II (1274) and Florence (1431-1442). The Trinitarian promulgation of Lyons II Council reads:

> *We believe in the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, one omnipotent God and deity entire in the Trinity; co-essential, consubstantial, xo-eternal and co-omnipotent, one of will, power, and majesty, ... We believe that each single person in the Trinity is the one true God complete and perfect (Roger E. Olson & Christopher A. Hall, 2002).*

This Christian understanding of God stands on three types of biblical testimonies and experience of faith in the early Church:

i. The use of the plural concepts for God, especially in the Yahweist (J) and Elohist (E) Sources of the Pentateuch;

ii. The pervading use of concepts denoting interpersonal relationship, such as Fatherhood, Sonship and Holy Spirit in the N.T., and

iii. The biblical definition of God as love (cf. 1 John 4:8, 16; Martin Davis, 2013; D.L. Migliore, 2004; and Nwachukwu, 2008).

The implication of this confession is that God is pluriform, though only One God. Dr. I.P. Wheeler (2018) and Anthony Maas attest to that. These two authors attest that *Elohim*, a plural form of *El*, is very often used for God in the Pentateuch. This reason is confirmed in an online article, "Trinity: Plural References to God in the Old Testament: Plural Nouns, Pronouns, Verbs, Adverbs", posted by an unidentified author. This article points out that there are eloquent indications that God is

One in unity, but Three in Persons. Their truth value derives from the testimony of sacred scripture (cf., www.bible.caftrinity-ones –unit-plurality…retr.9/July/2019).

The above is itself a near reiteration of the Athanasian Creed which says:

> *... we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in unity; neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance. For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit is all one, the glory equal, the majesty coeternal. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Spirit. The Father uncreated, the Son uncreated, and the Holy Spirit uncreated. The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Spirit incomprehensible. The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Spirit eternal. And yet they are not three eternals but one eternal. As also there are not three uncreated nor three incomprehensible, but one uncreated and one incomprehensible. So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty, and the Holy Spirit almighty. And yet they are not three almighties, but one almighty. So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God; And yet they are not three Gods, but one God. So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Spirit Lord; And yet they are not three Lords but one Lord (St Athanasius' Creed).*

One of its clearest summaries comes from the 7th Century AD Council of Toledo (675AD). The synopsis of the Trinitarian teachings of this Synod reads: Although we profess three persons we do not profess three substances but one substance and three persons ... If we are asked about the individual Person, we must answer that he is God. Therefore, we may say God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit; but they are not three Gods, he is One God ... Each single Person is wholly God in himself and ... all three persons together are one God".

All these Symbols of the Christian faith suggest that

    i.   There is only One Divine Nature

ii. There are Personal distinctions in God
iii. There is unity in God
iv. There is multiplicity within this One Godhead
v. There is asymmetrical relationship among the Three Divine Persons
vi. The Trinity is the doctrine on the nature of God

It is within this purview that possible systematic interpretation would identify innumerable theopraxist implications of this doctrine of faith on human social behaviour.

Trinity and Social Behaviour: The Kantian Criticism

Since the centre of every theistic religious faith is belief in God, the relevance of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity therefore underscores how much the Christian God must have impacted social behaviour and the shaping of civilization since two thousand years, still counting. On the contrary, the relevance of this doctrine to contemporary society has been hotly contested in the more recent times. It is threatened with *reductio ad absurdium.* The German Enlightenment philosopher, Immanuel Kant, slung the first mud when he declared it the most absurd of all the Christian doctrines: "The doctrine of the Trinity, taken literally, has absolutely nothing worthwhile for the practical life can be made out of the doctrine of the Trinity" (Immanuel Kant, De Streit der Fakulten, PhB 252, in Freenstra and Platinga, Jr, 1989; also Roennfeldt, 2014; Petersen & McIver, 2014). Aside from granting it the benefit of distinguishing one faith from another, the Kantian hypothesis numbered God among the noumenal realities, and therefore regarded the doctrine of the Trinity as a meaningless inconsequential doctrine whose usefulness has a mere utilitarian motif, that is, where we read a moral meaning into it. By this criticism, Kant asserts that the most central element of the Christian religion is pointless, hence, it could be denied that this Christian doctrine of faith has or will ever have any benefits to human beings. By this, he has therefore launched a deadly attack on the foundation stone upon which the edifice of the Christian faith is constructed. Ironically, this same doctrine laid the foundation to the civilization on which Kant developed his thought. Nevertheless, it does not just suffice to wave the Kantian criticism, neither is it sufficient to argue alongside with Danièle Hervieu-Léger (2006) that the Christian

religion has influenced the shaping of Western culture and civilization without a proper investigation into the claims of Kant.

Kant is not alone in his perception of the practical import of this doctrine of God. Many later scholars and authors have attested, for instance, to the loss of the Trinitarian experience, even in the church itself. Thaddeus Williams, taking a historiographical approach, supposes, perhaps, that Kant's assessment would have been informed by a failure of 18th century European churches to intentionally live out Trinitarian realities (Williams, 2013). This is in agreement with the view expressed in J. Scott Horrell (2008) which says: "We have done little to consciously express Trinitarian belief in our daily lives and in the community and mission of the church" (Horrell, 2008). Karl Rahner's "Trinity", notes that from the way Christians have lived hitherto, it appears we all are strictly monotheists (Karl Rahner, 1970) while Collin E. Gunton expresses the same view as Rahner's in "The Promise of Trinitarian Theology" (2003), citing the near absence of this Trinitarian nuance in the Book of Common Prayers of the Anglican Communion.

Nevertheless, it would be distraught to suppose that the central teaching of a religious body that wields such a demographic power of 2.1 billion members, two thousand years of history, and active involvement in the emergence of world civilization, would be tagged "irrelevant" and "absurd". Reactions to this could be the reasons behind the reawakening of interest in Trinitarian theology and the adoption of new hermeneutics in theological research on the Trinity and the barrage of literatures on the Trinity. Even these scholars, Rahner, Gunton, and even Horrell are rather arguing for acknowledgement of this doctrine than its denial. Gunton would argue, for instance, for more reflection of this doctrine in the composition of liturgical prayers as a proper manifestation of this article of faith in Christian worship, devotion and consciousness. This paper turns to an experimental survey to ascertain whether or not this doctrine of God makes any practical contribution to humankind.

METHOD AND ANALYSIS OF DATA
To ascertain the Trinity's influence on social behaviour, the quantitative experimental approach was adopted. The data was collected by a carefully constructed questionnaire which was administered to 150

randomly selected populations from three communities around Enugu East Local Government Area Headquarters. This location is carefully chosen because its strategic location as the centre of Nike clan, the housing of the political headquarters of Nikeland, as well as the strong presence of Christianity in the land. More areas could not be covered, partly because the population of the study and partly because of the semi-urban nature of the communities with a population mix with indigenes of other parts of Nikeland and other dwellers from other lands sufficed for the aim and objectives of the study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1: Demographic Profile, Respondents' Data

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
1. GENDER		
Female	80	53.3
Male	70	46.7
2. Age Group		
18 – 25 years	55	36.7
From 26 years above	95	63.3
3. Marital Status		
Single	55	36.7
Married	95	63.3
4. Education Level		
Secondary	60	40
University	90	60
5. Job/Work		
Student	40	26.7
Working part time	75	50
Unemployed	45	30
6. Religious affiliations		
Catholic	86	57.3
Protestants	42	28
Others	22	14.7

The table 1 (demographic profile) shows the gender of the respondents (53.3% female and 46.7% male), their age (from 18 years above), educational statuses (21% secondary, 77% tertiary) and employment status with 40% (students), 45% unemployed and 75% employed and their religious affiliation.

Table 2: Roman Catholic Respondents

Variables	Frequency	%
RELIGIOUS LIFE		
Frequency of participation in religious programmes and worship		
2/3 times a month	57	66.3
Once a month	13	15.1
Once a year	10	11.6
BELIEFS: THE TRIUNE GOD		
Belief in One God	86	100
Belief that the One God is Trinity (Three Persons in One God)	86	100
Each divine Person is God, yet there is only One God	86	100
The Divine Persons live in perfect harmony and communion	62	72.1
As God's image, man is called to live in love and communion as God does	86	100
THE TRINITY AND HUMAN LIFE		
This doctrine of God reminds you about mutual support as in a family?		
Yes	73	84.9
No	12	14
Not sure	1	1.1
It helps one to learn how to live in communion with other persons as in the Trinity?		
Yes	86	100
No	0	0
Not sure	0	0
This can help you develop a more acceptable behaviour in the community		
Yes	70	81.4
No	11	12.8
Not sure	5	5.8
TRINITY/RELIGION AND SOCIAL		

BEHAVIOUR		
Religious beliefs influence your daily activities		
Yes	64	74.4
No	6	7
Not	16	18.6
Religion and its elements influence relationships within the family and community		
Yes	72	83.7
No	6	7
Not sure	8	9.3
Religion often impacts dating/sexual relationship		
Yes	65	75.6
No	17	19.8
Not sure	4	4.6
Religion influences volunteering/altruistic services		
Yes	55	64
No	11	12.8
Not sure	20	23.3

Variables	Frequency	%
RELIGIOUS LIFE		
Frequency of participation in religious programmes and worship		
2/3 times a month	23	54.8
Once a month	9	21.4
Once a year	10	23.8
BELIEFS: THE TRIUNE GOD		
Belief in One God	42	100
Belief that the One God is Trinity (Three Persons in One God)	42	100
Each divine Person is God, yet there is only One God	42	100
The Divine Persons live in perfect harmony and communion	40	95.2
As God's image, man is called to live in love and communion as God does	42	100
THE TRINITY AND HUMAN LIFE		
This doctrine of God reminds you of mutual support as in a family?		

Yes	26	61.9
No	5	11.9
Not sure	11	26.2
It helps one to learn how to live in peace with other persons as in the Trinity?		
Yes	42	100
No	00	00
Not sure	00	00
This can help you develop a more acceptable behaviour in the community		
Yes	33	78.6
No	7	16.7
Not sure	2	4.8
TRINITY/RELIGION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR		
Religious beliefs influence your daily activities		
Yes	29	69
No	7	16.7
Not sure	6	14.3
Religion and its elements influence relationships within the family and community		
Yes	35	83.3
No	3	7.1
Not sure	6	14.3
Religion often impacts dating/sexual relationship		
Yes	42	100
No	0	0
Not sure	0	0
Religion influences volunteering/altruistic services		
Yes	42	100
No	0	0
Not sure	0	0

Table 2 surveys the results of the catholic population of the respondents on involvement in religious activities, understanding of the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity and the import of such understandings on their personal lives and that of life in their communities. The data obtained show that 63.% of the respondents participate in religious programmes and worship up to 2 to 3 times in a month while 15.1% visit in a month

and 11.1% of the respondents visit in a year. All (100%) of the respondents believe that there is only One God, who is Trinitarian. Regarding religious beliefs and personal life, 84.9% of the respondents attest that the doctrine reminds them of supporting one another as members of one family or of a community, just as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit do within the Trinitarian family. 100% says they can emulate the Trinity by living in peace with one another as members of a family. 81.4% agree that knowledge of the Trinity helps them to develop socially acceptable lifestyles. Religion and religious beliefs like the Trinity influences people's daily activities (74.4%); relationship within the family and the community (83.7%); and altruistic services/ sexual relationship (75.6%); while 64% affirmed that it influences their involvement in altruistic services/volunteering.

Summarily, the result in Table 2 shows beyond any doubt the conviction of Catholics in Nike, Enugu on the influence of the Christian religion in shaping social behaviour. It would be the concern of another test to measure the extent of this influence. Of this, belief in the Trinity plays an outstanding role as a model of life and as an enhancer of the human tendency to live in communion and peace with others.

Table 3: Protestant Respondents
Table 3 displays the responses from respondents who identified themselves as protestants.   Membership to this group comprises Christians from all other denominations other than Catholic.

The result shows that 54.8% of the respondents participate in religious programmes and worship up to 2-3 times in month while 21.4% of the respondents said once a month, and 23.8% once a year. 100% confess that there are Three Persons in One God, while 95.2% and yet, 100% of the respondents affirm that the Three Divine Persons live in perfect harmony and communion. On the Trinity and the human person, 61.9% accept faith that this doctrine of God helps one to understand better how to live a life of sharing with others as in a family, all (100%) says this understanding of God helps them to live in peace with others, while 78.6% affirm it helps them to develop a more wholesome behaviour in the community. Furthermore, the data revealed too that religion and religious beliefs, such as the Blessed Trinity, influence social behaviour in a variety of ways. The areas of inquiry covered personal life, family

life, human community, social activities like dating and sexual relationships, and pro-social activities (altruism and volunteering). To the first, 69% confirmed that knowledge of the Trinitarian image of God influences their daily activities. 83.3% agrees too that it impacts on family and community life, 100% affirmations are made on the influence of religion and its elements on sexual relationship and altruistic/voluntary services. Summarily, this data from the Protestant respondents is not quite difference from what is obtained among Catholics. Any difference is only in the population of study, which had been chosen randomly.

Table 4: Un-Indicated Denomination

VARIABLES	Frequency	%
RELIGIOUS LIFE		
Frequency of participation in religious programmes and worship		
2/3 times a month	8	36.7
Once a month	5	22.7
Once a year	9	40.9
BELIEFS: THE TRIUNE GOD		
Believe in One God	22	100
Believe that the One God is Trinity (Three Persons in One God)	17	77.3
Each divine Person is God, yet there is only One God	17	77.3
The Divine Persons live in perfect relationship and communion	13	59.1
As God's image, man is called to live in love and communion as God does	13	59.1
THE TRINITY AND HUMAN LIFE		
This doctrine of God reminds you about mutual support as in a family?		
Yes	18	81.8
No	1	4.5
Not sure	3	13.6
It helps one to learn how to live in peace with other persons as in the Trinity?		

Yes	22	100
No	0	0
Not sure	0	0
This can help you develop a more wholesome behaviour in the community		
Yes	9	40.9
No	6	27.3
Not sure	7	31.8
TRINITY/RELIGION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR		
Religious beliefs influence your daily activities		
Yes	17	77.3
No	0	0
Not	5	22.7
Does religion and its elements influence relationships with family and friends		
Yes	11	50
No	4	18.1
Not sure	7	31.8
Religion impacts dating/sexual relationship		
Yes	12	54.6
No	8	36.4
Not sure	2	4.7
Religion influences volunteering/altruistic services		
Yes	8	36.4
No	7	31.8
Not sure	7	31.8

The data in Table 4 is from those respondents who did not indicate their religious group. Since they constituted a significant number, they are used here to counterbalance the data from both Catholic and Protestant respondents. Surprisingly still, the majority indicated they are Christians, with depth knowledge of the Christian notion of God (the Trinity) and affirmed strongly that religion and religious beliefs and tenets impact social behavior. Their data reads thus: 36% attend or participate in religious programmes and attend religious worship for about 2-3 times a month. 27% do so once a month, while 40.9% do so

at least once a year. 100% profess belief in God; 77.3% said God is Triune; the same frequency affirmed that the Three Divine Persons live in perfect relationship and communion, while 59.1% attest that the human person is called to live in love and communion with others like the Trinitarian Persons.

That this Christian notion of God (as Trinity) impacts human life is attested to by the responses obtained. 81.8% affirmed that this doctrine of God reminds them about mutual support with others as in a family. 100% (that is all the respondents) affirm that knowledge of God as Three Persons having One Divine nature helps them to live in peace with one another, while 40.9% said that this knowledge can help them develop a more wholesome lifestyle in the community. This group of respondents also affirmed that religion and its elements (like belief in the undivided unity in Trinity) influences and shapes social behaviour. On this note, 77.3% said it influences their daily activities; 50% responded affirmatively that it has strong influence on their relationships in the family and friends; 54% stated that it affects dating and sexual (interpersonal) relationships, 46.4% said it does not. 36% wrote that it influences their engagement in altruistic services and volunteering, while 31.8% said it does not really, and another 31.8% said they are not sure.

RESULT SUMMARY
There is no clear difference between the data displayed in the different Tables above. All show a high frequency of participation in religious activities, a 100% belief in God and an overwhelming acceptance of the Christian confession of the Blessed Trinity. This high frequency may be attributed to Biblical testimony, strong presence of Christian religious bodies in Nike land and doctrinal catechesis. Approximately 95% of the respondents agree that religion is important in life as its doctrines shape personal lifestyles and social behaviour. One can infer from the findings displayed in the tables:

  i. There is a strong Christian presence in Nike land (available data at Enugu Diocesan secretariat shows, for instance, shows that there are 46 parishes under two Catholic deaneries [*Nkwo Nike and Emene*], an Anglican Communion diocese [the Diocese of Nike], a

strong presence of other Protestant and Pentecostal denominations of different sizes notwithstanding) in Nike land today.

ii. There a strong belief in the Trinity and high frequency of participation in religious activities.

iii. There is a corresponding change in behaviour as indicated in the high level of hospitality, good neighbourliness, and generosity of the present generation of Nike people, a people who in yester years were known as a dreaded warrior race, and a nightmare to neighbours.

iv. Good neighbourliness, hospitality, and generosity are qualities inherent in inner Trinitarian life. This high percentage of these virtues in a Christian community deserves the interpretation as expressions of the influence of Trinitarian faith, the fruit of conversion, in a people and a culture.

These altogether give proof to the hypothesis which says that religion impacts on a person's lifestyle and social relationships. Much the same is the Christian doctrine of the Trinity which promotes harmony and teaches how to live in community and communion with others. It is left for further studies to ascertain to what extent this belief in the trinity impacts behaviour change among the Nike people.

CONCLUSION

This evaluation made above falls into consonance with the conceptual frame of more recent Trinitarian theologians. Vented in Gunton (2005),

> Theological teaching is not an end in itself, but a means of ensuring that it is the real God we worship, the real God before whom we live. That is the point of the doctrine of the Trinity above all ….

This expresses this conviction that measurable faith convictions find expression in worship and good neighbourliness. Thus, this new theo-praxist hermeneutics conceives God as an essentially relational being, and the Trinity as a model of life in its perfection than an impenetrable mystery of mysteries, and a window for assessing the in-depth understanding of the human person and his social relationships. Thus, God is no longer viewed as a *Deus absconditus,* who withdrew to a hidden state after creation, or an ever imposing supra-deity whose interference in human affairs only amounts to the stifling of human

freedom as seen in the Greek mythologies. He is the active, involved God who is ever engaged in the process of history and human salvation. The revelation of His being as Trinity, according to Rahner, is purposeful; and that purpose makes the Trinity a mystery of salvation, whereby God's various interventions in history are designed for the sake of human salvation. This salvation is interlocked in the one purposive establishment of the kingdom of God, which begins here in the transformation of culture, but which would be perfected in glory. This makes the revelation of this mystery an invitation, and at the same time, a call into the inner mystery of man, since in this mystery lies the key to unfolding the inner mystery of the human person and his relationships.

Drawing some inferences from the titles and issues treated in many recent publications on the Trinity, we conclude with the statements that in contrast to the Kantian "absurdity thesis", the Christian doctrine of the Trinity presents us with a model of life which presents human political systems, social behaviour, and communitarian life with a model of life. God's perichoretic life is therefore revealed as a coaching in divine choreographic dance styles and steps to enable humans move towards the actualization of their vocation as "*imago dei*" (images of God who subsists in relationship), whose destinies would be ultimately accomplished upon admission into the eternal koinonia in glory.

In response to Kant's "song of absurdity", therefore, the conclusion of this study says: the revelation of the one God as three inter-loving Persons has everything to do with the practical life. With Williams (2013), this study opines that "the Trinity is a precious and practical doctrine, one that touches all of life – how we break anti-loving cycles in our hearts, how we pray, how we worship, how we do church, how we build relationships, *etc*" (Thaddeus Williams, 2013).

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NEGLECT OF HISTORY: THE CASE OF ELECTIONEERING IN NIGERIA, 1964 – 2015

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Abstract

History, which according to Peter Esedebe is the verifiable actions, fortunes and misfortunes of human beings, places the burden of shaping human societies on men. Though non-human factors like volcanic eruptions, hurricanes, tsunamis among others. constitutes an integral part of history and have at different times influenced human societies either positively or negatively; human actions in response to the prevailing conditions in different environments have always prevailed. These actions according to Thucydides, writing in the Peloponnesian War tends to repeat itself and its rippling effects are felt by the

generality of the society in different forms. Therefore, until present leaders deliberately inquire to understand what happened in the past and why they happened, they will not be able to solve the problems of the present and even proffer solutions for the future. In Nigeria, the lessons of what happened in the past and why they did, especially in the electoral sector have been neglected by successive leaders and administrators. These led to fraudulent elections which produced leaders that are not accountable to the people; the result is corrupt and bad governance which deepened underdevelopment in numerous sections of the economy and polity. Resort to the lessons of history by generations of the country's leaders and people will put Nigeria on the path of development.

Key Words: History, Elections, Development, Leaders, Governance

Cleaning the Landscape

Election is a formal decision making process through which a population chooses individuals to represent them or hold public offices on their behalf.[1] It has been the usual mechanism through which modern representative democracies have operated since the 17th century. Through elections, positions in the executive, legislative and sometimes Judicial arm of government are filled both at the center and regional levels as well as at local councils.

The electoral process was first introduced in Nigeria during the heydays of colonialism in West Africa. In the period, some Ghanaian intellectuals in 1917 under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Ephraim Casley Hayford, a journalist, lawyer, educator and politician who championed the initial political movement for the emancipation of Africa,[2] founded the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA). Their main objective is to unite the four British West African colonies in demand for greater participation in their own affairs.[3] The congress asked among other things, a legislative council which will comprise of members, half of which will be nominated and the other half elected.

Governor Sir Hugh Clifford in 1992 as a result of the demands of the Congress, abolished the Nigerian Council and setup a new legislative council which embodied the principles of election.[4] Out of 27 unofficial

members 4 were to be elected, 3 from Lagos and 1 from Calabar. The Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) was formed by Hebert Macaulay – a Civil engineer turned politician, to take advantage of the electoral process of the new constitution. From then onwards, Nigerians have been choosing their leaders through elections.

This paper will concern itself with the lessons Nigerian leaders and policy makers were able to learn through the nature of successive elections in Nigeria which has been marred by numerous irregularities. These irregularities led to the imposition of unpopular candidates by the privileged few against the wishes of the majority. The result is corruption and bad governance which deepened underdevelopment in numerous sectors of the economy and polity. The nature of governance by the ill-elected administrators haveover the years, fuelled armed rebellion, war, insurgence, militancy, armed robbery and other social vices in different parts of the country which led to loss of lives and properties.

Since according to Thucydides, future leaders would encounter the same kind of problem that menaced their predecessors, and it is only by finding out accurately what happened what in the past and why they happened that statesmen may equip themselves to solve the problems of the moment.[5] This paper suggests that the neglect of the lessons of the past elections will not equip Nigerian leaders with all required for free, fair and credible elections that will usher in accountable and responsible government which will in turn facilitate the development sectors the country.

This paper will first of all survey the nature of history so as to establish if historical lessons are worth neglecting. The nature of the prosecution of successive elections in Nigeria from 1964 will be examined to ascertain if the electoral process is such that would produce leaders that will transform any society positively. The conclusion will look ahead with suggestions for the application of the knowledge of history to transform the Nigerian society through credible elections.

The commencement point of this paper is 1964; it was the year Nigeria for the first time both participated and duly supervised her elections as an independent nation. 2015 was the year the last election was

conducted at the time of this writing. Primary and secondary sources constitute data for historical reconstruction. The study will utilize historical method, examining the subject matter using qualitative research methodology.

The Meaning and Relevance of History:

The meaning, knowledge and relevance of history has evoked a lot of mixed interests among historians and ordinary minds. To the man on the street, history is basically the story of past events.[6] As a pupil, this definition which is also synonymous with the ordinary minds was advanced by my school teacher during a classroom session.[7] It reduced the meaning of history to mere stories which according to Tolstoy, sometimes never happened, and as well written by men who were not there.[8] This definition also reduced the knowledge of history to that which is devoid of empowering the people that know it. Their argument has always been, even if reconstruction of past events is possible, there is no connection between these events and the present events on the one hand, then the future events on the other hand. They describe the past as dead, in which case should not be situated into the events of the present. Not surprisingly, the mistakes of electioneering have bequeathed on the country the nature of governance that is synonymous with underdevelopment.

The definition also made history look irrelevant to the society. It is likened to a trivial pursuit; an expensive pastime which developing nations like Nigeria cannot afford to indulge in.[9] History therefore, in the eyes of the ordinary mind did not qualify as a course of study in institutions of higher learning. Since it is irrelevant to the society, its graduates will not meaningfully contribute to the advancement of human societies like the medical doctors, lawyers, engineers and a number of other fields of study.

To H. E Carr, history is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts and an unending dialogue between the present and the future.[10] G. Barraclough defines history as an attempt to discover, on the basis of fragmentary evidence, the significant things about the past.[11] These definitions debunked that which is posited by the ordinary minds, that history is mere stores of past events. Not all stories can make history. Stories that can make history are facts that are

carefully selected by the historian from the pool of stores available to him. Carr advanced that since historians choose which facts of the past that qualifies to be historical fact, the burden is on them (the historian) to assemble those facts to such extent that would produce objective picture of the past which is to a large extent accurate and independent of human (emotive) opinion.[12] These facts would be molded in a continuous interaction to such extent that would achieve an un-ending dialogue between the past and the present.

In this regard, history links the past with the present with a view of, not only providing solutions to the problems of the present but as well as that of the future. Cicero posits that history is the witness that testifies to the passing time, it illuminates reality, vitalizes memory, provides guidance to individual life…[13] In which case, nations and groups that desire a great future connects to the lessons of history. The value and relevance of history to the societies of men is of magnificent quantum. Livy advanced that it is the medicine for a sick mind, for in history, you have the record of the infinite variety of human experience plainly set out for all to see; and in that record you can find yourself and your country both examples and warnings, fine things to take as models and base things to avoid.[14]

History is therefore, the memory of the society. A society that lack history is a society cut adrift, who cannot find destination for policies and programmes that will bring sustainable development in all spheres governance. But the only lesson Nigerian statesmen could learn over the years from history and most especially in elections and electoral processes is that they could not learn anything from history. They fell victim of Von Ranke's position on the nature of history which judges the past to instruct contemporary world as to the future.

Since independence, elections in Nigeria have been marred by numerous irregularities which manifested itself in acts of violence, loss of lives and properties. The outcome of these elections produced leaders who are only accountable to few individuals that influenced their ascendency. They easilyforgot that credible elections producecredible leaders who in turn run credible government that both influence and deepen sustainable development.

Elections in Nigeria from 1964 – 2015

The violence that marred the 1964 elections had its roots in the Western Regional crisis which started in 1962. Following the outcome of the 1959 elections, it became apparent that the Action Group (AG) alone cannot elect itself into power, because the three major political parties had been entrenched in their various regions. The Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) in the North, the Action Group (AG) in the West and National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) in the East. Forming alliance therefore with either political party became apparent for a party to form the national government.

To Chief ObafemiAwolowo, an alliance with the progressive NCNC to get the conservative NPC out of power is paramount. A faction of the Action Group led by the Premier of the Western Region, Chief S. L. Akintolafavoured alliance with the ruling NPC with a view that each party should continue to maintain influence in their respective regions.[15]Ademoyega posited that, if Akintola had his way, he would have made the Action Group to ally with NPC, take whatever share of federal patronage and leave the suffering masses of the North and the West to their own fate.[16] Chief Awolowo who was also the leader of opposition at the federal parliament would not favour that line of action, rather, he believes in pragmatic solution to the problem of Nigeria which include the creation of more states.[17]

The rift between these two western leaders climaxed when the AG executive committee found Chief Akintola guilty of maladministration and anti-party activities, which led to his replacement by Chief Adegbenro as Premier of Western Region. Akintola's refusal to accept his replacement led to crisis in the western parliament triggered by few of Akintola's supporters. The police, acting on orders of the Prime Minister AlhajiAbubarkarTafawaBelewa, dispersed the House ofAssembly. A state of emergency was declared in the Western Region with Dr. Majekudomi (a loyal ally of the North) appointed as administrator.

The G. B. Coker Commission which was set up to investigate the matter convicted Chief Awolowo and some of his party men of treasonable felony and were incarcerated. Chief Akintola, (a loyal ally of the NPC) was reinstated as the Premier amidst criticisms. The police – a federal

government agency charged with civil protection and maintenance of law and order played an active role in the perpetuation of the wishes of the few against the masses and shortchanging truth for falsehood. The true wishes of the people were violently suppressed by the police. The court which is supposed to represent the last hope of the masses became an accomplice of the party in power. Ademoyega advanced that the trial judge, Justice Sowemimo on his judgment on the appeal of the findings of the Cooker Commission, did not declare that the prosecution had proved his case beyond reasonable doubt, rather, he declared that he had no choice except to convict eighteen of the accused led by Chief Awolowo.[18] With Chief Awolowo and his comrades incarcerated, and Chief Akintola reinstated as the Premier of Western Region, the ground was set for the massive rigging that marred the 1964 general elections.

Balogu noted that as elections approached, party thuggrey and political jerrymandering reached new heights.[19] Each of the party used every means at their disposal to ensure victory at the elections: cars and houses of political opponents were burnt down by thugs operating on behalf of Nigerian National Alliance (NNA), a merger of Akintola's Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) and Northern Peoples Congress (NPC). The police which is supposed to maintain law and order were used, also by the ruling party to intimidate opposing candidates. Opposition candidates were forcibly prevented from campaigning, and even from registering for the elections in parts of the Northern and Western Regions. Many opposition party stalwarts were arrested and jailed on flimsy charges, while many others were kidnapped.[20]At the end of the election, the coalition of the ruling party was returned unopposed in most parts of Northern and Western Regions against the wishes of the people. The outcome was a violent overthrow of the first Republic on the 15th of January, 1966 by the military which culminated into the Nigeria- Biafra war that lasted for 30 months; civil rule was halted in the country for 13 years.

At the tail end of the 13 years of military rule, General Murtala Mohammed in his transition to civil rule programme, setup the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) in 1975. In his address to the committee, he advised them to design a system which would eliminate the cut throat competition of the First Republic, and encourage a system

that will foster the development of national parties and eliminate over concentration of power in few hands.[21] He understood that bad elections, where the few usurp the wishes of the masses, produce both bad leaders and bad government.

The Second Republic government led by Alh.ShehuShagarifell victim of the anomalies of the First Republic. More attention were given to fewindividuals who were instrumental to the electoral victory of the ruling National Party of Nigeria (NPN) at the center. Akin Gbadebo noted that, in the agricultural sector which is one of the key sectors ofthe ShehuShagari led government, about seven hundred million Dollars which could have been used in establishing fertilizer plants in Nigeria was used to import fertilizers from the United States. He noted that those contracts were over invoiced as a means of siphoning Nigeria's money into personal foreign accounts.[22] For the first time, unemployment of graduates emerged in the Nigerian economic scene. Workers remained unpaid in various states and at the center for upwards of four months or even more.[23]About three billion Naira was sunk into the Federal Capital Territory project without much to show for it.[24] All these resources entered into the hands of few party men who were ready to go all the way against the wish of the people, to secure another four year term for the administration.

The 1983 general elections witnessed the brutalisation of the nation's conscience. Nigeria was turned into a police state with many members of the opposing political parties clamped into detention without being taken to court. The use of police to intimidate the masses was pervasive, bringing fear to majority of the population. According to *Times International of Monday, 19th of September 1983*, the protest reaction to the election claimed over three hundred houses and a considerable number of prominent citizens who were reported to have been murdered.[25] The NPN led government was returned to power, the leaders and policy makers of the second republic completely lost the lessons of the First Republic elections. The outcome was the military intervention of 31stDecember, 1983.

The June 12th, 1993 election which came ten years after the overthrow of the Second Republic was the transition programmewhere Nigerians turned out en mass to choose their leader. The National Electoral

Commission Chairman, Dr. Humphrey Nwosu put forward a Modified Open Ballot (MOB) system which is popularly known as Option A4. The wishes of the few personalities which surrounded the General Babangida administration led by Chief Arthur Nzeribe distorted the transition process which brought the country to the brink of another conflagration. The group under the auspices of Association for Better Nigeria (ABN) filed a suit at Abuja high court restraining NEC from conducting the June 12th presidential election.[26] Thereafter two Lagos residents SumboOnitiri and Richard BabatundeJumo also approached the Lagos High Court to compel NEC to conduct the election. Justice MoshoodOlugbani who heard the case ordered NEC to proceed with the conduct of the election[27] The court understood that the effect of not having an election may result to breakdown of law and order; it was on the basis of these assumptions that NEC proceeded with the election.[28] Justice Bassey Ikpeme on the night of June 10th 1993 restrained NEC from conducting the June 12th, presidential election.[29] It was on the basis of this court verdict that the Babangida administration annulled the June 12th election which according to the result released; Chief MKO Abiola of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) was leading his fellow contender Alhaji Bashir Toffa of the National Republican Convention (NRC) with a high margin. This manifested a clear neglect of the lessons of the past elections.

The 1999 transition election, just like the 1979 election was influenced by the military. Rtd. General Olusegun Obasanjo of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) was preferred by top military officers, business men and politicians who influenced the government in diverse ways. Bimbo Alade, a banker told a *Newswatch* correspondent that she will vote for PDP because Obasanjo's victory at the polls looked like *faith accompli*.[30] It was an election characterized by the influence of big politicians rather than the wishes of the masses. Votes did not actually count, the interest of few big politicians prevailed. For instance in Enugu State, Chief Jim Nwobodo's interest prevailed over ballot boxes. PDP who won massively in the Local Government, House of Assembly and Governorship elections, lost completely in the National Assembly Elections to Alliance for Democracy (AD) -a party that is not popular at all in Enugu. Jim Nwobodo led some of his candidates to AD and

secured victory for them at the polls.[31] Three PDP candidates that won the House of Representative seats had Jim's blessings.

In 2003 elections, there were no actual voting at polling stations across the country, but results were produced and candidates emerged. The election was a rape to democracy and good governance. Nigerians lost hope in elections as a medium of choosing their leaders since candidates anointed by the government in power irrespective of how unpopular they might be emerged victorious. The best candidates that reflect the wishes of the masses which could have as well produced good governance were shortchanged for political thugs and mediocre personalities. The result was bad governance and gross under representation of numerous constituencies across the federation. The party in power (PDP) used intimidation, thuggery, electoral malpractice and free use of firearms in most polling centers, these of course resulted in destruction of lives and properties[32]

According to Otoghagua, while the 2003 elections were rigged, the 2007 election was worse than a military coup.[33] It was the highest level of injustice and oppression to the Nigerian electorate. The Guardian Newspaper of April 19, 2007 in its editorial column posited thus:

> *The conduct of the government and INEC in the last election has brought Nigeria to the crossroads of emergency. The situation calls for radical solutions although the options available to save the country from impending danger are few… Democracy cannot be built on injustice and deceit.[34]*

The Nigerian electorate who were ready to change the bad government produced by the 2003 election met stiff resistance by government official thugs who were in most cases dressed in police and army uniforms.[35] Armed with strong weapons, they distorted the electoral process, destroyed lives and properties and made a mess of democracy and electoral process in Nigeria. Nigerians lost confidence in INEC and its Chairman, Prof Maurice Iwu. Virtually all members of the opposition party and even the general public rejected the outcome of the election. The lessons of history were clearly neglected.

Sanity started returning to the electoral process with the appointment of Professor AtahiruJega, a professor of political science from Bayero

University, Kano. He took steps to make the 2011 elections as credible as possible, though it was confronted by its own challenges. The voting process appeared a little more transparent, the number of registered voters in polling units and that of accredited voters were made public to voters of particular polling stations. Actual voting was done in secret but sorting and counting of votes were done in the open after which the result of each polling station is pasted for public consumption at the polling stations.

The election was no doubt, an improvement of the 2007 elections. For instance, unlike the 2007 elections, people went to their various polling stations to cast their votes. Votes were counted and results announced. The chairman noted that the election was flawed in some areas especially in the collation of results.[36] In some constituencies the results announced at different polling units reflected differently at the zonal collation centers, that was what made some people especially in the North take to the streets in post-election violence destroying lives and properties. Another area of variation between the 2011and 2007 elections is in the area of complaints; as against 3,000 election petitions which the 2007 election generated, the 2011 election generated 733 petitions,[37] and most contestants, both from the ruling and opposition parties were relatively comfortable with the outcome of elections.

In 2015 election, substantial improvements were also recorded in terms collation of results– a responsibility INEC entrusted to accomplished academics. The issue that raised greatest concern and challenges was the Card Reader machine which emerged for the first time in the scene of Nigeria's electoral history. The inefficiency of the Card Readers in different polling centers created a gap that encouraged manipulation of the election in numerous polling stations. The election produced results that sprang surprises in a number of constituencies, senatorial districts and states. Another major challenge was the collation process which left gaps that encouraged the manipulation of the election results by the powers that be.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

The neglect of the lessons of past elections in Nigeria have produced succession of leaders that could not provide the extent of good leadership that will drive the key sectors of the economy both to

transform the Nigerian Society and as well provide a solid base for sustainable development. The classes of leaders produced in both legislative and executive arms in different tiers of government were among the people Francis Fakuyama described as the *"Last Men and Men without Chest."* People who lack self pride, only clever at finding new ways of satisfying their petty wants through calculated long term self-interest. They had no desire to be recognized as greater than others and because of that, no excellence or achievement was possible.[38] They are not innovative and creative in devising ways to generate wealth that will transform the society; rather they loot the available resources for selfish personal purposes and leave the society poorer than they met it. They could not leave legacies for posterity rather they destroyed the legacies they met.

Over the years, bad elections have produced bad leaderships and created stunted economic growth, increased unemployment and put pressure on politics as the only means of survival. Youths who are the supposedly leaders of tomorrow, owing to a frustrated economy took to political thugery as a means of survival. Clotted in both police and army uniforms and as well armed with dangerous weapons, they were used by the politicians to perpetuate unpopular leaders against the wishes of the masses;they distorted electoral process and destroyed lives and properties. After elections, these thugs resorted to banditry armed robbery; kidnapping, militancyand other vices; others fomented insurgency in different parts of the country.

The lessons of history are neglected by leaders and policy makers who were benefited from the unstable system. Successive elections did not only produce destruction of lives and properties but post-election violence in different parts of the country, that claimed the lives of innocent citizens and proliferation of different social vices that put serious challenge to the unity of the country. This paper suggests a constitution review that will strengthen the electoral act and as well empower the electoral commission to screen out politicians adjudged as fraudulent by theSecurity Service under defined procedures and processes. Electoral logistics should be strengthened so that conveyance of electoral materials and personnel are no longer done by politicians so as to reduce diversion of electoral materials and manipulation of results.

Adherence to the lessons of history, especially in elections and electoral process will not only salvage the fortunes of the country and put the country on the path of development, but establish a stable system and process that would produce the best of leaders that can drive sustainable development.

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GO NAIJA! UP NAIJA! NAIJA FOR LIFE! EXAMINING THE NIGERIAN STATE AND IT'S EMERGENT 'NAIJA CULTURE'.

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Abstract

In recent years, Nigeria's socio-political and economic processes have significantly decayed. The literal collapse of state institutions in Nigeria has occasioned widespread political despondency, apathy and inertia which have fed a fevered search for political exit through secessionist movements. However, this gloom has not pervaded every aspect of the body politic, nor has its odorous germ infiltrated the psyche of the entire citizenry in Nigeria. Indeed a significant section of the population, specifically the youth, appears to have exited psychologically as a group from the creaky contraption which the Nigerian state has become and are literally at the vanguard of this national renaissance. This cultural awakening is embodied in the 'Naija Culture' which expresses optimism and hope, daring and conviction, innovation and expectation all in stark contrast to the present Nigerian state which connotes failure and despair, poverty and elite criminality. Thus the paper sought to interrogate ways and means through which this naija spirit has impacted Nigeria and how it may be suffused into the larger Nigerian psyche in order to act as a veritable vehicle of national development.

INTRODUCTION

It is beyond any doubt that Nigeria has made tremendous strides since its transition to civil rule on May 29, 1999. However it is also true that its socio-political process is severely plagued by inebriation if not outright decay (Akanle, 2013: 33; Suberu 2005: 140). This ubiquitous degeneracy is most apparent in the politics of Nigeria in what has been termed 'multiple failures of governance' (Nnamdi Obasi security analyst with the International Crisis Group think tank *https://www.bbc.com/news/world/africa*).

The language of this structural inebriation has resonated in the political literature with politics in Nigeria being characterised by a scholar as being 'extensively monopolistic and exclusionary' (Akanle, 2013: 40). This situation arises from the fact, that 'the electoral process, the political parties, the governance structure, the entire system, everything is decidedly rigged against the ordinary person' (Bolaji Abdullahi 2003 in Agbaje and Adejumobi, 2006: 25). However in spite of this systemic inertia, the youth segment of Nigeria's bludgeoning population has gone ahead to orchestrate a cultural renaissance through what is here termed 'naija culture'.

Conceptual Analysis
By and of itself, the term 'naija' in the phrase 'naija culture' suggests a sort of psychological cocoon – a space being built by the young people independent of the oppressive state of 'Nigeria' with its psychotic institutions. Culture is here taken to mean what it ordinarily connotes; 'the total behaviour pattern of the group, conditioned in part by the physical environment, both natural and man-made, but primarily by the standardised ideas, attitudes, values and habits which have been developed by the group to meet its needs' (Brown, 1947: 63). The 'naija' concept has lately assumed the status of a cultural symbol because of the widespread adoption of its precepts by the young people in Nigeria. Although one must add that older Nigerians too could be participants in the 'naija' culture, yet the youths are almost to a man defiant in the assertion that Nigeria was destroyed by this 'old guard', and so therefore 'naija' is essentially a regenerative space being constructed solely by and for the younger generation.

Together then the 'naija culture' concept is conceptualised to mean a belief in a dying country or as the optimism needed to be able to see the

good and make the best from impossible situations of which there are many in Nigeria. It also embodies within it the "naija spirit" – the actual life force behind the 'naija culture' – which is the ability to meet and overcome stupefying odds or to face overwhelming odds with a stoic silence. This paper takes 'naija culture' to signify a 'new beginning – hope for the future. Nigeria may be dying, but out of its ashes rises a generation determined to be truly different, truly great, truly NAIJA' *(https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special_reports/nigeria_at_50/what* does *naija mean? 1st October 2010).*

Life of a Young person in Nigeria

Never before in the history of post-colonial Nigeria has it been so perilous to be a young person than it is presently. Indeed, in Nigeria the social environment for the young person has become so cataclysmic that these individuals actually in the flower of their lives are withering before their time, officially excluded from any role in national development. Karl Mannheim once wrote that:

> *The dynamic societies which want to make a new start whatever their social or political philosophy may be will rely mainly upon the co-operation of youth. They will organise their vital resources and will use them in breaking down the established direction of social development. In this respect there are differences of degree only between societies which bring about change through revolution and reform. In both cases, as long as there is a will to make a new start, it will have to be done through Youth …the new life will only be lived by the younger generation. They will live the new values which the older profess in theory only. If this is true, the specific function of Youth is that it is a revitalising agent: it is a kind of reserve which only comes to the fore if such a revitalisation is wanted for adjustment to quickly changing or completely new circumstances (Mannheim, collection of lectures published under the title of 'Diagnosis of Our Time' Kegan, Paul and Trubner 1943)*

However, in Nigeria a significant proportion of Nigeria's vast youth population are simply not engaged at all in the modernization of the state. However, Nigeria's gerontocratic elite appears quite comfortable with this anomalous state of affairs. Indeed a former military head of state Ibrahim Babangida once stated that the 'older generation are necessary to 'guide' the younger generation 'because we have seen signs that they are not capable of leading this country and so we feel we should help them' (http://saharareporters.com/ April 17 2010). The blanket exclusionism assumed more or less official state backing when an important state official, once a governor and a minister during the military era and equally a Senate president in the present Fourth Republic, opined quiet unabashedly that a sergeant in the Nigerian army had greater functional value to the state than the graduate of any Nigerian university *(http://saharareporters.com/2007/06/19/david-marks-really-dirty-past-thenews)*.

Nonetheless, in spite of the contempt suffused in this assertion, it is ironically after a fashion true. For while the jury may still be out on the intellectual virility of the average Nigerian army sergeant, the verdict on the functionality of the average Nigerian graduate to nation building came in a long time ago.

The product of a faulty educational system; the average Nigerian graduate is wanting in all aspects and not a few employers have voiced despair at the burdensome obduracy graduates from Nigerian universities have often proved to be when called into action (//www.sunnewsonline.com/70%-of-nigerian-graduates-unemployable-says economist/amp/). Yet the Nigerian state, which has tacitly acknowledged this defect time and again, only occasionally casts a bemused glance at the foundering educational contraption in the country. This puzzling inertia of the Nigerian state toward education reform has been linked to the growing number of elite, beginning with the presidents, who have sent their children to educational institutions overseas *(https://www.bbc.com/news/world/africal* letter from Africa: how Nigeria's elite avoid 'bad education'. 17 December 2018). Thus artfully disenfranchised by their own leaders, the youths in Nigeria are but a fair game for virtually any anti-social entrepreneur at the first time of asking.

Nigerian's youths on the auction block

The mixture of a dearth of functional education with the unemployment crisis currently raging among the youth population has created a sulphurous societal basin of youthful discontents across Nigeria's famished landscape. As Nnamdi Obasi, a security analyst with the International Crisis Group think tank rightly observed: 'massive unemployment has created a growing army of unemployed youth, vulnerable to recruitment in the criminal industry' ('How Nigeria and its President are being held to Ransom', May 29 2019 https://www.bbc.com/news/world/africa).

One particularly 'rewarding' enterprise which has necessitated the 'engagement' of youths is the political process, which since the transition to civil rule in 1999, has opened up several vistas, not least of which is the control of the oil/rentier economy. The prospects of that control which are virtually inestimable has encouraged Nigeria's egocentric elite to throw up barricades and fortresses which are garrisoned of course by the youths. In this regard a Commonwealth Election Observer, Stuart Mole, who monitored the general elections in the Niger Delta in 2003, recalled that he:

> watched a youth who casually attempted to empty his bulging pockets of marked ballots into the ballot box. Later, as I watched over two ballot boxes, waiting for them to be collected and counted, a gang of about 30 youths, high on booze, burst in and seized the boxes, rifling through them as they drove away (Agbaje and Adigun, 2006: 38).

Thus, in the main 'youth-based groups, youth revolt and agitations currently play a critical role in Nigeria's uncertain political process since the return to civilian rule in 1999, with far-reaching implications for the state' (Onuoha, 2014: 3).

Asides syndicated thuggery there are quite a number of sundry 'trade' into which the youths in Nigeria have been pigeonholed by their political elites. The most lucrative include, professional political sycophancy or 'praise singing' (Mustapha, 1999: 280); then there are the innumerable ethnic militias (Olufemi, 1999: 9) so also are there the criminal gangs, 'bazaar' churches, banditry, cross-border prostitution, shadowy associations and insurgent organizations like the *Boko Haram*.

However, on the positive side, it is true, there are numerous important organisations in an emerging democracy in which Nigerian youths are leading participants. Such organisations include civil liberties organisations, non-governmental organisations and youth centred political parties.

However, whether the youths in Nigeria are in action in the criminal underworld or are making genuine demands on the state, inevitably they are bound to realise that they are up against a 'vacuous deep state', whose effective response to unsavoury demands over the years has been to deploy the instruments of coercion. Thomas Paine the eighteenth century English revolutionary in the '*Rights of Man,*' had stridently warned of the fallacy of such a position in relation to young persons. For Paine, 'civil government does not consist in executions, but in making that provision for the instruction of youths, so as to exclude as much as possible the onset of 'despair'. Sage counsel of this nature is often lost on the state in Nigeria, as she has often firmly preferred repression to civil exchange, thus giving rise as Paine had feared, to the outset of destructive "despair" among its populace. A pungent example of the state's obstinacy includes the Niger-delta conflict, hitherto peaceful, quickly metastasized because of the adoption of coercion by the state. Ironically the Niger-delta conflict which rages on, *albeit* intermittently, brings to the fore Nigeria's creaky federalism, which in its present quixotic state, is in some paradoxical sense linked to the travails of the youths in Nigeria. However in order to understand this paradox it is apposite to turn now to a brief review of the history of the colonial and post-colonial state in Nigeria.

Nigeria: a brief excursion into the past
Following the abatement of the fervour, occasioned by the scramble for colonies by the European Powers, Britain had wrested for herself a motley array of colonies. The richest of these colonies nestled in the present day Gulf of Guinea area. Contrariwise, its poorer northern neighbour also under Britain's imperial suzerainty suffered privation and occasionally had to be subsidized much to the dismay of Britain's policy makers. Consequently in order to ameliorate the financial discomfort to the British tax payer, the policymakers at White Hall acting on the advice of the imperial representative, Fredrick Luggard,

amalgamated the expansive but largely Muslim far north with a hotchpotch of Christian and animist ethnic groups to the rich largely multiethnic Christian south with its own hotchpotch of animist and Muslim groups (Akiwowo, 1972: 84). Available evidence reveals that the subsequent years of amalgamated nationhood under colonial rule were not only unhappy, but were spiced with tincture of rabid ethnic separatism (Tamuno 1970, Orobator 1987, Oko, 1998: 331). Upon the departure of Britain in 1960, the country immediately, given the ferocity of ethnic disagreements, descended into its season of troubles which was briefly punctuated by a bloody civil war (Oko, 1998: 331, Ayoade 1973, Ajaebili 2015). These troubles have never truly abated. Indeed it inspired Rotimi Suberu's (2002) anguished cry '*Can the Nigerian Federation Survive*'?

That the Nigerian federation even survived to celebrate her fiftieth birthday despite the abiding ethnic turbulence is largely attributable to extensive social engineering by the political elite. Indeed, in the aftermath of the Nigerian-Biafran war, the political elite had immediately set themselves to fashioning a new political architecture. The major institutional scaffold they threw around Nigeria's shaky federalism includes the balkanisation of the former monolithic regions or statism, the federal character principle (quota) and the formation by fiat of a national party. The one refers to the splitting of the former regions into several states, thus preventing them from being the focal point of ethnic loyalty, the other aims at proportionate representation of ethnic groups in state institutions *viz* the military and the police; the last was the enthronement of a national party through constitutional amendments. Subsequently these innovative mechanisms, which have shaped politics and political life in Nigeria ever since, worked smoothly to burnish off the worst aspects of separatism (Osaghae, 1998: 16). In fact, it has been argued that the fact Nigeria that stands as a single entity is attributable to these ameliorative mechanisms (Suberu, 2005: 140). However, when viewed critically from another perspective, it would appear that the victory claimed for these mechanisms is in some sense a pyrrhic victory. In the sense that even though these mechanisms have helped to engineer the survival of the state structure, yet these

'ameliorative' mechanisms appear to be the major factor responsible for Nigeria's 'arrested development'.

In this regard, the earnest desire by all ethnic groups for token equality in resource distribution led to the emergence of the role of 'ethnic intermediary' in Nigerian politics. An ethnic intermediary is the go-between in the interaction between the ethnic group and the state apparatus (for detailed discussion see Chazan *et al* ch. 4 *Ethnicity, Class and the State* (Politics and Society in Africa 1999). An ethnic intermediary could be a minister, Member of Parliament, military officer, powerful ethnic politician, powerful civil servant among others. The essential task of the ethnic intermediary in the capital city is to ensure that the ethnic group he/she represents is not cheated out of its share of state resources and infrastructure, scholarship appointments and the like. Thus by 'dint of their political skill, knowledge, initiative, contacts and resources, the ethnic intermediaries have been the ones who inevitably give direction to the diverse claims of their constituents for state resources'(Chazan, 1999: 118). More importantly as Chazan rightly contends, the ethnic intermediaries 'who maintain close ties with the dominant political class living mostly in urban areas, have interests and life-styles that diverge from those of their constituents'. Invariably, however, the march of time would compel these aforementioned political capital acquired in the erstwhile defence of communal interests to be channelled toward the propagation and defence of the vested 'interests and life styles' of the ethnic intermediary. This has led to an entrenchment of positions or '*laager*' mentality. Overtime, as the ethnic intermediaries lost the vitality to weather the rigours of frontline politics, they sought to proclaim and project the individuals willing to protect, preserve and propel their interests, hence the rise of the 'god father syndrome' in Nigerian politics. To a lesser extent the politics of elitism latent in Nigeria's cultural fabric also furthers the instrumentality of political intermediacy in Nigerian politics. Indeed as far back as 1947 Obafemi Awolowo out rightly stated that: 'It must be realised now and for all time that the articulate minority are destined to rule the country. It is their heritage. It is they who must be trained in the art of government so as to enable them to take over complete control of their country' (Crowder, 1973: 270).

Thus in Nigeria there has been through the instrumentality of the ethnic intermediacy, subsumed in the country's elitist traditions, the persistence in politics of the same elite, irrespective of ethnic origin, who oversaw the immediate post independence era. Vilfredo Pareto's (Varma, 2007: 144) theory of the 'circulation of elite' 'between different categories of the governing elite itself and between the elite and the rest of the population' appears to fall down in Nigeria as a single elite has firmly held the reins since the advent of nationhood. This single elite have over the years been cemented by business dealings, marriages and other social ties (Agbese, 1990: 35). Consequently with the wealth and political clout they had amassed in the 'service' of their communities these individuals were able to further entrench themselves into the body politic by acquiring attractive state concerns in key sectors of the economy.

Thus by the turn of the twentieth century, when democracy was restored once again to the country, the major ethnic intermediaries together with their associates were in a pole position, given the large volume of their political and economic capital, to seize the state structure and determine its successive leadership. The repetition of this process in Nigeria's political system like a broken record, has forced Okechukwu Oko (1998: 366) to lament, even before the consummation of the present Fourth Republic, that constitutional democracy in Nigeria have 'frequently produced the twin evils of exclusion of minority groups from the governance process and human rights violations'. True to this observation, eleven years after the consummation of the Fourth Republic, Bob Devar (2011) could confidently assert that 'Nigerian elections since 1999 have often not thrown up the best policy managers'. Consequently, the persistence of the single but corrosive elite in Nigeria over the years has left little opportunities for individuals outside the ethnic intermediary's circumference and of course the youths. Consequently, in the absence of effective and capable political elites Nigeria has become an 'inverted state'; this is a situation in which a state and its institutions exist for the protection of the interests of the ruling elite. Thus faced with an unresponsive elite and a harsh economic climate, Nigerians across the age spectrum, but more so the youths, began to exit the increasingly sclerotic state.

State Exit: A Theoretical Analysis

The inability of the state in Nigeria to be inclusive or rather its determination to be an exclusive organisation, has led to a rash of secessionist movements across the country. However since the end of the Nigerian-Biafran war the state has understandably approached secessionism with an uncompromising stance. In view of this approach by the state there has been a prudent recourse to the more subtle approach of 'withdrawing from the state' (Osaghare, 1999: 90). Osaghare (1999: 83) conceptualises state exit as 'disengagement or retreat from the state by disaffected segments of the citizenry into alternative and parallel social, cultural, economic and political systems which are constructed in civil society and which compete with those of the state'. For him there are three forms of exit: political exit (secession), socio-economic exit and the exile.

On his part, Bertrand Russell suggests that there are basically three classes of individuals in every society: 'those who command and those who obey, but there is a third type, namely, those who withdraw'. For Russell

> *There are men who have courage to refuse submission without having the imperiousness that causes the wish to command. Such men do not fit readily into the social structure, and in one way or another they seek a refuge where they can enjoy a more or less solitary freedom (Russell, 1975: 19).*

The 'social withdrawal syndrome' has a rich history in Africa. In pre-colonial times Africans have, as Alex Thomson (2010: 11) observed, resorted to withdrawing from an intrusive political authority by simply occupying 'land further away from the centre'. In the same vein, the post-colonial state in Africa has not always been circumspect in the application of governmental power and the management of resources. Consequently, state exit remains a perennially attractive alternative to institutional waywardness in Africa. In contrast to secession, state exit exemplifies a 'legal disengagement' or a method of 'coping' with an errant state and does not 'involve a direct challenge to state laws' (Thomson, 2010: 223). Thus, given the proclivity for institutional vagrancy in African states, state exit is endemic. Consequently in almost every African state there is a huge informal sector representing a

huge section of the population which straddles the formal sector and the criminal underworld. It is referred to as *magendo* in East Africa and *Kalabule* in West Africa.

In Nigeria the informal sector, often referred to as the *parallel market,* is so enormous that it comfortably controls a huge chunk of the GDP. Existing side by side with the informal sector is the option of total disengagement from the predatory state through migration or exile. Quite a significant few adopt the latter option. However the youths who remain, have chosen to 'make good' with whatever is at hand. Thus by fact of its bludgeoning expansion, the now famed enterprises of the 'naija culture', which at birth was informal in every sense, has defied institutional anonymity, the traditional hallmark of the informal sector in Africa, by forcing itself into reckoning, not only of the Nigerian state (indeed it significantly contributes to making Nigeria the largest economy in Africa) but also of the international community. This development is however not novel or historically unprecedented. For his part Russell has observed that: 'at times, men with the withdrawal temperament have been of great historical importance; the early Christians and the American pioneers represent two species of the genus. Sometimes the refuge is mental, sometimes physical…among physical refugees are men who seek the frontier of civilisation' (Russell, 1975: 19). Osaghae (1999: 86) rightly contends that exit could also be informed by social dynamics. For Osaghae 'where the perception that the state belongs to "others" is strong, the impetus to create "our" own "state" becomes stronger. This is the logic of exit'. It would appear that the reasons for the exit of the youth from the state is informed by these two postulates – youths talents seeking a space to blossom, and the pervasive feeling that the state has been hijacked. It is against this background that youths in Nigeria after many years of existence on the fringe are seeking the creation of a space within the boundaries of the decrepit and rickety Nigerian state.

Naija Culture: Constructing a space within a decrepit and rickety state structure; from informality to 'formality': the naija youths in action
The entire ensemble of the 'naija culture', from the sports icons to the now famed music industry, to the now internationally famous film

industry, all sprang from informality, 'manufactured' in the backwaters of Nigeria's cities and towns. Even though the ongoing boom in the film industry suggests that the industry is current or emergent, yet its genealogy has been traced to as far back as the turn of the twentieth century (Idachaba, 2018: 2). Unfortunately, economic maladministration of the country led to its slump. However in the early nineties, the film industry remerged powerfully under the initiative of youthful vigour. Although the Nigerian film industry has done exceedingly well since then it still 'remains informal with a structure that is understood and that works for its filmmakers' (Oyewole, 2014: 2). The film industry in Nigeria which is worth at least 5.1 billion dollars and offers employment to a considerable number is a monumental wonder of the modern world. In fact it plays a significant role in making Nigeria the largest economy in Africa. Thus, without any 'support from the government Nollywood has propelled itself to the position it occupies today'.

The underlying reasons behind this explosive development must be traced to the 'naija culture' which projects an admixture of possibility and positivism able to tap into the vast potentialities of the country, amid the pervasive gloom. In this regard Uchenna Onuzulike (2008: 25) in his observation of the film industry in Nigeria speaks endlessly about 'raw energy', 'speed' and 'creative revolution'. Though these are not the only features inherent in the 'naija culture' they are its basic drivers. Furthermore the plots of the films have also in some sense furthered this popular culture (Onuzulike, 2008: 26). Thus, though the nollywood films 'speaks to aspects of social life that many people live' and also 'speaks to and debates social and cultural anxieties and gestures to political discourse in very surreptitious manner', yet given the debasement of the person by the state in Nigeria Nollywood in a real sense and in line with the basic essentials of 'naija culture' such as optimism, resilience, hard work, zeal, success, possibility 'invests the individual especially the individual living in the city with a new sense of person' (Oyewole, 2014: 6). Even outside the make believe of, though within the purview of Nollywood, success in typical naija fashion is in full play. This is witnessed in 32 year old Jason Njoku who

is 'Africa's largest distributor of Nigerian movies and has raked in over $8 million since 2010 when he founded the company Iroko partners' (*http://www.un.org/africarenewal/AfricanRenewal* Nigeria's film industry: a potential gold mine? April-July 2019). In fact Forbes magazine lists him as one of the top 10 young African millionaires to watch.

However, there are sordid aspects to the 'naija culture' too. Culture, as has earlier on been pointed out, is a combination of all that coheres to make up the 'complex web of a community's inner and outer life' (Clarke, 1948: 35). True. Nonetheless, culture also 'includes the baser and more menial activities as well as those higher refinements for which sometimes, the name is exclusively reserved' (Clarke, 1948: 35). Every culture has its 'baser' aspects and its 'higher refinements', and the remission of the one leads naturally to that culture being described by or addressed as the other.

The 'naija culture' as of late is still characterised more by its higher refinements such as optimism, hard work, aspiration, progress, perseverance, industry, creativity, hope as one could see their reflection on the film, sports and music industries. However there are the baser activities which, though few, is significant and draws inspiration from the 'naija culture'. The most pungent examples are the internet fraudsters – the so called '*yahoo yahoo boys*' – who also characterise their activities as being in line with the calling of the 'naija spirit' which desires its adherents to be creative, to make money, to be indomitable, to be bold, to be successful no matter the endeavour. Thus to the extent these deviants ascribe these motivational norms to themselves they are viewed as constellations in the rapidly expanding 'naija' universe.

The dangers of this symmetricity to the 'naija culture' movement are great. One, though the state in Nigeria is usually lethargic toward social deviancy however when it does stir it responds in a fashion out of all proportion to the deed in question. In the final analysis, agents of the state might end up extirpating progressive and frontline agents of the 'naija culture' because of the close affiliation of the nefarious group to the tenets of 'naija culture' all in the name of fighting fraud. In fact the arrest of popular musician Naira Maley for not only singing in praise of *yahoo yahoo boys* but also for internet fraud (https://punchng.com/ why

we arrested naira Marley May 10 2019), a charge he has denied, has led to wide insinuations of a crackdown on musicians (https://punchng.com/ naira Marley: we are not chasing musicians – EFCC may 23 2019). Second, the Nigerian state has always suffered from some form of social psychosis which repudiates unorthodoxy. The 'naija culture' being informal and largely free from government control is likely to arouse official antipathy and subdued hostility as the state in Nigeria usually fears what it cannot regulate; more so when it is well aware of the potential political power domiciled within this emergent sector. Simeon Ilesanmi (1995: 326) observes this obsession with orthodoxy when he notes in a slightly different context that: 'In the name of national integration—a goal highly desirable for Nigeria but being wrongly pursued—the Nigerian state has been engaging in a frantic hejira (flight) from religious pluralism to political monism'. In the final analysis it is becoming increasingly recognisable that the naija youths in sports, films and music industries are amassing a political clout, and wealth as well, which could prove decisive in future political contests. In this wise, one could reasonably argue that it makes prudent sense for an obstinate elite to use state institutions to neutralise this potential future threat. The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), which is involved in the Maley case, is particularly adept at playing the role of the extinguisher.

On their own part Nigeria's decadent but astute elite appear to not only have arrived at an awareness of the giant leap being made by the youths in the country but also of the growing capacity of this emergent power to bust it asunder and halt its ascension. In line with a survival ethic that has spanned its entire career, this elite have made the usual smattering concessions. The most vaunted is the much trumpeted, yet inanely hollow so-called '*Not Too Young to Run*' law which encourages young persons to aspire to high political offices. The vacuity of the law is at once self-evident especially in the light of the aforementioned problems facing the youth population. In this regard the so-called 'not too young to run' law maintains a heavy brooding silence on the core issues which truly disenfranchise young persons in the Nigeria's political circumference such as violence, client-patron networks, economic

disempowerment, illicit cooptation of youths into standing armies. This vacuity necessarily stymies any further need for discussion on that law.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Nigerian state since independence has been largely run by a closed elite comprising all the major ethnic groups in Nigeria. The elite has overtime paid more attention to the perpetuation of its own interests thus making Nigeria an increasingly 'inverted state'. This situation has forced the youths in Nigeria to try to carve a niche for themselves. This process, due to its growing influence among the youths, has been termed 'naija culture' in this paper. Through the 'naija culture' the youths in Nigeria have engineered some spectacular feats such as the globally acclaimed music and film industries. Even though there are delinquent agents associated with the 'naija culture' yet they are not sufficient enough to distract from the consequences of its innovations on the global society.

The study has however revealed that there are enormous creative powers which remain latent in the youths. Indeed the relentless aggressive expansion of the film, sports, music and creative industries suggests to observers that such transformative powers if skilfully latched on to the political machinery could engender a strategic rebirth of the entire state structure in Nigeria. This does not mean that this fact is inapprehensible to the youths or the political elites. Indeed, it is by trumpeting the substantial victories of the 'naija youths' in contradistinction to the failures of the state that a few are managing to force themselves into the political arena. Nonetheless they are not quite enough yet to re-enact the revolution which they have so successfully carried out in the informal sector. For one, they are contending against an astute but voracious elite which has spent the last five decades assiduously accumulating wealth and organisational panache. Second, they lack the platform through which they could reap political success from their enormous achievements.

Though the generality of Nigerians wish genuine change for their country, they need a viable political movement to identify with. Thus, in order to realise its day at the wheel the mass of the 'naija culture' adherents need to identify and project those figure(s) who have the panache to convert the enormous goodwill attached to the film, sports

and music sectors, the principal domain of 'naija culture', into a working political capital. It must be realised that raising a youthful 'naija culture' adherent to the headship of the political executive would substantially widen their field of operation. This is because members of the 'naija culture' would operate under favourable laws made by one who truly believes in them. Kwame Nkrumah had once famously observed that in order to gain traction in the polity, one must need to acquire the political kingdom first. The 'naija youths' must also disregard the so-called laws to bring them into the political system – it is a red herring. It is simply a diversionary tactic by a class which is aware that its destruction is at hand, but is not willing to be destroyed. The 'naija youth' should simply ignore the antics of this decadent class and press fully ahead with being its gravedigger.

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FOLKLORE AS THE MATRIX OF GREAT LITERATURES: A STUDY OF THE AFRICAN NOVEL

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Abstract

Folklore, oral literature or the oral narrative tradition is not merely a genre of the arts; it is a way of life. Such writers like Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Dickens, Achebe, Amadi, Nwapa, Armah, to African modernists, and feminist writers like Kole Omotoso and Zaynab Alkali, Buchi Emecheta and Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie take their inspirations from folklore - - that inexhaustible spring of culture and tradition. Folklore as a protean element in life and literature pervades all aspects of human endeavor especially in traditional societies where it fulfils an indispensable function by expressing, enhancing and codifying belief and safeguarding morality. From the days of Homer to the present, folklore has always fascinated the common man, the artist, the writer, and the thinker. This paper posits that if European writers, find folklore inevitable in their works, African writers should find it even more fundamental, for folklore provides a structural organizing principle of literary form. It is the matrix of great literatures; it often provides a central controlling image even when it may not be visible on the surface in some sophisticated or

seemingly mythoclastic works of literature like Kole Omotoso's **Memories of Our Recent Boom** *and Chimamanda N. Adichie's* **Purple Hibiscus.**

INTRODUCTION

Among the Igbo of Nigeria, there is a proverb which states that "looking at a King's mouth, one may have the feeling that he (the King) never sucked his mother's breast"; that the King was never a baby! This is preposterous for no one ever becomes an adult without once being a baby. That is life, and so, are many great literatures of the world. They are full of elements taken over from folklore and considering their present state of sophistication and metamorphosis one may not realize that they have their origins in folklore, oral tradition or oral literature..

Folklore itself is a protean genre made up of myths, legends, folktales, proverbs, riddles, folkepics, praises or panegyrics, lyrics, songs and chants, historical prose narratives, oratories, oral ritual, folk dramas, puns, and all other forms of oral prose narratives. Alan Dundes's enumerative definition of Folklore or oral literature is so encompassing that it would be near impossible to put folklore into a neat schema. For Dundes, folklore or oral literature/oral tradition in addition to the above mentioned sub-genres, includes charms, blessings, curses, oaths, taunts, teases, toass, tongue-twisters, greetings, and leave taking formulas, folk drama, folk dance, folk art, folk belief or superstition, ballads,… festivals and special days, customs, among others (3)

All the above could be said to be the remains of ancient, medieval and other premodern traditions. They are folklore, the matrix of many great literatures.

FOLKLORE IN GREAT LITERATURES OF THE WORLD

Oral tradition or oral literature is, as it were, a contradiction in terms, for "literature" itself is something written. Since oral tradition, oral literature, or folklore is hardly written; this terminology sounds rhetorical or at best obsolete. But as it is the "**lettered" concept** of literature, oral literature becomes a cultural given word whose very specialized meaning is forgotten.

Folklore, a term coined by William John Thoms in 1846 in his letter to **The Athenaeum** using the pseudonym Ambrose Merton had long been

known as *"popular antiquities."* Since then the **Folklore Society of London** through **Maria Leach's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend (1950) 2 vols.** have continued to establish the relationship between folklore and sophisticated literature. It is therefore, very important to mention that literature is full of elements taken over from folklore. A good knowledge of the formulas and conventions of folklore would often aid one's understanding and appreciation of great literatures. For example, Homer's **Iliad** and **Odyssey** are folklore in origin and content, but have been refined to become what have been published today as great epic poems. In the two texts, it is not difficult to identify the folkloric elements in their plots and the overriding influences of the supernatural: gods and goddessess taking sides with and against themselves and certain mortals. The oracular pronouncements about the births and destines of Paris and Achilles say it all. Sophocles' Oedipus Rex, and Gods Are Not To Blame are even more remarkable and folkloric in presentation.

When one reads the oldest surviving Old English epic poem, **Beowulf**, and considers the folkloric elements and the **traditional Anglo-Saxon** setiments expressed about Beowulf's remarkable victory over Grendel, Grendel's mother, and the dragon, one realizes the influence of folklore (especially legend) in shaping that pre-Christian saga.   In spite of the highly sophisticated nature of **Sir Gawain and the Green Knight**, it is interesting to recognize the folklore analogues it contains. These go to confirm that it was basically conceived as folklore before it was later put into print. The same thing could also be said about Geoffrey Chaucer's **Canterbury Tales** made up of the tales of some of the following pilgrims: the Nun's Priest, the Squire, the Knight, the Man of Law, the Franklin, the Friar, the Miller, the Reeve, the Shipman, the Manciple, the Merchant, the Wife of Bath, and above all the Pardoner's powerful **exemplum** of the three arrogant young men in search of death and who eventually destroy themselves in a bid to possess the hidden loot (bags of gold).

Shakespeare's works follow the same trend if one refers to folkloric elements drawn from the **folk beliefs** alive in Warwickshire of his boyhood days. Refer to his use of witches and ghosts in **Macbeth** and **Hamlet;** the folk play in **Hamle**t and in his comedies; the Robin Hood

plot of **Two Gentlemen of Verona;** the folksongs of **Hamlet's** Ophelia and her use of "the idiom of the folk" in her references to flowers and the love–test in **King Lear**. In **Julius Caesar** one sees the influence of the ghost of Caesar drawing the conspirators to their untimely deaths. A more detailed analysis of Shakespeare's plays would surely prove that folklore has had tremendous influences in all his plays. Even Charles Dickens the great Victorian satirist who is so much interested in condemning contemporary maladies of his time draws a lot from folklore. Read A **Christmas Carol** and have a feel of the influence the Ghost of Christmas Past, the Ghost of Christmas Present, and the Ghost of Christmas Future, and one will be amazed at the tremendous change in Ebenezar Scrooge's miserliness to unexpected philanthropy. Through these ghosts, Scrooge's dead colleague Jacob Marley helps Scrooge to achieve salvation which, he (Marley) has been denied because of his usual insensitivity to social problems when he was alive and working with Scrooge.

If one extends his survey to such modern twentieth century novels like James Joyce's **A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man** and **Finnegans Wake** (1939), one comes across folkloric, historic, and mythical elements subsumed in the relationships of human characters in the novels. The analysis could go on and on even to Salman Rushdie's **Midnight's Children** (1981) where "the further you get to the past, the more you approach the present; it inevitably seems more and more incredible" (Sanders, 659). But it is not.

FOLKLORE IN THE AFRICAN NOVEL
According to some modern philosophers, notably Nietzsche, all stories, even scientific theories and religious teachings are myths **(The Dictionary of Cultural Literary, 28)** and myths fall into the realm of folklore or the oral tradition from where most celebrated writers, Africans inclusive, draw their inspirations. Let us look at Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart,* anchored on the myth of **Ani**, the Earth-goddess and on the concept of **Chi,** Fate or Destiny in Igbo cosmology. **Ani** the Earth-goddess is the guardian of morality, the goddess outraged by the murder of Ogbuefi Udo's wife and the eventual killing of the ill-fated Ikemefuna by Okonkwo, his adopted father - - a crime tantamount to murdering one's own natural son.

In *Arrow of God*, Achebe uses the myth of **Ulu**, the upstart god of security giving rise, as it were, to the battle of the pantheon between Ulu, Idemili, Ogwugwu, Eru, and Udo whose influences have been relegated to subordinate status especially during important traditional outings in Umuaro. Ezeulu's revenge mania precipitates the crisis that overthrows Ulu, destroys the Chief Priest himself and ironically hands over the rich agricultural harvest of Umuaro to the foreign God of the Christian religion. In both *Things Fall Apart* and *Arrow of God*, one sees two great men - - Okonkwo and Ezeulu - - who said "yes" but their "Chis" (personal gods) said "nay". Like all Achebe's heroes, they destroy themselves because they refuse to understand that the old order has changed, yielding place to the new. Besides myths, Achebe also uses story– telling, proverbs and other forms of folklore to teach children societal values.

When one reads Elechi Amadi's *The Concubine* one sees the supernatural powers of wily gods who, as it were, draw unsuspecting human beings (Emenike, Madume, and Ekwueme) to their untimely ends for marrying or intending to marry Ihuoma. All the young men who love or wish to marry Ihuoma, the beautiful *femme fatale* who could be likened to Arnold's "The Forsaken Merman" or Keats's "La Belle Dame san Merci" are murdered by the Sea King - - Ihuoma's spirit husband - - without the victims or Ihuoma herself knowing. In the end, Ihuoma remains to blossom as the eponymous "Concubine" of the novel never to be married or called "wife" by any mortal. Water spirits, being of special interest to riverine folks, Elechi Amadi exploits the myth of the Mermaid and the Sea King in *The Concubine,* through Ihuoma, a nonpareil, an epitome of all that is desireable in womanhood, becomes in African literature one of those rare mythic personages: a goddess and a human in one flesh. Like Helen of Troy, Ihuoma is ambivalent, ageless, archetypal, a primordial image, the eternally feminine that every woman both longs and fears to be. That is the beauty of folklore exploited in written literature.

In *The Slave*, Amadi explores the myths of the gentle but relentless Earth-goddess, **Ali** (or **Ani**) and the terrible, violent, and unsparing **Amadioha**, the Thunderbolt **Ali** and **Amadioha** are spirits that could be

likened to the Greek Furies - - the avengers of crimes which offend against the ties of Kinship and as such, play a large part in the story of Orestes. In the end, the stigmatized Olumati, an orphan, in spite of his successes against countless social odds, hopelessly abandons his family inheritance and his wealth at Aliji and seeks the protection of dreaded god, **Amadioha** at **Isiali,** thereby becoming "the slave" of the novel's title. Once more one could see folklore in operation – through story–telling, myth, and legends of the people, claiming both the father and his son.

The inimitable novelist and poet Laureate, Wole Soyinka approaches folklore in a more comprehensive way. He writes in his **Myth, Literature**, **and the African World** that

> *Man exists, . . .in a comprehensive world of myth, history, and mores; in such a total context, the African world, like any other "world" is unique. It possesses, however, in common with other cultures, the virtues of complementarity (xix).*

In keeping with the above mission statement, Soyinka's works teem with myths, culture, tradition, and mores. In his *The Interpreters,* Soyinka draws on Yoruba religion and mythology for materials with which he elaborates and elucidates his characters who he uses on Kola's huge canvas as models of gods and goddesses they represent (**Obiechina, 111).** His characters are grouped into "the interpreters", "the interpreted" and the "neutrals: with them he explores the themes of corruption, hypocrisy, and cynicism - - giving the greatest emphasis to the interpreters. In the words of Obiechina, Soyinka interpret(s) men through the gods and represents the gods through men as a way of stating concretely this perception of the universe as a continuum **(Obiechina, 112)**.

One can rightly conclude that with *The Interpreters* Soyinka has paid the greatest tribute to Yoruba pantheon and folklore, especially through the myth of Ogun.

It is, however, in his *Season of Anomy*, a novel that dwells allegorically on the social, moral, and political crisis in Nigeria between the East and the North - - a crisis which culminated in a bloody thirty

months Nigerian – Biafra Civil War of 1967 -1970 - - that Soyinka employs the classical Western myth of Orpheus and Eurydice *Season of Anomy* is a mythopoeic quest novel which involves an archetypal journey in three stages that correspond to the '**rites de passage'** first described by Joseph Campbell in his *The Hero With a Thousand Faces* as "departure (separation), initiation, and return."

These three stages are analogous to the Biafran experiences during the Civil War and suit the outlines of the classical Orphic myth as well as follow recognizable archetypal patterns. Soyinka, however, succeeds in making some alterations to the traditional conclusion of the analogous myth by making it possible for Ofeyi (Orpheus) to recover Iriyise (Eurydice), albeit, in a comatose state and bring her back to Aiyero - - a self-reliant community. Simply put, *Season of Anomy,* explores the evil consequences of ethnicity, greed, and lust for power by power–drunk chieftains. In this novel, history becomes myth - - a visionary reconstruction of the past for purposes of social direction (Soyinka, **Myth, Literature** . . . 106), while stories and incidents during the Biafran – Nigeria Civil War provide the backdrop for the entire plot of the novel.

Here, one leaves the shores of Nigeria, temporarily, to direct attention to Ghana and to Ayi Kwei Armah of *The Beautyful Ones Are Not Yet Born* fame. Though Armah's interest in mythologies abound in his *Fragments,Why Are We So Blest? Two Thousand Seasons,* and *The Healers*, It is his satirical and scatological language that interest many readers and critics. Since Armah, like Achebe. Amadi, and Soyinka is fundamentally a mythopoeist, attention is focused on the folkloric and mythological elements in his *Fragments* and his *Two Thousand Seasons* only. In all works of Armah, folk stories and anecdotes lend power to his creative ingenuity.

His *Fragments* in a different way re-presents the themes of *The Beautyful Ones* using the benefit of the author's personal experience of the extended family. The setting is still Ghana: though not Takoradi but Kaneshie, Accra. *The man of The Beautyful Ones* is still the hero of *Fragments,* for **Onipa** (that is Baako Onipa) is the Akan word for "Man" while Baako means **"lonely one".** Here, the vulgar, corrupt, and despicable politician, Honourable Minister, **Koomson** turns out to be

Brempong, the Akan word for "**an important person.**" In *Fragments* Baako Onipa becomes the **mythic Prometheus,** a gem of intelligence in a brute universe, one who dines with the Olympian gods, steals a spark of divine fire and conveys it to the earth to revolutionize the lot of mankind, but he is ironically caught and chained to the rocky peak of Caucasus Mountain (an equivalent Ghanaian Asylum), where he is supposed to purge himself of his guilt: idealism instead of materialism.

Like Prometheus, Baako brings back "education" from the USA (equivalent of fire for humans) to Ghanaians for their general good, but he is not appreciated because he fails to be a transmission belt for cargo (material wealth) (**Fragments 224).** The idealistic Baako travels back to Ghana, not with goods, but with "what's in a head" (270 – 271) with which he hopes to revolutionize Ghanavision Corporation and educate the nation. Not even the members of the extended family (except his grandmother, Naana, and Juan his Puerto Rican lover) accord Baako much regard because of their materialistic quest for money. He antagonizes himself with the "gods" of Ghanavision Corporation for which he resigns his appointment; he disappoints the hopes of the extended family and consequently draws their anger and that of the society against himself. Consequently Baako is bundled into the Acute Ward of the Lunatic Asylum. The new child named after Baako dies for being exposed too early for monetary gains thereby proving to the extended family the enormity of their cargo cult mentality and the inviolability of African traditional mores and myths. Through this Armah hints at the dichotomy between the base material and spiritual world of the novel, **Fragments;** 191).

In Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons* one comes face to face with folklore and the Quest Myth of Anoa, a mythic analogue of the Biblical Myth of the Promised Land, Canaan as the "Organizing design" (to borrow Frye's terminology) from his **Anatomy of Criticism 140**) of Armah's *Two Thousand Seasons*. In literature, the themes, the characters, and stories that one encounters belong to one big interlocking family and there is a single mythical story. (Frye, *The Educated Imagination).* The myth of Anoa, as Armah has it, is rooted in the core of the African psyche; hence the "we" of the communal plural voice of the narrator.

Two Thousand Seasons is a good example of a novel without "lone heroes", but "the people of the way", "the we", the entire black race who have wasted one thousand years wandering amazed along alien ways, another one thousand spent finding paths to the living way (xv). It is Armah's appropriate response to the unacceptable but pre-existing mythic interpretation of African past or the White/European Myth of Africa. It is a counter-myth, which labels "white or whiteness" as enslavement, death, predation, aridity, destruction or absence of life. *Two Thousand Seasons,* is pan-Africanist in vision and resolve to rid Africa of her oppressors and exploiters. It is a visionary reconstruction of the past for purposes of a social direction **(Soyinka Myth . . 106).** Okpewho states in his **"Myth and Modern Fiction:** that *"Two Thousand Seasons* is a racial epic . . . Armah's debt to the oral tradition from which the narrative genre of the epic ultimately derives". It is Armah's greatest debt to oral tradition and to Africa's mythical ancestor and homeland, Anoa.

It is stating the very obvious to go into Camara Laye's *The African Child, The Radiance of the King* and *The Guardian of the Word* or such other works like Amos Tutuola's *The Palm-Wine Drinkard,* and his other works that are full of folkloric narratives for which these two authors are known. Their works are folklore and mythology incarnate. The same statement could also be made when we discuss Niane's **Sundiata***: an Epic of Old Mali,* and Mofolo's **Chaka the Zulu** – great epics – full of folkloric, supernatural stories that stagger the imagination of readers.

One may look into the East African novels of Ngugi wa Thiong'o and in particular his *Petals of Blood* and *Devil on the Cross* only. These are novels anchored on folklore, mythology, and history. His other novels like *Weep Not Child*, *The River between*, *A Grain of Wheat*, *Secret Lives,* and *Trial of Dedan Kimathi,* though folkloric, are not included for the purpose of this paper. It may be of interest to remember that the :Land Question" is very central in the works of Wa Thiong'o and that he has taken a decision, not long ago, to write no longer in English but in his own local language: Gikuyu, from which translators give us the English editions of his works. His earlier works have always dwelt on colonialism, while his later works like *Petals of Blood* and *Devil on the*

Cross emphasize neo-colonialism or what one could term "**colonialism in a new cloak".** In the words of Oginga Odinga it is "***Not yet Uhuru",*** not only for Kenya but for all Africa.

In both novels - - **Petals of Blood** and **Devil on the Cross** - - the white men's influence disappears. In place of the white men, black overloads, people who "had not fought in the battle for freedom, the betrayers of the Mau Mau cause", people like ***Gataanguru and his fellow traitors*** have taken over New Kenya from the peasants. Capitalist neo-colonial economic superstructure is now in place. To bring the issues nearer home, Old Ilmorog gives place to New Ilmorog. ***Mwathis's hut*** and others of its type that symbolize the traditional order are razed and replaced with religious and commercial institutions of exploitation. The folkloric story of ***Petals of Blood*** is told in retrospect by Munira in the course of the questions and answers over the death of the three capitalists: Chui, Kimeria, and Mzigo while in ***Devil on the Cross,*** the self-confessed thieves and robbers tell their own stories with relish, each trying to outdo the others.

Through story-telling these enemies of the people achieve their own total incrimination and self-condemnation **(86-89).** As a means of paying homage to folklore, Wa Thiong'o employs several traditional songs to castigate the perverted neo-colonialist values of Kenya as well as celebrate the healthy and authentic traditional values of the African past images of the worm-eaten flower of ***Petals of Blood***, New lmorog, the Bible, the Brewery, the Cultural Centre, and Abdulla's stump become powerful symbols employed to bring home to readers the extent of degradation of African values in various ways. As the blurb of ***Devil On The Cross*** has it, "the ancient rhythms of traditional story-telling are used in counterpoint to written styles . . . ." In spite of the apartheid policy of South African colonial government against which the South African novels have been dwelling on, there are still ample evidences there that folklore is the matrix of their literature. Literature we know is an aesthetic creation of the human imagination (**Chase, 78**) which cannot be divorced from history, for history is myth and myth is history. Both of them tell only of that which really happened though in very different manners. This is really what is presented in such South

African novels like Peter Abrahams **Mine Boy**, which is a distilled history, myth, and folklore of South Africa. Johnnes tells Xuma:

> *"The compound is in Langlaagte. . . All the mine boys must live in compounds . . . They are not of the city, they come from the farms and some are from the land of the Portuguese and others are from Rhodesia. The white man fetched them. And those that are fetched must live in the compounds. It is the law here" (34).*

This is South Africa of the apartheid era, where mine workers must leave their homelands and families behind and be concentrated in camps for easier and more effective control and deployment in mine supervised and owned by the white colonists.

In the same *Mine Boy***,** one hear Leah sing a popular folk song, she enjoys:

> *Mother it's raining/And I'm getting wet/*
> *It's cold and lonely/And I am getting wet*
> *Mother it's raining/and I', getting wet (12)*

As Leah explains to Xumo, it is the mocking song of a conceited and boasful young man who goes on telling the girls how wonderful he is until the trap of the girls forces him into a marathon five miles race probably through the rain. Other issues like subhuman treatments of the blacks and Abrahams' conclusion in *Mine Boy* become myth and counter-myth of the South African situation. Mr. Paddy O'Shea, the Red One in solidarity with Xuma, a black South African takes a stand that prophetically foreshadows the demise or final eclipse of the apartheid regime. O'Shea in support of the blacks against his fellow whites explodes:

> *"I am a man first, Zuma, he said. Then he turned to the other mine boys and shouted: Zuma is right! They pay you a little! They don't care you risk your lives! Why is it so! Is not the blood of a black man red like that of a white man? Does not a black feel too? Does not a black man love life too? I am with you! Let them fix up the place first!" (**183**).*

The result is that O'Shea goes to jail for taking sides with blacks who refuse to go back into the collapsing mine that has just killed two blacks.

Before long, history vindicates Zuma, O'Shea, and the novelist Peter Abrahams. The blacks in South Africa eventually achieve independence and equality with their erstwhile white oppressors, thereby ending the apartheid regime and building a mystique of unity in a once polarized society of blacks and whites. Another South African novelist, Alex la Guma in **The Stone Country** reinforces the same theme of fellow feeling or unity by specifically developing a metaphor of South Africa as a prison in which the prisoner and the jailer are bound to each other by Hegelian chains. George Adams – the major character – in spite of the harsh inhuman treatments meted to him and other prisoners in "the stone country" succeeds in uniting his colleagues for he realizes: **"What a waste; here they got us fighting each other like dogs" (74).** La Guma's stories of bloody contests with forces of oppression, rooms smelling of decay, urine and sweat and full of roaches, fleas, bugs, and lice etc., confirm the novel's folkloric and metaphoric quality. His symbols or condensation of meanings are mythic; they reveal as well as conceal; in fact they form the base from where the novels discussed, drawn their inspirations.

AFRICAN MODERNIST NOVELISTS AND FEMINISTS

In addition to our acclaimed novelists like Achebe, Amadi, Soyinka, Armah and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, there are other novelists like Ben Okri and Kole Omotoso as well as the feminist novelists like Flora Nwapa, Zaynab Alkali, and Buchi Emecheta Okri with **The Famished Road** (**1991**) and **Infinite Riches** (**1998**) has attracted a lot of interest among critics because of the folkloric and mythic implications of these novels. In **The Famished Road,** Okri draws from Africa's rich oral tradition in the way he makes creative use of myths and symbols. Through his major character "Lazarus", conveniently shortened to Azoro, the Abiku child, who keeps dying and being born until he decides on the fifth birth to stay, Okri employs an allegory of the Nigerian nation that refuses to disintegrate even after her fifth experiment at unity.

The folkloric and mythic implication of the novel is earlier stated at the beginning when Okri observes:

> *"In the beginning there was a river. The river become a road and the road branched out to the whole World. And because the road was once a river it was always hungry"(3).*

And hence, "the famished road" is folkloric/mythical time, the fabled time of the beginning or what Mircea Eliade in ***The Scared and the Profane*** calls **"illo tempore"**, or primordial time: the magic realism of the novel. The Mighty Green Road Symbol in ***The Famished Road*** and other African traditional symbols like the Abiku and the Old-Man-Child, Dad, Mum, the Photographer, the Politicians, and Madam Koto and the stories about them, x-ray the uncertain and ever-present crises of the Nigerian nation. Okri says it all: **"no adequate preparations were made to sustain its** (Nigeria's) **momentous birth"** (487). All in all, ***The Famished Road*** blends the oral tradition of the folklore and the novel form into a powerful ghost story, the type popularized by Amos Tutuola of ***The Palm-Wine Drinkard*** fame. A reading of ***The Famished Road*** is a nightmarish journey into the ghostly, supernatural world of folklore.

Going by the titles of Kole Omotoso's novels like ***To Borrow A Wandering Leaf*** and ***Memories of our Recent Boom***, one may likely conclude that such modernist titles have nothing to do with folklore and tradition. But it is not true. Both of them have their roots in the folkloric and cultural repertoire of the people. In ***To Borrow A Wandering Leaf***, we watch and hear the old Woman speak in a folkloric manner reminiscent of incantatory tone of traditional prayer:

> *"Okoro soup, okro bubbling soup listen to me. Salt is plenty in the world, and Salt I bring to you. Accept and taste salt in my mouth."*

> > *"Oro soup, drawing okro harken to me.*
> > *Oil is plenty, we swim in it.*
> > *Oil I bring to you. Freshen us with*
> > *The memory of oil and nourish us."*
> > *She thrice touched the boiling pot with*
> > *The bottle of palm oil…"*

In addition to the above passages bordering on spiritual experience, steeped in mystery, prayer, magic and esoteric communication with

supernatural forces, Omotoso makes use of lots of proverbs, riddles, puzzles, puns, anecdotes, and statements that confirm the Yoruba folkloric basis of his novel.

In his **Memories of Our Recent Boom**, Omotoso opens with the folkloric, mythic phrase **"In the beginning …"** after which he launches into the folkloric story of the left handed blockhead and primary school drop-out, "Aburo" and his brother "Seven", the Abiku Child:

> *"The first child after Abiku came and died seven times*
> *seven days after his birth. By some freak of native, the*
> *three others after this all died days after their births*
> *which were multiples of seven Six times seven days Five*
> *times seven days. Four times seven days… They called*
> *him seven, without any long consideration. That he did*
> *not die was a miracle for them" (2).*

In spite of the seeming modernist title and plot of the novel, suck folkloric and mythic ideas like incantation feature prominently in the novel. Aburo's and Seven's Mama whose smashed leg is rotting away does not want her life to be saved by amputating her leg. She hates reincarnating in her next life as a one-legged child. We are told that **"She would rather die than have any part of her cut up in her lifetime" (98). For the Mama "One ought to go back to the ancestors as complete as one left them, so that in coming back one comes whole"(184).**

Towards the end of the novel, one is told the story of the London-trained Structural Engineer, "Seven" Omomeje Alaka and his flambouyant traditional chieftaincy ceremony at home. Ironically, Chief Seven Omomeje ("Meje") Alaka and his elder brother Aburo Alaka are locked in a legal tussle over the paternity of Banke's son, Akin, who 'Seven' has earlier instructed should be aborted. As if by a **Deus ex machina**, both Chief Seven Meje Alaka and Banke (Akin's mother) tragically perish in auto head-on collision. The letter left behind by Banke saying that **"Akin does not belong to either of you. He is the natural child of neither of you"(**meaning Meje and Aburo) **226** confirms the popular folk truism that only the mother knows the natural father of her child. It also denies the two brothers the ownership of Akin, the controversial son. But the point remains: why should Meje

claim a child he has refused to own and even has instructed that he be aborted? On another ground, Aburo married Banke traditionally; therefore Akin is his child. That is tradition and tradition dies hard. If Banke had been married to another man very far away from the Alaka family, will Chief Meje Alaka have laid claims in court for the child he has rejected and sanctioned his abortion?

WOMEN (FEMINIST) NOVELISTS

Women are part of the same traditionthat produces folklore. That recent feminist canon which appears to react against the tradition that defines the position of women in the traditional African Society does not annul the fact that both men and women writers draw from the same inexhaustible spring of folklore and tradition. Even when critics dub female writes like Flora Nwapa, Zaynab Alkali, Buchi Emecheta, and Chimamanda Ngozi Adiche "feminists" one still discovers that they also use folkloric, mythic elements in their novels. If one read Nwapa's *Efuru,* one realizes that she has even paid greater homage to folklore and tradition in her novels than many male novelists. Her heroine Efuru knows that she cannot have children of her own and has no grudge against bringing in another woman, a co-wife. According to her:

> *What is wrong in his marrying a second wife? It is only a bad woman who wants her husband all to her herself. I don't object to his marrying a second wife, but I do object to being relegated to the background. I want to keep my position as the first wife, for it is my right"* (53).

That is the traditionalist African stand: a man is polygamist by nature and every wife realizes that a household that has no child of their own is a misnomer and is heading towards extinction. That Adizua, abandons Efuru is an act of gross irresponsibility. That Efuru eventually leaves Adizua's family homestead is approved by tradition. She marries another lover, Gilbert Eniberi, who also deserts Efuru because of her childlessness. The child factor is very strong in traditional African society. It makes or mars marriage. Mythically, Efuru is "married" to the woman of the lake who gives abundant wealth to her devotees but no children. There is hardly anything really feminist according to European concept in *Efuru.*

It is, however, in Nwapa's ***Idu*** that the feminist canon can be invoked. ***Idu*** and ***Efuru*** could be termed reversals of the myth of the man of the families being the prime movers; opinion moulderss in their own right. The same tradition also recognizes "women-husbands" who could stand on their own and "marry" other women to ensure the continuity of the clan. Such women traditionally are not appendages to men. Catherine Acholonu in her ***Motherism: The Afrocentric Alternative to Feminism*** (1995) tells us that **"gender in Africa is not a biological concept but a social construct"** (iii). Women-husbands are sometimes married, unmarried or widowed and are accorded most of the rights of men in the family (Acholonu, 38). They, however, do not, and cannot take fellow women to bed; other men they choose, do it for them. And if this is the case, a self-sufficient woman like Nwapa's Idu can refuse to be taken over by her dead husband's brother as a new wife. She remains for her dead husband and takes care of her two children. It is traditional and cultural. It is practiced among the Igbo of Nigeria, the Nuer of Sudan, and the Lovedu of Transvaal **(Acholonu, 39).**

In Zaynab Alkali's novel, ***The Virtuous Woman***, one encounters a folkloric heroine explored in the novel tradition. Nana Ai, a young from Zuma who survives a fatal accident that claims the lives of her parents and siblings is brought up by her grandfather, Bala Sani. In spite of her obvious physical deformity her intelligence, natural beauty, and virtue get her united in marriage with Bello, a man she loves and who loves her. It is a famous folkloric theme of the virtuous girl wining the heart of her knight-errant and living happily after with him. It is also a favourite Biblical quotation: which Alkali uses in the novel:

> *"Who can find a virtuous woman? for her price is above rubies. The   heart of her husband doth safely trust in her, so that he shall have no need of her spoil. She will do him good and not evil all the days of her life" (Proverbs, 31, 10-12).*

The Koran equally has a passage of equivalent message for all.

When one reads Buchi Emecheta's ***The Joys of Motherhood,*** a novel that is ironically full of the sorrows of motherhood, one empathizes with the heroine, Nnu-Ego who marries several men, loses many children, but eventually succeeds in having children she raises at a

terrible cost to herself, only to be abandoned by these children; some of them overseas, while the girls among them married off. Out of lack of care, she dies heartbroken at the roadside, but gets a befitting second burial at last by her children. Nnu Ego dutifully fulfils her role in society as a mother and fails to get corresponding love and care from her children. In her words: **"I do not know how to be anything but a mother"**. The tradition which compels a man to inherit his dead brother's wives and children robs Nnu Ego of her husband Nnaife's belongings. She dies a victim of the society she has contributed so much to build.

Chiamanda Ngozi Adichie's *Purple Hibiscus* is a modernist family novel by a feminist writer whose work has generated a lot of interest among readers and critics. The heroine Kambili with her gift of incisive observation of details guides one through the life of the family of Eugene Achike. In spite of fanatical Catholic life of Eugene, and the fact that Chimamanda is a woman, one still discovers that *Purple Hibiscus* is rich in folklore and tradition, which Eugene reacts against. Papa-Nnukwu (Eugene's father) is a real traditionalist who will not eat a morsel without asking **"Ani, the god of the land to eat with me"** (65). He offers his food to his ancestors (65) before tasting it and pours libation before he drinks his palm wine. For these, his son Eugene bans his children Kambili and Jaja from visiting their grandfather, because he worships idols. Worse still Eugene does not take good care of Papa-Nnukwu and subjects him (his own father) to living and dying in the same old mud thatched house of his early days. Eugene Achike in an attempt to condemn traditional practices like watching the masquerades (86) which he terms Devilish Folkore (85) turns *Purple Hibiscus* into a powerful organ for propagating folklore, culture and tradition through folk story telling (157) and interacting with friends, relations, and even those we do not agree with in society.

The life of Eugene Achike deserves special study. This man offers to build a house, buy a car and hire a driver for his father, Papa-Nnukwu as soon as the old man throws away his **Chi** and converts to the Catholic Church. Since the old man insists on "not throwing away his **Chi (61),** Eugene never greets, never visits his father nor allows his

father to set foot in his (Eugene's) opulent palatial building in the village. Papa-Nnukwu comments appropriately:

> *"Nekenem, look at me. My son owns that house that can fit in every man in Abba, and yet many times I have nothing to put on my plate. I should not have let him follow those missionaries" (83).*

With this type of man (Eugene), it is not surprising that his wife, Beatrice, like him, goes to another devilish extreme of poisoning her husband. In her words::

> *"I stand putting, the poison in his tea before I came to Nsukka.. Sisi got it for me; her uncle is a powerful witch doctor." (290).*

With all the above, one could rightly conclude that the devilish ritual practices which Eugene feels that his father Papa-Nnukwu indulges in because he refuses to convert to Christianity, are the real occupation of Eugene Achike and his wife Beatrice.

CONCLUSION

Folklore by its native as a collection of certain practices is the inexhaustible spring of culture and tradition through which literature presents ideas, experiences, news, traditions, histories, narratives, and other practices that are natural to traditional folks. Since all human beings have their origins in certain cultural settings which directly or indirectly influence to some extent their ideology, psychology, art, belief, history, and way of life, it is difficult not to find these ideologies in the human write ups. No matter how sophisticated a work of art is, there are often aspects of folklore and tradition that invest works with internal value and strength. They may not be visible on the surface. Probe deeper, one would surely find them there, overtly or covertly. It may be necessary to conclude that no literature, irrespective of its sophistication or modernism, can stand the test of time or satisfy readers and critics, if it draws its resources from the people's folkore, mythology, culture, and tradition. It is only by so doing that the folklore, culture and tradition of Africa can be handed over to generations yet unborn and that is the function of literature in the service of humanity.

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A COMPARATIVE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL NUANCES IN RICHARD CORBET'S POEM 'TO MY SON' AND WOLE SOYINKA'S POEM 'DEDICATION'

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Abstract

Richard Corbet was a 17ᵗʰ century English poet, while Wole Soyinka is a 20ᵗʰ century poet. Although their periods of writing give a considerable gap, the themes are common to both; that is the protective, guiding love of a father for his child. Both propose niceties for their children from a very tender age, but because their cultural backgrounds differ, each tries to stress areas of importance and how he wishes his child to be successful in life. These both do, with cultural nuances. These cultural undertones are identified through the linguistic choices made in the two poems. This is the power of language in literature. This study was organized, using the provision of the theory of Chomsky's Transformational Generative

Grammar (TGG), which views language use from graphological, phonological, syntactic, and lexico-semantic levels. This approach is combined with the provisions of Beaugrande's text linguistics. This eclectic method, results in the employment of Carter's model of analysis of Hemingway's 'Cat in the Rain'. This model first interprets the text before proceeding to analyse the text's linguistic components. With this, a holistic study of the poems is assured.

Key Words: Cultural, Nuances, Generative Grammar, Language and Linguistics.

INTRODUCTION

Children are God's precious gifts to men and whoever enjoys this great favour tries to maximize its benefits by putting great effort in raising the child. Various axioms underscore the need for this parental and or communal assignment, where it applies. An injunction like, 'spare the rod and spoil the child', and a saying like 'the child is father of the man', points towards the benefit that accrues from giving children good training, for a successful adulthood.

Richard Corbet, an English poet of the middle (17th, wrote his poem at the celebration of the birthday of his son, Vincent, November 10th, 1630 at the age of three. Richard rose to a high position in public life as a bishop. In this poem, he bases his wish on an inestimable favour which is also priceless in human life. He values health more than wealth. He supports the axiom that says that good health is wealth; a healthy nation is a wealthy nation; a healthy body develops a healthy mind. One who is extravagantly wealthy, may unfortunately expend his money to cure diseases or afflictions which could diminish his wealth. Good health is undoubtedly paramount in the hierarchy of favours from God.

On the other hand, Wole Soyinka, an acclaimed poet, playwright and novelist, distinguished himself in the arena of African and especially Nigerian literary scenes. He is a Nobel Laureate of Literature. His themes cover a range of experiences namely cultural, personal, political, social, natural, interpersonal among others. It is no wonder then that, he has dabbled into this theme, more so, as it concerns his only daughter Moremi, whom he cherishes dearly. His poem 'Dedication', is for Moremi. This paper attempts to draw out the similarity and differences

in the way these two poems are presented. The use of linguistic approach in the analysis of literary works, although complementary to literary criticism, amazingly gives a holistic treatment to poems. Linguistic analysis supplies the 'missing link', which the literary critic brushes over in his comments on language usage in any work studied. This approach will examine how various linguistic levels of English namely, graphology, phonology, syntax and lexico- semantics, are employed by the poets, to drive their messages to their audiences.

Corbet's 'To His Son' and Soyinka's 'Dedication', share a similar theme which is expressed in the poems and that is, the wishes of a father to his child. Both use a common language for writing but their usages spell out their styles of writing. Equally, both represent different cultures which they try to project in their different poems through their diverse use of language. Conversely, their wishes fall on different sexes of children namely, Corbet's Son and Soyinka's daughter. Their stylistic and intriguing use of language, exposes the contrast in their works. At the level of graphology, 'To His Son' is presented in a one block stanza which has twenty lines. It is unique in the sense that it is more than 14 lines which a sonnet houses, and does not conform to the conventional English poetry. In the case of 'Dedication, a regular three-line stanza is maintained throughout. It is also unique in that it violates the expected conventional four-line stanza. In both cases, the poets have their reasons for these kinds of structural layout.

Richard Corbet in his poem, pours out his heart totally in giving his wishes to his son. He has collected for his disposal to his son, all he thinks makes a successful and enviable character and he desires all of that to be together in a package to his son, hence the one block stanza.

On the other hand, Soyinka enlists the natural heavenly bodies and physical elements to act or participate in forming the being of his daughter. He calls on earth, air and sun to be part of the dedication thus:

> Earth will not share the rafters' envy   line   1
> The air will not deny you   line   7
> Long wear the sun's shadow   line   12

These three elements, he invites, to honour their presence in the dedication of Moremi, hence the three – line stanzas.

Corbet makes effusive use of punctuation marks. Virtually, all the lines of the poem have either a comma, or a semicolon, or a colon, or a fullstop. These punctuation marks help to give the touch of directness of the speech or address e.g. 'I wish thee, Vin, before all wealth, both bodily and ghostly, health.' lines 3 – 4. In this same manner, punctuation marks have been closely used in 'Dedication'. Almost all the lines have one form of punctuation mark or the other like a comma, dash, a full-stop or a question mark.

Phonologically, these marks especially commas have affected the speed of rendition. In other words, as the commas are observed, the speaker pauses to make sure the message is well taken, even though the addressees are not expected because of their age, to understand the language of the speakers fully. However, people believe that there is power in words. Although the two linguistic levels earlier examined have made considerable contributions to the poems, the distinguishing levels in these poems are the grammatical and lexical. In Corbet's poem, the sentences are in the present tense. The line/ I wish thee well/ line 2, couches various forms of wishes which 'none can tell'. He starts to give his wishes by saying, 'I wish thee Vin, before all wealth, bodily and ghostly, health'. lines 3 – 4. He now spells out the supremacy of health over wealth. Phonologically, there are end rhymes in *thee* in lines 5 & 6, while *show* rhymes with *know* in lines 7 & 8. The same goes for *require* and *fire* for lines 9 & 10, *graces* and *places* for lines 11 & 12, *court* and *support* for lines 13 & 14, *many* and *any* for lines 15 and 16, *ways* and *days* for lines 17 and 18, and finally, *part* and *art* for lines 19 & 20. When this poem is rendered, one is catapulted into ecstasy of beauty of rhyme and rhythm, which is not the case with Soyinka's 'Dedication.' Rather, there is an array of words, at the end of lines, which has no similarity of sounds between one line and the other e.g. There are words at the end of the lines like:

        floors, fall, life   lines 1 – 3
        tuber, springs, hearth   lines 4 – 6
        top, hoe, squirrels   lines 7 – 9 e.t.c.

This is perhaps to remind both the reader and the child being dedicated, that the event is a very serious one, though not more serious an event than Corbet's. Both of them are ruled by different passionate cultural

drive, exposing in some cases social criticisms. Syntactically in the poem, 'To His Son', the sentence patterns are mostly straight forward simple sentences. Where there is a compound sentence, he joins it with a co-ordinator, thus:

> What I shall leave thee none can tell
> But all shall say I wish thee well; lines 1 & 2

Some of the lines of 'To His Son' are heavily modified e.g.

> I wish thee learning, not for show
> Not such as gentlemen require,
> To prate at table or at fire, lines 7 – 10

Corbet rather pontificates and moralises . Those are his ideas of what make a good character which he wants his child to imbibe. The beautiful organization of Corbet's wish is worth highlighting. He subtly balances his statements with sentences which combine the direct wish and the opposite effect of the wish, preaching moderation in each case. Examine lines 4 – 6

> Not too much wealth, nor wit, come to thee,
> So much of either may undo thee. lines 5 & 6
> I wish thee friends, and one at court,
> Not to build on, but support;
> To keep thee, not in doing many
> Oppressions, but from suffering any, lines 13 – 16

Corbet as a modest, simple, but intelligent bishop, wants to plant into his son the ingredients of a successful living. In the hierarchy of virtues, he places health of both body and mind, above wealth, (but not too much of wealth), wit (not too much of it either), learning, (enough to instruct and know but not for show), his mother's graces and his father's fortunes, friends (good ones to help him especially lawyers at court, but not for him to use the friends to oppress others. Culturally, law is a cherished profession in European tradition. Among these he has not forgotten peace, which controls human behaviours and it is also the foundation for longevity. Corbet does not condone cutting corners but advises hard work:

> I wish thee peace in all thy ways,
> Nor lazy nor contentions days;
> And when thy soul and body part,
> As innocent as now thou art. lines 17 – 20

Corbet has outlined his personality and subtly exposes his dislikes. In this poem he forewarns his son against certain bad character traits like being stinkingly rich such that he becomes overbearing, oppressive, talkative and boastful especially 'prating at tables' about successes achieved. Corbet knows that good morality is utmost because he realizes that human beings are answerable to their Creator at the end of their lives. There are expressions used by Corbet which euphemises situations. He says 'What I shall wish thee, none can tell'. line 1. In other words, people's expectations of what he would leave his son with, is different, i.e. 'none can tell', meaning that no one expects what he has in mind for his son. He advises his son to make friends especially 'one at court'. This shows the lives of Europeans who carry out litigations to settle cases and who trust the efficacy of the judiciary. At the end of his son's life Corbet expresses it as, 'when thy soul and body part,' he would not be disadvantaged. He also admires the good qualities of his wife where he says, 'I wish thee all thy mother's graces .line 12 and modestly talks about his achievements – (I wish thee) 'Thy father's fortunes and his places'. line 12 .'His places' here mean his positions in public life. This wish has a gender implication because a woman rarely has fortunes; rather she is homely, graceful and full of admirable comportment, while the males are expected to hustle and make fortunes. Consequently, Corbet wishes his son to combine his mother's qualities with his (Corbet's) to make a round character.

Comparatively, Soyinka's Dedication' is more or less confrontational. The poet tries to fight to protect his daughter against unhealthy attitude of envy and of evil machinations of wicked people in his society. Syntactically, he couches his desires for his only daughter, in metaphors. He invokes the air, the earth, the sun to protect her:

Earth will not share the rafter's envy (line 1)

The air will not deny you

line7

Long wear the sun's shadow; run naked to the night   line 12

In stanzas 1 – 3, Soyinka hands his daughter into the protective care of the physical elements and uses simile to drive home his points. He gives

the baby a pinch of soil and says 'Taste this soil for death and plumb her deep for life'. line 3. Soyinka's wish is that this baby should taste the soil because when she dies she will be a part of the soil but in the meantime, he prays that the soil should cover her as 'this yam wholly earthed, yet a living tuber' line 4. She would be earthed as this yam, earthed as springs, as roots, as hearth. This forms a pattern which is shown diagrammatically thus, earthed as

$$
+ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{yam} \\ \text{springs} \\ \text{roots} \\ \text{hearth} \end{array} \right\}
$$
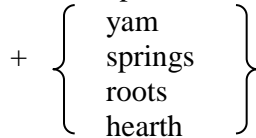
The 4 NPs are in syntactic relationship with the verb 'earthed' and in paradigmatic relationship with each other. They are semantically related to the general feature /+ nature/ and phonologically related by sharing the same rhythm, because the words are all monosyllabic. The three levels namely syntactic, phonological and semantic, all converge to reinforce one another. In stanza 4 the poet wishes his daughter to be as ageless as dark peat. In other words, she will not get old in time by her looks and physique. In stanza 5, the poet uses items of significance in child's dedication in his culture namely, pepper, palm oil, wine, cam wood, chalk, salt, rain-water, and each performs its role in the life of the child as can be seen from the poem. Pepper which is a kind of spices in African culture is used to prepare food to bring out some flavour and pepper could be green when unripe and such unripe ones are less hot. The red pepper which is ripe is very hot and when used much, for the same purpose of cooking, could make the meal unpalatable and un enjoyable. The poet instructs thus:

> Peppers green and red – child – your tongue arch
> To scorpion tail, spit straight return to danger's

threats

> Yet coo with the brown pigeon, tendril dew

between your lips.   lines 13-15

The child is now given a weapon to fight her enemies, that is, both green and red pepper to plant in her tongue and the tongue should be ready for action as the scorpion's tail is arched, to spit straight to return danger's threat, when necessary. On the other hand she should 'coo tendril dew' between her lips when not in active warlike state. This very tongue should

shield her 'like the flesh of palm, insealed as the heart of kernel', should be 'held skyward', 'cuspides in thorn nesting', lines 16 – 17. In each case there is profuse use of simile to state the normal and abnormal use of each of these items in human endeavours. The poet in lines 18 – 22 states:

A woman's flesh is oil – child, palm oil on your tongue.

Is suppleness to life, and wine of this gourd
From self – same timeless run of runnels as refill
Your podlings, child, weaned from yours we embrace

Earths' honeyed milk, wine of the only rib.

Soyinka makes no pretentions about his tradition. He drops palm oil on the child's tongue to show suppleness to life i.e. she should be prepared for ups and downs of life; for the wine put on her lips serves as a refill to her podlings which are her mother's breasts, because the African nursing mothers are given small measures of palm wine to activate the continuous supply of breast milk to feed and sustain the baby until he/she is weaned. When she is weaned, the child now struggles in life to achieve success. 'Now roll your tongue in honey till your cheeks are / Swarming honeycombs, your world needs sweetening, child/' lines 23 – 24. The items camwood and chalk, the poet puts on the child's heart, is for 'flight of blemish' line 26. Salt, to taste long on her lips, 'that you may seek none from tears' line 29.
Rain - water / is the gift / of gods, – drink of its purity, bear fruits in season / lines 29 – 30. When she bears fruits she should / :

/haste to repay /
/The debt of birth / yield man – tides like the sea /
/And ebbing, leave a meaning on the fossilled sand/ lines 31 – 33

The messages given in Corbet's poem 'To His Son' and Soyinka's 'Dedication' for Moremi, are comparatively similar, although they differ in their presentational style.
Whereas Corbet's poem contains what he feels are the ingredients of good character which can assist his son in future, [if he abides by them,] to fit in well into his society, Soyinka leaves us with a bit of insight into the hurdles which a growing child would cross on his or her way to success in life.

Whereas Corbet is concerned with his son being as innocent as he is in his childhood, until when his body and soul would part, (for which achievement demands a lot of sacrifice), Soyinka out rightly prepares his daughter against odds in his culture and how to go about them.

At the same time, he (Soyinka) envisages success from which she; (Moremi) must fulfill the expectations of the family and that of the society which are, to 'make haste to repay the debt of birth' line 32. That simply means she is expected to cater for her parents, siblings and other relations perhaps in their old age. Secondly, to / yield man – tide like the sea / and ebbing, leave a meaning on the fossiled sands/ 32 & 33. is the same message of leaving behind this planet, a good name.

In presentation, Corbet and Soyinka use the same direct and monologized style, calling the child's name, 'Vin.' in the case of Corbet while Soyinka calls 'child' at almost every admonition given. Whereas Corbet addresses his son in straight forward and simple language, Soyinka goes with telegraphic statements, for example, / camwood round the heart, chalk for flight / of blemish – see? It dawns! – antimony beneath. Armpits like goddess, and leave this taste long on your lips / lines 25 – 28. One needs to read hard to get the message, let alone the child Moremi. Soyinka uses proverbs in his poem like / For the hoe that roots the forest ploughs a path for squirrels/ lines 8 – 9. That means that for anyone who tries to undo you may in return be doing something beneficial to you. He, Soyinka profusely uses simile to draw a picture of what he says, by using 'as' and like e.g. / To warmth of waters, earthed as springs / As roots of baobab, as the hearth line 5 & 6 . /Like a top spin you on the navel of the storm/ lines 7 – 8. Be ageless as dark peat… line 11, Shield you like the flesh of palms … line 16, Armpits like a goddess … line 27

Soyinka employs metaphors to couch his messages and creates nonce words and borrows some words from some disciplines like / skyward held Cuspids in thorn nesting … / line 16 – 17 Cuspids is not a literary word but borrowed from building and construction, to express sharp pointed edges. 'Insealed' is a nonce word which he coins to express how deeply the child would be shielded like the heart of kernel.

'Podling' is the metaphor for breast, earths' honeyed milk' means the goodies of life, 'man – tide' is success in its fullness, 'debt of birth' is a

child's responsibility to his / her parents when he / she is grown up, 'ebbing' means the final state of life.

In conclusion, the poems 'To His Son' and 'Dedication', are beautiful poems from which have been disclosed a lot of information about the different cultural set ups namely European and African cultures in child's upbringing and have also shown the literary styles of both Corbet and Soyinka.Both poets have their distinct styles. Finally, while Corbet uses queen's English for his expressions in his poem, Soyinka mersmerises his readers with disjointed images thrown about the poem and those exert much mental energy on the part of his audience.

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INSECURITY AND THE NIGERIAN STATE:
THE CASE OF HERDER'S-FARMER'S CONFLICT, 2010-2018.

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Abstract

Over the years the activities of the Fulani herdsmen in their quest to pastor and graze their herds has resulted in frequent conflicts between the herders and farming communities. Before now, we knew that the Fulani herdsmen move from place to place in search of grazing lands for their herds and they do so peacefully, co-habiting with their host communities in a relationship which was seen as cordial. They graze their herds within their host communities with respect to their Customs and Traditions and grazing without destroying the farmer's crops and if perchance there is any trespass by the herds, the owners will feel remorseful and ensure it does not repeat. They are usually seen with their small curved bow known in this part of the country as Uta, which is a protective instrument for their herds against unfriendly animals and

which in all fairness was not meant to harm anybody. This necessitated the Igbo adage that 'Otego anyi hubara Hausa na Uta ma naanyi ahubeghi onye ha jiya wee gbagbu', meaning that, it has being long that we saw Hausa and their bow but have not seen anybody they have killed with it. Is this adage still valid today? What is the relationship between the herders and their host communities, do they still carry bows or Avtomat Kalashnikova (AK-47) assault rifle? What is the relationship between a herder and Avtomat Kalashnikova rifle? What are the causes and consequences of this herder's- farmers clash and what should be done to arrest this unfortunate and avoidable conflict between the herders and the farmers? Methodologically, this paper uses the historical analysis method to ascertain, the cause and consequences, provide instances of this clashes and proffer solution to the observations made. It is the position of this paper that the herders-farmers clashes are the major causes of unwarranted deaths, poverty, hunger, hatred and ethnic rivalry between the Fulani and the farmers in Nigeria which is a direct consequence of insecurity. The paper recommends that government of the northern states should provide grazing reserves for the Fulani herders in their respective states to restrict them from open grazing that exposes them to constant clashes with the farmers.

Key Words*: Fulani herdsmen, Farmers, Conflict, Grazing routes, Farms

INTRODUCTION

The movement of herdsmen and subsequent clashes with farmers and host communities in recent times has heightened insecurity in Nigeria, particularly in the North Central region and by extension in other parts of the country. The driving force of the clashes is the competition for available resources, especially grazing land. It seems that the government has abandoned the grazing reserve system created by the Northern region government in 1965. The then, government created over 417 grazing reserves in the north.[1]Under the grazing reserve system, government provided space, water and vaccinations for the livestock while the herdsmen paid taxes to the government in return. However, due to the discovery of oil and subsequent explorations which made Nigeria an oil-based economy, particularly in the 1970s and

1980s, the grazing reserve system was abandoned due to the neglect of the agricultural sector as the mainstay of the country's economy.

Over the years, there has been serious clashes/conflict between the Fulani herders and farmers across the Nigerian nation. It is an age long problem, but it has escalated in the last decade and has assumed a very deadly dimension. The conflicts occur when Fulani herders move into non-Fulani homelands with their cattle. This usually leads to the destruction of farmer's crops. Thus, the herders provoke their victims to acts of resistance (preventing entry into their farms, killing or stealing their cattle, or poisoning the fields to ward off the herders and their herds). In response, the herders launch deadly attacks on farming communities. This is usually done at mid-night and in extreme cases during the day laying ambush by the herders waiting for the victims who resisted their excesses.

Their method of attack is totally in a military style leaving one to wonder how sophisticated and trained this people could be. They invade their victim's communities at night, encircling the whole community, pouring fuel/explosives and setting ablaze the whole community and if perchance any person tries to escape, they will shoot at the person with their AK-47 rifle. This conflict has being going on with no tangible efforts by the government of the day to ameliorate this problem. Rather they claim that those who perpetrate the mayhems are foreigners or at other times they would claim that the Fulani herders are like every other farmers in the country and hence should be given access to operate. But should they be allowed access to graze inside cultivated crops in order to make them happy and by extension the government? Typically no.

The aim of this paper is to assess the problem of insecurity in Nigeria using the Fulani herders and farmers constant conflict as a reference. Causes and consequences of the herders-farmer's crisis will be x-rayed and ways to restore peace among the conflicting groups that will engender peaceful co-existence between the herders and farmers in the country will be suggested.

To address these challenges, the Federal government in June 2015 constituted a Strategic Action Committee to look into the issue and make recommendations that would help government address the problem. A major stakeholder in this effort, the umbrella body in the

cattle rearing business, the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN), argued that the effect of climate change and desertification was a major causal factor leading to trans-human movement from North to the South annually.[2]But is the change in climate and other factors enough justification for the Fulani herders onslaught against farmers who struggle to put food on their tables.

The sources of the essay are from both primary and secondary sources as well as media reports. Besides, this author lives in Nigeria and he has a first-hand experience of the subject of this essay.

Understanding the Fulani Herders of Nigeria

The Fulani is an ethnic group of the West African savannah. Some of them live in towns and cities, and engage in farming and trading. A large proportion of them are cattle herders. Through wars of conquests called the Fulani jihad, the Fulani conquered a greater part of the area that later became Northern Nigeria between 1804 and 1810''[3]. Among the places they did not conquer were many areas in central Nigeria, in present-day Plateau, Benue, Taraba, Nasarawa and Kogi states. In many of these places, in the words of Reuben Udo, hill sites provided adequate refugee outposts for people fleeing from the onslaught of mounted Fulani warriors. The fate of other savannah areas in central Nigeria, especially those that lacked the protection of hills, was much worse. With the advantages of cavalry and unity, the Fulani routinely raided them for slaves. The frequency and depredations of Fulani slave raids helped to make central Nigeria, despite its vast farming lands, one of the sparsely populated regions of Nigeria.[4]

The British conquered northern Nigeria in the first decade of the twentieth century. Thus, they brought an end to Fulani rule in the area and to their depredations in central Nigeria. An important policy of the British conquerors according to Udowas;

> *The fixing of boundaries between the various ethnic groups as well as between clans and villages and this brought an end to the practice whereby groups which were powerful enough could forcibly encroach upon the land of neighbouring groups*[5].

History of Herders – Famers Conflict, 2010-2018

According to the <u>Global Terrorism Index</u>, <u>Fulani</u> militants were the fourth deadliest terrorist group in 2014, using machine guns and attacks on villages to assault and intimidate farmers. After killing around 80 people in total from 2010 to 2013, they killed 1,229 in 2014. Most deaths occurred in the Nigerian <u>Middle Belt</u>, in particular in the states of <u>Benue</u>, <u>Kaduna</u>, <u>Nasarawa</u>, <u>Plateau</u> and <u>Taraba</u>, which recorded 847 deaths. The state of <u>Zamfara</u>, in the northern belt, recorded 229 deaths. In addition to terrorist attacks, Fulani militants were also involved in non-state armed conflicts with groups from <u>Eggon</u>, <u>Jukun</u> and <u>Tiv</u> farming communities. These conflicts resulted in over 800 deaths by 2015[6].The year 2016 saw further incidents in <u>Agatu</u>, Benue and Nimbo, Enugu State.[7]

In April 2018 Fulani gunmen killed 19 people during an attack on the church in Plateau State, afterwards they burnt dozens of nearby homes. Again in June 2018, over 200 people were killed and 50 houses were burnt in clashes between farmers and <u>Fulani</u> cattle herders in <u>Plateau State</u>. In October 2018, Fulani herdsmen killed at least 19 people in Bassa[8].By 2018, over 2000 people were killed in those conflicts. On 16 December 2018, Militants believed to be Fulani herdsmen attacked a village in Jema'a, killing 15 people and injuring at least 24 others, the attack occurred at a wedding ceremony.

It is a common knowledge that the August 25, 2016 attack by the Fulani herdsmen in Ndiagu, Attakwu, Akegbe-Ugwu in Nkanu West LGA, which claimed the lives of Mrs. Amuche Agbo and Seminarian Lazarus Nwafor, and the April 25, 2016 attack on Ukpabi-Nimbo in Uzo Uwani LGA, which claimed twenty lives, were avoidable incidents that occurred after security agents ignored Governor Ugwuanyi's report on imminent attacks. Before the Uzo Uwani attacks, Governor Ugwuanyi had held a meeting with security agents where he hinted them on the imminent attacks by suspected Fulani herdersmen.[9]

According to the governor, in the meeting, we received assurances from the Commissioner of Police that the Area Commander of SARS was on ground in Nimbo, and that the Anti-Terrorism Unit was at Nimbo. That he was in contact with the Kogi State Commissioner of Police and had reported suspected herdsmen grouping at Odolu in Kogi State preparing

for an attack on Nimbo and Abbi communities. That Police Mobile Force and conventional police were already drafted to Nimbo and Abbi communities. He claimed he was in touch with the Area Commander, Idah, ACP Ikegwuonwu, who had linked him with the Area Commander, Nsukka, ACP Monday Kuryas. Both men, according to the CP, reported that there were no traces of suspected herdsmen in Nsukka or Idah. Unfortunately, the herdsmen struck as a result of the lapses on the part of the security agencies, despite Ugwuanyi'sefforts to forestall the crisis and his unalloyed support to the security agencies.

From the above, one may not be totally wrong to believe that the police were an accomplice to the herders in the crime or should one say that the police were afraid of the herdsmen. They were duly informed by the governor about the imminent attack and they could not take any proactive measure to avert that ugly incidence. How come the officers, stationed at those flashpoints did not detect the herdsmen hideout, or saw them when they were perpetrating the dastardly act? How did the herdsmen managed to enter the village, attacked the villagers and then went scot-free without the police seeing let alone attacking them? This is a clear indication that the rate of insecurity in Nigeria is alarming. Moreover, why will the herdsmen attack a village with an intent to kill, maim and destroy the entire village when they should take their grievances if any to the law enforcement agents.

Again, soldiers on Operation Python Dance III from the 82 Division of the Nigerian Army averted a clash between farmers and Fulani herdsmen in Anambra State. A statement by the Deputy Director, Army Public Relations, Col. Sagir Musa, said that the clash led to the death of a herder at Anam area of the state.[10]Anam and Aguleri communities of Anambra state has been in the news of herdsmen onslaught against the natives since 2018 and following the kidnap of two priests of the Catholic Church who said that they were kept in a farm located in a thick forest for four days before they were released to one of their superiors who travelled from Enugu to Anambra to receive them. At Ntejein Oyi Local government of Anambra state, a woman lost her life to the Fulani herdsmen in her farm after they raped and subsequently butchered her with their machete[11].

The herdsmen are notorious for attacks on unsuspecting members of their host communities in recent times. They also engages in the act of kidnapping and demanding ransom from their victims before they could be released. The Fulani we know from the beginning were peaceful, but what actually led them to the destruction of lives and property are worrisome. For instance, Anambra east and west inhabitants have suffered a great deal in the hands of the Fulani herdsmen whom they have accommodated in their lands as fellow Nigerians. We call on the government of the day to do something urgent before this crisis gets to an uncontrollable heights just as the Boko Haram menace was treated with levity until it escalated.

Causes of Farmers-Herders Conflicts

Damaging or intentional grazing on cultivated crops has been pointed out as the most predominant cause of conflict between farmers and herdsmen. Adeoye observes that deliberate grazing of cattle on crops, farmers' encroachment on grazing reserves, water holes and cattle paths and indiscriminate bush burning by herders as notable causes of conflict between the groups in parts of Kano, Yobe and Borno States of Nigeria[12]. The deliberate letting of the herds to graze on cultivated crops such as cassava, maize and uprooting of seeds from the mounds by pastoralists always triggers conflict between them as no one will feel happy seeing his efforts wasted by those animals. The herders feel the same when they see any of their herds killed or rustled.

Again, long standing disagreements by the groups has also been identified as a common factor.In his view, Burton opines that many of the recent attacks perpetrated by the Fulani stemmed from long-standing disagreements with various communities. For instance, Mayah et al reports that a Fulani leader alleged that the massacre of Agatu people by Fulanis' was a reprisal attack against the killing of their prominent son by the people of Agatu in April 2013 who stole his cows[13]. Mostly in the Middle-belt, the conflict was found to have stemmed from a long history of feud over farm lands and herding. Pre-existing communal conflicts have sustained the violence as herdsmen turned militants in the face of urbanization, desertification and the indifference of the Nigerian government to their plight[14].

Moreover, the heterogeneous composition of Nigeria has been argued to be the major cause of armed violence within the states. Although the mere heterogonous nature of the state is not sufficient to induce tension and violence, tensions can rather be managed through responsive, inclusive and broad-based political, social and economic institutions which bind diverse groups together instead of driving them apart. The deliberate politicization of ethnic and religious groups and the overlap between these groups are what combined with the deep seated socio-economic inequalities, to plunge the state into armed violence,[15] which the herders are part of.

Another critical factor responsible for the constant clashes between the groups is the climate. The changing climatic condition, generally referred to as global warming, is no doubt taking a toll on the survival of herdsmen and farmers business. The desert encroachment from the Sahara towards the Sahel region and other associated climatic conditions have continued to affect the livelihood of herdsmen as they push further south in search of available space, pitching them against farmers and host communities. This global phenomenon is currently affecting many parts of the world with attendant consequences – including the herdsmen-farmer conflict.[16]

Again, constant urbanisation and demographic shifts in the present day world has increased the tendency and likelihood of farmers to move further into the field for farming activities. At independence in 1960, the Nigerian population stood at about 35 million people.[17] However, 58 years later, it has leaped to over 180 million people and the growth is expected to persist in the near future.[18]Population increase of this magnitude also means a geometric increase in the demand for food products as a basic human need. This also implies an increase in the quest for farming space for farmers. Conversely, industrialisation and urbanisation have continued to claim all available land, leaving little or nothing for farmers' survival. The continued movement of herdsmen southwards in search of pasture for their animals has pitched them against farmers, eventually leading to conflict and destruction. For example, farming along the Benue River accounts for over 20, 000 tons of grain annually[19]. This same area is also fertile ground for herdsmen to feed their cattle. Thus, farmlands within the river bank areas are the

most affected by the movement of the herdsmen – resulting in a number of clashes.

Lack of adequate Political Will, to tackle the menace is also a major cause of the conflict between the groups. The government at all levels have shown near absence of needed political will to proffer lasting solutions to the conflicting claims of different actors in the ongoing conflict between the herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria. Political leaders have failed to invoke appropriate legislations to be backed by action that would define rules and limits for parties involved in the conflict. The Federal government, in the past, has made efforts to regulate and control pastoral activities, but it appears that adequate political will is needed to enforce laws. For instance, the government is seen in some quarters, especially by opposition parties, as being sympathetic to the activities of the herdsmen. This belief stems from the fact that the President is a Fulani, the same ethnic group that dominates the cattle business and himself is also a member of cattle breeders association and so would not do anything that would jeopardize an association which he belongs. For instance, the Fulani who are destructive in every ramifications had never been disarmed, arrested for illegal firearm possession and killing of innocent citizens as was the case of the Independent Peoples of Biafra, who never killed anybody, possessed no arms nor kidnapped anybody for ransom was labelled terrorist organization and proscribed.

The reasons identified above, is seen to constitute a broader explanation for the myriads of violent conflicts that have assumed endemic nature in the Nigerian nation. There are other specific factors that directly link to the incessant confrontations between the farmer and the herder in this country. Adekanye identified three sets of variables that will be helpful in understanding the complex factors that fuel farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria, namely: the 'structural cumpredispositional variables', the 'accelerators' or 'precipitants'; and the 'triggers' or 'catalysts'[20]

According to Adekanye's postulation, the structural or motivational factors responsible for farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria, may be similar to factors responsible for other types of conflicts across the African continent and particularly in Nigeria, such as differences in ethnicity and religion; cultural lifestyles that permit the possession of

small arms by the generality of the public for mostly ceremonial purposes; economic livelihoods that depend on competition over scarce water and land resources for cultivation and cattle grazing; and the "emergence of grassroots war economy left behind by long and protracted civil wars and other conflicts, coupled with the rise of war-lords with interests in the system of plunder, profit and power thrown up by this phenomena"[21].A condition that may be responsible for the growing terrorist activities in many of these communities that have arguably suffered exclusion and underdevelopment for a long time.

Also, the 'precipitants' or 'accelerators' of farmer-herder conflicts in Nigeria, appear equally similar to those of other types of conflicts, which Adekanye identified as; "economic development, modernization, urbanization, social mobilization, population growth, migration, and the like[22]".

Conflict triggers which often arise as a result of vague and unanticipated circumstances also spark off farmer-herder conflicts. Some of such 'triggers' may include; trespassing of cattle over cultivated land and vegetation, mysterious death of cattle, outright cattle theft or rustling, contamination of stream by either the herders as a punitive measures against the farmers or by the farmers against the herders, sexual harassment of women by nomads, over-grazing of fallow land, harassment of nomads by youths of host communities, indiscriminate defecation by cattle on roads to mention but a few.

Similar to the above is the destruction of crops and conflict of culture among the herders and the farmers. Demarcation of grazing and cropping land in the grass field during the colonial era is now been contested by the rapidly growing population in need of more land for agriculture and rural development. Also cultural changes between the largely heterogeneous farmers and herders still constitutes a major source of conflict. Other sources of such conflicts are encroachment into grazing land, cattle trespass, as well as leadership struggle between the communities. According to Ofuoku and Isife the causes of these conflicts as including;

> destruction of crops, contamination of stream by cattle,
> over-grazing of fallow land, disregard for traditional
> authority, sexual harassment of women by nomads,

> *harassment of nomads by host youths, indiscri-minate*
> *defecation by cattle on roads, theft of cattle, stray cattle,*
> *and indiscriminate bush burning[23].*

While it is agreeable that the triggers provide more compelling argument for the major causes of these conflicts, it is important to understand the broad context in which these triggering circumstances occur, as this provides a more critical understanding of not just the causes, but also the nature of the conflict, and can also be helpful in thinking about solutions.

Consequences of the Herder's-Farmer's Crisis in Nigeria

One of the consequences of herders-farmers conflict is drought and desertification. Nigeria's far north is arid and semi-arid, with a long dry season from October to May and low rainfall (600 to 900 mm) from June to September. In 2008, the National Meteorological Agency reported that over the preceding 30 years the annual rainy season dropped from an average of 150 to 120 days. In the last six decades, over 350,000 sq. km of the already arid region turned to desert or desert like conditions, a phenomenon progressing southward at the rate of 0.6km per year[24]. In Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara states, estimates suggest that 50-75 per cent of the land area is becoming desert.

Loss of Grazing Reserves where the herds could graze is also a factor. Most of the 415 grazing reserves established by the northern regional government in the 1960s have since been lost. Only 114 were formally documented or demarcated, though the government failed to back these agreements with legislation guaranteeing exclusive usage or take active measures to prevent encroachment. The rest succumbed to pressure from rapid population growth and the associated demand for farmland, were overrun by urban and other infrastructure, or appropriated by private commercial interests.

Another shocking and most dreadful consequences of the conflict is the loss of life and human insecurity. The endless conflict, attacks and counter-attacks between herdsmen and farmers in Nigeria leads to massive death toll of many innocent lives and actors involved in the conflict. The actors may include security agencies, government officials, journalists and non-governmental bodies involved in

managing and pre-empting the conflicts. Between the year 2006 and 2014, Nigerian Watch database recorded 615 violent deaths related to cattle in the year 2006, 22 deaths were recorded after the herdsmen farmers conflict in 2006, 54 in 2007, 31 in 2008, 83 in 2009, 39 fatalities in 2010 and a massive increase in death toll in 2011which puts the figure at 116, 128 deaths in 2012, 115 deaths in 2013 and a total of 27 deaths was recorded in 2014. Similarly in the year 2013, Sunday Trust recorded a total of 300 deaths between January 1 and May 20 in the North Central states of Taraba, Nasarawa, Plateau, Nasarawa, Kogi and Benue states respectively.

Changing practices among both farmers and pastoralists have also strained relations. Over the last three decades, some cattle herders have gradually adopted sedentary lifestyles, leaving cattle herding increasingly to young men or boys, aged 9 to 25 years, who often lack the civility and maturity to resolve disputes amicably.[25]

Another effect of this conflict is destruction of farm properties and farm irrigation equipment, farming tools, houses and cars by angry herders who usually carry out organised violence as retaliatory act on the farming communities.

Threat to national unity is a direct consequences of the conflict as it tries to divide the nation on ethnic basis. The constant and unwarranted attacks by the herdsmen has called the attention of Nigerians to the threat it poses to Nigerian unity. Nigeria being both ethnic and circular country is polarised along ethno-religious lines.This makes it a very fragile and delicate union of culturally diverse ethnic groups. There is need to urgently address the forces that escalates the division while at the same time promoting the forces of unity.

Another serious effect of this conflict is the displacement of people from their homes and community for safety reasons. This has become the persistent effect of the clash between herdsmen and farmers in North Central Nigeria and has led to the establishment of various Internally Displace Persons' camp (IDPs). The maintenance of these camps also cost government huge sum of money which would have been channelled to some developmental projects.

According to investigations conducted elsewhere, it shows that 43 out of every 100 women affected by the internal armed conflict have been

victims of different forms of violence based on their gender[26]. In today's world, with some form of conflict in almost every region, more than 70 per cent of the casualties are civilians-most of them women and children[27]. During conflict and reconstruction, the impact of horrific gender-based violence at societal, community and individual levels is a critical issue. A lot has been said about the effects of the armed conflicts the world over. For women and girls, the impact is frequently magnified. The relatives of men killed in the violence often evict widows from their farmland. Moreover, post conflict economic and social disenfranchisement renders women and girls even more vulnerable to sexual and economic predation.

Agustiana and Pakpahan, asserted that civilian women and girls face different risks and dangers in armed conflict compared to those faced by civilian men and boys. There is a growing literature and attention to sexual violence and rape as a strategy of warfare[28]. After incidences of sexual violence, women are often rejected by family or community.

Socio-economic implication has also been identified as direct consequence of the farmers-herders imbroglio. Women who have lost their limbs may be unable to farm and are often abandoned by their husbands[29]. As members of the civilian population, women experience distinctive economic problems in armed conflict. In many cases women are separated from the men who traditionally may be their source of income. Again, because of lack of education and training, their role in caring for others, and general community attitudes make it extremely difficult for women to support themselves financially. In many cultures, moreover, it is women who have the most to gain from economic development, and are thus particularly disadvantaged when these resources are diverted during armed conflict.

Rural Banditry and Cattle Rustling is prevalent in communities where this type of conflict abound. Rural banditry also is driving herders south. Over the last decade, cattle rustling has grown in scale and organisation in several northern states where large bandit groups operate with mounting audacity. While this occurs throughout the north, the main theatres have been the Kamuku forest in Kaduna, Falgore forest in Kano, Dansadau forest in Zamfara and Davin Rugu forest

stretching through Kaduna, Katsina and Zamfara states. Cattle theft has also been a major source of funding for Boko Haram in the north east.[30]

In recent decades, northern Nigeria's various conflicts also have displaced herders southward. These conflicts – linked to poverty, inequality and religious extremism have forced large populations to migrate, devastating local economies and liveli-hoods, including cattle rearing. In Borno state, the north east vice chairman of Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association (MACBAN), AlhajiMafindinDanburam, claims that association members lost over one million cattle to the Boko Haram insurgency[31]. The economic losses and insecurity have compelled many herders to move south.

Women and girls also face health threats that stem from biological differences. For example, the physical vulnerability of women and adolescent girls is higher than that of men and adolescent boys due to their sexual and reproductive roles. Particular risks women face include STIs, including HIV /AIDS and "Vesico-vaginal fistula, trauma, mutilation, complications from botched abortions, uterine problems, scarring of the vagina and problems having a normal sexual life or giving birth in the future"[32]

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Conclusively, 'herders- farmers' conflict has really had devastating effects on the life and property of the affected communities in particular and the nation in general. It has also kept the largest vulnerable groups 'the women and children' in a very deplorable condition which have hitherto changed the traditional role of women as house keeper to new roles of taking household responsibilities as a result of their widow condition.Again, the federal government should take proactive measures to ensure that the herder's activities are regulated. They willingly take their cattle to farmers' farms in a broad day light and watch the cattle eat up crops cultivated by the farmers.

The duty of every government is to protect the lives and property of its citizens while the citizens engage in meaningful ventures that will earn them money to pay their taxes to the government. Nigeria is a conglomeration of diverse ethnic, religious and cultural nationalities forced into marriage without their consent. This has led to different crises from inception ranging from military coup to civil war and

different pockets of clashes between one ethnic group and another and between one religion and the other. The aim of every business venture is to make profit and enjoy the profits. The Fulani herdsmen and the farmer have one thing in common- maximization of profits.

The incessant herders–farmers crisis is as a result of the herder's excesses. Trying to graze their herds' by all means even if it means setting the whole farming community ablaze. There are large areas of uncultivated lands where the herds can graze but no, the herders chose to take their herds into farms with grown up crops such as maize, cassava and pumpkins. They allow the cows to eat up these crops to the utter anger of the farmers.

One of the immediate steps to tackle the herders-farmers imbroglio is to improve security for both herders and farming communities. At a minimum, the federal government and its security agencies should intensify operations against cattle rustlers, improving systems to track livestock movement and trade, arresting individuals both herders and farmers who carry illegal firearms and prosecuting suspected assailants.
Again, strengthening the capacity of the police and other sister security agencies will go a long way in addressing the herders-farmers crisis in Nigeria. In recent years, the federal government and governments of some Northern states have initiated several joint efforts against cattle rustlers and bandits. In July 2015, the governors of Niger, Kaduna, Kano, Sokoto, Kebbi, Katsina and Zamfara states jointly funded an anti-rustling operation in the Kamuku/Kuyanbana forests that encompassed all six states. The operation involved four organisations: the army, Nigeria Police Force, Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps and Department of State Services (DSS).

Improving livestock tracking/monitoring would go a long way to address the conflict.
Smarter animal tracking and identification systems can also curb cattle rustling. State ministries of agriculture should oversee cattle branding, certify cattle traders, monitor cattle markets and regulate abattoirs and slaughter houses. The federal agriculture and transport ministries should renew efforts to establish safer and more efficient arrangements for transporting livestock across the country.

The federal government should keep their promises of stopping incessant armed attacks on farming communities by the herdsmen in all states of the federation. They should call the cattle breeders association to order and warn them against their unguarded utterances about their association's activities. Those who are involved in attacks in farmer's community should be arrested and made to face the full weight of the law and serve as a deterrent to others who may wish to unleash mayhem on unarmed innocent farmers and citizens at large. To that end, federal security agencies –notably the police and Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps will need to focus on preventive measures, including community liaison mechanisms to upgrade intelligence gathering, early warning and rapid response to forestall break down of law and other that may result to unspeakable regrets due to low rapid response and less proactive measures as it happened in Nimbo, Enugu state.

With the above points as enumerated, this study recommends that the federal government should call the herders to order and as a matter of necessity give them grazing reserves in their various states to restrict them from moving from one place to another looking for trouble and not grazing lands because there are lands where they can graze but they choose to graze on cultivated farmlands. Again, those who carry AK-47 rifles should be arrested and tried because there is no relationship between a herder and AK-47.

The farmers on the other hand should despite been provoked not take laws into their hands as this will only lead to blames by the government since they don't want to find solution to this problems. The federal government should also follow through on promises to stop armed attacks on farming communities, especially in badly affected southern Kaduna and Benue states. To that end, federal security agencies – notably the Police and Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps will need to focus on preventive measures, including community liaison mechanisms to upgrade intelligence gathering, early warning and rapid response. It is our belief that if this is done peace will once more return to our dear country, Nigeria.

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TERRORISM IN NIGERIA: IMPACT ON AND IMPLICATIONS OF WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT

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Abstract

Terrorism in Nigeria represents the newest threat to Nigeria's collective existence as a nation and has generated issues consequential in national and international discourse. Issues associated with insurgency such as terrorism and others have generated over 2 million internally displaced persons in Nigeria, remarkably women and children. Paramount objectives of the study anchor on the causes, experiences and impact of the incidence of terrorism on women. The study also seeks to establish a relationship between women and terrorism in Nigeria. The study elicits its information from archival and internet sources. Also, structure interviews were purposely conducted

on some of the survivors of the terrorists attacks in North Eastern Nigeria, in various IDP camps and government agencies overseeing internally displaced persons in Nigeria. The study heavily relies on authoritative and valid secondary sources of data which includes National dailies (Nigeria tabloids), journals, articles among others. The findings of the study reveal neglects on the part of the state apparatus (government) in ensuring better, effective and functional policies for the women in Nigeria. The study concludes that given the magnitude and complexity of the crisis of terrorism which involves women as agents and as well as victims these are inimical towards the discourse "development". The impact of this unfortunate incident includes poverty, inequality, death, malnourishment, religious extremism, and insecurity, unprecedented levels of bomb blast across the country and above all the reproduction of future suicide bombers using rape in camps as a machinery. The study uses as its tool of analysis, feminism which postulates gender balance in the study of human relation.

INTRODUCTION

Human suffering on a large scale is a continuing threat to world peace. Several dozens of gruesome civil wars, terrorism and gender insensitivity disturb global order and affect our collective conscience. The over 2million people displaced internally and externally in Nigeria[1] and all over the globe by current complex humanitarian emergencies overwhelm the ability of the contemporary world to cope and appreciate with genocide, massacres and other inhumane acts. Great public awareness of how much is at stake and how much more costly it is to act later rather than sooner can be a critical element in stemming the proliferation of these tragedies. More still, the phenomena of violent conflict, communal crashes, war and peace are issues that gain currency globally. It is now widely accepted that violent conflict and terror is majorly hindrances to development in the globe. It inflicts human sufferings through death, destruction of livelihood, constant displacements, insecurity and psychological trauma.

Crisis disrupts the process of production, infrastructural development, creates conditions for pillage of the countries resources and diverts their attention from developmental purposes to counter terrorism, insurgency, armament, and conflict management. Thus, terrorism with

its newest dimensions is responsible for perpetuating misery, loss of lives, bloodbath, panic, and instability globally.[2] Burdensome as it is, terrorism, also affects women more for obvious reasons as such should be discouraged. Men though victims, the magnitude of effects on women are disheartening. Men primarily direct gender-based violence overtly or covertly towards women as a tool of humiliation and subjugation.[3]

> *.....violence against women is one of the crucialsocial mechanisms by subordinate position compared with men. In Article 1 of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of violence against Women (EVAW), proclaimed by the UN general Assembly in its resolution 48/104 of 20 December 1993, the term violence against women was defined.[4]*

 The above has come to stay and represents a vocal point of interest and also one that need attention. The present search for peace and an enduring political stability in the international system which is yet to yield complete dividend continues to disturb the minds of the academia and policy makers. Thus peace and global stability have been described and defined as a means to an end and an end itself. Since the dawn of history, mankind has been in search for long lasting political platform that will ensure internal and external order leading to freedom, liberty, peaceful co-existence, development, equality, gender fairness diplomatic and peaceful negotiation and pursuit of goals.

Disturbing as it is, the problem is frequent use of force and undiplomatic means such as terrorism in the pursuit of national, regional, personal and religious goals. The continuous urge to Islamize and dominate globally remains cause for concerns among researchers, just as there is the contemporary urge to topple all secular regimes and to replace them with an Islamic regime or republic worldwide gives credence to the understanding of the issues and prospects in international peace and development. Issues such as terrorism and its concomitants-constant displacement, death, rape, destruction of properties and means of livelihood among others, continue to attract attention nationally and globally. The task is timely in the sense that terrorism which is often local or global in facilitation, planning and

coordination, and local in execution has come to be a cankerworm and a clog in the wheel of progress in Nigeria's co-existence and as such should be seen as a national emergency owing to the immeasurable negative impacts. These impacts are too devastating as they involve mostly women and children who are at the receiving end. Finally, the current trend of this phenomenon is advancing in nature and gaining geographical space in Nigeria.

Terrorism in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives

Terrorism remains one of the concepts in international studies and the social science that has defied precise and an all inclusive definition and meaning. This is so due to issues, perspectives and understanding of the term. The question remains, what is terrorism? It would be highly desirable if all discussions on terrorism, of its motives, and inspiration, its specific character, its modes of operations and long-term consequences were based on a clear, exact and comprehensive definition. Ideally and preferably, there should be an agreement as to whether terrorism is violence in general or some particular form of violence, whether the emphasis should be on its political aims or its methods of combat or the extra-normal character of its strategy; also whether its purposive, systematic character should be singled out or, on the contrary; its unpredictability and its symbolic aspect or perhaps the fact that so many of its victims are innocent.[5]

Agreement on a definition, alas-does not exist, and there is no reason to assume that it will in the near future. This is because according to Alex Schmid in his work Political Terrorism, a research guide, listed 109 different definitions of terrorism provided between 1936 and 1981[6]. There have been more since then. The US government has provided half a dozen, which are by no means identical. This disagreement in an inclusive definition of terrorism has been an age long phenomenon. This is as a result of what is noted above. Etymologically, terrorism is gotten from the word, *"Terror"* derived from the Latin root word *"Terrere"*, which means to frighten or to cause or scare and terrify.

Accordingly, terrorism is defined as the use or threat of violence, a method of combat or a strategy to achieve certain goals that its aim is to induce a state of fear in the victim, that is ruthless and does not conform to humanitarian norms, and that publicity is an essential factor in

terrorist strategy. In another account, terrorism is the use of or threat of violence, a method of combat or a strategy to achieve certain goals. These goals are political, religious or economically motivated. In response to what terrorism is, Sharon Blatton notes, "The explanation of "why terrorism" has so far eluded scholar and political scientists, and the research studies suggested above should aim at finding the answer to this question".[7]

The explanation or definitions of terrorism in its multi-dimensional aspect only but generate further questions. According to Charles I.O, it is the deliberate and systematic murder, maiming and menacing of the innocent in order to instill fear for political ends.[8] The systematic use of terror especially as a means of coercion has remained a tactics of the terrorists. This is why terrorism ideally and reasonably too has many meaning and definitions, this is so because the term means different things to different people. To the western bloc, terrorism is all but an opposition to democracy or democratic principles, while to the Arabs or Muslim world; it is only but a crusade – a crusade to topple all democratic or secular elements or regimes in their domain.[9] Beyond this point, definitions differ, often sharply, which is by no means surprising, be it only because the character of terrorists group has been subject to change. There is little, if anything, in common between the Russian terrorists of nineteenth century and Abu Nidal; a definition trying to cover both as well as others would be either vague or very misleading. There is no such thing as terrorism pure and unadulterated, specific and unchanging, comparable to chemical elements, rather there are a great many terrorisms. Historians and sociologists are not in full agreement on what socialism is or fascism was. It would be unrealistic to expect unanimity on a topic such as this. But the absence of an exact definition does not mean that we do not know in a general way what terrorism is; it has been said that it resembles pornography difficult to describe and define, but easy to recognize when we see it.[10]

In an attempt to define terrorism, it then becomes imperative to put the term in historical and contemporary perspectives, as this will help in demystifying the concept "Terrorism". One common misconception is that terrorism is a new and unprecedented phenomenon. In actuality, terrorism is not an invention of modern times indeed, the very words we

use to describe terrorism shows what a timeless phenomenon it is. The word "Zealot" comes from a group of far 1st century Jews who tried to overthrow Roman rule over biblical Palestine through the use of murder and assassination. The zealots later committed mass suicide at Masada. Still, the word "assassins" comes from a Shiite Muslim leader from the 11th century through to the 13th centuries. The word "thug" originally referred to a group of revolutionaries in India before the 18th century.

> *...Accepted historiography holds that the first large-scale use of terrorism took place during the "popular" phase (1792-1794) of the French revolution. The "Reign of Terror" was formalized under a decree in September 5, 1793, declaring that terror is the order of the day, as an instrument of state policy. Terror was used to eliminate counter-revolutionary elements in the population, save France from anarchy and profiteering, and suppress hoarding. Unapologetic about the use of terror to eliminate political enemies, Robes Pierre, the radical leader, said that "Terror is nothing but justice, prompt, severe and inflexible". An estimated 40,000 people were sentenced to death during the reign of terror in France. All together about 12,000 people were executed during the reign of terror.[11]*

More so, in Africa and elsewhere, terrors were launched against empires and empire builders and intruders and by empires as deterrence against opposing enemies. Acts of terror and war is synonymous with the history of mankind. This is as a result of factors inherent in man who is selfish and expansionist in nature.

In the 17th century, a prelude to modern terrorism, terrorism arose in Tsarist Russia in the 1870s. Opponents of the Tsar' government had three primary aims to popularize grievances and build support through the "propaganda of the deed," to destabilize government and divide the population, and to provoke authorities to over react and generate international sympathy for the perpetrator's course. Terrorists' tactics were subsequently adopted by some dissident groups in the Ottoman and British Empires, and by some anarchists in the United States and Western Europe. The late nineteenth century and early twentieth

century terrorism typically took the form of assassination attempts on the heads of states and bomb attacks on public buildings.[12] Within 1880, the president of France, Spanish prime minister, an Austrian empress, an Italian King and two USA presidents were assassinated. Attempts were also made on the life of a German Chancellor and emperor. Another misconception is that terrorism is essentially middle Eastern or left wing phenomenon. In fact, terrorism has been used by many groups in different parts of the world for diverse parts of the world for diverse purposes. Recent events underscore the complexity of terrorism. In Colombia, right wing paramilitaries killed fifteen villagers they accused of collaborating with Marxist guerrillas. In London, Northern Ireland, the Real Iranian Revolutionary Army planted a road side bomb targeting three police officers. A suicide bomber in Istanbul detonated a bomb to protest conditions in Turkey prisons.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, terrorism was generally ideologically inspired and found its greatest support among anarchists eager to overthrow governments viewed as oppressive or corrupt. Terrorism was generally opposed by Marxists, who regarded it as counterproductive and contrary to the notion that change was best accomplished through revolutionary actions by the masses.

Furthermore, the assassination of the Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand in 1914 signaled a "new phase" in the history of terrorism,[13] a first phase of separatist, anti-colonial rule and exploitation. For the first time, terrorists' violence was employed to overthrow colonial empires including the Ottoman and British empires.

From this time till the 21st century terrorism has witnessed increase in occurrence, magnitude and complexity. The twin bombing of the American pentagon and the World Trade Centre (WTC) in September 9, 2001 became a monumental point in the history of modern terrorism. The complexity of the bombing, its logistics planning and execution, its international and organizational link ups became an eye open to the international community. Ideally, modern terrorism kicked off explosively after the twin bombing in America. The attack was fundamental in various regards. First, it's systematic planning and information gathering, the high level of casualties, the political and economic spill over of it, the rise of a global terrorists' network – the

Al-Qaeda headed by Osama Bin Laden, the proliferation of arms, and internationalization of terrorism/terrorists. More so, are global awakenings and fight against terrorism and the rise of Islamic States in Iraq and Syria (IS1S).

The new dimensions on the mode of operations include its involvement of women; Women involvement remains a problem statement of this study as a good number of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women and children.

More so, is the religious inclination of terrorism i.e. religion induced terror attacks otherwise known as Jihad in Islam. This, Jihad or Islamic expansion is the root cause of the unrest that generated over 2 million internally displaced persons in Nigeria. In conclusion therefore, terrorism as a concept and phenomenon for global order has come to stay and as such, an issue that requires urgency, especially terrorism in Africa and Nigeria in particular.

Terrorism in Nigeria
Historically, mankind has been associated with one form of violence conflict or the other. The phenomenon of violent conflict that plagued mankind since the dawn of history has metamorphosed in dimension, magnitude, strategy, purpose, nature and importantly, in consequence and brutality.

The various entities that make up the ill-fated entity called "Nigeria" have remained rather unpeaceful and uncooperative in some ways. This is because the local, traditional and cultural affirmative that bind the nations (e.g. the Igbo nation, Hausa nation, Ijaw nation among others) are loose and weak. The pockets of violence that these various nationalities have experienced are either expansionist in nature or minor communal clashes to claim either the river, fertile land or other economical or strategic resources.[13]

Another form of violent conflict noticeable within the various entities that became known as Nigeria is the course of empire building. Thus, empire building was less violent and predominantly at the pre-colonial era. Terrorism in Nigeria could be traceable to the dawn of colonialism and post independence epoch in Nigeria and other African states. British conquest of the various entities in Nigeria through various

diplomatic and undiplomatic means triggered violence. The use of gun boat diplomacy as threat and eventual use of force to coerce "Nigerian" territories was fundamental to British adventures in Africa. Kidnapping and hostage taking which are sister adjectives to terrorism were also utilized by the white men. Nigerian kings and chiefs were tortured, held hostage, exiled and killed as a strategy of inflicting fear in the land.[14]

Additionally, the eventual colonization of Nigeria in 1900 by the British brought a new wave of terrorism. The eventual colonization was preceded by the merger or amalgamation of the culturally, different entities. These entities were not related in any way nor share any common history prior to the merger. It was a marriage of strange bed mates, a union of common enemies. The amalgamation was orchestrated and masterminded by the British for their economic profiteering and political configuration.[14]

This was the genesis with the trouble with Nigeria. The Igbo nation, Yoruba, Hausa and other nations are clearly distinct and peculiar in their own ways and nothing suggest brotherhood or oneness among them. The aftermath of this unholy marriage- the amalgamation led to crisis which included: the Yoruba or Western crisis of 1960s, Northern crisis and massacre of the Igbo in 1964 in Kano, the election crisis, the census and population crisis which eventually exploded to the 1966 civil war (Nigeria-Biafra war).

From this time (1966) up wards, issues and policies in Nigeria were tribalized, regionalized, or religiously underpinned instead of been nationalistic. Modern day terrorism in Nigeria is purely traceable to the year 2009 which is fundamental. With the internationalization of terrorism and terrorists' network, and the rise of global Islamic agenda of toppling all secular regimes and replacing them with an Islamic republic which started in Iran in 1979, the world has been made a theatre of terror. The escalation of terrorism globally and in Nigeria particularly, have politically and religious undertone. The urge for power, the rule-at-all-cost syndrome is purely behind the scene of terrorism in Nigeria. A particular region – the North with the mindset that "power belongs to them as a birth right stands to prove the point that power drunken politician can go any limit to actualize it. According to Chinwezu, in his work; "Caliphate colonialism," this unpublished

code of power- belongs –to- the- north was echoed loudly among northern elites.[15]

The controversial but "hand-of-God" emergence of Dr. Ebele Goodluck Jonathan as the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Commander-in-chief of the Armed forces in 2009 after the death of President Musa Yardua, signaled the beginning of many tales. This date remains relevant to understanding of the underlying causes and trace of the rise of insurgency and by implications, women involvement in terrorism.

Before Goodluck Jonathan's emergence as the president, there was a constitutional vacuum relating to the position of the President and his vice in case of death, this vacuum witnessed or showcased tensed reactions and division of opinions and sentiments; the argument was that a northerner should be elected to complete the tenure of the late Musa Yardua instead of a direct replacement by his vice. In fact, this case was an eye opener and one that authenticates an earlier claim that among the effects of the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Protectorates in 1914, issues were no longer based on nationalism or patriotism rather they were tribalized, regionalized and more so, religiously underpinned. Nevertheless, after   heated debates, Goodluck Jonathan became the president of Nigeria in 2009 completing the tenure of the late president and went on to win his first tenure as an elected president in 2011 defeating, Mohammad Buhari.

Before now, Nigeria has witnessed pockets of bombings, first in 1986, during the Gen. Ibrahim Babangida-led military regime, when Mr. Dele Giwa, the founding editor-in-chief of Newswatch Magazine, was killed by a mail bomb in his home in Ikeja, Lagos, widely believed to be state sponsored. Since then series of other bombing incidents have been reported in the country, with majority of them happening under the despotic rule of the late General Sani Abacha, who was rumored to be behind most of the bombings and some state-sponsored killings to intimidate opponents of his regime. Bomb blast as an act of terrorism in the civilian era began when some bombs went off in Warri during an Amnesty Dialogue organized by Vanguard Newspapers in support of the amnesty program of the then president, Umaru Yar'Adua to tackle the cases of militancy in the Niger Delta Region in October 1, 2010.

More phenomenal cases include the Nigeria's 50th Independence anniversary celebrations in Abuja, suspected to be sponsored by MEND, a group of Niger Delta Militants. This was followed by an escalation of Boko Haram Islamist terrorists' bombings and attacks in April 8, 2011, at INEC office and at a Catholic Church in Suleja, Niger State. The Maiduguri bombing and mass killings on April 26, 2011 and the bombing of an army barrack in May 29, 2011 in Bauchi State, the January 1, 2011 Army Mammy market bombing at Abuja, June 16, 2011, Nigeria Police Force headquarter bombing in Abuja with the IG of police narrowly escaping death, the Nyanya Abuja twin bombings in 2014, all remained a monumental modern terrorists attacks in Nigeria. Monumental in the sense that the death toll (including the UN building in Abuja bombing) the multiple bombing in Kano, Maiduguri, Adamawa, Borno State, among other things help to generate displacement crisis in Nigeria. This crisis (internal displacement of persons) became a national issue, as people fled their homes in thousands, in millions in search of security and peace.

In the North Eastern part of Nigeria, which is a major terrorist enclave, saw unrivaled magnitude of economic and social devastations that brought the functional   systems in that region to a ruin. Means of livelihood were brutally destroyed. The year 2009 witnessed the radicalization of the terrorist group in Nigeria called Boko Haram. The summary execution of its leader in July 2009 led to an unexpected resurgence, following a mass prison break in September 2010, accompanied by increasing sophisticated attacks, initially against soft targets, and progressing in 2011 to include suicide bombings of police buildings and the United Nations office in Abuja. The government's establishment of a state of emergency at the beginning of 2012, extended to the following year to cover the entire North East of Nigeria, led to an increase in both security force abuses and militant attacks. [16]

As expected, the incessant bombings and attacks led to a whopping number of 2.3 million people being displaced by the conflict since May 2013, at least 250,000 have left Nigeria and fled into Cameroon, Chad and Niger. Boko Haram terrorists killed over 6,600 in 2014.[17] The group has carried out mass abductions including the kidnapping of over 276 school girls from a school in Chibok in Borno State in April 2014.

Corruption in the security services (military sabotage) and human rights abuses committed by them have hampered efforts to counter the unrest. The over 2.3 million displaced persons internally and externally in neighboring West Africa States remains to be studied, with women occupying the huge chunk of the figure. Their lives, survival, hope of a quick resolution of the causal factor (insurgency) that gave rise to it, prospects for the future, gives impetus to the topic under review.

Women and Terrorism in Nigeria

Most relevant intellectual discussions that borders on violent-conflicts ignores the peculiarity and centrality of women. Such studies become lopsided. This is because women though less attended to (i.e. women's role, negative or positive) could inspire or the contrary. Women stand at a double axis and vantage point – both influential and consequential. Women's impact in any violent conflict could be likened to dicotyledonous seeds. Its seeds could either contribute to the volume of conflict or victims of the same. Violence everywhere is violence against women. This fact is yet to be understood by all. This is a as result of factors inherent in gender inequality.

Now, women and terrorism in Nigeria and elsewhere mean a coin with two sides. First is terrorism which utilizes women as its indispensable machinery, and secondly is women which are at the receiving end of the same said terror act.[22]

Women as Agents of Terrorism

Between 1985 and 2008, female suicide bombers committed more than 230 attacks. About a quarter of all such acts have women as the ideal stealth weapon for terrorist' groups.[23]

Women have been actively recruited by terrorist groups for strategic purposes. These purposes go beyond physical combats and suicide missions and this is for obvious reasons. Their presence helps in keeping men inside the gang and even reinforces their organization. More is to be known about the other relevancy of women in terrorist activities other than in real combat. The fact that women naturally play dual functions or multiple roles gives credence to the impact of women in modern terrorism. Domestically, women are house-keepers and

domestic staff. The domestication of the women leads to functions such as cooking, laundering, dry cleaning, sanitation and coordination.[24]

Secondly, women appear to be even more relevant, in that they provide sexual satisfaction to the men terrorists. These domestic and sex functions plays strategic roles in terrorist' organizations. In any crime, war-like organization like the terrorists groups, issues of logistics is given prime attention. No organization will survive without logistics like cooking, feeding and domestic routines. This is why women are dangerous tools in the hand of the terrorist' gangs.

There are two perceptions to the issue of sex among the terrorist groups. Sex among the terror group means exercise and pleasure drive to free an urge. Dangerous as it is, is it may lead to an intentional act of sex in view of impregnating the women for the reproduction of a generation of killers. According to a report in the Guardian Newspaper, more than three hundred women were abducted from an elementary secondary school in Damasak town in Borno State. The report has it that the Damasak incident is the largest documented school abduction by the Boko Haram militants, yet it has drawn far less public attention than the infamous adduction of 270 school girls in a secondary school in Chibok in April 2014, with most of the girls on sexual and reproductive missions. "Three hundred children/girls have been missing for a year, and yet there has not been a word from the Nigerian Government''.[25]

The number involved in the abductions report clearly justifies the relevance and usefulness of the girls or women to the terrorist organization. According to Fatima Samoura, the UN Humanitarian coordinator for Nigeria, "Between 2000 and 7000 women and girls are living in abduction and sex slavery".[26]

In addition, Jean Gough, country representative of the UN Children Fund, UNICEF, is of the view that women and girls, who have escaped Boko Haram have reportedly undergone systematic training program to train them as bombers[27]. Another perception to women involvement in terrorism is that violent women create uncomfortable situations, though women are usually crime victims, not perpetrators. Similarly, women are viewed as nurturers not destroyers, peaceful and not violent. Thus, when women are violent, their violence must be understood as somehow different, less instrumental and more emotional. But this

approach has little to do with terrorists. Terrorists, – (whether male or female) ultimately engage in their act for personal reasons – reasons that transcend monetary and financial overture, most especially in Africa, women involvement appear to be religiously inspired.

A narrative on how women are forcefully inducted into the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria by a thirteen (13) year old girl named Fati who was kidnapped in 2014 and taken to a Boko Haram camp, and later arrested with explosives strapped to her body shows that there is need to act now . Most of the women conscripted into the terror group undergo series of trainings and orientations. In training them, they are told to, "Hold the bomb under your armpit to keep it steady".[27]

Furthermore, they are told, "if you cut from the back of the neck, they die faster". Another shocking account by a 47 year old woman who was captured and taken to terrorist gang emphasized the link between terrorism and religion. Mrs Amos who was captured after the terrorists had come to her village in one morning, firing weapons as they spilled out of cars and rounded up women and children. Not long after, Amos, a Christian, said she was forced to enroll in Boko Haram classes on the Qur'an, a first step on her way toward being taught the art of suicide bombing. The account described a six tiered daily education track for the women in form of primary one, primary two and so on. The first two levels were Qur'anic training, primary three was training in suicide bombing and beheading, and how to kill a person and how to bomb a house. "They told us if we came upon a group of 10 to 20 people to press this".[28] She was referring to a detonator.

According to Mrs. Amos, the group's use of women as weapons is a carefully thought-out strategy to unleash mayhem. Accordingly, close to (40) forty of the captured females enrolled in training with her, seven (7) girls were enthusiastic about carrying out suicide missions. They were always told that, "It was a direct path to heaven". After months of training, Mrs Amos was able to escape from her captors as she escaped enroute to the Cameroonian mountain border. "I don't want to take a bomb", she said inside the refugee camp in Cameroon that stretches across a vast landscape dotted by tents and mud huts. The authorities in Cameroon and Nigeria said that many of the experiences detailed by Mrs. Amos matched the accounts of other women and girls who had

escaped the terrorist gang, or who had been arrested before they could detonate bombs. Her account synchronized completely with details from other freed women and girls, including descriptions of funeral rites performed before female bombers were sent on missions.

Of all the many horrors of Boko Haram's rampages across West Africa in mosques, churches, schools, markets, parks, civil centers, mass killings of civilians, the entire village left in ashes, one annoying factor has been the insurgents' ability to turn captured women and girls to mass killers. The terrorist group in Nigeria, one of the world's deadliest extremist groups has used at least 105 women and girls in attacks across the Northern states.[29] First in June 2014, a female suicide bomber blew herself up at an army barrack in Nigeria. Since then, women and girls, often with bombs hidden in baskets or under their clothes, have killed hundreds and thousands of people in attacks on fish and vegetable markets, schools, at river dock and even in camps for people internally displaced (IDPs camps). In Cameroon, according to the Minister of communication, Issa Tchiroma Bakary, commenting on the 22 female suicide bombers indentified, said

> *You don't know which is who (sic). When you see young girls moving towards you, you don't know if she is hiding a bomb. Soldiers cannot open fire on every woman or girls who look suspicious.*

He added, *"They know where we have Achilles' heel"*

Commenting also, Col. Dr Lier Badjeck, a Cameroonian defense spokesman, said that after the soldier had chased Boko Haram out of villages around Cameroon, in recent weeks, they found homes that had been used as prisons for the women and girls. He said female hostages had reportedly been trained during their captivity-both in Quran and violence. *"They are training them to maximize the number of victims… we are sure about it"* [30]

Bombing by women have become so wide spread that even humanitarian groups and policy makers are rethinking on how to check mate this ugly scenario. Boko Haram, which pledged allegiance to the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria in 2010, has abducted as many as 2000 women and children since 2012, according to humanitarian groups. [31]

The group's abuse of woman first shocked the world two years ago when the Boko Haram insurgents stormed a school in the North East and fled with about 270 girls in a Chibok school, some of whom have not been found. Hundreds of other woman and girls have been abducted, imprisoned, raped, and sometimes intentionally impregnated, perhaps with the goal of creating a new generation of fighters.

Finally in many ways, female bombers are ideal weapons. At security points run by men, they are often searched less thoroughly, if at all, tucked under the bunched fabric of dresses or religious gowns, explosives are easily concealed.

Women as Victims of Terrorism
Violence everywhere is violence against women and children. Recounting experiences recorded at a research trip to one the theatre of terror only but clearly gives credence to the motive of, and objectives of this study, which is to critically assess the role of women in terror acts and the impacts of the same acts on them. It is noteworthy to state that men overtly and covertly direct violence and violence tendencies towards women as a tool of humiliation, subjugation and to attract global attention and popularity. Owing to the degree of women innocence, naturally peaceful and loving, humane and physically uncombative, the art of violence and terrorism is majorly anti woman.
This is because to inflict pain or damage to a woman is not an end but a beginning of sorrow and tale to the entire family and community. The pivotal role of women in the family and the society at large clearly indicate the adversity of any attack on them.
The impact of terrorism on women could be briefly highlighted below as:
- Physical
- Psychological
- Economical
- Material

Physical: Women in terrorists' attacks suffer more brutally. These result from natural death, injuries, displacement, and other sufferings, deformity among others. The vulnerability of women in any crisis only but challenge human collective will and the ability to stem the rising tide of insurgency. The number of dead women and children far

outweigh that of the men counterpart. This is as a result of the fact that men can run, escape faster unharmed but not so with the women. The burden of the children and their physicality impedes their movement. Men flee for their lives only to allow or leave the numerous children to the mother.

More still, most women are said to be pregnant or nursing mothers during attacks. The question is, how then or how much can a pregnant or a nursing mother run, a run a kilometer distance, or climb mountains and hills to escape? Terrorism, although enemy to all is simply brutal to women. In addition, when the men and fathers dies or successfully escapes, it obviously leaves the women or mother as widows with children to carter, feed, nurture and protect. This suffering is immeasurable and inestimable as this may last for years. A woman with seven (7), Six (6) children with little or no means of sustenance could only be adjudged to be in hell. This is practically the case of women affected by the rising menace of terrorism in Nigeria.

Psychological Truama
Terrorism inflicts psychological imbalance to women. The loss of right frame of mind that enhances normal social interaction and other economic activities represents another dimension to the impact of terrorism on women.
Terrorism is primarily a strategy to create or cause panic, inflicts fear and unpredictability and loss of sense of belonging. No meaningful activity can be coordinated by an individual under terror attacks as its strategies and targets are highly unpredictable though its victims are often highly innocent. More so, living in fear is more or less living in bondage and threat. The feeling of insecure and an impending death hanging in the air could destabilize an individual. Under these circumstances, the woman is only but left confused, handicapped and incapacitated.

Economically – Most women are bread winners of their respective homes and as such if made a victim of terror, all means of livelihood and economic usefulness will be affected. The advent of modern terrorism in Nigeria has seen a senseless and brutal destruction of all means of livelihood. Economic activities such as farming, fishing,

trading, animal husbandry, weaving, craft, dye making etc are left only but in ruin. A dependent mother is a dependent children and household in general. With these, therefore, it is highly recommended and desirable that women should be spared in any crisis- conflict situation.

Materially: Women, as a result of ruined economy which was destroyed without mercy as a result of terrorism, are left virtually in abject lack and poverty. The inability to provide for oneself the major necessities of life generate a condition undesirable that leads to various social vices, such as prostitution, child and baby bearing industry, stealing and other societal ills. With these therefore, urgency is required towards arresting the factors that cause the above situations.

CONCLUSION

The role and vintage point at which woman stand in terrorism has been established, role as a victims and agents, both with heavy implications to Nigeria as it threatens the collective existence of the country as a nation. These implications are very vital, and very consequential to ignore in national discuss, rather a situation that calls for urgent action.

As it is often said, when the desirable is not available, the undesirable become inevitable; the critical role of the woman in national development and in nation building has been under emphasized, the full potentials yet untapped as a result of issues in gender inequality, thereby making them readily available for so many unlawful ventures such as terrorism. This should be given kin attention. Finally, there should be an urgent, functional and functioning policy of government beyond statements in the news and print media toward tackling insurgency in Nigeria.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the alarming cases and effects of terrorism in Nigeria such as the generation of over 2million internally displaced persons in Nigeria and her neighbors, the wanton demolition of villages and communities, infrastructural destruction, destruction of sources of livelihood and unparalleled level of death in the history of the Country, terrorism in Nigeria should be declared a national emergency. Secondly, there should be an articulated functioning and functional policy by the government to drive or cub the menace of insurgency. Those women

and girls held in hostage and captivity by the terrorist gang should be released unconditional and their integration given prime attention.

More so, women and gender studies should be given a pride place in our national life. This will guarantee gender balance in policy formulation and implementation. Finally, looking at the genesis of modern terrorism in Nigeria and issues such as violence incitement by must-win politicians, tribalism, religion and selfish interests, the need to re-orientate and restructure the country becomes imperative.

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COUNTERING THE THREAT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

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Abstract

We live in an age of international terrorism with its ever increasing reach and brutality. The nature and type of terrorism has become more varied and complex and terrorist organizations even more evasive and difficult to understand. There is thus a strong need to combat this hydra headed monster of international terrorism. Counter terrorism tactics and tasks are often expensive and difficult. But yet there is no alternative to developing a strong and effective counter terrorism capability to provide a measure of safety and security to the people from terrorist acts and defeat terrorist organizations. This study examines in general the nature, types of international terrorism and threat posed by it and focus on the counter-terrorism approaches, and measures needed to combat international terrorism. The methodology adopted in this paper is qualitative method which uses primary and secondary sources, which are critically analyzed. It recommends among others, the need for synergy and intelligence sharing among countries affected by the activities of terrorist organizations in order to curb against the growing ties among the terrorist groups.

Key Words: Freedom, Liberation, Terrorism, United Nations, Violence

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is by nature an organized and planned event or policy. It is not unplanned, although random events may obviously terrorize. What makes terrorism so fearsome is that attacks are often directed at a group, people or symbol that may not be directly linked to their real target, often a government, system, practice or ideology. It threatens all and in the process those that suffer injury and death are generally innocent bystanders. The word terrorism was first used in France to describe a new system of government adopted during the French Revolution (1789-1799). The *regime de la terreur* (Reign of Terror) was meant to promote democracy and rule of law by ridding the revolution of its enemies and thereby purifying it. However, the oppression and violent excesses of the *terreur* ended up turning it into a

feared instrument of the State. From then on, terrorism assumed a negative connotation. The word did not fare better popularity wise until the late 19th century when it was adopted by a group of Russian revolutionaries to describe their violent struggle against Tsarist rule. Since then, terrorism assumed the more familiar antigovernment stance it has retained till today.

DEFINITION OF THE CONCEPT

The definition of terrorism is disputed. In fact the definition of terrorism entails difficulties both conceptual and syntactical. Because of the prevailing difficulties in defining terrorism, alternative concepts with more positive connotations – guerrilla movements, underground movements, national liberation movements, commandos among others are often used to describe and characterize the activities of terrorist organizations. These concepts are used without due attention to the implications but at times the use of these definitions is tendentious, grounded in a particular political idea. By resorting to such tendentious definitions of terrorism, terrorist organizations and their supporters seek to gloss over the realities of terrorism, thus establishing their activities on more positive and legitimate foundations. Naturally, terms not opposed to the basic values of liberal democracies such as "revolutionary violence", "national liberation" etc. carry fewer negative connotations than the term "terrorism".

Salah Kalef (Abu Iyad) was Yasser Arafat's deputy and one of the leaders of Fatah and Black September, responsible for a number of attacks including the killing of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics. In order to rationalize such actions, he used the tactic of confounding "terrorism" with "political violence", stating,

> *By nature, and even on ideological grounds, I am firmly opposed to political murder and more generally, to terrorism. Nevertheless, unlike many others, I do not confuse revolutionary violence with terrorism, or operations that constitute political acts with others that do not.* [1]

Abu Iyad tries to present terrorism and political violence as two different and unconnected phenomena.

Surprisingly, many countries have accepted the mistaken assumption that terrorism and national liberation are two extremes in the scale of legitimate use of violence. The struggle for "national liberation" would appear to be the positive and justified end of this sequence, whereas terrorism is the negative and odious one. It is impossible, according to this assertion for any organization to be both a terrorist group and a movement for national liberation or emancipation at the same time.

In failing to understand the difference between these two concepts, many have in effect, been caught in a semantic trap laid by terrorist organizations and their allies. They have attempted to contend with the cliches of national liberation by resorting to odd arguments, instead of stating that when a group or organization chooses terrorism as a means, the aim of their struggle cannot be used to justify their actions. According to Senator Jackson,

> The idea that one person's "terrorist" is another's "freedom fighter" cannot be sanctioned. Freedom fighters or revolutionaries don't blow up buses containing non-combatants; terrorist murderers do. Freedom fighters set out to capture and slaughter school children; terrorist murderers do…it is a disgrace that democracies would allow the treasured word "freedom" to be associated with acts of terrorists. [2]

The claim that a freedom fighter cannot be involved in terrorism, murder and indiscriminate killing is, of course groundless. A terrorist organization can also be a movement of national liberation or emancipation and the concepts of "terrorist" and "freedom fighter" are not mutually contradictory.

From the foregoing argument, one could suffice to add that terrorism can be defined as the intentional use of, or threat to use violence against civilians or civilian targets, in order to attain political objectives. This definition is based on three important premises:

1. The essence of the activity -the use of, or threat to use, violence. According to this definition, an activity that does not involve violence or a threat of violence will not be defined as terrorism.

2. The aim of the activity is always political namely, the goal is to attain political objectives; changing the government, changing the people in power, changing social or economic policies among others. In the absence of a political aim, the activity in question will not be defined as terrorism. A violent action against civilians that has no political aim is, at most, an act of criminal delinquency, a felony or simply an act of insanity unrelated to terrorism. For instance, a gang of robbers who attack a bank, blow the vault and escape with the contents would normally not be classified as terrorists because their motive was financial gain but if, the gang were to execute the same assault with the intent of causing a crisis in public confidence in the banking system, followed by attacks on banks and a destabilization of the economy, then the gang would certainly be classified as terrorists.

3. The targets of terrorism are civilians. Terrorism is thus distinguished from other types of political violence (guerrilla warfare, civil insurrection). Terrorism exploits the relative vulnerability of the civilian underbelly – extreme levels of public shock, outrage, fear and wide publicity evoked by attacks against civilian targets. This definition excludes an accidental injury inflicted on a civilian or a group of civilians who stumbled into an area of violent political activity but stresses that this is an act purposely directed against civilians. Hence, the term "terrorism" should not be ascribed to collateral damage to civilians used as human shields or to cover military activity or installations, if such damage is incurred in an attack originally aimed against a military target. In this case, the responsibility for civilian casualties is incumbent upon whoever used them as shields.

HISTORY OF TERRORISM

The history of terrorism goes back more than 2000 years ago when the first known acts of what we now call terrorism were perpetrated by a radical group of the zealots, a Jewish sect active in Judea during the 1st century AD. The Zealots resisted the Roman Empire's rule of what is today Israel through a determined campaign primarily involving assassination. Zealot fighters attacked their enemies in broad daylight, often in crowded market places or on feast days essentially wherever

there were people to witness the violence. Thus, like modern terrorists, the Zealots intended their activities to communicate a message to a wider target audience, in this instance, the Roman occupation forces and their Jewish collaborators.

Between 1090 and 1272 an Islamic movement known as the Assassins used similar tactics in their struggle against the Christian Crusaders, who had invaded what is today part of Syria. The Assassins embraced the same notions of self-sacrifice and suicidal martyrdom evident in some Islamic terrorist groups today. They regarded violence as a sacramental or divine act that ensured its perpetrators would ascend to a glorious heaven should they perish during the attack.

Under the French Revolution (1789-1799), religion provided the main justification for the use of terrorism. This situation changed, however, as nationalism, anarchism, Marxism and other secular political movements emerged during the 1880s to challenge divine rule by monarchs. Modern terrorism was initially anti-monarchial, embraced by rebels and constitutionalists during the last stages of the French Revolution and in Russia by the People's Will (Narodnaya Volya) organization.

During the 1920s and 1930s, terrorism became associated more with the repressive practices employed by dictatorial states than with the violence of non-state groups. The word terrorism was used to describe the wanton violence and intimidation inflicted by the Nazi, Fascist and totalitarian regimes that respectively came to power in Germany, Italy and Soviet Union. The repressive means these governments employed against their citizens involved beatings, unlawful detentions, torture, so called death squads (often consisting of off duty or plain clothes security or police officers) and other forms of intimidation. Such practices by governments against their own citizens continue today.

After World War 11, terrorism reverted to its previous revolutionary ascription. During the 1940s and 1950s, "terrorism" was used to describe the violence perpetrated by indigenous nationalist, anti colonialist groups that arose throughout Asia, Africa and the Middle East in opposition to continued European rule. Countries such as Israel,

Kenya, Cyprus and Algeria, for example, owe their independence at least in part to nationalist movements that used "terrorism".

THEORETICAL TRADITION

Theory as we know is an interrelated constructs, and concepts by which a given world view is interpreted and explained. The issues of terrorism haunting and terrorizing States and international community; sometimes tend to undermine the domestic and international agential powers of the States system currently. Scholars of diverse intellectual persuasions and paradigmatic orientations are concerned on how to provide concrete and empirical explanations rampaging threats of terrorism. This study attempts to triangulate theories in a bid to offer explanation to the plague of local and international terrorism.

First, is the adoption of biological theory in this study. The view that mankind is evil by nature has a long tradition. The thinking is that since our ancestors were instructively violent beings, and we evolve from them, we too must bear destructive impulses in our genetic make up.[3] The biological theory gave rise to what is called the innate theory of conflict, which argues that conflict is inherent in all social interactions, which human beings dominate the interactions. This theory captured the inherent nature of man, but failed short to unearth the underlying assumption why terrorism and other forms of conflicts continue to dominate the international scene.

Secondly, the realist tradition sees man as egoistic and selfish, and so such tendency drives man to conflict and terrorism. Realism believes that competitive processes between actors primarily defined as States, is the natural expressions of conflict parties engaged in the pursuit of scarce and competitive interests.[4] Morgenthau and other leading realists argue that the imperfection and flaws in the world, namely traces its root to forces, which are inherent in man, that human nature is selfish, individualistic and naturally conflictive; that States will always pursue their natural interests defined as powers, and that such conflict of interest will lead to the inevitability of conflicts like terrorism.

Thirdly, having examined the two theories above, the study therefore anchored the explanation of terrorism within the domestic and international realm on structural conflict theory popularly known as the

radical theory. Marx, Engels and V. I. Lenin constitute the leading proponents of structural conflict theory. The main thrust of this theory is that conflicts are built into the particular ways societies are structured and organized. Structuralists maintain that terrorism and other related conflict occur because of the prevailing exploitative and unjust nature of human societies characterized by domination of one class by another. The study subscribes to the analysis offered by the structuralists as the crux and the reason why terrorism and other manifest conflicts continue to dominate the international circle.

COUNTERING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

To counter international terrorism, one needs to understand its causes. This means understanding both why and how desperate groups feeling oppressed embrace terrorism and why terrorists abound more in certain parts of the world than others. No list of causes will be complete to everyone's satisfaction and in each case the balance of factors will differ.

The Middle East is commonly considered a region especially vulnerable to terrorism and the chief exporter of terrorism to other parts of the world. Some have argued that Islam, unlike Christianity or Judaism has a special propensity to violence against non-believers. Nevertheless, terrorism has existed for at least 2000 years and is likely to remain a fixture on political agenda for years to come. Poor governance by regimes, which provide few legitimate political outlets for opposition, appears in many cases to be significant. In some cases, a combination of poor governance and weak economic management has resulted in underdevelopment among the young and relatively well educated, whose political frustration is in turn exploited by radical (sometimes religious extremist) groups. This resentment is directed both towards their national governments and specifically towards the West, as a perceived source of support to autocratic regimes. Weak governance can provide attractive havens for terrorists and they can spread widely. The Taliban's reliance on financial and military support from al-Qaeda, although significantly reinforced by shared goals and values is an example.

Terrorism provides a means by which the weak can confront much stronger opponents. It therefore has an enduring appeal to the alienated

and the disenfranchised, the aggrieved and vengeful, the powerless and the would-be powerful. In addition, it is relatively inexpensive to conduct while offering a vast potential pay off: the ability to evoke fear and alarm and inflict pain and suffering in the hope of compelling agreement to demands made.

Throughout the world, terrorism reinvents itself in new and more dangerous forms. As older groups are defeated or exhausted, more radical and more violent successors often take their place. Although terrorism likely can never be completely eradicated, countering its threat requires continuing vigilance. The highly individual nature of terrorism's causes, the diversity of its perpetrators and the complexity of its fundamental characteristics present enormous challenges to those who must effectively counter this phenomenon.

Inside information is the key to preventing attacks by terrorists. The intelligence agencies must aggressively recruit informants with unique access to terrorists' plans. That sometimes requires recruiting those who have committed terrorist acts or related crimes, just as domestic law enforcement agencies routinely recruit criminal informants in order to pursue major criminal figures. Furthermore, terrorists go through a radicalization process before turning to violence, to this effect, teachers and parents must try to recognize this and report their suspicions to the Police and criminal justice authorities, if necessary. In this way, it is possible to stop radicalization in time and prevent it from leading to terrorism.

There is need for a concerted co-operative and co-ordinated approach to countering terrorism at all levels, including co-ordination among national authorities, co-operation among States, co-operation with relevant international and regional organizations and, where appropriate, establishment of public-private partnerships between State authorities, the private sector (business community, industry), civil society and the media.

Lastly, international terrorism has become part of the mechanism of expressing views and projecting interests in the international system. Although it has relatively proved unrealistic due to the positions of various countries especially those that are not yet yielding to the demands of the terrorists. Most countries have secretly negotiated with

terrorist groups, thus recognizing the effectiveness of the measure as a concept of resistance in the international system.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Chalmers Johnson has aptly described the moral dilemma of terrorism in the context of international power politics: "Terrorism by definition strikes at the innocent in order to draw attention to the sins of the invulnerable."[5] An entirely new approach is needed by the international community in order to tackle a challenge to the global order of peace that, by its very definition and strategy, transcends the confines of the nation-state and cannot be defined in the traditional framework of conflicts between nation-states.

The General Assembly of the United Nations should agree on a comprehensive definition of terrorism which can be used in a legal context and can serve as basis for joint enforcement action.[6] Any credible counter terrorist strategy must be based on the international rule of law, which requires a legally sound definition that is not arbitrarily established by individual States according to their constantly changing and often mutually exclusive national interests. However, because of those interests, the respect, efforts of the General Assembly's Sixth Committee (Legal Committee) has been in vain. A definition agreed upon between UN member states could provide for, *inter alia*, the inclusion of acts of terrorism in the list of war crimes defined by the Geneva Conventions of 1949; furthermore, the definition might consider an act of terrorism as the "peacetime equivalent of a war crime" as earlier suggested by A.P. Schmid in his 1992 report to the UN Crime Prevention Office.[7] Such a procedure would contribute to unifying the systems of international humanitarian and international criminal law.

On the basis of a consensual definition, United Nations member States will be enabled to develop a unified strategic approach to the phenomenon of international terrorism. This will imply that the international community no longer accepts a constellation in which one State's terrorist is another State's freedom fighter and vice versa. A policy of double standards defeats the very goals which a counter terrorist strategy professes to pursue. In order for a counter-terrorist

policy to be credible and effective at the same time, the phenomenon of terrorism must be evaluated according to unified criteria.

A clear distinction has to be made between acts of terrorism and acts of resistance by national liberation movements.[8] The use of violence in connection with a struggle for national liberation is not in and of itself a terrorist act. International law recognizes the inherent right of resistance against foreign occupation.[9] This right is intrinsically linked to the inalienable right of self determination,[10] a fact which has been expressly stated by the United Nations General Assembly.[11] What has to be made clear is that while a particular liberation movement may not necessarily be terrorist (as long as it serves a just cause of national liberation), the means applied by that very movement, such as the deliberate targeting of civilians as in the case of "suicide bombings", may well be terrorist. This will also be the case with regard to an indiscriminate use of force by regular armies such as "carpet bombings" (often condemned as "terror bombings") which unavoidably victimize the civilian population. Casualties are euphemistically referred to as "collateral damage", accordingly, there is a tendency to avoid the term "terrorism" in such cases and to categorize the use of force against civilians by regular armies in a more "neutral" way as "war crimes" although, in ethical terms, such transgressions are of the same quality as politically motivated acts of violence against civilians by non-state actors.[12]

International criminal jurisdiction should be established for the crime of terrorism in addition to strengthening the procedures of domestic jurisdiction. Generally, terrorism should be situated within the domain of universal jurisdiction. The states parties to the Rome Statute[13] should consider incorporating the prosecution of terrorist acts into the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC), a step which is not necessarily detrimental to national sovereignty in so far as the ICC's jurisdiction is defined on the basis of complementarity with national jurisdiction.[14] All United Nations member states that are seriously committed to combating terrorism should consider joining the International Criminal Court to document their unequivocal commitment to the international rule of law and to the principle of personal accountability without which any counter terrorist strategy lacks efficiency. By this step, the States having proclaimed a "global

war on terror"[15] would be particularly able to demonstrate the credibility of their efforts.

The root causes of terrorism whether those lie in injustice, oppression, foreign occupation, colonial subjugation, denial of basic human rights, have to be clearly identified before they can be eradicated, i.e. before a meaningful counter terrorist strategy can be developed. Turning a blind eye to the motives for terrorist acts which are, whether directly or indirectly, related to these causes, amounts to dangerous self betrayal.

Dealing with the symptoms can only be seen as an emergency measure, but it will never be sufficient to prevent terrorist acts in the future. If one addresses the symptoms alone, the "war on terrorism" will never end. It has been proven in the course of the Middle East confrontation as well as through the conflicts in South East Asia that a mere security approach will inevitably fail.[16] A comprehensive strategy to combat terrorism must go beyond mere police, military or intelligence measures, even though they may be effective in particular cases and under specific circumstances. Equal importance has to be given to the search for the motives behind terrorist acts. Such an effort will enable a State to specifically address the causes of grievances and frustrations that may drive people to engage in terrorist violence which by the perpetrators as well as by the sympathizing local population is often seen as legitimate resistance and part of a strategy of national liberation.[17]

The Western paradigm of the "clash of civilizations" must not become a self-fulfilling prophecy.[18] Comprehensive efforts will have to be undertaken to promote a dialogue especially between the Western and Muslim Worlds to prevent the hardening of stereotypes that in turn may trigger more violent action. The escalation of the crisis between the Arab and Muslim World on the one hand and the West on the other in the course of the events after 9/11 is an ominous sign of things to come unless enlightened people on both sides are courageous enough to identify the root causes of the increasing cultural and political alienation between the two communities.

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TRANSITIVITY ANALYSIS OF SELECTED SPEECHES OF SOME PRIVATE AND PUBLIC UNIVERSITY VICE-CHANCELLORS IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper encompasses the analysis of speeches of some selected Vice-chancellors speeches in remarkable events in their various schools. The speeches were accessed and downloaded for interrogation from the institutions online platforms. The analysis draws insight from transitivity, an aspect of Halliday's (2004) systemic functional grammar. A speech from six universities representing the six geo-political zones in Nigeria cutting across public and private schools were used as sample study. Ranking clauses in the speeches were identified and the various processes and participants were examined. Findings indicate a preponderance of relational process constituting 46% of the total of one hundred and sixty-one (161) clauses in the six speeches followed by the mental process verbs (26%), then the material process verbs (20%). Verbal processes, behavioral processes, and existential processes are other kinds of processes that play up in the data constituting the remaining 8% in the distribution. In all, the analysis helps one to see the participant role relations of the social actors in the texts.

Key Words: Transitivity, Process, Participants, Address, Language

INTRODUCTION

Speeches are part of our everyday gathering. Pragmatically, speech involves human vocal communication using language and when it is rendered to an audience, it performs different speech acts such as informing, declaring, asking, persuading, and lots more thus communicating various aspects of social positions such as knowledge, experience and psychic state (mood). The language is however a major tool in communication. For Halliday (2014), 'Language provides a theory of human experience', as it makes sense of our experience and act out our social relationships. This involves that language should be considered as a system of meanings which is accompanied by forms through which these possible meanings can be realized. In this, an interesting insight is given into the techniques of rhetoric, but what matters most of in any situation of language use is the audience. The audience, and therefore the context for and purpose in speaking, will shape not only what is said, but how it is said. The idea of 'audience' is

of course, crucial in any form of communication because the audience figure shapes the choices of words and their delivery.

Communication is a process by which information is exchanged between individuals through a common system of symbols, signs or behavior. By communicating using language, human can interpret their ideas, thoughts, reality, concept or feeling or give information to others. Through Halliday's Transitivity, one is able to unveil the hidden meaning of vocal communication through the categorisation of the verbs and it is for this reason that it is used to analyse the various speeches of Vice- Chancellors of universities such as Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu, Ekiti state University, Ado-Ekiti, Benson Idahosa, University, Benin, Usmanu Danfodiyo university Sokoto, Al-Hilkan University, Ilorin and Bauchi state University, Gadau. This paper places focus on the transitivity processes in the speeches discussing some examples which were used to portray a working moral and academic picture of their university. Deeper into the research is a conceptual view of the speeches portraying distinct features of them away from political speech discourse.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many scholars have analyzed various works both spoken and written from their own perspective in line with Hallidayan orientation portraying the uniqueness in the authors. A brief review is made on Zhang's (2017) *Transitivity Analysis of Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's First Television Debate*, Daniyaati and Setyo' (2014), *Transitivity Analysis of Barack Obama Victory Speech* and Yuqiong and Li Fengjie's (2018), *Transitivity Analysis of David Cameron's Speech in Retaining Scotland*.

Zhang (2017), states that those in political positions are so kin with words they use in political discourse in order to successfully express their desire, judgments or views to the listeners, influencing the audience and not ending up losing their supporters. This is a feature of interpersonal function. It is also discovered that there is a slight change in tone and activities of these politicians before and after electoral process. According to Zhang, material processes occupies a major role in the speeches of Trump and Clinton which were before the election justifying his thought that material processes are processes of 'doing',

which gives the audience a feeling of power, action and strength on the part of the speaker. The mental processes were found in quite significant quantity because participants are also moved by feelings. Zhang stated that both participants tried to portray their feelings about the nation. Each emphasizes on his/her personal ideas and solutions in order to supersede that of the other, thus generating strong interest on them in the minds of the audience. In this, Zhang depicts that in as much as action is very important, the idea behind it drives more supporters to you.

Slightly distinct from Zhang (2017) where there is the preponderance of material and mental processes, Daniyati and Setyo (2014), indicated a higher frequency of relational processes. They stated that Obama's speech is more individualized containing words of hope. It is found that in Barack Obama's Victory speech, he expresses gratitude to his people who believes in him to have voted him and tries to convince them to continually believe in him to bring to pass the best they need. The next major process in Obama's speech is the material processes. Aside the fact that material processes are the major processes in transitivity analyses, it is also a major process in political addresses and governmental parastatals owing to the fact that all the listeners need to hear is what one can do to tackle the problems affecting them.

Zhao and Fengjie (2018) in another perception of the transitivity system stated that transitivity analysis is not appropriate for analyzing a political speech discourse owing to the fact that public speech is the process of speaking to a group of people in a structured deliberate manner intended to inform, influence, or entertain the listeners. A political speech may be a powerful vehicle used to effect change, inspiring and arousing feelings of great passion, motivating individuals to fight for a cause, to unite in a common purpose. A memorable speech lives on in the hearts and minds long after it has been delivered. Scholars who use transitivity system to do a political discourse analysis mostly focus on the inaugural speech. This justifies his take that until now, there is no transitivity analysis of Cameron's speech in retaining Scotland. In his analysis however, Zhao and Fengjie discoveres the dominance of material processes and relational processes in Cameron's speech which they stated were appropriate for making one's speech

objective and thought captivating. Zhao and Fengjie stated that the result is appropriate because Cameron was very careful to design his speech from its lexis choice to sentence organization and content arrangement in order to make people be in consonance with his motive which is extracted from the speech. It was stated that the aftermath of Cameron's speech was a majority "NO" vote to a separation government just as he wished they did. This was achieved because Cameron chose more objective and persuasive processes to convey his ideas and reach his goal. There is no doubt that relational process and material process are both the best choices. In summary, Zhao and Fengjie stated the relevance of interpersonal function in speeching or political speech discourse.

Conclusively from the analyses above, the researchers exposed the processes in each speech and how effective each speaker influenced the listeners in the course of political discourse. It is discovered that there is a slight change in tone and activities of those politicians before and after electoral process. Before the election, their words speak of action slightly different from political speeches after the candidate has been reelected. None of the works reviewed has paid attention to the speeches of Vice-Chancellor of either private or public universities. The above situation, evidently creates the research gap that the present scholarship is poised to fill. In this study therefore, focus is on the ideational meaning of the processes in selected speeches of Vice-chancellors of schools and the roles the processes play in the minds of the listeners about their Universities.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Devised by M. A. K. Halliday (2004), Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) studies language as a 'system of meanings' which construes human experience through, names, things, constraining them into categories, and construes these categories into taxonomies. It is a complex semiotic system, governed by simultaneous functions which have various levels, or strata: a lexico-grammar stratum, a semantic stratum and a phonological stratum (Halliday, 2014). According to Osisanwo (1999), transitivity accounts for choices made in relation to the clause element- Complement. Specifically, it accounts for such details as:

a. The presence or absence of a complement;
b. The nominal group type functioning at complement;
c. The type of verb selected as the predicator;
d. The participants involved in the actions specified by the verb;
e. The orientation of the action; where it focuses attention on the target or goal or on a process.

All these systems at every rank are located in their metafunctional context. Halliday holds in SFG that language has three metafunctions: ideational function, interpersonal function and textual function. The ideational function is the use of language to express content and to communicate information. Transitivity analysis which is a sub-network under the ideational metafunction is used to explore the content or the experiential meaning in a text. The basic premise of transitivity analysis is to explore "who or what does what to whom or what?" (Iwamoto, 2008). In simple terms, transitivity analysis is helpful in revealing the participants involved in an action, how they relate to others and if they take an active or passive role in the utterances (Nguyen, 2012). Where content is the focus, the emphasis will be on transferring information clearly and effectively so that it can be comprehended quickly and easily. The ideational function involves two main systems, namely: transitivity and ergativity. Transitivity is the grammar of the clause as a structural unit for expressing a particular range of ideational meaning. It deals with different types of process which can be found in the language and the structures. It consist of the Process itself, Participants in the process, and Circumstances associated with the process (Halliday 1985 and Downing, 2006).

While the processes and participants are the main concerns in this work, the processes are of six types namely: (1) material processes, (2) mental processes, (3) relational processes, (4) behavioral processes, (5) verbal processes, and (6) existential processes. And the participants are the actors in the process. Participants can be a person, a place, or an object.

Material Processes

Material processes are processes of doing, and happenings which involves an Actor and often a Goal. The Actor means the one that does the action, and the Goal implies that which is received or the attribute affected by the Actor. Material process expresses that some entity

'does' something, which may be done 'to' some other entity which is also referred to as the second participant (Halliday, 1985). Examples:

i.   Dennis   slapped   the girl
     Actor   process:material   Goal

ii.   Her   mother   caned her
     Actor   process:material   Goal

Mental Processes

Mental processes are the processes which involves sensing. It consist of two possible participants; the senser and the phenomenon. The Senser is the conscious being that performs the mental process while the phenomenon is what is sensed, felt, thought or seen. Mental processes can be divided into four subtypes:

i.   Perception which involves, seeing, feeling, hearing, etc,

ii.   Affection involving loving, liking and disliking.

iii.   Cognition involving believing, thinking, understanding, knowing.

iv.   Desire which involves wishing, demanding, hoping, wanting, etc.

Example-

i.   I   would like to appreciate   you.
     Senser   Process: mental   Phenomenom

ii.   They   saw   him.
     Behaver   Process: behavioural   Circumstance

In addition to the sensor, there is another participant involved in the mental processes called the phenomenon. It is that which is felt, perceived, known, thought, or wanted.

Relational Processes

Relational processes are processes of being and having or verbs of same class (copular verbs); for example, seem become, appear, etc. Halliday (2004) states that there are two modes of relational processes namely identifying relational process and attributive relational process. In the identifying mode, something has an identity assigned to it, while the attributive process assigns a quality. These are broken down into the sub-categories below:

- Intensive- "x is a"
- Circumstantial- "x is at a"

- Possessive "x has a",
*"a is an attribute of x" and "a is the identity of x"

Behavioral Processes

Behavioral processes are of the psychological behaviour which lies between the material and mental processes. It characterizes the outer expression of inner working such as breath, dream, smile, cry, cough, wonder, etc which usually have one participant called the Behaver. Example:

i.   She   cried   profusely
          Behaver   Process: behavioural   Circumstance
ii.   They   knelt   in prayers
          Behaver   Process: behavioural   Circumstance

Verbal Process

Verbal processes are processes of saying which consist of three participants, the Sayer, the Receiver and the Verbiage. The Sayer is the addresser, the Receiver is the addressee, while the Verbiage is the message. Example-

i.   Julia   said   she's not interested in the
          competition
              Sayer   Process: verbal   verbiage
ii.   "I don't care,"   Olive   said
Quoted   Sayer   Process: verbal

Existential Processes

Existential processes represent that something exists or happens (**Hu & Jiang,** 2002). It lies in between the relational and material processes employing the verb 'be' or its synonyms like exist, arise, occur, etc. The only participant in this process is the Existent which follows the 'there is /are' sequences. Example:

i.   There is a   fight next door
          Process: Existential   existent
ii.   Life   exists in water
          Process:Existential   existent

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this study, qualitative and quantitative methods are used with its source of study from the utterances of various matriculation speeches of

Vice- Chancellors of selected universities in Nigeria. The speeches are retrieved from personal sites of the Vice-Chancellors, or from the university's online platforms. Various universities were studied using comparative analysis. These speeches are studied in order to ascertain the various forms of activities going on in the school. However as it is known, universities in Nigeria which amounts to not less than a hundred and ten, amounts to a very large population to carry out a research collectively on, therefore six of them representing the six geo-political zones in Nigeria were selected as samples for this research. A further tenet for credible analysis is the study of three private institutions and three public institutions to make up the six speeches for study. The area of analysis is on ranking clauses which exposes ideational meaning which will be sought and counted. The non-finite clauses will not be considered following Halliday's (2004) SFG. The processes in the entire ranking clause will be accounted for. The processes will be captured using tables with brief explorations. These above steps and no other theories will be utilized.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Transitivity analysis focuses on the distribution of process types, the participants and circumstances. Daniyati (2014) states that the process is always realized by a verb phrase. Meanwhile the participant is realized by the noun phrase. Besides, the circumstance is typically realized by an adverbial phrase or prepositional phrase. There are six processes according to Halliday such as the material, mental, behavioural, existential, relational and verbal processes. The tables succeeding cover the distribution of the process types in the various speeches studied and commentary after each. Each school is represented with its initials on the table as thus- Godfrey Okoye University, Enugu(GOU), Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin (AHU), Benson Idahosa University, Benin (BIU), Usmanu Danfodio University, Sokoto (UDUS), Ekiti state University, Ado-Ekiti (EKSU), Bauchi state University, Gadau (BSU).

Table I

NAME	GOU	BIU	UDUS	EKSU	AHU	BSU	FREQ	PERCE
Material	29	4	2	15	2	2	54	25%
Mental	11	13	11	11	13	5	64	29%
Relational	23	6	18	26	12	6	91	41%

Existential	3	-	1	2	-	-	6	3%
Verbal	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	1%
Behavioural	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	1%
Total	69	23	32	54	29	14	221	100%

From the table above, a number of 221 clauses are identified. It can be seen that relational processes dominated with 41% of the entire distribution. This means that in the speeches, the Vice-Chancellors took different measures to give attributes or rather portray a positive face of the university in which students or listeners feel the potentialities of their university. They took much time to make use of the process of 'being" and 'have'. The second domination is mental process with 29%. The mental process verb in the speeches is used for listeners to see the beauty of the university and to feel welcomed in the university. The third domination is material process verbs with 25%. This number means that there are processes of actions and events put in place to make the university be of standard and attain greater heights. The behavioural, verbal and existential processes constitute the remaining 12% with the existential process occupying half of it. Below is a discussion of the use of different processes in private and public schools and their implication and participant role.

Processes Distribution for Public Schools
Table 2

NAME/ PROCESSES	UDUS	EKSU	BSU	FREQ	PERC
MATERIAL	2	15	2	19	19%
MENTAL	11	11	5	27	27%
RELATIONAL	13	26	6	50	50%
EXISTENTIAL	1	2	-	3	3%
VERBAL	-	-	-	-	-
BEHAVIOURAL	-	-	1	1	1%
TOTAL	32	54	14	100	100%

Analysis for Relational process
From the table above, public institutions consumed 100 or 42% of the total clauses analyzed. Still, relational process took more of the distribution at 50%, with a large marginal gap to the next dominating process which is the mental process with 27%. This in general simply indicates the predominance of the use of words which showoff the university, than the positioning of the institution as a thinking institution (mental). Examples of relational processes-

i.   Ekiti State University   is   31 years old
        Carrier   *process: relational*   *Attribute*
ii.   The university is structured into 11 faculties
        Carrier   *process: relational*   *Attribute*
iii. We have been beneficiaries of a number of corporate social
      responsibilities project
        Carrier   *process: relational*   *Attribute*
iv.   This   is.   the 39th matriculation
      ceremony
        Carrier   *process: relational*   *Attribute*
v.   The students population has grown from 195 to 20,000
        Token   *relational*   *value*
vi.   Usmanu Danfodio University is a highly disciplined and peaceful
      university.
        Carrier   *process: relational*   *Attribute*
vii. The significance of this exercise   is   indeed
      important
        Token   *relational*   *value*

According to Goathy (2003), relational clauses are used to describe and explicitly categorise the participants in the text. It made constant use of 'is' and 'has' to lay emphasis and place attributes to things they already have, or already are from the onset, as was funded by the government with little emphasis on new actions put in place to maintain standard.

Analysis for Mental process verbs
Out of the 50% left in the distribution, mental process verb occupies more than half with 27%. It is known that mental process verbs expresses activities like cognition, affection and perception of people or things, but most of the mental process verbs used in the speeches were more of affective. While the dominance of affective mental process verbs in the speeches is traced to the event in which the speeches were made, i.e. a public ceremony, cognitive mental process verbs should have played a significant role in the speeches because it was made in an academic/ educational institution. Examples of mental process

i.   I   express   our deep affection and
          gratitude
              Senser   *process:mental*   *phenomenom*

ii.   I like to acknowledge the support from our leaders
        Senser   process:mental   phenomenom
iii.   I welcome you
        Senser   process:mental   phenomenom
iv.   I congratulate you
        Senser   process:mental   phenomenom
v.   I admonish you
        Senser   process:mental   phenomenom
vi.   I would like to thank you

Analysis of Material Process Verbs in Text

Material process verbs with only 19% of the entire population imply low physical action in the university. While the public schools were so busy giving glory to the already existing attributes of the university, they were unable to give a handful of substantial actions which they themselves had put in place in the university. From the table above, Ekiti State University of the south-west constituted 15 of the 19 material processes found in the data for public schools. This gives an implied meaning that lackadaisical attitude towards making headway in education is most common in the northern region as the three schools from the North studied contains the least of material processes. Examples-

i.   Your lecturers will take you through rigorous trainings
        Actor   process: material   goal
ii.   The university has introduced a research incentive scheme
iii.   We have reintroduced the graduate assistantship scheme
iv.   We have undertaken an ambitious infrastructure development program
v.   Laboratory … equipment are being supplied under TETFUND project
vi.   We have put in place formidable security measures
vii.   11 earned first class

All of which excluding no. i is from EKSU.

Existential and Behavioural Processes in Text

There are few existential and behavioural processes in the text. This is also in line with the notion that these two along with verbal process

verbs are the less frequently used transitivity processes. The speaker featured the state of occurrence using:

    i.   There.   are many hurdles you will have to surmount

           Process: existential   Existent

    ii.   There.   are 591 academic staff

           Process: existential   Existent

    iii.   There has been quick dispensation of justice

The only use of behavioural process verb is

    -    I look forward for success

Distribution table for Private Schools

Table 3

NAME/ PROCESSES	GOU	BIU	AHU	FREQ	PERCT
MATERIAL	29	4	2	35	29%
MENTAL	11	13	13	37	30%
RELATIONAL	23	6	12	41	34%
EXISTENTIAL	3	-	-	3	3%
VERBAL	3	-	-	3	3%
BEHAVIOURAL	-	-	-	2	1%
TOTAL	69	23	29	121	100%

This table shows the distribution of processes in the speeches from private schools. In it, it is seen that there is an even or equal or correlating distribution of the three major processes as there are little differences among them. The three major processes occupied 93% of the distribution, while the remaining 7% was shared among the remaining three.

Analysis for Relational Process

Relational processes again occupy the significant first position here constituting 34% of the total clauses in the speeches from public schools. This process is most commonly used to attribute qualities to entities, to classify them as one thing or the other, or to identify them. This the Vice-Chancellors did by ceasing any little opportunity to make the audience know about the uniqueness of the university as shown below-

    i.   Godfrey Okoye university is the answer to the prayer

<div align="center">Carrier process: relational atttribute</div>

ii. Our university is known for its generosity and sense of gratitude
iii. This…reflects the long tradition of the university
iv. This ceremony marks the official entry of every student
v. God is our source and substance here

Mental Processes in Text

Mental process possessing 30% of the general distribution with a margin of 4% against relational process poised that as much as the Vice-Chancellors portray the attributes and characteristics of their university, they as well too had ample time to portray their emotional feelings concerning the university and the listeners. Meanwhile, just as in public schools, the mental process verbs were more of perceptive and affective, though it is believed to be as a result of the occasion of the speech, Examples –

i. Investors   have chosen   Godfrey Okoye University
        Senser   process:mental   phenomenom
ii. I welcome you
iii. I envision a university that is world-class
iv. The university will continue to focus on its core purpose
v. I assure you
vi. I sincerely thank individual
vii. I pledge my unflinching support
viii. The internationality of GOU has also attracted a lot of international scholarships

Material Processes in Text

Material processes are processes of doing. It occupies 29% of the total distribution. Expressions that notion that some entity does something to another entity includes-

i. We mounted the students training for entrepreneurship promotion
Actor   process:material   goal
ii. GOU has given 70scholarships to her students
Actor   process:material   goal

iii. We do not hesitate to sanction
iv. We are reaping another bounteous harvest
v. The university has pursued its objectives
vi. We enforce our core values

Existential, Verbal and Behavioural Processes in Text
In the speeches from public schools, existential process as well as verbal and behavioural processes are not frequently used. Generally, this phenomenon is based on the intention of the addresser because the speeches were presented face to face, and there was no need to use expressions like, I am talking to you, I laugh or the university coughed. Moreover, the overuse of existential verbs is monotonous because existential verbs like 'there' and 'exist' does not give explicit description of the existent. Some instances of these verbs include-
i. I said: this is our chance to define education the way we want it to be!
      Sayer   process: verbal
ii. I   call it   'a beautiful milestone'
      Sayer process:verbal   quoted
iii. I have always said: GOU is a university to watch
iv. There.   is an incredible sense of duty among scholars here
      Process: existential   existent
v. There is no room for ASUU strike
vi. I pray Allah
      Behaver   process:behavioural

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS
Transitivity analysis is the most widely used framework under Halliday's SFL. This is the result of the fact that it enables one to analyse and represent the same event and situations in different ways. The study yields the findings that all the processes were found in the speeches, though not all in each university. Generally, the relational process is most frequently used followed by the mental process, material process, existential process, and then verbal process. The last three processes are not frequently used.

This thesis made emphasis on the processes and participants of the transitivity system. There is still much room for further research, use of the third component of the transitivity system, which is the circumstantial element. This element will add more enlightenment in transitivity system analysis.

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INSECURITY AND NIGERIA'S BID FOR PERMANENT SEAT AT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL: AN ASSESSMENT

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Abstract

This paper examined how insecurity in Nigeria constitutes hindrance to its ambition of becoming a permanent member of the United Nations

Security Council (UNSC).The study is rooted on the agitation and clamour by majority of the under-represented countries for seats in the Security Council and the developmental challenges facing them. The researcher discovered that the implication of insecurity in Nigeria, and to its bid to secure and maximize the Security Council seat remains negatively overwhelming. Consequently; insecurity is too dangerous an issue to be ignored given the danger it poses to Nigeria's ambition and the capacity of the state to maximize the seat even when given on a platter of gold. This research adopted ex-post-facto research design and data was generated through secondary sources. It was recommended that the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council should be increased to give room for equitable representation, hence cutting across every region of the world. Moreover, the Nigerian government should formulate and effectively implement policies and programmes capable of addressing the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria such as poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, dearth of infrastructural facilities, uneven development, among others.

Key Words: Nigeria, Insecurity, United Nations, Security Council, Permanent Seat.

INTRODUCTION

The insatiable and irresistible crave by men and states for wealth, power and other resources has been at the root of crises, conflicts and wars that had engulfed the world in the past and at present. The recorded wars in the Holy Bible, Koran, the war of the Roses in Europe (1455-1485), the thirty years war that ended with the Westphalian treaty of October 24, 1648, the rest waged in the past and others going on in Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, Syria, Pakistan, Iraq among others, are all prompted by crave by men and states to accumulate greater chunk of global wealth and resources in a world characterized by limitedness of resources against endless want and desires.

During subsequent phases of World War II the Allies used the term "United Nations" to refer to their alliance. On 25th April 1945, the United Nations Conference on International Organization began in San Francisco. In addition to governments, a number of non-government

organizations, including Rotary International and Lions Clubs International received invitations to assist in the drafting of a charter. After working for two months, the fifty nations represented at the conference signed the Charter of the United Nations on 26th June, 1945. Poland, which was unable to send a representative to the conference due to political instability, signed the charter on 15th October 1945. The charter stated that before it would come into effect, it must be ratified by the Governments of the Republic of China, France, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and the United States, and by a majority of the other 46 signatories. This occurred on 24th October 1945, and the United Nations was officially formed. At the formation of the organization, 51 states registered their membership. At present, following the attainment of independence by majority of third world countries in Africa and Latin America, her membership has grown to 193.

The Security Council is the United Nations executive branch and also the military arm. It is made of 15 members; 5 permanent members and 10 non-permanent members. The 5 permanent members- the United States of America (South America), China (Asia), France (Europe), Russia (Europe), and Britain (Europe), these nations were the victors of Second World War and they still represent the bulk of the world's military might. The 10 non permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for a period of two years. The Security Council is important because it has the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security.

Currently, no country in Africa has a permanent seat on the Security Council. Although no one nation from Africa has formally been put forward as a candidate for membership on the Security Council, Egypt, South Africa, and Nigeria are seen as the strongest choices.

Nigeria, as a sovereign state joined the organization on 7th October, 1960, following her attainment of independence on October 1st 1960. She has made noble contributions towards the attainment of the goals of the organization especially in the areas of peace and security, through participation in various United Nations sponsored peace keeping operations. She has equally held serious positions in the organization which included membership of the Security Council as a non-

permanent member and presidency of the General Assembly. However, like sister third world countries, she is craving for permanent seat in the Security Council of the United Nations. Nigeria since independence has confronted many domestic challenges such as corruption, leadership crises, political instability, socio-economic crises, general insecurity and image bastardization at the global level despite her contributions in international organizations like Organization of Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), African Union (AU), Common Wealth and the United Nations (UN).

For Nigeria and the rest of the under represented countries, to overcome their developmental challenges and their representation in the mainstream of the United Nations affairs tend to be logical panacea. This paper therefore, intends to examine how insecurity in Nigeria constitutes hindrances to its ambition of becoming a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

METHODOLOGY

Ex-post *facto* design was adopted as the research design. Ex-post *facto* or after the fact is a non experimental design technique. It is a type of research design that examines past events or combination of events to arrive at an account of what has happened in the past and link it to the present. Attempts were made to scrutinize past events or the combination of events and acquire facts in order to arrive at conclusions concerning past events or predict future events. Secondary sources were used and qualitative descriptive method of data analysis was adopted in this research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theory adopted for this work is Games Theory. The focus of Games Theory is on rational choices and conflict resolution. The choices are either limited or unlimited. Games theory assumes that each state is an autonomous decision making unit, and has unique options and stipulated payoffs associated with each of the options. The players are expected to be guided by rational calculations, and in most cases, advocates of this theory view international relations as an N person – Non zero- sum game. The Non zero-sum game describes a situation in which the interacting parties aggregate gains and losses can be less than or more than zero. What this implies is that a gain by one country or

party is not necessarily at the expense of others. This should not be confused with zero- sum game which implies that a winner wins all and a loser loses all.

There are advantages of using games theory as a simplification of the complex choices states make. Games theory forces both analysts and policy makers systematically to examine assumptions, helping to clarify the choices available and offering possibilities that may not have been explored. It helps the analysts and policy makers to see not just their own states position, but also where the other states might stand. Again, by observing the players' attitudes and dispositions in matters involving decisions as to whether to settle a conflict or wage a war, co-operate in science and technology or promote military alliances, among others, propositions could be readily tested while such conditions as fear, suspicion, trust, reward, punishment, risk, etc, which normally affect bargaining behaviour could be determined.

However, there are also clear limitations or grey areas of games theory. It assumes a unitary state in which internal factors play little role in determining a state's preferences. In other words, the unitary state acts rationally by choosing the best overall option available.

While Nigeria contends for one of the two slots or seats slated for the African continent in the permanent seat of the Security Council of the United Nations, there are both benefits and liabilities accruable from such position. Thus, like the present five permanent members of the Security Council , whatever, decisions taken by any of them on any issue at global level, the overriding interest is that of their people and of course the country at large. In this regard therefore, Nigeria's membership of the permanent Security Council shall benefit her in diverse ways. In the first place, it is prestigious to belong to the permanent membership of the Security Council of the United Nations. It will make Nigeria to be regarded as one of the strongest powers in the world that determine global affairs. Besides, it will justify Nigeria's leadership position not only in West Africa, but also in Africa. Again, in terms of decision making generally, if decisions are to be taken on issues pertaining to international peace and security, Nigeria will be part and parcel of it at the international level, not West Africa or Africa now, but the world at large.

However, there are liabilities or losses associated with playing politics at the global level, more so in an elevated position such as that of the Security Council of the United Nations. Nigeria's admission as a permanent member of the Security Council entails heavy financial burden. For example, it is estimated that in some quarters, that universally acclaimed peace enforcement operations of Nigeria in Liberia and Sierra Leone cost her over $14 billion, while she lost up to 1000 soldiers in the operations (Emeh Jnr, 2005). Besides, in terms of peace keeping activities, Nigeria will lose much in the area of human resources and capital respectively. Apparently, Nigeria has lost valuable human resources in the course of striving to maintain peace and security in the world. It may be recalled that Mr. Felisi Iniya, a Nigerian volunteer under the UN Advance Mission in Cambodia (UNAMIC) died while in the service of the UN in June 1992. Another Nigerian, Mr. Otto Essien died in Namibia in April, 1992 (Akinterinwa, 2005).

LITERATURE REVIEW
Suggested Slots at the United Nations Security Council
African countries are now pushing for at least four slots in the United Nations Security Council, two in the permanent member category. The countries, through a working group of the African Union (AU) called C-10, want the United Nations Security Council expanded to have the two slots for Africa and others to regions such as Asia, Arab League, Latin America and the Pacific region. They want a big say in the United Nations top decision-making organ, saying they want nothing less than veto powers. Currently, the United Nations Security Council permanent member states with veto powers are China, Russia, US, France and the United Kingdom (Mosoku, 2014).

Akande (2005) writing on the proposed slots at the United Nations Security Council, examined Africa's membership slots. He stated that if the proposal of a high-powered panel set up to recommend ways and means to reform the United Nations is accepted by the world body, Nigeria may be in a straight out contest with South Africa for a seat on the United Nations Security Council. As a matter of fact, subtle maneuvers may have commenced quietly at the United Nations for the slot. The panel considered quite a wide range of issues regarding the United Nations, but the reform of the Security Council seems to be

generating the greatest interest among the United Nations diplomats. Although the high powered panel which consists of former heads of states, foreign ministers, diplomats and security chiefs did not specifically name any new countries to join the Security Council, it proposed that the membership of the Security Council be expanded from 15 to 24 members on regional basis.

Akande also examined the number of slots for permanent and non-permanent membership. According to him, the panel suggested two options to achieve this: One is to add 6 new permanent members of the Security Council and 3 additional non-permanent members with two year terms. The 6 new permanent members would come from the following regions: Africa-2, Asia/Pacific-2, and one each from Americas and Europe. According to him, in consideration among diplomatic circles for which countries would fit the 2 proposed African slots, Nigeria, South Africa and Egypt has come up very prominently. Backers of Egypt argue that being both a country in Africa and Middle East, it should get one of the slots for the African region. If that logic were to stand as many imagine it would at the United Nations, then the one other slot would have to be contended for between Nigeria and South Africa.

Futhermore, according to Akande, the fight for the slot may ultimately get dirty as there are claims already that Europeans would prefer South Africa rather than Nigeria considering that South Africa has a fairly substantial European-originated population and western vested interests more than Nigeria. Those who back Nigeria insist that if 2 slots were to be given to Africa, then a wholly black African nation has to be at least one of the slots. They say that there cannot be any legitimate representation of African interests if the largest country in Africa, with the largest population of blacks in the world is left out.

Nigeria's Chance of Membership
Okorie (2005) writing on Nigeria's quest for a permanent seat at the United Nations Security Council evaluated the chances of Nigeria securing one of the two slots allocated to Africa. Okorie examined the chances Nigeria has in relation to other Africa countries like Egypt and South Africa who are also strong and powerful contenders for the slots assigned to Africa. According to him, when one compares some

objective criteria such as population size, colour, culture, wealth, contribution to United Nations peace keeping operations and other kinds of support for the United Nations, Egypt and South Africa cannot stand Nigeria. For Okorie, with the largest black population in the world and favourable peacekeeping operations she has participated, Nigeria stands a very good chance of securing one of the slots.

Nigeriafirst.org quoted in Okorie (2005) captured the case for Nigeria's candidature for a permanent seat in the Security Council more succinctly. It noted that Nigeria's case is most convincing among the three African Countries jostling for the two slots assigned to Africa with the estimated 160 million populations. Of the three contending states, Nigeria appears to have the most automatic African experiences. It equally reported that Nigeria is Africa's most prominent and consistent defender of African liberation and has served in that capacity severally.

Okorie equally examined the statement of the then minister of foreign affairs, Ambassador Olu Adeniyi to newsmen in Abuja in March, 2005 towards Nigeria's chance at securing a permanent seat in the Security Council of United Nations. According to him, Adeniyi among other things stated that as the head of A.U and ECOWAS, Nigeria carries substantial part of the burden of conflict resolution in the continent, assisted by some countries such as South Africa. Adeniyi maintained that so far, Nigeria's argument to direct one of the seats have been persuasive at all level, with some countries endorsing the bid.

Eke (2009) examined Nigeria's quest for the United Nations Security Council permanent seat under four major areas such as:

a. **Developmental Issues:** Under this, he examined Nigeria's economic efforts at home, Africa and beyond. Nigeria's economic diplomacy in Africa and beyond is unassailable, unmatched and enviable especially Nigeria's spraying diplomacy through the policy of good neighbourliness to assist African, Caribbean and pacific countries under the Technical Aid Corps (TAC) initiative, creation and infusion of financial livelihood into the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Africa Development Bank (ADB), the creation and sustenance of African

Economic Community (AEC), effective participation in the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) among others.

b. **Peace and Security Issues:** Here, Eke examined Nigeria's efforts so far in decolonization in Africa and other conflicts through bilateral efforts, ECOWAS/ECOMOG, A.U., and United Nations peacekeeping missions. That is, Nigeria's efforts in human and material resources towards the resolution of conflicts all over the world in order to achieve the grand objective of the United Nations, which is the maintenance of peace and order in the world.

c. **Human Rights Issues:** Under this, he examined Nigeria's observance of the basic facets of human rights which are considered as the basis of freedom and yardstick of a civilized nation. Thus, the basic elements of this are democracy, rule of law and due process. According to Eke (2009), human rights observance in Nigeria, no doubt is in the abyss when compared to relatively free societies like the U.S. and Britain. These human right abuses started when the military ventured into Nigeria's governance and has continued even under civilian rule. This is on the increase following politically motivated killings and treatment meted out to labour leaders and opposition groups in Nigeria (Eke 2009).

d. **Strengthening the United Nations:** Under this, Eke looked at Nigeria's relationship and roles as it affects all aspects of the United Nations organs, agencies, funds and commission in positive manner towards strengthening the organization for effective roles in maintaining global peace and security.

In all these issues examined above as the criteria for membership, Eke argued that Nigeria stand above her two major contenders for the two seats allocated to Africa.

Onuoha (2008) equally examined Nigeria's quest for permanent seat at the Security Council of the United Nations. According to Onuoha, in the area of economic development, population, peacekeeping operations, humanitarian affairs, financial contribution to the running of the United Nations, Nigeria appears to have done more than her contenders (Egypt and South Africa) and in the area of peace keeping mission, Nigeria, more than any other African country, has since

independence, participated in peace keeping operations in many trouble spots in Africa and beyond.

Another criteria examined by Onuoha is the issue of peace making. According to him, Nigeria has demonstrated manifest ability and capability in reading early warning signals that often lead to conflicts. Several peace talks have taken place in Nigeria to bring warring parties to make peace among themselves. These include the interval conflicts and crises in Sudan, Somalia, Niger, Chad, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Cote d'ivore, Sao Tome and Principe.

Nigeria since independence in 1960 assumed the pronounced position of a regional heavy weight, both in the political and economic sphere. It is against this backdrop that her views are always sought by some African states and great powers in all sensitive matters of import to Africa.

Nigeria has played leadership roles in these areas in the continent; decolonization of Africa, eradication of apartheid in South Africa; creation of Africa economic community, strengthening of sub-regional integration processes and erection of conflict management apparatus in West Africa (Asobie, 1991). All these have been accomplished because the linchpin of Nigeria's foreign policy is focused on Africa. The prevalent opinion is that Nigeria has greater experience in constructive leadership role in Africa than South Africa which came on board only in1994. The weight of Egypt's political, economic and military might had historically found greater utilization in matters concerning Middle East, where it culturally belongs than in Africa which argurably remains a secondary area for the conduct of its major interest and pre-occupation.

Akindele (2005) noted that Nigeria is more experienced in the global high tension politics of decision making considering the over 50 years of independence and four times occupation of non-permanent member of UNSC. In support of that, Nigeria has also had an opportunity to preside over the meetings of the council. Thus, armed with over four decades of post independence experience in United Nations diplomacy, Nigeria has comparative advantage over her Egypt and South Africa rivals. This is because, no other African state has had the opportunity Nigeria had to serve four times as a non-permanent member of the

United Nations Security Council. Again Nigeria has also presided over the meetings at different times. Egypt got this position once, but as a Middle East representative. The participation of Nigeria in this prestigious principal organ of the United Nations and the experience gained from the exposure has made Nigeria accumulate built-in capacity power to face the challenges associated with the roles of the system.

Secondly, Nigeria has contributed immensely to the maintenance of international peace and security. The maintenance of international peace and security are of two dimensions and for any state aspiring for membership of the Security Council, the two forms are fundamental prerequisite. The first entails the demonstrated role of a state in assisting the United Nations to implement and secure its overall objective of restoring international peace and security when it is disturbed, while the other is the preservation of the principles and obligations of the United Nations charter as a means of achieving the goals of the institution. Therefore, considering the first strand, Nigeria has a remarkable record and is undisputedly a force in this area in Africa (Ogwu, 1986).

Thirdly, Nigeria has a respectable regional statue in the words of Akindele (2005). Nigeria is a regional heavy weight in Africa. Thus, it has since independence acted as a political and economic giant and perhaps more importantly; it is so perceived not only by its fellow African states, but also by the major foreign powers that seek her views regularly on major issues in Africa. However, with Africa as the center piece of its foreign policy, Nigeria plays crucial leadership roles in the decolonization of Africa, in the fight against white minority rule and apartheid regime and also championed the creation of regional and sub-regional organization like AU, ECOWAS and as well as building a conflict management outfit (Asobie 1991). In the view of foregoing, Nigeria has greater experience in constructive leadership role in Africa and also stands better chances of mobilizing than Egypt, whose political economic and military might had historically found greater utilization in matters concerning the Middle East, where it culturally belongs, than in Africa which arguably remains a secondary area for the conduct of its major interest and pre-occupation (Akindele 2005).

Fourthly, it is common knowledge that Africa embodies the origin and roots of the black people. Therefore, it is notable that Nigeria has a special responsibility as the largest single concentration of black people on earth with over 150 million black people residing within her borders. In every four black Africa, one is a Nigeria (Belewa, 1982). However, as the most populous black nation, Nigeria is better placed to speak on behalf of Africa than any of her rivals. South Africa is handicapped in this regard since she can boast only about 30 million blacks. Above all, the minority in South Africa controls the economic structure of the country and this makes South Africa inadequate to represent Africa. In similar regard, Egypt is an Arab state and so; culturally form a segment of the Middle East. Consequent upon this Egypt should not be the representative of the continent, her people and values.

Impact of Insecurity in Nigeria on Its Security Council Permanent Seat Ambition

Nigeria is a country endowed with natural and material resources, all competed favourably with one another in securing a big chunk of foreign exchange earning for the country in the early 60's. The discovery of oil, and the unprecedented wealth accursed from it in the 70's, soon emerged as a major foreign exchange earner, inspite of the natural and mineral resources with which the country is endowed, coupled with numerous governmental policies and programmes to foster peaceful co-existence among multi-ethno religious entities which make up Nigeria. The country has virtually become a battle field where incessant ethno-religious and political crisis are staged. The implication of the crisis on economic development, is that the instruments which is supposed to be used for sustainable development is conversely being used for destruction and vandalization purpose (Mustapha 2015).

In essence, it gulped the Nigerian government millions of Naira to put in place numerous amenities which are destroyed during crisis. Resources, which could have been used to improve these amenities and embark on other developmental projects, would have to be used on restructuring and replacing what have been damaged during crisis. In most cases the government compensated victims of these crisis and this gulped millions of naira, which could have been used for economic development. Apart from the fact that many virile men of the nation are

seriously affected in the crisis which consequently led to their death, the country's sources of revenue are equally affected. No economic development would take place in an atmosphere of fear, anarchy and insecurity. It therefore implies that insecurity is the bane to economic development. Cases of kidnapping of expatriates in Nigeria are no more news. One wonders how foreign investors could decide to establish in the war zone.

In Maiduguri, Borno State, the frequent bombing and clashes between *Boko Haram* and security agents have weighed down seriously on commercial and business activities in the city as many business have reportedly crumbled, while many people have fled the state., the Maiduguri Monday market said to be the biggest market in the city is reported have been seriously affected as hundred of shop owners, especially Southerners have closed their business and left the troubled city for their dear lives. According to the Borno State Commissioner of information, Mr. Inuwa Bwala, ―it will take the state 20 years to recover from this current predicament it has found itself. According to the commissioner, it is only natural that when you have such a situation as we have now, it will affect the economic fortunes, especially where people go out to do business under the atmosphere of fear. There is no doubt that the crisis has taken its toll on our resources, on our business and on our economy. (*This Day*, September 10, 2009).

Many Igbo businessmen and traders in Kano city who engage in both small and medium scale businesses are reported have fled to Abuja and the South-East due to the growing insecurity posed by the activities of *Boko Haram* insurgents. The indigenous business communities in the city especially the textile merchants are not faring better as they count their losses as their customers who used to patronize them no longer go to Kano for the fear of the unknown. The Durbar festivals in Kano which use to attract local and international tourists have been canceled because of insecurity. Sun (30 August 2012). The story is not different in Jos, the Plateau state capital the unofficial headquarters of the Middle Belt. Plateau has been in the news before the advent of *Boko Haram* as a result of the persistent ethnic and religious crisis that has continued to engulf the state.

The cities have witnessed so much carnage that businesses are no longer thriving, as many business concerns have abandoned the city and moved out their investments. Though the city is not reputed as an industrial city, it is noted for tourism potentials which have contributed to the national economy. However, the once thriving tourist destination that was an attraction for local and international tourists is now history, as the spate of violence in the state which hitherto prides it as the 'Home of peace and tourism', seems to have been robbed off of its glory in the tourism industry.

Social and economic activities are on the lowest ebb as a result of the security situation. The Northern region has not fared better as business activities continue to nose dive as a result of the increasing level of insecurity in the area. The Federal government, in February 9, 2013, (This Day Newspaper) raised the alarm over the devastating effect of *Boko Haram* insurgency on the region, warning that religious extremists will destroy the region if the activities of the Islamic sect are not curtailed.

However, the implication of the kidnappings which involved mainly foreign workers and development partners on Nigeria's economic development has been enormous. It succeeded in scaring away potential development partners and robbed the Nigerian state of the benefit of such development alliances and opportunities. The state of insecurity has led to a reduced volume of investments and capital flow to the region (Akpan, 2010).

The greatest of these scenarios is the amount of funds being diverted to security issues and related matters. The aim is to enable the country meet the challenges of the present threat in the country. These funds can be best utilized in providing infrastructures in the country, like good roads, electricity and other vital amenities that will enhance the economic development of Nigeria. The irony is that while the government is striving towards capacity building, insecurity is crumbling all the efforts. (Leadership Newspaper, May 9, 2012).This problem has the damaging consequence of giving the signal to the rest of the international community that Nigeria is not a safe and secure place and as such not suitable for economic investment and activities.

The implication of the above threats to Nigeria's bid to secure and maximize Security Council seat remains negatively overwhelming. Consequently; insecurity is too dangerous of an issue to be ignored given the danger it poses to Nigeria's ambition and the capacity of the state to maximize the seat even when given on a platter of gold. It logically stands that for Nigeria to defeat her co-aspirants, she must be capable of mobilizing her entire resources, population, leadership skills, wealth, military, strategic strength, diplomatic and other social-cultural variables. Besides, given the divisive tendencies of ethno-religious sentiments, mobilization of the entire citizens for common national course remains illusive. This is because the populace will ever remain divided in any national issue of significance. The same scenario will be replicated in the use of the seat to advance developmental course in Nigeria. Development is a collective and holistic affair, irrespective of the state's wealth and resources, the inability of the state leadership to integrate and mobilize the populace for collective action is capable of rendering useless the wealth and resources of such state and on the long run, undermines development. This is because within the polity, the ethno-religious formations, factions and cleavages instead of working together will busy themselves in wars of all against all over resources of the state.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present structure of the United Nations Security Council is favorably disposed to the industrialized countries of the West particularly the permanent members of the council. In fact, the United Nations as it is today, is very far from being democratic, even though it claims to be a symbol of democracy to all countries of the world. Nigeria's bid for a permanent seat at the Security Council is largely legitimate and quite in order.Nigeria as a member of United Nations can only benefit proportionately given her contributions to Africa and the United Nations, especially in the areas of peacekeeping if she is admitted into the main stream of the United Nations most strategic organ, the Security Council. However, while not denying Nigeria's strong claim to this exalted position, one should add that in order to solidify Nigeria's chances, the government needs to pay attention to the case of insecurity in Nigeria and address that adequately.

Finally, slots for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council should be increased to give room for equitable representation and to cut across every region of the world. Moreover, the Nigerian government should formulate and effectively implement policies and programmes capable of addressing the root causes of insecurity in Nigeria such as poverty, unemployment, environmental degradation, dearth of infrastructural facilities, uneven development, among others.

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EMPLOYEE PERFORMANCE IN NIGERIA'S LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM: AN OVERVIEW

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Abstract

This research paper examined employee performance in the local government system of Nigeria. Local government, as a third tier of government, exists primarily to spur development at the grassroots level. However, it has performed below expectation in the discharge of its statutory assigned duties and responsibilities due to the poor performance of its employees. Therefore, as employee performance in any organization is paramount to the survival, sustenance and goal attainment of the organization, this paper identified the ecological factors that constitute the major bottle-neck to employee performance in local government system of Nigeria; and on those bases proffered plausible recommendations.

Key Words: Employee, Employee Performance, Motivation, Local Government

INTRODUCTION

The importance of employee performance in any organization, public or private, cannot be over-emphasized. The ability of any organization to achieve its goals depends largely on the performance of its employees and more importantly on how effectively they are motivated. This is simply because all the activities of the organization are initiated and determined by the persons who make up that organization. Likewise the performance of employees in any organization is central to its survival, sustenance and growth. Therefore, it is pertinent for organizational management to put in place motivational incentives capable of spurring employee performance at all times.

Local Governments all over the world are constitutionally created to spur rural transformation or development. There is no doubt therefore that the ability of the Local Government system to accomplish this primary task of rural development depends on not only the quality of its human resources, but the performance of its employees. In fact, the Local Government is essentially a service oriented institution. Once the roads and drains are constructed, the incinerators installed, the health centers constructed and equipped and stocked with drugs; school buildings constructed and furnished among others, all that is left to make the Local Government function effectively is manpower to

operate and maintain these institutions and facilities. Thus the efficiency and productivity of the local government system depend on the performance of its employees.

The human resources of Local Government in the country play a central role in its success or failure as the tier of government that is nearest to the grassroots, and as a veritable instrument of rural development. Indeed among the many potential roles of Local Government in national and particularly rural development include the following "helping to inculcate in people positive citizenship attitudes, such as consideration, self- control, community responsibility and identity, the provision of basic community services which improve the quality of people's lives, enables the community to generate and attract economic activities and helping people, especially in the rural areas to organize themselves for the mobilization and effective management of community resources and central government programmes, respectively" (Colowu, 1988:5). Their roles can only be accomplished if the Local Governments have crops of qualified and competent human resources that are discharging their duties and responsibilities effectively and efficiently.

However, in Nigeria, the Local Government system has a vague future due to the low productivity and performance of its human resources. Indeed, the strategic importance and relevance of the local government system in the country's national drive for a true and egalitarian federalism and national democratization processes are bedeviled by the poor performances of its human resources. In fact, if the local government system is to fulfill its statutory responsibilities in the country, it must deal with the factors affecting its employee performance.

This research paper therefore, is poised to investigate employee performance in Nigeria's Local Government System with the intent of identifying the environmental factors that constitute the major bottle-neck to employee performance, and on that bases proffer plausible recommendations. To achieve this first, this paper is sub-headed into the following:
1. *Conceptual Exposition*
2. *Employee Performance in Local Government System within the Nigeria Context*

3. *Environmental Factors Affecting Employee Performance*
4. *Recommendations*
5. *Conclusion*

CONCEPTUAL EXPOSITION
Employee
The Business Dictionary defined employee as an individual who works part-time or full-time under a contract of employment, whether oral or written, express or implied, and has recognized rights and duties; also called worker. According to Heathfield (2018) An employee is an individual who was hired by an employer to do a specific job.

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, an employee is a term for workers and managers working for a company, organization or community. These people are the staff of the organization. Generally speaking, any person hired by an employer to do a particular job is an employee. In most modern economies the word "employee" means a person who works for a corporation.

According to *Archer et al (2017),* an employee contributes labor and expertise to an endeavor of an employer or of a person conducting a business or undertaking, and is usually hired to perform specific duties which are packaged into a job. In a corporate context, an employee is a person who is hired to provide services to a company on a regular basis in exchange for compensation, and who does not provide these services as part of an independent business (*Robert, 2010).*

An employee works part-time, full-time or is temporary in a job assignment. Each employee has a specific job to accomplish that is often defined by a job description. In responsible organizations, a performance development planning process defines the work of the employee and the organization's expectations for the employee's performance. An employee works within a functional area or department such as, marketing or Human Resources. An employee has a boss, the person he or she reports to and takes direction from, usually a manager or supervisor. An employee should have the expectation that he or she will receive reasonable, professional treatment from the manager. An employee may have coworkers who work with him to accomplish the work of the department.

The employee has a workstation or an office in which he or she accomplishes the job. The employer supplies the employee with the tools and equipment necessary to perform work such as a computer, telephone, cell phone, laptop, desk, and accessories. In forward-thinking organizations, the employee receives <u>frequent performance feedback</u> from the manager, <u>rewards and recognition</u>, and a <u>reasonable benefits package</u>. Although most employment relationships are <u>at-will</u>, the employee who performs the job successfully is likely, although not guaranteed, to be kept on the job.

Employee Performance
Employee performance is whether a person performs his/her job well. Employee performance is described by Campbell (1990:59) as an individual level variable or something a single person does. This differentiates it from more encompassing constructs such as organizational performance or national performance which are higher level variables (Lawler *et al*, 1970).

Sackette (2001:89) identified several key features which conceptualize employee performance and help clarify what employee performance means. First, he defines performance as behavior. This concept differentiates performance from outcomes. Outcomes are the result of an individual's performance, but they are also the result of other influences. In other words, there are more factors that determine outcomes, than just employee's behaviours and acting. Afonja and Pearce (1996:101) allows for exceptions when defining performance as behavior. For instance, they clarify that performance does not have to be directly observable actions of an individual. It can consist of mental productions such as answers and decisions. However, performance needs to be under the individual's control, regardless of whether the performance of interest is mental or behavioural.

Another closely related construct is productivity Fashoyin (1999) defines productivity as a comparison of the amount of effectiveness that results from certain level of cost associated with effectiveness. In other words, effectiveness is the ratio of outputs to inputs. The inputs include efforts, monetary costs, resources etc. Jones (2006:51) identified utility as another related construct which is defined as the value of a particular

level of performance; effectiveness and productivity are value judgment.

Employee performance, according to Brown (1993:31) must be directed toward organizational goals that are relevant to the job or role. Therefore, the performance of an employee does not include activities where effort is expanded towards achieving peripheral goals. For instance, the effort put towards the goal of getting to work in the shortest amount of time is not performance (except where it is concerned with avoiding lateness). Murply (1994) breaks performances into four dimensions namely: task oriented behaviors (any major tasks relevant to someone's job); inter-personally oriented behaviours (any interaction an employee has with other employees); down- time behaviours (behaviours that employee engages in during their free time either at work or off-site); and distinctive/hazardous behaviours. However, irrespective of the type of employee performance exhibited by employees of an organization, how to improve the performance of Nigerian employees has remained a crucial issue. This is according to Catgrove (1978) is based on the recognized fact that job performance is a critical factor in economic and social development for it determines the standard of living of the citizens.

Motivation
According to Ryan and Deci (2000), Motivation is the reason for people's actions, willingness and goals. Motivation is derived from the word motive in the English language which is defined as a need that requires satisfaction. These needs could also be wants or desires that are acquired through influence of culture, society, lifestyle, etc. or generally innate. Motivation is one's direction to behaviour, or what causes a person to want to repeat a behaviour, a set of force that acts behind the motives. An individual's motivation may be inspired by others or events (extrinsic motivation), or it may come from within the individual (intrinsic motivation). They contend that Motivation has been considered as one of the most important reasons that inspires a person to move forward in life. Jodai *et al* (2013), opined that motivation results from the interaction of both conscious and unconscious factors. Mastering motivation to allow sustained and deliberate

practice is central to high levels of achievement e.g. in the worlds of elite sport, medicine or music (Ericsson, 2015).

Motivation can be divided into two: intrinsic (internal or inherent) motivation and extrinsic (external) motivation. Intrinsic motivation is the self-desire to seek out new things and new challenges, to analyse one's capacity, or to observe and to achieve a goal. It is driven by an interest or enjoyment in the task itself, and exists within the individual rather than relying on external pressures or a desire for consideration. Deci (1971) explained that some activities provide their own inherent reward, meaning certain activities are not dependent on external rewards.

Employees who are intrinsically motivated are more likely to engage in the task willingly as well as work to improve their skills, which will increase their capabilities. They are likely to be intrinsically motivated if they...

- *attribute their performance results to factors under their own control, also known as autonomy or <u>locus of control</u>*
- *believe they have the skills to be effective agents in reaching their desired goals, also known as <u>self-efficacy</u> beliefs*
- *are interested in mastering a task, not just in achieving good grades*

Extrinsic motivation comes from influences outside of the individual. In extrinsic motivation, the harder question to answer is where do people get the motivation to carry out and continue to push with persistence. Usually extrinsic motivation is used to attain outcomes that a person wouldn't get from intrinsic motivation (*Ryan and Deci, 2000)*. According to Dewani (2013) Common extrinsic motivations are <u>rewards</u> (for example money or grades) for showing the desired behaviour, and the threat of punishment following misbehaviour. Competition is an extrinsic motivator because it encourages the performer to win and to beat others, not simply to enjoy the intrinsic rewards of the activity. A cheering crowd and the desire to win a trophy are also extrinsic incentives.

The simplest distinction between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation is the type of reasons or goals that lead to an action. While intrinsic

motivation refers to doing something because it is inherently interesting or enjoyable, extrinsic motivation, refers to doing something because it leads to a separable outcome. Extrinsic motivation thus contrasts with intrinsic motivation, which is doing an activity simply for the enjoyment of the activity itself, instead of for its instrumental value *(Ryan and Deci, 2000).*

Local Government
Accordingly, the concept of Local Government entails a philosophical commitment to democratic participation in the governing process at the grassroots and community level. This involves the legal and administrative decentralization of authority, power and personnel by a higher level of government to a community with a will of its own, performing specific functions as within the wider national framework. The Local Government is a government at the grassroots level of administration "meant for meeting peculiar grassroots need of the people (Agagu, 1997:18). It is conceived as "government by the popularly elected bodies charged with administrative and executive duties in matters concerning the inhabitants of a particular district or place (Appadorai, 1975:287). According to Lawal (2000:60), Local Government is that tier of government closest to the people, "which is vested with certain powers to exercise control over the affairs of people in its domain".

A Local Government is expected to play the role of promoting the democratic ideals of a society and co-coordinating development programme at the local level. It is also expected to serve as the basis of socio-economic development in the locality (Arowolo, 2008). The Local Government implements the ideals, objectives, programmes, and aspirations of the national government at the local level. Local Government is the agent, as well as the arm of the government at the local level, but not a substitute for national government. It merely serves as an instrument for effective and efficient performance and delivery of government services and amenities at the local level.

Gboyega (1987) opined that Local Government in most countries of the world have come to be seen as a competent unit of Government that is capable of assessing the needs of the local communities and dwellers; that can mobilize and harness local resources and talents to satisfy these

local needs for sustainable human development. To this end, the 1976 reform process in Nigeria defined Local Governments as:

> *Government at local level exercised through representative councils established by law to exercise specific powers within defined areas. These powers should give the council substantial control over local affairs as well as the staff and institutional and financial powers to initiate and direct the provision of service and to determine and implement projects so as to complement the activities of the State and Federal Government in their areas, and to ensure, through devolution of functions to these councils and through the active participation of the people and their traditional institutions, that local initiative and response to local needs and conditions are maximized.*

Local Governments are the closet level of Government to the people at the grass-root and are capable of possessing knowledge of the people's needs, problems, and potentials. National and Central governments of most countries are increasingly relying on the Local Governments to undertake functions and services in the area of economic and social development. Local Governments, therefore, are competent levels of government that are capable of reducing political, economic, social, and other congestion of responsibilities in the central government so as to ensure and increase their competence and resource base.

Employee Performance in Local Government System within the Nigeria Context

Nigerian employees, most especially at the Local Government level are said to perform poorly at workplace resulting in low productivity. Commenting on the poor performance of Nigerian employees, Aluko (1998:99) argued that many achievements oriented, shrewd observers of Nigerian people at work have always come out with a common impression that generally Nigerian workers are lazy, slow, sleepy, reluctant to act, unconcerned, and deceitful in their approach. These workers are said to lack the zeal, the briskness and the momentum of hard-working people; and generally, they dislike hearing anybody talk about efficiency, dedication, honesty, competence, determination and

productivity – all these are the characteristics of achievement people in an efficient oriented society.

At the Local Government level, the deployment of employees is ostentatiously guided by the desire to bring about rural development. In other words, the performance of employees apparently determines the goal actualization of the local government in service delivery *cum* rural development. However, employee performance is relatively low/poor in local government system in Nigeria.

The poor performance of local government staff has halted, to a large extent, the crucial position the local government occupies in promoting and sustaining developmental policies, programmes and projects at the grassroots in the country. Delays in the payment of salaries and other incentives, poor working environment, outdated skills, unrealistic expectations, health challenges, attitudinal dispositions, lack of motivation among others, have been attributed as factors militating against employee performance in the country's local government system. No meaningful development can effectively take place without starting at the grassroots level with the full involvement of the local government staff.

Employee performance in local government system within the Nigerian context, in the words of Olugbile (2007:74) can be described as pathetic. He went further to pin point six factors that demoralize and de-motivate employees in bringing out their best at work place. They are:

1. ***Work Overload***: Over working workers with little or no time for rest increases stress and lower performance.
2. ***Lack of autonomy***: Micromanaging and leaving no opportunity to employees to use their initiative reduces responsibility, flexibility and innovation. Frustration sets in and performance/productivity suffers.
3. ***Loss of connection:*** Good personal relationship makes teams to excel shuffled jobs; assignments lead to relationships; and fragmentation increases the growing sense of alienation and fuels conflict.
4. ***Unfairness:*** Lack of fairness and inequities in how people are treated breeds resentment. This could be caused by unequal pay, workloads, disregard for grievances and policies that seem high-

handed, rapid escalation of top executives pay and bonuses, while salaries of junior workers (who are actually in need) receive little or no attention. This undermines the principles of hard work, honesty and equitable rewards for the work done. According to Fashoyin (1999:169), this situation leads to resentment, which in turn gives rise to Cynicism, alienation and loss of enthusiasm for the organization's mission.

5. *Skimpy Rewards***:** Getting little pay for so much work reduces workers motivation and efficiency.
6. *Value conflict:* Jobs, which are at odds with the values of employees, demoralize workers leading them to question the worth of the work they do.

Ecological Factors Affecting Employee Performance

There are many ecological factors affecting employee performance in Nigeria's Local Government System. The factors are economic, socio-cultural, managerial and technological factors.

Economic Factors

According to Mohr (1986), with the reward system employed in Nigeria, there is no correlation between effort expended by an employee and reward that he receives in the organization. When an employee believes that equity does not prevail, he is bound to withhold a measure of his performance in order to restore equity. Closely related to this is the inability of the employers to give adequate compensation to employees who as a result, put in the barest minimum effort in the attainment of organizational goals. There appears to be no commitment and no goal congruency. Hotstede (2008) opined that to encourage high employee performance it is essential that a system of reward must be designed that attempts to equate hard work and reward in Nigerian Organizations.

Sociological Factors

Nwagba (2001) argued that employees treasure a sense of belonging in an organization and resent any effort on the part of management to perceive and treat them only as costs of production. In the same vein, Ogunbameru & Oribabor (2005) opined that many Nigerian employees lack a sense of belonging in the organization, act as strangers, and do

the least possible to avoid losing their employment. As long as employees feel that they do not belong, there is a tendency for them not to exert themselves or have a full sense of commitment and dedication. The privileged few in the organization have more than their own share of company wealth. Employees put in more than their own share of company wealth. However, Nwachukwu (1980) observed that in many organizations, there are some vocal but lazy employees who have very poor attitude to work. These demoralize the dedicated ones; consequently, resulting in poor performance.

Managerial Factors

This is another factor affecting employee performance in Nigeria. The success or failure of an organization depends on management. An unproductive and undisciplined supervisor can hardly motivate employees. Many Nigerian managers are lacking in the elementary principles of organizational behavior. Some were technicians, company secretaries, while a majority is high school graduates who do not know the human relations approach to management. They do not know how to identify employees' goals and link them with organizational rewards in order to motivate employees. Some employees do not know what rewards are available and the means (path) to achieve those rewards. Many managers do not appreciate the importance of employee performance evaluation and feedback. Employees get frustrated and productivity suffers. Nwachukwu (1980) has observed that manager's attitude to work, his quest for excellence, and his continued expectation of higher standards of excellence influence the performance of his subordinates. He also states that "a manager that accepts low quality or medicine performance, or appears to rationalize for employees where quality work is required, is directly encouraging sub-standard performance. Mali (2001) identified other managerial factors affecting employee performance as recognition of the path-goal framework, pattern of recruitment, and lack of participative management in organizations.

Technological Factors

Technological factors equally are affecting employee performance in Nigeria. Nord (1996) in this context argued that technology involves the use of new ideas, techniques, innovations, methods, and materials to

achieve an objective. In Nigeria, according to Olugbile (2007) the lack of proper information to help entrepreneurs select the appropriate technology is one of the major causes of poor performance. The dumping of obsolete and reconditioned equipment has increased in recent times in Nigeria. Many man-hours are used each day trying to repair machines that are virtually non-useable. Closely allied to this, in the words of Meyer (2004), is the damage inflicted on the equipment by constant power failures. How to select the appropriate technology for Nigeria is a major problem for management and is at the heart of low productivity in the industrial sector.

In summary, the performance of employees in Nigeria is affected by many factors. If we must improve the economic, social, technological and managerial factors that constitute the major bottle-neck to employee performance in Nigeria Local Government system, the local government authorities must put into place measures to spur employee performance, so as to enable it discharge its constitutional duties, thereby functioning effectively as an agent of grassroots development.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Employee performance in Nigeria's Local Government System is affected by many environmental factors. If one to improve the performance of employees, one must improve the economic, social, technological and managerial factors that constitute the major bottle – neck to employee performance in the Local Government System of Nigeria.

The following recommendations are suggested as plausible measures to improve employee performance in Nigeria's Local Government system:

1. The reward system employed in the Local Government system in Nigeria should be such that promotes equity and fairness. The efforts expanded by an employee and the reward that he receives in the Local Government should be correlated so as to ensure and sustain employee performance.

2. Local Government authorities should design policies and programmes that will promote a culture of sense of belonging of employees in the organization. Employees should seize to be treated or viewed as cost of production by the council.

Employees having a full sense of commitment and dedication to work will ensure and sustain employee performance.

3. Local Government authorities should strive to be productive, discipline, visionary, rational in its decisions. They should endeavour to identify an employee's values, and link them with the Local Government system rewards in order to motivate workers to perform well. The authorities should regularly conduct employee performance evaluation and feedback in order to identify hardworking employees, reward them and discipline those that perform poorly

4. There should be the practice of participative management in Nigeria Local Government system. Employees should be made to adequately participate in the making and implementation of decisions affecting them. Participative management promotes employee commitment to organizational goal attainment.

5. Local Government authorities should be open minded in welcoming the use of new ideas, techniques, innovations, methods and materials to achieve the council's objectives. The authorities should be well informed while selecting appropriate technology needed to boost employee performance and productivity

6. Local Government authorities should invest in the training and retraining of its employees. The importance of employee training, retraining and education cannot be over-emphasized as means of boosting employee performance. In a computer/technology driven world, the basis of effective worker performance is the ability to be at home with the new demands and challenges of the environment. Well-articulated workshops and seminars as well as appreciation courses for staff should be organized regularly by local government authorities.

7. The job instruction training JIT method should be adopted by local government authorities as a means of promoting employee performance. The unit heads or supervisors of local government councils can effectively use the JIT method in teaching their subordinate. The procedure usually includes the determination of training needs cognizance of needs of trainees, feedback from trainees, frequent appraisal and correction.

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WOMEN AND AGRICULTURE IN A CHALLENGING ECONOMY: FOCUS ON UMU-OWELLE CLAN, 1966-1975.

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Abstract
The Nigeria-Biafra war, which started on July 6, 1967 and ended on

January 15, 1970 posed tremendous challenge to Umu-owelle women. The challenges ranged from targeted attacks, displacements, rape, starvation to abduction. The war did not only distort agriculture, local crafts production and trade which formed the basis of Umu-owelle economy, it also placed the onus of production on women who, before the war played a second fiddle in the production chain. The women were therefore faced with the challenges of reviving the economy so as to generate more resources to cushion the effects of the war. In response to these challenges, they attended to their farm early in the morning and in the evening, and moved in groups to avoid rape and abduction by the troops. Through their efforts, the economy was revived to ensure food security not only to their immediate family but to the Umu-owelle society at large. However, how the war affected Umu-owelle women and agricultural practice during the war and after, and how they tried to solve and survive the challenging situation has not been documented. The study therefore sought to unravel the activities of Umu-owelle women as it pertains to wars and economic insolvency. To this end, the Challenge and Response theory were employed. The research relies mainly on primary sources and also secondary sources of data. Available data will be analyzed using qualitative research methodology. The work covers the four communities that make up Umu-owelle, which include Nimo, Abagana, Abba and Eziowelle and the study starts from 1966 and terminates in 1975. The study recommends for lessons to be drawn from Umu-owelle women`s efforts in reviving the war-time economy, especially for the sake of good gender relations and, ultimately, gender equality.

Key Words: Food, Family, War, Security,

INTRODUCTION

The attainment of political Independence by Nigeria in 1960 was greeted with great optimism. However, the euphoria was soon dampened by series of crisis which led to a civil war seven years later.[1] The burning issues that brought about the crisis that eventually led to the civil war are not far fetched. The first coup of 15th January, 1966 and the counter coup of 29th July of the same year are pointers to the fact that the civil war and the attendant holocaust were inevitable.[2] This was particularly so as neither the Federal Government on the

Nigerian side headed by ColonelYakubu Gowon nor the Biafra side led by Lieutenant Colonel Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu was prepared to concede.[3]

An era of lawlessness and massacre of people especially the Igbo ethnic group ensued in many parts of the country; particularly in the Northern region.[3] The Igbo in a bid to run for safety, then drifted eastwards to their kith and kin.[4] The internally displaced persons' problem went beyond imaginable dimensions; and this culminatedinto bitterness, hatred for the Nigerian state and a resolve by the Easterners to establish a separate state called Biafra.[5]The conflict ended with grave consequences for the people of Nigeria especially the Biafran side. Umu-owelle began to feel the impact upon the mass return of their people from North.

Umu-Owelle women were not left out of it as the women bore the brunt of the war of which they responded to. The war exacerbated Umu-Owelle women's insecurities, vulnerabilities and pauperisation and exposed them, especially as refugees, farmers, frontline traders, sex workers, or beggars, to new forms of violence.[6]They were faced with the daunting task of keeping families together after displacement, providing food, clothing and shelter.

The challenges of ensuring the food security for their families and households encouraged the women to take certain actions for their survival.Women's responses to the war were not only varied but also critical in determining their fate.Some womenbecame displaced in internally displaced persons' camps while others tried to earn a living through agriculture,either eking out a marginal existence or even prospering.[7]Umu-Owelle women were thus simultaneously victims of war, succumbing to their fate, and active agents of change, transforming their situation and society.

A Geographical Description of Umu-Owelle
The geographical location of Umu-Owelle is important in the understanding of the present analysis. Indeed, as Professor J.C Anene has pointed out, "the historical experiences of a community is generally written in its geographical features".[8]Umu-Owelle is comprised of four communities namely Nimo, Abagana, Abba and Eziowelle. Nimo,

Abagana and Abba are located in the western part of Njikoka Local Government Area while Eziowelle is located in Idemilli North Local Government area all in Anambra State. Umu-Owelle shares boundaries with Nawgu and Enugu Agidi on the North, Abatete and Oraukwu on the South. It shares boundaries with Enugu ukwu, Adazi and Neni on the Eastern side and it is bordered on the Western side by Umunachi and Alo.The climate is fairly hot, the hottest period being February and March while the coldest is in raining months of June, July and September. There is usually a little break towards the end of July or the beginning of August.The soil of Umu-Owelle is of fair fertility because of overuse and lack of proper manuring.EmekaOtuabah observed that fair soil fertility is very much pronounced as can be witnessed today in different parts of slopes in Umu-Owelle.[9]

Theoretical Guide

It has become imperative to situate historical research on relevant social theories for a clearer understanding of the phenomenon and dynamics of the events. On this note, theoretical framework provides a particular perspective or lens, through which a topic is examined.This study is anchored on the "Challenge and Response Theory" by Arnold Toynbee.In his view, if any society is to develop into 'civilization', it must be challenged. He suggests that challenges are posed by external factors and each successful response strengthens the civilization.[10] By 'challenge' Toynbee meant some factors that posed a threat to the ways in which a group of people had made their livelihood in the past. 'Response' is the action taken by the same group of people to cope with the new situation. Response require vision, leadership and action to overcome the threat and create a basis for survival and hopefully, prosperity.[11]

Toynbee's 'challenge and response' theory is useful in understanding the crisis and challenges experienced by Umu-Owelle women during the Nigeria-Biafra war and the immediate post-war period. The reaction of Umu-Owelle women demonstrates Toynbee's idea of response to challenge. The commencement of hostilities steered women in the economic activities to sustain their respective families. In the absence of their husbands who were at the war front or in the bushes to avoid conscription, the Umu-Owelle women were left with the burdensome

responsibility of taking care of the home especially catering for the children and the elderly.The crisis led to some of the women being displaced. Some of them took refuge with friends and relations in other communities that had not been invaded by the federal troops. Some women took refuge in the bush and in the farm areas.

Both the displaced women and those who were not displaced later engaged in farming although, air raids, fear of molestation, and military ruthlessness prevented the women from going to their farms. It was the grim determination of Umu-Owelle women to survive and ensure food security for their families especially in the absence of the breadwinners that many Umu-Owelle women took part in farming. Through their intensified efforts at farming, they saved the Biafran economy from total collapse. Farming thus became one of the sources of food for the starving population.

Overview of Women and Agriculture before 1966
Pre-Colonial Agriculture

women played not just complementary but indeed very outstanding roles in the success of the traditional Umu-Owelle economy since the pre-colonial period. Under the production sector of the economy, agriculture featured as the mainstay of the economy. Umu-Owelle women had varied and dynamic economic pursuits prior to British intervention. As in other Igbo communities, agriculture was the bedrock in which the community`s economic activity was set. Afigbo alludes to this, according to him, "in pre-colonial Igbo society agriculture was the most important economic activity with regard both to the number of people that engaged in it either on full or part- time basis and to the prestige attached to it."[12] V.C Uchendu has aptly described farming as the Igbo staff of life.[13]Agriculture was the mainstay of Umu-Owelle economy at the time of discourse. The success of agriculture at the time hinged on the involvement of the entire household in the task. Afigbo observed that one result of this Igbo attitude to agriculture was that every Igbo man and woman was a farmer.[14]Men, women and children were involved in agriculture. The family provided the basic unit of labour for agriculture.[15]The young and the old, male and female, were all engrossed in farm work; thus the western concept of a full-time house-wife devoted to house care was unknown.[16] Thus it was virtually

impossible for a man to become a celebrated wealthy farmer without the complementary role of his wife or wives in farming activities, and for the long term motive of procreating children that would provide the needed agricultural labour in the nearest future.

A wide range of tubers were cultivated by Umu-Owelle farmers in the pre-colonial period. These included yam, cocoyam, cassava and other crops such as maize, three-leaved yam (*ona*) and vegetable crop of wide varieties.Cocoyam and the rest were termed women crops. The women planted different species of cocoyam. For instance, while Abba women cultivated *edeopoto* and *edebuchi*, *edeeko* and *edeocha* were cultivated by women in Nimo, Eziowelle and Abagana.[17] Among these crops, yam was the only crop associated with men. Afigbo observes that, "Igbo society is patrilineal, at least for the most part. The relevance of this to our discussion is that yam, the most valued crop in Igbo land, is regarded as male, while cocoyam the next in importance, is considered to be female. This is most dramatically told in the legend on the origin of food crops."[18]

Thus in Umu-Owelle, while the men cultivated crops like yam, women grew crops like cocoyam, maize, cassava and vegetables. Onwuka Njoku also notes that "Other crops were regarded and, indeed, treated as inferior or women's crops, and their cultivation was subjected to the rhythm of yam cultivation".[19]Nwando Achebe expatiates on the above assertions. According to her,

> In the Igbo world, crops were of a gendered nature, and these encouraged categories of crops that were believed to be either male or female. Men principally farmed the male root crop yam, which was also considered to be the "King of crops "while women cultivatedfemale crops like cocoyam, beans, vegetable and later cassava. These so-called female crops, incidentally, made up the staple diet and supported the subsistence need of families.[20]

Umu-Owelle women planted subsidiary crops to yam such as *fiofio, okwuru, akidi, ogili, onugbu, egwusi, anyu, ukwa, jioko, unelu, arigbe, elimionu*and a host of other crops they required to ensure food security for their families at any given time, particularly during the farming period when the yam planting had been concluded and the farmer was

practically left with little or no yams for the family. Some very hard-working and ambitious Umu-Owelle women equally owned their own yam farms. Widows were very prominent in this practice. For instance, Mary Mgbankwo Okafor Ichele from Umuokpalabo kindred and Mgborie Igboanugo from Nneri kindred all in Amabo village of Abba and Mgbafor Igbonekwu from Akpu village in Abagana, among others, owned yam barns during the period under study. In fact, from the oral interview gathered, it was claimed that Mgborie Igboanugo had yam barns measuring about 70 feet by 180 feet.[21] The variety and size of crops available to the women determined the nature and character of the welfare of their families. By engaging in the production of a variety of crops, the women not only averted the incidence of over dependence on yam crop by family members, but equally ensured the availability of a well-balanced diet made up of tuber and vegetable crops rich in protein, vitamin and other nutrients, besides, it tended to enhance the economic capacity of the women. A woman producer of non-yam crops enjoyed the benefit of making bounteous harvest of some or particular crop at regular intervals. This simply meant that her family enjoyed variety of food stuffs regularly and had enough of the surplus for sale to make money to run other affairs of the family.

As noted above, the basic unit of labour in Umu-Owelle as in other parts of Igbo land was the family. Apart from this there were other sources of labour available to the women. For instance, there were co-operative labor force whereby labour could be provided by relatives of the women, friends and even members of the age grade. Examples of such women age grades includes Udoka age grades, Umuoyibo age grades, Umumma age grades, Echidime age grades and Irugo age grades.By the later part of the 19th century cum the early part of the 20th century migrant labours had commenced. Umu-Owelle women were part of this form of labour.[22]A variety of duties were involved in agricultural tasks. These ranged from bush clearing, mound making, crop planting, weeding, yam staking and crop harvesting.

However, in Umu-Owelle, certain feasts had to be performed before embarking on the planting and harvesting of crops. In Nimo, the feast of *Udo Ora* signified the commencement of the planting season while *Ede Oye* marked the harvesting season. In Abagana the feast of *Eli Okochi*

and *Alor Mmuo* marked the planting and harvesting seasons and in Abba and Eziowelle, the planting and harvesting season were marked with the feast of *Utookochi* and *Ede Eko* respectively. The yams and other food crops were planted and harvested after the feast of *Udo Ora* and *Ede Oye* and *Eli Okochi* and *Alor Mmuo* respectively. Before these feasts, anybody found planting or harvesting his or her crops would be said to be committing an offence against the ancestors and gods.[23]

Agriculture was practiced by Umu-Owelle women on subsistence basis and usually, the clearing of farm lands started around the months of November and December and continues to about the months of January and March known in Abba as *onwaayana* period. During these periods, unwanted trees were cut down. The grasses were then set on fire when dry. As in every other field of human endeavor, there was division of labour. The men did the tedious aspects of the work in the farm like clearing of bushes, planting the yams, staking and harvesting them. Planting starts with the onset of the first rainfall. The planting of yam starts in the month of April and May. Because of the rapidity of the growth of weeds, the farm was usually weeded two or three times by the women by the time the harvest was made sometimes between late July and August.[24] Onwuka Njoku described it thus "In most parts of the forest belt, women weeded the farms, usually not less than twice before the harvest."[25] Afigbo also stated that "the men cut the sticks and tended the yam vines, while the women did the weeding and the planting of cassava."[26]

Weeding was among the most tasking forms of labour. Women made use of small hoes for this exercise. Weeding took place a number of times to reduce the chances of farm crops competing and clamoring for available soil nutrients with wild weeds or grasses in the farm land. Women in Okpaliko and Ubulu village in Eziowelle were renowned for farming. These villages were the most populous in the communities. The implements used by Umu-Owelle women included machet for clearing. There were three types of hoes used by the women; the long handle hoe with a narrow blade known as *oguejietiubi* used for digging holes for planting, the short handle hoes called *obeleogu* used for bed making and for cultivating cassava and cocoyam and the much shorter hoe known and called by Eziowelle people as Ike *agwuagadi* used for

weeding and tilling of farm land.[27] There was also a spade-like stick known as *Mbazu* used by the women for digging out cocoyam in the course of harvest. Closely related to *Mbazu* was *Obii* which was used for holes, and of course, baskets and *Ukpa* which were used by women for carrying harvested crops and food stuffs.[28]

The prestige given to agriculture and the zeal to uphold the dignity of labour made the land to be very much sought after. Land was recognized as belonging to the people and each person had the right to use it to enable him make a living. Land in Umu-Owelle communities like in other Igbo areas east of the Niger was not owned by an individual but was collectively owned. Land was referred as the ancestors and therefore could not be treated with indemnity. According to P.A Talbolt, throughout the whole of southern Nigeria "Land" is in theory at communal and belong to the people generally.[29] E.A Ayandele, concluded that there is no group that have ownership rights over land or what the people call *Ulo* and during the farming period, the first son of the family known as Okpara had the malleable rights to allocate the farmlands to members of the family. He is the successor, had the rights to farm on it but had no right to sell it without the knowledge and consent of other members of the family.[30] Women had no direct access to the land except through their husbands, while the widows got access to the land through their male children.[31] However, in a situation where the land is not enough, the Umu-owelle men and women migrate to neighboring towns as migrant wage labourers. For instance, Abba women engaged in wage labour but this was not so common with the other communities. Abba women went to places such as Nteje, Ukwulu and Umunya. Umu-Owelle women conveyed harvested crops from the farmstead to the homestead where they were stored and preserved in the barn for the next planting season. It is necessary to mention here that although the women for some obvious reasons undertook the above agricultural duties, these tasks were never exclusive to them. Some men could also be involved in such duties.[32]

Crop planting was another form of labour undertaken by the women. Apart from yam planting undertaken by men and sometimes assisted by their wife or wives, planting of other crops were mostly undertaken by the women folk. Apart from the yam crop which was harvested by men,

Umu-Owelle women undertook the harvesting of other farm crops. These crops were stored at various corners within and outside the woman's hut, while the men harvested yams and stacked them in the yam barn. Also, in Umu-Owelle as in other areas of Igboland, by custom, the men owned most of the palm trees and it was the men who cut the fruits when they were ripe, the women plucked the fruits of the stalks, pounded these in the mortar and extracted the oil used for family consumption while the surplus was sold in the market to generate revenue. Women in Amabo village in Abba and Okpaliko and Ubulu village in Eziowelle were noted for palm oil production as a result of their vast land.[33]

Animal husbandry was another aspect of agriculture Umu-Owelle women engaged in. Animals domesticated included dwarf humpless cows, goats, sheep, pigs, dogs and birds. Livestock constituted one of the major sources of protein for the people. They developed considerable skill in animal husbandry. The small poultry huts had wood ash dumped into it to provide warmth and sanitation for the birds. Goats were kept in one corner of the compound and fed with fodder. Livestock was maintained, apart from grazing on the scanty grass of the compounds, by fodder provided by the *ogbu* tree which has heavy moist foliage, and other forest foliage which were collected from the forest, the animals were taken to the forest to graze. The *Ogbu* tree was specially cultivated for the purpose. Some women reared these to increase their revenue by selling the livestock in the market in addition to the benefit of providing their households with a more diverse diet through the consumption of meat and eggs.[34]

Colonial and Post-Independence Agriculture
As in pre-colonial times, so also in the colonial period, agriculture remained the backbone of Umu-Owelle economy. The Botanical Gardens, and the Department of Agriculture established by the colonial government, concerned themselves with experimentation in the growing of cash crops but no record has yet come to light that the government showed any interest in the improvement of yam, cassava and cocoyam cultivation, either through the introduction of better species, or through designing more efficient tools.[35] The continued emphasis on cash crops further relegated food security and subsistence production to the back

burners of the government`s agrarian development policy. The gender bias in official policy remained as women were left out of the agricultural development schemes. The implicit assumption that the farmer was male led to the exclusion of women from participating in the new improvement schemes and access to the new agricultural technology.[36] The testimony of Pius Ezedinachi summarizes the understanding of the obvious neglect which Umu-owelle women faced thus;

> *In 1945, Awka Divisional Administration established nurseries for the supply of oil palm, citrus and other economic plants to male farmers, and most of the experiments concluded on the use of chemical fertilizers were on cash crops. However, such inorganic fertilizers were sometimes hardly made available to farmers. For most part, the farmers continued to make use of compost manure.[37]*

The limiting of women`s role in agriculture and agro-commerce cannot be traced to any lack of entrepreneurial skills. Rather it was the result of the structural arrangement introduced by the colonial administration, which denied women access to capital/credit, but offered men opportunities for capital accumulation.[38] An informant recalled that all through the first Republic, food cultivation in Umu-Owelle as in other parts of Igbo land was carried out on traditional lines. The traditional method of maintaining soil fertility through long fallow periods was continued. It was only in the schools that attempts were made to adopt the use of compost manure. Hence, compost pits were dug and left for some time after which the contents were used on the farms. By then chemical fertilizer was still not popular. As Umu-Owelle women continued to produce most of the food crops, their reduced returns from agriculture forced many to diversify to non-production sectors such as trade.[39]

In the post-colonial era, the authorities tried to match their words with action. But the conceptual basis of the government programmes were often doubtful and the results of the programmes often less than sustainable, characterized by ambitious programmes, superfluous projections but minimal deeds, and sectoral neglect.[40] The continued

neglect of women farmers and emphasis on cash crops in the post-independence period is understandable because the indigenous bureaucrats were the products of the colonial system.[41] Nevertheless, it was to the credit of the pre-civil war Eastern Nigeria regional government that the use of chemical fertilizer became popular. The fertilizer campaign was also carried out through the farmers` co-operatives. An informant, Chris Obiefuna from Uruzo kindred in Ifiteani village in Nimo admitted seeing fertilizer first in 1962/63.[42] Members of the Young Farmer's Club exclusively male were given fertilizers to distribute to their parents and other farmers in their localities. But the real acceptance of the product, he said came only after the civil war.

Women and Agriculture in a Challenging War-Time Economy, 1966-1975

The political crisis in 1966 created an economic crisis for the Igbo as many migrants returned to Igboland. The civil war disrupted the production and supply mechanisms on which the food security of the whole of Igboland depended. The crisis resulted in higher food prices in 1966. Nonetheless, farming has always been an important activity of women in pre-war years. With the outbreak of the war however, farming activities became intensified as farming was dominated by women. Not surprising, the cream of the communities' labour force had been conscripted to either fight in the Biafran army or dig trenches. Those who evaded conscription found it even more risky farming. Consequently, farming became the responsibility of women and faced with the stark reality of famine and starvation, women took up the challenge of farming in full force.[43]

Prior to the war, men cultivated crops like yam while the women cultivated crops like cocoyam and vegetables. However, as the war progressed, able bodied young men joined the army and those who remained went into hiding for fear of conscription. Women had to clear the bush, made mounds, planted yam seedlings, staked, weeded and harvested the yam. Some women even had yam barns during this period. Women coped with this heavy task by engaging the labour of their children who were not up to the age of conscription and every available land was cultivated. Sometimes, they engaged the services of

war refugees and in return for their troubles, the refugees were given food items or second hand clothes.[44]

Also, before the outbreak of the war in 1967, it was a solely responsibility of men to harvest palm fruits not only in Umu-owelle but also in Igboland in general.By custom most of the palm trees belonged to the men who also cut the fruits when they were ripe.[45]However, as the war progressed and men were at the front fighting or hiding to avoid conscription, the women had no option left for them than to harvest the palm fruits especially from the short stem species. For instance, Cecilia Ezedinachi from Ifiteani village and EzinneOkoye from Etiti village both in Nimo who were then teenage girls harvested palm fruits during the period under study.[46] Cassava was practically the most cultivated crop because its stem was cheap to acquire and required less tending to be productive, unlike yam and coco yam. An informant alluded to this thus, "We did not know dry or wet season. When we harvestedCassava, the stem was replanted immediately."[47]

It was during the war that a type of cassava disease known as ota-akpu (cassava eater) was known.[39]Women in order to prevent their crops from being destroyed by this disease resorted to harvesting their cassava even when it was not matured. Fear of their crops being stolen also made the women harvest their crops prematurely.[49] Farming was hazardous, as insecurity made it difficult to farm. Time and again, farmers took cover to avoid air raid, bombing and shelling from the federal army while in the farm. The near ubiquity of the fear of air raid was largely an anathema to farming as the output was adversely affected.[50] Food scarcity was caused by the fact that women were afraid and so could not concentrate to plant and tend crops. This was because being afraid of Federal troops they kept moving from one hideout to the other. Those who attempted to farm in their hiding places were forced to abandon the project due to insecurity and other problems.[51] Many women began to tend to their farms early in the morning or late in the evening when the possibility of air raids was reduced. [52]

Umu-owelle women supplemented the intake of protein by fishing from the streams. The fact that Umu-owelle had a good number of streams such as *Ogilisi, Mkpukpa, Ogbujilekwe* was an advantage. However, it is instructive to note that this source of protein proved insufficient as

the population increased mainly as a result of increased number of refugees.[53]

The war brought economic strangulation as agriculture the mainstay of Umu-owelle economy indulged in by mostly women was abandoned in Umu-owelle communities of Abagana and Abba as the war shifted to these communities. In addition to that, was the soil infertility as a result of land mines planted in the course of the war.[54] This led to scarcity of food as hunger and impoverishment reigned. Even in Umu-owelle communities of Nimo and Eziowelle which did not come under federal invasion, subsistence farming was no longer sufficient to sustain the teeming population. The volatile food situation in Umu-owelle was largely responsible for several cases of immune-compromising sicknesses like kwashiorkor, anaemia and marasmus.[55] The reasons are not far-fetched. Prior to the civil war, though Umu-owelle communities reared a number of livestock like goat, sheep and poultry, and was self-sufficient in tubers, it was not self-sufficient in certain other food, much of the beans, groundnut, onions, rice and beef consumed came from outside the communities from the northern Nigeria.[56]

The reduction in supplies, especially from the North as a result of the crisis resulted in shortages of meat and onions. [57] The situation was not peculiar to Umu-owelle as it was true of the whole of Biafra. Nigerian government realized this and therefore adopted a predatory strategy of economic blockade and starvation.[57] Had the population of Umu-owelle remained `stable' or at most increased a little, it would have been able to live through the war without losing many lives to malnutrition. But that was not to be as the influx of refugees contributed to unleash food crisis. In essence, the women were unexpectedly and unpreparedly challenged with the burden of providing food for its citizens both resident and returnees, and refugees. To survive this challenges, women began to prepare food with consumable eclecticism. Where the `conventional' foodstuffs were lacking they improvised. Presumably inedible vegetables, once they were soft and tender, became increasingly a source of vegetable vitamin.

Domestic animals were killed and eaten by the occupation soldiers and civilians that remained with them after the communities had been invaded and the livestock that remained were scattered and

identification of their owners became a big problem. Meat was scarce as goats and fowls were stolen and killed by both Biafran and Nigerian soldiers and refugees and families who had livestock and planned to use it as a source of income and food were deprived of them. Refugees harvested crops that were not ready. This was the beginning of serious de-agrarian economy for many peasant farmers. Many never recovered from their losses.[59]This had a devastating effect on household food security which threatened both livelihood and socio-economic stability. Umu-owelle women like their counterparts in other areas in Biafran enclave organized food production campaigns and supported the land army scheme. The land army scheme during the war era was aimed at producing more food within Biafran territories that were not directly affected by the war.[60] The women were employed in land army to work on government farms.

At the end of the war in 1970, the women were not discouraged from expanding their farms as they availed themselves of the peaceful opportunity of the post-war periodwhich is a clear testimony of the value of agriculture to the farming population. Hence a number of positive impacts were recorded. Some of these impacts included a remarkable increase in the quantity of basic food stuff such as yam, cassava, corn produced per annum, availability of food stuff and for the first time the rural citizenry, especially the farmers were made to imbibe the culture of self-reliance.[61]According to Adaeze Otiji, "I resorted to farming at Abba during the war when my husband was conscripted by the Biafra soldiers. At the end of the war, I worked hard to raise it to medium scale farming".[62]

CONCLUSION

In the agricultural sector of the economy, Umu-owelle women have made impact in food crop production, processing, distribution and animal husbandry. In the post-civil war, greater number of Umu-Owelle women ventured into agriculture. There were enough hands to work especially in the field of agriculture. Agriculture became a medium and to an extent large scale and money yielding venture as the soil fertility improved in the process.

The dynamics in food security as shown by Umu-Owelle women clearly shows the noble and indispensable roles of the women in the

growth of the Umu-Owelle economy and the Igbo economy in general. In virtually every aspect of the agricultural sector, Umu-Owelle women played some dynamic roles in nurturing and developing the resources and economic potentials of Umu-Owelle to enviable heights. The production process of the economy witnessed steady and remarkable growth under the pivotal strength of the women folk.They displayed enormous organizational expertise which ensured food security for their households by devising strategies of survival via engagement in agriculture.

Notwithstanding the tragic consequences of the war, it is instructive to note that the war revealed the inate abilities of women in challenging situations. It offered an opportunity for women to prove their ability and proficiency to adapt to difficult conditions. In fact, it was the war which exposed the proficiency and ingenuity in the women. It made people to realize that women were capable of changing the society and such changes can be seen as reflected in the empowerment of women. They took place, however, in the context of challenging economy all of which strongly impacted on women's lives as well as on the whole communities. The women were challenged by the circumstances of the war-time and immediate post-war period and they responded to them by engaging in agriculture to ensure food security for their families even in the face of the aftermath of devastation, deprivation and poverty that pre-dominated the period.

Thus, measures that will enlighten women`s burden such as cooperative groups/associations should be re-organized and targeted in ensuring that necessary inputs such as fertilizer, labour saving devices such as tractor hiring services, credit facilities, good seeds, weed and pest control facilities are channeled to the women farmers directly through their associations. This will go a long way in enhancing women participation in agricultural productivity not only in Umu-Owelle but also in other parts of Igbo land and beyond.

In conclusion, this premise is hinged on the fact that there shall be no meaningful development of any society where development indices are gender stereo-typed. This is because for genuine overall development to be attained, there is need for both men and women to complement each other as each has specific role to play.

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HIGHWAY BANDITRY IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIA: AN EXPOSITORY STUDY

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Abstract

This paper examined how very few parts of Nigeria are exempted from the menace of highway banditry, robbery and other violent acts. No

fewer than 133 highways across the six-geopolitical zones in Nigeria have been identified as major flash points for banditry, kidnapping and other related vices. If one is travelling on some major highways in Nigeria, especially at night, chances are that one may be robbed, abducted, maimed or even killed by armed bandits. It is unfortunate that the bandits or highway marauders are most of the time armed with sophisticated weapons while sometimes dressed on police or army uniforms. The paper put forward that in the recent history of Nigeria, the major highways has become a place where bandits and killer herdsmen kill and maim commuters. The paper also outlines major hotspots of banditry in Nigeria, and also discusses how this ugly trend has become worrisome and made highway roads unsafe for commuters. The paper also discusses strategies to curb highway banditry in Nigeria. The study adopted the descriptive methodology. It relied on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include oral information and testimonies. Newspapers and magazine reports were also used in conjunction with official records in government publications. Secondary sources include relevant books. The researcher also made use of direct observation method. All the information so gathered were subjected to historical evaluations.

Key Words: Banditry, Highway, Insecurity, Kidnapping, Police.

INTRODUCTION

Travelling through the major highways across the six-geopolitical zones in Nigeria could be an experience that offers passengers the rare opportunity to have a glimpse of very beautiful and natural scenery. Unfortunately, in the face of growing insecurity caused by highway armed bandits, robbers and kidnappers, travelling experience is worrisome. It could be recalled that not quite long ago, some tribal militias killed some innocent commuters on a road in Taraba State. Nigeria's recent history is replete with gory tales of highway horror and death as alleged armed herdsmen and robbers, abduct, rob and murder travelers. For example, in the Middle Belt region, along Benue and Taraba States, the major highway from Sankara axis comprising three Local Government Areas (LGAs) Katsina/Ala, Ukum and Logo LGAs have had to contend with issues of highway banditry, which occur on the over 150km stretch of Katsina/Ala – Wukari road linking Benue and

Taraba states, including some roads linking the hinter lands in the states. Also, Wukari – Takum and Wukari Ibbi roads in Taraba state are notorious for armed banditry and kidnapping. Likewise, other dangerous spots of highway banditry and robbery in the North could be located in major roads along Katsina, Borno, Kaduna, Nassarawa and Zamfara states.

In the South West region, there are also dangerous spots of highway robbery and banditry along major roads in Osun, Ondo Ogun, Ekiti, Oyo, Lagos and Edo states; they are notorious for kidnapping. In the core Niger Delta region, highway banditry is more pronounced on East-West road axis and Ode Bride axis. Likewise, in the South East region, major roads from Ebonyi Enugu, Imo, Abia and Anambra states, there are hotspots for kidnapping and armed robbery. Highway banditry across the six geopolitical zones of Nigeria is horrifying which could leave the travelers with bitter tales to narrate, if they are lucky enough to escape alive to tell their stories. Highway banditry connote the vices wickedly performed by gangster gunmen on the major roads as hijackers and road marauders made up of ethnic militias, ruffians and robbers that deprive commuters of their property and life. This roving brigandage and banditry along the Nigerian highways are perpetuated desperate out laws and men of the underworld that rob commuters of their property by force. This issue of highway banditry is worrisome and a serious growing security challenge in Nigeria that the government and the security agencies need to address, before Nigeria becomes a lawless country that do not promote ease of doing business to both national and foreign interests. It is obvious that if armed herdsmen, robbers and bandits abduct, rob and murder travelers on the major highways in Nigeria, while the government and security agencies look the other way, it would give the country a bad name and image, and could equally discourage potential investors to come and invest in the Nigerian economy.

Overview of the Major Flash Points for Highway Banditry in Contemporary Nigeria
In the recent history of Nigeria, no fewer than 133 highways across the six geo-political zones in the country have been identified as major hotspots and flashpoints for banditry, kidnapping and allied criminal

vices (Amaize and Dayo, 2019). Travelling on these roads at night without security may be dangerous because chances are that one may be robbed, abducted, maimed or even killed. In recent time, there is no week that people do not have bad experiences on these major highways in the hands of suspected herdsmen, armed robbers, kidnappers or ritualists. Investigation by Amaize and Dayo (2019) revealed about 11 spots across five states in the South East region, while 41 hot beds were found to exist in the South West geo-political zone. In the Nigeria Delta region, 28 major dangerous spots of highway robbery were taken note of. In the North West zone 20 dangerous roads and spots were noted where armed bandit deprive travellers of their belongings. Likewise in the North central geo-political zone, no fewer than 33 volatile roads experience highway terror and banditry. In the North east region under the menace of Boko Haram terrorists, the major roads are notorious for banditry and kidnapping.

Most of these flash point of highway robbery and banditry occurrence across the six geo-political zones of Nigeria show that there is inadequate security agents in these hotspots to prevent and check highway robbery. It is unfortunate to note that security personnels arrive robbery scene after suspected criminals must have concluded their crime; as if the robbery act was masterminded between the security agents and the bandits. However, a further breakdown of highway banditry in Northern Nigeria parts accusing finger to the following groups: Boko Haram, killer herdsmen, banditry, kidnappers, ritualists and rapists. In Katsina state, some major roads are now deserted for fear of attacks by armed bandits and kidnappers. Such roads include Jibia, Gurbi, Kaura Namoda, Dutsinma, Kankara, Sheme, Faskari, Musawa, Matazu, Charandi – Kaakia, Kusada, Dandume, Sabuwa, Sheme, Kankara and Dutsinma. Funtua highway roads are avoided by many motorists between 6pm and 6am. Likewise the major highway roads from Katsina and Zamfara states are most dreadful (Amaize E. and Dayoj, 2019)

Likewise in Kaduna State, virtually all the sections of the Kaduna/Abuja Express roads are being terrorized by bandits and kidnappers. Other roads that are dreadful are Bienin Gwazi-Kaduna Road; Kaduna – Saminaka Jos Road, Kaduna – Kachia Road; Kagarko

– Jere Road; Birnin Gwari – Kagara – Tegina Road; Sarkin Power – Birnin Gwari Road and Minna Lambata – Diko – Kaduna axis. In Nassarawa State, trips on the following roads are often done with tight security, such as, Shendam Road, Obi/Keena/Awe Road, Akwanga/Keffi Road, Keffi/Nasarawa Toto – Gadabuke Road, and Akwanga/Abuja Road. (Amaize E and Dayo, J. 2019).

In Niger State, the roads identified as hotspot of kidnappers and bandits include: Suleja – Lambata, Bida Road; and Roads in Kushaka, Kurebe, Pandagazi, Gidigori, Kusheri, Koregi, Alawa, Kwaki, Bataro, Chububa, Shafa, Kauri, Zazzaga in Rafi LGA. In Zamfara State, highway roads under the siege of marauders and bandits include: Gusau – Magani – Dansadau, Kuceri – Danjibga-Keta- Wanke, Kaura-Namoda-Moriki-Shinkafi, Zurmi Jibia – Katsina, and Talata Mafara / Jsafe Roads. In Sokoto State, Roads in Issa and Rabah LGA are dangerous as a result of banditry and robbery. In the Middle Belt region, especially. In Benue and Taraba States, the Sankera axis comprising three LGAs, Kastina Ala, Ukum and Logo LGAS, are hotbed for highways Marrauders and bandits. (Amaize E and Dayo J, 2019).

In the South East geo-political zone, highway road under the threat of armed bandits include: Enugu State axis – Enugu – Ugwogo – Nsukka Road, Nsukka – Adani – Onitsha Road, 9th Mile – Nsukka – Makurdi Road; Enugu – Onitsha Express Road, particularly at Ugwu-Onyeama valley, and Enugu Portharcourt Road. Many of these roads have lonely hotspot, bushes and isolated forest environments where kidnappers enslave their victims, to demand ransom from their relations. It is important to note that many arrests of members of different kidnap gangs identified as "Malaysia Boys" and "Ndi Ishiawo" have been made in these areas. Likewise, suspected herdsmen were also said to have been responsible for the cases at Ugwu-Onyeama along Enugu-Onitsha Road. Other roads in the South-East geo-political zone where kidnappers often operate are in the Ebonyi State axis, which include, Enugu-Abakaliki Expressway; Abakaliki-Afikpo Expressway; Amasiri-Okigwe Expressway; Ivo-Isu Edda Road and some roads linking the interiors in the state.

The Challenge and Menace of Highway Banditry
Global studies have confirmed these realities even though the Nigerian

leadership continues to live in denial. The 2019 global Peace Index puts Nigeria at 148, and indicates that a country with such a positive peace deficit provides fertile ground for increased militarization, domestic conflict and insecurity, which include banditry, terrorism and kidnapping. Peace cannot reign without justice. Unfortunately, our reality today in Nigeria is that injustice is reigning over and above all else. These are the causes of widespread menace of highways banditry and kidnapping in contemporary Nigeria. Some government officials like Vice President Osibanjo (2019) downplayed kidnapping and its allied vices on Nigeria because the government is too far away from the people. Moreso, top government officials travel in convoy with security escorts. Government officials are adviced to travel by road unaccompanied by escorts like other Nigerians to test if kidnapping is real. (Mike Ozekhome, 2019).

Highway kidnapping and banditry in Nigeria is a heart touching tale that is worrisome. Dr. Adole Omole (2019) a senior Lecturer at Baze university, Abuja, narrate s his traumatic experience after he was captured by some gunmen on the highway around Ajaokuta, while travelling from Abuja to his village in Benue state. The university don claims he spent four days in the kidnapper's den before he was released, after his family paid N2million ransom to the kidnappers. While Dr. Adoyi Omale (2019) was in the kidnapper's den, the kidnappers said that the difference between them and security operatives was that while they were ready to die, security people were not. They accused him and others of eating their cows and getting fat to their detriment. Why many people engage in kidnapping is to get rich quick; their motive is criminality and economic factor. Likewise, Shinfika (2019) said his travail with kidnappers started when he was abducted by a 20 man gang on the road from Shinfida to neighboring Gurbin Baure on a market day as he went to sell his farm produce; 12 bags of sweet potatoes. The gang later sold him Shinfika for N250,000 to another group. Before he was released after serious torture, N1 million ransom was paid by his relatives. They counted the money to ensure it was complete before he was freed.

Likewise, three members of Urhobo Traditional Council, amongst who were Chief Lagos, Chief Johnson Ojakovo, Omonigho Akpofure and

Chief Julius Owanrieta, said they were kidnapped by suspected herdsmen between Ofosu and Ugbogi town along Ore-Benin Expressway on Monday, April 8, 2019. They were said to be traveling to Delta state to attend a meeting with Ukoko Rivie of Urhoboland at Olomu in Ughelli South LGA, when the incident occurred. The Chiefs were grateful to the Ohworode of Olomu Kingdom for acting urgently which led to their release; as he met the demands of the kidnappers by payment of the ransom. (Oseji, 2019)

Highway kidnapping in Nigeria makes family relations to undergo psychological trauma or human brutal pain. It is a sin that causes death, suffering and frustration to many families. Highway banditry disrupts economic activities and scares away national and foreign investors in Nigeria. Highway banditry is an illegitimate business that transfers the wealth of good people into the hands of criminals. It derails and relegates the Nigerian economy, into deplorable, as hardworking people are frightened to invest in the economy. Highway banditry and kidnapping are terror and oppressive based. It makes criminals to exploit the rich. It is an illegal business that brings shame and ill-gotten money that attracts curses to many families in Nigeria. Highway banditry and kidnapping are scandals that give Nigerians bad name and reputation abroad. During offensives launched by the Joint Military Task Force (JTF) in its bid to rid the highway roads of those it described as road bandits and kidnappers, such exercises usually results in the killing of innocent citizens; the outcome is often worrisome to the Nigerian state.

Strategies to avoid Highway Banditry in Contemporary Nigeria
This paper outlines strategies and tips to avoid being a victim of kidnappers and bandits, which include:

- A traveler should have a travel plan or route plan to make sure he avoid the hotspots if it is possible.
- A traveler should ensure that there is no stopping on the way or at any crowd incident spot which he should come across to avoid kidnappers and bandits, (Labo, 2019)
- If a traveler is travelling with kids, he should get all the basic needs like water, sweet, biscuit at home before the journey to avoid unnecessary stopping at hotspots of kidnappers.

- A traveler's car or vehicle windows and doors must at all times be wound up and watch out for vehicles that may be trailing behind. If you notice any, slow and stop at any safe haven or police check points. When the vehicle passes you, you could continue your journey, but if you want to draw the police attention you should do so immediately to play safe from kidnappers.
- A traveler should avoid lonely routes or dry routes. This occurs when ones vehicle appears to be the only vehicle on the road, hence, one may have to be very suspicious of possible trouble on the highway.
- A traveler should avoid using expensive cars when travelling along hotspots and routes so that you do not attract kidnappers and bandits, since they are after high profile people without adequate security to protect them.
- A traveler should avoid making a particular route a routine; always look for alternative routes as your instinct directs you, by the grace of God.
- A traveler should avoid very early or late movements, for example, starting a trip by 4am and coming back late by 11pm or more, can be dangerous.
- A traveler should keep information about his trips confidential and personal so that they can avoid kidnappers and bandits. (Labo, 2019)
- A trekker should always walk by foot with a partner and instinctively alert across hotspot axis to avoid bandits on the highways.
- A trekker should never be distracted by headphones, telephones or others, if at high risk areas. To ensure adequate alertness.
- A traveller should always exercise caution when entering or leaving ones car in high risk areas. Keep your spare keys away to avoid bandits.
- For a traveler whose vehicle develops faults or has flat tyre, it is advisable to keep moving until one gets to a safe place to avoid kidnappers or bandits. (Labo, 2019).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Nigerian Police and Army should deploy drones in the hotspots of

highway kidnappers and robbers to fish out bandits terrorizing the nation's highways. The government and the security agencies must fish out the financiers of highways banditry and kidnapping across the six-geopolitical zones of Nigeria. Look at the case of suspected kingpin Evans, his arrest has significantly reduced the cases of kidnapping in the Lagos – Ibadan axis. Some wealthy people maybe behind this banditry in Kaduna, Kogi, Kaduna and Zamfara roads. Security agencies must tackle the brains behind this criminal activities and neutralize them. Moreso, the hot spots that are notorious for kidnapping should be subjected to serious air and road surveillance. Furthermore, the government has to curb the challenge of unemployment of the youths in the country so that there won't be ready supply of foot soldiers to kidnappers and bandits on Nigerian highways.

Furthermore, the government should check the flow of illicit weapons into the hands of kidnappers and bandits. Nigerian youths should be careful to stop the menace of highways banditry and kidnapping. These social vices are product of the society, so what gave rise to these ills should be corrected. The Nigerian state must embrace the value of justice and fairness in the true sense for real peace, progress and development. Bad portions of the roads should be repaired so as not serve as functional extortion sites for criminals. This paper has come forth with the following recommendations to curb highway banditry in contemporary Nigeria, which include:

Highway banditry is now everywhere in contemporary Nigeria and it is the responsibility of the government and its security agencies to put an end to it. In the hierarchy of needs, apart from food and shelter, the next is security. If any government cannot protect travelers on the highway, it means the government and the security agencies are not doing their job. Government at all levels should protect men and women travelling from one geo-political zone to the other in the country for their business before talking about industrialization and the need to attract foreign investors in the country. Commuters are lamenting everyday on Nigeria's highways because of insecurity. The government and the security agencies need to address this problem. Federal government should deploy drones, CCTVs in forest and highways. This technology will boost security of life and properties in each geo-political zones; it

will help boost the morale of troops engaged in various assignments across the highways in the country.

The issue of highway banditry in Nigeria is really worrisome. The government should also equip and empower community neighbourhood vigilante groups in various communities to help police to fight highways banditry. This is because whenever highway robbery is on-going and the police are told, they either claim not to have fuel or to be short of personnel. Equipping the community vigilante would help the police to do their job. (Agbo, 2019). Thus, the government should reinvigorate the local vigilante groups because they know all the nooks and crannies of the communities better than the Police.

Nigeria's population is growing geometrically, instead of the government to adequately plan, it folded its arms. The effect of this growing population is unemployment, that commenced in the early 1980s as graduates end up not getting jobs. It is these unemployed youths that are engaged on highway banditry most often. The government and the private sector should create employments opportunities to engage the restive youths that are highway bandits. A hungry man is an angry man. Nigeria needs a more proactive solution to fight insecurity. In other climes, governments pay the unemployed to prevent them from embracing crime. The government should make deliberate and workable policies on entrepreneurship and industrialization which the youths should key into, this will help reduce highway crime.

Responsibility for youth engagement should not be the exclusive problem of the government. People between the ages of 13 and 40 should show the zeal to work, everybody want cheap money in Nigeria. Many youths are no longer interested in working and this is responsible for the mass drift into politics, kidnapping, robbery, ritual and criminality. Youths in Nigeria should be encouraged to embrace functional education, entrepreneurship and economic self reliance. It would help to curb highways banditry to a great extent.

Armed banditry on the highways across the six-geopolitical zones in Nigeria justify the calls for the creation of state police. There are many advantages of state policing, which is also known as community

policing in some societies. A Policeman is supposed to know the nooks and crannies of the society where he is engaged. If you bring someone from Kaduna or Kano, who doesn't know Enugu – Onitsha Express Road terrain or even speak Igbo language, policing effectively would be difficult for such a person. In the Western world, the police do not have settlements. They live among the people and they know who the bandits are. How can officers, who do not live in an area, know the terrain of the community they are policing? Although some people are of the opinion that governors may abuse their usage, especially for election purposes, but the advantages of state policing outweigh the disadvantages (Dayo, 2019).

Armed banditry on Nigerian highways in recent times is worrisome. Commuters needs the support of the government and law enforcement agents to defend themselves. Self defence should be well coordinated by commuters to protect their lives and properties from highways robbers and kidnappers. There is need for all hands to be on deck to tackle insecurity in Nigeria; as road marauders have sent shivers down the spine of travelers; many have been victims of kidnapping, rape and banditry. The citizenry should be ready to fight back through self defence approach. If the law enforcement agents are reluctant to protect them.

Traditional rulers also need financial support and constitutional powers to assist the police to fight armed bandits on the highways. Most of the criminals that are engaged on highway banditry live in the communities surrounding the highways. They are neither ghost nor spirits. It will only take concerted community efforts to flush armed bandit out, if the traditional rulers should be empowered by the law to do this in the real sense. For example, in Akure, it took the initiative of organizing some youths through the traditional ruler, who worked under the supervision of the Nigerian police to stem the tide of armed banditry. They were funded for logistics throughout the exercise. Traditional rulers are better positioned in curbing crime but there should be a review of the system in order to give them specific role. (Dayo, 2019).

The police and other allied security agencies should step up the zeal to arrest armed robbers, kidnappers, cattle rustlers on Nigerian highways. For example, the Adamawa State Commissioner of Police, Mr. Audu

Adamu Madaki's approach of "Operation Puff Adder" to fight highway bandits is the right action in the right direction. It yielded wonderful road check of crime in Adamawa state; as the police command nabbed 45 of the robbers and kidnappers in the State. Moreover, the police clamped down on some flashpoints and arrested suspected armed robbers on Demsa/Numan Road and Malgero in Song Local Government Area. The police also recovered arms from the highways robbers. Furthermore, a coordinated Anti-kidnapping unit squad stands in a better platform to fight kidnappers in Nigeria. With the assistance of the police intelligence and SARS operatives. If security agencies are serious they can raid hideout of robbers and kidnappers as well as recovery weapons and ammunition. This will go a long way to reduce armed bandits in Nigeria. (Madaki, 2019).

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POLITICAL IDEAS OF SAMIR AMIN AND THE THIRD WORLD NATIONS

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Abstract
The evil of capitalism which spreads and covers the globe like the darkness covers the sky has been a nightmare for developing nation states to develop on their own, using the tools available to them to attain development. Samir Amin came as a child of circumstance during this period and saw Capitalism in its true colour of exploitation of Third World countries' resources which eventually led to

underdevelopment. As a Dependency Theory proponent,he chose capitalism as a barometer forunderstanding ofotherrelated concepts such as imperialism andglobalisationto explain better, the concept of underdevelopment in developing countries, especially in Africa. The paper intends to glean for the main political ideologies of Samir Amin and his theoretical position of the mode of development in Third World nations.Therefore, ourfindings proved that dependency theorists position on third world nations development is that the current national, international economic and political orders are the direct causes of underdevelopment in developing nations.They offered a straightjacket proposition for systematic change from the Western developmental prescriptions for third world nations to solve the problems. Hence, they suggested radical, abrupt, non-linear, and fundamental change.The paper amply anchored on secondary data predicated on content analysis.

Key Words: Capitalism, Delinking, Dependency, Globalisation, Third World Nations

INTRODUCTION

Development of Third World nations has been a nebulous and illusive concept that has generated efflorescence of theories from many scholars. Such theories seek to question the historical root and the factors that led to underdevelopment of third World nations. Consequently, the theories maintained the escape root from historical analysis and evaded to discourses of related concepts that propelled development crisis in the third World nations. It was on this pedestal, Samir Amin telescopically viewed capitalism as an exploitative machinery used by the developed nations to sponsor underdevelopment in third World nations. Just like other underdevelopment scholars like Andre GunderFrank, Cardoso, Sunkel, Walter Rooney among others. Amin chose capitalism as a barometer for understanding of other related concepts such as imperialism, globalisation, delinking and distortion to explain better, the concept of underdevelopment in developing countries, especially in Africa. Therefore, the paper is centred on the main ideologies of Samir Amin and his theoretical position of the mode

of development in third World nations. Hence, the paper is anchored on Dependency theory which was one of the underdevelopment theories which gained currency after the Second World War.

Weighing Amin's ideologies and philosophyside by side withthe framework of World Scale, we can therefore submit that he was able to influence many successive waves of issues seeking to explain the post-colonial crisis in Africa development, the destructive effects of capitalism, imperialism and globalisation. He recommends that the feasible panacea to development crisis in third World nations is to do away with the dictates of capitalist countries in form of delinking from the on-going realities trend ofglobalisation and cling to the building of internal industrial projects and attempted diplomatic isolation with the West, such that governance is placed at advantageous position for the wellbeing of the masses.

Background to Samir's Early Life
The philosopher, Samir Amin was born on September 3, 1931 in Cairo, his father was an Egyptian and his mother, a French, both were medical doctors. He spent most of his youthful life at Port Said where he attended a French high school and graduated in 1947. He proceeded to study in Parisfrom 1947 to 1957 from where he baggedDiploma in political Science before graduating in Statistics and Economics.After arriving in Paris, he joined the French Communist Party(PCF), he stayed away from Soviet Marxism and associated with Maoist circles , he did publish a book titled " ETUDIANTS Anti-colonialists"which he co-author with other students. He presented his thesis, which was originally titled "the Origins of Underdevelopment-CapitalistAccumulation on a World scale," including other work titled "The structural effects of the international integration of precapitalist economies." A theoretical study of the mechanism which creates underdevelopment economies in 1957 under the supervision of Francois Perroux and others.

After finishing his thesis, Samir was back at Cairo where he worked from 1957 to 1960 as a research officer for the government, at the "Institution for EconomicsManagement". He left for the post of an adviser to the Ministry of Planning in Bamako (Mali) from 1960 to 1963. He was offered a fellowship at the InstituteAfricain de

DeveloppmentEconomique et de Planification (IDEPO) until 1970. He worked there, as well as in the status of a professor at the University of Poitiers, Dakar and Paris. In 1970 he became director of IDEPO,which he managed until 1980. In 1980 he left and became a director ofthe Third World Forum in Dakar Amady (2007). At the age of 86 and having written over 30 books and articles, his understanding of the global capitalist system and its changing historical nature continues to offer significant analysis in the field of critical thinking even after his death in Paris on 12th August, 2018.

Discourses on Samir Amin Ideologies:
Dependency Theory
Dependency theory came up as a result of reactions to ModernisationTheory and free trade policies which came from the West in the 1960s and 1970s in Latin America. Modernisation theory claimed that under-developed countries were backward due to some cultural characteristics or lack of adherence to the stages of growth proposed by them. Dependency theory rejected these assertions to development and criticised its failure to account for the importance of the role of global economic and political structures. Samir Amin was one of Dependency theorists who argued that:

"beyond the end of colonialism, the value transfers of profits have continued to flow from underdeveloped countries like Africa to Europe. It means the core countries (Europe) continue to benefit from the extraction of wealth from the peripheral nations (Africa). Due to this, continued exploitation of less developed nations is witnessed rather than only through internal policy failures" Amin (2017).

Dependency theory originated in the third world, primarily Latin America. There is often confusion about the Dependentistas and Marxists, though all dependentistas, apparently have Marxist inclinations but not all of them are Marxists… In fact, several Marxists are critical of certain aspects of dependency theory. They feel that they have not gone far enough in explaining the underdevelopment of the LDCs Okolie and Nwobashi (2017 p.19). Meanwhile, it is substantial to argue that the dependency movement emerged as a critique of modernisation paradigm more emphatically as a critique of globalisation in the form of import substitution to accomplish industrial

development in Latin America. Notable scholars like Gunda Frank, Samir Amin, Cardoso, Furtado, Dos Santos and Sunkel were concerned with explaining the unequal and unjust situations in which they are and their nations found themselves. Third World nations are poor, have bad health conditions, little military power, starvation, mono-productive and agriculturally based, while economies in the developed countries are diversified and industrialised. Dependencytheory therefore, questioned why such in-equalities exist.

While addressing the questions on Dependency theory Amin asserted that there is no single unified theory of dependency. There are, rather, three schools of thought that share some fundamental characteristics, but that also differ on important points. But what they have in common is often more important than what separates them. Amin identifies himself as being a part of the school of global historical materialism. The Marxist law of value is central and this distinguishes this school of dependency from the others. In Amin's analysis, the main characteristics of the worldwide law of value is that the price of the labour force is distributed in a much more unequal way than are the productivities of social labour. There are differences in the productivity of labour, of course, but the differences in productivity are smaller than the differences in the price of labour. The other two strands of dependency are the dependency school (so-called dependencia) and the World Systems School, according to Amin,

The dependencia school was in some ways a reaction to the dominant view of the communist parties in Latin America in the 1950s. While the communist parties argued that Latin America was feudal, or at least semi-feudal, the dependencia scholars argued that the Latin American countries were capitalist from the start of colonisation and from their integration into the world economy in the 1500s. The problem was that as they were colonised, their economies were built as a periphery to the capitalist system. Amin, however, would argue that the 18th century should be defined as the period of transition to capitalism and that capitalism only took its full form with the industrial revolution of England and politically with the French revolution. In the 19th century, the Latin American countries found it very difficult to catch up with

advanced countries, due to the nature of the capitalist-like system that they were part of (Amin 1977).

World Systems theory is conceptualised and applied differently by the different authors within the school, hence, the idea that the global system shapes the conditions of each country's development at the national level. Amin's problem with World Systems theorists is that he feels that they have tendency to explain national processes as exclusively shaped by global tendencies. Therefore, they attribute the failure of national attempts to move out of the system to the operation of the global system itself. Consequently, the global system becomes responsible for the failure of the Soviet attempt, the failure of the Maoist attempt, and the failure of all the national popular regimes in Africa and Asia that came out of the Bandung era according to Amin.

Major Propositions of Dependency Theory

i. Relationship between Developed and Third World countries are asymmetrical: Flow of power and control come from the Developed countries. In this case, Galtung theory of imperialism is employed to espouse the argument. According to Galtung, the world consists of centre and periphery nations, and each nation, in turn, has its centres and peripheries. Hence, it explains dominance relation between the core states (the centres) and the periphery states (the developing nations). Then this guarantees another end of capitalism and opens new route to imperialism, motivated by the need for expanding markets.

ii. Within the world political and economic system there is a considerable amount of interaction among core countries and peoples, and between the metropolitans and the peripheries. At the same time, there is very little interaction just among periphery countries in which the consequences often result in an isolated and weak periphery country having an unequal relationship with the united and strong core. The relationship between the Core and Periphery countries are important, it serves two purposes; as development of the Core and underdevelopment of the Periphery, making the trading pattern result in continuous growth, both political and economic of the Core, widening the gap between them rather than narrowing it.

iii. There is close relationship between politics and economics. They are inseparable. Hence, the economic ties and relationships between core and periphery countries are particularly essential. These are advantageous for the core, and disadvantageous for the periphery. Which means, Core-periphery trading patterns result in continuous growth of political and economic power for the core at the expense of the periphery. Economic trade causes a widening of the gap between developed and developing countries, rather than a narrowing of that gap. Historically, lower priced raw materials have been exchanged for higher priced finished goods.

iv. It has been theoretically proved that underdevelopment is not a natural state, but rather a condition that is caused.Based on Rodney (1972) assertion, the fact remains that developed nations are actively underdeveloping Third World countries as a result of the systems of interactions between them.

v. More so, the underdevelopment of weak Third World countries is directly caused by the "development" of industrialised core. Both the centre and the periphery are part of the world political-economic system, and neither would exist without the other.

vi. Underdevelopment theorists had maintained that as long as capitalism occupies the dominant position in world economic system, thedevelopment of third World nations will remain illusive.Meanwhile, if the world system continuously maintains capitalism as the best developmentstrategy, the core would remain more powerful, and the periphery weaker in the future.

Capitalism

Samir (2007) argued that many, including a number of Marxists, have attempted to prove that capitalism could have arisen only by chance and in the European context, which provided an exception to the static situation of the other continents. They exemplify the West-centered perspective, which is the ideology of capitalism and imperialism. Capitalism could not have developed without the European conquest of the world. Amin believes that the road to socialism depends on reversing the trend of dispossession at national and regional levels, protecting local agricultural production, ensuring that countries have full sovereignty and de-linking internal prices from world commodity

markets.The capitalist system, then, will always be divided into a center and a periphery. This is an inherent contradiction. Center and periphery have changed their form and function from the mercantilist to the imperialist era.They have evolved from one phase of imperialism to the other, but they always stand opposed, like the two poles of a contradictory whole.

Globalisation

Amin (1976), argues that globalisation has always been polarising because the centres have shaped the pattern of globalisation in their favour, thereby consigning other countries to the periphery. Important for dependency thinkers is the concept that the centre and periphery are in fact, two sides of the same coin. By extension, development and underdevelopment are also two sides of the same coin. This is a notion you can also find in Andre Gunder Frank, who popularised the terminology: Amin wrote about this polarising tendency of globalisation in the mid-50s. This can be considered quite forward-thinking, as it was in many ways an anti-Rostowian manifesto before Rostow had even written his renowned Stages of Economic Growth. Amin's point was that if one enters into a capitalist globalisation process, onemay not go through a variety of stages before attaining development, on the contrary, one would have to move out of the system and find some other ways to catch up.The Centre maintains it control through: control of technology, access to natural resources, finance, global media, and the means of mass destruction.

Dependency in a New World Order

The three dependency schools see today's globalisation as a new stage of an old phenomenon. Although one can point to many things that are "new" about today's globalisation, Amin (1980) focuses on the increased degree of centralisation of the control of capital, which he considers to be crucial to the pattern of financialisation. This high level of control is qualitatively new compared to what it was 50 years ago. The lion's share of activities today is produced by subcontractors that tend to serve financialised monopoly capital. This centralisation leads to a series of consequences, such as a large   part of the value created by the subcontractors both in the centres and peripheries being captured by monopoly capital and transformed into monopoly rent. Amin calls this

"an imperialist monopoly rent."He argues that it is also this characteristic that explains the social disasters that can be observed globally, such as stagnation, unemployment, and the destruction of the welfare state. These canbe observed globally, but most dramatically in the South, and particularly in the weak countries of the South. This centralising tendency also leads to an accelerated growth of income and wealth inequalities in third world countries which cannot continue forever. Many would argue that the world is now multipolar and that the rise of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China) challenges this centralising polarizing tendency of globalisation. However, Amin has two ways of responding to this claim.

First of all, he scoffs at the thought of institutions and economists calling the BRICS "emerging markets," both because a country is more than a market or an economy – it is first and foremost a society, but also because some of these countries are the oldest nations in the world and it is not only recently that they are 'emerging'. Secondly, Amin points out that the BRICS are not homogenous countries and should not be analysed as such. Some are of continental sizes such as China and India, while others are smaller. Amin argues that China is perhaps the only country among the BRICS that is trying to combine two things that are conflicting, namely a national sovereign project and participating in the process of globalisation. A part of the sovereign project is constructing an auto-countered modern industrial system associated with a renewal of peasant agriculture in order to ensure food sovereignty, which conflicts with free trade.Amin estimates that China's development is determined fifty per cent by its sovereign project and fifty per cent by globalisation. When asked about Brazil and India, he estimates that their trajectories are driven by twenty percent sovereign project, and eighty per cent globalisation. Now, if one moves to South Africa, one is band tosee zero percent sovereign project and one hundred per cent globalisation, Amin (2006) added that China is challenging the present order, and so is potentially Russia. The others are not currently challenging the *status quo,* but that doesn't mean that they will not move towards doing that, Amin explains. When it comes to the newly industrialised countries in East Asia, such as South Korea and Taiwan, Amin argues that these were allowed to move from periphery to core

because of geostrategic reasons (i.e. the threat of communist North Korea and China).

Delinking

Delinking for Amin, is crucial for understanding precisely why it is impossible to catch up within the system and why delinking from that system is a prerequisite for the development of productive forces. The phenomenon of this idea was bore out of the discovery of the current trend of capitalism which embodies exploitation ofthe peripheries. Hence, it has been recommended as the only way forward to disenchant the peripheries from forces of capitalism and globalisation. Third world countries should develop their economy through various forms of state intervention, control of money flowing in and out of their financial sectors and promoting tradewith other countries. Amin underlines that it is almost impossible to delink 100%. What delinking means to him is that a nation should try to compel the system to adjust to it needs, rather than simply going along with having to unilaterally adjust to the needs of the Core. Amin (2017 p.17) argued that "if you can reach seventy percent delinking, you'll have done a great job. A strong country, that is, for historical reasons relatively stable and has some military power will have more leverage than a small country to do this." For example, China has the capacity to delink in comparison to Senegal which does not have the capacity which is vital.

An essential part of delinking for Amin is to give more importance to building national popular projects. What is needed is a national, democratic revolution, Amin argues. Such a national popular revolution can open the road to socialism. A revolution can also open the road for conflict or for a socialist road with capitalist tendencies. Regardless of this, the peripheral countries cannot develop unless they try to delink from the current exploitative world system.In conclusion, Amin argued that the struggle for social liberation from class exploitation is linked to the national liberation struggle of the people of Asia and Africa which he presented as follows: First, universal history can be understood through immediate explanations , it is possible to go beyond this level by basing an analysis on a universally applicable set of concepts, those of historical materialism. These are deduced from history itself, in the evolution of all human societies one can identify several major

universal tendencies resulting from the same basic dialectic, namely, that between productive forces and relations of production. Second, universal history is always the history of unequal development. Unequal development is universal, although its character, sphere of operation, and form are not merely infinite rearrangements of a few simple laws which should be based on the dialectic between general tendencies and the unequal development expressing these tendencies. Third, the history of the world is history of class struggle. Class relations define the modes of production which constitute successive social formations, corresponding to different levels in the development of the productive forces. But these classes are contained in a specific society, bounded by the borders of the state and, sometimes, of the nation.

Fourth, societies constitute a system of social formations when they are so closely interrelated that their class oppositions and alliances can no longer be looked into at the societal level but must be studied at the global level of the system. In particular, the contemporary world is a system, that of imperialism. Fifth, the social reproduction of capitalist society cannot be understood by looking only at the internal economic workings of the nation-states of the capitalist world system. To be understood, social reproduction involves the interference at the level of the state in the economic regulation and application of the class struggle not to each nation-state, but to the system as a whole.Sixth, the existence of nations raises the national question, and the process of unequal development makes this question vital in the development of class struggles. It is important to distinguish between bourgeois and proletarian tendencies with regard to how the national question is posed and resolved. Seventh, although the tendency to homogenization which characterises the capitalist system operates by contradiction (homogenisation and inequality), it has powerful ideological effects which needs constant re-examination as it evolves through successive form.

Distortion

Amin (1996 p.1) spoke about distortion in the modern world which are economic, social and political in nature which constitutes serious obstacles to any project of sustainable development in third world countries. He argued that major economic distortions can be classified

into:- Growing inequality in the distribution of income, wealth and power operating at even the global level, causing growing poverty, more unemployment problems in third world countries. Financiarisation of the system which result to accumulation problems, that huge amount of capital generated in the system cannot find outlets in the expansion of production. Social and political distortions comes from the economic factors like growing technological monopolies of the USA, Japan and perhaps Europe over communication , information, access and usage of global natural resources and Mass destruction arms.

CONCLUSION/RECOMMENDATIONS

Looking at Amin'sideologies and philosophy within a frameworkof a World Scale, he was able to influence many successive waves of issues seeking to explain the post-colonial crisis in Africa development, the destructive effects of capitalism, imperialism and globalisation. Therefore, just few weeks prior to his death, Amin wrote an open letter to the revolutionary forces of the world calling for the founding of a new international alliance of progressive and socialist forces. Amin saw this as a priority in the present period based upon the entrenched nature of imperialism and the lack of a forum for alternative voices from the working masses and radical intellectuals to provide a systematic critique and program to challenge Western supremacy. Amin views the idea of "Globalisation" as a modern form of imperialism and believed that the oppressive and exploitative system cannot be fought strictly on a national level and therefore, the struggle must renew the political thrust of internationalism based on the interest of the majority of the world's population.

The appeal from Amin is a viable one. He recommends that the developing nations must be organised and united in order for the dangers facing them to be eliminated. They must make tremendous gains against what appear to be overwhelming obstacles, the on-going realities of dependence by the emergent states related to the need for technology transfers, the building of internal industrial projects and attempted diplomatic isolation by the West, placing governments at advantageous position for the wellbeing of the masses. More articulately, his dependency theory position is fundamentally *anti-status quo.* Hence, dependency theorists maintain that the current national,

international economic and political orders are the direct causes of underdevelopment in third world nations. They therefore, offered viable propositions for systematic change from the Western developmental prescriptions to the third world nations to solve the problems. Hence, they suggested radical, abrupt, non-linear, and fundamental change. Their perceptions, analytical approach, and solutions are vastly different from those of diffusion or order approach theorists. Stability is the solution for order theorists, while, stability is the problem for dependency theorists.

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INTRUSION OF MULTI-NATIONAL ENTITIES INTO GOVERNANCE IN THIRD-WORLD COUNTRIES

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Abstract

This study examines the intrusion of Multi-national entities into governance in Third-World Countries. *The role of these MNCsin the governance of Third World countries are either covert or overt, depending on the history of their engagement and activities within the country, or the circumstances in which they operate at a particular point of time. Most of these multinationals instigate and fuel conflicts, sponsored militancy groups within the state against or through connivance with compradorial elements in the host countries. They employlobbying, bribing or coercing government officials to make policies that are benefiting to their economic interests. All these are achieved with support of home governments, and thus the study selected*

activities of the MNCs in countries from Africa to South America. The study employed primary and secondary sources. Primary data include private papers and so on. Secondary data were sourced from official documents, books, journals, newspapers, news magazines, and Internet-based materials. The study shows that Multinational Corporationhave impacted positively and negatively on the political economy of Third World countries, by exploiting the fragile political system to advance their interest. MNC, also attracted Foreign Direct Investment to the host countries and their Corporate Social Responsibilities also contribute to the infrastructural development in host countries

INTRODUCTION

The rapid pace of globalization and the concomitant increase in the volume of international trade and investment is a major characteristic of the global economic system of the twentieth and twenty-first century, a period that coincided with the political independence of series of countries which later became known as 'Third World Countries'. Globalization was probably accompanied by a sharp rise in income gaps between people in different parts of the world. Therefore, there was a Great Divergence.[1]By 1850 modern industrialization in textiles, iron and steel, engineering and shipbuilding in particular was well-advanced in parts of Western Europe and North America. There was massive investment by Western firms in the developing world during this era of globalization. Foreign direct investment reached high levels relative to the size of the world economy – and majority of it was in developing countries. The main drivers of this investment are industrialized and urbanized firms, launched in search for the minerals, commodities, and foodstuffs needed by the developed world. These resources are particularly housed in Third World countries, which coincidentally are former colonies of the industrialized and developed countries. These firms, being the major drivers of the global economy, have a long history of relationship with the Third World, where they have foreign direct investment.

These firms are generally known as Multinational Corporations because of their heavy business stakes outside the shores of their home countries. They are therefore businesses that either own or control foreign subsidiaries in more than one country. In other words,

multinational corporations (MNCs) function as the motor of capitalism in the contemporary market. Their activities are largely concentrated in Third World countries where they possess massive investment and extract raw materials for the home markets. It is apt to note that the operation of these corporations in these economies was an extension, and perhaps based on the colonial relationships as with the British and French in Africa and Asia or on political and economic spheres of influence as with the United States and Latin America. Thus, without mincing words, these corporations can be said to represent the economic interest of their home countries in the Third World economies.

These corporations are particularly headquartered in industrialized countries of the United States, United Kingdom, Japan, China, Germany, France, etc., and have affiliates in Third World Countries. Thirteen countries in East Asia and Latin America host 331,748 affiliates of multinational corporations, and half of the total affiliate's worldwide.[2] China alone hosts 235,681 affiliates. MNCs have also invested heavily in Eastern and Central Europe during the 1990s, creating a total of 239,927 affiliates in this region.[3] Here too, affiliates are concentrated in a few countries; the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland host 135,997 of the affiliates active in this region.[4] These multinationals are majorly involved in cross-border investment where they endeavour to source for resources which are deposit in the Third World countries. In Africa particularly, multinational corporations are contingent players in the exploration of major resources like crude oil, gold, copper, and agricultural produce like oil palm, cocoa, cotton, which are significant inputs in industrial plants that are predominantly located within the home countries. MNCs like Lonrho, Unilever, IBM, Ford, Philips, Royal Dutch/Shell and British Petroleum, Anglo Gold, Total Plc, Mobil, Peugeot, Diageo, Toyota, Coca-Cola, etc, only to mention a few are instances of foreign business empires in Third World countries with heavy investments in the third world.

The major interest of these Multinationals in Third-World countries, just like every other business entity is the attainment of their business objectives, one that is particularly hinged on the repatriation and exploration of profits and resources. This is one objective they achieve

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through the adoption of several business strategies and techniques. It however worthy to note that these MNCs, with particular reference to their operations in the Third World Countries, are contingent and integral players in the economies of their home countries. And obviously coincidentally, these home countries as aforementioned are formal colonial overlords which had under their political and economic spheres, most Third World Countries that house these multinational operations.[5] Hence, despite the claim of independence by these third world countries and their right of self-determination as portrayed in their ability to make major laws and policies void of any form of external control, their activities are often in consonance with the interest of their former 'lords', and more specifically, multinational entities. This therefore justifies the involvement, and perhaps the intrusion of multinational corporations, being agents of their home countries in the politics of states like Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Peru, Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, etc. These corporations seek to achieve their business objectives in the Third World by exacting influence over these countries. This influence has been reflected in corporations' willingness and ability to exert leverage directly by employing government officials, participating on important national economic policy making committees, making financial contributions to political parties, and bribery.[6] Furthermore, they also actively enlist the help of their home countries to further or protect their interests in Third World Countries. In 1954, for instance, the US launched an invasion of Guatemala to prevent the Guatemalan government from taking (with compensation plus interest) unused land of United Fruit Company for redistribution to peasants.[7]

How do Multinational Corporations intrude into governance in Third World Countries? Why the intrusion? Of what significance is it to the attainment of their set objectives?, and finally, what are the impacts of the intrusion on the economies of Third World Countries? These and many more are the questions, this paper seeks answers to. This paper therefore intends to consider major case studies of Multinationals in Third World Countries and in that bid situate instances of their involvement in the politicking process of such countries. It therefore

answers these questions, by discussing the relevant issues attached to it in the context of globalization, specifically the global economic system.

Multinational Corporations and Politics in the Third World

The involvement of multinational corporations in the governance of third world countries are either covert or overt, depending on the history of their engagement and activities within the country, or the circumstances in which they operate at a particular point of time. Most of these multinationals intrude into the political scene and circumstances in these countries by intervening in conflicts, masterminding crisis by instigating militancy groups within the state against or non-liberal government, or and perhaps interesting, lobbying, bribing or coercing government officials to make policies that are benefiting to their economic interests. All these they do through the support of their home governments, or major security agencies within their states. Hereunder, major case-studies will be discussed, in a bid to highlight the modality of such intrusions in selected third world countries;

The Chilean Example

Multinational Corporations in Chile are particularly United States mining industries, who since the second half of the nineteenth century have been particularly involved in the extraction of copper contents in the rich territories around the Andes Mountain. Though these mining activities faced little success as their search only yielded the extraction of only about 10% to 15% copper content.[8]The metal was used for kitchen utensils and some construction work. The increasing demand, particularly in the electrical industries aggravated the desire to excavate more copper. By the early twentieth century, revolutionary methods of extracting and processing lower grades of porphyry ore (non-vein deposits of 1% to 2% copper content) were gradually brought into practice in the western United States.[9] By the end of the First World War, large-scale open-pit mines and block-caving underground mines began to serve the soring needs of the electrical and construction industries. The technology that was required to extract metal from low-grade ore was only one of the reasons for early foreign predominance as the copper industry began to grow in Chile. The amounts of capital and scale of operations involved in constructing huge mines with

concentrators, smelters, and railroad facilities in the midst of the Atacama Desert or the Andes Mountains – the high risk and the relatively low profits – were other disincentives to domestic competition.[10] Chilean capital gravitated toward the more speculatively profitable nitrate industry, the rich copper-vein mining, urban commerce, or toward conservative cattle raising in the fertile Central Valley.[11]

In 1904, as the possibilities of vein mining were running out, the Chilean owners of El Teniente, a mountain of ore located in the Andes about 100 miles southeast Santiago, sought financial support from fellow-Chileans and from potential investors in England, France, Germany, and Yugoslavia to no avail.[12] They finally sold out to William Braden, an American mining engineer, who was himself forced to sell to the Guggenheims in 1908, who in turn transferred control of El Teniente to Kennecott in 1915. Under Kennecott subsidiary, Braden, reached 115,000 metric tons in 1935, climbed to 145,000 metric tons in 1937, and stayed close to that level as an upper capacity of production until 1969.[13]

In 1913, work was begun on the Chuquincamata property in the Atacama Desert of northern Chile, a property sold to Anaconda in 1923, which became and has remained the world's largest open-pit copper mine.[14] In 1926, Anaconda began production at a second mine at Potrerillos several hundred miles southeast of Chuquincamata. There can be no doubt of the skill, imagination, and risk involved in the early development of the Kennecott and Anaconda mines. And the North American entrepreneurs were given ample opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their initiative through the copper boom of the 1920's. The total taxes paid by Kennecott in the period 1913-1924 amounted to only 0.8% of gross sales.An income tax was not initiated until 1922 and amounted to only 12% until 1931.[15]In the late 1920s, Kennecott was making 20% - 40% per year on its investment in El Teniente, and Anaconda recovered over 14% per year on its two properties.[16]

Foreign control of the technology, capital, and managerial skills necessary for large-scale low grade mining placed the companies in a strong position to expect, or demand, generous initial concessions from the Chilean government. As such, the initial nature of the Multinational

Corporations' relations with the government was more of bargaining and lobbying. The government, especially because of the significance of the corporations to the economy, yielded to most of their demands by placing small amount of import duties and fares on the national railroad. The state also cautiously imposed 6%, then 12%, then 18% income taxes on Anaconda and Kennecott.[17]

However, from the Second World War onward, the Chilean perception of what constituted a "fair" distribution of the earnings from the copper industry, and the Chilean willingness to remain helpless and passive vis-à-vis the foreign monopoly on expertise and experience in running the copper industry, changed dramatically. This changing perception coincided with a shift in bargaining power away from the foreign investor toward the host government. During the Depression, the copper companies had been in such precarious financial condition that Chilean government did not push taxes much above 20%.[18] But with the boom conditions of the Second World War, the country declared an excess profit tax that raised the total tax burden to about 50%. By 1952, the total tax burden had been pushed above 70%. Anaconda and Kennecott, with their investments sunk and their operations a success, did not begin to think seriously of abandoning or even cutting back on their Chilean operations. In the 1947-1949 periods, for example, with taxes approaching 60% of earnings, Kennecott was still receiving above 40% per year on its investment and Anaconda 12%.[19] Chile under Eduardo FreiMontalvo (1964-1970) commenced the gradual "Chileanization" of key sectors of the economy – a sort of middle way between capitalism and full socialism. Thus, Frei's policies particularly enhanced the interest of multinational corporations in the politicking process and activities that engulfed the country. The 1970 election specifically attracted top American firms like the International Telephone and Telegraph Company (ITT). During the preliminary of elections, according to Mr. John McCone, the former Director of ITT, during one of the sessions of the Subcommittee of Multinationals, opined that the ITT held a number of conversations about Chile with Richard Helms, then CIA Director.[20] He further posited that he had conversations with other personalities within the political circle in the United States, most especially Henry Kissinger.[21] The ITT therefore chose to support one of

the candidates, Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez, during the 1970 election. This was because the Christian Democratic Party's candidate, Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens, during his campaign informed the need to pursue a more stringent policy, similar, and perhaps more aggressive than Frei's 'Chileanization Policy'. He therefore opted for a program of extensive land reform and the rapid nationalization of basic industries, banks and communications systems, many of which were controlled by foreign capital.

Unlike Allende, Jorge Alexandri, who was more conservative, opted for a private free-enterprise system, one that was more advantageous to foreign investment. Hence, ITT, in agreement with the CIA dispensed about one million dollars to Jorge Alexandri's campaign. Although the ITT dispensed the fund on the pretence of supporting government programmes and policies of housing, technical assistance, and agriculture. Despite the intrusion of the ITT in the electioneering process, and more specifically, its support for Alexandri, Allende won with a margin of 39,000 votes. As no candidate had an absolute majority, a congressional election was held on October 24, 1970, during which Allende received 153 of the 195 votes.[22]

The victory of Allende meant a massive blow on the investment of United States in Chile. Hence, big Multinational Corporations like Anaconda, ITT, and Kennecott began a two-track strategy with respect to the Allende government. On the one hand, at the suggestion of Ralph Mecham, the Washington representative of the Anaconda Company, Mr. Merriam invited the Washington representatives of major U.S. companies having investments in Chile to form an Ad Hoc Committee on Chile.[23] There were several meetings, the first of which took place in early January, 1971, in ITT's Washington offices. Representatives of Anaconda, Kennecott, Ralston Purima, Bank of America, Pfizer Chemical, and Grace and Company attended. The purpose of the Ad hoc committee was toward the application of pressure on the United States Government wherever possible, to make it clear that a Chilean take-over would not be tolerated without serious repercussions following. One purpose of the pressure was to get the United States Government to block loans to Chile by institutions such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Some other

multinational corporations like Ralston Purima tried negotiating with Allende in a bid to secure for themselves opportunities to thrive within his radical economic policies. However, despite the enormous threat from these multinational corporations and the subsequent economic measures adopted by the United States government, Allende's government commenced nationalisation in 1971 with the expropriation of Chiltelco, one of ITT's affiliate companies. He went further to nationalize other foreign investments like ITT, Anaconda, Kennecott from 1972-1973.[24] This process of nationalisation triggered the multinational corporations to adopt other strategies in kicking out Allende from government. As such, they evolved alliance with some elements in the military to oust and execute Allende in 1973, thus replacing him with Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet's government thereafter nullified Allende's nationalisation policy and therefore embarked upon a privatization process, one which caused the re-admittance of foreign investors into the Chilean economy.

From the Chilean example, it can be deduced that multinational corporations have always been involved in the politicking process in Third World Countries, in as much as they possess major economic stakes in such countries. Their changes in involvement and intervention in the governments of Third World Countries like Chile is therefore hinged on the implications of government policies on their investments. Thus, Multinational Corporations, just like the case of Chile can undertake one or two political manoeuvrings, by granting political support to candidates during elections, or just like the case of the 1973 coup in Chile sponsor the ousting of an unfavourable government and the installation of a more liberal government which favours their interest.

Multinational Corporations and the Congo Crisis

The post-independence Congolese State, attracted several foreign firms because of its enormous mineral wealth. The state was stupendously rich in gold, cobalt, diamonds, copper, tantalum and a host of other mineral ore deposits. Multinational Corporations, which represent Belgian and American interests, have heavy foreign investment in Congo, so much that they played major roles in the political conflict that has riddled the state since July 11, 1960. Most conflicts worldwide

are found in areas where natural resources are present. This was also the case in Congo as the political crisis within the state aggravated majorly as a result of the interest and participation of Multinational Corporations.[25]Diana Katabarwa opined that Belgian mining interests in the Congo backed MoiseTshombe when he declared himself the Prime Minister of Katanga province, which at that period was rich in gold, copper, and uranium.[26] These interests, although in collaboration with United States' Multinationals and the Central Intelligence Agency, played a pivotal role in the ousting and eventual assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the first Prime Minister of Congo. Consequent to that, they also played a major role in the ascension of Mobutu SeseSeko, who they gave support despite the undemocratic nature of his government and the corruption that characterized his government.

Since 1996, the DRC has been undergoing a conflict that has cost an estimated 5 million innocent lives. In 2008, the conflict in DRC took a new dimension that was not seen since 2003. Despite clear reports from the ground, a widespread looting, rape and killings of civilians in conflict zones, the international community has failed to take any actions against the actor in the conflict. They have, moreover, neglected the role of Multinational Corporations in the DRC conflict. According to a number of reports, Multinational Corporations play an important role in continuing the conflicts that have led to mass atrocities in the DRC. In 2001 for instance, the UN commissioned a report in which 85 companies were named for having "violated international standards of good corporate behaviour, including the standards set out in the guidelines for the ethical behaviour of multinationals established by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).[27]
According to the UN report, "Illegal exploitation of the mineral and forest resources of the Democratic Republic of Congo is taking place at an alarming rate in two phases; mass scale looting and the systematic and systemic exploitation of natural resources ."[28] Corporations from around the world have sought to profit from exploiting the DRC's natural resources on the cheap – particularly coltan, a mineral used to produce cell phones, laptops and video game consoles.[29] The report also indicates that a number of companies were created to facilitate illegal activities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Others have existed

in the region for decades and joined the bandwagon to pursue the obvious financial windfalls involved in the exploitation of the country. Among the companies mentioned by the report that are involved not only in the crisis, but also in the illicit acquisition of natural resources in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Trinity and Victoria seem to be the most interesting given their modus operandi, activities and respective shareholders. Victoria Group is chaired by Mr. Khalil and its headquarters is in Kampala. Mr. Khalil has two collaborators in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, based in Kisangani and Gbadolite.[30]Both are said to be from Lebanon, they are Mohammed Gassan and Mr. Talal. Victoria Group on the other hand belongs jointly to MuhooziKainerugabe, son of President Museveni, and Jovia and KhalebAkandwanaho. Victoria Group is involved in trading diamonds, gold and coffee. The Group purchases these mineral and agricultural products in Isiro, Bunia, Bumbo, Bondo, Buta and Kisangani. The company paid taxes to MLC, but failed to do so with RCD-ML. The Victoria Group was also alleged of involving in the manufacturing of counterfeit currencies which were found in areas where the company buys natural resources.[31]

One interesting fact about top manufacturing corporations in Congo, just like in some other Third World Countries is that key government officials have stakes in the businesses. AteenyiTibasima, second Vice-President of RCD-ML and now the Commissaire General Adjoint of FLC, has financial interests in the Victoria Group. Just like the Victoria Group, the Trinity Company also has top government officials as its owner and the implication of this is the fact that the company enjoys favourable policies which engender her business objectives around the Orientale Province.[32] In November 1999, for instance, Trinity enjoyed tax break, and imported various goods and merchandise from the Orientale Province gold, coffee and timber without paying tax.

Multinational Corporations in Peru

The Peruvian economy since the 1950s has been controlled by the United States' multinational corporations. Particularly in the mining sector of the economy, top firms like Marcona Mining Company, a subsidiary of Utah Construction Company and Cyprus Mining Company are major multinationals with heavy investment stakes in

Peru. Between 1950 and 1953, the book-value of US direct investment in mining and smelting in Peru increased from fifty-five million dollar to over one hundred and fifty-five million dollar, primarily due to iron mining investments by the Marcona Mining Company. Until then, Cerro de Pasco had been the single giant in mining.[33]Marcona started production of iron ore in 1953 with some 553,000 tons. Marcona expanded production considerably by 1968 over 9 million tons were produced, of which 5.5 million tons minerals and concentrates, and 3.3 million tons pellets. During the 1950s the output of lead and zinc primarily from properties belonging to Cerro de Pasco, increased by 86% and 50% respectively.[34] Lead output reached a record of 161,500 tons in 1966 but has since then decreased. Zinc production almost doubled in the 1960s, with a record 305,000 tons in 1967. Practically the entire output of lead and zinc is exported to the US and Japan.

In the field of iron, US domination is total. In 1968 Marcona Mining Company accounted for 98.3% of iron production, while the remaining 1.7% was produced by Pan American Commodities (PAMECSA), a company linked to Cerro de Pasco. In the field of non-ferrous metals, which account for 69% of total mining output in Peru (including non-metallic minerals), the situation is more complex.[35] The Natomas Company, a California-based US company linked with the influential Prado family has been exploiting one of the few remaining gold mines in Peru near the Bolivian border, in violation of the Peruvian constitution. Although SPCC is by far the biggest copper producer in Peru, it is nevertheless Cerro de Pasco that is the most influential company. Cerro de Pasco owns all three existing refineries in the country and two of its four smelters.[36]

These firms since their operations in Peru have enjoyed considerable support and considerations from the government. Thus, government-multinationals relations since the nineteenth century has been a mutual one, whereby the government provided situations that permitted the businesses of these top multinationals to thrive. However, this relationship changed after the 1962 coup, one that was carried out by the military and which subsequently conducted the general election that ushered in Fernando Balaunde in 1963. The Balaunde administration was greatly influenced by top multinationals like International

Petroleum Company (IPC), to make policies that would permit their operations. Balaunde as a result of the pressure and negotiation with IPC therefore granted the firm a twenty-five years license to carry-out mining operations on Peru fields.[37] The firm further negotiated and lobbied the government to change its property and tax status. The president's acceptance of IPC's request was heavily revoked by the Peruvian Congress, which annulled the agreement, and a 1922 agreement, which granted rights to top-multinational corporations in Peru. By 1964, IPC and a host of other multinational corporations were on brink of nationalization.

Just as the case in Chile, Peruvian multinational corporations, knowing fully well of their heavy investment in Peru requested for the United States' intervention in the crisis. As a result, the Assistant Secretary of State, Thomas Mann attempted to dissuade the Baluande government against this course of action by stalling economic aid to Peru. It should be noted at this stage that multinational corporations in most cases, intrude into the politics through convert means of involving their home countries in their engagement with their host countries. This was therefore the case in Chile and Peru, when United States agencies like the CIA, and even top officials of government use threat or political manoeuvring, in securing or maintaining the business stakes of these corporations. Thus, the Peruvian example is a good case-study of the rationale behind the intrusion of multinational corporations in the government of third world countries. The inability of the multinational corporations to dissuade the president, Baluande from nationalizing the corporations, who as earlier noted, was coerced by some key elements in Congress, influenced the United States government to reduce financial aids to Peru. The government therefore reduced aid to Peru by more than half in 1965.

The economic coercion from the United States' government engendered the signing of a 1968 agreement between IPC and the Peruvian government – the Act of Talara. The implication of this action on the Peruvian politics was that it bred domestic political resentment, especially among some political elements that detested the operations of multinational corporations in Peruvian mines and economy. Hence, on October 3, a military coup led by the chief of Peruvian Army Forces

Joint Command, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, deposed Belaunde. The coup leaders in October 9 subsequently renounced the Act of Talara and occupied IPC's principal refinery, in addition to the La Brea y Parinas fields. He subsequently expropriated the remaining properties of IPC in Peru, including the Esso gas stations located throughout the country.

One major reason why the multinational corporations could not successfully instigate some pro-capitalist politicians within Peru against the military government, just as it was in the case of Chile was the fact that Velasco government signed a trade pact with the USSR in 1968. This pact was somewhat effective in securing for a Peru an economic partner during the several pressures American government expressed towards Velasco administration, so as to strangulate it from surviving. The Peruvian government despite the earlier success had to subsequently concede to some of the demands of these multinationals – especially through the payment of compensation, as a result of the economic problems that befell the country due to the United States repudiation of aids. Thus, Peru had to tackle one economic problem or the other from 1962 when she commenced her expropriation policies. As such, the economic problem subsequently had a major implication of the political scene, as Peruvian state was confronted with the problem of political instability.

The situation in Peru therefore describes a covert ramification of multinational's intrusion into governance. It therefore unveils the following;

I. Multinational Corporations in most situations intrude into the government of third world countries through the support and assistance of their home countries.

II. Such intrusion can come in several forms; support for oppositions against the government; negotiation with the government in a bid to gain access to favourable business terms and conditions; coercing the government by influencing the reduction or stoppage of aids and other financial instruments from their home countries.

III. Most multinational corporations intrude into governments in a bid to secure their business stakes and investments within the third world countries.

IV. They can also intrude into government by making the economy unfavourable, which obviously will attract political instability within the state.

Multinational Corporations and Political Instability in Nigeria

Multinational corporations, prior to Nigeria's independence have been a significant part of the economy. In fact, the history of multinationals in Nigeria predates the colonial period, especially during the period of legitimate trade. Among the important multinational corporations that operated during this period included: the United Trading Company (UTC), United African Company (UAC), Lever Brothers (now Unilever), Leventis, SocieteCommerciale de l'QuestAfricain (SCOA), CompagnieFrancaise de l'AfriqueOccidentale (CFAO), G.B. Olivant, Peterson Zochonis (PZ), Elder Dempster, Shell, British Petroleum (BP), Barclay Bank, John Holt, etc.[38] Subsequent to the discovery of oil and mass/commercial exploration, corporations like Total, Chevron, and a host of other firms controlled the Nigerian oil sector since the 1960s.

Apart from the role these multinational entities played in the economy, they have at different periods intruded into the government of post-independent Nigeria. In other words, the political instability that riddled Nigeria after independence is one that should not be considered in isolation of the operations of these corporations. During this period, Nigeria witnessed an oil boom, especially after the Nigerian Civil War. The oil boom attracted a considerable number of multinational corporations into the Nigerian economy. These firms, in a bid to gain a firm grip of the oil sector started influencing and lobbying state officials so as to attract policies that would be favourable toward them. Top officials like Abdul Atta, the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance – the ministry which handled oil-related issues before the establishment of a proper oil ministry, gained considerably from these lobbies. This was majorly because of strict ideology, as he advocated a strong state role in the industry. Other officials like Philip Asiodu, Permanent Secretary of the Oil Ministry and A. Ayida, who succeeded Abdul Atta as the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Finance,

attracted patronage from top corporations who were bent on making considerable gains during the period of oil boom.[39] It should be noted that the Nigerian government under Gowon made policies that were favourable to these top multinational corporations, despite her claim of the 'Nigerianisation policy'.

However, the emergence of Murtala Mohammed as a result of the 1975 coup resulted into a major shift in the relationship between the government and multinational corporations. It should be noted that upon the emergence of Murtala, Nigeria's approach to foreign policy and invariably foreign investment was radically transformed so much that the Military government under Murtala began a nationalization process, one that affected the investment of almost all the foreign firms in the Nigerian economy. These stringent policies have been viewed by various scholars as one major factor behind the assassination of Murtala Mohammed in 1976.In other words, Multinationals have been accused of masterminding the ousting and killing of MurtalaMurtala, because of his policies which were very inimical towards their investment in the country. His killing however did not totally alter the continuation of his nationalization policies as in 1979, after been accused of defying the Nigerian government by exporting Nigerian oil to apartheid South Africa, Shell-BP was nationalised alongside some major British stakes in the Nigerian economy.

From the fore-going, it is apt to note that multinational corporations in Nigeria have always played a major role in the political process. Even during periods when the country adopted policies that were contravening the economic interests of such corporations, they have always initiated means of influencing political officials, and at time key political personalities within the country. The case study of the Nigerian Civil War also gives a major case of the involvement of multinationals in political processes within the country. For instance, during the war, top Multinational firms supported the Nigerian government as a result of their economic stakes in the South-Southern part of the country. They know fully well that the victory of Biafra was highly inimical to their investment. Hence, they intruded into such a political scene, and obviously made considerable gains during the event of the oil boom, which came up immediately after the war. Of a truth therefore,

multinational corporations have always intruded into the government of a third world state like Nigeria in a bid to sustain their objectives and investments. No wonder till date, after series of policies that cut across different ideologies and interests, multinational firms like Shell, Chevron, Coca Cola, etc, are very relevant in considering the Nigerian economy.

CONCLUSION

Third World countries like Nigeria, Chile, Venezuela, Peru, Zimbabwe house a considerable number of multinational corporations who have been operating since the full emergence of globalization as the centrality of the international system. These firms have been, and might continue to be the agents of imperialism in these states, as they service the interest of their home countries. They therefore intrude into governance in a bid to sustain this service, by lobbying government officials, disposing antagonistic governments, and by sustaining cooperating governments, whether or not such governments are democratic or despotic, such as the case of Mobutu SeseSeko. These firms even go to the extent of employing the services of some vital agencies in the government of their home countries in order to alter major changes in the political environment of their host countries.

It is apt to note that such a continuous intrusion of Multinational Corporations into the government of Third World countries affirms the imperialistic dispositions of such firms. This therefore tallies with the proposition of most scholars of Marxian orientation. It should be noted however that the persevering presence or the predominance of these firms in the economy of these states has not always been ruinous. This is because these multinationals despite the fact that they carry-out several inhumane activities through their involvement in politics, they play a pivotal role in the economy of these firms. Most third world countries in a bid to minimize the domination of these firms in their political and economic system, just as the case might be, have commenced the pursuance of new policies which has necessarily bred indigenously owned firms, of multinational scope within their economies. The likes of Dangote and Globacom in Nigeria, have been competing favourably with foreign owned multinationals. This disposition is an avenue that is likely to reduce the influence of foreign

multinational entities in the internal affairs, or perhaps governments of Third World countries.

End Notes

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