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+2348037365921, +2348030969981

Alstarsng@Gmail.Com, Allstarsgroup01@gmail.com www.alstarsng.blogspot.com

EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS

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13. Faith Eriuma Onyebuanyi
Department of Financial Studies, Faculty of Management Sciences, National Open University of Nigeria
14. Abdulrasheed Abdulyakeen,
Department of Political Science, Al-Qalam University, Katsina State

- 15 Nnamdi Okonkwo, PhD
Admiralty University of Nigeria, Ibusa, Delta State
- 16 Innocent Ocholi
Admiralty University of Nigeria, Ibusa, Delta State
- 17 Anaele, Rosemary
Department of Political Science, Edwin Clark University, Kiagbodo
- 18 Mary Esiri, PhD
Senior Lecturer, Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Sciences, Delta State University, Abraka
- 19 Tumbo Hippo Brodrick, PhD
Department of Political Science, Novena University, Ogume, Delta State
- 20 Oriakhi Marian Omosivie, PhD
Institute of Public Administration and Extension Services, University of Benin, Benin City
- 21 Bonga Francis, Eniekedou
Department of Non-formal Education, College of Education, Warri
- 22 Ebegh, Shadrack
Department of Social Studies, College of Education, Warri
- 23 Reuben Daniel, PhD
Department of Social Studies, College of Education, Warri
- 24 Ojighoro Reuben Edaferene, PhD
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- 27 Yusuf Tsojou Ishaya
Department of English and Literary Studies, Federal University, Wukari, Taraba State
- 28 Dr. Victor Abiele Okosun, PhD
Chief Lecturer, College of Education, Ekiadolor, Benin City

- 29 Francis, Monkap Matiki , PhD
Federal College Of Education, Obudu, Cross River State
- 30 Dr. Kenneth. Y. Irhue, PhD
Department of Political Science
Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria
- 31 Dr. Olawale Akenride
Department of Political Science
Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria
- 32 Abdullahi. A. Osuwa
Department of Political Science
Kogi State University, Anyigba, Nigeria
- 33 David Babalola
Nigerian Defence Academy,
Kaduna, Nigeria.
- 34 James Kodilichukwu Anekwe
Federal University, Otuoke.

EDITORIAL

The Chief Editor on behalf of the Editorial Board, has great pleasure in presenting the maiden edition Vol 1 No 1 of the Journal of the Faculty of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences (JFHSMS) Edwin Clark University, Kiagbodo to the research community and the world at large. JFHSMS aims to create a platform between the researchers and authors who seek to publish their work and the people who wish to keep up with the latest findings in the areas of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences. The journal provides opportunities to the researchers, academics and professionals to publish their research papers around the world. The quick review process, quality Editorial Board and quality articles guarantees this Journal as unique.

The Chief Editor is very grateful to the members of the faculty research committee and Editorial Board for their prompt and kind response towards the establishment of this Journal. Their contributions, no doubt is highly commendable and their efforts both human and material cannot be over-emphasized.

We seek the blessings and support of all in the success journey of the Journal.

Professor Mrs Juliana .I. Okoh
The Chief Editor

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NEGOTIATING CULTURAL TOLERANCE: A READING OF ALICE CHILDRESS' "WEDDING BAND" AND JULIE OKOH'S "AISHA".

BY

JULIANA OKOH

Faculty of Humanities, Social & Management Science
Edwin Clark University
Kiagbodo, Delta State

ABSTRACT

Culture is an important element of every society, while prejudice and stereotyping are inherent phenomena of culture. For centuries the world has been torn apart by violence, racism, ethnicity, apartheid and anti-Semitism; all fuelled by unfair generalisations, stereotyped images, predisposed attitude and sentiments, albeit prejudices inherited from cultural environments. These cultural challenges eventually shape our worldview and actions, alter our natural inclination to accept others, and thus serve as artificial barriers that keep human beings apart and endanger the very existence of humanity. However, since its declaration of Human Rights, The United Nations has been promoting the spirit of multiculturalism or pluralistic cultural orientation in spite of cultural differences. How far has this spirit of unity in diversity become a reality in our daily life? How do we renegotiate the concept of culture in the face of the crippling guilt of ethnicity and racial discrimination currently tearing the world apart? By the way, what is culture? What is the relationship between culture and human behaviour? Can artistic creation serve as a veritable instrument for generating national integration and peaceful co-existence? In other words, can artistic creation propel transcending human values in the face of intra-cultural conflicts? These are some of the questions this paper seeks to address using the plays *Wedding Band* by Alice Childress and *Aisha* by Julie Okoh as paradigms for our discussion. The choice of the two plays is informed by the fact that although they originate from two geographical backgrounds that are distance apart; one from America while the other from Nigeria; they both correlate in their propagation of cultural diversity as a healthy catalyst for social evolution and progress, and the cultivation of enduring genuine love as a panacea for an embattled humanity. Moreover, the two plays are set within the same social environment, which is the family unit.

Key Terms: Culture, Prejudice, Stereotyping, Cultural Diversity, Ethnocentrism and Multiculturalism.

Introduction

Culture is a broad term that encompasses beliefs, values, norms, behaviours as a way of being. Man is a kind of clay that society moulds to conform to its norm. Some anthropologists, especially those belonging to cultural determinism, maintain that people are what they are conditioned to be. Human beings are passive creatures and do whatever their culture tells them to do through the process of socialisation. **Useem, J., & Useem, R. (1963: 169) highlight that most modern sociologists simply view culture as the learned and shared**

behaviour of a community of interacting human beings. In the same vein, **Linton, R. (1945: 32), Lederach, J.P. (1995: 9), Damen, L. (1987: 367), affirm that** culture is learned and shared human patterns or models for day-to-day living. These patterns and models pervade all aspects of human social interaction. Although one may think of oneself as an individual, one shares beliefs, rituals, ceremonies, traditions, and assumptions with people who grew up or live in similar cultural backgrounds. Hence, it is easier for one to relate to someone who has shared value

systems and ways of doing things than someone who does not share the same values. According to **Hofstede (1984: 51)** "Culture is a collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another." That means each person "carries within him or herself patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting which were learned throughout their lifetime." Hofstede also highlights that generally individuals accept the cultural elements of their environment without thinking about them and that they are socially transmitted by communication and imitation from one generation to the next. Gradually, these cultural elements become the tradition of that group of people. It then means that the environment, in which an individual is raised, exercises great influence in determining the person's psychological and sociological orientations. Briefly, culture binds together people living in the same cultural environment.

However, Peter Senge ⁽¹⁹⁹⁰⁾ explains that mental models lock individuals and groups into a specific perception about the world. Like a computer, we are programmed to act or behave in certain ways. The conscious and unconscious learning we undergo, over time, turns into beliefs that we consider to be valid. We then teach each others that these beliefs are cultural norms, which are expressed in our daily lives as behaviours and actions. We become so accustomed to them as a fish is to water that it seems to us that our culture is *natural*.

From the perspective of *structural anthropology* developed by Claude Lévi-Strauss, we learn that there is not just one culture, but forms of culture. And that culture varies from one region of the planet to another. Cultural Diversity is the existence of a variety of cultural groups within a society. It is synonymous with multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is the coexistence of diverse cultures, races and ethnicities. It is defined by the Encyclopaedia Britannica as "the view that cultures, races, and ethnicities, particularly those of minority groups deserve special acknowledgement of their differences within a dominant political culture." It means "recognizing that other cultures exist.

Respecting each other's differences and acknowledging that all cultural expressions are valid." Cultural diversity is important in every setting in life. For it contributes to diversity of thought and perspectives that make learning more interesting and dynamic.

However, Levi-Strauss observes that people hardly accept this cultural diversity. Instinctively we take it that what is normal for us ought to be normal too for other humans. We believe that our cultural norms are valid universally. Therefore, whosoever is culturally different from us is not only perceived as a stranger, but as barbaric. Here lies the root of ethnocentrism, which means judging other cultures by the sole reference to one's own, via a projection of value judgements. Ethnocentricity is to collective consciousness what selfishness is to individual consciousness. That is to say although shared culture creates dynamism within an in-group, paradoxically, it can also create blind spots, where people segregate themselves from each other, and consider the other as stranger.

In the same vein, Auguste Comte, Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, C. Wright Mills, etc., aver that prejudice, briefly defined as thinking ill of others without warrant (Allport, 1958: 7) originates from learned behaviour. In general, stereotypes are negative statements and interpretations made about a group of people. Whether deemed positive or negative, stereotyping places people into boxes and categories and limits them to those specific perspectives. That is why people have instinctive tribal inclination, which motivates them to only associate with people if they belong to the same race, ethnic origin, nationality, religion, country club, same geographical location, or speak the same language with them. However, these instincts that unites and draws people to one another as a culture; are often some of the artificial barriers that serves to divide human beings.

For, human beings often adopt predisposed attitudes and inherited prejudices in dealing with others. And, our stored mental stimuli seem always to be the driving force forever guiding our assessment and evaluation of others. Hence, to a large extent, social programming is the root of man's inhumanity

to man. Our ability to commit all types of atrocities against humanity ranging from acts of genocide, ethnic cleansing, violence, racism, hate crimes, and our capability to carry out all forms of oppression, repression, exploitation and discrimination against other human beings is rooted in this social programming. That means just because people differ from us in racial or ethnic makeup, have different beliefs, and express life from a different cultural persuasion often drives us to be intolerant and hostile.

Briefly, enslavement to culture and traditions ultimately fuels divisiveness as opposed to cohesiveness and unity. We shall first of all look at how these views are dramatized in the two plays. Then we shall investigate how the two playwrights in their respective play, project the idea that socio-cultural prejudices can be transcended in order to foster social cohesion, unity and progress in societies.

Synopsis of The Two Plays:

The action in Childress' *Wedding Band* takes place over a period of three days near the end of World War I, at a time when demands for equality were repressed by lynching and interracial marriage was prohibited by law in many States of America. The setting is Charleston, South Carolina, in the Jim Crow society of 1918. The main action revolves around Julia, a thirty-five year old black seamstress with an eighth grade education and her lover, Herman, an uneducated white man who owns a bakery.

When the play opens, Julia has just moved into a small backyard apartment after having been evicted from countless other houses. Her new neighbours ask her questions about her personal life. To satisfy their curiosity, she tells them that she has been in love with a man for ten years but that she cannot marry him because he is white. Next, Herman, visits Julia with a wedding cake and a gold wedding band to celebrate the tenth year of their love affair. The ring is mounted on a chain so that Julia can wear it, since they both realize that she cannot wear the gift as a wedding ring. They plan to buy boat tickets to New York, where Julia can legally marry Herman. But Herman is not free to leave until

he repays the \$3,000 he borrowed from his mother when he purchased his bakery. However, Herman assures Julia that he can repay his debts and join her in a year. As they continue to make plans for their wedding, Herman becomes ill of influenza and he collapses at Julia's home. The landlady refuses to call a doctor for fear that legal action will be directed against her for sheltering the couple; since it is illegal for a white man to be in the same house with a black woman. Instead, they sent for Herman's sister and mother to take him to a white doctor. But when Frieda, Herman's mother arrives, she refuses to carry him to the doctor until it grows dark enough to hide him. Meanwhile, a quarrel breaks out between Julia and Herman's mother. Finally, Herman is taken away amid many accusations and much rancour.

The last scene opens with Julia dressed in her wedding dress. She is surrounded by her neighbours. Then Herman arrives with two tickets to New York. But remembering the confrontation of the previous day, particularly the fact that his mother sneeringly reminded her that blacks and whites can never live together, Julia refuses to accept the tickets. She later changes her mind because of Herman. But eventually gives the tickets and her wedding band to Mattie and her child. The play ends with Herman dying in his lover's arms.

Set in contemporary Nigeria, the play, *Aisha* by Julie Okoh explores the challenges of inter-tribal marriage in the face of the ethnic sentiments currently tearing the country apart. The main characters of the play are Ehimare, a Christian and an Edo man from the southern part of the country and his wife Aisha, a moslem and a Kanuri woman from the North. Although they love each other passionately, "*but the love cannot flower into fruition because of tribal prejudices*" (53) At the beginning of the play, Aisha is greatly perturbed by her inability to have a child, in their ten years of marriage. Although Ehimare continuously reaffirms his love for her whether they have children or not, Aisha suffers greatly from insecurity. The main conflict in the play begins with the visit of Adesua, Ehimare's mother to the couple's house in Lagos. She berates Aisha for her inability to beget a child

for her son. They both quarrel and in the process, Adesua falls down.

Reading further into the play, one discovers that Aisha has had many pregnancies that ended in miscarriages due to the pressure she received from her mother in law, Adesua. All the medical doctors the couple consulted have consistently remarked that there is nothing congenitally wrong with Aisha. They attributed her numerous miscarriages to anxiety and stress. Hence they strongly advised the couple to avoid conflicts and stress.

However, Adesua interprets the problem differently. According to her, the union has been cursed from the very beginning because the couple offended their gods and ancestors by getting involved in inter-tribal marriage. She advises Ehimare to divorce Aisha in order to marry Etemini, the village girl she has been intending for him. To pacify his mother, Ehimare agrees to marry the village girl. But on the marriage day, taking advantage of a peculiar Edo traditional marriage rite, Ehimare ends up remarrying Aisha instead of Etemini.

Vision of Prejudice and Stereotyping in the Two Plays

In the play, *Wedding Band*, prejudice, stereotyping and segregation are first introduced through the perception of black women. They are characterized as narrow-minded and opinionated. When Julia confesses her relationship with a white man to her landlady and co-tenants, they strongly disapprove of such relationship. Lula and Mattie cannot believe that Julia really loves Herman. They think that she has a relationship with him just because of his money. In vain, Julia tries to convince them that she genuinely loves Herman avowing that she sincerely loves him the way Mattie loves her husband, but they refuse to believe her words and their disapproval becomes obvious as they walk away from her.

Herman's mother is an embodiment of racial aggression and the idea of white supremacy. Her evaluation of the blacks, especially black women, is deeply tainted with prejudices. As soon as she enters Julia's apartment, she wants to erase all traces of Julia

on her son by burning his clothes, which Fanny finds in Julia's house. Instead of taking Herman immediately to the hospital for medical attention, she berates Julia for going against social conventions and norms. Like the landlady, Frieda is more interested in keeping up appearances than in saving her son's life. She tries to break up the relationship between Julia and Herman. This is because she regards Julia as 'black dirt' sticking unto her son. Julia tries to explain that she is a lady and not a piece of dirt deserving to be purged away. Neither is she an inferior woman just because she is black. She also tries to make Frieda believe that she is above the general level of the other blacks. However, Frieda makes her realise that to the white world, she is not different from the other blacks. She is nothing but a big simpleton that can be used by any man. Frieda is so repulsed by Julia's relationship with her son that she vilifies her by accusing her of stealing money from Herman's wallet.

Frieda believes in racist ideology and is a staunch supporter of the Ku Klux Klan. During a moment of reminiscing, she recalls the high hopes she once had for Herman's future (47). She specifically evokes an image of a five years old Herman being physically forced to learn John C. Calhoun speech which fundamentally argues that black people are not equal to white:

Oh, Calhoun knew 'bout niggers. He said, —MEN are not born...equal, or any other kinda way...MEN are made...Yes, indeed, for recitin' that John C. Calhoun speech Herman won first mention... at the Knights of The Gold Carnation picnic (47)

As the issue of segregation continues to prevail, memories of Calhoun's speech permeate the scene and filters into Herman's feverish consciousness. In a state of delirium Herman lets go fragments of Calhoun's speech:

It is a great and dangerous error to suppose that all people are equally entitled to liberty...It is a reward to be earned, a reward reserved for the intelligent, the patriotic, the virtuous and deserving; and not a boon to be bestowed on a people too ignorant,

degraded and vicious...to be capable either of appreciating or of enjoying it. (49)

Julia is very disheartened to hear these stereotyped views about the blacks coming out of her beloved one, images that have been buried in his sub conscience despite his love for Julia. Julia suddenly finds within her a forceful voice to fight her opponent as she pointedly tells Herman's mother some uncomfortable truths. The women's argument escalates into a horrific verbal battle of racial insults as they throw at each other missiles of the worst racial epithets: "Miss Thelma my ass! Her first name is Frieda. The Germans are here!" ... "Black, sassy nigger!" ... "Kraut, knuckle-eater, red-neck!" ... "Nigger whore!" ... "Sharecropper bitch!" (50). Despite Julia's brave efforts in verbal outpouring, the war of racist altercations ends with Herman's mother releasing her ultimate political weapon: "*White reigns supreme ... I'm white, you can't change that*" (51). Hearing that, all verve, all humanity drains out from Julia as she angrily attempts to cleanse her house of whiteness. For, the old woman's vicious words have sullied the beauty and memory of the interracial love she and Herman have preserved for so long. Despite his mother's feelings about Julia, Herman remains resolute about his relationship with Julia. Frieda has to employ strong men to bundle Herman out of Julia's apartment.

Like her mother, Annabelle, Herman's sister also wants Herman to break off from Julia and marry a white woman who can help to take care of their mother. Annabelle is a war-time volunteer at the Naval hospital, but when Herman falls sick she renders him little or no help. Like her mother, she is also opposed to calling a doctor and wants to wait for the protection of darkness before moving Herman out of the black neighbourhood.

Prejudice and intolerance are important themes in *Wedding Band*. It is the society's racism and intolerance that keep Julia and Herman from marrying and also prevent his relations from seeking medical attention for the dying Herman. Although it is very obvious that Herman's mother is prejudiced against black people, it is also clear that the black characters in *Wedding Band* are suspicious of

the white characters, particularly of Herman. Moreover, Julia's isolation from the community is the result of prejudice and intolerance. She has been forced to move several times because of prying neighbours who disapprove of her interracial love affair with Herman. Since South Carolina law forbids marriage and cohabitation between blacks and whites, Julia must isolate herself or risk being prosecuted and punished by legal authorities. She is lonely, isolated, and ashamed that she is not respectably married. Worst of all, she sees herself as a social outcast, rejected by member of her own black race and certainly not welcomed by whites. Consequently, **Julia suffers** alienation and loneliness as she endures the strain of ten years of social disapproval and isolation. The miscegenation law that forbids their union serves to illustrate the depth of social intolerance and prejudice that characterized the south in the earlier twentieth century.

Although in the play, racial discriminations and stereotyping are not directed at Blacks alone, for some Whites, Asians and Jews are also victims of racism. However, the anti-black prejudices are by far the most damaging. Childress exposes the reality of life for black and white Americans as **she explores the frailty of humanity so entrenched in maintaining cultural conventions and ethnic boundaries** that it forgets that there are lives at stake. Through the evocation of historic memories throughout the play, Childress appears to be reminding her audience of the reality of racism, and also of the necessity to continue the fight against rampant discrimination and segregation. **She emphasizes that personal prejudices, racial discriminations, socially prescribed stereotypes and culturally constructed modes are inimical to human relationship.** And she is telling her audience to rise up and fight against them.

In the play, *Aisha*, Adesua is the proponent of cultural traditions and social norms. She believes strongly in tribal segregation. The only reason Adesua bluntly refuses to acknowledge Aisha as the son's wife is that she is from another tribe. She avers that the only way to secure peace and harmony in

marriage and to also have the fruits of the womb is through intra-tribal marriage, celebrated according to the customs and traditions of the people. She therefore advises Ehimare to divorce Aisha in order to marry Etemini, a young girl in their village.

Throughout the play, she constantly spices the dramatic action with her stories of tribal sentiments and religious intolerance couched in her narrations about the late 1960s Nigerian civil war. To justify her bias against Aisha she paints stereotypical images of her people:

"Hausas are too dangerous. They are ready to kill without thinking. They have no human feelings.(...) Right from the time of the civil war till today, any small thin they burn down houses. They burn down churches. They burn down properties worth millions of naira, belonging to southerners." (30)

Further down, in an outburst of rage, she sputters to her son: *"I have said I don't want any Hausa trouble. Let her go and marry a man from her village."* (31) As a result of her obsessive concern, suspicion and persistent hate speeches against Aisha and her people, Adesua almost causes a divorce between Aisha and Ehimare. During the climatic moment of the play, in a feat of anxiety, frustration, hypertension and confusion, induced by pressure and disparagement received from his mother, Ehimare slaps Aisha and she runs out of the house. For she couldn't believe that the very man for whose sake she abandoned everything, including her family, relations, friends, culture especially her religion could lift up his hand to slap her because of his mother. His mother who has relentlessly tried to make life unbearable for the couple with her hurtful comments and antipathetic conducts.

Just like Adesua, Aisha's parents do not condone inter-tribal marriage. In a flashback scene, we are told that the first day Ehimare visited Aisha in her parents' house, her

father chased him out with a dagger. Her parents tried everything to separate them because of their tribal differences, to the extent that Aisha's parents decided to transfer her from Lagos to a school in Kaduna, with the intention of marrying her off to a man from her village after completing her teacher training education at Bayero College of Education. However, destiny brought the couple together again during their National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) engagement. Living far away from the divisive watchful eyes of their parents, their love blossomed and flourished. Before they knew what was happening Aisha was pregnant. In spite of their parents' opposition, they exchanged their nuptial vow in a marriage registry according to the statutory law of the country.

The fear of ethnic prejudice and hostility in inter-tribal relationships is also ex-rayed in the sub-plot of the play. Ruddy, Aisha's maid, a Yoruba girl is being courted by Chike, an Ibo man who is Ehimare's driver. But Ruddy is reluctant to pay him any serious attention because of his state of origin. We also learn that she has previously turned down many marriage proposals because of her fear of ethnic prejudice and hostility as could be seen in the following extract:

CHIKE: You this girl, what's wrong with you? You refused to marry the security man because he is Tiv. Now you are rejecting me because I am Ibo. Whom are you waiting for? Your tribe's man?

RUDDY: Una leave me alone boo. I go marry una, make una mama come pour pepper for my eyes because I no be una village girl. Na so.(26)

However, despite all her efforts to repress her natural feelings for Chike and to discourage his marriage proposals, she ends up getting pregnant for him and eventually agrees to marry him. Serving as an analogy to the main plot, the subplot helps to illuminate the depth of ethnic bias in the society. According to Aisha, ethnic sentiments are deeply rooted:

in everybody in this country, including every man and woman,

young and old. In the family, at schools, in places of work or worship, anywhere, everybody is obsessed with his tribe and people cluster together in clique: Ndigbo, Afenifere, Arewa, Izon. So much so that we suspect each other, feel towards one another so much hatred, so much bitterness. (50)

That is essentially because Nigeria is a multi-ethnic nation with diverse cultural groups that are about 360 in number. However, none of these groups was a nation in any sense before the colonial regrouping. It was the colonial government that merged them together in 1914 and later Balkanized Nigeria into tripartite structure in 1946 along ethnic lines. Since then, each of the groups has been crying of being dominated by the others; each is crying of political marginalization, each has been jostling for recognition and relevance in the political arena. The clamour seems to be getting louder as the years roll by and even seems to threaten the corporate existence of the nation. So much so that Nigerians have become slaves to their ethnic origins to which they pay their allegiance to the detriment of national unity. Fanatical ethnic consciousness has resulted into ethnic prejudice and mistrust, religious and political problems, and socio-cultural conflicts. These phenomena permeate every sphere of life in Nigeria, be it employment, education, religion, family life even admission into federal Institutions. Whatever is done in Nigeria, particularly at government level has ethnic undertone. And this has been detrimental to national unity, development and progress.

Enduring Love as a Healing Balm for Embittered Humanity

The issue of Intertribal marriage dramatized in Julie Okoh's *Aishais* is very similar to that of interracial marriage treated in Childress's *Wedding Band*. In both plays the male protagonists are caught between their love for their spouses and their mothers' hatred for the same women. In Children's play, Herman seems to be the only character who does not see people in terms of race; he treats Julia and her black neighbours the same way he would treat any person of any colour. What Julia admires in

Herman is not his wealth nor privileges but his human kindness and caring nature. Appreciating him, she says: "*you nursed me when I was sick ... paid my debts ...*" (130). He is always there for her through thick and thin.

One can actually feel the profundity of Herman's love for Julia if one juxtaposes Herman's mother picture of her relationship with her own husband beside Herman's declaration of love for Julia. Herman's mother's marriage to Herman's father strictly obeyed the laws and conventions of their society. However, it collapsed because it lacked an important sustaining ingredient. Their marriage was loveless. That is why they couldn't tolerate each other. Whereas Herman's mother speaks about her marriage with disinterestedness and aloofness, Herman talks about his love for Julia with endearment and enthusiasm. Julia and Herman confront a tradition of separation of the races with their love for each other. Social convention and norms dictate that individuals should only love and choose a spouse from their race. And the miscegenation law reinforces that custom, but in this play Julia and Herman challenge that custom and tradition, fortified with strong fate in their love for each other.

Julia's belief in the possibility of having desegregation in the future is evident in the rousing speech she gives on the porch as Nelson Green, Lula's adopted son, prepares to return to the army after his leave of absence:

You're comin' back in glory... And those medals and that uniform is gonna open doors for you... Nelson, on account-a you we're gonna be able to go to the park. They're gonna take down the n—colored signs. (58)

Even though Fanny, her landlady is sceptical about the possibility of desegregation when she says: "*Some of us ain't ready for that*", and Nelson himself equally asks: "*you believe all-a that?*" (58-9). Julia remains firm in her hope for the future. By so doing, she embodies the necessary spirit for the struggle against segregation. However, her optimism is temporary dampened when Herman appears in

the yard, holding two boat tickets bound for New York. For, they are “colored tickets” (59), meaning that they obviously cannot travel together. This again, instantly resurrects in her the issue of colour contradiction and awareness. She begins to express a keen racial awareness, a dawning realisation that she is not separate from the black community, that she is not different from those relatives, friends and strangers who worked and slaved free for nothing (60-1). The entire history of slavery and the continual perpetuation of racial discrimination haunt Julia. Herman attempts to console her by saying it was not his fault: “I didn't do it...and you blamin' me for it” (62). However, her accusation is not directed at Herman, but at all white people, for the fact that the blacks were never allowed to vocalize their sentiments whenever somebody was lynched, that they had to bury and swallow down their opinions (62-3). At this brief moment of retrospection, the issues of their racial histories that have remained submerged for ten years in their social seclusion are forced to the surface. The conversation becomes an examination of their long-term relationship, of their mutual hidden shame and general anger at the law that denies their natural and positive feelings.

Julia becomes increasingly troubled because over the years she has envisioned that their love can transcend racial discrimination. However, at the end of the play, she decisively expels from her house white racism and its expression. But she leaves room for her loved one, Herman. This view is symbolically demonstrated in the play when she locks out Herman's family but allows Herman in. That means her love for him lives on. There is still a place for him in her life, though she has shut out the racism in him.

Wedding Band argues for the right of all people to love one another and live together as equals. **Their concluding memory is of togetherness, of leaving behind all the negative aspects of a society that instilled the double cultural encoding of black in a white dominated culture.** As Herman and Julia talk they remember their years of love and closeness, and they finally resolve the tensions that separated them. In **his last moments on earth, Julia evokes an image of both of them**

on a ship waving good-bye to everyone.

In Julie Okoh's play, Ehimare and Aisha defy social conventions and norms by falling in love and marrying someone from outside the boundaries of their ethnic groups. Ehimare is a staunch proponent of multiculturalism. Everything he says or does reflects this spirit. In fact, his household is a microcosm of the Nigerian Nation. The inhabitants cut across the major tribes in the country. According to him:

every community is now made up of people from different cultural background. In this house for example, our maid is Yoruba, the driver is Ibo, the security guard is Tiv, the gardener is Hausa/Fulani, my wife is Kanuri and I am Edo. We live under the same roof. In our daily existence, we share our life together. We relate to each other without thinking of place of origin.

(...) Tribal sentiment is an after thought, a connivance to hurt the other person” (59)

He further emphasizes that since contemporary societies are now cosmopolitan, people must learn to treat other people's culture with respect and tolerance. For, that is the only way to promote innovation and progress:

There is no culture that is monolithic or static. Every society incorporates several cultures. For, as people travel from place to place, they carry their culture along with them. They also meet people from other places and learn from them. Taking the best out of their different cultures, they form a new way of life, different but superior to their individual cultures. (...) When cultures meet in a spirit of tolerance and understanding, they further the cause of progress. (52)

Aisha also shares these views on cultural diversity, tolerance, innovation and progress. That is why she was able to resist her father's several attempts to break up her relationship with Ehimare. Reminiscing on their aborted pre-marital dream and aspirations, she laments:

... we thought we could use our diversities to build up a home infused with new values made up of our multicultural existence; my Kanuri and Fulani origin mixing with your Edo and Yoruba backgrounds to form a hybrid culture. This vision swelled up in me as my first baby gained weight in my womb.(...) Then your mother came raining abuses on me, poking accusing fingers at me. Intolerance, verbal violence and brutality, psychological trauma, became my lot. Gradually, everything flew out of me. Now I am completely empty and hopeless. (49-50)

Ehimare and Aisha strongly believe that since they live together, they are bound to influence each other in certain ways. The important thing is that people from diverse cultural backgrounds should try to understand one another, tolerate and respect each other's cultural differences in order to live in peace with one another. That is to say we must learn to accept the diversity of culture. For diversity is a natural phenomenon. It adds beauty and value to human existence.

Based on this perspective, Julie Okoh in her play emphasizes that a united, productive and progressive country, can only be accomplished when peace exists among the various tribes and cultural differences are set aside for the betterment of the country. Paying less attention to cultural differences, and allowing natural love to flow, people can unite and work together to build a stronger and more acceptable nation. Aisha succinctly expresses this idea when she affirms: *A woman's body is like a community. A community where there is internal discord and rancour cannot progress. Productivity and progress can only take place where there is peace. (21)*

Ehimare and Aisha's relationship is proof that they undoubtedly have more in common with each other than their tribes want to admit. The couple realize that more important than their tribal identity is their shared identity as human beings:

Tribe! Tribe! Tribe! I'm tired of all these talks about tribe. When I look

at you, I see a human being and not a tribe. When I need love or friendship, I yearn for human beings and not for a tribe. The kind of person they are, the way they relate to me, their disposition, understanding and consideration, these are the qualities that attract and endear them to me and not their tribe. (51)

This common denominator, that is their humanness, is what stimulates their love and friendship, enables them to hold on tightly to each other despite their tribal differences. And that is also why in spite of all oppositions they remain unwavering in their commitment to each other. According to Ehimare:

Love is the silent language of life. Without love there can be no communication or friendship. But with love, people of different cultural backgrounds can become unified into one body and soul. (35)

The idea that love and commitment are essential ingredients for unity and peace in the home, in a country and in every human relationship is a recurrent motif in Okoh's play. Further down Ehimare explains to the anxious Aisha:

The basis of every successful marriage is not tribal consideration but personal attraction, love and spousal commitment to make the marriage work. We love each other very much. That is what matters. You are now a part of my existence. Do you think I can survive a day without you? (52).

Yes indeed, with mutual love, respect and understanding, Aisha and Ehimare conquer the turbulence that was rocking their marriage, brought about by ethnic intolerance and outbursts from their relations, which led to Aisha's frequent miscarriages. Towards the end of the play, overcoming her insecurity, which is the basic feeling of people who are victims of prejudice (Allport, 140), Aisha asserts herself. Claiming her Kanuri identity, symbolised by wearing her Kanuri attire, she comes prepared for the wedding ceremony full of joy. (69)

The play emphasizes the need for

every Nigerian to appreciate and value one another irrespective of tribe, religion, class, and political affiliation in order to work together to engender peace and development in the country. Whereas too much emphasis on differences divides, emphasis on similarities serves to call attention to the common ground upon which cooperation between the various branches of the human family may proceed (Allport, 114)

The play leaves the audience with a sense of hope. For, the resolution of the conflict at the end of the play celebrates the peace at home and hopefully in the country. Therefore, it is hoped that if Nigerians watch or read the play, they may be favourably disposed to make new laws that will bring about a new Federal structure that will lead to the harmonious co-existence of the various ethnic groups in Nigeria. So through her play, Okoh is advocating for the different cultural sub-groups to set aside their tribal sentiments in order to work together like Ehimare and Aisha for the unity and progress of their nation. Ehimare sums up this aspiration when he says:

One day all the various tribal sub groups in this country will merge into a united powerful nation where individuals will be rewarded according to merit instead of tribe. That is if we all learn to accommodate each other; work together in the spirit of national unity (53)

Conclusion

Although, for many decades, the United Nations has been emphasizing the benefits of *cultural diversity*, it would seem that the citizens of the world are just paying lip service to the concept of multiculturalism and the chants of living in a pluralistic society. In reality learned behaviours still imprison and render people all over the world confined to their cultural prejudices and stereotyping.

Arguing that socially imposed prejudices serve as artificial barriers that keep human beings apart, the two playwrights emphasize that national integration and progress can only be achieved through a conscious effort to create among people, an awareness of the benefits of cultural diversity.

The French anthropologist, Claude Levi-Strauss (1978: 16) affirms that: “*difference is extremely fecund; it is only through difference that progress has been made*” and that “*the diversity of culture is necessary for the very existence of mankind, and it is in certain respect consubstantial with human nature.*” (20-21). That is to say difference is not harmful but beneficial. Cultural diversity is potent of many benefits that enable individuals to approach the world from various perspectives. And varied perspectives of looking at the world lead to innovative thinking and accelerate productivity. Therefore, it is only through the development and entrenchment of true love and acceptance of cultural diversity that human beings can eventually strategize actions that will engender sustainable development and also guarantee national peace and security. So, instead of fuelling ethnic sentiments, racism and intolerance, the two dramatists recommend the promotion of respect for cultural diversity and cooperation in a climate of mutual trust and understanding. They emphasize that genuine love for fellow human beings is a healing balm that can douse the pain of prejudice and bigotry in contemporary societies. Briefly, they try to use their drama to encourage the cultivation of enduring genuine love as a panacea for an embattled humanity.

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POWER MISUSE: AN ANTECEDENT FOR WORKPLACE BULLYING

By

Moses Adagbabiri (PhD)

Edwin Clark University
Department of political science
adagbabirimoses@gmail.com
08033929964, 08038045811

&

Ebenezer Okorodudu (PhD)

Delta State University
Department of political science
ebenezerokorodudu@gmail.com
08038176298, 08052376650

ABSTRACT

Workplace bullying often involves an abuse or misuse of power. Bullying includes behavior that intimidates, degrades, offends or humiliates a worker; often in front of others. Bullying behavior creates feelings of defenselessness in the target and undermines an individual's right to dignity at work. Workplace bullying represents persistent behavior that is both overt and covert. Indeed, as a phenomenon, workplace bullying is now better understood with reasonably consistent research findings in relation to its prevalence; its negative effects on targets, bystanders and organizational effectiveness; and some of its likely antecedents. Workplace bullying is a problem facing employees and employers in Africa, however little has been said about it. This paper is aimed at shedding an insight into the contemporary concept and to discuss the role that 'power relations' play in this type of unethical behavior at work. Drawing on well –established theories and findings of various researchers, the concept of workplace bullying is systematically linked with how it can evolve into mental health problems. Since this concept is relatively new in Nigeria, the paper aims at creating an awareness of a social problem at work. It is believed that this paper will stir up further interest in the area and future empirical research will be reported.

Keywords: Workplace bullying, power misuse. Health issues, work stress, interpersonal conflict, aggression.

Introduction

Workplace bullying represents persistent behaviors that are both overt and covert. There is an increasing need for understanding this construct for the reason that it is directly linked to bringing the victim to a state of long lasting emotional distress. Alarming, such aggression usually is invisible and difficult to identify (Razzaghian & Shan, 2011). Workplace bullying has become a widespread issue (Quine, 1999) and is believed to be three times more prevalent than sexual harassment (Namie, 2003). Bullying in the workplace is

ranked on the top amongst all forms of stressors present at work (Wilson, 1991).

According to Leymann (1996) and Rayner and Hoel (1997) cited in Razzaghian Shah (2011), the term bullying refers to different negative actions in totality that are frequently carried out and which are hostile and aggressive. The impact of bullying on victims can range from (but are not limited to) social isolation, social maladjustment, psychosomatic illness, depressions, helplessness, anger, anxiety, despair (Laymann, 1996), melancholy, insomnia, psychological distress, etc

(Einarsen, 1999; Razzaghian % Shah, 2011). Generally, man-induced aggression causes more severe trauma than is caused naturally (Dahl et al, 1994). Similarly, Mikkelsen and Einarsen (2000 a) puts forth that victimization caused by fellow human beings tends to trigger emotional problems (depression, helplessness, anxiety, etc.) among the victimized). For this reason, social researchers are deeply concerned to explore causes and effects of bullying in a workplace. These efforts have highlighted the deleterious effects of exposure to such negative acts on the health and well-being of victims (Einarsen et al., 2003). It is believed that such emotional problems reach heightened levels when the targets feel unable to escape those situations or when the source of aggression is more powerful (Einarsen, 1999). Therefore, the construct of workplace bullying is considered to be a source of social stress as well as occupational stressor (Einarsen et al., 2003; Agervold, 2007).

Research into workplace bullying has progressed from academic research on the phenomenon as a workplace problem into the realm of a micro-societal problem that government, employers, human resource - practitioners, non-governmental bodies, voluntary or non-profit- making organizations all ought to be concerned (Lewis, 2002). Thus, the social problem has moved beyond the organizational level to a societal level and should be of concern to employers and government at large.

This paper reviews and synthesizes available literature in the domain of workplace bullying. It also explores the possible causes that trigger the onset of such behaviours along with the resultant negative effects on the bullied victims in terms of health. Based on the work of different researchers and related models of stress, the paper concludes victimization due to bullying has devastating effects on the health and mental well-being of those exposed.

The Concept of Workplace Bullying

Workplace bullying often involves an abuse or misuse of power. Bullying includes behavior that intimidates, degrades, offends, or humiliates a worker, often in front of others. Bullying behavior creates feelings of defenselessness in the target and undermines

an individual's right to dignity at work. Bullying has become a complex problems for managers nowadays to handle because its prevalence can affect an organization's productivity, financial bottom-line and employee's morale. Yet, this phenomenon is often misunderstood or mismanaged. In organizations, it may take place between co-workers or subordinates and unlike the school bullying, in workplace, it is either consciously or unconsciously done by an adult. An interesting fact that is unlike some countries, for example Norway and Sweden, bullying is not illegal in the US and some Africa countries, including Nigeria and unfortunately, has not received the due importance. (Ijewereme O.B 2015).

Whitney and Smith (2014) emphasize that bullying is a form of aggression which is perpetuated on the victim in a position of less authority and encompasses a problem that is social as well as interpersonal in nature. In the contemporary times, organizations are passing through an increasing number of paradigm shift which requires more and more interaction on the part of employees working together. Hence, the chances for differences among employees have increased. Therefore, an understanding of the interpersonal conflicts at work has become importantly recognized due to the fact that such conflicts result in physical or psychological violence and further intensifies the health problems for the victims (Tehranni, 2004).

According to Owoyemi (2007; 2010 cited in Owoyemi and Seyi (2010), workplace bullying is:

A form of anti-social behavior in the workplace that occurs as a result of unequal power between two individuals, or a group of people and another individual and/or a group of people in workplace, which can cause distress, discomfort, physical and/or psychological harm.

Workplace bullying occurs as a result of the interactions of various factors that occur at three levels. First, the organizational level, which comprises the contemporary cultural context of the work environment, the organizational structure and the job design (Salin, 2003 Sheehan & Jordan, 2000). These are some of the components that can augment the climate for workplace bullying. For instance, bullying may be prevalent in organizations where confrontation is part of the working culture or is encouraged, where perpetrators feel there will be no recriminations for the actions, or even where bullying is unlikely to be abated (Sheehan, 2006). The need to survive in a competitive economy, have facilitated some organizations ability to develop cultures which are prone to poor working relationships and internal competition (Vartia, 2003; Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010).

Second, the individual level comprises the characteristic of the bullies and the victims. That is, at the individual level, workplace bullying focuses on the personalities and characteristics of the targets and the perpetrators (Einarsen, 2003; Vartia, 2003). Characteristics in terms of demographic factors may help to explain why some individuals are more subjected to acts of bullying than others. Some of the identified demographic factors include gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability and age (Lewis & Gunn, 2007).

Third, the group level is where interactions occur among the targets, the perpetrators and the organization. At the group level, interactions between people may sometimes influence the type of bullying behavior experienced within the organization (Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010). Being a sole target of sole perpetrator, according to Einarsen et al (2003), may contribute to the bullying process. Since there is strength in numbers, being a member of a group in a work environment gives the group an identity and self-categorization especially in a situation that is determined by social identification and consequent behavior (Capozzo & Brown, 2000). Thus, the interactions at these group levels are important for better understanding of

the concept.

Also, there seems to be a mutual consent on the fact that bullying can be described in terms of: the intentionality of the behavior; the frequency (for example, weekly) and the duration (for example, about six months) of such behaviours; the targets reaction(s) to that situation; a perceived imbalance and misuse of power between perpetrator and target; inadequate support; and inability of the target to defend himself or herself in that situation (Einarsen et al; 2011), where they have to face constant negative social interactions, budgeting, insulting remarks (Einarsen, 2009). This strengthens the aspect of power imbalance between the perpetrator and the targets as the perpetrator is believed to be in a position of strength as compared to the victim (Einarsen, 1996).

Quite interestingly, this construct has been studied under different terms (Tehrani, 2004) such as emotional abuse at work (Keashly, 1998), harassment at work (Einarsen & Raknes, 1997), bullying at work (Einarsen et al, 2003), mistreatment (Spratlen, 1995), mobbing (Leymann, 1996), workplace aggression (Baron & Neuman, 1996), or victimization (Aquino & Thau, 2009).

Bullying can be manifested in different ways, such as negatively gesturing or glancing towards the target, ignoring the target, refusing to listen or talk to the target, slander, laughter, scorn or belittling of the target (Vartia, 20010). In a study of 137 Norwegians, victims reported that the most common negative acts used by the perpetrators were social isolation and exclusion, unfair criticism of their work, insulting remarks, etc. ((Einarsen et al, 2003). Verbal and passive forms of bullying were reported as common methods used by perpetrators in an American survey on 178 employees (Baron & Neuman, 1996). In another instance, bullying took place through rumor spreading and repeated insults, done in order to change the image of the victim, which resulted in a low self-esteem, feelings of guilt and shame among the victims (Hallberg & Strandmark, 2006). In a study by Thomas (2005) conducted on 100 support staff in higher education institutions, it was reported that undue pressure to produce work,

undermining of one's work ability, shouting abuse and withholding of necessary information were perceived as the top four bullying tactics. As mentioned, bullying not only takes different forms but it can occur horizontally and/or vertically between co-workers, and can be carried out on both male and female workers (Branch et al 2013). Therefore, workplace bullying is a situation in which one or more persons systematically and over a long period of time perceive themselves to be on the receiving end of negative treatment on the part of one or more persons, in a situation in which the person(s) exposed to the treatment has difficulty in defending themselves against this treatment (Matthiesen & Einarsen, 2007).

Power Relations use and Misuse

Power relations underpin many of the arguments pertaining to workplace bullying. The inability of targets to defend themselves from the bully or bullies may be related to a power imbalance (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Turney, 2003). Workplace bullying, according to Turney (2003), does not occur between parties of equal power, but rather arises when conflict occurs between people with different strengths. Power imbalance is demonstrated through a wide range of situations such as gender, physical size, age, position and grade within the organization, educational qualification, and intelligence (Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010). Other parameters, such as the inability to defend oneself, silence, and being non-confrontational, are some of the traits associated with power relations (Branch et al, 2018). It is stressed that many different sources of power exist in an organization, but in the case of workplace bullying, it rarely comes as physical strength, but rather as 'legitimate power' possessed due to hierarchical positions occupied by members of the organizations (Salin, 2003; Turney, 2003; Razzaghian & Shati, 2011, Branch et al, 2013).

Although power has been criticized as being dysfunctional and negative (Palmer & Hardy, 2002), nevertheless, organizations need some form of formal power structure that can provide checks and balances to ensure the proper conduct of the organization (Owoyemi

& Seyi, 2010). Power in this situation is functional and will make organizations more efficient and effective (Palmer & Hardy, 2002). This paper aims at providing an insight into better understanding of power relationships and the use and misuse of power in relation to workplace bullying. The most important issue concerning power relations, according to Turney (2003), is that the organization should ensure that power is not abused.

Antecedents of Workplace Bullying

Bullying in an organization can be caused by many factors. According to Rayner and Hoel (1997), lack of proper work control and increased levels of role conflicts are some of the causes that may trigger employees engaging in such behaviours. Vartia (1996) also believes that problems in communication and cooperation, low morale and unhealthy social climate are also some probable causes for bullying to occur in a workplace. Cultural differences and the fact that 'who' is involved in bullying at workplace also determines the environment as conducive for this act or otherwise cultural differences can be measured on five dimensions, namely: power distance, collectivism versus individualism, femininity versus masculinity, uncertainty avoidance and long or short term orientation (identified by internationally since 1970s). out of these dimensions, power distance describes the possibility of bullying in any particular work environment. Power distance determines how people with varying degrees of power relate to each other (Vega & Comer, 2005).

Jex (2002) and Bowling and Beehr (2006) have separately examined two models of stress to explain the phenomenon of an occupational stressor. Basically, an occupational stressor is defined as an antecedent condition which requires adjustment to that situation (Razzaghian & Shah, 2011). Failure on the part of an individual to do so would result in strain for him or her. Moreover, if the individual lacks the resources required to meet the expected demand, it would also result in strain (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Jex (2002) refers to the stressor – strain model to explain the occurrence of bullying in a workplace. If stressors on a workplace exceed the resources

to cope with them, the resulting stress leads to negative physical, psychological and/or behavioural changes (Razzaghian & Shah, 2011).

On the other hand, Bowling and Beehr (2006) review the strain-stressor relationship in light of the bullying incidence. According to them, specific personal characteristics such as impaired health, etc., may pose as vulnerability factor. This predisposes work (Coyne et al, 2000). Lange et al (2005) further explained that strain –stressor model in light of gloomy perception mechanism which more or less states the same principle, that is, unhealthy or depressed employees may perceive the work environment as hostile and report higher levels of bullying episodes. It is worth mentioning that both these models have been used in studies done on workplace bullying (Einarsen et al, 2011).

Jehn (1995) highlights two major types of conflict events in any organization: relationship and task conflict. The former signifies disagreements due to frustration and personal clashes which limit group cohesion and efficiency while the latter type of conflict signifies conflict in the actual task that is being performed. Besides, some conflicts are of short duration and can be easily resolved and vice versa (Razzaghian & Shah, 2011). The concept of conflict intensity was also highlighted by Jehn (1995). Conflict intensity refers to the number of people involved in any conflict. The larger the number of people involved, and the more number of events, the more serious the conflict is. Bullying behaviours arise from long duration conflicts (Razzaghian & Shah, 2011). Such a scenario is also expected to produce emotional responses as well as counter productive behaviours in the group. Though counter productive behaviours can be of different forms (Fox & Spector, 1999), for example, when people face hindrance in the achievement of their set tasks or goals, frustration may result and this can prove to be an antecedent for organizational aggression. Thus, employees react to situations by engaging in different counterproductive behaviours, including hostility, interpersonal aggression, etc. (Fox & Spector, 1999). On the other hand, when the employees are subjected

to organizational aggression, they respond to them through different means which includes stress, anxiety, anger, etc. they may even respond with aggressive actions that are aimed at the organization (Spector, 1978). As already discussed, a victim of bullying undergoes distress and frustration (Einarsen, 2009), therefore, he or she may choose to engage in counterproductive behaviours. Ayoko et al (2003) proposed that intra-group conflict intensity bullying behaviours which in turn result in counterproductive behaviours in the workplace.

In another study conducted in the public service sector by Strandmark and Hallberg (2006), it was reported that lack of proper leadership, in addition to the aforementioned reasons was a possible antecedent instigating such behaviours. Consequently, bullying can be promoted by work related factors which include role conflicts, work control, poor flow of information, and haste at work (Vartia, 2001). Katrinli et al (2010) elucidated another interesting facet of engaging in bullying behaviours. According to them, bullying is believed to be a form of organizational politics with the aim of achieving or influencing some important organizational decisions, not to mention the bully's own vested interest. This is especially true in cases where organizations do not have clear promotion policies and instead, the employees are pressurized for more work (Vartia, 2001).

Theoretical Framework

The increasing concerns about the use and misuse of power in organizations have raised important epistemological and methodological debates (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson, 2013), which are now found in much of the management literature, such as in reports by Ruchanan and Huczynski (2001), French and Raven (1959), Foucault (1977) and Thompson and Mchugh (2002). The structural, technological and cultural changes reported in the workplace suggest some concern about workplace control, especially with respect to management and how they acquire and exercise control. Thompson & Mchugh, (2002). One form of control evident in some contemporary organizations is what human

resource consultants refer to as 'knowledge intensive' (Palmer & Hardy, 2003). This concept is related to the conception of discipline given by Foucault (1977), which focuses on the way management sustains its dominance by reducing the ability of subordinates to dissent by creating reality and managing meanings for them. That is, individuals or groups become socially inscribed and normalized through the routine aspects of organization (Buchanan & Huczynski, 2001; Pfeffer, 1992) which, according to Foucault, are set rules of the game which management establishes and with which they manage their employees. Foucault (1997) further defined such rules as being either normal or abnormal, that is, bi-power, and targeted at society as a whole. Such an argument leads us to consider what is normal at the organizational level. When these rules are considered, it is argued that employees become self-disciplined and require no more managerial effort to keep them under control (Buchanan & Huczynski, 2001). The major importance of Foucault's theory lies in the notion of power, which he referred to as a semi-stable network of alliances where subjects are constructed by power but they do not have power (Foucault, 1977; Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010).

The theory of power is complex and cuts across both historical and philosophical knowledge (Keltner et al, 2003). Defining power is quite difficult because it has evolved around different conceptualizations and interpretations, different guiding questions such as 'where is it located?', 'how is it distributed? And what is the unit of analysis and the outcome of interest? Are the focuses of some of the ongoing debates on power (Keltner et al, 2003). Power, according to Moskowit (1994; 2004), is a basic force in social relationships, and it focuses on the actor's intentions or actions, such as the treatment of power as dominance (Winter, 1988), influence (Keltner et al, 2003), Stereotyping (Fiske, 1993; Keltner & Robinson, 1997), social reasoning (Gruenfeld, 1995), social behavior (Clark, 1995, Kemper, 1991), moral judgement (Fiske, 1993), nonverbal display (Clark, 1995), behavioural confirmation (Copeland, 1994),

aggression (Bugental, Blue & Crucosa, 1989) and teasing (Keltner et al, 2003; Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010; Razzaghian & Shah, 2011).

Keltner et al (2003) defined power in the workplace as an individual's relative capacity to modify others by providing or withholding resources or administering punishments. The resources and punishments can come in different forms such as material punishment (food, money, economical opportunity, physical harm, or job termination) and social punishment (knowledge, affection, friendship, decision making opportunities, verbal abuse and isolation). All these aspects reflect the dependence of certain individuals on others with the perceived notion that individuals can hold and deliver power, which according to Keltner et al (2003) has affected the way power is used. The beliefs about the exercise of power are embedded in the cultural or moral values and attitudes of people within personal and social relationships (Howarol, Blumstein & Schwartz, 1989). That is, for those who possess the power, status is the outcome of the evaluation, and that status determines both the allocation of resources within groups and individual's power (Kemper, 1991).

However, Keltner et al (2003) argued that it is possible to have power without status or status without power, but only when a distinction can be made between formal and informal power. Formal power or authority is derived from institutionalized roles of arrangements, while informal power can exist in the absence of formal roles (Weber, 1947). Given the formal and informal possession of power, the management of the organization and the people within it play a vital part in ensuring that power is used correctly and not abused. The application and effectiveness of power, according to French and Raven (1959), are based on the interpersonal use of power, which are as follows, legitimate, reward, coercive, expert and referent power (Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010).

These sources, according to Thompson and McHugh (2002), reflect genuine and broader problems in measuring power, especially when the 'formal' and non-formal' and the 'legitimate' and 'non-legitimate' uses of it are separated. These sources mentioned above are

commonly seen as the traditional form of power held by the manager (s) in an organization which comes directly from the position that the manager is occupying in the organization (French & Raven, 1959).

The legitimate power is sourced from the position or the role a person performs in the organization (Mechanic, 2003). This source of power can be linked with the authority awarded to a person by a legitimate source (French & Raven, 1959). Authority awarded in this situation is dependent on what Bacharach and Lawler (1980) referred to as the perception of the subordinates in the right of power of the manager. Hence, it follows that only the managers that are perceived to be powerful as a result of the authority awarded to his or her position can bully a subordinate without being challenged (Branch, 2006; Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010).

The reward power is an interpersonal source of power that controls the resources available (French & Raven, 1959). The level of control of the resources can be determined by the position held by an individual, the authority awarded to the individual and the legitimate power bestowed on the individual (Yuki, 1989). Reward power or power to control resources in the organization can be influenced by the management of the organization, who can limit the amount of resources or reduce the reward power based on the position of the individual within the organization (Keltner et al, 2003). Reward power or allocation of resources can be abused by a manager if used negatively, for instance, the denial or withdrawal of reward and resource can be tactics used by a manager to bully others in the organization; especially those who do not possess legitimate power (Branch, 2006).

Coercive power, in contrast to the reward power, can be used to sanction negatively or punish others within the organization (French & Raven, 1959). This source of power is determined by the position of the power holder, and it is usually an authoritative power not possessed by most of the employees (Porter et al, 2003). Such coercive power can be used to punish, bully and even harass colleagues, subordinates and even superiors at work (Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010).

Expert power is a source of power available to every member of the organization (French & Raven, 1959). This source of power is knowledge base, and is determined by the individual's possession of knowledge or expertise (Mechanic, 2003). Employees that have expert power are usually depended on by others within the organization for information, problem solving and decision making (French & Raven, 1959). The overdependence of others on the expert power can be limited by referent power (French & Raven, 1959). Referent power on the other hand can be obtained through the personality of an individual (Yuki, 1989), which can assist an individual to occupy a strategic position within the organization (French & Raven, 1959). This source of power is not limited to the leaders within the organization, but rather it offers those that possess it, to have access to other positions within the organization (Racharach & Lawler, 1980). The more access an individual gets within the network of the organization, the more information such an individual could obtain, resulting in more expert power which can be used either positively or negatively (Branch, 2006).

Bullying and Negative Consequences on the Well-being

Bullying impacts targeted employees by causing a host of stress-related health problem. Cooper et al (2001) explain that although job related strain arises due to many sources present within the workplace, for example, workload or role demands, nevertheless, the most important source could also be due to individual or interpersonal interactions at work. According to Einarsen et al, (2003), negative behaviours such as bullying are often encountered by organizational members but when they become persistent, they are likely to affect the targets' health negatively. Individuals exposed to bullying behaviours tend to lose control at work and are frequent aggression, the more they are likely to feel stressed out (Branch et al, 2013).

According to Hackman and Oldham (1980) and Spector (1986), it has been established that job control is linked with an increase in job satisfaction and a decrease in job stress. It may

be said that individuals exposed to such frequent negative acts and aggression are more likely to feel dissatisfied with their work (Razzaghian & Shah, 2011). Thus, high levels of stressful environment are likely to persist in the organizational where bullying prevails (Agervold & Mikkelsen, 2004).

The WBTI 2003 survey polled self-described targets stressed effects range from severe anxiety (76 percent prevalence), disrupted sleep (71 percent), loss of concentration (91 percent), PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder, 47 percent), clinical depression (39 percent), and panic attacks (32 percent). Left untreated, and with prolonged exposure, cardiovascular stress-related diseases can result from pathophysiologic changes to the body that transform social factors into damaging biological consequences (Namie, 2003). PTSD is a psychological injury few blame victims for having it when causes are natural. Yet the experience is just as strong when trauma is induced by intentional human design. Leymann (1996) documented work trauma as problematic in Sweden, the result of psychosocial workplace stressors. He also estimated that 10 percent of his country's suicides were related to workplace traumatization.

Einarsen (1996) put forth that bullying in the workplace has the capacity to impair the health and well-being of the employees. For a bullied target, health impairment is coupled with economic setbacks that begin when the bully appears in his or her life. Bullied targets have a 70 percent chance that they will lose their jobs, either voluntarily or through constructive discharge, after being targeted. If the bullying has stopped, it is because 17 percent of targets transferred. In only 13 percent of cases are perpetrators punished or terminated. Destructive aggression carries few risks for perpetrators (Namie, 2003). Einarsen (1996) also believe that victimization due to bullying in the workplace can cause high level of anxiety, depression, psychosomatic complaints, and musculoskeletal problems. Vega and Comer (2005) reported that bullying increases the level of burnout and physical health complaints.

According to Jonaff-Bulman (1992), when

individuals are exposed to too much bullying, they may begin to take life and the surrounding environment as more of an insecure place where dangers and threats prevail (Razzaghian & Shah, 2011). Such thoughts in turn lead to emotional, psychosomatic and psychiatric ailments (Leymann, 1990). Mikkelsen and Einarsen (2002) still argue that victims of persistent bullying behaviours have exhibited symptoms. Similar to that of PTSD and general anxiety disorders (Leymann & Gustafsson, 1996) have also shown that victims of bullying show similar signs as found in victims of rape. PTSD can manifest itself within the victim through re-experiencing, avoidance and hyperarousal. Victims struggle with intense psychological distress, feelings of detachment from others, difficulty falling or staying asleep, etc. They may also face recurrent and disturbing thoughts or may have continuous dreams of the situations when they were bullied (Razzaghian & Shah, 2011).

The negative health effects, due to being exposed to bullying, can also be seen among those who are a witness to bullying situations. Study by Vartia (2001) has shown that observers of bullying report more general and mental stress than the non-witnessed group. However, the level of general and mental stress experienced by the observers was weaker as compared to the victims (Vartia, 2001). On the whole, employees perceive aggression in the form of bullying as unfair (Mikkelsen & Einarsen, 2002) and unwanted (Einarsen, 1996) and may include a negative and cynical picture of their workplace atmosphere (Maslach et al, 2001). In addition to this, bullied victims lose their sense of being a worthy and competent person (Leymann, 1990). And increased levels of tolerance for aggression in the form of bullying would mean more demoralization for the victim and a decreasing capacity to defend him/herself in that situation, thus, giving more room for the bully to continue doing so (Vega & Comer, 2005).

Characteristics of the Bullying-Prone Workplace

- "Making the numbers", an obsession with outcomes is uncritically adopted.

- Recruitment, promotion, and reward systems focus on individuals' "strength of personality" or interpersonal aggressiveness while ignoring emotional intelligence.
- Short-term planning, e.g., to meet quarterly investor projections, governs operations.
- Internal conduct codes limit prohibitions to narrowly defined illegal incidents,
- Executives give higher priority to personal friendships than to legitimate business interest.
- Fear is a dominant, desired workplace emotion, whether deliberately engineered or inadvertently created.
- Misuse of performance appraisal processes occur with impunity.

Power Misuse: An Antecedent for Workplace Bullying

The concept of power is important to the study of workplace bullying because it is one of the areas of convergence in the definition of workplace bullying (Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Hoel, 2006; Vartia, 2003). Most of the definitions of workplace bullying identify that the inability to defend oneself is an element of perceived power imbalance and a form of control (Salin, 2003). The use of power as a means of control can be explained using different approaches. First is the managerial approach to power that sees power as negative in the hands of management (Palmer & Hardy, 2003), especially when it is associated with the formal structures of the work environment. This form of power, according to Salin (2003), is an enabling structure that has a double significance.

That is, power structures can act as a foundation or as a filter that can either enable bullying by making the work environment conducive to its acceptance or when such conditions do not exist, will not allow workplace bullying to occur (Salin, 2003). Perceived imbalance of power, such as formal power constitutes an enabling process or structure that can establish fertile ground for bullying to develop. For instance, job design, work organization and employee relations are all components that can enhance the use or

misuse of power and thus facilitate a culture in which bullying might occur (Buchanan & Huczynski, 2001; Salin, 2003; Thompson & McHugh, 2002). Furthermore, workplace bullying can be used as a micro-political behavior (Salin, 2003) and when an organization is characterized by a politicized climate and a political perspective that rationalizes high internal competition and reward systems that make it appropriate to use whatever means it takes to outshine other employees at work, bullying among employees might occur (Salin, 2003). For instance, the introduction of teamwork and employee involvement have been successful, but they have now created and imposed increasing psychological pressures on workers (Rose, 1988). The psychological pressure, however, can reduce the threshold of tolerance, which can lead to employees acting or reacting, in bullying behaviours towards one another (Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010).

Second is the critical approach to power that sees power as a means of ensuring the compliance of employees with the values and goals of the organization by suppressing any form of conflict that might occur and through the strategic subordination of the activities of the workers (Palmer & Hardy, 2002). Compliance may occur when employees actively subordinate themselves to obtain job security, money, meaning, or identity (Deetz, 1992), which are all aimed at self-gain. When employees subordinate themselves for self gain, they surrender whatever power they have to change their conditions and have to co-operate with the organization in order to fulfill their needs (Keltner et al, 2003; Palmer & Hardy, 2002). This consent to domination occurs since the process of the production of the self remains unproblematic and conflicts which could produce contention which have been suppressed (McKinley & Starkey, 1998). The individual will therefore assume the particular subjectivity since they are considered natural and unproblematic (Keltner et al, 2003; Palmer & Hardy, 2002).

When employees subject themselves to control, there is the probability that they will not resist or oppose negative behaviours such as bullying in the workplace (Branch, 2006;

Salin, 2003). For instance fear will not make them oppose action construed as bullying. Rather, employees will accept bullying as a norm or way of doing things in the organization. In this case, negative behavior such as bullying can be accepted as part of the culture of the organization. However, resistance to any subordination, oppression or even negative behavior perpetrated by the dominant group can be affected by what researchers such as Matthiesen and Einarsen (2001) and Zapf and Einarsen (2003) referred to as personality characteristics or traits. That is, certain personality such as low self esteem, submissiveness and the lack of assertiveness, are associated with victims of bullying (Salin, 2003). And with these traits are less likely to defend themselves. The perpetrator(s) are protected in the sense that they are the dominant group and are therefore not resisted or challenged (Owoyemi & Seyi, 2010).

Even though power is felt everywhere, it is important to demarcate the boundaries of power with some level of control (Keltner et al, 2003). Power in the hand of management can be expressed through the control of activities in the organization (Mckinley & Starkey, 1998). The misuse of power by management could lead to resistance by employees, which could have a counterproductive effect on the organization, resulting in, for example, low commitment, absenteeism, and, 2006 sabotage (Hoel & Cooper, 2003; Kivimaki et al., 2003; Rayner et al., 2002; Sheeha). The inadequate use of power could lead to loss of control, discipline and orderliness, which is not a desired outcome (Thompson & Mcttugh, 2002). Power, according to a Foucauldian analysis, should be productive (Owen & Powell, 2006). The process of power and control therefore are both independent and interrelated with respect to workplace bullying (Branch, 2006). The more power possessed, the higher the likelihood of being abused and used negatively (Salin, 2003; Vartia, 2003). The inequality within the networks of power relations, can lead to a situation whereby a group within the organization is more powerful than the other, the convergence of the weaker group can lead to a situation where interdeterminism can later lead to resistance,

although currently most employer / employee relations are still based on unequal power relations (Branch, 2006).

Conclusions

Workplace bullying has become a serious and growing problem that affects a significant proportion of professions. The serious detriments that workplace bullying causes on health, social, and personal instability of employees, and the general performance of organizations have drawn attention to the comprehension of its appearance and progression. Therefore, individuals subjected to such behaviours are likely to show increased levels of anxiety, depression and a negative overall mental health.

It can be concluded in the light of the literature reviewed that workplace bullying commonly happens in organizations where dominant subordinate hierarchical relationships exist, and that most of the tactics used by the perpetrators are initially subtle and overt behaviors.

The power possessed by individuals at work has created an avenue for bullying to manifest. The culture of masculinity organizational division, and roll call all of which encourage group identification, have resulted in most organizations being prone to poor working relationships, and if not well managed, these relationships can lead to unethical behaviours such as bullying. If power is not used properly it could result in lack of trust by the employees in the management of the organization. This study has conceptualized workplace bullying as a factor of power relationships. That is, the more power possessed, the higher the likelihood of it being abused and used negatively. Organizations should ensure that all the policies and procedures aimed at ensuring that people work in a safe environment are implemented fairly and consistently, irrespective of the position or level of the parties involved. Acknowledging the occurrence of workplace bullying in Nigeria workplaces would enable employers and employees to take positive steps toward addressing the problem. Ongoing awareness and publicity should be increased so that other organizations that are yet to deal with such

problems would be left with no choice but to address the situation because the persistence of such negative behavior builds a constant distress within the individual leaving that person helpless and unable to cope with it. Probably, the bully's intention is to suppress the target to such an extent that he or she is under constant mental pressure and ultimately becomes dysfunctional in the workplace.

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POVERTY AND CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA: ANY RELATIONSHIP?

Michael Akpovbera ONODJE

Email: mikeonodje@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The paper provides empirical evidence on the direction of causation between poverty and corruption in Nigeria using data covering 1990 to 2018 to analyse a Granger Causality framework and a simple Ordinary Least Square (OLS) econometric model. The study reveals that proportion of rural population and male labor force participation rate granger cause poverty, while poverty granger cause corruption and female labor force participation rate. There is a direct causation running from poverty to corruption and not vice versa; implying that the level of poverty contributes to the perpetuation of corruption in Nigeria. Results of the estimated OLS model further reveal that a unit increase in poverty incidence in the country exacerbates corruption by 1.27, being statistically significant at 5%. The intercept of the model is negative and statistically significant at 5%, implying that if the problem of poverty is effectively addressed, corruption incidence will drop significantly by 20.31%. The findings are relevant, as they provide valuable insight into ways of tackling the corruption problem in Nigeria, while it is recommended that curtailing corruption in Nigeria should amongst others focus on poverty alleviation initiatives through women empowerment and massive development of rural communities.

Key words: Poverty, Corruption, Causation, Sustainable Development Goals

1. Introduction

The sustainable development goal of eradicating all forms of poverty and hunger seems elusive to Nigeria despite her abundant endowment of natural and human resources. Poverty and welfare indicators for the country have largely remained below international benchmarks. The country harbours some of the poorest people in the world with as many as 69 percent of the population living below the poverty line despite series of economic and social policies of the past governments. The 2019 Global Multidimensional Poverty Index revealed that the number of those who are multidimensionally poor in Nigeria increased from 86 million to 98 million people over the last decade. The high incidence of poverty amidst plenty in Nigeria has severally been linked to endemic corruption in the country, as there has been gross misapplication of resources that would have otherwise been invested in providing wealth-creating infrastructure (ActionAid Nigeria, 2015). Consequently, a potentially prosperous country struggles to feed itself and provide basic needs and jobs. Therefore, poverty is seen as an existential threat. This perception is further reinforced by the widely accepted position that corruption is a global incidence that tends to retard economic growth and

exacerbate poverty (Cieřlik and Goczek (2018).

There also seems to be a growing consensus that the incidence of corruption is sustained by the level of poverty in the country (Chakravorty, 2019). This is a plausible line of reasoning that demands investigation in the light of the fact that poverty makes people become desperate to the point of supporting and engaging in corrupt practices that benefits them. The linkage between corruption and poverty may run in either or both directions simultaneously. Poverty for instance can encourage corruption, while corruption on the other hand may deepen poverty (World Bank, 2003). Furthermore, most empirical works on corruption in Nigeria have focused more on economic growth without situating the possible influence of poverty on corruption and vice versa. Such conclusions and arguments however should be backed up by rigorous empirical evidence.

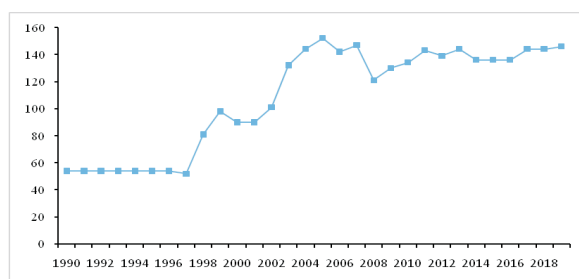
Given the foregoing, the paper investigates the relationship between corruption and poverty in Nigeria, thus providing the needed empirical evidence on the direction of causation and impact of poverty and corruption on each other. It proffers viable economic and social policies for reversing the possible mutually reinforcing issues of poverty and corruption. Following

this introduction, the rest of the paper is divided into five sections: section two deals with trends in poverty and corruption in Nigeria; section three covers literature review and theoretical framework, section four lays out the methodology and analytical framework; section five contains presentation of results of the analysis; while section six concludes the paper.

2. Trends in Poverty and Corruption in Nigeria

Poverty and corruption indicators for Nigeria over the years have not been very impressive and have consistently fallen below international benchmarks. One important measure of Nigeria's level of corruption is the Transparency International's corruption perception index (CPI) of nations pooled in the order of perceived levels of corruption. Based on the CPI scores, Figure 1 shows that Nigeria's global corruption ranking has been deteriorating over the years, falling from the 50th least corrupt nation in 1996 to an unenviable position of the 150th least corrupt nation in 2006. As at 2019, Nigeria is ranked as the 146th least corrupt nation in the world.

Figure 1



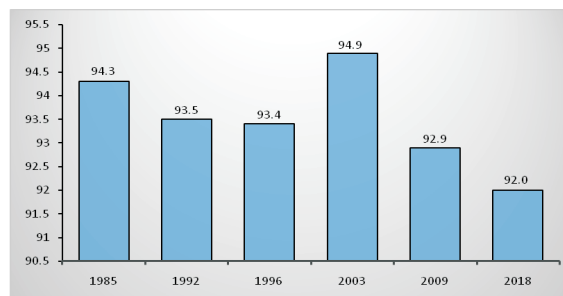
Nigeria's CPI Score (1990 - 2019)

Source: Transparency International.

Similar to the persistent problem of corruption is the issue of poverty which has remained endemic in Nigeria despite the introduction of several anti-poverty programmes by successive governments. An important measure of the level of poverty is the poverty headcount ratio in which an individual living with US\$5.50 a day can be considered poor. Figure 2 shows a high incidence of poverty in

Nigeria over the years, with over 91.5% of Nigerians reported poor from 1990 to 2018.

Figure 2

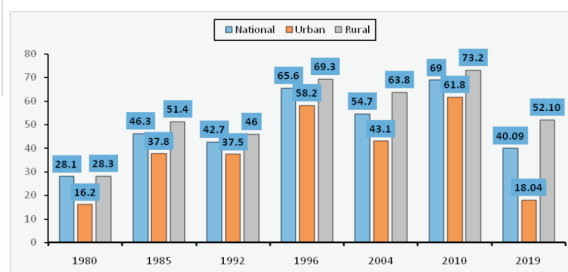


Poverty Headcount Ratio at \$5.50 a Day in Selected Years

Source: World Development Indicators.

both in the urban and rural areas over the three decades between 1980 and 2010. As shown in Figure 3, the incidence of poverty significantly skyrocketed from 28.1%, 16.2% and 28.3% for national, urban and rural poverty respectively in 1980 to 69%, 61% and 73.3% in 2010. These represented an increment of 145.5%, 281.5% and 158.7% for national, urban and rural poverty respectively in a period of 30 years (1980 - 2010). However, the decade in 2010 and 2019 saw improvement in the poverty incidence, falling from 69%, 61.8% and 73.2% in 2010 to 40.09%, 18.04% and 52.10% in 2019 for national, urban and rural poverty respectively.

Figure 3

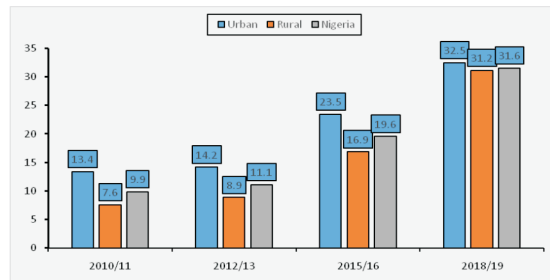


Trend in Urban-Rural Poverty: 1980-2019

Source: NBS Nigeria's Poverty Profile.

Poverty levels also reflected in the incidence of reported food shortages across the country. Figure 4 reports the incidence of food shortage across urban and rural areas of Nigeria. The report indicates that the incidence of food shortage skyrocketed from 13.4%, 7.6% and 9.9% in 2010/11 to 32.5%, 31.2% and 31.6% in 2018/2019 at the urban, rural and national level respectively.

Figure 4



Reported Food Shortages by Sector of Residence

Source: General Household Surveys, Nigeria.

The picture presented by the foregoing analysis is that there is a twin problem of corruption and poverty with associated palpable hunger in Nigeria. The issue is for further investigation is whether there is a mutually reinforcing dynamic between them.

3. Literature Review

The development literature abounds with studies on the problems of corruption, inequality and poverty, with many of the studies emphasizing the negative impact of corruption on economic growth and welfare. The World Bank's 2003 report for instance found that corruption has a negative impact on economic performance, employment opportunities, poverty reduction, and access to public health and other social services. Its study of poverty following transition to a market economy in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (ECA) produced important findings concerning income distribution and corruption. The study analyzes data on firms' perceptions of corruption and finds that more firms in ECA reported that corruption was a problem than in most other geographic regions. The study establishes that *differences in*

income inequality in the ECA countries were greatest in those countries where the transition had been least successful and where corruption was at its highest. In these countries, corruption allowed large economic interests to distort the legal framework and the policy-making process in a way that defeated the development of the market economies. The study also finds that *a higher degree of corruption is correlated with higher inequality.*

In a similar study of 35 countries (mostly OECD countries), Karstedt (2002) finds that *societies with high income inequality had high levels of corruption, while those with high levels of secondary education and a high proportion of women in government positions had lower levels of corruption.* The relation between measures of corruption and the Gini index of income inequality is found to be nonlinear, indicating that after countries attain a specific level of income equality, corruption tends to decrease exponentially. Some scholars are of the view that the effect of corruption on the economy is determined by the institutional quality of the country of interest, and that when institutions are weak, corruption can help expedite decision making and increase growth by reducing bureaucracy. This view is corroborated in a recent panel study by Chakravorty (2019) that finds several measures of institutional quality to strengthen the positive impact of corruption on economic growth. Findings by de Vaal and Ebben (2011) demonstrate that corruption may be beneficial to growth of countries with weak institutions. Ahmad, Ullah, and Arfeen (2013) find evidence of a hump-shaped relationship between corruption and growth such that growth increases with corruption severity up to a certain point when the relationship turns negative in a sample of emerging and developed countries. Okada and Samreth (2014) report similar findings for a pooled sampled of 130 countries. Their findings show that below a certain threshold of corruption, the effect of FDI on economy growth is negative whereas severe corruption leads to stronger positive effect of FDI on economic growth.

In contrast to the foregoing findings, some studies reveal that corruption hampers decision

making and efficiency in countries with highly developed institutions thereby limiting economic growth. In countries with less developed institutions, high government consumption is robustly associated with lower economic growth due to the potential for corruption in the execution of government activities. Evidence also suggests that higher levels of corruption are associated with increasing public sector investment but decreased productivity; reduced government revenues resulting in reduced resources for productive expenditures; lower expenditures on operations and maintenance; and reduced quality of public infrastructure. A study by Hakimi and Hamdi (2017) finds that severe corruption impedes growth through its negative impact on inflows of foreign investment. In effect, if a country improves its corruption index from a low point scale to a higher point scale, it would increase the investment inflow proportionately. The panel study of 142 countries by Cieřlik and Goczek (2018) finds that countries less prone to corruption tend to flourish economically because they attract more foreign investment vis-à-vis more prone countries. An earlier study by Mo (2001) establishes that political instability significantly mediates causality from corruption to economic growth and a 53% contribution of political instability in exacerbating the negative effect of corruption on growth. The study also documents 0.72% decline in growth for a 1% increase in level of corruption.

Another issue of interest in the literature is the direction of influence between corruption and poverty. In this regard, the studies by Negin, Rashid, and Nikopour (2010) and Sulemana and Kpienbaareh (2019) reveal that corruption and poverty go together, with bidirectional causality. Farooq, Shahbaz, Arouri, and Teulon (2013) also show that causality between corruption and economic growth is mutual for Pakistan. Their findings suggest that any strategy to reduce poverty and fight corruption must be vigorously implemented concurrently. However, a later study by Papaconstantinou, Tsagkanos, and Siriopoulos (2013) finds a unidirectional causality moving from bureaucracy and corruption to economic

growth.

4. Theoretical Framework and Model Specification

Three types of analysis are employed in the study: causality tests, estimation of a specified model, and trend analysis. For causality tests, the Granger (1969) causality framework is considered appropriate for exploring the relationship between corruption and poverty in Nigeria. Intuitively, the standard Granger causality test examines whether past changes in one variable (*say* X) help to explain current changes in another variable (*say* Y). If otherwise, then one concludes that X does not Granger-cause Y . To determine whether causality runs in the other direction that is from Y to X , one simply repeats the procedure, but with X and Y interchanged. The test involves estimating the following pair of regressions:

$$X_t = \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i Y_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \beta_j X_{t-j} + \mu_{1t} \quad (1)$$

$$Y_t = \sum_{i=1}^n \lambda_i X_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \delta_j Y_{t-j} + \mu_{2t} \quad (2)$$

Where it is assumed that the disturbances μ_{1t} and μ_{2t} are uncorrelated.

Equation (1) is an expression stating that the current values of X is related to its own past values and past values of Y .

Equation (2) expresses similar relationship for Y . Gujarati (2004) further emphasised that there are four possible Where it is assumed that the disturbances scenarios which the test could throw up, namely:

- Unidirectional causality from Y to X is indicated if the set of estimated coefficients of the lagged Y in (1) as a group is statistically different from zero (i.e., 0) and the set of estimated coefficients of the lagged X in (2) as a group is not statistically different from zero (i.e. $\lambda_i = 0$).
- Conversely, unidirectional causality from X to Y exists if the set of estimated coefficients of the lagged Y in (1) is not statistically different from zero (i.e., 0) and the set of coefficients of lagged X in

(2) is statistically different from zero ($\lambda_i \neq 0$).

- Bilateral causality is suggested when the sets of estimated coefficients of the lagged Y and X are statistically significantly different from zero in both regressions (i.e. $0; \lambda_i \neq 0$).
- Independence is suggested when the sets of estimated coefficients of the lagged Y and X are not statistically significant in both the regressions ($0; \lambda_i = 0$).

Following from the theoretical framework, a bivariate model consisting corruption and poverty is adopted. Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and Population of Nigerians in poverty (Pop_n_Pov) time series data from 1990 to 2018 are used for the corruption and poverty variables in the model. The model is then specified thus:

$$(Pop_n_pov)_t = \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i (CPI)_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \beta_j (Pop_n_pov)_{t-j} + \mu_{1t} \quad (3)$$

$$(CPI)_t = \sum_{i=1}^n \lambda_i (Pop_n_pov)_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \delta_j (CPI)_{t-j} + \mu_{2t} \quad (4)$$

Granger causality tests are performed on equations (3) and (4) to explore the relationships that exist between corruption and poverty in terms of impact and direction of causation. Once the direction of causation is established, an econometric model is specified as follows and estimated using the following Ordinary Least Squares (OLS):

$$CPI_t = a_0 + a_1 Pop_n_Pov_t + U_t \dots (5)$$

Where CPI is Corruption Perception Index, **Pop_n_Pov** is Population living in poverty, U is error term, and t is time subscript.

The desirability of this approach is based on the assumptions that: 1) the relationship between the dependent and independent variable flows in 'one' direction only; 2) the model is correctly specified; and 3) the error term has a mean value of zero with a constant variance.

Also, in order to investigate the claim that rural population can aggravate the problem of poverty in Nigeria and whether female participation in the labour force can help reduce poverty, the granger specifications below are also estimated:

Poverty-Rural Population link

$$(Pop_n_pov)_t = \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i (R_Pop)_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \beta_j (Pop_n_pov)_{t-j} + \mu_{1t} \quad (6)$$

$$(R_Pop)_t = \sum_{i=1}^n \lambda_i (Pop_n_pov)_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \delta_j (R_Pop)_{t-j} + \mu_{2t} \quad (7)$$

Poverty-Labour force participation of male/female link

$$(Pop_n_pov)_t = \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i (LFP)_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \beta_j (Pop_n_pov)_{t-j} + \mu_{1t} \quad (8)$$

$$(LFP)_t = \sum_{i=1}^n \lambda_i (Pop_n_pov)_{t-i} + \sum_{j=1}^n \delta_j (LFP)_{t-j} + \mu_{2t} \quad (9)$$

Where in equations (6) – (9), Pop_n_pov is population living in poverty, and R_Pop is rural population, and LFP is Labour Force Participation by female.

The findings from the specifications above can help in designing a robust poverty reduction policy.

4.3 Data and Sources

Annual time series data covering 1990 to 2018 used for the data analysis include *Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI)*, *Poverty Head Count Index, Gender, and Rural Population*:

Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI): The annual CPI is the best known Transparency International's index of corruption. It ranks 180 countries from one to ten (with 10 representing extremely low and 1 extremely high corruption) by their perceived levels of corruption, as determined by expert assessments and opinion surveys. Although critics believe that CPI still has important weaknesses, it has received wide publicity and fulfils Transparency International's aim of raising public and political awareness of corruption. But as the CPI is based on the perception, its results should be interpreted with caution.

Poverty Head Count Index: This is the most widely used measure of the incidence of poverty in development literature. The index simply computes the percentage of households with consumption per capita below the poverty line. It measures the incidence and magnitude of poverty in the society and has the advantage of being easy to compute and interpret. However, it does not provide information about the depth or severity of poverty (Gillespie, 1990; and Ravallion and Bidani, 1994).

Gender: Several studies show that women's participation in the public sector reduces corruption in business and government and in countries with high gender equality, the level of corruption is lower (Dollar and Gatti, 1999, Swamy et al., 1999). This is true even when countries with the same civil liberties, education, legal institutions, and GDP are compared. Then, in order to lower the level of corruption, it may be better to design policies to improve the role of women in public life. The relative share of female and male in the labour force is thus used as proxy for labour force participation.

Rural Population: In most developing countries the likelihood of being poor and the severity of poverty are more in rural areas due to five characteristics of rural space (Cord, 2002; Alderman, 2001). Data on rural population are collected from several sources in varying years, including the World Bank's World Development Indicators 2003; National Bureau of Statistics' Annual Abstract of Statistics (ABS) and Nigeria's Poverty Profile; Central Bank of Nigeria's Annual Reports and Statements of Accounts; Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index; and United Nations Development Programme's Human Development Reports.

5.0 Presentation of Results

5.1 Descriptive Analysis

As shown in table 1, the average Corruption Perception Index score for Nigeria is 16.73 in the periods under review, ranging from as low as 6.30 to as high as 27.0 with a standard deviation of 7.75. Poverty incidence averaged 59.2% between 1990 and 2018, ranging from as low as 42.7% to as high as 72.5% with a standard deviation of 9.35%. The population of Nigerians living in poverty averaged 80.8 million, ranging from as low as 37 million to as high as 130.7 million with a standard deviation of 27 million. The incidence of poverty in urban and rural areas of Nigeria averaged 45.2% and 59.3% respectively, ranging from as low as 34.1% and 46% to as high as 58.2% and 69.3% respectively and with respective standard deviations of 7.8% and 6.9%.

Table 1: Summary Descriptive Statistics

	CPI_SCORE	CPI_RANK	POP_N_POV	U_P	R_P	R_POP	F_LFP	M_LFP
Mean	16.73	103.46	80,802,071	45.16	59.30	81,472,813	16,834,679	24,858,708.0
Median	16.80	111.00	79,139,308	44.65	61.04	82,557,698	17,038,931	23,813,204.5
Maximum	27.00	152.00	130,679,323	58.20	69.30	94,165,209	23,652,281	32,131,967.0
Minimum	6.30	52.00	37,007,908	34.10	46.00	56,288,430	7,263,586	18,411,062.1
Std. Dev.	7.75	38.68	27,039,155	7.77	6.93	9,390,156	4,515,547	3,821,891.27
Obs.	26	29	29	29	29	29	29	29

Notes: POP_N_POV: Population living in poverty; U_P: Urban Poverty Incidence; R_P: Rural Poverty Incidence; R_POP: Rural Population; F_LFP: Female labour force participation; and M_LFP: Male labour force participation.

5.2 Results of Causality Tests

The results of Pairwise Granger causality tests are presented in Table 2 to determine the direction of causation among the variables.

Table 2: Pairwise Granger Causality Tests

Sample: 1990 – 2018; Lags: 1

Null Hypothesis:	Obs	F-Statistic	Prob.
CPI_SCORE does not Granger Cause POP_N_POV	25	0.79845	0.3812
POP_N_POV does not Granger Cause CPI_SCORE		7.91353	0.0101
R_POP does not Granger Cause POP_N_POV	25	2.73971	0.1121
POP_N_POV does not Granger Cause R_POP		64.1006	6.E-08
F_LFP does not Granger Cause POP_N_POV	25	0.73111	0.4017
POP_N_POV does not Granger Cause F_LFP		3.67648	0.0683
M_LFP does not Granger Cause POP_N_POV	25	5.58154	0.0274
POP_N_POV does not Granger Cause M_LFP		2.23307	0.1493

The test results present some interesting insights into the direction of causation among the variables: 1) poverty granger cause corruption, but corruption does not granger cause poverty; 2) population in rural areas granger cause poverty, but poverty does not granger cause population in rural areas; 3) poverty granger cause female labour force participation, but female labour force participation does not granger cause poverty; and 4) male labour force participation granger cause poverty, but poverty does not granger cause male labour force participation. In summary, causation is unidirectional from poverty to corruption, population in rural to poverty, poverty to female labour force participation, and from male labour force participation to poverty.

5.3 Results of OLS Estimation

The initial output of the corruption model was not impressive because of evidence of positive serial autocorrelation as reflected in the Durbin-Watson statistic of 0.78. In attempting to correct the problem, we experimented with first order of Moving Average (MA) schemes using both Cochrane – Orcutt and Newton – Raphson iterative methods, which produced a more satisfactory result with convergence achieved after only 8 iterations. The improved version of the corruption model is therefore presented in table 3.

Table 3: Corruption-Poverty Model Estimation (1990-2018)

Sample: 1990 2015, Observations: 26;
Convergence achieved after 8 iterations
Coefficient covariance computed using outer product of gradients

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-Statistic	Prob.
C	-20.30510	8.938682	-2.271598	0.0332
POP_N_POV	1.266777	0.492513	2.572068	0.0174
MA(1)	0.487468	0.209191	2.330252	0.0294
SIGMASQ	0.054201	0.014627	3.705584	0.0012
R-squared	0.815143	Mean dependent var	2.687322	
Adjusted R-squared	0.789936	S.D. dependent var	0.552208	
S.E. of regression	0.253092	Akaike info criterion	0.240948	
Sum squared resid	1.409226	Schwarz criterion	0.434502	
Log likelihood	0.867670	Hannan-Quinn criteria	0.296685	
F-statistic	32.33703	Durbin-Watson stat	1.862471	
Prob(F-statistic)	0.000000			

The poverty coefficient has the expected sign and is statistically significant, and the coefficient of determination ($R^2 = 0.82$) indicates that the model explains at least **82** percent of the systematic variations in Nigeria's corruption perception between years 1990 and 2018. The **F-statistic (32.34)** and the **Standard Error of the Regression estimates (0.25)** indicate that the model fit the data relatively well, while the **Durbin Watson statistics (1.86)** indicates the absence of autocorrelation. Thus, the results of the diagnostic tests show that the parameter estimates of the corruption model are very reliable for policy decision making.

From our empirical investigation, a unit increase in the incidence of poverty in Nigeria would increase rate of corruption by 1.27. The implication of this is that for government to be able to tackle corruption effectively, the incidence of poverty must have drastically reduced. The value of the intercept (-20.31)

also supports the finding of our causality test, in the sense that if there is no poverty, corruption will drop by 20.31 units. Hence tackling poverty will aid the reduction of corruption.

6. Conclusion

The results of the study show that there is a direct causation running from poverty to corruption, but there is no direct causation running from corruption to poverty. This supports the results of the study by Papaconstantinou, Tsagkanos, and Siriopoulos (2013) which suggest unidirectional causality between poverty and corruption. The ensuing argument could be that poverty makes people become desperate, thereby engaging in corrupt practices like receiving bribes, diverting funds, evading taxes, etc. This empirical evidence suggests that a carefully designed poverty alleviation initiative will be an effective tool in curtailing corruption in Nigeria. The study also shows that the proportion of rural population and the male labor force participation rate are causal factors to be considered in poverty alleviation policies. Also to be considered is how the incidence of poverty influences female labor force participation.

On a macro level, high incidence of corruption has implications for a country's ability to attract investment, for the effectiveness of its institutions, for income generation through taxation, and hence for economic growth and poverty reduction. Corruption affects the soundness of national economies through misallocation of national resources, resulting in the diversion of scarce resources from national priority projects to sectors where personal and selective benefits can be reaped. While this corruption hurts the society in general, it hurts the poor most since they are more vulnerable and dependent on the quality of governance and state support. Hence it can be said that fighting poverty is a prerequisite to fighting corruption in Nigeria.

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A CRITICAL STYLISTIC APPROACH TO TRANSITIVITY IN NNIMMO BASSEY'S ECOPOETRY

Anthony Ojarikre, PhD
Department of Languages
Edwin Clark University
Kiagbodo
Ughelli
Delta State
Nigeria
08033934783
ojarikre.anthony1@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

Niger Delta ecopoetry arose from the agitations of the people of the Niger Delta for environmental justice. While critical works have been written in this area, significant attention has not been paid to the perspective of Transitivity and Niger Delta ecopoetry. This paper therefore, is a critical stylistic study of Nnimmo Bassey's eco-critical poetry in the context of the struggle of the people of Nigeria's Niger Delta. An attempt at periodization of Niger Delta poetry is made. Nnimmo Bassey is classified along with the third generation of Niger Delta poets who are actively involved in the intellectual arm of the struggle. The critical stylistic tool used for the study is Representing Actions, Events and States by Jeffries (2010), which is an adaptation of Transitivity by Halliday (1985). Three poems are selected for detailed transitivity analysis from the collection, *We Thought It Was Oil But It Was Blood*. The complete poem is presented in a transitivity chart, while the devices are counted for frequencies and calculated for percentages. These frequencies and percentages are then tabulated for data analysis. In this way, it is possible to identify the foregrounded devices. The results show how Transitivity has been used to inculcate in the reader the need for the people to control their own resources and enjoy a clean environment. Furthermore, attention is drawn to the plight of the Niger Delta people.

Keywords: Critical Stylistics, Transitivity, Ecopoetry, Niger Delta, Representing Actions, Events and States

Introduction

This section attempts a periodization of Niger Delta Literature. The purpose is to trace the beginning of eco-critical literature in the Niger Delta and locate the poetry of Nnimmo Bassey within this corpus. An attempt is also made to justify the study by identifying the research gap it is designed to fill.

In the context of the Niger Delta, Dennis Osadebay, Gabriel Okara and J.P.

Clark are classified as pioneer poets as evident in the titles of Ogude (2011) and Uдах (2011): "The Patriarchs of Niger Delta Literature" and "The Pioneers Poets of the Niger Delta" respectively. Dennis Osadebay wrote in the tradition of pioneer poets like May Casely-Hayford, discussing issues of nationalism, African culture and the African identity. Gabriel Okara and J.P. Clark handled issues around their riverine environment

(Nwoga, 1967 & Senanu and Vincent, 1976). Poverty in J.P. Clark's "Night Rain" was presented as emanating more from the naturally harsh environment than the consequences of oil exploration and exploitation. Okara's "Piano and Drums" treats the subject matter of culture conflict. This is understandable as these poems were generally written before the oil boom era.

The move towards eco-critical poetry was signalled when Tanure Ojaide (a Niger Delta poet) emerged with contemporaries like Niyi Osundare and Odia Ofeimun as the second generation of modern Nigerian poets (Olafoye, 2000). This paradigm shift was accentuated by the activities of MOSOP (Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People), which culminated in the "judicial murder" of Ken Saro-Wiwa in November 1995. The subsequent intellectual dimension to the struggle gave birth to a corpus of literature called Niger Delta Protest Literature. Ushie (2011) observes the dominance of poetry in this emerging genre of literature. It was referred to as "an earth-centred approach to literary studies", designed to draw attention to the destruction of the ecosystem and promote "ecological literacy" (Glottfelty, 1996; Ojaide, 2013; Okuyade, 2013; & Branch, 1998).

Nnimmo Bassey is one of the poets that have addressed environmental issues in the Niger Delta. He is an architect and a passionate environmentalist. His passion for the environment is obvious when one reads the blurb of his 1992 collection, *Patriots and Cockroaches*:

Nnimmo Bassey is Chairperson, Friends of the Earth International; Director, Environmental Rights Action (ERA) and Chair, Oil Watch Africa.....His travelogue on the environment, *Oil watching in South America* was released in 1997.

The poem 'Tidbinbila' is a product of one of his numerous travels. As far as the researcher knows, he has not been studied from the critical

stylistic perspective. This paper therefore sets out to study transitivity in Nnimmo Bassey's ecocritical poems from the perspective of Lesley Jeffrey's Critical Stylistics. The poems for this study are taken from the collection, *We Thought it Was Oil But It Was Blood*.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for the study is Critical Stylistics. Propounded by Jeffries (2010), it is a fusion of Critical Discourse Analysis and Stylistics with a view to showing the power of language and the consequent impact of language on the reader's or hearer's worldview. The book in which Jeffries explicates this theory is titled, *Critical Stylistics: The power of English*. Among her objectives, Jeffries states her desire to give the reasonably advanced student of English a sense of how to go about studying the power of texts and explaining how language represents the world in line with Halliday's (1971) ideational component of the metafunctions of language. Against this background, she came up with ten tools of Critical Stylistics of which Representing Actions, Events and States is one, based on Halliday's Transitivity, with insights from Simpson (1993). The tools are 1. Naming and Describing 2. Representing Actions, Events and States 3. Equating and Contrasting 4. Exemplifying and Enumerating 5. Prioritizing 6. Assuming and Implying 7. Negating 8. Hypothesizing 9. Representing the Speech and Thoughts of other Participants 10. Representing Time, Space and Society.

Representing Actions/Events and States

Representing Actions, Events and States as a critical stylistic tool is based on the notion that the verbal element of a clause (predicator) is the location of the actions and processes that take place between entities. Action represents what is being done, event has to do with what is happening and state, what simply is. Depending on the ideological standpoint, the following groups may describe a dwindling economy as:

- i. World markets are falling. Event (This is the politician who wishes to get votes).

- ii. The honourable member has ruined the economy. Action (This is a member of the opposition).
- iii. The world economy is in crisis. State (This is a commentator).

It is obvious that each speaker has taken a perspective for a purpose. The politician canvassing for votes (presumably an incumbent) would want to downplay the situation by blaming domestic economic problems on the international market, the opposition will take a strong stance by scathing criticism; while the impartial commentator would present it as it is. Each of these choices has consequences for the perception of the reader or hearer.

The following are the main categories as identified by Jeffries (2010):

1. Material Action

This is referred to as the most prototypical verb, having to do with something that is done or happens in a physical way. Examples are

The joint union committee walked out of the meeting
The government postponed their enquiry.

The participants in the clause are the actor (grammatical subject) and the goal (grammatical object). The actors, in this case, are 'The joint union committee and the government respectively, while the goal, are 'the meeting' and 'their enquiry'. The reason for this participant labels is to distinguish the semantic role that such participants play from their grammatical role.

The sub-categories of material actions are;

- a) Material Action Intentional (MAI)
This is intentional material action performed by a conscious being as in the example under material actions.
- b) Material Action Supervention (MAS)
This is unintentional action by

a conscious being. As in

The baby fell out of his pram onto the tarmac.

The judge lost her temper

In both cases, the actors though conscious are not in control.

- c) Material Action Events (MAE): This is action by an inanimate actor.

The car backfired.

2. Verbalization Processes

This is the process of saying.

Participant roles are sayer and target.

It has a human actor.

John Sayer / told process / Mary target / his life story. verbiage

He Sayer / said process / that. verbiage

3. Mental Processes

Mental processes refer to what happens within human beings. This is further sub-divided into;

- a) Mental cognition (MC)
 - Thinking, knowing, realizing, understanding and so on
- b) Mental Reaction (MR)
 - Feeling (emotionally), liking, hating and so on
- v) Mental Perception (MP)
 - Sensing, hearing, feeling (literally), seeing, tasting and so on.

For a mental process verb, the other participants are sender and phenomenon, as in the following examples.

Sender	Process	Phenomenon	
The interviewer	realized	her mistake	MC
I	hate	the political system in Britain	MR
They	heard	the rumour about Mr. Price	MP

4. The Relational Category

This represents the static or stable relationships between carriers and attributes rather than any changes or dynamic actions. The verbs in this category are;

- The copula verb (to be) and other intensive relations (RI)
- Possessive relations as indicated by verbs like 'have' (RP)
- Circumstantial relations (RC) which involves verbs of movement and the verb 'be' as well

a. Relational Intensive

'x is a' relationship. It involves the copula verb 'be' and other intensive relations

Mary / *is* / *wise* / *Tom seems foolish*
Carrier / *process* / *attribute*

b. Relational Possessive

'x has a' relationship

Gill has a guitar. John owns a piano

c. Relational Circumstantial

'x is at/on a' relationship: verbs of movement and verb 'be' as well.

Bill is at home/John was in the room.

In traditional grammar, the verb is defined as a word that shows action or a state of being. This has been interestingly broken down into 'event', 'action' and 'state'. The 'action' component fits into material actions, the event component fits roughly into mental processes, while state fits roughly into relational processes. This model represents Halliday's ideational function of language, relevant to uncovering ideologies. The transitivity model as Simpson (1993:88) notes, is concerned with the transmission of ideas and it is a part of the ideational function of language. This is what Jeffries (2010), adapts for critical stylistic analysis.

Literature Review

Dorpar (2012a) sees Critical Stylistics as a new approach to Stylistics based on Critical Discourse Analysis that has given life and vibrancy to a stagnant Persian Stylistics by giving a new basis and methodology for the study of ideology and power in texts. Alaghbary (2013) mentions that Critical Stylistics has to do with understanding the precise ways in which texts may transmit, reinforce or inculcate ideology in their readers. Ye (2012) looks at how transitivity, and other critical stylistic tools are used in exposing the “implicit ideological consequences” of the opposing views of Tibet and China (Beijing) on the issue of independence for Tibet. Dorpar (2012b) in “A Critical Stylistic Analysis of Jashn-en Farkhonde”, suggests that Persian texts should be analysed by examining the ideologies behind the texts, the stylistic features that discovered these ideologies and the functions behind the ideologies.

Tosic (2006) observes that ecocriticism started developing in the 1990s as a meeting place of American critics dealing exclusively with American literature. Ecocriticism is seen as a semineologism, with "Eco" as short for ecology which has to do with the relationship between plants and living organisms to each other on one hand, and their environment on the other hand. Tsair (2013) identifies the collaboration between government and the oil companies as responsible for the Niger Delta predicament. Mowarin (2013) looks at the poetics of environmental agitation in Hope Eghogha's *Rhythms of The Last Testament and the Governor's Lodge*

and other poems.

Aghoghovwia (2013) posits that Nnimmo Bassey's *We Thought It Was Oil But It Was Blood* is a cross between poetic activism and environmental rights manifesto. It reflects a tone of defiance and a mood of anger by the people. With this, he is able to draw attention to issues of environmental injustice in the Niger Delta. Ojarikre (2015) observes the deception the Nigerian government and the international oil companies. The people were hoodwinked into thinking that blood was oil. The poem, "Tibinbila" presents a contrasting picture of two environments. While Tidbinbila in Australia represents calm and environmental justice; the Niger Delta represents disquiet and environmental injustice.

Bassey (ND) observes that the colour of oil runs red in most parts of the world, especially in Nigeria. It is thus a symbol of militarization and repression. This has its roots in colonial politics, commerce and military adventurism. He notes the burning down of brass in 1895 by a British naval force to exclude middlemen and ensure the monopoly of the Royal Niger Company in palm-oil trade. He traces the history of operation and forceful acquisition from palm-oil to crude-oil trade. Aghoghovwia (2014) indicates that Bassey's activism focuses on social and environmental justice in relation to extraction and exposes the monumental damage done to local communities, not only in Nigeria's Niger Delta, but in other parts of the third world like Ecuador, Angola, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and South Sudan.

Abba and Oyemachi (2020) look at ecocriticism from the perspective of anthropocentric man. Man sees himself at the centre of creation and does not seem to bother about the violence he has caused other beings in creation, be they human or non human. They observe how Nnimmo Bassey's eponymous poem begins with rejoicing and dance, with the excitement that oil has brought wealth and freedom. But this was short-lived, as they were soon confronted with the reality that oil actually means death.

Methodology

Data for the study comprise three poems of Nnimmo Bassey's, selected on the basis of their eco-critical content. The theoretical approach is Critical Stylistics. Transitivity as a tool is applied from the critical-stylistic perspective as espoused by Jeffries (2010). This is referred to as Representing Actions, Events and States.

The three eco-critical poems are listed; while Lesley Jeffries' Transitivity is presented and used for data analysis:

- 1 "We Thought It Was Oil But It Was Blood"
- 2 "Tidbinbila"
- 3 "Facial Marks (Post-Petrol Era)"

Statistical frequencies and percentages are used for analyzing data. The frequencies give the number of times a particular device occurs; while the percentage is calculated by:

$$\frac{\text{Number of Devices Identified}}{\text{Total Number of Devices}} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

In this way, the foregrounded devices are identified and their ideological contexts explained.

The transitivity devices represented in the charts and tables are explained in the theoretical framework. Each poem is completely analysed in the charts and represented on each table. The items in the discussion are drawn from the charts and

tables. Each transitivity device in the discussion is thus referenced on the chart and table. The blank spaces on the charts and tables mean that there are no transitivity devices there.

Chart 1 Nnimmo Bassey: We Thought It Was Oil But It Was Blood

TRANSITIVITY DEVICES

Line of Poem	Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance	Sense	Process	Phenomenon	Circumstance	Carrier	Process	Attribute	Circumstance
		Stanza 1										
1				The other day	MAI							
2	We	Danced		in the street								
3				Joy in our hearts								
4				x	We	Thought	we were free					
5	Three young folks	Fell		to our right	MAS							
6	Countless more	Fell		to our left								
7				Looking up								
8				Far from the crowd								
9					we	Beheld						
10							Red-hot guns					
Stanzas 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19												
1					We	Thought	it was oil					
2										[But]/it	was	blood
Stanza 4												
1				Heart Jumping	MAI							
2				into our mouths								
3				Floating on								
4				Emotion's dry wells								
5	We	leapt		in fury								
6				knowing it wasn't funny								
7					[Then]we	Beheld						
8							Bright red pools					
Stanza 7												
1										[First]/	was	the

TRANSITIVITY DEVICES												
Line of Poem	Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance	Senser	Process	Phenomenon	Circumstance	Carrier	Process	Attribute	Circumstance
5	We	Stand		in pools	MAI							
6				up to our knees								
Stanzas 11												
1	(Dried tear bags)											
2	(Polluted streams)											
3									Things	are	real	} RI
4								}				
5					We	see	their shells		MP			
6								Behind Military shields				}
7									Evil horrible gallows	called	oil rigs	
8												drilling our souls
Stanza 14												
1									The heavens	are	open	} RI
2												
3	(Toasted dreams) (In a scrambled sky) (A million black holes) (In a burnt sky)											
4												
5												
6												
7	There pipes may burst		MAE									
8	Our dreams won't burst		MAE	}								

RI

RI

TABLE 1: Nnimmo Bassey: 'We Thought It Was Oil But It Was Blood'

Transitivity Devices	Frequencies	Percentage
Material Action Intentional (MAI)	6	11.11
Material Action Supervention (MAS)	5	9.26
Material Action Event (MAE)	5	9.26
Verbalization Process (VP)		
Mental Cognition (MC)	13	24.07
Mental Reaction (MR)		
Mental Perception (MP)	5	9.26
Relational Intensive (RI)	20	37.04
Relational Possessive (RP)		
Relational Circumstantial (RC)		
Total	54	100

Nnimmo Bassey's, 'We Thought It Was Oil...' has 6 items of MAI, 13 of MC, 3 of MAS, 5 of MP, and 17 of RI. The intentional action in stanza 1 shows the initial joy of the people. Of their own volition, they danced. The MAIs in stanza 17 are alternated with MAEs to show the resoluteness of the people in the face of suppression and exploitation. The MC that runs through the poem gives us a good idea of how the people were deceived into thinking that it was oil, when it was actually blood. The senger is the people represented by the deixis, 'We'. The phenomenon comprises a variety of items that they thought existed but turned out to be mere illusions. Such illusory phenomena are 1. We were free and 2. It was oil. They thought they were free and they thought it was oil. The items of MAS show the helplessness of the people. They are not to blame as this is an unintentional and helpless action on their part. The actors are young folks being felled by bullets. Since the process is helpless and unintentional, it is obvious where the finger should point.

The phenomena in the MP give us the picture of a people in hell and suffering of horrendous proportion. The phenomena are 1. 'Red-hot guns' 2. 'Bright-red pools' 3. 'Open mouths', 4. 'no screams' and 5. 'their shells'. The RI represents the static or stable relationships between carriers and attributes. The 17 RI structures attempt to present the situation as it is. The idea being communicated here is that it was actually blood and not oil. The different perspectives of the attributes in the RI reflect the various

dimensions and effects of the people's struggle to be free. Some of the attributes in the RI are 'blood', 'the Ogonis', the Ijaws, 'real' and 'open' representing various perspectives of the determination of a people to be free.

Chart 2 Nnimmo Bassey: Tidbinbila**Transitivity Devices**

Line s of Poe m	Actor	Proce ss	Goal	Circumstance	Sayer	Proc ess	Tar get	Verbi age	Sens er	Proc ess	Phenome non	Carri er	Pro cess	Attribu te
		Stanza 1												
1		Lost		in the beauty of Tidbinbila										
2	I	Caress	an assort ment of ferns											
3	[And]	Scrape	my soles	on paths										
4				Beaten by folks										
5				Search of peace										
6				On this rocky trail										
			Stanza 2											
1		Lost		in the beauty of Tidbinbila										
2				Between barkless gum trees										
3				& elegant eucalyptus trunks										
4	I	Gaze		Skyward										
5				Seeking you										
6				Dozing koalas										
			Stanza 3											
1		Lost		in the beauty of Tidbinbila										
2	(A garland of Sunrays)													
3	(A call from above the verdant caps)													
4														
5														
6														
			Stanza 4											
1	(Sleepwalkers, sleep scratchers)													
2	We	Yelp		as you turn your mournful face										
3	We	Applaud	your love of the captive terrain											
4				Beyond the chains										

TABLE 2: Nnimmo Bassey: 'Tidbinbila'

Transitivity Devices	Frequencies	Percentage
Material Action Intentional (MAI)	5	45.45
Material Action Supervention (MAS)	5	45.45
Material Action Event (MAE)		
Verbalization Process (VP)		
Mental Cognition (MC)		
Mental Reaction (MR)		
Mental Perception (MP)		
Relational Intensive (RI)	1	9.09
Relational Possessive (RP)		
Relational Circumstantial (RC)		
Total	11	100

Lines of Poem	Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance	Sayer	Process	Target	Verbiage	Senser	Process	Phonomon	Carrier	Process	Attribute
		Stanza 5												
1	(These pipes of dreams)													
2	(Of dollars and sorrows and tears)				MAE									
3	These ducts	Burrow		into our hearts										
4	These pipes	dry	our lands	MAE										
5	These pipes	Drain	our soul:											
6	Those pipes	Steal	our dreams	MAE										

Table 3: Nnimmo Bassey: 'Facial Marks (Post – Petrol Era)'

Transitivity Devices	Frequencies	Percentage
Material Action Intentional (MAI)	4	20
Material Action Supervention (MAS)		
Material Action Event (MAE)	10	50
Verbalization Process (VP)		
Mental Cognition (MC)		
Mental Reaction (MR)		
Mental Perception (MP)		
Relational Intensive (RI)	6	30
Relational Possessive (RP)		
Relational Circumstantial (RC)		
Total	20	100

Nnimmo Bassey: 'Facial Marks (Post-Petrol Era)'

This poem contrasts the various uses, manifestations and effects of facial marks and environmental scars. There are ten items of Material Action Event (MAE) representing 50% of devices used. The MAE structures reflect the happenings resulting from environmental scars by putting it side-by-side facial marks. In the first stanza, the process shows that while facial marks 'help'; environmental scars 'alienate'. It is implied that while facial marks are made by human beings to identify and beautify, environmental scars are traced by 'illegal loggers' and 'Transnational eco-devourers' to destroy and exploit. This is done in a passive construction in the second MAE in the first stanza.

Environmental scars traced

By seismic lines and illegal loggers

Transnational eco-devourers

The Material Action Intentional (MAI) devices are calls to action. The ducts of exploitation have to be blocked and evil serpents have to be driven out. The Relational Intensive (RI) devices, under its attribute, describe environmental scars as 'death masks', 'hellish scars', 'slave marks', 'hateful' and 'forced' among other descriptions'.

Conclusion

Jefferies (2010) sees ideology as those ideas that are shared by a community or society. She explains further that there are dominant groups whose ideologies are re-asserted and re-affirmed in the media and other texts to the point that they become naturalized and seen by the populace as commonsense. In this way, resource control has become the politico-economic creed of the Niger Delta and a preferred article of faith with the exploitative Nigerian state.

The application of Transitivity takes up issues of oppression, violence, deceit pollution and environmental degradation. Nnimmo Bassey presents oil as a resource curse and an instrument of deceit as exemplified in his poem "We Thought It Was Oil But It Was Blood". The predominant use of Relational Intensive and Mental Cognition shows that the people are not actually fooled. They realize that it is actually blood and not oil. "Tidbinbila" compares the preservation of flora and fauna in a region of Australia with the destruction of flora and fauna in the Niger Delta by contrasting both landscapes. This is achieved through the agency of Material Action Intentional, and Material Action Supervention which shows that the poet is reacting naturally to a natural environment. 'Facial Marks' (actually facial scars) emphasizes economic exploitation and the scars left by oil exploration and exploitation. This poem uses Material Action Event to present the backwash of oil exploration. In this way, Nnimmo Bassey has brought to the fore the ideology of resource control by highlighting issues or ideas that explicate exploitation, environmental degradation, deceit, rape, pillage, spillage and oil as a resource curse.

During the course of this study, the researcher did not see materials on ecopoetry and transitivity. This area still remains very fertile for exploration. This is more so in the genre of drama.

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THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE NIGERIAN STATE (FROM A MARXIST – LENINIST STANDPOINT)

BY

¹Nnamdi OKONKWO Ph.D

²Innocent OCHOLI

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
ADMIRALTY UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA,
IBUSA, DELTA STATE

EMAIL: okonkwonnamdis@gmail.com

Tel: 08033820575

ABSTRACT

Like most post– colonial states, Nigeria remains a huge contradiction to the several viewpoints held by liberal scholars about the state system. As has been consistently demonstrated by her numerous institutions and processes since independence, the Nigerian state remains a clear departure from its theoretical role as an impartial arbiter and a moderator of social conflict in the society. If the liberal state system, legally structured to moderate social conflict in human society has been fairly successful in achieving this objective in the metropolitan capitalist states of Western Europe and North America, it's performance in the post – colonial states was abysmally poor. A qualitative study which employed historical research design, the study relied on secondary data which included books, journal articles and internet information. Predicated on the Marxism– Leninism standpoint, the paper argues that despite parading structures, institutions and processes associated with the liberal state system, the Nigerian state lacks relative – autonomy; a foremost mechanism that stabilizes the operations of a liberal state. The paper investigated the factors that led to the erosion of relative autonomy of the Nigerian state and further argued that this lack of state autonomy portends severe implications for Nigeria.

Key Words: Nigerian State; Relative Autonomy; Metropolitan Bourgeoisie; Petty Bourgeoisie; Class Character.

Introduction

The Nigerian state as presently constituted is a conglomeration of several composite nationalities artificially held together by territorial proximity and the classical doctrine of state sovereignty. Liberal scholars have consistently argued that the Nigerian state was not a natural formation but emerged only because a foreign power (Britain) had desired it. From the period of early contact with Africa, when Africans were sold as slaves in exchange for ornaments and gun power, through a period of forceful territorial annexation and the use of threat to get African natural rulers to sign away their

liberties; to the period of Berlin Conference in 1884 when African territories were given away as spheres of influence to the great Europeans powers as one of the major options to averting a looming war in Europe, Africa has remained a dominated continent.

If the African pre-colonial state which approximates medieval feudalism was less sophisticated and less exploitative, (in terms of scale), the colonial state harbored all the paraphernalia of exploitation, domination and sometimes, oppression of the colonized people. In Nigeria, for instance, the rigorous bureaucratic processes culminating in the amalgamation of the northern and southern

protectorates, the series of constitutional manipulations and the colonial indirect rule strategies as applied to the various composite nationalities of the Nigerian state were all imperialistic. The primary interests of the colonial masters were how to administer taxation, restructure agriculture and trade at the least of cost (parsimony of administration) while ensuring that law and order prevailed in the colony. All these were successfully achieved as long as the Nigerian colonial state lasted.

Post colonial Nigeria (the Nigerian state) took effect from October 1, 1960. Before this date, the metropolitan bourgeoisie had created their own version in the colonial territories known as the national petty bourgeoisie who had been fractionalized as a result of keen competitions arising from the preparation to inherit the positions held in the pre-independence period by the representatives of the colonial administration (Dudley, 1982). Since the metropolitan bourgeoisie's interests in Nigeria can be protected only at the expense of the Nigerian masses, a common bond is developed between the metropolitan bourgeoisie and the Nigerian petty bourgeoisie which is aimed at the exploitation of the Nigerian masses.

Dudley elaborately explains a pattern of shared and at the same time conflicting interests within which the Nigerian petty bourgeoisie acts as the agent of the metropolitan bourgeoisie in the systematic exploitation of the Nigerian masses. One must, therefore, appreciate the strategic role of the metropolitan bourgeoisie in shaping the behaviour of the Nigerian petty bourgeoisie and hence in determining the dialectical relationship between the Nigeria petty bourgeoisie and the Nigerian masses which basically constitutes the politics of Nigeria in order to adequately explain that politics.

This, perhaps, explains why Onimode (1983) asserts that the period of the nationalist struggle could be regarded as the period when members of the dominant indigenous social class were getting ready and painting themselves in the image of a ruling class and heirs of the metropolitan bourgeoisie. In anticipation of the nature of the emergent

Nigerian state and the need to control that state, the class character of the nationalist leaders began to show in their activities, particularly, when they began to assume political positions of authority. What happened was that the post colonial state became an organized instrument of the indigenous dominant social class, who in all realities were made agents of Western capital. However, the struggle to inherit and control the Nigerian state was of two dimensions – Inter class and Intra class with the battle stiffest among factions of the indigenous dominant class (the nascent petty bourgeoisie). The nature of state formation in Nigeria, coupled with the pattern of class struggle to control the state resulted in a situation whereby the Nigerian state assumed a set of unique characters, foremost among them being the loss of its relative autonomy.

Understanding the Concept of the State

According to McLean and McMillan (2003) the state is a distinct set of political institutions whose specific concern is with the organization of domination in the name of common interest within a delimited territory. The state is arguably the most central concept in the study of politics and its definition is, therefore, the object of intense scholarly contestation. In the words of Kapur (1996), the term state has a specific meaning very far from the vagueness and ambiguity which is applied today by a man in the street.

Perhaps, a good entry path may be to reflect on the liberal perception of the state before adopting the more pragmatic Marxian perspective in analyzing the nature of the Nigerian state. Right from the days of Plato and Aristotle, the idea of the state had existed. The term state means an assemblage of people occupying a definite territory under an organized government and subject to no outside control. All states share common characteristics. There are groups of people living and exercising control over a definite territory. They are divided into government and subjects; the ruler and the ruled. Some sort of order is represented by each. Rules of law are established and in some measure maintained and compulsion is exercised. Additionally, the right to it is recognized by both the members of the group and by the

outside world. The above fulfils the meaning of Aristotle's famous phrase, "man is a political animal". But it is not possible that every man in society will be good.

Even good men exhibit selfish behaviour because they live in society. For instance, pride, ambition, revenge, lust and hypocrisy race with the goodness of man and people are usually concerned with their own welfare first and foremost. Liberal scholars like Burke emphasized the need to control the worst manifestations of human perversity by means of political authority. Only the state, therefore, absolutely ensures that the people are bound by rules of common behaviour and that their violation is accompanied by punishment (Kapur, 1996). While society meets man's companionship, the state solves the problems created by such companionship. The state is seen as some form of association with some special characteristics, particularly, that of territorial connection and of its use of force.

For the liberal scholars, therefore, the state is a natural, a necessary and a universal institution. It is natural because it is rooted in the human nature, it is necessary because man needs it to satisfy his diverse needs and to be what he desires to be. In the absence of such a controlling and regulating authority, society cannot be held together and there will be disorder and chaos. The state is also seen as a universal institution since it is argued that it has existed whenever and wherever man has lived in an organized society. For to Kapur (1996), Machiavelli was the first to give the state a scientific meaning. According to him, all the powers which have had and continued to have authority over man are states and are either monarchies or republics. It may well seem curious says MacIver (1966), that so great and obvious a fact as the state should be the object of quite conflicting definitions.

Perspectives on the state system could be discussed along the Liberal and the Marxian divide. While the totality of the liberal definitions tend to be subsumed in the notion that the state is the one organization that transcends class and stands for the whole community, the Marxists conceive the state as essentially a class structure. In the *Communist*

Manifesto, Marx and Engels (1977), conceive the state as an organization of one class domination over the other classes, that is, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor in subjection.

The Marxian Analytical Framework

In the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels in 1848 inform that;

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an unintermittent, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes (Mapke, 1977).

It is, upon this framework, that our study on the nature and character of the Nigerian state is predicted. According to this perspective, every society is divided along contending classes. Basically, the division arises from the struggle by contending classes to control disproportionate share of public wealth. The state ought to maintain a neutral stand in the midst of such struggles and at best enforce compliance of the laws governing production and social interrelationships. This has not been the case. Most states are immersed in such struggles and indeed avail its structures and instruments in favour of certain classes. This is particularly the case in most third world states where the level of development of productive forces is low; where the existing mode of production is basically feudalistic and where the public wealth is parceled out to the economic notables (Okolie, 2005).

Invariably, therefore, most post colonial states promote prebendalism and make even capitalist development difficult. Ake (1985) conceived the state thus;

a specific modality of class domination; a modality of domination in which class domination is autonomised. By autonomisation is meant that the institutional mechanisms of class domination are constituted in a way that they enjoy independence from the society such that they appear, following Engels (1978), as an objective force standing alongside society.

In a related analysis, Ibeanu (1998) defines the state as the totality of the materiality of political class domination in a society. Adopting Poulantzas (1978) position that the materiality of political class domination has three important aspects, Ibeanu concluded that all the three aspects evolve in specific historical contexts but always carry with them certain generalities inscribed by the given mode of production. Both Ibeanu and Ake see the state in terms of specified checklist of material pursuit by contending classes. Ibeanu (2004) further noted that the very separation of the state from the economy is a capitalist phenomenon. He stated that in a society divided into classes, the relations of production appears as a double interaction: (a) The interaction between man as the agent of production and the objects and instrument of labour, and through this; (b) Relations among these agents of production, which are class relations.

From whichever angle one attempts to conceptualise the state, the key point to note is that the state is largely a class-related phenomenon. This must have informed Engels' assertion that;

The state is, therefore, by no means a power forced on society from without. Rather, it is a product of society at a certain stage of development. It is the admission that the society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it has split into irreconcilable opposites which it is powerless to conjure away (Engels 1978).

Numerous political philosophers have contributed their ideas to the state question. Among them includes Charvert (1991), Alavi (1982), Althusser (1969), Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau etc. Of particular interest to us is the observation that all the scholars are united in their admittance that the state has monopoly use of coercive power and that it is over and above all the constituent structures, institutions and elements. The state is thus a public power that arose out of society but placing itself above it and alienating itself more and more from it (Okolie 2005). We can, therefore, conceive the state as the public power which emerged from the society and which solely appropriates and administers individual rights and privileges- supposedly collective welfare. It is a product of irreconcilability of class differences arising out of the quest by these classes to appropriate public wealth and to privatize the means of production of material values.

While the bourgeoisie literature accords a central role to the state and argue vehemently that the state is neutral and serve no particular interest, the Marxian scholarship argues otherwise and insists that the state and its officials, far from representing the common interest tend to exploit and oppress the civil society on behalf of particular sectional groups (Okolie 2005). Thus, the state becomes the private property of officials in their struggle for self advancement. With regard to the emergence of the state, Engels (1972) has this to say;

In order that these opposite classes with economic interests do not consume themselves and society in fruitless struggle, it became necessary to have a power seemingly standing above society that would moderate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of order.

Taking a cue from the viewpoint expressed above, Ibeanu (2004), asserts that the state appears as autonomous from the economy which is the realm of the private and group (class) interests of commodity bearers. Accordingly he argues, this appearance projects the state as the protector of the

collective interests of all individuals and classes (the people-nation) by setting and enforcing the ground rules of economic competition. Behind this seeming neutrality, however, lies the domination of labour by capital. The actors who control the government often use their positions to commit acts of domination and alienation. This results from the fact that the general trait of capitalism is the autonomisation of domination and commoditization of labour. Compared to any other perspective, therefore, the Marxian standpoint seems the most reliable paradigm in the analysis and understanding of the state system.

The Concept of Relative Autonomy of State

In the Marxian theory, the state is the product of class society. According to Engels (1972), society has become entangled in insoluble contradiction with itself that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonism which it is powerless to dispel. To prevent these antagonistic classes from consuming themselves, the state arises out of the society to manage such conflicts so as to maintain order. To be able to do this, the state must place itself above society, that is, above the interest of the various classes and in so doing, it must maintain a certain degree of autonomy. However, the state's autonomy in a class society is more apparent than real for the state remains the instrument of the dominant classes for exploiting and suppressing the subordinate classes.

As Engels observed, this role is objectively determined by its genesis;

the state arose from the need to hold class antagonisms in check, but as it arose at the same time in the midst of conflict of classes, it is as a rule, the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which through the medium of the state becomes also the politically dominant class and thus requires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class (Engels 1972).

Thus, the state which is an instrument of the economically dominant class in all class societies plays a double role. It is both an instrument of class domination as well as a moderator of class conflict. The state can only perform this role effectively in capitalist societies by maintaining a degree of relative autonomy vis-à-vis the warring classes.

The assumption underlying the notion of the relative autonomy of the capitalist state is that the bourgeoisie is already the economically dominant class and, therefore, in a position of hegemony (Gramsci 1971). This assumes in turn that the bourgeoisie's economy power is independent of their control of the state power. The state, however, realizes the political leadership of this hegemonic class by organizing and disuniting the subordinate classes. It can do this to the extent that institutions of the state presents internal cohesion. This internal cohesion in turn reinforces the autonomy of the state. To maintain the hegemony of the bourgeoisie in an object sense, the state must appear to represent the general will and political unity of the people as a nation. Institutions of and processes leading to political democracy are usually employed to achieve this.

The concept of relative autonomy means that the state in capitalist societies must demonstrate a certain degree of autonomy from the dominant class if it is to ensure its legitimacy. The state must, therefore, be in position to sanction though sparingly some members of the dominant class to ensure its legitimacy and control over the exploited classes. Relative autonomy is a sine-qua-non if any capitalist state is to fulfill its double role of being the instrument of the economically dominant class and the moderator of class conflict. In so doing, stability in the capitalist social formation is guaranteed. In terms of systemic economic and political stability, it is the relative autonomy that makes the difference between the advanced capitalist societies and their post colonial counterparts. Lack of relative autonomy, therefore, contributes significantly to the underdevelopment of the post- colonial societies. Nigeria being a post colonial society is no exception.

Relative Autonomy and the Post Colonial State

Hamza Alavi's seminal essay on the states of Pakistan and Bangladesh which was basically aimed at identifying the difference, if any between the nature and role of the state in advanced capitalist societies and its nature and role in post colonial societies was very beneficial to this study. He questions primarily the classical Marxist theories of the state in which the main view is that executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie. Additionally, he questioned the secondary view which arises from the analysis of the Bonapartist state, which considers the state independent from and superior to all social classes in the society. This secondary viewpoint conceive the state as the dominant force in society rather than the instrument of the dominant class.

For Alavi (1973) the peculiarity of the state in post colonial societies stem from the fact that it was not established by an ascendant native bourgeoisie but, rather, by a foreign bourgeoisie. On the basis of this observation, Alavi states that:

A weak and indigenous bourgeoisie is unable at the moment of independence to subordinate the relatively highly developed colonial state apparatus through which the metropolitan power had exercised domination over it. However, in addition, given the new convergence of interest of three competing propertied classes under metropolitan patronage, the bureaucratic – military oligarchy mediates their competing but no longer contradictory interest and demands. By that token, it acquires a relatively autonomous role and is not simply the instrument of any one of the three classes. Such a relatively autonomous role of the state apparatus is of special importance to the neocolonialist bourgeoisie because it is by virtue of that fact that they are able to pursue their class interests in post colonial societies (Alavi 1973).

Alavi further argues that the colonial state inherited the over developed state apparatus and its institutionalized practices through which the operations of the indigenous social classes were regulated and controlled. For him, therefore, the states in post-colonial societies assume a new and relatively autonomous economic role which is not parallel in the classical bourgeoisie state. In particular, it directly appropriates a very large part of the economic surplus and deploys it in bureaucratically – directed economic activity in the name of economic development. Although this argument may have fitted well in relation to the Asian subcontinent, it does not fit the African or the Nigerian experience. Saul (1980) using Alavi's theoretical framework to examine Tanzania, considers that the concept of “over development” is applicable, but argues that historically the colonial state in East Africa was “over developed” not so much in response to a need to subordinate the native social classes as a need to subordinate pre-capitalist, generally non – feudal social formation to the imperatives of colonial capitalism.

Saul agrees with Alavi that the post colonial state is relatively autonomous, an autonomy which is rooted in the centrality of the state in the post colonial society, but argues that the nature of this autonomy is affected by the absence of a strong indigenous bourgeoisie. He further contends that the weakness of the indigenous classes might mean either that the bureaucracy falls under the thumb of the metropolitan bourgeoisie or strengthen the position of those who directly control the state apparatus. According to Saul (1980), in a situation of this nature, the state becomes an instrument of class formation. Those who control the state will transform the state not only into an instrument of political domination but also into a source of economic power. Hence, the state, the culmination of social relations of exploitation in capitalist Europe becomes in a certain sense the instrument of their installation in post – colonial societies.

The centrality of the overwhelming importance of the African post colonial state emanates from the fact that at the period of independence there was no capitalist class

strong enough to establish its hegemony over the state (Uba 1985). The African colonial state prevented the emergence of such a class. Due to the absence of a bourgeoisie at independence, the post colonial state became the main instrument of economic investment and economic development in post colonial societies. Not only that, the nascent petty bourgeois class that inherited control over the post colonial state apparatus had a very weak economic base and hence, relied on this control for its own capital accumulation. As a result, the state in post-colonial Africa societies became the main instrument for the formation of an indigenous capitalist class. The uniqueness of the post colonial state arises from combining the function of serving as a major instrument of accumulation with that of being a direct instrument of class formation. Hence, Miliband (1977), observes that the state in post – colonial societies is the major source of economic power as well as an instrument of its production.

This type of state lacks autonomy for it is the instrument at the disposal of those who control it. The post – colonial state is used for the repression and intimidation of the masses and at the same time for the process of embourgeoisement. Class formation and class struggle, therefore, take place within the sphere of the state. Contrary to the position of Saul and Alavi, the post – colonial state does not enjoy relative autonomy. If there is any relative autonomy at all, it is only manifested in the interaction between the post – colonial state and the metropolitan bourgeoisie who for all intents and purposes is the dominant class in post – colonial societies. Since in the post colonial social formations the state lacks autonomy in its interaction with the indigenous social classes, the state only serves the fraction of the petty bourgeoisie which is controlling it at any particular time. As far as the class is concerned, the masses are inconsequential. The struggle for state control is, therefore, among the various fractions of the petty bourgeoisie.

The petty bourgeoisie in post-colonial societies are fractionalized along ethnic, communal and professional lines. In most post-colonial societies including Nigeria,

fractionalization along ideological line is still in its embryonic stage. Any fraction of the petty bourgeoisie that gains control of the state turns the state and its resources into a personal estate of that fraction. This, by and large, accounts for the constant looting of the public treasury by its very custodians in total disregard of the rest of the society. This line of argument will become evident when we examine the character of the Nigerian state.

The Character of the Nigerian State

The Nigerian state has a colonial origin and therefore not indigenous to the Nigerian social formation. The Nigerian state established by the metropolitan bourgeoisie was an offshoot of the colonial state which was administered basically to satisfy certain economic interests. Howard (1978), has argued that the colonial state was a mere instrument of the metropolitan bourgeoisie. For Mamdani (1976), the colonial state was a geographical extension of the metropolitan state; it was directly subordinated to the latter. However, we have to consider also that in serving the interests of the metropole, the colonial state had to take into account the nature of the internal social forces.

The colonial state although serving the interest of the metropolitan bourgeoisie was relatively autonomous vis-à-vis relationship with metropolitan bourgeoisie and the indigenous social forces. This perhaps, explains why the character of colonial administration varied from one territory to another. In spite of the uniqueness of each colony, most analysts of the colonial state agree on its most salient feature ie the distinctive scope and intensity its intervention in colonial social and economic life. In Nigeria, for instance, the colonial state supervised and guaranteed the peasant production of primary products for the metropolitan industries. The colonial states was, therefore, a special kind of capitalist state which unlike its metropolitan counterparts assumed the added function of supervising the integration of the pre-capitalist mode of production into the circuit of capital. Its uniqueness emanated from the special nature of the political and economic relationships over which it presided (Uba

1985).

The way it performed this function shaped the nature of the post-colonial state. To ensure that law and order was maintained, the colonial state set out to create a collaborative class that would enable it ensure the orderly production of the primary products. This collaborative class in the case of Nigeria which was made up of warrant chiefs (the employees of the colonial state) and merchant companies formed the nucleus of the nascent petty bourgeoisie. As observed by Uba (1985), it was this nascent petty bourgeoisie that inherited the post colonial state. Little wonder that the Nigerian post-colonial state continued to exhibit the character of the colonial Nigeria. The Nigerian Post-colonial state is a neocolonial state in which the masses are exploited by the metropolitan bourgeoisie in collaboration with the nascent petty bourgeoisie. Since the members of this nascent petty bourgeoisie had a weak economic base, they proceeded to hijack the state and used its control to enhance their economic base. Thus, among early inheritors of the Nigerian state, the popular adage became "seek ye first the political kingdom and all its accessories and every other thing – economic, social, legal etc shall be added unto you".

The state in Nigeria lacks autonomy and this contradicts Alavi's position on relative autonomy of the state. Those who inherited the post-colonial state took total control of it to ensure their embourgeoisement. In Nigeria, therefore, class formation and class conflict occur within the state sphere for whoever controls the state controls everything. Realisation of this makes the struggle for the control of the state to become very intense. Those who control the state use it for their own benefit with total disregard for the rest of the society. This is so because the inheritors of the colonial state did nothing to restructure it while still undergoing administrative apprenticeship under the metropolitan bourgeoisie.

The unique character of the state in Nigeria is the fact that the state plays a double role which is different from that played by the state in advanced capitalist society. According to (Uba 1985), while the state in advanced capitalist society performs the double role of

being an instrument of the economically dominant class and the moderator of class conflicts, the Nigerian state plays the double role of being an instrument of the metropolitan bourgeoisie who established it in the first instance and a principal means of embourgeoisement for the fraction of the nascent petty bourgeoisie who inherited it at independence and continued to maintain itself in power. The Nigerian state Uba argues, does not moderate class conflict, rather, it is employed as an instrument for intimidating and terrorizing the dominated classes. This lack of state autonomy and the capacity of the nascent petty bourgeoisie to use the state as a class tool against the masses made Ekekwe (1983), to describe the scheme of things as the feudalization of state power.

The relative autonomy of the state in Nigeria lie only in its relationship with the metropolitan bourgeoisie who dominates the economy. This is because the Nigerian state occasionally uses state power to regulate the activities of international capital in Nigeria. Numerous examples abound in this instance. Regrettable however, is that in exercising this relative autonomy vis-à-vis the international capital, the Nigerian state knows its limitation. Sadly, the neo-colonial nature of the Nigerian economy is manifested through the policies of the Nigerian state which is usually very conducive for the operation of international capital.

In relation to the Nigerian social formation, the Nigerian state lacks autonomy. The struggle for the control of the state is very severe and usually an intra-class struggle among the fractions of the nascent petty bourgeoisie. This is because the control of the state apparatus is a ticket to wealth and affluence. The consequences of losing state power is unimaginable. Losing state power means losing everything. In a number of cases, it means total impoverishment, imprisonment or even death. The struggle for state power is a zero-sum game, a matter of life and death affair, hence, the high premium placed on politics. Given such circumstance, the state cannot be in a position to moderate class conflict in Nigeria, and, therefore, lacks autonomy. The Nigerian state, therefore, is

cruel and merciless. It is the state of the fittest against the weakest. It is an instrument of the metropolitan bourgeoisie and their local collaborators – a faction of the nascent petty bourgeoisie in control against the other faction of the nascent petty bourgeoisie and the masses. Herein lies the uniqueness of the Nigeria state.

Consequences of State Lack of Autonomy for Nigeria

According to Fadakinte (2002), the Nigerian state was artificial because it did not possess the autonomy to function and it depended essentially on external forces to maintain class hegemony. Since the state could not be neutral with relative autonomy to function argues Ihonvbere (1989), the state became conspicuously the state of some against the rest and class differences became sharper. Given that the state in Nigeria has become an interested party which could be used by the dominant class to unleash reign of terror on the society, certain consequences resulted from this lack of relative autonomy. They include – Monumental national corruption; Class interpretation and manipulation of the constitution; Selective investigation and persecution of perceived opponents of the fractional petty bourgeoisie class in control; Enthronement of organized anarchy; Politicization of ethnicity; Lack of economic planning; Incessant systemic crisis; Erosion of the productive base etc. As a result of problem of space, we shall briefly discuss only a few.

1. Monumental National Corruption

One of the major consequences of state lack of relative autonomy in Nigeria is monumental national corruption. Since her independence in 1960, corruption has been an essential tool in the hands of the ruling class in Nigeria for the accumulation of capital and for the seizure and sustenance of political power. Ojiji, Okediji and Ojo (2006), affirm that corruption in Nigeria is perceptible to primordial accumulation by the elite. The history of Nigeria both during the periods of military despotism and civilian regimes is in a major way, a history of progressive development of culture of corruption (Ibrahim

2003). Akindele (2005), sees corruption as a dangerous social ill and liken it to a deadly virus that attacks the vital structures that make for society's progressive functioning, thus putting its very existence into serious peril.

For Balogun and Okediji (2014), evidence from anecdotal and documented materials indicate that corruption is a serious problem in Nigeria. Numerous examples abound to all types of “white elephant” projects including the bribes received by regulatory agencies of the state, the state security and policy makers in Nigeria's tertiary institutions and elsewhere. There is, also, the messy privatization initiatives of the fractional petty bourgeoisie class in power, the fuel in particular and other subsidy rackets, etc. There are all kinds of white elephant projects designed and beautifully packaged as conduit pipes to siphon money from the state treasury by the Nigerian fractional class in power and examples abound from the local to the state and federal government levels. The effect of this systemic failure is borne by the Nigeria masses far removed from the greedy but dominant bourgeoisie class whose fraction, having hijacked political power, could no longer afford to live within their livelihood.

Odugbemi (2000), argues that corruption is a problem which has diverted scarce resources away from development and eradication of poverty in Nigeria. According to him the multiplier effects of monumental corruption in Nigeria is that it has stifled sustainable development be it social, economic, infrastructural or technological and all of these are interwoven with mutual casualty. Presenting a graphic picture of corruption in Nigeria, Balogun and Okediji (2014), assert that corruption which result basically from state lack of relative autonomy is Nigeria's worst malaise. According to them, it is responsible for all kinds of woes such as election rigging, failed promises, abandoned projects, poor quality of implemented projects, nepotism, instability in the Niger Delta, and elsewhere and also serious impediment to flow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

2 Politicization of Ethnicity

Another consequence of state lack of autonomy for Nigeria is the politicization of

ethnicity. Owing to lack of relative autonomy by the Nigerian state, politics has become an exclusive preserve of the petty bourgeoisie class whose fractions compete for the control of the state. In the Nigerian society, primordial sentiments arising principally from the hostility that derives from competition between and among ethnically different peoples for wealth and power has continued to influence key political and economic decisions and policies. To that extent, Nnoli (1978) has observed that these fractions of the petty bourgeoisie class pose as champions of their various ethnic groups in order to mobilize their support. Identification with ethnic or communal union's activities is accorded very high priority since the unions now render the welfare functions of the state. Thus, five decades after independence, the Nigerian diverse social structure in terms of her heterogeneity has not changed (Abubakar 2007).

Since lack of relative autonomy prevents the Nigerian state from unifying her diverse social groupings as well as performing the welfare functions of the state, individual now depends on active membership of his or her ethnic union for the basic necessities. Uba (1985), has rightly observed that in most Nigerian communities, it is the town unions that established every project of note. Since the Nigerian state, which also lacked relative autonomy is not a welfare state, it becomes very easy for the competing factions of the nascent petty bourgeoisie class to manipulate this ethnic loyalty in their struggle for political power. Thus, Akwara (2008) captures this national dilemma when he observes that the diverse social classes wielded without effective consultation has been considered as the origin of political hostility and animosity in Nigerian democratic governance. With lack of cohesiveness and threat to the unity of the country, ethnic consciousness has increased in scope (Ezeonu and Korieh 2010). Today, identification is easier at both family and ethnic levels and this further compounds the aspiration towards class consciousness and sense of nationhood.

3. Enthronement of Organized Anarchy

The lack of relative autonomy of the

Nigerian state has also made it impossible for the state to moderate class conflict. The total feudalization of the state (Ekekwe 1983) by the dominant petty bourgeoisie class in power erodes the state legitimacy. The mystification of the role of the state which occurs in advanced capitalist society is, therefore, absent in Nigeria since the masses has no confidence in the state. Due to state lack of autonomy, it is not capable of moderating the intra-class struggle among the members of the nascent petty bourgeoisie class who are struggling for the control of the state power, neither is it able to moderate inter-class struggle. The Nigerian society becomes a replica of Hobbes state of nature where life is solitary, brutish, nasty and short. The lack of autonomy of the Nigerian state gives rise to the manifestation of organized anarchy. By organized anarchy we mean the existence of all the paraphernalia of a state eg the House of Assembly, Judiciary, Police, Army, Public Service, Laws and Regulations, Schools etc which are mostly symbolic.

The government of a democracy must be accountable to the people. Hence, Heyman (2014) refers to the logic behind the historical Bill of Rights and insists that those who drafted the Bill of Rights were not insistent that government might do too little but that it might actually engage in so much responsibility. But the question is how has the fractional petty bourgeoisie class that controls the Nigerian state fared in moderating issues that borders on security of lives and property, rule of law, accountability, transparency, corruption and of course the electoral process? The Nigerian state parades extremely weak institutions that are disrespected and discarded by the people. Nigerians are aware of their existence but do not take them serious. Since the Nigerian state manifests the phenomenon of organized anarchy, life has assumed that of survival of the fittest while politics has degenerated to a zero-sum game. According to Aning (2016) worsening security challenges in Nigeria have made life to become highly unpredictable with its attendant consequences for national development.

4. Lack of Economic Planning

The fourth consequence of lack of

state autonomy for Nigeria is the total neglect of the economy. The state lack of autonomy means that the fraction of the petty bourgeoisie class that gain the control of the state uses it for its own benefit to the neglect of the larger society. The state lack of autonomy means that any access to state must be fully utilized for the exclusive benefit of those who control it. Since the state is the principal means of wealth accumulation and class formation, those in control of it are preoccupied with devising techniques of hanging on to power at all cost, thereby, neglecting the country's economic survival. In the case of Nigeria writes Erunke (2009), one finds that high level of insensitivity, lack of political will, lack of vision and mission among the fractional nascent petty bourgeoisie class in power have thrown the agricultural and the industrial sectors in shambles.

According to Ademolakun (2002), the gross mismanagement of oil funds by a faction of the nascent petty bourgeoisie class in power is largely the bone of contention in the mismanagement and misallocation of public budgets several decades ago. Things are made worse by the fact that groups are unequivocally sponsored against the state by aggrieved politicians who have lost elections in the recent past. In Nigeria, it is obvious to see the bold line of disconnect between those who governs and the people they govern at large. The gap is so wide in terms of living standard that young men have no option than to carry arms in self defense to drive home their grievances.

Uba (1985), has informed that as a result of their preoccupation with struggle and maintenance of state power, the nascent petty bourgeoisie class in power has little or no time to device a well articulated policy for agricultural and industrial development. They will rather import food than improve agricultural production; they will rather buy private electric generators than solve the nation's electricity problem etc. With regard to industries, this sector of the economy is left in complete control of the Multinational Corporations (MNCs) who take advantage of the anarchic situation and the greed of the Nigerian petty bourgeoisie to milk the nation dry and to increase Nigeria's dependence.

5. Selective Investigation and Persecution of Perceived Opponents

It is widely believed that in Nigeria, which ever fractional petty bourgeoisie class holding state power at any material point in time has often employed state machinery to investigate, persecute and even coerce the fractional class that has lost power to submission. This character which evolved with the Nigeria state since independence has severe implications for political stability and economic development in Nigeria. Intra-class selective investigation and persecution in Nigeria were not peculiar to the military regimes but cut across all the nation's four democratic dispensations. This perception became so real that it made nonsense of President Obasanjo's vow to deliver an impartial, holistic and objective government to Nigeria. This is because perceived opponents of his regime were hunted all over the place, investigated, framed and thrown out of government.

Even though the anti-corruption war that came into effect at the dawn of the 4th republic seem to have gathered more momentum in the current regime of President Muhammadu Buhari, yet, the wider perception is that it largely remains a war against the fractional petty bourgeoisie class that lost power in 2015. For instance, Akpan and Eyo (2018), have reported that recently, a list of alleged looters of funds in Nigeria has been released in batches showing only alleged members of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) looters and leaving out alleged looters of other political parties including the governing All Progressives Congress (APC). This action by the Buhari led federal government violated the judgment of justice Hadiza Rabi'u Shagari in FHC/CS/964/2016- to wit; that only the list of funds looters, the monies and the circumstances of such recoveries should be published and not any list of alleged funds looters before the courts. The victims of such selective investigation and persecution in Nigeria are usually fractional petty bourgeoisie class that has lost power and they cut across all sectors of Nigeria's political economy.

6. **Class Interpretation and Manipulation of the Constitution**

In a country where the constitution empowers the president who is also the leader of the fractional petty bourgeoisie class in control of state power to exercise all his executive powers alone, except subject to the provisions of the constitution or an Act of the National Assembly NASS, the powers of members of this class to privatize relative autonomy of the state becomes glaring. The refusal, for instance, of President Buhari to appoint his ministers after 29th of May 2015 but rather waited for six months after to do it, the assignment of ministerial portfolios to the leaders of the APC coalition in contradistinction to their learning and training are pointers to outright manipulation of the constitution. The wider perception has been that these misaligned portfolios cannot lead to effective governmental policy formulation and implementation as well as enforcement of laws and regulations against corruption in particular (ventureafrica.com/.../buhari's-cabinet-the).

On a broader appraisal, there is also the perception that President Buhari deliberately chose to use such appointments of his political associates and friends as well as decampees from the opposition parties (due to fear of persecution and prosecution in fathom anti-graft cases) to compensate them (Unini 2018). To this end, the appointments will afford these political jobbers the opportunity to recover their investment in the President's 2015 election. In this instance, recent activities of some members of the fractional petty bourgeoisie class in power such as the former Secretary to Government of the Federation (SGF) Mr. Babachir Lawal, the late Chief of Staff to the President Mallam Abba Kyari and the so called “cabal” comes to mind (dailypost.ng/.../buhari's-kitchen-cabinet)

7. **Incessant Systemic Crisis**

The seventh implication of lack of state autonomy for Nigeria is the increasing instability of the system. As a result of the premium placed on political power, the struggle for state control in Nigeria is very intense. The fractional petty bourgeoisie class that gains the control of state power will always

strive to keep it by all means while the other factions who are not in control will be deploying every tactics to dislodge those in control from power. This struggle often results to incessant systemic crisis. This is also responsible for the high incidence of violence, intimidation and thuggery in Nigeria's politics. A major consequence of this is the depoliticization of the masses who have become completely alienated from the political process.

What is clearly observed is that the masses stay at the sideline to cheer and rejoice at the misfortune of the warring fractions of the petty bourgeoisie. This partially explains why any change of government be it by election or coup d'etat is received with joy by the masses, for they do not have any stake in the ousted government (Agu 1985). This was the fate that befell Alhaji Tafawa Belewa and his government in the first republic. Also, the collapse of Alhaji Shehu Shagari's government in the second republic and the sudden death of General Sani Abacha that brought the moribund third republic to an abrupt end are very tenable examples. It becomes fun for the masses to watch the game of musical chair by the warring fractions of the petty bourgeoisie. Any fraction that gains control embarks on dismantling projects and revisiting policies instituted by the ousted fraction. In most cases, attempts are made to humiliate and impoverish and where possible, imprison their opponents.

Therefore, the consequences of losing control of the state that lacks autonomy is unimaginable, hence the political struggle is intense and does not augur well for security, stability and development of the country. For any country that presents such a scenario, there is a complete lack of continuity. This in a number of ways shapes the character of Nigerian politics.

8. **Erosion of the Productive Base**

The eight and final implication of state lack of autonomy for Nigeria as discussed in this study is the erosion of her productive base. One major consequence of the Nigerian state lack of autonomy for her economy and class formation is that the pre-occupation of the petty bourgeoisie with the struggle for the

control of the state and the maintenance of state power diverts their attention from productive activities. They now thrive on political access, contracts and as agents of international capital. The productive base of the society is left in the hands of international capital, while the various fractions of the petty bourgeoisie use their control of state to increase their share of the surplus being appropriated from the country by international capital. Once their needs are satisfied, they allow the country to slip deeper into neocolonialism by surrendering its economy to be ravaged. As a consequence, the Nigerian state is relatively autonomous in regards to the relation with international capital, but the state relative autonomy disappears when it concerns the masses of Nigeria.

Conclusion

The nature of the Nigerian state, therefore, ensures the underdevelopment of the country. Due to its nature, the nascent petty bourgeoisie uses it to accumulate wealth and to exploit the masses. Its nature allows and in fact, aid international capital to ravage the Nigerian economy. The nature of the Nigerian state also ensures the retention of the neo – colonial economy. The role of the Nigerian state in the depoliticization of the masses is anti developmental. For Nigeria to emerge from its present state of under development, it is necessary that the character and role of its state must change. When this is effectively done, the state will no longer be used to terrorize the masses but to mobilize them for the liberation of the country from its state of underdevelopment. In effect, the Nigerian state should be turned into an agent of mobilization. The mobilization of the Nigerian masses is, therefore, a *sine qua non* for the country's development.

Recommendations

As a nation, Nigeria is currently trapped in deep stability and developmental contradictions. These contradictions result basically from the nature of class relationship in the country. Painfully, the much needed socio-political stability and economic development will continue to elude Nigeria for

as long as state autonomy needed to moderate inter and intra class conflict continues in deficit. To address this lingering development crisis, what we recommend in this study are that;

The Nigerian state should be used to transform the socio economic relations in the country. The Nigerian state must be firm and courageous in enacting rules and instituting policies that tend towards equitable distribution of resources as well as equal access to values.

The Nigerian state should additionally be used to transform the political relations in the country. The Nigerian state must attain the status of relative autonomy so much needed to mediate both inter class and intra class political relationship. In that case, any fraction of the petty bourgeoisie class that again access to power will use it to moderate both inter class and intra class conflict in the society. The state as an impartial arbiter in the post colonial Nigeria means that policies that enthrone political liberty, fundamental rights, state sovereignty, equity and fairness are upheld by the fractional petty bourgeoisie in power.

If and when the Nigerian states is eventual used to transform class relationship in the socio economic and political spheres, then, the foundation for moral rebirth, social stability and national development would have been laid.

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AMERICAN HEGEMONY: UNDER TRUMP'S LEADERSHIP

Esekumemu V. Clark, D.Phil (Vienna)

Department of Political Science,

Edwin Clark University,

Kiagbodo, Nigeria

Tel: 08034533879

Email:Clarkvictor2014@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

No doubt the coming to power of Donald Trump has called to question America's leadership role in international politics. Since 1945 America had endeavored to provide global leadership in economic, diplomatic, security, etc. despite challenges from other actors such as the Soviet Union (now Russia) and China. America's economic, finance, and military clouts helped to sustain world institutions such as the international Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank). However, in spite of America's undiplomatic behavior such as violating the rules and regulations of international regimes sometimes because of its national interests, America has consistently worked to maintain international order. President Trump's revisionist foreign policy is putting America's global role and leadership status into disrepute in the comity of nations. Since the emergence of Trump as American President he has consistently denounced arrangements such as environment, immigration, trade and Iran's nuclear deal entered or made by his predecessors. Now, America's closest allies, the European Union, Japan, including the rest of the world are troubled or worried by American leadership. The paper would recommend the way forward on how to contain the pitfalls from President Trump's unilateral actions to undermine global peace, security and development.

Introduction

Indeed, America's world leadership role is under question since the emergence of Mr. Donald Trump, as American President in 2016. The recognized or established international rules-base such as rules, regulations and norms are under consistent attacked from President Trump. For the comity of nations it is worrisome. For example, treaties on trade, environment and security where President Trump's revisionist foreign policy is vibrating negatively around the world, including the United States of America itself. On resuming the leadership of his country he had denounced several of the arrangements his predecessors put in place. For instance, the Paris deal on the environment and the Iran nuclear deal, signed by Obama were under threatened from Trump's realpolitik (The Economist, June 9th -15th, 2018; The Economist, January 27th-February 2nd 2018; The Economist, July 21st-27th, 2018).

President Trump assertion of "America First" or his revisionist foreign policy is antithesis to America's global view of established

international order, because for several decades America had and was still adhering to its values, resources and military clout in order to protect and secure global peace. His actions, including trade war with China and threats to sovereign nations such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and Iran have heightened tensions in the international system. Even, his rapprochement with the rest of the world, such as the transatlantic alliance, (Group of seven most industrial countries (G7), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), China and Africa is undiplomatic. For example, his behaviour in Canada during the G7 summit undermined America's leadership role with his allies. He came late to the G7 Summit and left earlier on his way to Singapore to meet Chairman Kim Jong Un of DPRK on security meeting. President Trump then asked his Representative at the G7 Summit in Canada not to sign the accord. His behaviour can best be described as unpredictable.

In the interwar years (1929-1939) for example, leaders' unpredictable behaviour or actions led directly to the outbreak of the Second World

War (WWII). Germany, Italy and Japan in the 1930s challenged the then existing status-quo ante because of their respective geopolitical calculations, which led to revisionist foreign policies. The consequences of Hitler and Mussolini actions, on the international system became very glaring. (Johari, 2013; Clark, 2017; Khanna, 2007). Meanwhile, President Trump's actions are still unfolding, we don't know how far it will go. Its implication for the world, on politics, economics, business, security and diplomacy which may be very severe on the smaller states, including those in Africa. As The Economist (June 9th-15th 2018:13) notes:

America's unique willingness to lead by fusing power and legitimacy saw off the Soviet Union and carried it to hegemony. The world order it engineered is the vehicle for that philosophy. But Mr. Trump prefers to fall back on the old idea that might is right. His impulses may begin to impose a new geopolitics, but they will not serve America or the world for long. Remember the words of Henry Kissinger: order cannot simply be ordained; to be enduring, it must be accepted as just.

Conceptual Clarification

Several states in the international system are endeavouring to impose their straitjacket or leadership role on other members of the comity of nations. Some states had and are still pushing to establish or assert their leadership role, regionally, internationally or globally. The United States of America (USA) and the former Soviet Union were examples, where both countries during the Cold War era exercised domination over their sphere of influences. During the Cold War era, Moscow imposed its straitjacket on those East European states under its sphere of influence. Soviet's military clout was used under the WARSAW Pact to control those East European states from the end of the Second World War 1945 to the demise of the Cold War in 1989 (Kissinger,

1994; Weiss, 1993; The Economist, 1987; Clark, 2007).

The United States of America and the Soviet Union struggled to establish their leadership role over the world. Indeed, both championed their ideologies, including their values. It was a major contest between capitalism and communism (socialism) ideas. Capitalism put strong emphasis on liberalism ideals such as freedom, *Laissez-faire*, while communism argues for central planned economy, among others. Certainly, it was a struggle for the heart of the world on which direction to lead socioeconomic, political and military. The hegemonies: Wilsonian vs. Marxist-leninist ideas of a world order (Clark, 2007; Mingst, 2004; Khudokormov, 1985).

What is hegemony? When a state endeavours to impose its order, including its values on other states in order to establish and control the affairs of other states and non-state actors to ensure its national interest. While in Multipolar system several states work to establish a world order and also to counterbalance each other. America had and is still trying to establish her hegemony over the world. The Soviet Union, also before the demise of the competitive international relations worked to institute its hegemony over areas of its control in Eastern Europe. Moscow tries also to extend its sphere of influence to Cuba that led to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962.

Immediately, after the end of the Second World War, Washington introduced the Marshall Plan, to assist Europe's recovering and reconstruction. A fund of about US\$14bn was provided to states in Europe, including the Soviet Union and its allies. But Moscow turned down the offer and also warned those states under its straitjacket such as Czechoslovakia not to accept the offer. The Soviet leadership under Josef Stalin argues that Washington with the Marshall Plan as an instrument for the Dollarization in order to establish its hegemony over the world (Mee, 1984; Clark, 2007; Kissinger, 1994; Owuoye, 1993; Nixon, 1988). One might argue that Stalin's point of argument has become a reality today. The dollar is now a world reserve currency. Crude oil is sold in dollar, among others. Every part of the world, including villages in Africa the

dollar has impacted on the local economy, too. The USA, one might say that through the process of dollarization has established its hegemony in the international political economy. Dollar is also being used as an instrument of political and economic manipulation by the USA in order to further its geopolitical calculation. The reimposition of new severe sanctions on both Iran and Russia on 4th and 6th August, 2018, respectively, by President Trump is the exercised of America's hegemony. For instance, on the Iranian sanctions, the American dollar will be restricted and end supply to Iranian banks and business while high tech materials with security implications will no more be supplied to Russia.

The Soviet Union was an hegemon during the Cold War period. It exercised the hegemonic power through its political, military and economic clouts. The agents of the instruments of power were the Soviet communist party, military, KGB and the CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) were deployed to control, manipulate and undermine these states under the Soviet's empire. Among others, any move by the satellite states to break out of Moscow's sphere of influence were crushed by the WARSAW Pact, which was under Soviet Union control. The defunct WARSAW Pact was the military alliance of Soviet Union and its satellites states, such as Hungary, Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia. In 1956, when Hungary tried to make reforms in political and economic, including moving closer to the West, Moscow never hesitated to deploy the WARSAW Pact against the political leadership in Budapest. Again, in 1968, when the political leadership in Prague introduced "Velvet Revolution" to reform the political system, among others. Moscow saw the action as a ploy against "international Socialism", the WARSAW Pact was deployed to dismantle the revolution as well as the political leadership in Czechoslovakia. Separately, CMEA/COMECON was an economic grouping of the Soviet Union and its empire. It was created to promote their economic interests. Infact, the CMEA was put in place to checkmate the European Economic

Community (EEC now the European Union, EU) in the Cold War contest between the East and the West blocs (Clark, 2007; Kissinger, 1994; Hixson, 1989). Meanwhile, both the United States of America and the Soviet Union were sponsoring their state-centric national interests that is the Realist perspective of international relations. Realism (Realpolitik/power politics) sees the state as the base of power in interactions in international relations and will not be subjected to any other actor or authority. Both Washington and Moscow also used liberalism and Marxism philosophical ideas to buttress and champion capitalism and communism (Socialism) in their respective, geopolitical considerations (Goldstein, 2005; Ravenhill, 2005; Clark, 2010; Mingst, 2004; Baylis, 2008).

In the contemporary international relations, President Trump, President Putin, President xi jing, among others, are using realpolitik in the exercise and the extension of their military might in Syria, Ukraine and the Spratly and Paracel Archipelagoes in order to enhance their leadership role, regionally internationally and globally. Also, the Medium states such as Nigeria in Africa have endeavoured to assert its leadership role in Africa since the 1960 to date, through various activities such as development, diplomacy and peacekeeping. In the process of establishing its hegemony, Nigeria had and is still contributing huge resources for African development, i.e Pax Nigeriana (see Clark, 2010, among others).

Currently, President Trump's revisionist policy is reinforcing the principles and practices of merchantilism at its height. His protectionist or beggar-thy-neighbour policies is inimical or against America's liberal policy of free trade among the comity of nations. Clark (2005) defines foreign policy "as the articulation, mobilization and the aggregation of all domestic factors to maximize a nation's security interests such as political, economic, diplomatic or military influence vis-a-vis other states in the international political system at no risk or minimum costs".

America's Leadership Role: Under President Trump

According to The Economist (June 9th -15th,

2018:13, London),

If any country can bully the world, America can. Its total military, diplomatic, scientific, cultural and economic power still unmatched. Obviously, that power is there to be exploited, which is why every President, including Mr. Obama, has used it to get his way abroad even if that involves threats, intimidation and, occasionally, deception. But it is hard to think of a president who bullies as gleefully as Mr. Trump. No other modern president has routinely treated America's partners so shoddily or eschewed the idea of leading through alliances. None has so conspicuously failed to clothe the application of coercive power in the claim to be acting for the global good.

Since 1945 after the end of the Second World War America has used its resources such as economic, diplomatic and military to shoulder and provide global leadership role for the comity of nations to date. Infact, Americans with other nations came together to create international organizations and institutions such as the United Nations (UN), IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organizations (WTO), in order to contribute to world peace and development.

As the Cold War was unfolding, also America joined with other states like the UK, France, West Germany, Italy and Turkey to form NATO in order to counterbalance the Soviet Union in the process of peace building and security. In a world of Realpolitik, America has belligerently defended its national interests vis-a-vis other actors which has been detrimental to the sovereignty of the weaker states in the international system. However, America's global view is to see that international regimes such as rules and regulations put in place by the comity of nations are respected and strengthened from states' and non-state actors' attacks, including America, too. International regimes are norms,

rules and regulations, including decision procedures governing an aspect of international relations, implicitly and explicitly (Clark, 2010. Clark, 2017). Indeed, rules and regulations codified in several arrangements or accords such as in trade, environment and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons that Mr. Trump, the president of America is endeavoring to revise in his revisionist foreign policy. Foreign policy is the promotion and protection of the national interests, including the existing established world order. While revisionist foreign policy is to change the existing arrangements or world order put in place by the comity of nations, in order to meet or satisfy the interest of the revisionist power. Thus, revisionism could have both positive and negative implications for the established world order.

In the 1930s, Japan, Italy and Germany challenged the established world order in disregard for international norms. Because of those countries behaviour, coupled with violating the norms of international regimes, their actions led directly to the Second World War. First, Japan's rape of Manchuria in the Far East, 1931-32. Second, Italy's aggression in Ethiopia in Africa under Mussolini. The invasion of Ethiopia, one of the founding member states of the League of Nations was a violation of that country's sovereignty and international law. Thus, the League of Nations failed to act to prevent Mussolini's actions against a member state of the League. Sanctions were imposed against Italy but ineffective as such. Third, under Hitler's Germany saw the annexation of Austria and also the dismemberment of the State of Czechoslovakia (now Czech and Slovakia States). Those states' expansionist or revisionist foreign policies' thrusts, among others, led to the weakness and dead of the League of Nations, instability in the interwar years and war (Johari, 2013. Calvocoressi, 2006; Moregenthau, 2006; Khanna, 2007).

President Donald Trump during his election campaign said he is going to undo many arrangements or agreements entered into by his predecessors, including Obama, Clinton and Bush. Since, the past two years into his administration he had and is still undoing the

arrangements put in place by the former Presidents of America, in his foreign policy drive/thrust. Mr. Trump has undermined rules-based world order which is the bedrocks of interactions among states in international relations. Among others, he has threatened to undo or untie treaties such as the North American Free-Trade Area (NAFTA) between Mexico, Canada and America and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) between America and Asia-Pacific countries. Both arrangements, respectively, are for trade promotion and development. Furthermore, Trump is currently undermining the WTO's rules and regulations of international trade. His actions such as trade war and refusal to appoint Americans to the WTO's Appellate body are compounding the work of the Organization in how to resolve trade disputes between member states at this critical moment.

President Trump's current trade war against China, EU, Canada, Japan, Turkey, among others, by raising tariffs on goods, including steel and aluminum is a breached of international trade regime. Indeed, issues of tariffs, quotas and subsidies for decades have distorted trade liberalization between countries. During the interwar years (1929-1939), countries were engaged in merchantilist practices, including high tariffs and mounted high walls of protectionism which, indeed, hindered free flows of trade between countries. Congress introduced Smooth-Hawley Act of 1930 led to high tariffs and protection of American trade that intensified the trade warfare. The trade warfare between countries was one of the factors that led to the Second World War (Ravenhill, 2006; Baylis, 2008).

Consequently, as the war ended statesmen decided to establish an international organization that will handle issues of trade relations among the comity of nations. As such, representatives of those countries met in Havana, Cuba, in 1944 to endeavour to negotiate for a new International Trade Organization that will deal with issues of Beggar-thy-neighbour policies such as trade discrimination, tariffs, quotas and subsidies. However, the American Congress refused to accept the Treaty negotiated because of America's national interests. As such, the

International Trade Organization did not see the light of the day. After several years, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was created in 1947. Its tasks were to see reduction of tariffs, non-discrimination and Most-Favoured-Nations (MFN) measures, among others, to ensure free flows of trade between countries. GATT worked consistently to strengthen international trade regime and encourage trade liberalization in the international system, but states actions have hampered the free flows of trade. (Clark, 2010) Today, actions of Mr. Trump's bellicosity on trade and approach towards the WTO has weakened the Organization's ability to tackle or handle the ongoing trade disputes in the international system (The Economist, July 21st-27th, 2018, The Economist, March 31st-April 6th, 2018). The WTO came into force in 1995, after the Uruguay Trade Round Talks. At present, the WTO is the successor of GATT, and since its inception it is trying to put in place a trade round, such as the Doha Round, after the failed attempt of the Millennium Development Round in Seattle, USA in 1999. However, the Doha Round which started in 2001 is still ongoing because of the difficulties over issues of tariffs, subsidies, quotas, environment, among others. States because of their realekonomik (economic interests), it is hard for them to compromise their national interests. One might argue that the problem currently over the trade war between America and the rest of the world is that President Trump sees everything from the ultra-realist perspective of a 'win-win' situation for America only. Such a thinking is dangerous for multilateral diplomacy and for a peaceful coexistent in the international public.

The trade war between America and China has got to a level of a tit-for-tat. Both countries have imposed on each other billions of dollars worth of goods, including steel and aluminium. America has imposed over 200 billions of dollars on goods from China (CGTV, 23TH August, 2018, Beijing). China also has imposed tariffs on 128 American products, such as Soya bean, fruits, pork and wine in response to earlier imposition of tariffs on Chinese steel and aluminum. As The Economist, July 21st-27th, 2018:15, London.)

puts it:

Mr. Trump is waging a trade war that this year has already hit imports worth over \$89bn in 2017, including \$32bn of goods from China, and \$48bn of steel and aluminum. The fight will intensify. America plan further tariffs on \$208bn of Chinese imports and is threatening duties on imported vehicles and car parts that will hit European and Japanese firms hard. As well as generating trade disputes with new tariffs, America is also gumming up the WTO's system for solving them, by blocking the appointment of judges to its court of Appeals.

Separately, President Trump pulled out America from the Paris Environmental Conference Accord that was signed by Obama 2016. The environment is pretty contestious issue among the comity of nations. Today, the world is faced by issues of global warming, greenhouse gas, ozone depletion, gas-flaring, pollution, icecap disappearing and oceans surging. From Rio to Kyoto, among other environmental agreements to tackle environmental degradation, the State is still a major problem. Infact, because of various reasons, including economic, politics and post-imperialism states have failed to find a level playing field to resolve grave environmental issues and problems. For instance, several states are yet to ratify the Kyoto Accord. In America, for example, business or economic interests had been an uphill task against an American administration supports of international environmental accords (Clark, 2012; Clark and Okpako, 2016). Certainly, Trump's behaviour not to relate with the Paris environment deal is not new.

Geopolitics in World Politics

The struggle by states to secure their interests in the international system has led to a dangerous competition in the game of geopolitics. States have always endeavour to out pace their competitors in foreign policy

thrusts, in order to establish power, domination and influence. The rivalry between America and the Soviet Union, for example, during the Cold War was a projection of power in their geostrategic calculations to dominate the world. Even now, the power calculation between Russia and America, one might argue that is the continuity of a Cold War within the Post-Cold War era (Clark, 2017. Kissinger, 1994; Morgenthau, 2006. Russel, 2006; The Economist, January 27th-February 2nd, 2018).

President Trump in his foreign policy drive has threatened fire and fury, including sanctions against sovereign states. He threatened the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea (DPRK-North Korea) with "fire and fury" if DPRK leadership under Kim Jong Un did not end its missiles and nuclear weapon programme. Since the end of the Korean War in the 1950s, both North Korea and South Korea are yet to establish relative peace in the Korean Peninsula. Both armies are confronting each other in the Peninsula, well armed. America has 28,000 troops that are stationed/deployed in South Korea to support the South in case of a war between the two belligerents (Koreans). Also, American military base in Guam is close to North Korea, with strategic bombers and naval ships carrying cruise missiles in few minutes can hit North Korea. Indeed, for North Koreans, it is worrisome. Strategically, it motivated the North Koreans to develop long-range ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons to target American mainland, including its allies. Since the North Koreans developed a new long-range ballistic missile projectile in February, 2018, that can hit American mainland, President Trump had to end his policy of brinkmanship against North Korea. As such South Korea and North Korea met to find a way out on how to defuse the simmering insecurity in the Korean peninsula. The outcome between both leaders, it led to a summit between President Donald Trump and Chairman Kim Jong Un (CNN, June, 2018; The Economist, January 27th-February 2nd, 2018; The Economist, June 16th-22nd, 2018; The Economist, July 7th-13th, 2018).

As the Jaw-Jaw war of words cool down between President Trump and Kim Jong Un, diplomacy prevailed over war. The 17th century

Prussian (German) Politico-military strategist, Karl von Clausewitz puts it that:

War is the continuation of policy (politics) by other means.

Thus, both Trump and Kim gave diplomacy a chance instead of launching fire and fury that should have made the world a very dangerous place. The American and North Korean leaders decided to have a summit in Singapore on June 9th. Thus, the outcomes of the summit, includes these

- i. Complete Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula
- ii. To stop the 'Provocative War Games', between American and South Korean troops, which was a threat to North Korean sovereignty.
- iii. Return of prisoners of war.

In fact, since the summit North Korea has returned the remains of 55 American soldiers killed during the Korean war over 60 years ago. Other issues, such as sanctions, verifications and disarmament were not properly addressed during the summit. (CNN, June, 2018. The Economist, June 16th-22nd, 2018; The Economist, July 7th-13th, 2018. The Economist, August 4th-10th, 2018). The compromised between the Americans and North Koreans reduces the threshold of a war in the Korean Peninsula.

Certainly, President Trump's foreign policy towards the Islamic Republic of Iran is hostile and undiplomatic. The nuclear deal by the six powers America, France, Britain, Russia, Germany and China with Iran in order to stop the spread of nuclear materials and production of nuclear bombs. The then American President Obama joined with the other powers plus Iran to sign the nuclear deal. Indeed, the deal was to stop Iran from development of nuclear weapons and the proliferation of nuclear materials. Immediately, Trump came to power he withdrew America from the deal. Why did he pullout America from the Iran's nuclear deal? Because of several reasons (i) the

deal did not include Iran's activity in the war in Yemen; (ii) Iran support of terrorism, (iii) Iran's development of missiles, (iv) the security of the state of Israel, and (v) Iran vs. Saudi Arabia struggle over geopolitics.

Again, on July 17, 2018, Trump, the President of America issued serious warning to Iran to stop its threat against America. That he will launch an attack against Iran, if Tehran did not end its threat against Washington. The President of Iran said that the Islamic Republic of Iran has never threatened America. He concluded that if Mr. Trump attacks Iran, this will lead to the "Mother of all wars" (CNN, July 17, 2018; BBC World News, July 17, 2018. CGTV, July 17th, 2018; Aljazeera, July 17, 2018; The Economist, June 9th-15th, 2018; The Economist, January 27th-February, 2nd, 2018; The Economist, May 5th-11th)

President Trump to crown his bellicosity towards Iran, he decided to impose severe sanctions on Iran. The sanctions include restriction of dollar's supply to Iran and oil multinational corporations involved with oil production in Iran, if they refused to leave will be sanctioned. One might argue that Trump's actions against Tehran are being driven by his supports for Israel and Saudi Arabia. For example, Iranians and Saudis are vying for influences in the Middle East, and this has led to their geopolitical calculations in Yemen, Syria and Doha, among others. In Yemen, for instance, there is a brutal civil war ongoing, where thousands of civilians have been killed. The Saudis and Iranians are supporting the different factions with weapons among others. America is supplying arms and bombs to Saudis, which they are using to bomb the civilian population in Yemen. As such, the struggle between the two Middle East powers President Trump is backing Saudi Arabia, politically and diplomatically in order to weaken Iran vis-à-vis Saudi Arabia (The Economist, June 23rd-29th, 2018; The Economist, 5th-11th, 2018; The Economist, June 9th-15th, 2018; The Economist, January 27th-February 22nd, 2018)

The genesis of America's and Iran's trouble started in the 1950s, when America tempered with the existing order such as the political and culture of the people. In the modernization

process in Iran it came into conflict with traditionalism and there was a backlash against American policies. As a consequence, it led to a clash of civilization between westernization and traditionalism and in 1979 led to the Iranian revolution (see among others, Kissinger, 1994; Calvocoressi, 2006; Clark, 2017; Novik and Starr, 1981).

Separately, America's thrust in South East Asia is of concerns to China. China disliked America consistent supports for Taiwan militarily, politically and diplomatically as a threat to its sovereignty. Beijing sees Taiwan as a renegade province that should be reintegrated into the mainland China. Also, America's criticism of China over the Spratly and Archipelagoes islands where it is building military bases in its geopolitical drives in Asia. China's neighbouring states are contesting for the ownership of those islands, too. Beijing's goal in establishing those military bases is to check or contain America's projection of military forces close to its territorial waters. One might argue that the next contest between the two superpowers America and China will likely be in that region. Americans, including President Trump see China, as an emerging superpower and a potential threat to America's geopolitical interests around the world. As such, China must be kept down in the world of Realpolitik. Thus, one may say that President Trump's antagonism towards China is the furtherance of this America's agenda.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

President Donald Trump foreign policy drive has imposed a new challenge on the international system. His sees everything in a zero-sum game, has led him to denounce several arrangements signed by his predecessors. He saw those arrangements such as NAFTA, TPP and Iran's nuclear deal as unfair to America, as such should be abrogated. Thus, in order to protect and promote America's interest he has embarked on trade confrontation with American allies, including China and Turkey as well. Mr Trump also is using sanctions as an instrument of policies against Russia and Iran as demonstrated recently by his hard sanctions against those two

countries. Fire and fury diplomacy between Trump and Kim Jong Un led to the Singapore's summit that ushered in calm in the Korean Peninsula. President Trump's foreign policy goal, is to maximize America's interests vis-à-vis other actors. His actions are undermining the rules-based world order that America had worked to strengthen since 1945 to date.

Recommendations

1. In the competitive international relations or the emerging new cold war, if President Trump continues his policy of brinkmanship around the world, it might push other states, such as Russia, China and Iran to close rank and begins to undermine or attack America's interests in the international system. Thus, it will affect America's ability to provide global leadership in order to strengthen rules-based international order would be pretty difficult to attain.
2. International regimes, such as rules and regulations should be strengthened. Thus, the comity of nations, including the UN should advise President Trump to behave as a responsible leader and respects the norms of international relations. States should endeavour to strengthen existing international regimes, like those on trade, nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and the Paris deal on the environment.
3. President Trump must stop his aggressive and nationalist policy towards the rest of the world, if America's leadership is to be taken seriously in the years ahead.
4. Multilateralism should be given utmost importance in international affairs. Aggressive and nationalist tendencies that would heighten tensions between states or individuals should be condemned. Multilateral

diplomacy should be promoted that dovetails into peaceful coexistent, security and development. Racism and antisemitic tendencies should not be given a chance or place to flourish in society.

5. Today, in the world of geopolitical calculation, Africa must do is calculation well too, in order to fully participate in the international division of labour. Hence, the African Union (AU) must provide that leadership. The Union must stress that the countries in Africa should put emphasis on good governance, transparency and accountability, credible elections, human rights, security and development. African leaders also must take a look at the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) of 1981, if the continent is to achieve all round development in the years ahead.
6. The rich developed countries, including the G7, China and Russia should endeavour to deescalate the offensive and aggressive geopolitics that is leading to insecurity in the world. They should focus more on sustainable economic growth that will drive development and prosperity in the developing countries as such. Thus, the debts of those debtor countries from the developing world should be forgiven, then they would have enough for their social and infrastructural development.
7. In the 21st century, the international community should work harder to avoid future trade war. As such, the WTO must take a critical look or review of contestious trade issues such as tariffs, subsidies and quotas that will ensure in global free flows of trade among the comity of nations. Again, the WTO should be strengthened to

prevent states' interference in the Organization's work. States' domestic laws should not take preeminence over international rules and regulations.

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PATRIARCHY AND THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN IN DELTA STATE, NIGERIA

May Esiri

*Department of Sociology and Psychology,
Faculty of Social Science,
Delta State University, Abraka,
Delta State, Nigeria.*

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to examine how Patriarchy influences the education of girls and women in Delta State, Nigeria. Patriarchy in terms of girls and women implies that boys and girls including men and women are not offered the same privileges. Though there is increasing enrollment and awareness of women's education today, there is still an implicit preference for educating the male-child over the girl-child in Nigeria and in Delta State in particular. The symptom of gender inequality, is not far fetched but is rather domiciled in the present and past unequal power distribution relation between women and men, that is strongly rooted in patriarchy. Such gender discrimination and selective treatment has become progressively systemic in educational practices both in Nigerian families, schools and the society as a whole. This is particularly so as it concerns the Niger delta rural women. Thus many women today, to a large extent, still lack the opportunity and the ability to rise fully in their potentials. The paper therefore used secondary data on patriarchy and education to explore, examine and analyse the challenges the female sex encounter in the educational domain in Delta State. It concluded that patriarchy results in sex discrimination against females in education and institutes gender disparity relating to opportunities and privileges for upward mobility whereby women are disadvantaged and dominated.

Keywords: Patriarchy, education, girls, women, Delta State, Nigeria.

Introduction

Evidence exists that there are some forms of sex or gender discrimination educationally which affects male and sex during and after their schooling experiences (Ganny, 2004; Pearson, 2007; Aderinto, 2017). Such forms of sex discriminations are often time embedded in cultural norms, values and practices. The reason being that education as an institution is socially and culturally produced and reproduced. Therefore male domination and superiority are also reproduced within schools through formal and informal processes. For example, society has stereotyped women as mothers expecting them to be responsible for the bulk of child rearing. Hence women feel they must take school courses by which they can obtain occupations which will allow for lengthy leaves from work so as to spend meaningful time with their babies and children (Pearson, 2007).

Nigeria is a highly patriarchal society (Makama, 2013; Aziza, 2009). According to Jike (2001), patriarchy is a culture that is entrenched in its traditional beliefs and customs. Still, according to Jike (2001), a culture whose beliefs and myths have become institutionalized and legitimized stereotypes that have over time kept women in their place. Infact the division of labour that portrays women as housewives and locates them with the traditional tasks of housework is designed to perpetuate the traditional inequality of the sexes. For this reason, the educational system discriminates against females in the area of course-taking, particularly in secondary schools, though subtly in recent times. Subtly in the sense that teachers seem to interact and teach each of their children in a way that enforces relations of gender. For example teachers may give more attention to boys,

resulting in them becoming more social whereas girls become more quiet, passive, deferring to boys, and less assertive.

Course-taking creates a large gender-gap. Often times, males choose subjects different from those females take which results in differences in occupation in the future. For example, females tend not to take over advanced mathematical and scientific courses in higher education. This can be further seen in technology and computer sciences (Erinosho, 1994, Pearson, 2007). Students are also being socialized for their expected adult roles. For instance, girls are encouraged to pick up skills considered valuable for female dominated jobs. Boys on the other hand become skillful in leadership, and male dominated professions. Bias against females in course taking in schools and tertiary institutions make women unprepared or unqualified to take up occupations with more income and prestige (Ademiluka, 2018). Some educationists and sociologists have observed that the fields of science and technology, especially the areas of Agriculture and Forestry, Mechanical Engineering, Petroleum Engineering and Veterinary Medicine are dominated by male undergraduate; while areas like Nursing and Human Nutrition are dominated by female undergraduates. (Balogun, 1985; Erinosho, 1994). It is therefore in connection with this line of thought that Dhlamini (2019) and Ademilaka (2018) stressed that female underrepresentation in important state appointments and offices, and others, is an indication of women oppression, subordination, and disadvantaged positions.

Ademiluka described patriarchy as a form of systemic differentiation and stratification based on sex and which makes available to men material advantages at the same time severely constrain female duties and actions through the use of taboos in order to entrench standard gender roles (Ademiluka, 2018, p.339). Also, in 2019, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) recognized that some underdeveloped African nations are yet to act on the targeted goal of education for all. So it remains

a distant dream for their children and youths. Worse still is the enormous number (25million) of such in rural areas and poor families that were out of school due to gender related factors among others, with girls having the greater proportion despite some improvement in gender gap in primary school education.

Similarly, Delta state is experiencing this disproportionate trend. The state has its capital, Asaba metropolis and consists of 25 local government councils, ministries and other government parastatals, many primary, secondary and tertiary institutions. Conclusively therefore, Delta State is very lucrative for educational and developmental prospects as well as for up-ward mobility in status and class. The presence of these many privileges and opportunities is what leads this paper to the choice of Delta State and to ask the question: "With the background of patriarchy, to what extent are girls and women actually benefiting from the educational and the upward mobility prospects in Delta State? Thus, the major thrust of this paper is to examine how patriarchy provides or allows for the educational background needed for girls and women to take their necessary and proper place in delta society as well as become more relevant in the developmental process of Delta State and by implication, of Nigeria.

Conceptual Framework

Patriarchy as a concept has been defined in various ways by scholars. Ademiluka (2018) states that patriarchy is the reign and authority of the father and further explained in wider terms, that it is a social arrangement whereby the father is supreme in the clan or family, with wives and children legally dependent on him, and descent and inheritance is ascertained through the male line.

Also, Igbelina (2013) in Ademiluka (2018) defined patriarchy as an instrument of control and a largely unequal power exercised by men. Again, Makama (2013) views patriarchy to be structured social relations with a material base that enables men dominate women. Thus according to him, women are often deprived of schooling, ill-treated, and kept as home-helps.

Also, they are vulnerable for prostitution, forced marriage, street hawking, and wide-range trafficking.

In view of all the aforementioned definitions, patriarchy can generally be said to mean an organizational system, whereby males dominate females and this domination is reflected and sustained, through socialization processes and institutions, in the traditions, customs, belief practices of society, and attitudes of its members.

Education is usually seen as a means to change. Travers (1978) wrote extensively on education. He defined it as an institution that preserves and maintains the cultural heritage of society, and yet attempting to adjust old cultures to new conditions. Thus according to him, if there is no education, it is impossible to achieve social progress since education reveals the necessity of change. Morris therefore posits that educational curriculum must provide for freedom of thought, action and mobility.

Delta State, Nigeria, is located in the South-South geo-political zone and geographically situated approximately between 5°00' and 6°45'E and 5°00' and 6°30'N. It lies on a landmass of about 18,050 km². (6,970 square miles), bound in the north and west by Edo state, east by Anambra state, Imo state and Rivers state; southeast by Bayelsa state and by the Bight of Benin on the extreme South. (Wikipedia, 2021). The state was created on August 27th, 1991, out of the defunct Bendel state. Today, the state administration is headed by Governor Ifeanyi Okowa of the People's Democratic Party and who was sworn into office on 29th May, 2015. Delta State consists of twenty five (25) Local Government areas; various languages and/or dialects which include, Urhobo, Igbo, Izon, Ukwani, Isoko and Itsekiri and a population of 4,112,445 out of which 2,069,309 are male and 2,043,136 are females.

Further still, the mainstay of the economy of Delta State is oil production and agriculture. It is a large exporter of petroleum, rubber, palm oil and palm kernel (Britannica, 2021). This is enhanced by its wide coastal belt which is the

central area of the state's oil exploration activities that have attracted many multinational corporations to the area.

Overviews of Patriarchy in Delta State, Nigeria.

Tradition has over the years entrenched the patriarchal system of male dominance into the socio-cultural, economic, political, religious and educational systemic institutions of Delta State. Male dominance is an ideology that refers to the belief that women are generally inferior to men, and are only useful as sexual objects, dutiful mothers and wives (Esiri, 2012; Makama, 2013; Ademiluka, 2018). In fact, their position in governments, business and the academia should be tasking low income jobs. The extended and nuclear family reflects, legitimizes and reinforces the ideology and implementation of male dominance (Jike, 2001). It initiates and is involved in role setting and role taking by selecting males for the more important positions in a society while keeping women in subservient positions. It frees males from tasks that require the most drudgery and locks females into these same tasks thereby maintaining the status quo.

The family is responsible for socializing its young one from the point of birth and therefore socializes young females to be possessive, service and insecure as well as dependent in order to maintain female domination (Sperber 1973). They were practically geared towards domestic tasks, while young males were encouraged to be more practical, logical and aggressive. Iryvyar, Ebigbo & Esan (2001) notes that traditional society in Nigeria was ordered by a clear gender division of tasks and a strong sense of hierarchy. Social superiors enjoyed respect and obedience from subordinates and received priority in resource allocation. The hierarchical principle conferred very high authority in elders and male children were not only a source of pride and pleasure, but were highly valued. As such, family resources, particularly where they were meager were rather spent on male children than female children whose ultimate career were to end in domesticity-marriage.

AGAIN, females were expected to be seen and not heard (Esiri, 2012). Wives were acquired and are still acquired today through the payment of dowry or bride price. As a result, they were considered as property with productive and reproductive functions. They lacked rights of property or inheritance except in Muslim families (Iryvyar et al, 2001). Akpotor (2018) recognized that “a child's gender is biologically, and culturally assigned with roles and posited that the cultural preference of one sex and not the other, is what determines what one gets as inheritance and what is denied the other” (Akpotor, 2018, p.168). She added that this also “determines who goes up and who goes down” (Akpotor, 2018, p.168). Connected to this argument, is the position of Abbah & Bukar (2017) whose findings suggest that despite efforts to solve the problems of girl-child education in Yobe state, Nigeria, distribution of pupils and students at basic education levels reveals a low representation of girls than boys.

Noteworthy also, is the fact women occupied servile position and were dependent on their husbands. For example, they engaged in farmland work, wood gathering, trekked long distances with heavy loads on their heads to and from the farm, carrying babies on their backs as well (sometimes) but are not entitled to financial proceeds from lands they cultivate for their husbands (Esiri, 2012; Iryvyar, 2001). Today, such is still observable, in the rural parts of Delta State where many more women dwell. Iryvyar et al (2001) argues that such cultural expectations and attitudes do not change quickly. Still in line with this argument, Makama (2013), argued, that patriarchy has relegated Nigerian women to the background making them seem like inferior commodities.

However, in recent times awareness has increased on gender equity issues at the local, state, national and international levels. In fact, Nigerian Federal Government is a signatory to various international conventions which deal with the emancipation of girls and the commitment to gender equity and the empowerment of women. As a result, many

more Niger Delta women are receiving education and making waves individually, and in groups in business, politics, government, medicine, law, academics, etc.

In recent times, women have held political and administrative positions such as honourable ministers, heads of the Federal Civil Service, state commissioners, members of legislative houses, Chairmen of Local Government Councils, Permanent Secretaries of some states and Federal Ministries and Directors of Parastatals. Likewise in the judiciary, there are the State Chief Justice, the Chief Judge of Customary Court of Appeal, and other female judges. Finally, in Academics, there is a growing number of female professors (Aziza, 2009). Nevertheless, as long as patriarchy persists in Delta communities women discrimination in the educational process will continue though the pace and degree may reduce. In line with this Okech (2020), posits that to bring to an end gender inequality is to dismantle the root of male domination.

It is in view of the above arguments; the seemingly persistence of some tangible amount of patriarchal discriminatory challenges which females experience and which hamper the full realization of the girls and the woman's potentials; and hamper the overall growth and development of Delta state, that the paper examined and addressed the patriarchal basis of female educational discrimination and their marginalization.

Women Participation in the Educational Process

Patriarchy enhances gender disparity which is observable in schools, though it begins in the homes. For example, (Aziza, 2009; Olawoye, 1994), suggest that more than two-thirds of Nigeria's illiterate population should be women. This implies that more males are in schools than there are females. Aziza also notes that the girl-child from childhood does not enjoy equal opportunities in education as her brothers including, self-ascertain, psychological development and inheritance. Infact where there are scarce resources, parents prefer to sending boys to school rather than sending girls, because it is believed and

expected that the girl should marry and bear children and do housework. Ganny (2004) had elaborated on this. According to her, when families “are quite poor, the girl-child that bears the greater burden: while the family will manage and send the male child to school, the girl-child is sent to the street to hawk and/or prostitute for the survival of the family and also for money to pay for the boy's school fees” (Ganny, 2004, p.2).

In other words, she is not expected to take up any job outside the home. Actually, in the past, it was feared that if a female was very high education men will “shy” away from marrying her. Therefore, even when the girl was older or more intelligent than her brother or if the father could afford to send her to school, she still did not get educated or at best was educationally “half-baked” This explains why, the first “Urhobo” male graduates, late Mr. Ejaiife and Late Mr. Ezekiel Igho emerged in 1948, while not until sixteen years later (1964) the first female Urhobo graduate Late Chief (Mrs.) Ibuje emerged (Aziza, 2009).

Nigeria Demographic and Health Survey (NDHS) of 2008, 2013 and 2018 respectively, provide information on gender-disparity in education as follows:

• NDHS, 2008

NDHS, 2008: (Age 15-49)	No Formal Education (%age)		Primary Education (%age)		Secondary Education (%age)		Above Secondary (%age)		Overall Literacy (%age)	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
	36	19	(No record)		(No record)		9	14	54	77

This survey also reveals increase in literacy from 48% of women and 73% of men in the same age groups of 2003 to 54 and 77 accordingly. Again, it indicates that three quarters of women in the North West Zone have no formal education.
NHDS, 2008, p.2.

• NDHS, 2013

NDHS, 2013:	No Formal Education (%age)		Primary Education (%age)		Secondary Education (%age)		Above Secondary (%age)	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
	38	21	17	17	36	48	9	14

According to this report,

“the North West and North East have the highest proposition of women with no education (69% and 64% respectively; and the South South and South East have the lowest proportions (5 percent each). Across states, the highest proportion of women with more than a secondary education is in the Federal capital Territory (FCT) Abuja including Abia, Anambra, Imo, Rivers, Lagos and Osun have women who completed “a median of 11 years of schooling or more”.

NHDS, 2013, p.5

- **NHDS, 2018:** The survey used primary and secondary school students as sample respondents and measured gender parity index (GPI). That is the “ratio of female to male students attending primary school and the ratio of female to male attending secondary school. The GPI in Nigeria was 0.95 at the primary school level and 0.91 at the secondary school level which according to the survey, indicated that more boys than girls attended primary and secondary school level”.

NDHS, 2018, p.20.

Nosike (1996) cited in Esiri (2021), writes concerning Nigeria, that the general belief that girls do not need to go to school because they will end in marriage raising children rather than work at a job for which educational qualifications are needed, is an offshoot of socialization. Alutu (2001) observed that consequently, haven been excluded from education, many women have come to believe that their abilities are restricted to cooking, cleaning and taking care of children. Esiri (2012) and Otite & Ogionwo (1994) also

pointed out that women engaged in domestic duties and are active in the domestic domain. In addition, it was common tendency in the past to treat a woman's class as deriving from her husband if she is married and deriving from her father if she is not married (Bernstein, 1975). There is obviously no doubt that females are less valued in Delta communities than males. To further confirm this, it is noteworthy that a common practice among Delta people is that at the point of birth of a baby boy he is celebrated by male family members and friends with a keg of palm wine whereas it is not so at the birth of a baby girl (Ganny, 2004).

Again in Nigeria, as observed, male pupils perform better than female pupils in primary school and girls under-achieve relative to boys in basic sciences and particularly so in mathematics (Erinosho, 1994). In the area of course taking some social scientists (Ledaar et al, 1973; Bernstein, 1975) have suggested that when boys take subjects seen as “girl subjects” the meanings swiftly change, thus cookery becomes a prelude to catering career for boys, while as taught to girls, it is still intended a general domestic skill and not primarily a saleable one. Welfare, counseling, social work and other similar subjects are frequently seen as something women are innately well equipped to do because they are innately well equipped to be mothers. Infact Nigerian male undergraduates are observed to dominate the science fields, especially in forestry, engineering (mechanical engineering), petroleum engineering and medicine while the female undergraduates are mostly in nursing and nutrition (Balogun 1985; Erinosho, 1994).

Theoretical Explanation

The paper examines the feminist theory of gender inequality, and relates it to patriarchy culture and bias against women in the educational system, in Delta state, Nigeria. The theory argues that society unequally & differently positions men and women, making women to receive less than men, of the material resources, social status, power, and opportunities which enables self-actualization (Ritzer, 2011, p.462). The theory asserts further and assumes all humans have a “deep

need” for liberty to “seek self-actualization” and that it is possible to change their situations. So adaptation to the constraints or opportunities in which they find themselves is possible. However, women are “situationally less empowered than men to realize the need they share with men for self actualization” (Ritzer, 2011, p.463).

Engrained cultural stereotypes by both sexes are therefore responsible for gender inequalities. Cultural norms and values embedded in patriarchy, which labels and stereotypes women as house wives and mothers is majorly responsible for gender gap in education. Women have traditionally been less valued than men. Consequently right from infancy; the boy-child is sent to school and often ends up with the privileges of a good education; and better economically and socially valued skills. Again, jobs which though culturally valued are not economically valued, belong to the girls. For the same reason while a male in Delta State is most likely to graduate as a professional in any science field, a female is most likely to graduate in courses such as nursing, home economics or a teacher. Culture is transmitted from generation to generation. As result, though there is a new awareness in the area of gender equity and women are getting better educated and empowered, and the gendered educational disparity seems to be narrowing down, the fact still remains that a significant gap still exists. Many more women are yet to take their proper place in education in Delta State.

Recommendation

Delta State government has established some single sex schools but needs to establish more. Moreover, workshops and seminars should be organized regularly for teachers to increase awareness in gender disparity in education, resulting from traditionally entrenched patriarchal system of male dominances. This should be with the intention of reducing teachers' attitudes and interactions with students that enforce gender inequality or relations of gender. Also serious and increased efforts should be made by government and state NGOs to take women adult education to

the women at the grassroots. Female adults and young married or unmarried women should be mobilized into formal learning processes. In other words, special educational policies and programmes should be arranged for women only. In addition, government and private agencies responsible for monitoring child labour activities should work hand-in-hand with the ministries of education and educationists to capture female children who are the major victims of such.

Conclusion

Patriarchy as a cultural system and practice results in sex discrimination in the educational process. Therefore women do not receive the same opportunities and privileges as men for upward mobility in the educational system. To completely resolve gender disparity problem in education in Delta state and in Nigeria, patriarchy and all its basis must be dismantled.

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HOW RELEVANT IS THE PRINCIPLE OF TRANSPARENCY IN PUBLIC SERVICE?

By

Moses Adagbabiri (PhD)
Edwin Clark University
Department of political science
adagbabirimoses@gmail.com
08033929964, 08038045811

&

Ebenezer Okorodudu (PhD)
Delta State University
Department of political science
ebenezerokorodudu@gmail.com
08038176298, 08052376650

ABSTRACT

Experts on modern systems of governance have professed the principle of transparency as a key factor in promoting conducive political, economic and social environments that predisposes public servants to success. As a principle, public officials, civil servants, managers and directors of companies and organization have a duty to act visibly, predictably and understandably to promote participation and accountability.

The paper therefore, set out to ascertain if the principles of transparency is still relevant in the public service. In order to approach the topic, the paper used the historical research method which involved the use of secondary sources of data. Transparency in governance in general, and in public service in particular, has become the focus of lawmakers and civil society in preventing corruption among other objectives. Also, In this paper, the relevance of the principle of transparency in public service has been espoused using a framework of mechanisms for enthroning sound ethical principles. These mechanisms are designed to prevent ethical misconduct, and enforce ethical principles. Although this paper espouses the position that there cannot be corruption – free public service system without transparency, it has been argued that despite its importance and attempts at legislating for it by many regimes, there have been difficulties in practice at achieving complete transparency.

Key words: *Transparency, public service, transparency and corruption, better governance.*

Introduction

It has been generally known for sometimes now that public entities are obligated to be transparent not only because the law may require it but also because of the real benefits provided by transparent systems of governance. The significance of transparency is exemplified in the extent to which every significant institution goes to operate a press office in recent times (Issing, 2005). In public

service, the principle of transparency has been recognized by legislators, government officials, procurement practitioners, academics and professionals alike as a necessary condition for reducing corruption (Jeppesen, 2010; Bovis, 2009). No doubt corruption and fraudulent practices have been severally advanced as the bane of our national economy. At the fore, is the general consensus amongst scholars and the general public in

Nigeria that the lack of transparency and accountability accounts for the myriad of the developmental challenges bedeviling the socio-economic transformation of the nation (Ogoun & Ogoun, 2012). But what does public service transparency mean? If the principle of transparency is considered relevant and important, why is transparency in public service not absolute and sometimes difficult to achieve? An attempt has been made to provide answers to these questions in this study.

Objective of The Paper

The major objective of this paper is to determine the extent to which the fundamentals of transparency are entrenched in the public service. We also want to identify those factors which might have constrained the entrenchment of transparency and by implications good governance in the public service.

The Concept of Transparency

Transparency connotes that the decisions made and their implementations are in accordance with the laid down rules and regulations. For the people to know that the laid down procedures have been followed, the relevant information has to be available and the target of such decisions must of necessity be able to assess it. Therefore transparency is linked to the notion of openness and the reality of faithful discharge of duties as required and accounted for. Transparency is not so much about substance but appearance. Transparency is more of personal attributes, skill, features and qualities. Similarly, transparency is about congruence between words and deeds. In view of the foregoing, we can define transparency as the condition of clarity and absence of doubts in the conduct of and account of activities. Generally speaking, the term transparency could be broken into four segments:

- Integrity
- Rectitude
- Decorum
- Leadership by example

Integrity

The term integrity is used to explain situations whereby the leader fulfils his/her promises. Equally, it could refer to situation whereby the chief Executive carries out the functions of his/her office with utmost objectivity. A man of integrity is respected and above all trusted by colleagues. Integrity could therefore include:

- Actions backed by facts
- Objectivity in actions
- Thoroughness in search
- Reward based on productivity

Rectitude

The term rectitude is used to explain honesty or correctness of behavior. Furthermore the term rectitude could connote sincerity. A sincere leader is always a model worth emulating. Sincerity is to management as air is to body. Rectitudeness could thus include;

- Veracity
- Probity
- Incorruptibility
- Honour

Decorum

Decorum is used to explain situation bordering around dignity. Hence, the term decorum could be defined as a dignified way of doing things. A dignified leader is always above boards, he gives to ceasar what belongs to ceasar. From this perspective, the term decorum could include;

- Majesty
- Equity
- Self-respect
- Delegation

Leadership by Examples

The term leadership by example is used to connote situation whereby the leader acts in accordance with what he/shes professes. A chief Executive of a public enterprise, who professes to his/ her subordinates the notion of say, delegation of responsibility, should be seen doing it. In this vein, leadership by example exemplifies national consciousness which includes:

- Tact
- Industry
- Courtesy

In its generic form, transparency has been defined as “Openness, honest visibility and ready accessibility to information” about individuals, businesses and government entities (Rawlins, 2008). In principle, transparency requires that people at the helm of governance, be they public officials or managers and directors of companies and organizations operate in an open and honest manner, such that observers are enabled to easily see through their activities. Where there is transparency, officials consciously reveal in a readily accessible manner, true, adequate, useful and balanced information such as would enable interested parties to form informed opinions about the organizations they are interested in (Wakefield & Watton, 2010).

Zhao and Hu (2017) define transparency as a strategic responsibility, essential to enhance trust in relationships (Wasike, 2016; Song and Lee, 2016; Bahur and Grimes, 2014). In addition, transparency creates a climate of trust among people and encourages them to believe more in governments, fostering an environment of openness that allows citizens to control institutions and participate in decision making.

Transparency is often regarded as the openness of institutions, that is, the degree to which outsiders can monitor and evaluate the actions of insiders. Iyoha (2006) cited in Idada (2016) perceived transparency as openness, communication and accountability. He viewed transparency as sharing information and acting in an open manner.

The purpose of transparency is to allow citizens, to hold institutions, government and markets accountable for their policies and performance (Duru, 2013). Transparency is also defined as official business conducted in such a way that substantive and procedural information is available to and broadly understandable by, people and groups in society, subject to reasonable limits protecting security and privacy (Bellver & Kaufmann, 2005). Among the various elements of good governance, transparency is widely recognized as a core principle. Underlying this assertion we found that transparency is closely related to accountability and allows citizens to hold institutions and government accountable for

their policies and performance and in this way reduce corruption in the polity. The root to transparency is provision of adequate information, since transparency implies sharing of information in an open manner (Duru, 2013).

Where there is no transparency, there is opacity. There is opacity where officials or public servants are prohibited from releasing information by means of official code of secrecy or where they deliberately act under cover. Between transparency and opacity lies a continuum of a grade of transparency that Wakefield and Walton (2010) have dubbed translucency. Translucency represents a condition in which full disclosure of information is not considered appropriate and therefore information may be released just enough to “inform, guide, and engage key” stakeholders.

Simply making information available is not sufficient to achieve transparency. Large amounts of raw information in the public domain may breed opacity rather than transparency. Therefore, information should be managed and published so that it is:

- **Relevant and Accessible:** Information should be presented in plain and readily comprehensible language and formats appropriate for different stakeholders. It should retain the detail and disaggregation necessary for analysis, evaluation and participation. Information should be made available in ways appropriate to different audiences.
- **Timely and Accurate:** Information should be made available in sufficient time to permit analysis, evaluation and engagement by relevant stakeholders. This means that information needs to be provided while planning as well as during and after the implementation of policies and programmes. Information should be managed so that it is up-to-date, accurate, and complete.

According to Premchand (2001), transparency is a system of well organized windows on

public policy making and policy implementation that contributes to effective and comprehensive accountability that aims at securing answerability from governments and their officials or agencies. This heightened demand for more transparency and accountability on the part of government and its institution was given impetus globally from the failure of government and its agencies to deliver on citizens' expectation occasioned by massive fraud and lack of information in the public domain. This clamour had led to the passage of the Freedom of Information Act (FOI) in Nigeria by the current legislature. Baldrich (2005) observed that transparency defines the scope and responsibilities of government in a clear manner, making available the fiscal information for the population, openly preparing and executing budget, and assuring the integrity of fiscal procedure. Thus the concept epitomizes citizens' demand for responsiveness and answerability on the part of those who control public funds. This view was succinctly captured in the submission of Frisch (1996) when he deposed that transparency is the absence of the abuse of public power for personal gain.

The concept of transparency connotes conscious release of all conceivable information by the holder, whether as government official, business or government entity or even a private individual, to those for whom it is relevant. However, in practice, the definition of transparency that implies unfettered and complete openness may not be appropriate because of ethical, legal and logistical constraints. As a result of these constraints, the meaning of transparency may be restricted to the release of information that is ethically and legally allowed (Rawlins, 2008). The need may arise to distinguish between voluntary transparency and involuntary transparency. An example of voluntary transparency is where an individual, who, although is entitled to privacy as a fundamental right may decide for personal reasons to open up and volunteer to provide information to others. Involuntary transparency often occurs in governance where it may be compelled by the law or regulation because of its implication

for good governance. Generally, governments and organizations may strive to provide information that is true and honest as a moral obligation and a virtue for good government (Lord, 2006). The principle of transparency requires that all stakeholders, be they officials of the procurement entity, business sector representatives, civil social or the government, should be given appropriate and proportionate dose of information. Indeed, transparency must manifest among all stakeholders in the public service since the relevance of the concept of transparency may be appreciated from the peculiar perspective of each group (La Chima et al, 2011). Since they all suffer from one kind of information asymmetry or the other (Trepte, 2005). At this point it is important to briefly discuss the concept and criticisms against the Nigeria public service.

Public Service

The public service is seen as an organized body of men and women elected into office or employed on full-time basis by government on behalf of the nation and drawing a regular salary or wage from public funds for the purpose of formulating and executing public policies, programmes and projects. Furthermore the term "public service" is used to describe the body of permanent officials whose duty is to assist the political execution in formulating governmental policies and implementing them. Traditionally public service is designed to promote rapid socio-economic development through the provision of basic and fundamental infrastructural facilities. This actually described the public service as engine of the state, because it helps the state in realizing its objectives. The public service of any country performs certain distinct and crucial functions. It provides a number of social services to the people of a country. Such services include transportation, health, housing, electricity, power, public enterprises and other public utilities in the interests of socio-economic development (Oyedele, 2015).

Referring about the features of public service, Herman Finer observes: "The public service ... does not exist to make a profit, Hence, its actions are subject to persistent scrutiny and

liable to disavowal. This again limits its flexibility and enterprise. Thirdly... public servants and their ministers must face constant informed criticism from the parliament and the general public. This fortifies their unwillingness to take chances. Finally, its services are vital. This forces it to pay special care to its staff relations, and, in order to prevent disaffection or dispute, to cultivate equality of treatment at the possible expense of quality of service.

Hence, for these assertions to be feasible, this study posits that transparency should apply equally to all public servants Bovis (2009) has named the principle of transparency among the most essential and notable principles of any system of public service or procurement. For this reason transparency is considered a major component of good public service which, if applied properly, can lead to reduced corruption in public service.

Criticisms Against the Nigeria Public Service

The Nigeria public service is criticized on the following grounds:

1. Red – Tapism/ Bureaucracy: The public service in Nigeria is criticized because they delay a lot in carrying out their duties. The public servants waste a lot of time before doing a piece of work. This is what in public administration is called the dysfunctional nature of bureaucracy or the problem of bureaucratization.
2. Precedent or Rigidity: The public service is very conservative. They always like to do things in the old and the same way. The public service does not like change and innovation.
3. Waste of Manpower and Other Resources: Many of the public servants are dead wood and unproductive. Many of them play truancy and hardly stay in office to do any work. Most of them use public properties entrusted in their care recklessly leading to their damage. Infact most of the government can give to the public servants do not last.
4. Lack of Initiative: Most of the public

servants are not inventive and innovative. The public servants cannot think out any good thing to do on their own without being directed by the government.

5. Corruption: Most of the public servants are corrupt. They are involved in bribery, embezzlement, nepotism and other evils.

These criticisms are symptoms of a system that lack transparency. Lack of transparency is an enabling environment for corruption. Indeed corruption flourishes in opacity (Schooner et al, 2008), but transparency provides the searchlight which serves to expose the shadowy corruption in public service which otherwise can blossom in phenomenal proportions. It is worth nothing that transparency, as applied to governance in general, is an ingredient for ensuring participatory democracy. As the activities of public service are made open to stakeholders, the latter are empowered to make positive and meaningful contribution to the process of governance. Furthermore, as the governed get convinced that their participation is assured, they tend to accept the process of governance is thereby are encouraged to internalize the process and outcomes of governance.

Government's Efforts to Achieve Transparency in Public Service

As subscribed by all the serving ministers and Special Advisers to the president in the Ministerial Code of Conduct and Ethics (FGN, 1996), and as further demonstrated in the case of late President Yar- Adua's declaration of assets and liabilities to the "Code of Conduct Bureau" and publishing same in the media. This has been adjudged by many public policy analysts as a practical demonstration of the topmost political leadership commitment to promoting a culture of sound ethical fitness in the public service. This action transcends mere compliance with the constitutional compulsion in the "Code of Conduct for Public Officers" as spelt out in the "5th schedule, part 1, section 11 of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria". Indeed, the 2009 "APRM Country Review Report on Nigeria" (a deliverable from Nigeria's governance review by the committee

1. Promoting Administrative Accountability: This has been done by ensuring standard ethical values in the:

(i) Code of conduct, encouraging public servants to adhere to the mandatory and permissible conduct in the public service. Relevant indicators include, the 1999 “Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria”, which provides for “National Ethics, code of conduct for public officers,” abolishment of corrupt practices and abuse of power, and “Oath of office,” for principal officers of the Executive, legislative and judiciary Arms of Government at both the Federal and State Levels (Vide chapter 11, Section 23; 5th Schedule, Part 1; chapter 11, Section 15 (5), and 7th Schedule respectively, of the said constitution); “Nigeria National Anthem; Nigeria's National Pledge; Civil Service Handbook (FGN, 1997). Which spells out the Code of Ethics in Government Business in its Chapter 4; underscoring the value of discipline and adherence to service rules and regulations; “Ministerial Code of Conduct and Ethics (FGN, 1996)”, to which all serving Ministers and Special Advisers to the President publicly subscribe and express commitment to uphold towards preserving and enhancing public confidence and trust in the integrity, objectivity and impartiality of public functionaries.

(ii) Laws and rules, which prohibit misconduct and corruption, as well as prescribe appropriate punishments for violators, for example regular penal codes criminalizing corruption; corrupt practices and other Related Offences Act (2000); Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (Establishment) Act (2002); public Procurement Act (2007); Fiscal Responsibility Act (2007); Nigeria EITI (Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative) Act 2007; 2008 Public Service Rules (PSR),

which prohibit misconduct, and serious misconduct, as defined in PSR 030301 and PSR 030401 respectively as well as seeking influence of prominent persons (FR 030427), receipt of presents in recognition of service rendered or anticipation of service to be rendered (Fr 030433), bribery and corruption (FR 030434) including conduct prejudicial to state security (FR 030501); and the 2009 Financial Regulations (FR) which provide appropriate guidance to all public officers in carrying out government financial transactions (FR101).

(iii) Public Service reforms, a series of which was inaugurated with the constitution of the “Gorsuch Committee” in 1954, have been undertaken to reposition the federal public service for better performance. In the same vein, the Federal Government of Nigeria launched the on-going public service reform programme (PSRP) in 2003. Its implementation is being guided by the National Strategy for Public Service Reform (NSPSR), (FGN, 20086). The “Strategy” document provides a common vision and a long term agenda (including ethical and accountable workforce with a changing work culture) to guide the rebuilding and transformation of the Federal Public Service to a world – class standard for achieving Nigeria's vision 20:2020:

2. Establishment of Integrity and Moral Rectitude Watchdog Bodies: Including the:

i. Internal bodies, such as the Code of Conduct Bureau, which has been enshrined in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria by the provision of its section 153, and 3rd schedule, Part 1, Section 1; Public Complaints Commission (PCC) (Nigeria's Ombudsman), established by Decree No 31 of 1975 (as further amended by Decree No 21 of 1979)

with the mandate to provide impartial investigation of complaints received from aggrieved citizens against government agencies (that is Federal, State, and Local Governments), corporate organizations and their officials; Bureau of Public Procurement (BPP), established by the provision of the Public Procurement Act 2007, with the mandate to prevent fraudulent and unfair procurement, and where necessary apply administrative sanctions; Auditor-General for the Federation (AUGF), mandated to undertake financial audit, appropriation audit, financial control audit, and value-for-money audit with a view to ensuring due compliance with the applicable accounting practices and standards (Vide FR 108 and FR 109 of the 2009 Financial Regulations);

- ii. Independent external bodies, including the “Media”, Organized Non-Governmental Actors (for example Nigeria Chapters of Transparency International, and Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Integrity Club (formed in 1998) etc, recent upsurge of a plethora of Integrity Forums, and professional bodies (for example institute of Management Consultants Nigeria (IMC- Nigeria), Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria (ICAN), Nigerian Medical Association (NMA), Nigeria Bar Association (NBA), etc.). These bodies have been actively involved in the crusade for promoting compliance with professional ethical principles in the country.

Managing Misconduct and Enforcing Ethical Principles and Laws.

Nigerians generally believe that the emplacement of a framework or mechanism for preventing misconduct in the public service is necessary but not sufficient “per se”. This measure needs to be supported with structured mechanisms for managing misconduct and enforcing compliance with acceptable ethical

principles. To this end, Nigeria has established a system for:

- i. Disclosure of misconduct and corruption, which “inter alia”, encourages and protects whistle-blowers under the principle of confidentiality of official information, whilst providing adequate avenues and procedures for facilitating disclosure and investigation of misconduct or corruption cases. This measure, which necessitated the placement of “public suggestion boxes” at the entrances and exits of “government agencies”, has been reflected in several administrative instruments with varying degrees of emphasis, notably, the 2008 Public Service Rules (PSR), which provide procedures to be followed in reporting misconduct (PSR 030304), in disciplining misconduct and serious misconduct (PSR 030305), and in procession petitions and appeals (Chapter 9); and the Code of Conduct Bureau, Public Complaints Commission, SERVICOM, and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission etc. have established hindrance-free procedures for receiving complaints and appeals from aggrieved citizens and for protecting the petitioners. Furthermore, the Auditor-General for the Federation (AUGF) is empowered by section 88 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to investigate and expose inefficiency or waste of public Funds to the National Assembly, whilst Section 128 of the same “Constitution” replicates the same provisions for the 36 states of the federation;
- ii. Disciplining control is being exercised via occasional Ad-Hoc Commissions of Inquiry, and the established investigating, disciplinary committees enshrined in the 2008 Public Service Rules. Especially its chapter 3 which is dedicated to discipline; independent corrupt practices and other related

offences commission ICPC), and Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), are mandated to prohibit and prescribe punishment for corrupt practices and other related offences as well as economic and financial crimes whilst the Attorney –General of the federation and Minister of Justice is empowered to prosecute perpetrators of corruption in his/her capacity as the Chief Law Officer of the Federation, (Vide Section 150 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria). Furthermore, the ICPC has the power to investigate petitions leveled against public functionaries hitherto granted constitutional immunity that is the President, Vice – President, State Governors and Deputy Governors. Again, the Constitutional Oversight Bodies (that is the Senate Committees on Ethics and Petitions, Public Accounts, and Finance and Appropriations; and House of Representatives, Committees on Ethics and Privileges, Public Services Matters, Public Petitions, Appropriations, Finance and National Ethics, Values and Anti-corruption) have powers to investigate alleged cases of corruption and visit the necessary disciplinary penalties on violators.

Is Absolute Transparency always Desirable and Allowable?

Although the positive relationship between transparency and reduced corruption is not in doubt, in practice absolute transparency may not be always desirable, necessary or even allowable. In the first place, if transparency is conceptualized as absolute, implying a requirement to provide every conceivable piece of information the decision making process will run into implementation hiccups as “the sheer volume of information” can choke the communication channel and overwhelm recipients (Lord, 2006). Indeed, “the costs of procuring and processing” more information, may sometimes not improve the

utilitarian expectations of users (Blackwee, 1953) and may sometimes not be appropriate on cost – benefit basis. Moreover, under certain conditions and circumstances it may not be ethically, legally and logistically appropriate to disclose information (Wakefield and Walton, 2010). The concept of transparency therefore may be evaluated within the boundaries of ethical, legal and logistical constraints. The existence of laws that prohibit the release of certain information on the basis of confidentiality, privacy and national security may be grounded in this reasoning. It is submitted that in practice, the existence of ethical, legal and logistic constraints render the search for absolute transparency an exercise in futility and hence a mere academic exercise.

Again, in practice unmitigated transparency may expose the transparent entity to several risks since one cannot be sure of what the holder of information will do with it. Naturally, holders of certain information are tempted to hide them (Rawlins, 2008) unless the coercive force of the law is applied to make them available.

But in some cases, official may take conscious steps to keep information out of the reach of stakeholders. In certain circumstances operators of the system may be reluctant in allowing transparency for the simple reason that opacity will further personal and selfish interest and enable them to cover some. Indeed this may happen under autocratic systems, where official including civil servants and procurement officials may benefit from opacity. In reality, not every entity found preaching the need to be transparent may be genuinely interested in it (Wakefield and Walton, 2010). Some may therefore employ all resources at their disposal including subterfuge to reduce transparency. Sometimes they can go the extent of gagging free press and civil society and suppressing opposition in general. In some cases laws that enable transparency are resisted and reasons are found to shroud information under official secrecy regulations. Even under some democratic dispensations transparency may be ignored using flimsy justifications (Vishwanath & Kaufmann, 2001).

With reference to transparency as it affects

public service, the increased knowledge associated with transparency may prove counterproductive. According to Jenny (2005) unmitigated transparency may breed anti-competitive practices, facilitate tacit collusion among the tenderers and thereby foment corruption. Under certain circumstances, the bureaucracy associated with the need to provide more information may indeed assist bribe givers to identify potentially corrupt officials (Bac, 2001). Bac (2001) argues that, this may facilitate corruption by enabling easy identification of people with whom "Connection" may be established for the purpose of corrupt practices. In addition, knowledge, acquired by potentially corruptible officials through transparency measures will enable them to learn the "ways and means" of perfecting and promoting the art of corruption. Moreover, transparency for the sake of it is not a final –one-stop cure for the corruption in public services. It must be supported by others corruption –reducing imperatives including assurance of effective competition and efficiency in managing public resources (Beth, 2005). Nowadays, as indicated by policy developments and experience in advanced countries spearheaded by the United States, the OECD and "WTO, and reflected in "internationally shared norms," effective competition is being maintained through the international trade liberalization crusade (Anderson & Kovacic, 2009).

In addition, sometimes unmitigated transparency may be at variance with other requirements of good governance. It is therefore important to establish an appropriate balance between transparency that information is released with due regard to established rules (Wittig, 2005). Thus absolute, unmitigated transparency may not be always desirable. The degree of transparency and openness should be adapted accordingly to suit the nature, status and value of recipient of information, and the sensitivity of information. Therefore, it becomes necessary to time the release of information to suit the nature, status, and value of recipient.

The Relevance of Transparency in Public Service

Transparency becomes relevant because agents should demonstrate to the satisfaction of his principal that they have exercised the power conferred and achieved the agreed objectives, by using the resources provided effectively and efficiently. Inanga (1991), in public service, transparency requires government to answer to the citizenry to justify the source and utilization of public sources. This is imperative as the citizenry not doubt, has a right to know, a right to receive openly declared facts which would enable them to debate and decide the fate of their elected representatives.

Accordingly, Aucoin and Heitzman (2000) see transparency and accountability as a democratic means of monitoring and controlling government conduct which prevents the development of concentration of power and enhancing the learning capacity and effectiveness of public administration. The preceding assertion draws attention to two major significance of transparency (i) democratic control and (ii) checks and balances. From a democratic control or perspective, it is the basis of any strong democracy as people can call upon any public office holder to account for their stewardship (Mulgam, 2003). From the perspective of checks and balances, transparency is important as it prevents corruption and abuse of office as no one has absolute power. Both perspectives are relevant to Nigeria in the sense that the country is currently democratizing and requires strong institutions and structures to support the process. The corollary is that transparency can lead to reduced corruption in Africa.

Furthermore, transparency enables stakeholders and society at large to ask appropriate questions, monitor progress and subject the activities of government officials to scrutiny. Thus transparency provide appropriate social audit trail. In a transparent system, participants have the confidence and assurance that when the system is subjected to scrutiny at anytime, it can be seen to be capable of ensuring that nothing improper had occurred (World Bank, 2006). The openness, equality,

equity, simplicity and fairness that are generated by transparency enable competitive quality service delivery which in turn leads to reduced corruption in public service. In reaction to such perceived situations, many western democracies are yearning for more direct and explicit transparency relations between public agencies on the one hand and clients, citizens and civil society, including the media, on the other hand (McCandless, 2001). Transparency provides an effective means to eliminate, identify or correct impropriety and waste of resources in public service.

It is worth noting that transparency, as applied to government in general, is an ingredient for ensuring participatory democracy. As the activities of public officials are made open to stakeholders, the latter are empowered to make positive and meaningful contribution to the process of governance. Furthermore, as the governed get convinced that their participation is assured, they tend to accept the process of governance and thereby are encouraged to internalize the process and outcomes of governance.

Conclusion

Hence, our conclusion is firmly collocated within the current push for greater transparency and answerability on the part of government and her institutions as evidenced in the ongoing public service reforms in Nigeria. The clamour for greater transparency in the public office holders and agencies in the developed nations is a clear indicator of society's never ending desire for answerability on the path of those who administer her common wealth. It is therefore not surprisingly that anti-corruption measures in public service are built around the principle of transparency. But transparency is not an all cure remedy to corruption. Over reliance on transparency may not be always appropriate as it may also have counterproductive tendencies under certain circumstances. Moreover, anti-corruption advocates must look out for threats to transparency arising from actions by people in authority, whose nefarious activities may be exposed by the light of transparency.

Therefore, the paper recommends the imperative of institutionalizing transparency in

all public institutions. It is the noblest path to follow if current reforms efforts are to engender any beneficial impact. Transparency is a critical success factor in the delivery of public service and the attainment of good governance.

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ARMED BANDITRY AND HUMAN SECURITY IN NORTH WESTERN NIGERIA: THE IMPACTS AND THE WAY FORWARD

By
Abdulrasheed Abdulyakeen

Department of Political Science, Al-Qalam University, Katsina. Katsina State.
Email: abdulrasheedabdulyakeen90@gmail.com; 08033628063

ABSTRACT

Nigeria has been facing multiple crises since independence. Such problems include citizenship, bad governance, ethnicity, economic and political instability. These negative factors have been lingering on in Nigeria and getting worse yearly. Issues of militancy, Boko Haram, Banditry and kidnapping are some of the effects of the above problems. The paper is an attempt to extrapolate the nexus between Banditry and Human Security in North western Nigeria given the present social and political challenges in the country. The study adopts the collapse state, failed state and fragile theories as the model of our analysis. With regards to the methodology, the paper made use of qualitative content analysis. A critical assessment of Banditry revealed that many years of governance in Nigeria, the hopes and aspiration of the citizenry could still not be met. The inability of our leadership to provide good democratic governance therefore was responsible for the insecurity in the country and this in effect gave rise to robberies, kidnappings, bunkering of oil pipelines as well as the emergence of militancy across the country. The paper therefore submits that until, good democratic governance is put in place with security agencies well-funded and trained with modern gazette system, internal security cannot be guaranteed.

Keywords: Banditry, Human Security, Governance, Insurgency.

Introduction

A review of the Nigerian Fourth Republic quickly portrays the nation with uncertainty, as many Nigerians are apprehensive of what the future of the country might be. This is as a result of series of threats and attacks that have been ravaging the nation in recent time. With the proliferation of arms and ammunitions gaining entrants into the country on daily basis, it becomes glaringly clear that insurgents are emerging in different parts of the country. This also has resulted in bunkering of Nigeria's oil, armed robberies, kidnapping and rising trend in ethno-religious conflicts across the countries among others (Ahmadu, 2019). Over the years, emerging forms of human, social and political organization have stimulated necessity for the protection and safety of the individual, family, community and the nation. As threats become incessant and recurrence on daily basis, insecurity emerged as the dominant fear of human beings. Insecurity in the present circumstance arose out of social and political contradictions such as the crisis of legitimacy, autonomy and sovereignty. Thus, at the

regional level, porous borders, insurgent movements, poverty, human trafficking, official corruption with impunity and underdevelopment have resulted in high level insecurity. To this end, both internal and external threats are becoming a global phenomenon (Okoli & Ioryer, 2014)

Nigeria's North West, one of the country's six geopolitical zones, comprises seven of the country's 36 states. These are Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara. It covers an area of 216,065 sq km or 25.75 per cent of the country's total land mass – close to the size of the UK. Its major ethnic groups are the Hausa and Fulani, who historically share strong cultural ties and are very much intermixed, with other smaller groups especially in Kaduna state. The region's estimated population of 33 million (based on figures from the contentious 2006 census) is predominantly Muslim (Sunni). Most of the population (about 80 per cent) are farmers, pastoralists, agro-pastoralists or small-scale entrepreneurs. The region has substantial solid mineral deposits, including gold exploited by

artisanal miners in open pit mines (NPC, 2006).

For more than four years, northwestern Nigeria has faced devastating attacks from armed bandits, particularly in the states of Zamfara, Katsina, Kaduna, Niger, and Sokoto. Such attacks are driven by many overlapping factors, including cattle rustling, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, illicit artisanal mining, youth unemployment, poverty, and inequality. This further compounded by the weakened, stretched, and demoralized security services, which are deployed in thirty-five of Nigeria's thirty-six states and will soon enter the second-decade of their war against Boko Haram, one of Africa's deadliest terror groups. It is estimated that many of the armed bandits are of Fulani origin, as are many of the victims. Banditry, which includes armed robbery, murder, rape, and cattle-rustling, is present in Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Senegal and Mali (National Bureau of Statistics, 2019).

The North West has the highest poverty rate in Nigeria, considering its economic potential. As of 2019, poverty levels were above the national average of 40.1 percent for all seven states in the region, led by Sokoto (87.7 percent), Jigawa (87 percent) and Zamfara (74 percent) (United Nation International Children Fund, 2019). Millions lack access to basic health care and clean water, and coverage of immunization is well below national objectives. Although the area has a long and proud tradition of Islamic and Arabic scholarship, apathy for formal education and insufficient investment have led to a literacy rate of 29.7 per cent over the decades (Hanna, 2018). The region has the largest number of out-of-school children in Nigeria at present (Hanna, 2018). Millions of children are in the poorly resourced and poorly controlled Quranic school system, or *almajiranci*, which creates cohorts of unqualified youth, on top of those who do not attend school at all (Alkali, 2015). The area also suffers, like the rest of the world, from very weak local governance, marked by the mismanagement of public funds (United Nation International Children Fund, 2019).

From January to December 2019, armed

bandits were responsible for more than 1,000 civilian deaths in the Northwest, according to a report from the West Africa Network for Peace Building (WANEP). This is greater than the civilians killed by Boko Haram over the same period, according to the Nigeria Security Tracker (though not greater than all those killed, which includes soldiers and Boko Haram members). The consequences of these deaths have ripple effects that last for decades across cultures. A committee set up to investigate the danger of armed banditry, headed by former police inspector general Muhammed Abubakar, estimated that 4,983 women were widowed in Zamfara state between June 2011 and May 2019; 25,050 children were orphaned; and more than 190,000 people were displaced as a result of armed banditry.

The Nigerian security forces initially responded to this issue by increasing the deployment of the military and police to the troubled zones. These deployment were under several code names such as “Operation Puff Adder,” “DikanMikiya,” “SharanDaji,” “HadarinDaji,” “Thunder Strike”, and “Exercise Harbin Kunama 111.” But these operations have produced mixed results. While the security forces have successfully pushed back bandit attacks, destroyed several hideouts, and killed or arrested hundreds of bandits, attacks have continued (Momale, Nawaj, Duperas, 2019).

The importance attached to security therefore is expressed in the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Section 14 (2) (b) of the Constitution states that “the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government”. The implication of this is that the responsibility of safeguarding lives and property as well as the welfare of the entire Nigerians against any form of threats rested on the military and other security agencies (FGN, 1999).

Statement of the Problem

About 200 years ago, exactly in 1826, the North was aptly described by the Scottish explorer, Hume Clapperton, in his memoirs thus: “a woman can walk alone on foot from Kano to Sokoto without fear of molestation”.

This explains the level of peace, tranquility and social justice established under the Sokoto Caliphate. What a turn of events? Today, the same Northern Nigeria's having become so insecure that even Army Generals dare not to follow roads and opt for the rail, sometimes in uniform. Surely five years ago, the gross situation in the country was very bad with half of Borno State under the full control of the Boko Haram insurgents, now banished to the Sambisa Forest, Mandara Hills and the shores of Lake Chad. However, the larger North has become worse especially its rural areas. Rural North is Nigeria's food basket, and unfortunately due to banditry is facing eminent famine this year (UNICEF, 2019). Though we are being reassured that the Army and Police are doing their best, the situation is deteriorating daily. It is very embarrassing to see bandits attacking a boarding secondary school in Kankara, Katsina State, taking away over 300 young kids in a Chibok attack style, in a week when Mr. President was on a private visit to his State (Daily Trust, 2020).

The problem of Armed Banditry in North West is worsened by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons affected by conflict especially in the African Sahel region due to lack of successfully implementation of disarmament programs. Most often than not targeted groups merely cross porous borders acquiring new identities in the process. Coupled with poor communication, lack of social amenities such as good roads, adequate power supply and health facilities and poverty aggravate the situations transforming it into ideal space for rustling, smuggling and small arms trade. These conditions also provide potential routes for terrorist activities. These core challenges of human security are increased further by democratic governance's failure to deliver development and livelihood security for either individuals or groups of people in the study area. Also perhaps, major violent crises have been manifestations of the deteriorating human security situation and the failure of democratic governance in North West Nigeria. It has also sparked discourses that frame conflicts between different occupational groups such as crop farmers and grazers (Chuma-Okoro, 2013, Egwu, 2014;

Augustine, 2015, Shinkafi, 2020).

We must therefore start to 'think out of the box' if a solution is to be found, and do this quickly to bring an end to this growing and very dangerous situation. Insurgency, terrorism, banditry, kidnapping for ransom, herdsmen attacks and other acts of criminality, could all be related and we must attack frontally and quickly bring both short and long term solutions before the country becomes another War-Lords-Governed Somalia. BnFodio's thesis in 1802 titled "Bayan WujubulHijrahAlalIbad" (The Compulsion of Migration on God's Servants) could have applied to our current situation but for the post-colonial borders. We must therefore remain and bring forth solutions from within.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective is to look at armed banditry and its impact on North Western Nigeria and proffer solutions to this. The specific objectives are to:

- i. Examine the underlying causes of the current banditry and human security in Northern Nigeria and their mode of operation through which the bandits spilled over to the rest of the country.
- ii. Examine the impact of the insecurity on the Nigerian economy at large and Northern Nigeria in particular.
- iii. Espouse the lessons learnt by Nigerian and the response made by the Nigerian policy makers.
- iv. Recommend policy measures that should be adopted to reduce the negative impact of similar crisis in the future.

Conceptualization

Armed Banditry

Understanding armed banditry may create a problem when one tries to delineate the difference between it and armed robbery. This is because in each situation there is the use of force and weapons of offence and defense. The basic aim is that of dispossessing their victims of their possessions, in the course of which injury or even death may occur. Robbery is a

proto-type of the kind of crime most feared by the public. It usually involves theft with violence or threat of violence by a person, with whom the victim has had no previous contact, and it is usually unprovoked and unpredictable (Conklin, 1992:103). It is therefore the crime of taking or attempting to take something of value by force or by putting fear in the victim. The lives and actions of the bandits on the other hand are often shrouded in mystery and legend and usually involve violent acts, by common criminals who may be termed 'ignoble robbers' for whom theft is simply an expedient means to an end (Slatta, 1987: 22).

Banditry according to (Slatta, 1987) is the taking away of property by force or the threat of force, often by a group, usually of men. Of necessity, bandits usually operate in the shadows, often on the fringes of society, in geographically isolated areas. Armed banditry has been observed to be carried out in homes, workplaces, schools, banks, highways and neighborhoods; it seems to be concentrated in towns, cities, urban centers and major highways. The robbers are also mostly residents of these towns and cities. Bandits on the other hand are observed to operate from among hills and bushes, along major highways and bush paths, and between villages. They have no fixed abode during their operations, villages are razed, cattle stolen and persons displaced. Since it is not easy to arrive at a conception of armed banditry that will command general acceptance by all scholars, a worthwhile conception must therefore be faithful to the empirical world that it purports to represent. This means, ideally, that the conception should be developed through a careful examination of a set of representative instances of armed banditry with the aim of identifying its essential features. We can therefore start from the premise that armed banditry is a distinctive type of armed robbery. Conceptually therefore, armed banditry and armed robbery are complimentary and can indeed supplement each other. Both derive from a complex of inter-related socio-economic factors, but are primarily related to the actor's search for greater wellbeing.

Armed banditry for the purpose of this study should be seen as the practice of raiding and

attacking victims by members of an armed group, whether or not premeditated, using weapons of offence or defense especially in semi-organized groups for the purpose of overpowering the victim and obtaining loot or achieving some political goals. Such bandits are usually regarded as outlaws and desperate lawless marauders who do not have a definite residence or destination, and they roam around the forest and mountains to avoid being detected or arrested.

Human Security

The definition of human security is subject to policy and academic debate in literature. Its first, most commonly cited usage came in the United Nations Development Programs (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report. The report devoted a chapter the 'New Dimensions of Human Security', characterizing the term as a "a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced," as well as stating that human security was universal; its components interdependent; based upon preventative, rather than reactionary measures; and intrinsically people-centered (UN, 1994, p.22-23). Defining human security as "safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and disruptions in the patterns of daily life," the UNDP broadened the conceptualization of security. This moved it away from state-centric approach that had prevailed to encompass seven key individual centric components: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security (UN, 1994, p.24-25).

As underlined in General Assembly resolution 66/290, "human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people. " It calls for people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people." (UN. Org: 2020). For the purpose of this paper, the conceptualization offered by the UN aligns with how Banditry impacts

humanity by making them vulnerable to economic, so-political and food insecurity among others. This vulnerability has played out in Nigeria since the outbreak of the disease in the country.

Human security in Nigeria is threatened by economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Banditry dislocated the economic security of millions of Northern Nigeria as it disrupted their stable basic income from productive and remunerative work. Banditry caused many Nigeria households to suffer food insecurity and it seriously threatened their health security because the incidents of rape and other forms of gender based violence in Nigeria increased which threaten personal security of the people. It is in view of the effects of Banditry that the FGN and other stakeholders make efforts to combat the crisis in order to enhance the security and wellbeing of the people.

What drives Banditry in Northwestern Nigeria?

Banditry, in the northwestern states of Zamfara, Kaduna and Katsina has reached alarming heights in recent years. Bandits terrorize villages with impunity. They have actually settled in Zamfara state, setting up fortified enclaves in the hinterland and on the frontiers, from where they plot and carry out their operations (Shinkafi, 2020).

Crimes thrive in context where there's little deterrence. In most of Nigeria's rural communities, there are many opportunities for criminal activity. Some of these communities are located in remote areas where there is little or no government presence. More importantly, households are in some cases separated by and interspersed with forest areas. This renders them vulnerable to banditry. The situation is made worse by the absence of effective community policing mechanisms capable of addressing the hinterlands peculiar security challenges (Chikwuma & Francis, 2014).

The prevailing socio-existential conditions in northwestern Nigeria have complicated the security situation. The rural pastoral sector is not well regulated. Illicit artisanal mining and

the proliferation of arms in the region are also veritable factors. Geography plays a role, too. Northwestern Nigeria's forestlands are vast, rugged and hazardous. They are also grossly under policed. Some of the forests run alongside the diverse porous borderlines on the region's frontiers. Borders are poorly delineated, under-policed and thus not well governed. The consequences of this are an abundance of nefarious activity, often facilitated by the criminal syndicates (Rufai, 2018).

Rural banditry in northwestern Nigeria also derives impetus from the poorly governed mining and small arms sector. Bandits have been drawn to the region by illicit and artisanal mining in states like Zamfara where bandits have been raiding mining sites for gold and cash. The federal government has recognized the apparent linkage between rural banditry and illicit mining. It suspended all forms of mining in Zamfara State in early April of 2019. Transhumance: the movement of cattle is poorly regulated. This has seen it being infiltrated by criminals, which has led to the intensification of cattle rustling in the region. In states such as Kaduna, Katsina, Zamfara and Kebbi, there exists a clan of livestock bandits who specialize in mass cattle raids. While some of these cattle rustling gangs are affiliated to local and transnational syndicates, a number of them are mercenaries of Boko Haram. Cattle rustling constitute a valuable source of funding for the terror group (Momde, 2019, Shinkafi, 2020).

Theoretical Framework

There are number of perspectives upon which the horrendous activities in Northern Nigeria could be fully appreciated. These perspectives include among others the Frustration aggression thesis, Marxist conflict thesis, failed state and human need theory. Of these, this paper adopted failed state thesis in its attempt to analyse the emergence of insurgency and banditry syndrome in Nigeria. It is an eclectic theoretical framework and the essence is to observe the ineffectiveness of public policies and governmental regulations among which internal security could be located. The proponents are Osaghae (2010),

Reno (2002), Zartmain (1995), Migdal (2001) and Reymaekers (2005). They argued that states in Africa constitute a generic species and has continued to be the lowest substratum in order of ranking when it comes to matter of performance. They stressed further that state failure in Africa is as a result of regional phenomenon.

The premise of this thesis as advance by Khomsky (2006) in his work "Failed State: the abuse of power and the Assault on democracy" argued that a state should have the monopoly of legitimate violence in its territory. State should have the ability and capability, military or other wise to curtail vagaries of internal violence as to protect both the criminal and the conformists. The thesis further added that state emerge on the basis of thrust, protection of fundamental human right, ability to make collective decisions, ensure distributive justice contents internal crises and animosity. As in the words of Thomas Aquinas (1225-74).

The state make emperor or king; a people set a man over it to the end that he may rule justly, given to every man his own, aiding good men and coercing bad; in short, that the state may give justice to all men. If then the agent violates the agreement according to which the representative was chosen, disturbing and confounding the very things which he was meant to put in order, reasons dictates that the state absolve the people from their obedience; especially when he has himself first broken the faith which bound him and the people together. By his oath at his coronation the state is supposed to have a pact with the citizens to promote a happy and virtues life and if the state failed to fulfill the implied fact the state cease to deserve citizen's obedience.

However, the failed state index published 2015 by Fund for Peace clearly corroborates the extent to which state has failed or failing. Unfortunately, on the basis of this report, most of the glaring features of the Nigerian state

- i. Loss of control of its territory or of monopoly on the legitimate use of violent.
- ii. Erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decision.
- iii. Inability to provide public services (essential social amenities and basic needs)
- iv. Inability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community.

However, of all four indexes of failed state, there is no doubt that 1-3 above have become recurring decimal in Nigeria. No wonder the league of the worst 20 cases in the failed state rank Nigeria the worst 20th in 2007, 19th 2008, 15th 2009, 14th 2010 and 14th 2011 respectively. This analysis explains the audacity of the banditry which contributed significantly to the worsening Nigerian security challenges.

Therefore, the Nigerian state contrary to the media humbug is regarded as the enemy not just to the bandits, but by several Nigerians, groups and host of others who advance their grievances in different dimension as the state has failed to provide greatest happiness to their greatest number. The resultant state of affairs is that each group is attacking that state with pottage fierceness as Boko-Haram bombs using whatever means at its disposal. A state where politicians 'break the law with impunity; where law enforcement agents become law breakers see or hear no evil at a slight inducement; where civil servant refuse to stand by moral code of conduct; where mass media report becomes unsubstantiated and diluted; where corruption is the ultimate and only game in town; where hard work is not rewarded and crime is not punishable demonstrate that the state is heading towards a looming danger (Baban'umma, 2010).

What the above perpetrators have in common with the contemporary bandits is that the premise on which they act is justifiable and that

the Nigerian state is unfair to them, if not an outright enemy there by advancing alternative means knowing clearly the state has failed. This is exemplifying in the ways and manners the Nigerian citizens are flagging to decide their faith, the likes of various groups across the nooks and crannies of the country. This is a dangerous and devastating trends leading to de-Nigerianisation process. Giving the democratic and security situations in Nigeria and the current trends in security breaches, the theories above capture the study.

Research Methodology

In this research paper, the data for the study were basically selected from secondary sources materials such as textbooks, internet sourced materials, newspapers and magazines, journals and articles through the method of qualitative content analysis.

The Socio- Economic and Political Impact of the Banditry on Human Security in Northwestern Nigeria

Banditry and other causes of insecurity in northern Nigeria have been allowed to degenerate into a complex national emergency with dire territorial implications. This mirrors exactly what happened with the Boko Haram insurgency. From sporadic incidents, Boko Haram began launching systematic attacks targeted at individuals, communities and, eventually the state.

Educational Effect

The Bandits have attacked Nigeria's education system, targeting Northern Nigerian schools, students and teachers, disrupting access to education and social services, especially for young people. Teachers have been targeted, kidnapped, and killed in some instances. Schools were demolished and damaged, and people who were internally displaced converted school into shelters. If we use conflict incidents instead of casualties to measure the effect on education, we find that during in 2019, one additional conflict incident in a 5-km radius from the child's village decreases the likelihood of school enrollment by 2 percentage points for the child. This translates into a 4 percent drop in overall school enrolment (from 68 percent to 64

percent). For each additional conflict event when it is carried out by Bandit, the impact of a conflict event becomes even greater than 3 percentage points and the target is a school (Abdulqadir, 2020, Shinkafi, 2020).

Due to mass displacements in affected areas, educational deprivation in the North-West area has been aggravated by armed banditry. The escalation of banditry, however, has led to a large number of out-of-school kids in the area. In the North-West (Zamfara, Katsina, Sokoto, Kebbi, Kano) and Niger states in the North Central region, 30 percent of the 10.5 million out-of-school children in Nigeria are in the region (premium times news, 2019).

Besides, as school activities were interrupted in disadvantaged areas, for fear of kidnapping of students or assaults and murder by bandits, the few existing schools were unable to function properly. Owing to insecurity on major roads, parents have discouraged their children from attending schools. This in turn increased teachers' work turnover in these societies. On May 1, 2019, at the Government Girls Secondary School in Zuru LGA of Zamfara State, a failed attack by school bandits was reported (Thisday live, 2019). A 'Threat Note' to shut down a Government Day Secondary School in Zamfara State's TalataMafara LGA also generated tension as students and teachers stayed away from the school (Abdulkadir, 2020). This situation further exposes children to the possibility of abuse and exploitation.

Armed men invaded the Government Science Secondary School for boys in Kankara (state of Katsina) on 11 December 2020 and abducted an undisclosed number of students, most of who have returned. The assault has been alleged by Boko Haram, who typically operates in northeastern states. In Katsina province, all secondary schools were closed, followed by school closures in the states of Kano, Kaduna, Zamfara, and Jigawa. Student and school attacks limit access to education and highlight the need for safe educational facilities and security for students in violent and conflict-affected states. In Nigeria, 10.5 million children are out of school aged 5-14 years. The situation in the north of the country is of particular concern, since only 53% of

children aged 6-11 years attend primary school on a regular basis (Shinkafi, 2020).

Effect on Social Dislocation and Internal Displacements

In Kankara LGA, Katsina province, violence and fear of attacks resulted in more than 3,400 people fleeing the villages of Gatakawa, Zurunkutu, and Dan Nakwaguzo, arriving in Kankara town on 26-27 November. (4/12/2020) They need shelter, sanitation kits, food and NFIs. Over the last decade, violence in north-western Nigeria has claimed thousands of lives. Considering that most of the conflict has occurred in remote rural areas and has thus never been reported by either the news media or security forces, accurate estimates for casualties in the country are difficult to come by. However, at least 8,000 individuals were killed from 2011 to 2019, mainly in Zamfara province, with the majority of the casualties occurring over the last five years. There are hundreds left behind or unaccounted for (Ahmadu, 2019, Shinkafi, 2020).

In the North West, one of the most noticeable consequences of armed banditry includes the internal displacement of neighborhood people. According to a 2019 report released by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Nigerian Government, more than 200,000 individuals have been internally displaced in many communities in Zamfara, Katsina and Sokoto states between January and August 2019. Most of these IDPs were women, children and the elderly taking refuge in the neighboring Republic of Niger, Cameroon and Chad. Reports from the Zamfara State Government revealed that banditry has resulted in an estimated 22,000 widows and 44,000 orphans since 2011 in Zamfara State (PM News, June, 2019).

Owing to the enormity of the impacted populations, the provision of humanitarian aid to displaced persons and communities in the North-West has been a very complex problem. In some internally displaced camps in the host States, factors arising from erratic and/or zero food distribution, inadequate shelters, poor medical services and facilities, among others, were evident. A humanitarian problem was

also caused by the crisis. It has displaced hundreds of thousands of people. In September 2019, a joint assessment mission by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons, citing local government authorities' estimates, recorded 210,354 persons displaced from 171 towns and villages in the North West. Of these, 144,996 were in Zamfara state, 35,941 in Sokoto and 29,417 in Katsina. Approximately 60,000 of the displaced also fled across the border to the Niger Republic, where 19,000 Nigerians were internally displaced by the same instability along the border areas. On 22 February 2020, the Government of the Nigerian State of Niger (which shares borders with the states of Zamfara, Kebbi and Kaduna) announced that violence had displaced 10,000 people from communities in ten of the state's states (Daily Trust, 2020).

A survey conducted at some evaluated locations in the state of Zamfara revealed that 70% of the displaced population in the Internally Displaced Person camps expressed irregular distribution of food. Nevertheless, local and foreign organizations' activities in the provision of relief materials and the provision of health care further complemented government efforts to displace persons (Punch newspaper, 2019). As affected states continue to report a decrease in violent attacks, an estimated 25,000 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) out of the 37,000 IDPs in Zamfara State were reintegrated into the communities as of August 2019. The remaining 12,000 IDPs were in the host communities in Katsina, Kaduna, Kebbi, Sokoto and some areas of the Niger Republic, according to the Zamfara State Emergency Management Agency (ZEMA) (ZEMA, 2019).

The provision by federal and state governments of social services and public facilities has been adversely impacted. Instead, state government funds that would have been dedicated to delivering social services were redirected to respond to the challenge of defense. Many remain unused or under-used even where governments have constructed hospitals and schools, as the local population has been displaced or residents avoid using

them for fear of attacks (Abdulkadir, 2020).

Effects on Livelihoods and Food Security

A climate of instability has been created by violence and warfare in north-western Nigeria. Violence by bandits has plagued communities living in the northwest of Nigeria's Zamfara, Kaduna, Niger, Sokoto, Kebbi and Katsina states. Approximately 21 million people living in these states have been subjected to bandit insecurity. The banditry violence started as a farmer/herder conflict in 2011 and escalated between 2017 and 2018 to include cattle rustling, abduction for ransom, sexual violence and killings, unrelated to the Boko Haram insurgency in the northeast. Around 35 out of 92 local government areas in the 4 states have been affected by the conflict. Further intensifying the presence and actions of armed groups in the northwest has been the discovery of gold mines and the activities of illicit miners vying for the control of gold deposits. By March 2020, there were over 210,000 people internally displaced. By the beginning of March 2020, over 35,000 refugees had crossed the communal borders to Maradi in the Niger Republic. These refugees are located in Madaou, Dan DajiMakaou, Garin Kaka and GuidanRoundji, in the Tahoua region (Abdulkadir, 2020).

Violence has had knock-on security consequences elsewhere in the country. In the three most affected states (Zamfara, Sokoto and Katsina), herders fleeing conflict are moving south, straining resources in the Middle Belt and southern regions of the nation. While the influx of Fulani cattle herders has been going on in the more southern regions for decades, the uptick seems to intensify tensions in the south-east, south-west and Niger Delta. Increasing herder-farmer frictions are reported in these regions, often degenerating into lethal violence. In the North West, several criminal groups fleeing police operations have also relocated to the central and southern states, creating additional security problems for the affected communities and the governing authorities (UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2019).

Insecurity has also adversely affected the exploitation of environmental resources (e.g.

gold mining) in the North-West region, thereby affecting the livelihoods and growth potential of the affected states. Artisanal mining activities were attracted by the presence of lucrative gold deposits in Zamfara State, as bandits and families relied on it for livelihood maintenance. Nevertheless, gold is stolen and sold on the international market, resulting in a loss of income for the economy of Nigeria. AlhajiAbubakarBwari, the former Minister of Mines and Steel Production, disclosed that Nigeria lost 353 billion Naira from the illegal activities of gold miners and smugglers between 2016 and 2018 (Momale&Duperas, 2019).

While artisanal mining has been linked to economic benefits, including informal employment, poor extraction standards have led to soil degradation, water contamination and health risks. The State announced an outbreak of 'lead poisoning' disease in 2010 and 2013 due to illegal mining operations, resulting in a death toll of 734 children less than 5 years of age. In view of the fact that agriculture is the backbone of local economies, agricultural disruption due to bandit attacks affects agricultural productivity, with significant repercussions for food security. Most farming communities have been forced to abandon their farms, especially in areas close to forest areas, as bandits have taken advantage of these locations to attack communities. Few farmers who remained behind were subject to bandit taxation before gaining access to their farms. Approximately 30% of the agricultural land in Kaduna State was abandoned by the affected communities, while agricultural activities in Zamfara and Katsina States were limited to a few areas, resulting in a 60% decrease in food output (Rufai, 2018).

In Kebbi State, as a result of bandit attacks, over 350 rice farmers were affected by farmland abandonment. The diminishing income of local farmers and other vulnerable groups, especially women, also affects their ability to support education for children and household income. Violence in the North West continues to spread, with security forces already over-burdened. The long-running counter-insurgency operations by the military

against jihadists in the North East have dragged on, partially because of insufficient manpower and equipment (Ahmadu, 2019, Rufai, 2018). More resources needed to the east will be drained by continued military participation in countering bandit and other activity in the North West. The propensity of state governments affected by the spillover from the North West to establish local vigilantes or paramilitary groups is an additional emerging danger. On 9 January 2020, governors of all six states-Ekiti, Lagos, Ondo, Oyo, Ogun and Osun-established the Western Nigeria Security Network, also referred to as Operation Amotekun, in the South West geopolitical zone, following widespread protests over deadly incidents between Fulani herders and local farmers, along with kidnappings increasingly involving criminals from the North West. This development could set a precedent for the advent of ethno-regional security arrangements elsewhere in the world, which could also erode national stability if it becomes a trend while boosting security locally.

Effect on Wider Economic Costs

The violence has profoundly disturbed the economy in many parts of north-western Nigeria. Agriculture, which is the livelihoods for about 80% of the population, has been especially hard hit. Farmers in the affected areas have been leaving their fields for many years for fear of attack or kidnapping. In Zamfara state, as a result of attacks by herder-allied armed groups and criminal gangs, over 13,000 hectares of farmland have been either destroyed or made inaccessible (SSG, 2019). The State Emergency Management Agency estimates in Sokoto state that as of October 2019, some 21,316 hectares of farmland remained uncultivated across five local government areas, as 80,000 intimidated farmers stayed away (Daily Trust, 2019). Similarly, huge numbers of livestock were lost: from 2011 to 2019, for example, about 141,360 cattle and 215,241 sheep were rustled in Zamfara state. In some communities, these disturbances have impoverished farmers and herders alike, produced food shortages, and exacerbated malnutrition, particularly among children. In April 2020, Governor Abubakar

Bello of the State of Niger warned: "We are heading towards famine and starvation" (Leadership, 2020)

The movement of illegal weapons is also a cause of security concern in communities in the North-West region. In addition to reported deaths, attacks by bandits on communities increased social risks, discouraged investment and caused individuals and communities to undergo economic crises. In the North-Central region, the conflict has triggered a spillover impact on other neighboring communities and local government areas of the Niger State, hindering inter-communal and inter-state trade. As a number of major local markets, such as Iiella, Dandume, Maidabino, Kankara (Katsina State) and Bardoki, Shinkafi (Zamfara State) have been shut down due to incessant attacks, Insecurity has had a significant effect on other economic activities in the area (All Farmers Association of Nigeria officials,, 18 January 2020.)

The strategic nature of the trading locations made them attractive for foodstuffs like maize, millet, guinea corn and beans to major traders from across other regions of the world. However, their proximity to forest reserves has made these markets vulnerable to attacks. As revenue production and business sales/supplies decreased in the markets, this had an adverse impact on trading activities. A Katsina State revenue officer revealed that 'food trailers on the market decreased from eight (8) weekly trailers to half a truck in two months,' while revenue earnings decreased from 500,000 naira to less than 100,000 naira (Tanko, 2019). Commerce was similarly interrupted. In north-western Nigeria, thousands of shops and other businesses are in ruins or have been shut down because of direct attacks and kidnappings of businessmen, which have fed increasing fears of insecurity. Significant private property has been lost: "more than 10,000 houses, shops and silos" were destroyed at Zamfara state as of April 2019 (Leadership. April 2019). Local traders are afraid to transport farm produce to markets as road travel is risky. Also, investor confidence has plummeted. In May 2019, the National Trade Fair organized by the government of the State of Niger reported a

very poor turnout, a situation attributed to the fears of bandit attacks and kidnappings by the president of the State Chamber of Commerce, Manufacturing, Mines and Agriculture, Abdulkadir Hassan, by aspiring participants. The disposable income of relatively wealthy families in the region has also decreased: in Zamfara, from an average of about 4,500 in previous years to 1,500 in 2019, the number of people who can afford to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina dropped from about 4,500 in previous years to 1,500 in 2019 (SSG, 2019). Suffering, especially by women

The loss of many human lives and the displacement of the different classes of populations have resulted from banditry. In these modern types of abuse, women and children continue to bear the brunt. The illegal activities carried out by bandits in the North West have increased the insecurity of the region's women and children. Some women were faced with early widowhood or the death of their children in the affected communities, while some children were orphaned and forced to leave their villages for safety. This remains a crucial issue for human security, as numerous types of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) still occur. In Katsina and the Niger State, several cases of rape by bandits have been recorded (Ahmadu, 2019).

SGBV reports have been registered amongst the displaced (UNGO, 2019). Community members and leaders have highlighted a high incidence of SGBV, including rape and forced marriage explicitly targeted at women and young girls due to the presence and activities of bandits in rural areas, in a field evaluation conducted in Zamfara State using 'Focus Group Discussion' (FGD). Further studies have shown that kidnapping is the greatest risk faced by children in the affected states, as most children are kidnapped for ransom, while female children are kidnapped for sex and others for child labor (MSNA, 2019).

This often happened on the way to the market or during village attacks while gathering firewood. Females were also perpetrators, despite being victims of abuse. They disguise themselves as food vendors to provide information to bandits and are also suppliers/carriers of guns, narcotics and other

fundamental bandit needs. In May 2019, four women working as informants and cooking for bandits in the state were arrested by the Katsina State Police Command (MSNA, 2019).

In addition, (Abdulkadir, 2020) states that "wars" and conflicts frequently leave women in circumstances where they can barely make ends meet. If they occur when attempting to make it across the border or in a refugee camp, they have little or no tools at all to fight these acts of aggression.

The Shelving of Development Projects

Because of the state of anarchy and lawlessness in the North West region, it is very difficult to implement any development project. Government officers and the NGOs based in the area live in constant fear of the bandits. The often wanton destruction of life and property and the use of terror in all its manifestations tend to undermine the sense of value, dignity and harmony. It should be noted, that a climate of peace is a prerequisite for the respect and enjoyment of human rights, and for sustainable socio-economic development. North-western Nigeria is no exception to this rule.

Nigerian Policy Response

Nigeria's federal and state governments initially responded to the violence primarily through military and police operations, and by prescribing harsher punishments for armed attacks, but results were disappointing. President Muhammadu Buhari repeatedly charged troops with eliminating armed elements destabilizing the North West, deploying soldiers and police along with air assets to the region over the course of several consecutive operations. But the state security presence on the ground remains too small and poorly resourced to subdue the armed groups or protect communities across the vast territory. At the same time, military operations against armed groups in the region have dispersed some of them to other regions, deepening insecurity countrywide.

Some state governments have more recently engaged in peace talks with herder allied armed groups, partly because these groups are perceived as the major actors in the violence. They are offering amnesties to those willing to disarm, while pledging to address herders'

grievances and needs. These concessions produced peace agreements that curbed the violence in late 2019, but with deadly incidents continuing and the region awash in arms, the sustainability of these deals is highly questionable (Ahmadu, 2019). According to Zamfara state secretary to the government in continuation of disarmament process as second phase of peace dialogue assented to by royal fathers, scholars, security agencies and other stakeholders, more weapons have just been surrendered by new repentant bandits who have forwarded themselves to take oath on the Glorious Qur'an never to go back to banditry or aid such a nefarious activity (Maru, 2021).

The federal government's attempts to contain armed groups in the North West have largely depended on the security forces. Since 2016, the federal police have launched several "anti-banditry" operations, focusing on herder-allied armed groups and roving criminal gangs. The Nigerian security forces also responded to this issue by increasing the deployment of the military and police to the troubled zones. These deployment were under several code names such as "Operation Puff Adder," "Doran Mikiya," "Sharan Daji," "Hadarin Daji," "Thunder Strike", and "Exercise Harbin Kunama 111." But these operations have produced mixed results. While the security forces have successfully pushed back bandit attacks, destroyed several hideouts, and killed or arrested hundreds of bandits, attacks have continued.

Starting in 2016, the army has also expanded troop presence in the region, converting the Falgore forest in Kano state into a permanent training ground, establishing three new forward operating bases in that forest and in the Kafanchan and Kachia local government areas of Kaduna state, and launching five operations under "anti-banditry" mandates. The air force, which has become increasingly involved since 2017, has also deployed new units (including special forces personnel) and, since 2018, conducted numerous aerial operations targeting forest encampments of herder-allied armed groups and criminal groups (Marafa, 2019, Maru, 2019).

The government's April 2019 attempt to prohibit all forms of gold mining in Zamfara

state, citing possible links between miners and criminals, has also had limited impact. Authorities have struggled to enforce the ban because of the remote location of many mining sites, limited resources for monitoring compliance and resistance by some powerful individuals behind the industry.

In curtailing the insecurity, armed groups challenges President Buhari had on Tuesday 26 2021 approved the immediate resignation of the then Service Chiefs, Abayomi Olonisakin; Chief of Army Staff, Vice Admiral Ibok Ekwelbas; and Chief of Air Staff, Air Marshal Sadique Abubakar. The President announced the appointment replacement in the persons of Major-General Leo Irabor, Chief of Defense Staff; Major-General H. Attahiru, Chief of Army Staff; Rear Admiral A.Z Gambo, Chief of Naval Staff; and Air-Vice Marshal I.O Amao, Chief of Air Staff (BBC News, 2021).

Considering the fact that the responses made by the Nigerian Government to the crisis are entirely short run in approach, there is the need to take long run measures in order to reduce our vulnerabilities to these kinds of crises in the future. Given the size and scope of the economic impact of the banditry on human security, there is the need to implement other recovery strategies to stimulate demand.

Conclusion

The paper is an attempt to extrapolate the nexus between Banditry and Human Security in Nigeria: The Impacts and the Way Forward. The paper contends that dividends of democracy have not really been achieved and to that effect, hopes and aspirations of many Nigerians (North) dashed despite the re-introduction of democracy in the country in May, 1999. The paper further argues that the rising waves of crimes such as armed banditry, armed robberies, kidnappings, and bunkering of the oil pipelines as well as the emergence of militancy across the nations was as a result of bad leadership. The paper further argues that unless there is a synergy the operation of security agencies their retirement from service. Those involved were the Chief of Defense Staff, General in the country the much desired peace cannot be guaranteed. Therefore, the

military and the paramilitary operative should collaborate and stem the tide in their security networks in order to forestall against unforeseen perils.

Recommendations

The paper wishes to recommend the following as additional measures and the way forward:

Findings indicated that there is obvious failure on the part of government security agencies in efforts to prevent and control acts of armed banditry. As a result, it is recommended that, government should recognize vigilante groups while also resuscitating local community monitoring systems.

The federal government and governments of the North West states should continue to seek resolution of conflicts between herders and farmers that have been the engine of instability in the region, including through negotiated settlements that build upon previous state-level disarmament efforts.

Recruitment of 100 hunters in each Local Government of the North, organizing them and providing them with weapons and ammunition, some may prefer the Double Barrel Shot Gun (DBSG) while others may be given Rifles, such as the AK-47 and where necessary RPG Launchers. They need to be given a short training on communications during operations as well as intelligence gathering. They need to understand the role of GSM and Global Position System (GPS) in locating bandits.

These hunters must be screened at their ward levels to ensure they are of good character with guarantors in the community including Heads of Families, Imams, ward and village heads. For long these traditional institutions had been neglected and in some places the bandits have incorporated them into their networks.

Each LG should have a Commander and be given the mandate to clear the Bandits in their Local Government Area. Where there is need for coordinated action across the neighboring LGAs, the Commanders can sit and organize a joint action. This may be necessary in Forests such as DajinRugu in Katsina State which covers about 6 LGAs and part of Zamfara State.

At the end of the exercise, the Civilian Joint

Task Force (CJTF) of each state should be absorbed into the Army or Police or better create a new Security Outfit for each state to assist in fighting crime on a sustainable way. This may be a foundation for establishing a new State Security Force, which is long overdue. The South had for long been clamoring for State Police and there is really no cogent reason to stop that.

In the long term, after securing the nation, we must plan to create jobs and banish the endemic poverty in the North. This will require reviving the Northern industries by providing captive power supplies to industrial clusters through the Gas Master Plan, the AKK Gas Pipeline being a branch of it; the establishment of new industries utilizing natural gas such as urea fertilizer, methanol, polymers, etc...

Equally important our secondary schools and institutions of Higher Learning must change gear to train students in skills so that graduates of these institutions will have hands-on skills to deploy in Nigeria or overseas for gainful employment or even self-employment.

Conventional warfare will never defeat insurgency and banditry and so our conventional thinking will continue to fail, as long as we don't rise up and do something differently to avoid self-extinction in the North. We must approach our security challenges in new and innovative ways.

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**INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY AND TELEVISION
ADVERTISEMENT PRODUCTION: A STUDY OF DELTA BROADCASTING
SERVICE WARRI, DELTA STATE, NIGERIA**

¹Odionye, Chinwe Mirian (PhD),

¹Omoshue, Joe Okpako (PhD),

²Yare, Mathew Danjuma,

and

¹Ekiyor, Alaere Esther

¹Department of Mass Communication,
Faculty of Humanities, Social and Management Sciences,
Edwin Clark University, Kiagbodo
Delta State

²Department of Mass Communication,
Faculty of Arts
University of Nigeria, Nsukka

E-mail: odionyechinwe@yhoo.com

ABSTRACT

This study examined the impact of ICT in the production of television advertisement in Delta State Broadcasting Service, Warri, Delta State. The study aimed at ascertaining the areas recent television advertisements of DBS Warri reflects the use of ICT, the degree to which ICT has played a major role on recently produced TV advertisement of DBS Warri and the extent to which ICT has increased or decreased the acceptability of TV advertisements of DBS. The study was anchored on the diffusion of innovation theory which formed the foundation of this study. Survey research design was used while questionnaire was the instrument of data collection. The population figure of the study was 60 staff of DBS, specifically drawn from ICT and advertising departments, from where a sample size of 60 was obtained using purposive sampling technique. Findings revealed that ICT reflects in the recent TV advertisements of DBS, especially in areas of enhancing picture quality of the advert, modification in presentational style of advert, provision of multiple channels of delivering advert messages; that to a great extent, ICT has played a major role in recently produced TV adverts of DBS and has increased acceptability of TV advertisements in DBS, Warri. Based on the findings, it was recommended among other things that the use of ICT in advertising should be seen as a welcome development in television stations, especially DBS, Warri, since it helps to increase the acceptability of the advertisement by the target audience. ICT should be encouraged and constantly utilized in the production of recent TV advertisements by Nigerian television stations.

Introduction

Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is the digital processing and utilization of information by the use of electronic computers. It comprises the storage, retrieval, conversion and transmission of information (Ifueke, 2011). ICT also refers to technologies that provide access to information through telecommunications. These include the internet wireless network,

cell phones, and other communication mediums which all together help in the facilitation of information exchange among people, societies and countries (TechTerms, 2010). Information and Communications Technology is an umbrella term that includes any communication device or application encompassing: radio, "Television", cellular phones, computer, and network hardware and software, satellite systems as well as the various services and application associated

with it, such as videoconferencing and distance learning (Rouse, 2005).

The growth of information and communication technology (ICT) has increased to a large extent and it has touched virtually every aspect of human endeavours ranging from increase in access to information, to communication, education, transportation, commerce among many others. Advertising is not have been left out; specifically in the way television advertisements are produced in recent times. In the opinion of Manohar (2011) advertising is the promotion of a company's products and services carried out primarily to drive up sales of the products and services. It is also done to build a brand identity and communicate changes in old products or introduce new/services to the costumers.

Advertising has experienced some major milestones right from the invention of the Metal Movable-Type printing press, the first form of printing machine by Johannes Gutenberg in the 1440s. The evolution of television in the 1940's had a great effect on the advertising industry television. However, while it was financially achievable for advertising agencies to produce radio programming, the cost of television programming became a challenge to the agencies (Richards, Daugherty & Logan, 2009). The World Wide Web (www) has been one medium that has had a greater impact on advertising than other medium before it. The internet has revolved advertising in tremendous ways, not only in the way advertisement are broadcasted but also in the way the audiences reacts towards the advertisement. In the opinion of Horbal, Naychuk-Kruhshch & Orlykova (2017), telecommunication and information technologies are significantly changing the way products and services are produced and advertised. Progress in communication technologies has affected the creation of innovative marketing techniques and internet marketing is one of the most dynamic ones, which has in turn made the number of internet users to be increasing on yearly basis (Horbal, *et al.*, 2017). Although the internet has a great

impact on advertising, other media through which advertisements are placed include radio, billboards and television and the television passes the bigger message. Nonetheless, advertising and television have a strong link, such that the medium which is the television has been a strong way to pass advertising messages.

Television advertisement is a span of television programming produced and paid for by an organization. It conveys a message promoting and aiming to market a product or service. The medium "television" has influenced the world of advertising heavily. Hence, as McQuail (2006, p.36) rightly observed, television is the largest and ideal advertising medium in nearly all countries. This implies that, although other media are used for advertisements, television still remains a viable and effective outlet. Television advertisements go a long way in promoting goods, business and services in every aspect of human endeavor, and as such has improved to a large extent due to the involvement of the information communication technology (ICT). It was based on the fact that advertisement has taken another turn which has not only made favorable buying decisions to goods or services but has also sharpened the reaction of audience towards making those decisions through the contents, that this study sought to examine the impact of information and communication technology (ICT) on the production of television advertisement.

Brief History of Delta Broadcasting Service, Warri

Delta Broadcasting Service, Warri was established on August 27th 1991 under the administration of the then former military president, Gen Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, to broadcast efficiently and effectively throughout Delta State and beyond. The establishment of DBS, Warri came with the creation of Delta State under the administration of Luke Chijiuba Ochulor (Alabi, 2017). It was a significant development that split the former Bendel Broadcasting

Service into Delta Broadcasting service, Asaba and Edo Broadcasting, Benin City.

Before the emergence of State-owned broadcasting in the newly created Delta State, there were two transmitting sub-stations of old Bendel Broadcasting Service which were radio Bendel and Bendel television in Warri and Ubulu-Uke respectively. Warri sub-station later became a full-fledged station, three years after the creation of Delta State, with the commission of Delta Television Edjebe, Warri by the first civilian governor of the State - Olorogun Felix Ibru on Tuesday 30th June 1992. The station was established to serve a purpose which is the motto *-Beaming signals of unity*.

Statement of the Problem

The introduction of ICT is influencing the way societies interact, compete in the international market and set their economic and human development agenda. Thus, advertising is no doubt a big business and the advertising industry is large and ever growing with the emergence of ICT. However, despite the fact that ICT has taken a major stand in the improvement of the country's Mass Media, available literature showed that Nigeria's electronic media organizations especially television, still lag behind compared to television stations in other part of the world where ICT and internet are maximally utilized. This has in turn affected the area of television advertisements, as media organizations have not been able to integrate the use of internet even with the high level of internet usage. The fact that ICT has not been embraced as a major tool in media organizations, especially the areas of television and advertising, can create a setback in the production of television advertisement. It is therefore, against this backdrop that this study aimed at examining the impact of information and communication technology in the production of television advertisement in Delta Broadcasting Service, Warri (DBS).

Objectives of the Study

This study aimed at examining the impact of ICT in the production of television advertisement in Delta broadcasting service, Warri. The specific objectives of the study were therefore to examine:

1. The areas recent television advertisements reflect the use of ICT in Delta broadcasting service, Warri.
2. The extent to which ICT has contributed in recently produced television advertisements in Delta broadcasting service, Warri.
3. The extent to which ICT has increased or decreased the acceptability of television advertisements in Delta broadcasting service, Warri.

Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. In what areas does television advertisement reflect the use of ICT in Delta broadcasting service, Warri?
2. What is the extent to which ICT has contributed in recently produced television advertisements in Delta broadcasting service, Warri?
3. To what extent has ICT increased or decreased the acceptability of television advertisements in Delta broadcasting service, Warri?

Significance of the Study

This study is of great importance in examining the impact of ICT in the production of television advertisement. This is because the outcome of the study would highlight the role ICT plays in TV advertisement which will in turn favour many broadcasting organizations towards upholding the use of ICT. More so,

available literature reveals that not much work has been done in relation to the influence or role ICT has played in the production of television advertisement in DBS Warri. This is therefore, a step taken in the right direction to explore the role and influence of ICT in television advertisement. This study will also serve as a resource material for future researchers may have research interest in ICT and advertising.

Literature Review

Nwachukwu (2004) regards Information and communication technologies (ICTs) as the application of computers and other technologies to the acquisition, organization, storage, retrieval, and dissemination of information. However, in this context, information and communication technology is the use of electronic devices such as computers, telephones, internet, and satellite system, to store, retrieve and disseminate information in the form of data, text image and others.

According to Rhine (2006), Information and Communication Technologies has three components namely the technology part, information that the technology helps to deliver, and a communication process that the technology facilitates and serves as a medium for the information. Therefore, Information and Communication Technology-ICT can be defined as the use and applications of computers, telecommunications, and micro-electronics in the acquisition, storage, retrieval, transfer and dissemination of information.

Advertising is the promotion of a company's products and services to initiate sales. It is also done to build a brand identity and communicate changes in old products or introduce new/services to the costumers (Manohar, 2011). According to Monohar (2012) advertising can be done through many mediums such as wall paintings, billboards, printed flyers, radio cinema and television adverts. A product that is highly differentiated

may also need more advertising in order to gain competitive advantage, emphasizing on the difference (Laurea, 2009).

The rapid growth of information communication technology and electronic media, especially television has topped the list among the media of advertising. Television has the most effective impact as it appeals to both the eye and the ear. Hence, products can be shown, their use can be demonstrated and their utilities can be told through the television. Just like radio, advertisements are shown in television during short breaks and there are also sponsored programmes by advertisers.

Information and communication technology has been an effective contributor to the major transformation on how companies advertise their products as well as their goods and services. Advertising businesses are experiencing fundamental transformation due to the impact of ICT. The role of ICT is to affect how advertising can be implemented to grow a particular good or service. Technology can affect information process and the information made available to decision makers. Due to its potential impact, understanding the nature and use of information technology in solving problem is becoming increasingly important to professionals (Hollander, Denna and Cherrington, 1996).

All new information technology systems bring a range of associated changes with them. These changes may be advertising production process and procedure and the medium through which the advertising messages are passed. Many companies are also attempting to use information systems to form closer relationships with the customers and their suppliers through sophisticated extranet (Wheelen and Hunger, 2012).

Empirical Review

Olukoya (2007) examined the effect of ICT on the production of television commercials and press advertisements and observed that despite the fact that ICT has been in existence for a while, the advertising media have not been able

to effectively adopt ICT in their advertising system. Olukoya examined the effect of the use of ICT on the production of television commercials and advertisement in terms of areas of influence, perception of audience as well as implications of the use in advert product.

Adigun & Akinbinu (2017) examined the impact of ICT usage in improving advertising strategies in selected media houses and revealed that as low as 31 percent of broadcast houses in Nigeria have websites and over 70 percent of their staffs did not have access to company email service, while only 49 percent of the staff have access to or can use computer. These shows that even with the level of internet usage by most media houses, many of them have not been able to integrate this usage for advertising marketing and production. The sampling method adopted for this study was purposive sampling method which involved sampling from population directly involved in advertising.

Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on the Diffusion of Innovation Theory. Diffusion of innovation theory was developed by Everett Rogers in 1962. The theory originated in communication to explain how, overtime, an idea or product gains momentum and diffuses through specific population or social system. The end result of this diffusion is that people, as part of a social system, adopt a new idea, behaviour or product. Diffusion is the process by which an innovation is communicated through certain channels over time among the members of a social system. It is a special type of communication, in that messages are concerned with new ideas. The innovation must be widely adopted in order to self-sustain. Innovation is an idea, practice or project that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption (Rogers, 2003).

Rogers and Shoemaker (1971) whose work on diffusion of innovation appear the best known, defined social change as the process by which alteration occurs in the structure and

function of a social system. It has sequential steps which are:

Invention _____ Diffusion _____ Consequences

In relation to this study, the three steps that lead to social change can be used as basis for the interrelationship. Here, the **Invention** stage connotes the introduction of the use of ICT in the production of advertisements. Before now primitive method were employed in production which reflected in the outlook of adverts as well as messaging among other things. The **Diffusion** step is the wide spread of the usage of ICT by various advertising media especially **Television**. *Examples are different Television advertisement such as vex money by STANBIC IBTC and Family benefit plus by LEAD WAY ASSURANCE.* The third step **Consequences** is the derived from the role ICT has played in the production of TV advertisement. Which is the latter effect, implications in the area of target audience's perception and acceptance.

This theory, in relation to this study, focuses on what television organizations do with information received about new ideas or innovations. It is concerned with how information is passed and received and whether the ideas are finally adopted or rejected. Thus, the relevance of this theory to the study is the applicability of ICT in the production of television advertisement by advertising managers of Delta broadcasting Service, Warri.

Method and Materials

We adopted descriptive survey for this study. The choice of survey design was based on the nature of the study which entails eliciting direct response from ICT and Advertising Staff of DBS, Warri on the impact of ICT in their television production.

The population of the study consists the staff ICT department and Advertising department of Delta Broadcasting Service,

Warri. This was based on the fact the two departments collaborate in the production of modern television advertisements. The population figure of this study (as at time data was collected) 60 staff of Information Communication Technology (ICT) and Advertising units of Delta Broadcasting Service, Warri.

The sample size of this study was 60 staff in ICT and Advertising departments of Delta Broadcasting Service, Warri, based on the fact that the population figure of the study was small.

The study adopted the purposive sampling technique. This was based on the fact that the respondents were more knowledgeable about the subject under study and were in the best position to provide the information needed to achieve the research objectives, which was to assess the impact of ICT in television advertisements in Delta Broadcasting Service, Warri.

We used questionnaire to collect the data. The questionnaire had two sections-A and B. Section A was the demographic data of the respondents while section B was the main questions that helped to achieve the research objectives. The data collection took a period of two weeks, after which the responses were collated for analysis. We analyzed the data using frequency tables and simple percentages.

The face and content validation of the instrument (the questionnaire) was done by the two lecturers in the department of Mass communication, Edwin Clark, University, Delta State, whose directions and constructive criticisms helped in restructuring and reordering of the instrument to ensure easy understanding. To ensure reliability of the instrument, the research instrument was pilot tested on a segment of the sample before its final administration.

Table 1: Demographic Variables

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	35	64
Female	20	36
Total	55	100
Marital status		
Married	32	58
Single	13	24
Divorced	10	18
Total	55	100
Highest Edu. Qualification		
Primary	-	0
Secondary	-	0
Tertiary	39	70
Others	16	30
Total		
Years of Working		
0-3 years	-	0
4-6 years	30	55
6-10 years	9	16
10 years and above	16	29
Total	55	100

The above table depicts that the male respondents (63.6%) were more than the female respondents (36.4%). This showed that more male respondents in DBS, Warri were sampled in the study. From the table, the highest percentage (58%) of the respondents were married, followed by those who are single (24%), with the divorced persons having the lowest percentage (18%). From the table also, 70% of the sampled respondents attended tertiary institution while the remaining (30%) respondents have other higher degrees. The table also showed that more than half (55%) of the respondents have worked in DBS for 4 – 6 years, 29% of the respondents have worked for over ten years in DBS while the remaining 16% of them have worked in DBS for 6 -10 years.

Section B: Psychographic Data

Table 2: Responses on whether DBS Warri uses ICT in the production of their television advertisements

Variables	Frequency	Percentage%
Yes	53	96
No	3	4
Not sure	0	0%
Total	55	100%

Data in table 2 above showed that majority (96%) of the respondents affirmed that DBS, Warri utilizes ICT in the production of their TV advertisements.

Table3: Responses on areas recent television advertisements of Delta broadcasting service, Warri reflect the use of ICT

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Enhancement of picture quality of the advert	-	-
Modification in presentational style of advert	-	-
Provision of multiple channels of delivering advert messages to the audience	-	-
Transformation from traditional form of advert production and presentation to digital form	-	-
All of the above	55	100
None of the above		
Total	55	100%

From the above table, all the respondents (100%) indicated that recent television advertisements reflect the use of ICT in Delta broadcasting service, Warri, especially in the areas of enhancing picture quality of the advert, modification in presentational style of advert, provision of multiple channels of delivering advert messages to the audience and transformation from traditional form of advert production and presentation to digital form.

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Seen one of the advertisements	13	24
Seen the two advertisements	32	58
Haven't seen any of the advertisement	10	18
Total	55	100

From data in the above table, a greater percentage(58%) of the respondents in DBS, Warri have seen the two of the advertisement, 24% have seen one of the advertisements while only 18% have not seen any of the advertisements.

Table 5: Responses on whether the above illusioned advertisements were made possible with ICT

Variables	Frequency	Percentage%
Yes	49	89
No	6	11%
Total	55	100%

The above depicts that majority (89%) of the respondents in DBS Warri obviously believed that the illusion in the advertisements on “GLO awesome me” and “UBA here for you” featuring Wizkid advertisement. were due to the role of ICT.

Variables	Frequency	Percentage%
To a great extent	53	96.4%
To a minimal extent	2	3.6%
Total	55	100%

Table 7: Responses on whether ICT is making television advertisements more deceptive or appealing.

Variables	Frequency	Percentage%
More deceptive	15	27
More appealing	40	73
Total	55	100%

Result in table 7 showed that more than half (73%) of the respondents in DBS, Warri indicated that ICT is making advertisements more appealing than deceptive.

Table 8: Responses on whether ICT has increased or decreased the acceptability of television advertisements in DBS Warri

Variables	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Increased acceptability	54	98
Decreased acceptability	1	2
No idea	0	0
Total	55	100

Result in table 7 above showed that almost all (98%) of the total respondents indicated that ICT has increased rather than decreased the acceptability of television advertisements of DBS, Warri. This implies that ICT to a great extent has played a major role in the production of television advertisements by making advertised products accessible to consumers, thus, stimulating their acceptability and desire to buy or patronize the product or service being advertised.

Discussions of Findings

From data gathered and analysis made, it can be deduced that DBS Warri utilizes ICT in the production of their advertisements and ICT reflects in their recent television advertisements, especially in areas of enhancing picture quality of the advert, modification in presentational style of advert, provision of multiple channels of delivering advert messages to the audience and transformation from traditional form of advert production and presentation to digital form. This was confirmed by 94% of respondents in table 2 and 100% of the respondents in table 3. This finding was contrary to an earlier findings of Olukoya (2007) and that of Adigun & Akinbinu (2017).

The findings also showed that to a great extent, that ICT has played a major role in recently produced TV advertisements such as **“GLO awesome me” and “UBA here for you” featuring Wizkid advertisement in Delta broadcasting service, Warri**, as confirmed by a larger percentage (58%) of the respondents in table 4. More so, majority

(89%) of the respondents in DBS Warri obviously believed that the illusion in the advertisements on **“GLO awesome me” and “UBA here for you” featuring Wizkid advertisement were made possible by ICT. This finding corroborated the finding of Omotunde, Babatunde & John. (2013).**

Further findings revealed that ICT, to a great extent has increased the acceptability of television advertisements in Delta Broadcasting service. This finding was confirmed by more than half (73%) in table 7 who affirmed that ICT is making advertisements more appealing than deceptive. This finding was also confirmed by 98% the respondents in table 8 indicated that ICT has increased rather than decreased the acceptability of television advertisements of DBS, Warri. By implication, ICT has to a great extent increased the acceptability of television advertisements in Delta Broadcasting service. In other words, ICT enhances the acceptability of advertisements by helping consumers to understand advert messages better, gives a clearer picture of the product or services being advertised. This finding was in the statement by Oluyinka (2007) that ICT increases the level of acceptability of consumers towards goods or services

Conclusion

ICT has no doubt found its way into advertising as the study has confirmed and it is revolutionizing the media industry, especially television advertisements and production activities. In terms of revolution, this study has been able to establish that the advertisements produced through the use of ICT endear viewers to the product being advertised. The study concluded that ICT has increased the acceptability of advertisements by target audience (see table 7), this is majorly due to exaggerated concepts, aesthetic use of pictorial effect made possible by ICT. It was also concluded that ICT, no doubt plays an important role in the production of television

advertisements. ICT makes it easier and faster to produce advertisements and the effect is the influx of various appealing advertisements on TV such that consumers are bombarded with messages and with several options to choose from

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations were made:

1. There should be constant and continuous application of ICT in television advertisements by various media organizations, since it helps in the production, packaging, delivery and acceptance of advertised products or services. ICT should be encouraged and utilized in the production of recent TV advertisements.
2. The use of ICT in advertising should be seen as a welcome development in television stations, especially DBS, Warri, since it helps to increase the acceptability of the advertisement by the target audience and endears them to the product being advertised, hence, leading to increased sales of products in the market.
3. Since the world is revolving at a high rate and technology is at its peak, the use of ICT should be overly welcomed in every aspect of advertising especially TV advertisement as it increases the consumers level of interest towards the goods or service being advertised.

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SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE OF ADVERTISEMENT: A STUDY OF THE PUNCH NEWSPAPER

Francis Monkap MATIKI (Ph.D.)

Federal College of Education, Obudu – Cross River State

matfrank515@gmail.com

+2347069417878

Michael GUNN

Department of English

University of Uyo, Uyo

gunnmichael99@gmail.com

+2348066095327

ABSTRACT

This study entitled “Syntactic analysis of language of advertisement: A study of the *Punch Newspaper*” explored the assertion of communication scholars that the language of advertisement is informative and persuasive and serves as a reminder to the customer to patronize the product being advertised. The study employed the M. A. K. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar as its theoretical framework. This is because of the theory's emphasis on the social function of language (verbal and non-verbal) in every communicative discourse and it is concerned with the contexts of situation which involve the use of socio-linguistic properties in interpreting/assigning meaning to sentences. It considers context as the best environment for language use in every discourse. In other words language is seen as a tool in the hands of the users (advertisers). The work revealed that both linguistic and non-linguistic features are usually employed to persuade and compel customers to purchase particular goods and utilize certain services. Such linguistic choices include: choice of diction, use of figurative expressions and syntactic arrangement. The non-linguistic forms are the graphological features as well as the use of colour which are put into significant use to rouse the sense and the emotion and also to catch the attention of the reader or customers. The use of simple sentences, simple and compound noun phrases, complex sentences, declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences and verbless structures were some of the grammatical structures and functions the findings revealed in the data. These grammatical structures and functions helped the advertisement in the *Punch Newspaper* to achieve its desired goals.

Keywords: Advertisement, Punch Newspaper, Syntax, Product and Customer

INTRODUCTION

The concept of advertising dates back to early civilization. In 3000 B. C, Babylonian merchants hired barkers to hawk their wares to prospective customers and placed signs over their door ways to indicate what they sold. This practice continued in Greece and Rome. Advertisements were found on walls in the streets of the excavated Roman City of Pompeii. The use of handbills, posters and newspaper advertisements emerged after Johannes Gutenberg developed the movable

type in the fifteenth century. When Benjamin Franklin established the Philadelphia Gazette in 1729, it soon became a favourite medium of advertisement. When the weekly Pennsylvania Pocket and General Advertising became a daily in 1784, it featured an entire front page of advertisements for such things as dry goods, wine and tobacco products. When the United States began developing into an industrial nation in the nineteenth century and American newspapers and magazines began entering the popular culture, advertising in print media

expanded (Wilson, 1992, p. 304). Modern advertising, according to Abayomi (2003) as cited by Agba (2012, p. 212) can be traced to the United States of America where the father of American press, Benjamin Franklin produced the first newspaper advertisement that appeared in the Boston Newsletter on April 24, 1704.

In Nigeria, Abayomi (2003) further posits that before the introduction of the Yoruba language newspaper -Iwe-Irolin in 1959 by Rev. Henry Townsend in Abeokuta, advertising was done through the town crier, hawking and display. These have survived in villages till date. At present, advertising has assumed a tripartite dimension, the academic, professional and marketing instrument used as a business to create awareness of available goods and services.

Advertisement has several but related definitions. The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of English puts it thus: "Advertisement is a notice, picture or film telling people about a product, job or service". Similarly, American Marketing Association (AMA) defines advertisement as "any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods and services by an identifiable sponsor". Woodrow (1963) as cited in Agba 2012, p. 212) defines advertising as "a group of activities aiming at dissemination of information in any paid non-personal form concerning an idea, product, service to compel action in accordance with instance of an identifiable sponsor". These definitions all agree that advertisement is a non-personal form of communication and is undertaken by an identified sponsor. That is, advertising is aimed at selling an idea, a product or services which comes from individuals, corporate bodies, government establishments and institutions.

Statement of problem

It is true that advertisement incorporates unique use of language which is not easily found in other written or spoken texts. Many scholars such as Gunn (2017), Okon (2017) and Matiki (2019) have investigated different aspects of syntax using students' written scripts as data of study. And

from the review of the related scholarship, it is also true that many scholars have conducted different researches on the language of advertisements from different perspectives but not much has really been done to the best of the researchers' knowledge concerning the conducting of an in depth analysis of syntactic features of language of advertisements especially in the Nigerian based newspaper "*The Punch*". This is what informs the researchers to carry out a syntactic analysis of language of advertisement in the *Punch Newspaper*.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this paper is to conduct a syntactic analysis of the advertisement texts in a bid to uncover relevant linguistic findings that could aid future linguistic research. It is also in the interest of the researchers to examine how the resources of language have been manipulated to foreground the message.

Scope of the study

In linguistics, there are different levels of analysis namely; graphology, phonology, lexical a semantic, morphology and syntactic analysis. However, because of the constraints of space and time, this study limits itself to only syntactic analysis of language of advertisement in the Friday *Punch Newspaper*, in July, August, September, October and November, 2014. But then it was not possible to analyse all the advertisements in the selected newspaper during those months. We therefore chose adverts that enabled us to identify and illustrate specific syntactic peculiarities that reinforced our purpose. The study also aims to enrich and contribute to the existing literature on the characteristics of advertisement. To provide deep insights into the language of advertising and finally to promote the body of knowledge in the field of syntax.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Characteristics of the language of advertisement

According to Essien-Eyo, Nta and Enyi (2005, p. 36), advertising language is the language of persuasion. Adverts appeal mostly to the eyes and ears. When these two senses are

persuaded as to the desirability of the item advertised, it is easy for the advertiser to achieve the desired goal. Cook's (1992) has submitted that in addition to the linguistic and contextual features, "an advertisement is a kind of discourse and as such the communicative factor of who is communicating, to whom and for what purpose, is to be taken into consideration in any analysis"

To Essien-Eyo et al., adverts attract attention, arouse interest, stimulate desire and create conviction in order to elicit the required reaction. What is advertised and the desired objectives influence the style and content of the advert. Most advertisements combine verbal and aural strategies depending on the medium and the desired goals. Advertisements language is carefully crafted in order to achieve intended goals.

In conclusion, the language of advertisements which is audience oriented must persuade, and inform the audience about a product and must convince the audience through the use of simple language that is not standard in order to convince the audience about a product or services and relay their message for general understanding.

Linguistic characteristics of advertising language

Essien-Eyo et al (2005) emphasized on the language of advertisement of products that are of same quality and which also render same services where the usual competition among them necessitates exaggeration and sometimes unrealistic claims. This is done through the use of superlative adjectives. The analysis is carried out under subheadings that identify the various linguistic characteristic of advertising language:

1. Supremacy claims

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| i. MTN | the best connection |
| ii. ROTHMANS | The best tobacco that money can buy |
| iii. GLO. | Building Africa's biggest and best network |
| iv. GULDER. | The ultimate beer |
| LIMCA. | 1 st for taste |

In examples (i-iii) the word 'best' is used. Interestingly, two of the items advertised are communication networks, both claiming to be the 'best' with GLO adding the word 'biggest'. In the next examples, the word 'ultimate' and 'first' are epithets which usually function as noun modifiers but are here foregrounded and used as the head in the noun groups. These epithets therefore reinforce the uniqueness of the products that are being advertised.

The examples above are marked by superlative adjectives. But Schrank (2004) argues that in parity claims "better" means "best" and "best" means equal to. To him, one could logically argue that if all the brands are identical, they must all be equally good, so "best" means that the product is as good as the other superior products in its category.

2. Use of adjectival modifiers

As the examples in (1) illustrate, the use of modification is one of the characteristics of advertisement language as the following examples show:

- | | |
|----------|---------------------------------------|
| i. SKODA | The new Skoda superb |
| | The most powerful statement |
| | ... a perfect blend of unique design, |
| | Lavish luxury, great performance, and |
| | Uncompromising safety. It is superb. |

In the example above, the adjectives are used either as pre-head or post-head modifiers or sometimes in both positions as in "The new Skoda" where the word "new" modifies "Skoda" in the pre-head position, and "superb" in the post-head position, functioning as the qualifier in the noun group with 'Skoda' being the head. The heavy use of epithets is intended to underscore the products' qualities so that the consumer is persuaded to choose that particular brand of the product.

3. Use of compound modifiers

Essien-Eyo et al (2005) aver that advertisers often use compound words both as pre-head and post-head modifiers. Many of these words are coined in order to project the particular effect desired as demonstrated

below.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| i. ARIK-WINGS | it's a brand- |
| new experience | |
| ii. PRUMAZINC | Extra-long, |
| long-lasting protection. | |

In most cases the double-barreled or compound modifiers function as intensifiers foreground I the qualities of the product advertised. For instance, the word "brand-new", in the example, is a Nigerian English expression usually used to describe products that are so new that the brand name is still visible cases where the brand name would have worn off with age and use.

4. Use of imperative sentences

Many advertisements employ the imperative clause in the attempt to influence the audience towards making a particular choice. The consumer is "ordered" to perform a particular action through an appeal to their reason, fear, emotion etc. Examples are:

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| I. Drive safely. | The life you save may be your own |
| ii. Tom-Tom. | Catch the refreshing feeling |
| iii. GLO | GLO with pride |
| iv. Access Bank | go the extra mile to succeed. |

Such imperative clauses accompany certain advertisements and give the impression that the consumer is being offered useful information or advice.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sources of data

Adverts were selected from the Friday *Punch Newspaper*, of July August, September, October and November, 2014. The adverts were selected randomly, in order to provide the researchers with data necessary to confirm the characteristics that scholars argue are peculiar to the language of advertisement.

Method of data analysis

Data selected from the *Punch Newspaper* were analyzed using systemic Functional Grammar as a theoretical framework. Some syntactic features were identified and examined for semantic imports.

Theoretical framework

This study adopted the Systemic

Functional Grammar, language is essentially systematic and rule governed. The theory was propounded by M. A. K. Halliday who studied under J. R Firth, a British linguist of the 1930s-50s. It sees language as a functional and communicative tool.

One aspect of systemic functional grammar which this study adopted is that which concerns the social function of language. Systemic functional grammar incorporates a great deal of communicative, sociolinguistic and pragmatic information which are not adopted in other grammatical theories like transformational generative grammar, case grammar, among others. It also explains how these functions are mapped into surface forms based on a series of choices that determine the syntactic characteristics of sentences.

Systemic Functional Theory was adopted because it emphasizes the social function of language (verbal and non-verbal) in every communicative discourse and it is concerned with the contexts of situation which involves the use of socio-linguistic properties in interpreting/assigning meaning to sentences (Tomori, 1999). It considers context as the best environment for language use in every discourse. In other words language is seen as a tool in the hands of the users (advertisers).

The systemic functional grammar provides the linguistic tools which help the researchers to interpret appropriate choice of words, the use of language and assigning of meaning to them. As it encourages an open approach as a resource, it helped this study to bring out some choice of words, arrangement of word in a sentence by advertisers and their intended meaning to the audience, this helped the researchers to realise the objectives of the study.

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

1. Sentence types and structure in adverts

Advertisements employ a wide range of sentence types; the data below reveals this. Many of the adverts in the Friday *Punch Newspaper* examined reveal the presence of a large number of simple sentences, some of which have no verbs. Many of these sentences

are declarative and imperative. There are few interrogative sentences in the adverts, but the exclamatory type hardly features. The use of phrases, especially the noun phrase was often used. Table 1 below gives examples of some adverts in which simple sentences are used, some displaying the subject verb inversion.

Table 1: showing the use of the simple sentences

SN	SENTENCE	ADVERT TYPE	DATE/PAGE
1.		Zenith Bank	Nov.7, 2014, page 19
2.	Now your dearest wishes have come true	Airtel	July, 25, page
3.	Wema mobile brings colour to your banking experience	Wema bank	Nov. 7, 2014 pg 19
4.	Our service is dedicated to you	Etisalat	October 10, 2014, pg 57
5.	Simple is the New Smart	L. G. manufacturing company	Sept. 19, 2014, pg 3.

In the above example “Simple is the New Smart”, there is subject verb inversion thus giving prominence to the quality of the products. The deviation attracts the readers' attention and makes him/her curious to know more about the product. The complement is made to function as the subject and the subject takes the position of the complement. Advertisers sometimes employ this deviation from norms in order to emphatically underscore the effectiveness of the product.

All the five simple sentences are declarative supposedly stating the state of affairs. This type of sentence is a characteristics of advertisements because it gives necessary and important information to the public to guide them making decision.

SN	ADVERT/SENTENCE	PRODUCT/SERVICE	DATE/PAGE
1.	Because you are special we remain committed to serving you better now and always	Wema Bank	Oct. 10, 2014, pg. 21
2.	Wherever you are, your Wema card is your companion	Wema Bank	Aug. 29, 2014, pg. 31

In sentence one above “Because you are special, we remain committed to serving you better now and always”, the subordinate clause is “because you are special”. The main clause is “we remain committed to serving you better now and always.

We	subject
...remain committed	predicator
...to serving you better	adjunct
...now and always	adjunct

Thus, advertisers sometimes use the conventional rule of clause structure to express their advert. The advertiser entices the customers with an assurance of the best service it can offer all the time.

In the first example, the subordinate clause gives the reason why Wema Bank gives her customers good treatment and even desires to do more. In the second example, the subordinate clause tells the customers that location is not a problem since Wema card can be operated everywhere.

2. Use of verbless clauses

Table 3: Presents two examples of verbless clauses

SN	SENTENCE	PRODUCT/SERVICE	DATE/PAGE
1.	Main one... here to mind your business	Network provider	Oct. 10, 2014, pg. 23
2.	Junia, the online shop you can trust	Online shopping	Nov. 7, 2014, pg. 35.

The two sentences above, the linking verb 'is' is omitted but it is implied if the advert is to be understood. The use of unconventional method tends to foreground the message intended.

3. Use of imperative sentences

Table 4: Showing the use of imperative sentences

SN	SENTENCE	PRODUCT/SERVICE	DATE/PAGE
1.	Junia The online shop you can trust ORDER NOW!	Online shopping	Nov. 7, 2014, pg. 35.
2.	Dial-a-doctor 67777 Keep your mind at peace, dial a doctor now for medical advice	Network provider (Airtel)	Oct. 24, 2014, pg. 23.
3.	MTN Mobile Buy one, Get one free	MTN Network	Sept. 19, 2014, pg. 26
4.	*401# to activate at ₦5	Airtel insurance	Oct. 3, 2014, pg. 23.
5.	Write it down, Make it happen	Samsung Galaxy Note 4	Oct. 24, 2014, pg. 19
6.	Get airtel insurance FREE simply by recharging ₦1000 or more on your airtel line	Airtel insurance	Aug. 8, 2014, pg. 18.

Most of the imperative sentences are short, some consisting of only two words. Conciseness is a characteristic feature of imperatives. In the first example, the public is commanded to order immediately from the online shop. The third advert advises that one should buy MTN mobile and it informs the buyers that each purchase would attract a free gift. The two adverts on the Airtel network provider number 4 and 6 advise the consumer

to do a particular thing in order to get a specific package provided by the network. The advert on the Samsung phone suggests that all the user has to do to realise a wish is to “write it down”. The imperative sentences are used to direct the reader on what to do in order to receive something desirable. The first two adverts employ the word “now” to emphasize the importance of the service and that the consumer must act immediately and not waste any more time.

4. Use of interrogative sentence

Table 5: data showing interrogative sentence

SN	USE OF INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE	PRODUCT/SERVICE	DATE/PAGE
1.	Is your profit going into the wrong hands?	Brand protection	Sept. 5, 2014, pg35
2.	Transcorp Hotel Offer closes today! Have you taken this opportunity? 800,000. 00 Ordinary shares of 50 kobo each At ₦10.00 per share Offer closes today, Love it, buy it, own it	Hotel company	Oct. 17, 2014, pg 21

In the first advert, the advertisers employ a question mark asking the audience a question that requires them to answer concerning the quality of the product. The audience is expected to respond to the question. “SPROXIL” (a protecting brand globally) is a service rendered for the security of all products. The second advert asks the customers whether they have taken the offer because the offer will soon end. In other words, the audience is left to answer the question being asked.

The question technique is used to prompt the audience to think. In the first advert, if the answer is “yes”, then the consumer is encouraged to consider the product and derive its profit properly. If in the second example, the answer is 'No' then the person is advised to act immediately since the offer would soon close. In both examples, the consumer is encouraged to think and then take a positive decision to accept the offer.

1. Use of noun phrase

Apart from the sentence types examined above, advertisements also, to a large extent employ phrases, especially complex noun phrases. Below is a table showing some phrases used in the adverts under study.

Table 6. showing noun phrases as used in adverts

SN	SENTENCE/ADVERTS	PRODUCT/SERVICE	DATE/PAGE
1.	Smartest network for your smart phone	Airtel	Oct. 3, 2014, pg 23
2.	MTN mobile Newspaper News updates on the go	MTN	Sept. 19, 2014, pg 26
3.	A BITTER SWEET BLEND WITH FLAVOURS OF AFRICAN HERBS AND FRUIT	Orijin Beer	Aug. 8, 2014, pg 28
4.	YOUR BEST RECHARGEABLE PRODUCT	Lontor	Sept. 19, 2014, pg 35
5.	FAST, SECURE INTERNET BANKING ANYWHERE, ANYTIME...	Wema bank	Aug. 22, 2014, pg 19
6.	Binatone, FREE GIFT WITH EVERY PURCHASE!	Binatone (electronics)	Nov. 14, 2014, pg. 13
7.	LONTOR EXPERTS FOR EMERGENCY PRODUCTS	Lontor	Sept. 19, 2014, pg 35
8.	Airtel insurance the joy of a safer future	Airtel insurance	August 8, 2014, pg 18
9.	The All New COROLLA	Car	Oct. 3, 2014, pg 37

Phrases appear to be the most prevalent type of structures in adverts. This may be because phrases offer the advertisers the opportunity to focus on the products and their quality without engaging in longer grammatical expression and as a result losing the focus they had intended. Most of the noun phrases are complex, some being pre- and post- modified. Adjectives are used to highlight the quality of the service or product. The illustrations below confirm this;

Airtel

- Smartest network for your service
M h q
- The All New Corolla
m m m h
- A bittersweet blend with flavours of Africa herb and fruit
m m h q

The first example uses the superlative adjective 'smartest' to qualify the kind of service expected from Airtel. The second example uses three modifiers with the word 'All' modifying 'New' as if to emphasize that everything in this corolla is 'New'. The car is not just 'New', it is 'All New' to imply that it is better in every respect than the old one. And finally, the ORIJIN beer advert uses both pre and post modifiers to emphasize the uniqueness, richness and indigenouness of the new beer.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This study examined the language of advertisement through syntactic analysis in the *Punch Newspaper*. It has revealed that advertisers use several grammatical structures and functions in conveying their messages. These include the use of simple sentences, simple and compound noun phrases, complex sentences, declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, imperative sentences and verbless structures and choice of diction. They also use colours, pictures to create aesthetics and foreground their message. These displays give useful information, communicate ideas and provide sensitization for the new and existing products and services.

The study also revealed how the choice of words functions in the adverts. Advertisers use words that depict emotion. They also use figurative expressions, simple dictions, comparative and superlative adjectives and slogans to intimate the customers of the vitality of the products and services. The context of advertising determines the choice of words. Context plays a crucial role in advertising.

It is also observed that the language of advertising in *Punch Newspaper* does not always follow the rules of grammar. Regardless of the sophisticated nature of the advertiser, there is need for simplicity in language. These advertisers try to communicate using simple sentences and straight forward dictions to suit a wide and diverse audience. As Broom (1978) asserts, the language of advertising is audience-oriented. The study confirms that advertisers do not impose their level of education on adverts so that their message could reach the average audience.

In conclusion, the language of advertising discovered from this study is persuasive, emotive, artistic and aims at bringing the content to the audience. It sensitizes the customers of the new and existing products and services using pictorial images. The language used in communicating the message is simple, appealing though sometimes hyperbolic in nature.

Again, the resources of language found in *Punch Newspaper* are properly

manipulated in communicating the content of the products and services to the public. Furthermore, the language of advertising sometimes deviates from the norm with the intention of relating a specific message to the customers. The language of advertisement is simple, convincing, captivating, informative and straight forward for the understanding of an average audience.

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CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND EARNINGS MANAGEMENT IN NIGERIA;THE MODERATING ROLE OF AUDIT COMMITTEE GENDER DIVERSITY

BY

FAITH ERINMA ONYEBUENYI

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCIAL STUDIES

FACULTY OF MANAGEMENT SCIENCES

NATIONAL OPEN UNIVERSITY OF NIGERIA

fnnanna@noun.edu.ng; erifaithonyebuenyi@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

*The study examined the moderating effect of audit committee gender diversity on the relationship between corporate social responsibility and earnings management of quoted consumer goods companies in Nigeria. Based on Ex-post facto research design, panel data set was collected from sixteen (16) quoted consumer goods companies within a fourteen (14) year period spanning from 2006 to 2019 financial year. The hypothesis was formulated with the dependent variable as earnings management and the independent variable as corporate social responsibility. Furthermore, the study employed a moderator variable of audit committee gender diversity together with a control variable of firm leverage. The robust least square regression analyses revealed that inclusion of more female folks into audit committee teams will significantly restrain managers from engaging in earnings management practices via corporate social responsibility activities and disclosure of same. In the light of the result obtained, we advocate that **board of directors of various quoted consumer goods companies in Nigeria should consider amidst other policy options, corporate governance monitoring policies that will drive more female representation in audit committee teams***

Keywords: Corporate Social Responsibility, Earnings Management, Moderating Effect Consumer Goods Manufacturing Companies

INTRODUCTION

The importance of corporate social responsibility (hereafter CSR) reporting to corporations and their stakeholders is growing. Information obtained from the study of Abdelhalim and Eldin (2019) attributes this growing trend to the rise in globalization and international trade. In an ever-interconnected world, the environmental and social footprint of transnational corporations is going beyond employees to influence the livelihood of consumers and communities. As a result, policy makers are enforcing more responsible and transparent corporate behavior that considers the environmental, social and economic concerns of their constituencies. In

addition to countries such as France that have done so for some time, several other major European Union (EU) countries, among them, Germany and Italy, have increasingly engaged in mandating CSR reporting in recent years (Mion&Adaui, 2019). Even though CSR reporting involves complex and hard to quantify issues such as the environment, human resources and local community relations, it is generally seen as a positive endeavor for companies themselves. With greater CSR practices and reporting, studies documents that, a firm can expect to achieve lower cost of capital, increased market share, good reputation with stakeholders and so forth (Buerthey et al., 2019; Suyono and Farooque,

2018). According to Suyono and Farooque (2018), it is because of these benefits a considerable number of companies make yearly disclosures voluntarily.

However, despite the benefit of CSR to both corporations and their stakeholders, there is a concern that they are sometimes being used for more sinister goals, hiding earnings management being one. Earnings management is the practice of manipulating financial reports by managers to fit a specific and predetermined goal. It is generally seen as harmful since the resulting financial information about the company fails to capture the company's true worth (Al-Haddad & Whittington, 2019). According to Ijeoma and Aronu (2013) earnings management is a term used to refer to the aggressive use of choices available under accounting rules, to present the most fattening view of a company in its financial statement. It involves the pushing of accounting principles to the limit of their flexibility or even beyond so as to improve their annual statements. The concern is that some studies are finding more earnings management practices to be positively linked to CSR reporting. This suggests that managers are using the good reputation they get from being involved in CSR reporting to hide their less-than-acceptable financial reporting practices (Liu & Lee, 2019). Studies in two dozen countries by Prior et al. (2008) for instance suggests that managers use CSR as a tool to protect their own careers. They employ CSR reporting as a shield to hide earnings management (Mohmed et al., 2020). This tactical move by managers which results in a positive link between CSR reporting and the practices of earnings management is usually explained with the agency theory.

To forestall corporate disclosure fraud crisis (earnings management), organizations take a wide range of actions which include setting up committees whose roles include watching closely the contents of the corporate disclosure from compilation to publication and beyond (Al-Shaer, Salama & Toms, 2017). One of such committees is the audit committee which according to Eyenubo, Mudzamir and Ali

(2017) consists of a selection of members of an organization saddled with the duty of oversight of the company's accounting and financial reporting as a good corporate governance tool which enhances the integrity of corporate disclosure. As it relates to audit committee characteristic, the influence of audit committee gender diversity on earnings management have been given serious attention. As males and females are socialized differently based on the behavior that is accepted and acceptable, they stuck with what is called "gender identity" (Eagly & Karau, 1991). For example, females are raised and told to be a mother, wife, and daughter, while males are raised in a more competitive habitat (Dick & Nadin, 2006). Thereby, both personalities are entirely different, where females tend to be more people-oriented, and males tend to be more dominant and ambitious (Eagley & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). These personality differences are then brought to the working context supported by real-life organizational practices which later show the differences among the two. According to Krishnan & Parsons (2008), women tend to be better in dealing with ethical issues. Women are more focused on relationships and helping people, while men are more concerned about competition and making money for the organization. Accordingly, Ittonen et al. (2013) found that female partner in an auditing firm show more constraint in earnings management. It indicates that firms audited by female engagement partners are associated with smaller abnormal accruals. As a member of the audit committee, the presence of females has an impact since they show better communication abilities and meeting preparations (Stewart & Munro, 2007). Gender diversity in the audit committee will lower the audit fee because female representation reduces the inherent risk of misstatements (Ittonen et al., 2010). More than that, prior studies have shown that females are more conservative and unbiased than males in making ethical decisions (Thiruvadi & Huang, 2011). As female's conservatism level is higher than those of males, females tend to avoid exaggerating the good news. Hence, having more female in the audit committee will

influence the CSR reporting style by more conservative. Conservative CSR reporting style can be interpreted as “avoiding misleading financial statement user, delaying the good news, and tends to disclose the bad news or avoid the exaggeration of CSR disclosure”.

However, even with the existence of such monitoring committees/corporate scandals have continued to soar (Suyono, 2012). For example, the collapse of Enron and World Com. earlier in the 1980's and 1990's, global giants such as John Mathews Bank (JMB), Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), Barring Brothers, Nomura Securities, Brex and Long-Term Capital Management (LTCM) all failed as a result of earnings management related factors (Okaro&Okafor, 2013). Nigeria is not spared either from incidences of earnings management. For instance, the case of five banks that failed the CBN stress test in 2009, Afri-bank, Fin Bank, Union Bank, Intercontinental Bank and Oceanic bank. These banks had one thing in common as they were certified distressed by the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) barely few months after their auditors had given them a clean bill of health. Perhaps, the greatest audit failure in Nigeria has been associated with Cadbury (Nig.) Plc accounting scandal which came to the fore in 2006. This scandal has since been euphemistically dubbed Nigeria's Enron equivalent (Okaro&Okafor, 2013). The tragic collapse and scandals of these giants were as a result of fraudulent practices of the board of directors and the intentional misconduct of managers (Musa, Jide& Victor, 2013).

This study contributes to the growing earnings management literature by recognizing that prior related studies often ignore the use of audit committee gender diversity as a mitigator of earnings management arising from CSR activities and its corresponding disclosure. Such studies can be traced to those of: **Fali, Aminu, Macauley&Yahaya, 2019; Adagye 2019; Isa & Farouk, 2018; Thank God & Onukogu, 2018.** Moreover, Suyono and Farooque (2018) argue that managing earnings is more

pronounced in manufacturing firms which, when compared to other similarly-sized firms in other sectors, tend to have more complex financial transactions and high volatility in cash flows (Marschinski& Martinez, 2019). Hence, from the foregoing, this study is poised to ascertain the moderating effect of audit committee gender diversity on the relationship between corporate social responsibility and earnings management of listed manufacturing firms in Nigeria. The rest of the article is organized as follows: Section Two discusses the literature review and hypothesis development; Section Three describes the data, variables, and econometric models; Section Four provides the empirical analysis and discussion; Section five presents conclusion and recommendations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Earnings Management

Earnings refer to net income. It can be described as the paramount measure of a firm's value as seen by the stock market which prizes both fast as well as stable earnings growth (**Agbo, Angahar, Ivungu&Anongo, 2020**). However, Nwoye, Anichebe and Osegbue (2020) document that earnings management is a multifaceted and difficult trend happening in corporate organization. In spite of the numerous definitions of earnings management from various writers, there is no consensus on the most excellent definition as well as explanation of the concept. For example; **Ubesie, Ogbu and Mbah (2019)** see earnings management as a strategy used by the management of a company to deliberately manipulate the company's earnings so that the figures match a predetermined target for the purpose of income smoothing. **Obigbemi, Omolehinwa, Mukoro, Ben-Caleb and Olusanmi (2016)** define earnings management as an act of maximizing the loopholes in the financial reporting laws, to maximize personal, group, or organizational objectives at the detriment of another group of individuals who may be directly or indirectly affected by such decisions. **These loopholes maybe in** the form of creative accounting such as recording anticipated sales in the books as

turnover for the present year, as well as the reduction in the cost of research and development". **Obigbemi, et al (2016)** affirmed that earnings management could also involve the use of discretionary accruals, the accumulation of accrued expenses in the bid to give a different picture of the financial well-being of the company. Furthermore, Farouk and Isa (2018) defined earnings management as the deliberate dampening of fluctuations about some level of earnings considered being normal for the firm. The term is understood to refer to systematic misrepresentation of the true income and assets of corporations or other organizations" (Omoye&Eriki, 2014) or innovative ways of characterizing income, assets and liabilities (Donaldson & Werhane, 2009). But Nwaobia, Kwarbai and Fregene (2019) noted that earnings management is an accounting practice carried out by management with the intension to influence or misrepresent reported earnings through the use of accounting methods or accelerating expense or under-accruing expense or untimely recognition or deferment of revenue transactions (depending on target objective) or using other methods crafted to influence earnings.

Corporate Social Responsibility

Just like the concept of earnings management, the definition of corporate social responsibility lacks universality, and different interpretations have been given to it. It is a multifarious concept that lends itself to multiplicity of meanings. However, in this study, corporate social responsibility is described as a collection of activities which are of direct benefit to society which a firm voluntarily or discretionally undertakes. These activities form part of the overall corporate duties that the firm owes its stakeholders and the natural environment within its scope of operations (Duke & Kankpang, 2013). Likewise, Uwuigbe and Egbide (2012) describe corporate social responsibility as *disclosures relating to the interaction between an organization and its physical and social environment inclusive of disclosures relating to human resources, community involvement,*

the natural environment, energy, and product safety. Nwanne (2016) define corporate social responsibility as the act of taking care of ones' immediate community which could be through provision of electricity, pipe bore water, building of good roads and ensuring security in the society or environment where the organization is operating. According to **Ohiokha, Odion and Akhalumeh (2016)**, the concept of corporate social responsibility requires that companies should map out and give effect to specific programmes in accordance with a well-defined social policy. But in the views of Lin & Amin, (2016), the concept of corporate social responsibility refers to activities of the organization which focus on society beyond making profit. Corporate social responsibility means that a corporation should be accountable for any of its actions that affect people, their communities, and their environment (Haryono & Iskandar, 2016). However, Development Research Center of the State Council (2013) and the World Bank defined CSR as the commitment of businesses to contribute to sustainable economic development by working with employees, the local community and the society at large to improve their lives in ways that are good for business and for development.

Audit Committee Gender Diversity

An audit committee plays significant roles in financial reporting as to ensure compliance with the regulatory requirements and auditing standards. Audit committees are formed to provide critical oversight of companies' financial reporting process. Particularly, the primary purpose of their formation is to enhance the credibility of audited financial statements. The committees are expected to act independently to resolve conflicts between the management and external auditors (Klien, 2002). In particular, the audit committees can act as an arbiter between management and the auditors by providing a formal communication channel between the board, management and the external auditor (Cohen et al, 2008, Turley & Zaman, 2004). Prior related literature suggest that audit committee characteristics are significant factors that may positively

influence their effectiveness by lowering earnings management practices (Song & Windram, 2004; Klein, 2002; Bedard et al., 2004; Gul et al 2007 and Sun et al 2011).

CSR and Earnings Management. The Nexus

As it relates to financial reporting, accounting literature provides us with two broad reasons why firms are involved in CSR-related practices (Gerged et al., 2020). On the one hand, firms may disclose CSR reports to signal that they are a responsible member of the society. In those firms, CSR reporting is expected to be negatively related to manipulative financial reporting (Suyono & Farooque, 2018). This stems from the argument that having good relationships with various stakeholders is important for socially responsible firms, and as a result those firms are less likely to engage in aggressive earnings management that threatens their long-term reputation. This argument is supported by the stakeholder theory (Mohmed et al., 2020) and have also be confirmed in empirical studies conducted by Kim et al. (2012), and Pyo and Lee (2013). On the other hand, CSR activities may not however be wholly motivated by a firm's social standing – managers may report CSR in pursuit of their self-interest (Mohmed et al. 2020). For instance, a study from 24 countries carried out by Prior et al. (2008) suggests that managers use CSR as a tool to protect their own careers. One way of achieving this is to use CSR reporting as a shield to hide earnings management (Mohmed et al., 2020). This tactical move by managers which results in a positive link between CSR reporting and the practice of earnings management has been explained by the agency theory. Similarly, Hemingway and MacLagan (2004); and Martínez-Ferrero et al. (2016) show that CSR reporting is an act of self-interest by managers and find a positive relationship between CSR disclosures and earnings management indicating that CSR reporting is indeed used to shield discretionary accounting practices. In this case, being just a managerial tool of self-preservation, CSR reporting ends up hurting stakeholders.

Moderating Effect of Audit Committee Gender Diversity

Prior literature in psychology, sociology and management reports that women are more conservative and risk averse than men (Byrnes et al., 1999). Throughout the years it has been confirmed by various authors that women present a more ethical view than men and they seem to be more capable in identifying unethical behaviors (Ruegger & King, 1992; Eweje & Brunton, 2010). In the same view, several other studies show that female directors are more risk averse in decision making and conservative than men (Byrnes et al., 1999; Man & Wong, 2013; Eckel & Grossman, 2008). Both risk aversion and conservatism, may influence the integrity of the financial reporting process. As supported by Hemingway (2007), earnings management is associated with risk and since women present more conservative behaviors than men, he concluded that it is more possible for men to manipulate financial statements than women. The study of Krishnan and Parsons (2008) accentuates this view and documents that earnings management is lower and earnings quality is higher when there is at least one female director in the audit committee. Grosvold et al. (2007) stated that increasing female representation will greatly benefit the 'companies, stockholders and customers. In summary, these studies presented above provide evidence to support the fact that gender diversity affect conservatism, decision-making, and risk preference of the management within the company. Overall, it becomes substantial to believe that the presence of women in audit committees will improve firm's reporting discipline and increase investor confidence in financial statement as they could impact positively on the accuracy of financial information (Siridhi et al., 2011; Clatworthy and Peel, 2013).

Hypotheses: Based on prior related studies, i hypothesize that the presence of women in audit committees reinforces the external governance of the firm which leads to reduced earnings management that may arise from CSR disclosure

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical underpin for this study is the agency theory which is based on the relationship between the principal (owners) and the agent managers). The separation of ownership from management in modern corporations provides the context for the function of agency theory. Atu, Atu, Enegebe and Atu (2016) buttress the fact that “modern organizations have widely dispersed ownership, in the form of shareholders, who are not normally involved in the management of their companies”. In this instance an agent is appointed to manage the daily operations of the company. This distinction between ownership and control creates the potential for conflicts of interest between agents and principals, which result in some costs associated with resolving these conflicts (Jensen & Meckling, 1976 and Eisenhardt, 1989). The most important basis for agency theory is that the managers are usually motivated by their own personal gains hence work to exploit their own personal interests rather than considering shareholders' interests and maximizing shareholder value. Consequently, management has an incentive to manage the company's financial report process in order to meet or beat earning targets and, thus, receive any bonuses that may be tied to the company's earnings (performance-related pay). This creates an information asymmetry in that managers can exercise the discretion they have on accruals, which in turn reduces the relevance and reliability of reported earnings, and the whole financial statements. However, the key predicament indicated by agency theory is ensuring that managers pursue the interests of shareholders and not only their own interests”. In order to effectively limit agency costs caused by the separation of ownership and control, Fama and Jensen (1983) propose that firms need a system that can separate decision management from decision control noting that this would limit agency costs by controlling the power of management and ensuring the proper consideration of shareholders' interest.

Empirical Literature Review

In South Korea, Buertey, Sun, Lee and Hang, (2019), investigates the relationship between corporate social responsibility (CSR) and

earnings management (EM) and examines whether corporate governance (CG) mechanisms can moderate the CSR–EM relation. Fixed-effect regression is used to

estimate the coefficients of the variables. The independent variable of the study is corporate social responsibility score by provided by CSRHub. The dependent variable of the study is earnings management via discretionary accruals measurement. Board Size, Board independence, Institutional ownership and block ownership were taken as the mediating variables. The authors find a significant positive relation between CSR and EM. The authors confirmed managerial opportunistic use of CSR explained within the agency theoretical framework.

ThankGod and Onukogu (2018) *investigates the impact of audit committee expertise and earnings management practices of quoted food & beverages manufacturing firms in Nigeria for the period 2006 to 2016. Secondary data were collected from annual reports of 15 sampled firms using convenience sampling method dictated by data availability. The study period covered 2006 to 2016. Earnings management was measured by discretionary accruals, using modified Jones (1991) model. Ordinary Least Square regression technique was applied on the cross-sectional estimates of the discretionary accruals, taking cross-section of audit committee quality dimensions (i.e., committee expertise, committee size and meeting frequency) as independent variables while firm size was used as the contextual variable. It was found that, meeting frequency failed the test of statistical significance at 5% level, while the relationship between committee expertise and earnings management was not significant at 5% level. The authors concluded that audit committee expertise can restrain earnings management practices of quoted food & beverages manufacturing firms in Nigeria.*

In Nigeria, Uyagu and Dabor, (2017) conducted a study to find out the influence of corporate social responsibility on earnings management. Secondary data set employed in the study were extracted from the annual

reports and accounts of selected fifty-two (52) manufacturing companies in Nigeria covering a period of 15 years (2001 – 2015). Discretionary accrual was used to measure the dependent variable of earnings management, while Corporate social responsibility score index was used to measure corporate social responsibility as the independent variable. The model was control by firm size and leverage and the results from the ordinary least square regression techniques show that there is a positive relationship between CSR and earnings management. The authors concluded that statutory bodies should put a ceiling on the amount to be expended on CSR which must be exceeded by any firm.

Mishra and Malhotra (2016) examine the effectiveness of audit committees in constraining earnings management among Indian quoted companies. Secondary data was collected for a sample of 130 companies for a three-year period 2013-2015. Univariate correlations, multivariate linear regression, and logistic regression models were employed to analyses the data of which evidence suggests significant impact of audit committee size, multiple directorships of audit committee members and frequency of audit committee meetings on earnings quality. Other audit committee characteristics were not found to have significant impact on the level of earnings management. The authors recommended that regulators and company boards should evaluate the efficacy of board audit committees and implement additional governance measures to help preserve the integrity of financial statements.

Gras-Gil, Manzano and Fernández (2016) investigate the relationship between corporate social responsibility and earnings management. The study used discretionary accruals to measure the extent of earnings management as the dependent variable and employed MERCO index to measure the extent of CSR as the independent variable. Using multivariate regression analysis technique for a sample of Spanish non-financial companies for the period 2005 to 2012, they find a negative impact of corporate social responsibility practices on earnings

management. The authors noted that the results show some increase of accruals for companies with a medium-high profile of CSR activities, and suggested that it may be due to a potential non-linear relationship (maybe quadratic) between CSR and earnings management.

Muttakin and Arifur Khan (2015) examines the relationship between corporate social responsibility (CSR) disclosures and earnings quality proxied by earnings accruals. The independent variable corporate social responsibility is proxied by community, environment, employee, product and service and value-added information. Controlling for

leverage and firm age effects, Ordinary Least Square regression technique reveal that managers in an emerging economy manage earnings when they provide CSR disclosures. Such earnings management is achieved through income increasing discretionary accruals. Furthermore, companies from export-oriented industries dominated by

powerful stakeholders (international buyers) disclosing more CSR activities, provide transparent financial reports through constraining earnings management. The authors suggested that policymakers need to be cautious about opportunistic behavior of managers and enhance monitoring mechanism to enforce social compliance.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Specifically, in this study, *ex-post facto* research design is employed. Kerlinger (1970) notes that *ex post facto* research is one in which inference is drawn from events that has already occurred. The population is made up of all consumer goods firms that are listed on the floor of the Nigerian stock exchange market for the period between 2006 and 2019. As at 31st December, 2019 the total number of listed consumer goods manufacturing companies were eighteen (18) (NSE Factbook, 2019).

Variables

This section defines the dependent, independent, moderator as well as the control variables of interest. Earnings management is the dependent variable with independent variables as corporate social responsibility. In this study, the moderator variable is audit committee gender diversity together with a control variable of firm leverage.

Dependent Variable

In this study we employ discretionary accruals method which is computed as the sum of total accruals and nondiscretionary (Kothari et al. 2005)

Independent Variable

Corporate social responsibility score of a company as provided by MachameRatios in the website CSR database. This CSR score is the weighted average of the scores on five dimensions. Companies obtain a score on their social performance between 0 and 100 with a higher score indicating better performance. The combined value of the five dimensions is denoted in this study as CSR score following the study of Cui et al. (2018).

Moderator Variable

The moderator variable in this study is audit committee gender diversity computed as the ratio of female audit committee members to total audit committee members within a given year.

Control Variable

Firm Leverage is employed as a control variable following the study of Mohamed et al., (2020) and computed as total debt divided by total asset

Method of Data Analyses

In testing the moderating effect of audit committee gender diversity on the relationship between corporate social responsibility and earnings management in Nigeria, first, we conducted some pre-regression analysis which included descriptive and correlation analyses.

Next, we estimated the moderated regression model. The moderation model tests whether the prediction of a dependent variable, Y, from an independent variable, X, differs across levels of a third variable, Z. Moderator variables affect the strength and/or direction of the relationship between a predictor and an outcome: enhancing, reducing, or changing the influence of the predictor (Aiken & West, 1991). Hence, in this study we test whether the moderator variable of audit committee gender diversity affects the and/or direction of the relationship between CSR and earnings management in Nigeria. Furthermore, Gujarati (2003) suggests some critical assumptions that must be met in validating the least square regression estimates. Particularly, some regression diagnostic test which include; test for heteroscedasticity ($P = 0.000$), test for model specification ($P = 0.556$) and test for appropriate functional form ($P = 0.338$) were conducted to improve the credibility of the resulting coefficients. Robust Panel Least Squares regression estimator was employed to test the hypotheses of the study since the diagnostic test revealed that the initial model (Panel Ordinary Least Square POLS) estimator exhibited significant traces of heteroscedasticity. Indicator of the model goodness of fit (F Statistics) was examined with the indicator of parameter significance: probability values (White, 1980). The study specifies the econometric model to reveal the moderating effect of audit committee gender diversity on the relationship between corporate social responsibility and earnings management.

Econometric Model

$$emgt_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 csrscore_{it} + csrscore_{it} * acgendiv + \beta_3 fin_lev_{it} + e_{it}$$

Where:

emgt	=	Earnings Management
csr_score	=	CSR score
acgendiv	=	Audit Committee Gender Diversity
Fin_lev	=	Financial leverage
"{i}"	=	Cross Section (Sample Companies)
"t"	=	Time Frame (2006 to 2019)
e_{it}	=	Stochastic error Term

Descriptive Statistics

The table below presents the descriptive statistics for this study. From the table, it is observed that on average the variable of earnings management (acc_earn) for the firms under consideration is -0.067 with a standard deviation of 0.204. Also, the table show that corporate social responsibility performance (csrscore) during the period is 0.65 which indicates that about 65% of the firms in our sample engaged in corporate social responsibility disclosure. Furthermore, the table suggest that women representation in audit committee team (acgendiv) make up only about 13% which imply that audit committee teams of quoted consumer goods firms in Nigeria are male dominated. For the control variable, we find that firm leverage (fin_lev) reveal an average value of 61.010 with a standard deviation of 27.013 during the period under investigation.

Table 1 Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
acc_earn	158	-.0672595	.2037452	-.985	.698
csrscore	159	.6540843	.2533476	0	1
acgendiv	159	12.7866	15.48389	0	60
fin_lev	160	61.09987	27.01257	-17.15667	224.11

Authors' Computation (2021)

Specifically, the table below reveal that the correlation between the variable of corporate social responsibility disclosure and earnings management is positive (0.1040 or 10%). A closer look at the table also reveals that the association between audit committee gender diversity and earnings management (-0.0583 or -6%). This negative sign is also reflected in the association between the control variable of firm leverage and earnings management (-0.1644 or 16%) during the period under study. Overall, the table show that the correlation coefficients among the variables of interest are less than 0.8, or 80% which is the limit or cut off correlation point commonly suggested by prior studies after which the consequences of multicollinearity is suspected (Gujarati 2003).

Table 2 Correlation Matrix Analysis

Key						
rho						
Number of obs						
Sig. level						
		acc_earn	csrscore	acgendiv	fin_lev	
acc_earn		1.0000				
			157			
csrscore		0.1040	1.0000			
			157	157		
			0.1949			
acgendiv		-0.0583	0.3435	1.0000		
			157	157	157	
			0.4681	0.0000		
fin_lev		-0.1644	0.0982	0.0353	1.0000	
			157	157	157	157
			0.0396	0.2210	0.6603	
Authors' Computation 2021						

Regression Analysis and Discussion

The table below presents the results from ordinary least square estimation techniques and robust standard estimator. The robust standard estimator is adopted after the assumption of homoscedastic in panel least square regression was violated. Furthermore, following the null (Ho) hypothesis of 'no model specification error' (P-value: 0.556) there is an assurance to carry out further analysis.

Table 3 Panel Ordinary Least Square & Robust Standard Error Estimations

	CSR	Audit Committee Gender Diversity	Financial Leverage
POLS Estimator			
Coefficient	0.1567	-0.0007	-0.0014
t_Statistics	(2.20)	(-0.54)	(-2.05)
Probability t	{0.030} **	{0.593}	{0.042} **
Robust SE Estimator			
Coefficient	0.1567	-0.0747	-0.0014
t_Statistics	(2.14)	(-2.65)	(-1.87)
Probability t	{0.034} **	{0.004}	{0.063} *

No. of Obs = 157 F-Statistics (3, 153) = 2.79; Prob.>F = 0.0425

Note: t-statistic and probability statistics are represented in () and {} respectively

Where: * represents 10% & ** represents 5% level of statistical significance

Source: Authors' Computations, 2021

The panel robust standard error estimator is relied upon for interpretation and policy recommendation since it corrects for heteroskedastic assumption which was violated under the ordinary least square estimator (Gujarati, 2003). From the regression results in the table above, the probability of the F statistic (0.0425), is statistically significant at 5% level hence the overall model can be considered as good. Hence the entire model is accepted indicating that the regression model has some explanatory power. The table presents the combined models of unmoderated and moderated variables. The result provided in the table above indicates that the variable of CSR before its moderation had a coefficient of 0.1567, t-statistics of 2.14 and Probability of t = 0.034. This implies a positive statistically significant effect on earnings management at 1% level. This finding is in line with the agency theory Hemingway and Maclagan (2004); Martínez-Ferrero et al. (2016) Mohmed et al. (2020) However, the introduction of the moderating variable of audit committee gender diversity reveals a coefficient of -0.0747, t-statistics of -2.65 and probability of t = 0.004. This implies that audit committee gender diversity significantly moderates the relationship between corporate social

responsibility performance and earnings management during the period under investigation. The negative and significant moderating effect of audit committee gender diversity on the relationship between earnings management and corporate social responsibility as obtained in this study is consistent with the view that female audit committee representative are tougher monitors and they tend to align more with shareholders' interests (Siridhi et al., 2011; Clatworthy & Peel, 2013; Eweje & Brunton, 2010; Halpern, 2000). Hence, the author reiterates that it becomes substantial to believe that the presence of women in audit committees will improve firm's reporting discipline and increase investor confidence in financial statement as they could impact positively on the accuracy of financial information.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The foremost motivation for this study is the fact that so many similar studies carried out in Nigeria have focused on the platonic relationship that exist between corporate social responsibility and earnings management with no similar study taking cognizance of the possible moderating effect of audit committee

characteristics; (gender diversity). **According** to Prior et al. (2008), managers who are engaged in earnings management practices may resort to corporate social responsibility activities to divert the attention of stakeholders from monitoring their opportunistic behaviour, thereby protecting their positions. In this study the author document that more gender diversified audit committee team does infact weaken the opportunistic behavoiurs of such managers. Therefore the author carefully recommend that board of directors of various quoted consumer goods companies in Nigeria should consider admist others corporate governance monitoring policy that will drive more female representationin audit committee team.This policy is capable of unmasking sharp practices (earnings management) been perpetuated by managers. The findings have significant implication for both policy makers, firm managers, and other stakeholders. Insights from the study will help develop policies and when implementedthese policies will strengthen corporate governance structures, especially in underdeveloped markets (such as in Nigeria) protect the interest of shareholders and improve market confidence.

Limitation of Study

No study is without its limitations. I restricted the sample to only consumer goods listed firms in Nigeriawhile other non-financial firms were excluded. Firms operate within the context of society and culture, so it would be interesting for future research to explore the international context. Future related studies may consider how country-specific culture could impact the relationship between CSR and earnings management. More control variables such as firm size and firm growth may be considered as it has shown that firm visibility can incentivise managers oportunistic tendencies.

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PHILOSOPHICAL EVALUATION OF FRANZ FANON RACE AND COLONIAL IMPERIALISM WITHIN THE PRISM OF CURRENT WORLD POLITICS: THE DILEMMA AND CRITICAL ISSUES

By
Abdulrasheed Abdulyakeen

Department of Political Science, Al-Qalam University, Katsina. Katsina State.
Email: abdulrasheedabdulyakeen90@gmail.com; 08033628063

ABSTRACT

The apparent crisis of race and colonial imperialism within world politics and human right issues redefine the philosophical undertone that form the basis behind this paper, hence the paper using the lens of Fanon raises the question for whom the international system works; how politically the opportunities are, why the massive concentration of wealth, power and advantage within some few people. The study treads his philosophical reflections by illustrating and examining his thought on Pan-Africanism, Africana phenomenology and decolonization. Fanon refined, re-emphasized, enriched, updated and strengthened this fundamental element. The paper is analytical and adopted the use of secondary method of data collection. Study reveal that seventyfive years after the founding of the United Nations, human rights and inequalities looks like an insular world unto itself. The prevalence of inequality in global politics has manifested itself and being sustained through the contradictions emanating from capitalist development. It has perpetuated class antagonism which breeds dissatisfaction amongst the global south in a bid to seek equality and justice in the distribution of power and economic resources. The paper submits that Global south is bogged down by some institutional bureaucratic, technical, economic, psychological, structural; and legal problems. It is not participatory in nature and tends to alienate her key state holders. A way out of this is to create mechanism to open up more equitable access to power and economic opportunities which could lead to full capacity utilization of peoples potential.

Keyword: Fanon, Race and Colonial Imperialism, World Politics, Human Right, Inequality.

Introduction

The history of civilization is replete with the substantial contributions made by philosophers in advancing positive social change. Philosophical ideas are dynamics which can explode, shatter things and bring about a radical transformation of structures. African political thinkers perceived race and colonial-imperialism as common problems requiring a coordinated strategy on a continent wide-scale. From the forgoing it becomes a challenge to philosophers of all ages to put forward philosophical ideas that will guide the moral behavior of individuals as well as influence public life. Globalization in world politics in the present third world stand stranded bemused and apparently confused by myriads of influences and values that daily confront it in every facet of life is supported by Fanon, Amin, and Nkrumah...Chinonye,

(2007).

Most “developing” or “underdeveloped” countries show high levels of inequality. Likewise, both in developing and developed countries, increases in inequality are often accompanied by decline in the levels of development. To what extent is this fact a simple coincidence? Are underdevelopment and inequality two sides of the same coin? Is inequality a consequence of under development, or one of its causes? A detailed analysis of the data shows that income inequality is not only a symptom but also a cause of low levels of human development. Fighting inequality, therefore, is also working towards development. During the last decades we have seen how inequality has risen in many countries of the world. Should these increases in inequality worry us? If so, should they worry us just for a matter of social justice, or for

something else?

At the World Economic Forum meeting convened in Davos in January 2017, headlines were dominated by report from Oxfam presented updated figures showing that the eight richest billionaires in the world controlled more wealth than the poorest 50 percent of the world's total population (Deborah, 2017). The corresponding figure for 2016 had been the 62 richest people, revealing an acceleration of inequality over the year stemming mainly from increase in poverty levels in China and India (Oxfam, 2016). The World Investment Report, published by the United Nations Commission on Trade and Development estimates that around 80 percent of global trade now flows through Global Value Chains (GVCs) led by Transnational Corporations (TNCs) United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTA, 2013). International organization tell us that dramatic progress was made in the alleviation of extreme poverty between 1990 and 2015, estimating that over that period the number of people living in extreme poverty (defined as income of US\$ 1.25 a day or less) fell by slightly more than half of the 1990 figure to under 10 percent of the global population (World Bank, 2012). However, these aggregate figures hide the very uneven nature of improvement across the world. Outside China, progress has been patchy and an overall decline in extreme poverty has not been sufficient to reduce the total number of people living in such conditions. Perhaps most significantly, while there has been a drop in extreme poverty. There has been much less progress in poverty in general: in fact, between 1981 and 2008 the number of people living on daily incomes between the \$1.25 extreme poverty line and the \$2 per day, poverty line doubled (World Bank, 2012).

The apparent crisis of race and colonial imperialism within world politics and human right issues redefine the philosophical undertone that form the basis behind this paper, hence the paper using the lens of Fanon raises the question for whom the system works; how politically the opportunities are, why the massive concentration of wealth, power and advantage within some few people. Fanon was

among the African philosopher who saw the society as all human beings being equal and no one is indispensable, inferiority complex due to an imposed racial identity. Fanon's ideas were influenced by scholar like Aimé Césaire, studies from works of Hegel Marx & Husserl which shaped his ideologies in Africa. He was one of a few extraordinary thinkers supporting the decolonization struggles occurring after World War II, and he remains among the most widely read and influential of these voices. His brief life was notable both for his whole-hearted engagement in the independence struggle the Algerian people waged against France and for his astute, passionate analyses of the human impulse towards freedom in the colonial context. His written works have become central texts in African thought, in large part because of their attention to the roles hybridity and colonization can play in forming humanist, anti-colonial cultures. Hybridity, in particular, is seen as a counter-hegemonic opposition to colonial practices, a non-assimilationist way of building connections across cultures that African scholar Paget Henry argues is constitutive of African political philosophy. "His writing is as stylistically powerful and intellectually compelling as that of Thomas Paine Should be of great interest to anyone studying colonialism, nationalism, and the current history of the Afro-Asian world.

The global politics today is generally defined by the legal framework of fundamental and universal rights of individuals and states. The rights of nation-states are glaringly defined by the international law, the rights and duties of citizens in every state have also been defined by the constitution of the state. But there are some basic rights that are inalienable which are also called universal human rights, meaning that every human being possesses such rights irrespective of where he comes from, what race, religion, gender and history. But it is also clear that these rights in contemporary world system and global politics are subject to aberration and abuse, hence the attempts by legal practitioners all over the world to rise against all odds in fighting the abuse of universal human rights. For example, Representatives of big business occupy seats in

parliament's and congresses around the world, and use lobbying power to secure favorable legislation; their leverage is very strong over national governments in general and particularly over those whose bargaining power is weak. Arguments about political incentives against regulation are just as relevant to the more advanced economies, as in the so-called developing world, where political dynamics between governments and big business, as well as ideological affinities between them have substantially the same outcomes in terms of a retraction of regulation. Similarly, a recent body of research associated with the generation of the United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights involved a survey of around 90 contracts for large scale investment projects, which revealed that a majority of these drawn up with countries outside the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) contained provisions to insulate or exempt investor forms from national governments for the costs involved in complying with such legislation (Frederick et al, 2017).

A monumental body of scholarly research has traced trends in inequality overtime and across the world engaging in empirical and theoretical work seeking to understand the drivers behind these vast socio-economic disparities, which some time ago Fanon rightly described in phenomenology, glossed as a critical race discourse (an analysis of the pre-conscious forces shaping the self that organizes itself around race as a founding category). My contribution to this effort here focuses on a dimension of the picture which has received surprisingly little attention, namely, the implications for socio-economic inequality and human right violation in world politics that has come to underpin the contemporary global economy. This paper employing expository and critical methods with regard to the existing situation and consequent problems, frowns at the inequality in the international stage and human right issues by proffering recommendations.

Frantz Fanon's Biography

Frantz Fanon was born in the French colony of

Martinique on July 20, 1925. His family occupied a social position within Martinican society that could reasonably qualify them as part of the black bourgeoisie; *Frantz's father, Casimir Fanon*, was a customs inspector and his mother, *Eléano.re Médélice*, owned a hardware store in downtown Fort-de-France, the capital of Martinique. Members of this social stratum tended to strive for assimilation, and identification, with white French culture. Fanon was raised in this environment, learning France's history on his own, until his high school years when he first encountered the philosophy of negritude, taught to him by *Aimé Césaire, Martinique's* other renowned critic of European colonization. Politicized, and torn between the assimilationism of Martinique's middle class and the preoccupation with racial identity that negritude promotes, Fanon left the colony in '943, at the age of 18, to fight with the Free French forces in the waning days of World War II. Sekyi-Out (1996). Martin (2012).

After the war, he stayed in France to study psychiatry and medicine at university in Lyons. Here, he encountered bafflingly simplistic anti-black racism so different from the complex, class-permeated distinctions of shades of lightness and darkness one finds in the Caribbean which would so enrage him that he was inspired to write "An Essay for the Disalienation of Blacks," the piece of writing that would eventually become *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (1952). It was here too that he began to explore the Marxist and existentialist ideas that would inform the radical departure from the assimilation-negritude dichotomy that *Peau Noire's* anti-racist humanism inaugurates.

Although he briefly returned to the Caribbean after he finished his studies, he no longer felt at home there and in 1953, after a stint in Paris, he accepted a position as chef de service (chief of staff) for the psychiatric ward of the Blida-Joinville hospital in Algeria. The following year, 1954, marked the eruption of the Algerian war of independence against France, an uprising directed by the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) and brutally repressed by French armed forces. Working in a French hospital, Fanon was increasingly responsible

for treating both the psychological distress of the soldiers and officers of the French army who carried out torture in order to suppress anti-colonial resistance and the trauma suffered by the Algerian torture victims. Already alienated by the homogenizing effects of French imperialism, by 1956 Fanon realized he could not continue to aid French efforts to put down a decolonization movement that commanded his political loyalties, and he resigned his position at the hospital (Gibson, 1999). (Olga, 2013).

Once he was no longer officially working for the French government in Algeria, Fanon was free to devote himself to the cause of Algerian independence. During this period, he was based primarily in Tunisia where he trained nurses for the FLN edited its newspaper *el Moujahid*, and contributed articles about the movement to sympathetic publications, including *Presence Africaine* and *Jean-Paul Sartre's journal Les Temps Modernes*. Some of Fanon's writings from this period were published posthumously in 1964 as *Pour La Revolution Africaine* (Toward the African Revolution). In 1959 Fanon published a series of essays, *L'Année de la Révolution Algérienne*, (The Year of the Algerian Revolution) which detail how the oppressed natives of Algeria organized themselves into a revolutionary fighting force. That same year, he took up a diplomatic post in the provisional Algerian government, ambassador to Ghana, and used the influence of this position to help open up supply routes for the Algerian army. It was in Ghana that Fanon was diagnosed with leukemia which causes his death. In spite of his rapidly failing health, Fanon spent ten months of his last year of life writing the book for which he would be most remembered, *Les Damnés de la Terre*, an indictment of the violence and savagery of colonialism which he ends with a passionate call for a new history of humanity to be initiated by a decolonized Third World. In October 1961, Fanon was brought to the United States by a CIA agent so that he could receive treatment at a National Institutes of Health facility in Bethesda, Maryland. He died two months later, on December 6, 1961, reportedly still preoccupied with the cause of liberty and justice for the peoples of the Third

World. At the request of the FLN, his body was returned to Tunisia, where it was subsequently transported across the border and buried in the soil of the Algerian nation for which he fought so single-mindedly during the last five years of his life (Martin, 2012).

Background to Fanon's Political Philosophy

Its altruism that an individual's political thinking is conditioned in part by his environment and in part by his psychological make-up. This is no less true of Fanon who was influenced by the philosophy of negritude to which he was introduced by *Aimé Césaire*. Although this philosophy of black pride was a potent counterbalance to the assimilation tendencies into which Fanon had been socialized, it was ultimately an inadequate response to an imperializing culture that presents itself as a universal worldview. Far more fruitful, in Fanon's view, were his studies in France of Hegel, Marx, and Husserl. From these sources he developed the view that dialectic could be the process through which the bothered / alienated self can respond to racist trauma in a healthy way, sensitivity to the social and economic forces that shape human beings, and an appreciation for the pre-conscious construction of self that phenomenology can reveal. He also found Sartre's existentialism a helpful resource for theorizing the process of self-construction by which each of us chooses to become the persons we are. This relation with Sartre appears to have been particularly mutually beneficial; Sartre's existentialism permeates *Peau Noire* and in turn, Sartre's heartfelt and radical commitment to decolonization suggests that Fanon had quite an influence on him (Martin, 2012).

Tracing the development of his writings helps explain how and why he has become an inspirational figure firing the moral imagination of people who continue to work for social justice for the marginalized and the oppressed. Fanon's first work *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (Black Skin White Masks) (1952) was his stressed in the effort to articulate a radical anti-racist humanism that adhered neither to assimilation to a white-supremacist mainstream nor to reactionary

philosophies of black superiority (p.5). While the attention to oppression of colonized peoples that was to dominate his later works was present in this first book, its call for a new understanding of humanity was undertaken from the subject-position of a relatively privileged Martinican citizen of France, in search of his own place in the world as a black man from the French Caribbean, living in France. His later works, notably *L'AnCinq, de la Révolution Algérienne* (A Dying colonialism) (1959) and the much more well-known *Les Damnés de la Terre* (The Wretched of the Earth) (1961), go beyond a preoccupation with Europe's pretensions to being a universal standard of culture and civilization, in order to take on the struggles and take up the consciousness of the colonized "natives" as they rise up and reclaim simultaneously their lands and their human dignity. It is Fanon's expansive conception of humanity and his decision to craft the moral core of decolonization theory as a commitment to the individual human dignity of each member of populations typically dismissed as "the masses" that stands as his enduring legacy.

Race and Colonial-Imperialism

Africa had been bedeviled by contending forces of liberalism and conservatism. By the time of World War II, the politics of plaintive nationalism had not succeeded. The demands of the colonized had not been met by the colonizer for two basic reasons. First, the demands presupposed racial equality between the colonizer and the colonized; because the colonizer believed in white superiority, the colonized had to justify his culture. Second, the demands could not be met by the colonizer without denying colonialism and imperialism which the colonizer had to maintain and augment. In other words, the colonizer could not give the colonized the rights of man and at the same time maintain the colonized (Ajom, 2007).

Therefore, the history of African political thought will be incomplete without nothing even briefly the reactions against the phenomena of nationalism and Nationalists Movement (Ogueri, 1978). Among the political thinkers closely associated with the

above were (Fanon, 1983) The ordeal of the Black Man which he explains why Africans tend to accept the Europeans nonsensical claim that Africans are (Awolowo, 1947) argument for Empire is a critique of the justifications of British imperialism, whose aims are the attainment of Britain ends. Lumumba (1962) argues the pros and cons of Belgian imperialism in Africa; he examines the economic and humanitarian claims of Belgian colonial-imperialism and rejects its racial basis. Nyerere (1969) gave account of racial conflicts in colonial East Africa, which is an appeal for the creation of a multi-racial society and a rejection of white supremacy. Busia (1962) treats the same problem as Nyerere in the Ghanaian context. Mondlane (1975) gives an account of race relations in Mozambique, but unlike Lumumba, argues that in spite of Portuguese claims of racial tolerance their colonial imperialism was predicated by racial considerations. A similar thesis is advanced by Wina (1975) who discusses racism in colonial Central Africa (what is now Zambia, Malawi and Rhodesia). Mboya (1962) explains the nature of colonial-imperialism in Kenya and the political uses of African trade unions in colonial Kenya. There was therefore a clear need for a political thought in Africa during this time because "practice without thought is blind; thought without practice is empty" (Nkrumah, 1962, Mutiso & Rohio, 1975).

Franz Fanon Philosophy on Race and Colonial-Imperialism

Fanon's Political Thought on Africa

Fanon (1967) eloquently calls for a new and original African political thought. According to him the African Political thought should be developed outside of Europe's beaten tracks. *"We today can do everything so long as we do not imitate Europe, so long as we are not obsessed by the desire to catch up with Europe Let us decide not to imitate Europe; let us combine our muscles and our brains in a new direction... if we wish to live up to our peoples' expectations, we must seek the solution elsewhere than in Europe We must turn over a new leaf; we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man"*.

The central theme of his political thought centered on the fact that any liberation movement (or government) should have a specific doctrine, clearly defined goals and objectives, and some kind of blueprint: things must be explained to (the people); the people see where they are going, and how they are to get there A program is necessary for a government which really wants to free the people politically and socially In fact, there must be an idea of man and of the future of humanity (Martin, 2012).

Fanon opined that the great danger that threatens the African cultural heritage and political system is due to the absence of ideology. His populist approach implies a particular conception of democracy: "the national government if it wants to be national ought to govern by the people and for the people, for the outcasts and by the outcasts" Fanon's populist conception of democracy is based on three basic elements; **accountability, decentralization, and political education.** According to Fanon, the single party in post-colonial Africa has become an instrument of power, privilege, coercion and personal advancement in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. To him, the ideal political party should be "an instrument in the hands of the people", it should also be "the direct expression of the masses... the energetic spokesman and the incorruptible defender of the masses and an organism through which the people exercise their authority and express their will" (Gibson, 1999).

Fanon pointed out that the concept of neo-colonialism is linked with that of "false decolonization". False decolonization is a process whereby political power is transferred from the colonial authorities in the metropolis to the national bourgeoisie in the former colonies, while economic power remains firmly entrenched in the former colonists. Thus political and juridical independence-or flag independence does not necessarily lead to economic independence. To him, a true decolonization is a state whereby African countries achieve economic independence through a process of autonomous self-centered and self-reliant development, which come within the framework of regional or sub

regional groupings.

According to Fanon (1967), African Unity can only be achieved through a bottom up people-driven process, and under the leadership of people which is contrary to the interest of bourgeoisie. He also called on "independent African States" as well to establish a "United states of Africa". Indeed, they share the same idea with Kwame Nkrumah. He advocate that, in order for popular democracy and development to entrench in Africa, the African People, leaders and scholars should stop blindly following the west, imitating the western culture, tradition, ideas and institution they must think "outside the box" and above all, they must be bold and innovative and develop their own ideas, concepts and institutions based on African culture, values and traditions.

Africana Phenomenology

Fanon's (1967) contribution to phenomenology, glossed as a critical race discourse (an analysis of the pre-conscious forces shaping the self that organizes itself around race as a founding category), most particularly his exploration of the existential challenges faced by black human beings in a social world that is constituted for white human beings, receives its most explicit treatment in *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs*. The central metaphor of this book, that black people must wear "white masks" in order to get by in a white world, is reminiscent of W.E.B. Du Bois' argument that African Americans develop a double consciousness living under a white power structure: one that flatters that structure (or some such) and one experienced when among other African Americans. Fanon's treatment of the ways black people respond to a social context. that racializes them at the expense of our shared humanity ranges across a broader range of cultures than Du Bois, however; Fanon examines how race shapes (deforms) the lives of both men and women in the French Caribbean, in France, and in colonial conflicts in Africa. Africana sociologist Paget Henry characterizes Fanon's relation to Du Bois in the realm. of phenomenology as one of extension and of clarification, since he offers a more detailed

investigation of how the self-encounters the trauma of being categorized by others as inferior due to an imposed racial identity and how that self can recuperate a sense of identity and a cultural affiliation that is independent of the racist project of an imperializing dominant culture.

Fanon dissects in all of his major works the racist and colonizing project of white European culture, that is, the totalizing, hierarchical worldview that needs to set up the black human being as “negro” so it has an “other” against which to define itself. While *Peau Noire* offers a sustained discussion of the psychological dimensions of this “negrification” of human beings and possibilities of resistance to it, the political dimensions are explored in *L'AnCinq, de la Révolution Algérienne* and *Les Damnés de la Terre*. Fanon's diagnosis of the psychological dimensions of negrification's phenomenological violence documents its traumatizing effects: first, negrification promotes negative attitudes toward other blacks and Africa; second, it normalizes attitudes of desire and debasement toward Europe, white people, and white culture in general; and finally, it presents itself as such an all-encompassing way of being in the world that no other alternative appears to be possible. The difficulty of overcoming the sense of alienation that negrification sets UI) as necessary for the black human being lies in learning to see oneself not just as envisioned and valued (that is, devalued) by the white dominant culture but simultaneously through a perspective constructed both in opposition to and independently from the racist / racialized mainstream, a parallel perspective in which a black man or woman's value judgments of oneself and of others of one's race do not have to be filtered through white norms and values. It is only through development of this later perspective that the black man or woman can shake off the psychological colonization that racist phenomenology imposes, Fanon argues. One of the most pervasive agents of phenomenological conditioning is language. In *Peau Noire*, Fanon analyzes language as that which carries and reveals racism in culture, using as an example the symbolism of

whiteness and blackness in the French language a point that translates equally well into English linguistic habits. One cannot learn and speak this language, Fanon asserts, without subconsciously accepting the cultural meanings embedded in equations of purity with whiteness and malevolence with blackness: to be white is to be good, and to be black is to be bad. While *Peau Noire* focuses on the colonizing aspects of the French language, *L'AnCinq*, on the other hand, offers an interesting account of how language might enable decolonization efforts. Fanon describes a decision made by the revolutionary forces in Algeria in 1956 to give up their previous boycott of French and instead start using it as the lingua franca that could unite diverse communities of resistance, including those who did not speak Arabic. The subversive effects of adopting French extended beyond the convenience of a common language; it also cast doubt on the simplistic assumption the French colonizers had been making, namely, that all French speakers in Algeria were loyal to the colonial government. After strategically adopting the colonizer's language, one entered a shop or a government office no longer necessarily announcing one's politics in one's choice of language (Fanon, 1959, 1967).

Fanon's (1961, 1967) critical race phenomenology is not without its critics, many of whom read. *Peau Noire's* back-to-back accounts of the black woman's desire for a white lover and the black man's desire for a white lover as misogynistic. According to these critiques, typically offered from a feminist point of view, the autobiography of *Mayotte Capécia*, a Martinican woman who seeks the love of a white man, any white man it seems, is treated by Fanon (who describes it as “cut-rate” and “ridiculous”) with far less respect than the novel by *René Maran*, which describes the story of Jean Veneuse, a black man who reluctantly falls in love with a white Frenchwoman and hesitates to marry her until he is urged to do so by her brother. Although Fanon is unequivocal in his statement that both of these discussions serve as examples of “alienated psyches,” white feminists who make this charge of misogyny point to his less sympathetic account of *Capécia* as evidence

that he holds black women complicit in the devaluing of blackness. Where it is found at all in the work of black feminist writers, this allegation tends to be more tentative, and tends to be contextualized within a pluralist inventory of phenomenological approaches. Just as Fanon selects race as the founding category of phenomenology, a feminist phenomenology would focus on gender as a founding category. In this pluralist framework, Fanon's attention to race at the expense of gender is arguably more explicable as a methodological choice than a deep-seated contempt for women.

Decolonization Theory

The political dimensions of negritude that call for decolonization receive fuller treatment in *L'AnCinq, de la Révolution Algérienne et Les Damnés de la Terre*. But Fanon does not simply diagnose the political symptoms of the worldview within which black men and women are dehumanized. He situates his diagnosis within an unambiguous ethical commitment to the equal right of every human being to have his or her human dignity recognized by others. This assertion, that all of us are entitled to moral consideration and that no one is dispensable, is the principled core of his decolonization theory, which continues to inspire scholars and activists dedicated to human rights and social justice (Flopp & Tracey, 2010).

As the French title suggests, *L'AnCinq* (published in English as *A Dying Colonialism*) is Fanon's first-hand account of how the Algerian people mobilized themselves into a revolutionary fighting force and repelled the French colonial government. The lessons that other aspiring revolutionary movements can learn from Fanon's presentation of the FLN's strategies and tactics are embedded in their particular Algerian context, but nonetheless evidently adaptable. In addition to describing the FLN's strategic adoption of French as the language of communication with its sympathetic civilian population, Fanon also traces the interplay of ideological and pragmatic choices they made about communications technology. Once the French started suppressing newspapers, the FLN had

to rethink their standing boycott of radios, which they had previously denounced as the colonizer's technology. This led to the creation of a nationalist radio station, the Voice of Fighting Algeria that now challenged colonial propaganda with what Fanon described, as "the first words of the nation." Another of the fundamental challenges they issued to the colonial world of division and hierarchy was the radically inclusive statement the provisional government made that all people living in Algeria would be considered citizens of the new nation. This was a bold contestation of European imperialism on the model of Haiti's first constitution (1805), which attempted to break down hierarchies of social privilege based on skin color by declaring that all Haitian citizens would be considered black. Both the Algerian and Haitian declarations are powerful decolonizing moves because they undermine the very Manichean structure that Fanon identifies as the foundation of the colonial world (Fanon, 1961).

While *L'AnCinq* offers the kinds of insights one might hope for from a historical document, *Les Damnés de la Terre* is a more abstract analysis of colonialism and revolution. It has been described as a handbook for black revolution. The book ranges over the necessary role Fanon thinks violence must play in decolonization struggles, the false paths decolonizing nations take when they entrust their eventual freedom to negotiations between a native elite class and the former colonizers instead of mobilizing the masses as a popular fighting force, the need to recreate a national culture through a revolutionary arts and literature movement, and an inventory of the psychiatric disorders that colonial repression unleashes. Part of its shocking quality, from a philosophical perspective, is alluded to in the preface that Jean-Paul Sartre wrote for the book: it speaks the language of philosophy and deploys the kind of Marxist and Hegelian arguments one might expect in a philosophy of liberation, but it does not speak to the West. It is Fanon conversing with, advising, his fellow Third-World revolutionaries (Flopp & Tracey, 2010). The controversy that swirls around *Les Damnés* is very different from the one *Peau Noire* attracts. Where feminist critiques of

Peau Noire require a deep reading and an analysis of the kinds of questions Fanon failed to ask, those who find fault with *Les Damnés* for what they see as its endorsement of violent insurgency are often reading Fanon's words too simplistically. His argument is not that decolonizing natives are justified in using violent means to affect their ends; the point he is making in his opening chapter, "Concerning Violence," is that violence is a fundamental element of colonization, introduced by the colonizers and visited upon the colonized as part of the colonial oppression. The choice concerning violence that the colonized native must make, in Fanon's view, is between continuing to accept it absorbing the abuse or displacing it upon other members of the oppressed native community or taking this foreign violence and throwing it back in the face of those who initiated it. Fanon's consistent existentialist commitment to choosing one's character through one's actions means that decolonization can only happen when the native takes up his or her responsible subject hood and refuses to occupy the position of violence- absorbing passive victim (Fanon, 1961, 1965, Sekyi-Out, 1996).

An Appraisal of Franz Fanon Philosophy on Race and Colonial-Imperialism within the Prism of World Politics and Human Right Issues

The pan-Africanism that Fanon understood himself to be contributing to in his work on behalf of Third World peoples never really materialized as a political movement. It must be remembered that in Fanon's day, the term "Third World" did not have the meaning it has today. Where today it designates a collection of desperately poor countries that are the objects of the developed world's charity, in the 1950s and 1960s, the term indicated the hope an emerging alternative to political alliance with either the First World (the United States and Europe) or the Second World (the Soviet bloc). The attempt to generate political solidarity and meaningful political power among the newly independent nations of Africa instead foundered as these former colonies fell victim to precisely the sort of false decolonization and

client-statism that Fanon had warned against. Fanon (1962) was among the African philosopher who saw the society as all human beings being equal and no one is indispensable, inferiority complex due to an imposed racial identity

Freedom and Equality

While considering the United Nations universal declaration of human rights, it has been established that:

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood...Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it is independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any limitation of sovereignty.

The issue of human beings being born free presupposes economic, social, political and cultural freedom. But men in their states are not free based on the items mentioned above. One cannot argue that in a global capitalist system, men and women are the same. People are not equal even in dignity and the rights they are supposed to enjoy. This is also manifest not only in societies where dictatorship is pronounced, but even in the so called advanced or developed nations. In the United States, there is this issue of racism, discrimination and the feeling that the whites are superior in terms of dignity and other essential services provided by the state for the citizens to enjoy. The increase inequality in the United States over the last 25 years (during which the income of the poorest 20 percent of households has fallen in real terms by about 15 percent) has been

blamed rightly or wrongly on changes in trade, technology and migration patterns associated with increasing economic integration with other countries (Birdsall, 1999). For developing countries any risk of increasing inequality associated with active participation in the global economy is even greater if only because of the greater inherent institutional weakness associated with being poor. Latin America, Africa has a special disadvantage; its historical legacy of already high in inequality. Inequality that is already high complicates the task of effective conflict management which Fanon (1962) has just reminded us is a critical input to managing open economies.

In the past, for example, high inequality combined with the politics of redistribution led to periodic bouts of populism in Latin America and Africa. Ineffective and counterproductive effort to manage the conflicts provoked by the dangerous combination of high inequality and hard time. Western financial institutions are now playing the dual roles of consultant and executor of African economic development programs. Unable to pay their debts, most African states are compelled to seek various forms of debt relief and to implement Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). But through various forms of conditionality, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank dictate the economic and social policies of these African states. The widespread adoption of SAPs and their implementation have brought into sharp focus the contradictions in the African political economies, and have exacerbated social inequalities; with a concentration of wealth in the hands of a few while the majority lives in poverty. However, after years of wrangling, agreement was reached by the G8 at Gleneagles, Scotland, on writing off most of the debt of some 38 'highly indebted poor countries, including those owed to the IMF and World Bank. But so far, only around fifteen African states have qualified for full debt relief (Adogomhe, 2008).

Moreover, the IMF and the World Bank till date are still insisting on African countries to devalue their currencies. For example, the IMF suggested that Tunisia Dinar must weaken further this year if the North African country is

to boost exports and revive an economy battered by political upheaval since its 2011 uprising (Bloomberg, 2018). Furthermore, many African countries out of no option have been adopting and implementing such policies of devaluation of currencies. For example, Malawi devaluing kwacha by 33% in 2012 as the part of moves by the then government to restore donor funding the former government rejected (Tenthani, 2012). Egypt also devalues its currency by 48% in 2016 to meet up IMF demands for \$12 Billion loan (Guardian, November, 2016). Ethiopia through its National Bank announced the devaluation of the country's currency the Birr by 15% in 2017 (Shaban, 2017).

Recent evidence shows that trade liberalization leads to growing wage gap between the educated and uneducated, not only in the OECD countries, but in the developing countries. Between 1991 and 1995 wage gaps increased for six of seven countries of Latin America for which we have good wage data. Philips (2017) argues that the risk of privatization arise because developing and transitional economies almost by definition are handicapped by relatively weak institutions less well-established rule of transparency and often, not only high concentrations of economic and political power but a high correlation between those two areas of power. These conditions combine to make it difficult indeed to manage the privatization process in a manner that is not disequalizing (Frederick, 2017). In the same vain, financial liberalization on the one hand, there is little doubt that low middle-income consumers and small medium business were the biggest losers in the 1980s, with the repressed banking systems of Latin America. Controls on interest rate reduced their access to any credit at all, and government-run credit allocation favoured small enterprises only on paper. Similarly, arrangements almost surely penalized the middle class and the power in Africa. In the medium term, elimination of financial repression and increased competition of a modern and liberalized financial sector will increase access to credit for small enterprises and raises the return to the banking deposits which are the principal vehicle for small saver. The advantage for small business in turn is

likely to generate more good jobs and raise wages for the working poor (Fredrick, 2017). However, in the short turn at least, financial liberalization tends to help those must, who already have assets, increasing the concentration of wealth which undergirds in the medium term a high concentration of income. For one thing, liberalization increases the potential returns to new and more risky instruments for those who can afford a diversified portfolio and therefore risk, and who have access to information and the relatively lower transacting costs that education and well-informed college provide. In Latin America with repeated bouts of inflation and currency devaluations in there last several decades, the ability of those with more financial assets to move them abroad (often while accumulating corporate and bank debt that has been socialized and thus eventually repaid by taxpayers) has been particularly disequalising. In Mexico between 1986 and 1996 small savers who kept their assets in bank savings accounts lost about 50 percent. While those able to invest in equity instruments realized modest gains. Those who moved their assets into dollars or dollars-indexed instruments before the 1994-95 devaluation, did best of all in terms of local purchasing power(Garry, 2014).

Security and Slavery

The United Nations universal declaration on human rights has clearly stated the freedom of man to life, security and be free from all sorts of enslavement. But the case in the world today is quite contrary to these provisions. People die innocently as a result of the absence of security. Insecurity sometimes arises as a result of economic problems, war and conquest. People that are hungry may create havoc and violence that may lead to the death of many. In terms of wars caused by selfish interest of politicians and state actors, people lose their lives as a result of such selfish interest of politicians and state actors. The United Nations believes that:

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person...No one shall be held in slavery or servitude: slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms....No

one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment....All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law...All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

The global awareness on international law as well as the universal human rights has virtually increased, but the increment goes hand in hand with an increase in the violation of these rights. Some countries are really fighting slavery, child labor and child sex, while some are not doing much to fight the trend. It is against this backdrop that Olga (2013) wrote:

China, Russia, and Uzbekistan have been named among the worst offenders when it comes to human trafficking, according to a State Department report released Wednesday, joining Iran, North Korea. Cuba, Sudan and Zimbabwe on the bottom "tier" of the U.S. human trafficking rank. Their lower designation means the U.S. may sanction those countries with measures like cancelling non-humanitarian and military assistance, ending exchange visits for government officials and violating against any IMF or World Bank loans.

The institutional structure and decision-making procedures of the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) has proven to be one of the most difficult challenges of the last decades, while it is the institution that has probably been faced with the most vociferous calls for reform. Although there have been changes to the informal ways in which outside actors are drawn into the UNSC's work and activities, many of the major players in the

current international system seem to be deprived from equal treatment in its core patterns of decision-making. Countries such as Brazil, Germany, India and Japan, alongside emerging African nations such as Nigeria and South Africa, are among the states eager to secure permanent representation on the Council.

At the international level, transnational capital uses investment strikes and capital flight as instruments of coercion against leaders of states in the global South. The rulers of these states on their own part use state apparatus of coercion to dispose of any dissidence resulting from their unpopular policies. There are examples to show how problems are caused in the states of the South as transnational capital dominates their affairs. Argentina and Mexico are popular examples of what external domination does to local economic activities. McMichael (1996), report of the effects of external domination in Mexico. On the eve of implementing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), The Mexican peasants rose to protest the undermining of traditional peasant agricultural life. Indeed the compulsions saw NAFTA as a consummation of the structural adjustment introduced in 1992, which had damaged life in rural areas of Mexico. Apart from the threat to take over of peasant lands, trade liberalization further damaged the life of the peasant farmers who could not compete with corn farmers of the USA. For example, who now had free entry into Mexican corn market. Thus the Chiapas rebellion of 1994 was a metaphor on the nature of their relation between Mexico and the USA. The latter was clearly in a position of dominance, while the later was subjected to exploitation (UNCTD, 2013).

The Right to Religious Belief

The United Nations now has recognized people with religious belief to be free from any form of discrimination, persecution or marginalization. The universal declaration says:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or

in community with others and in public or private to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

This right has been globally violated when we consider the level of existence of other religions especially in the United States and Europe, the existence of other religions in Asia and the Middle East. Religion as a belief system flourishes all over the world through all civilizations and empires. The prophets of God who preached for the total submission to the will of God lived among people with different religious belief. Any move or attempt to deny people of their right to religious belief is therefore violating the United Nations universal declaration on human right.

According to (Nicholas, 2020) new research shows religious discrimination is on the rise around the world. There is a theory that despite all the commotion, religious freedom faces no significant threat in Western democracies like Australia. A major international study challenges this idea. Bar-Ilan University's Jonathan Fox has undertaken a painstaking analysis of the incidence of religious discrimination around the world. Fox (2020) writes that while many assume the liberal democracies of the West are the strongest bastions of religious freedom in the world, the evidence simply does not support this claim. For a start, he points out Western democracies such as France, Germany and Switzerland engage in more government-based religious discrimination than many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He bases his conclusions on a data set recording the treatment of 771 religious minorities in 183 countries between 1990 and 2014. The data set distinguishes 35 types of government-based religious discrimination. These include restrictions on the construction of religious buildings, control on religious literature and prohibitions on chaplaincy services in prisons. Fox (2020) found that in 162 countries, government-based religious discrimination was perpetrated against 574 of the minorities at some point during the study period globally increased by almost 25%. He found out that socially-based religious discrimination in

employment, vandalism of places of worship, harassment on public transport and outright violence. Jews are the minority most likely to suffer from these sorts of discrimination, but religious minorities of all kinds are subjected to it in particular countries. From 1990 to 2014, the prevalence of social discrimination increased globally by almost 30%. Outright violence, which is the most shocking form of social discrimination, tragically increased by more than 50% (Fox, 2020).

For example, Muslim-majority states on average engage in the highest levels of government-based religious discrimination, there is also a wide diversity. There is a cluster of Muslim-majority states in West Africa that are among the most tolerant in the world. Among Christian-majority states, the data suggests it is important to distinguish between Christian Orthodox-majority states and the others. Orthodox –majority states are the second most likely type of state to engage in government-based religious discrimination. Catholic and Protestant-majority states are much less likely to do so. Fox (2020) speculates one cause of this may be developments in particular strands of Protestant and Catholic thought that are strongly supportive of religious freedom.

Participation and Democracy

Political participation envisages the direct or indirect involvement of the citizenry in the process of leadership or governance of the society. Participation is direct when the citizens physically participate, it is also indirect when representatives are chosen by the citizens to make, executive and interpret the laws on behalf of them. From the UN submission under the universal declaration is that:

Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held

by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

From the above declaration, it can be understood that, periodic elections are not usually held in many states in the world today, for nations are still practicing monarchical system and some are dictators. The important point to note here is that, periodic elections should also be free and fair, but what is seen in the global system today is self-succession and perpetuation. It is also in line with this argument that Diamond (2005) argues:

The last quarter of the twentieth century witnessed the greatest expansion of democracy in the history of the world. If we define democracy in the minimal sense, as a system of government in which the principal positions of political power are filled through regular, free, and fair elections, then about three of every five independent states in the world are democracies today. In the judgments of Freedom House, there were 121 democracies in the world at the end of 2001-the highest number in history. Some of these regimes possibly as many as seventeen may be better classified as “competitive authoritarian.” In the sense that elections, while competitive are either not free and fair or do not confer on those elected full power to rule.”

Political participation and democratic values have continued to flourish all over the world as a result of western pontification of the concept of democracy and the perpetual of the world society as democratic states and axis of evil. But it is not ideal to accept quantity than quality because the quality of democracies today, is questionable. Most countries in world system today only claim to be democratic but by its veritable tenets they are not democratic. Many states in Africa, Asia Latin America and the Caribbean are quasi-democratic. Some countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia

are far away from being democratic despite the fact that they conduct elections. Such elections are not free and fair and the process of the electioneering is also undemocratic (Ibrahim and Cheri, 2013).

If ideas change the world and philosophical ideas are catalyst of social positive change, the time has come therefore for global south to justify the assertion of Fanon's to provide the hub for this social re-engineering, to articulate urgently his philosophical ideas to keep a float the sinking Global south.

Secondly, Fanon philosophy on race and imperialism also advanced equality for better system of government which safeguards freedom and human right, peace and security in the human society, as well as economic progress and well-being. Fanon political theory can be categorized as 'right base' because the purpose of the state is not to realize goodness but to ensure that people respect each other right. For example, the attempt to create an 'equal society' where equality is an end in itself would constitute an enterprise.

Thirdly, Fanon affirm that Global south should re-invent the developmental state, in an authentic democratic environment where ultimate power resides with the people, and where the state is manned by a committed, patriotic and visionary leadership that is not corrupt, compromised and subservient to the agents of the Global North.

Fourthly, Fanon deduce, Global North should stop its hypocrisy of selective condemnation of repressive and authoritarian governments in Africa, and the rest of the world, and advocate for genuine democracy that upholds people's power; and reverse its racist mind-set and tendency towards cultural domination in Africa. It is not out of place therefore, that in the face of inequality in world politics and human right issues facing global south, Fanon's ideas should step and take the bulls by the horns and bail the developing world out of these pressing problems.

Conclusion

Frantz Fanon was among the African philosopher who saw the society as all human beings being equal and no one is indispensable, inferiority complex due to an imposed racial

identity. He noted, developing countries face special risks that globalization and market reforms reflect and reinforce their integration into global economy, exacerbate inequality, in the short, medium and long run and raise the political costs of inequality and the social tensions associated with it. The risks are likely to be greatest in the next decade or so, as they undergo the difficult transition to more competitive, transparent and rule-based economic systems with more widespread access to the assets, especially education, which ensure equal access to market opportunities. The paper has attempted to outline what is considered injustice that takes the form of social, economic, and political inequality. These reflections indicate that the problems cannot be solved without taking into consideration basic global issues.

Recommendation

Firstly, the international financial institutions could pay much more attention to the political reality of inequality of assets and income in developing countries. Conditionality associated with international lending and grants could be much more explicitly focused on slashing subsidies that benefit the rich, on encouraging and financing market consistent land reform, and most important, on ensuring that there is effective public education, on which the poor so heavily depend if they are to join in the benefits of a market economy.

Second, the OECD countries could revisit their trade stance as it affects the poor in developing countries. Protection of agriculture and of textiles discriminates against the poor within countries. The head of the World Trade Organization has proposed elimination of tariffs on all imports of the world's 50 poorest countries. This would reduce income inequality not only across but within poor countries.

Third, European transnational companies in Africa, should be blacklist and punish especially in the extractive sectors, that flagrantly violate national and international labour and environmental laws and that do not fulfill the international standards of social and environmental responsibility.

Fourthly, the provision of basic and essential

infrastructures needed for industrial take off of the country is the primary responsibility of the government. The government should show genuine commitment.

Fifth, Agriculture still remains the main stay of the economy employing virtually all the rural dwellers in Africa, and this is where the incidence of poverty is the highest. Developing this sector will help break the vicious cycle of poverty and inequality engulfing these individuals.

Sixth, there is need to champion and support urgent reform and democratization of the entire UN system, especially ensuring that Africa has a permanent sit in the Security Council. In the same vain, support the reform and democratization of the IMF, the World Bank and WTO to make them more receptive of Africa's developmental interest;

Seventh, African leaders must reject and rethink the received ideas of the Western market orthodoxy of neo-liberalism, including reckless import liberalization, privatization, deregulation, and the minimization of the role of the state in development. They must learn to analyze the global system not in terms of interdependence and partnership with the West, but in terms of dependency and imperialism, unequal exchange, the pillage of Africa, and its underdevelopment by European and other external forces. The ultimate objective is to change the exploitative nature of the relationship between Africa and Europe and to attain economic liberation.

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HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT, GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH IN NIGERIA

Oriakhi Marian Omosivie

Institute of Public Administration and Extension Services (IPAES)

University of Benin, Benin City.

missoriakhi@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This Study examines the relationship between human capital development, government expenditure, and economic growth in Nigeria. It aims at proving that there is a bi-directional causal relationship between these variables (i.e human capital development will lead to economic growth and vice versa, increases in government expenditure will bring about higher human capital development). A Vector Error Correction Model was specified, and variables included in the model were Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP) as a proxy for Economic Growth, Government Expenditure (GEXP), Human Development Index (as a proxy for Human Capital Development), and Tax Revenue (TAX). Time series data was analyzed for a period of thirty five (35) years. The Study employed the Block Exogeneity Wald Test, which indicated that two variables (GDP and HDI) were exogenous, and two variables (GEXP and TAX) were non-exogenous, the Vector Error Correction Model (VECM) which showed significant relationships between RGDP and GEXP, GEXP and TAX, TAX and HDI, the Inverse Roots of AR Characteristics Polynomial which indicated a dynamically stable VEC (Vector Error Correction) Model, and good impulse responses, and the Forecast Error Variance Decomposition (FEVD), which showed that at different periods, each variable explained to a certain percentage level, variations in shocks in itself and in other variables. There were evidences indicating the existence of a bi-directional relationship amongst variables of the model, however, variables portrayed weak responses to unanticipated changes in the economy. In general, findings indicate some evidences that there exists a bi-directional causality between human capital development, government expenditure, and economic growth in Nigeria. The study concludes with recommendations for adherence to the United Nations 26% budget allocation to education, and WHO 15% budget allocation to health, the use of Tax as a revenue generating tool to improve gross domestic product, and putting in place mechanisms to check corruption, especially in public offices.

Key Words: Human Capital Development, Economic Growth, Public Expenditure

JEL Classification: H51, O15, O40

1. Introduction

Human capital development is the improvement or investment in the workforce of an economy, usually in the areas of education and health. According to Schultz (1961), human capital can be referred to as the stock of productive knowledge and skills possessed by workers, as well as their state of health. The improvement of this knowledge and skills has been seen to have great impact on the growth of various economies. Such economies include Brazil, China, Russia etc. According to Awolusis's (2019) study, a comparative analysis of results showed that China, Russia, and Brazil were able to utilize

their human capital resource to enhance economic growth. In the study, an increase in government expenditure on education by 1% led to a 0.06%, 0.13%, and 0.07% increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Brazil, China and Russia respectively. In some other instances, economic growth has been found to have great impact on human capital development. Most of such works believed that higher growth, shown by higher levels of national income, can lead to higher expenditures on education and health, which in turn improve the human development index (HDI). The human development index is one amongst many measures of human capital

development. According to Engineer et al (2008), the Human Development Index is a statistics commonly used as a measure of wellbeing in different Countries, and it could also act as a possible signal of economic growth in various Countries.

Economic Growth simply put, could be defined as increases in national income, accompanied by increases in national wellbeing, and improvements in health and literacy rates. According to Balcerowicz (2001), as cited in Haller (2012), economic growth is a process of quantitative, qualitative and structural change, with positive impact on economy, and on population's standard of life, whose tendency follows a continuously ascendant trajectory.

Statement of Problem

Nigeria, though over the years has experienced higher national income, as shown by increases in the Real gross Domestic Product of the Country, cannot be confidently said to be experiencing growth, as the country is being affected by the poor state of the health and education sectors, which tends to continuously cripple every progress of the economy. The World Health Organization (WHO) has recommended at least 15% of annual budget for the Health Sector, and the United Nations has recommended at least 26% of annual budget for education, however, Nigeria is a far cry from this, having a budget allocation to education not going beyond 13% from the period of 1999 to 2019, having its peak in the year 2008, and its lowest point in the year 2011, with a budget allocation of 1.69%. Budgetary allocations to health have not been distinct from the education situation, ranging below 2% in the 1990's to a little above 5% in the 2000's, again falling short of the World Health Organization (WHO) 15% recommendation.

Increases in Government expenditure have also not led to notable improvements in both sectors. Expenditures on education within the year 1990 to 2013 increased from 2.4 billion naira to 390.4 billion naira, and that of health within the same period saw an increase from 500 million naira to 180 billion naira. However these amounts have been insufficient, leaving

the education and health sectors in a crumbling state, with poor physical structures, and very poor service delivery, this in turn has had, and will continue to have a negative effect on the growth of the Nigerian economy through the reduction of productivity, unless there is a change of the Country's attitude towards the education and health of its citizenry. According to Harbison (1971), a country which is unable to develop the skills and knowledge of its people and utilize them effectively in the national economy will be unable to develop anything else, little wonder the Country Nigeria is in an impoverished state, requiring in-depth repair. The lack of adherence to the importance of these two crucial components of human capital in the country has posed dangers to the growth of the economy.

This study intends to find out the relationship that exists among Human Capital Development, Government Expenditure and Economic Growth in Nigeria. It will answer these questions:

- Does human capital development have relationship with economic growth in Nigeria?
- Does government expenditure have relationship with human capital development in Nigeria?
- Does government expenditure have relationship with economic growth in Nigeria?

Simply put, this study intends to find out if there exists a bi-directional relationship between Human Capital Development, Government Expenditure and Economic Growth in Nigeria. It seeks also to relate to all due authorities, the importance of building Human Capital through investment in Education and Health (reflected in the human development index), by adding to the existing literature on the subject matter, and to improve on the number of studies that have been carried out on the existence of a bi-directional relationship between Human Capital Development, Government Expenditure and Economic Growth in Nigeria.

2. Literature Review

Theoretical Literature

The theoretical aspect of this Literature review is focused succinctly on a few models of economic growth that involves labour (human capital).

The Solow Growth Model

The Solow growth model looks at four variables, which are output (Y), Capital (K), Labour (L), and Knowledge (A). It is of the opinion that capital, labour and knowledge (technology) are responsible for output or productivity.

$$Y = F(K, AL) \dots \dots \dots i$$

Where AL is referred to as effective labour (which could be seen as the consequence of human capital investment).

The Solow growth model opined that doubling the quantities of capital and effective labor doubles output (Romer, 2012).

$$F(CK, CAL) = CY \dots \dots \dots ii$$

$$CY = CF(K, AL) \dots \dots \dots iii$$

it can also be written as

$$F(CK, CAL) = CF(K, AL) \dots \dots \dots iv$$

Where C is a positive constant.

Endogenous Growth Model

The Endogenous Growth Model involves the variables as that of the Solow growth model. A largely standard production function is assumed in which Labour, Capital, and Technology (Knowledge) are combined to produce improvements in technology in a deterministic way (Romer, 2012). The endogenous growth theory posits that output on productivity is affected by improvements in technology and investments in Human Capital.

The production function is a Cobb Douglas production function and it's given as

$$Y(t) = [(1 - \alpha_K) K(t)]^\alpha [A(t)(1 - \alpha_L) L(t)]^{1-\alpha} \dots \dots \dots v$$

$0 < \alpha < 1$

There is constant returns to Capital (K) and Labour (L).

Other growth models include the Harold-Domar growth model, the Kaldor growth model etc.

Empirical Literature

Usman and Adeyinka (2019) examined the effect of human capital development on the economic growth of member countries of ECOWAS, using panel data for a period of thirty seven (37) years. Variables analyzed were expenditure on education (EED), expenditure on health (EHE), school enrolment (SCE) and gross domestic product (GDP). Results findings show that variables of human capital development (expenditures on education, health, and school enrolment) had positive impact on economic growth in ECOWAS States, and recommendations were made for increased investments in the Health sector in order to achieve economic growth.

Eigbiremolen and Anaduaka (2014) examined the impact of human capital development on economic growth in Nigeria. The Solow growth model was employed, and quarterly time series data for fourteen years (1999-2012) was analyzed for the variables; stock of capital, total stock of human capital, total labour force, and gross domestic product (as a proxy for economic growth). Results findings indicated that human capital development does have significant and positive impact on economic growth in Nigeria. Recommendations were made for the increase of educational funding in order to develop human capacity in the Country.

Akaakohol and Ijirshar (2018) studied the impact of human capital development on economic growth in Nigeria from the period of 1981 to 2015, variables used were gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, labour force, government expenditure on education and health, gross fixed capital formation. Econometric techniques such as the causality test, and error correction test were utilized. The study in total found that there exists a bi-directional relationship between economic growth and government expenditure on health and education, and there is a positive long run relationship between human capital

development and economic growth in Nigeria. Ogunleye et al (2017) using the ordinary least Square (OLS) regression method, analyzed the impact of human capital development on economic growth in Nigeria. Time series data was used for the period of 1981 to 2015 on the following variables; life expectancy rate, total government expenditure on education and on health, primary, secondary and tertiary School enrolment and gross domestic product. The analysis indicated that human capital development indicators i.e. secondary and tertiary school enrolment, government health and education expenditures, had positive and significant relationship with economic growth in Nigeria. It was recommended by this study for the Nigerian government to increase education expenditure, ensure budget allocations to health are sufficient, and make health and education services more accessible. Adeyemi and Ogunsola (2016) studied the impact of human capital development on economic growth in Nigeria, using the autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL) cointegration estimation technique, time series data from the period of 1980 to 2013 was analyzed for the variables; primary, secondary, tertiary school enrolment, public expenditure on education and health, life expectancy rate, gross capital formation and economic growth. Findings showed a positive long run relationship between secondary school enrolment, public expenditure on education, life expectancy rate, gross capital formation and economic growth, this however was found to be statistically insignificant. The study therefor recommended a stronger financial commitment of the government towards the education sector, and the enhancement of the quality of education through proper training policies.

3. Methodology

The methodology of this study was built around Solow's growth model. Solow (1956) included human capital as one of the explanatory variables in his growth model. According to his model, growth in National Income was caused by three factors, which were; increase in the stock of physical capital, increases in the size of labour force, and change

in technology. The model is given below

$$Y = F(L, K, A) \dots\dots\dots 1$$

Y = Aggregate Real Output

K = Stock of Capital

L = Labour

A = Technical Change (Knowledge)

Technical Change is assumed to be constant.

The equation 1 can therefore be written as

$$Y = AF(K, L) \dots\dots\dots 2$$

Y which is Aggregate Real Output represents Real Gross Domestic Product, and L which is Labour represents Human Capital. These two variables will be incorporated into the model of this study. With some modifications on the Solow growth model, the model of this study is stated below

VEC Model

$$\Delta Z_t = \beta_1 + \sum_{i=1}^k \beta_{it} \Delta Z_{t-1} + ECM_{t-1} + U_{it} \dots\dots\dots 3$$

Where

Z_t is a vector of explanatory variables.

Z_t = [RGDP_t, GEXP_t, HDI_t, TAX_t]

Z_{t-1} is a vector of lagged variables

Z_{t-1} = [RGDP_{t-1}, GEXP_{t-1}, HDI_{t-1}, TAX_{t-1}]

ECM_{t-1} is the error correction term, adjustment coefficient

U_{it} is a vector of the stochastic error term

The variables in the model include

RGDP = Real Gross Domestic Product

GEXP = Government Expenditure

HDI = Human Development Index (as a proxy for Human Capital Development)

TAX = Tax Revenue

The study period will be from 1981 to 2015. The model is estimated to examine the dynamic interrelationships as well as the speed of adjustment between human capital development indicators and economic growth in Nigeria.

4. Empirical Results and Interpretation

A unit root test was carried out to check for stationarity among variables, the Johansen Cointegration Test was used to check for cointegration, Block Exogeneity Wald Test was carried out to check for causality amongst variables of the model, and the Vector Error

Correction Model was analysed. The results are presented and discussed as follows;

Results of Unit Roots Tests

Table 4.1: Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF)

Variables	ADF Test Statistics	95% Critical Value of ADF	Order of Integration	Status
RGDP	-7.1010	-2.9639	I(2)	Stationary
GEXP	-3.5555	-3.0048	I(2)	Stationary
HDI	-8.0452	-2.9718	I(2)	Stationary
TAX	-6.5516	-2.9718	I(2)	Stationary

Source: Author's Computation using Eviews 8, 2018

Table 4.1 presents the result of the unit root tests performed in Eviews for the variables in their second differences. The variables behaved wrongly at levels and first difference. At second difference, all variables were found to be stationary, as indicated by the ADF test statistics, and critical values reported at 5% significance level, they are integrated of order two I(2), hence we reject the null hypothesis of non stationarity among the variables.

Johansen Cointegration Test Results

Haven established that variables are stationary at second difference, we proceeded to test for the long run relationship among variables using the Johansen Cointegration test. This is due to its multivariate nature, as well as the likelihood of having more than one co integrating relationship.

Table 4.2: Co integration Results

Table 4.2 (a): Johansen Unrestricted Co integration Rank Test: Trace Statistics

Hypothesized number of Co integrating Equations (r)	Eigen Values	Trace Statistics	Critical Value (0.05)	Prob. Values	Status
$r = 0^*$	0.7992	71.7053	47.8561	0.0001	* rejection of the null hypothesis of no co integrating equations. Hence we have one co integrating equation at 0.05 level.
$r \leq 1$	0.3696	21.9263	29.7970	0.3026	
$r \leq 2$	0.1794	7.6229	15.4947	0.5066	
$r \leq 3$	0.0470	1.4931	3.8416	0.2217	

Trace test indicates 1 co integrating equation at the 0.05 level

Table 4.2(b): Johansen Unrestricted Co integration Rank Test: Maximum Eigenvalue Statistics

Hypothesized number of Co integrating Equations (r)	Eigen Values	Max-Eigen Statistics	Critical Value (0.05)	Prob. Values	Status
$r = 0^*$	0.7992	49.778	27.5843	0.0000	* rejection of the null hypothesis of no co integrating equations. Hence we have one co integrating equation at 0.05 level.
$r \leq 1$	0.3696	14.3034	21.1316	0.3406	
$r \leq 2$	0.1794	6.1297	14.2646	0.5966	
$r \leq 3$	0.0470	1.4931	3.8414	0.2217	

Max – eigen value indicates 1 co integrating equation at the 0.05 level

Source: Author's Computation using Eviews 8, 2018.

The trace statistics indicated that there is one co integrating equation (that is the cointegrating equation $r = 0^*$), hence we reject the null hypothesis of no cointegration among the variables at 0.05 significant level.

In general, the evidence of cointegrating equations (at least one), shows that there is a long run relationship between the variables, and they are likely to converge at equilibrium level in the long run.

The VEC Granger Causality/ Block Exogeneity Wald Tests

The Granger Causality tests for the estimated models were performed using the VEC Granger Causality/ exogeneity block wald tests, this was done to examine each equation in the VEC model. The statistics are presented with their corresponding probability value in table 4.3 below

Table 4.3: VEC Granger Causality/ Block Exogeneity Wald tests Results

Panel 1: Dependent Variable: D(RGDP)				Panel 2: Dependent Variable: D(GEXP)			
Excluded	Chi - Sq	Df	Prob.	Excluded	Chi - Sq	Df	Prob.
D(GEXP)	1.3245	2	0.5157	D(RGDP)	18.0835*	2	0.0001
D(HDI)	0.4644	2	0.7928	D(HDI)	1.6827	2	0.4311
D(TAX)	0.2626	2	0.8769	D(TAX)	12.8244*	2	0.0016
All	7.3728	2	0.2877	All	26.2952*	2	0.0002
Panel 3: Dependent Variable: D(HDI)				Panel 4: Dependent Variable: D(TAX)			
Excluded	Chi - Sq	df	Prob.	Excluded	Chi - Sq	Df	Prob.
D(RGDP)	0.3867	2	0.8242	D(RGDP)	1.0343	2	0.5962
D(GEXP)	1.9929	2	0.3692	D(GEXP)	83.8595*	2	0.0097
D(TAX)	2.2221	2	0.3292	D(HDI)	9.2637*	2	0.0000
All	4.2308	2	0.6455	All	87.2810*	2	0.0000

Source: Author's Computation using Eviews 8.0, 2018

* indicates rejection of the null hypothesis of no Granger Causality at the 5% level of significance.

The Block Exogeneity Wald test suggests that two variables are exogenous, while two other variables are non-exogenous. The two exogenous variables are RGDP and HDI, this is because the P values of the joint test for the equations of these variables were greater than 0.05, the two non-exogenous variables were GEXP and TAX, this is because the p values of the joint tests for each equation of these variables were less than 0.05.

The test also indicated that we can reject the null hypothesis of excluding the lags of variables in the various equations for some of the equations. We do not reject the null hypothesis of excluding the lags of all the variables in the RGDP equation, and the HDI equation. However, we reject the null hypothesis of excluding the lags of the RGDP and TAX variables in the GEXP equation, and the GEXP and HDI in the TAX equation.

Looking at the VEC Granger Causality tests, panel 1 indicates independent causation between RGDP and all other variables. It also showed that there was no joint significance of the overall system of equations at the 5% significance level.

Panel 2, however indicates the existence of a unidirectional causality between GEXP and two variables in the equation, which were RGDP and TAX at the 5% significance level. The overall system was however significant at the 5% level of significance.

Panel 3 indicates the absence of a unidirectional Granger Causality between HDI and all other variables in that system

Panel 4 indicates a unidirectional Granger causality running from TAX and GEXP to HDI, at the 5% significance level, as well as a joint significance for the overall system at the same level of significance.

Overall, the results provide evidence for the existence of a bi directional causality between human capital development and economic growth in Nigeria.

Vector Error Correction Methodology (VECM)

The VECM was estimated in order to analyze the speed of adjustment process, and the short run transmission mechanism among the variables, this is shown in table 4.4 below. We intend to evaluate the impact of each variable on the other variables.

The impact of RGDP(2.0255) in relation to itself (RGDP) is significant at the 5% level of significance in lag 1, the result also showed that the impact of RGDP (3.7122) in relation to GEXP was significant at the 1% significance level in lag 1.

The impact of GEXP (-2.6869 and -1.35038) in relation to itself (GEXP) is significant at the 1% and 5% level of significance in lags 1 and 2 respectively. The result also showed that the impact of GEXP (-6.3220 and -2.2773) is significant at the 1% and 5% level of significance in lags 1 and 2 respectively, with stronger impact indicated in lag 1.

The impact of HDI (-1.4397 and -1.5676) in relation to itself (HDI) is significant in lag 1 and 2, each at the 10% level of significance. Also the impact of HDI (3.0417 and 1.6398) in relation to TAX is significant at the 1% and 10% level of significance in lag1 and 2 respectively, with stronger impact indicated in lag 1.

The impact of TAX (2.8770) in relation to RGDP is significant at the 1% level of significance in lag1. Also, in relation to HDI (-1.1966), significant impacts were noticed at the 5% level of significance. The VECM result also showed that the impact of TAX (5.2709 and 3.6590) on itself is significant each at the 1% level of significance in lags 1 and 2 respectively, with stronger impacts indicated in lag 1.

Table 4.4: Vector Error Correction Model (VECM) Estimates

System Equations				
Explanatory Variables	D(RGDP)	D(GEXP)	D(HDI)	D(TAX)
Constant	97.6965	151.5101	-1.1799	233.3416
	(407.922)	(85.0230)	(1.3707)	(36.2434)
	[0.2395]	[1.7819]	[-0.8608]	[6.1622]
D(RGDP(-1))	0.4756	0.1817	0.0004	-0.0002
	(0.2348)	(0.4895)	(0.0007)	(0.0208)
	[2.0255]**	[3.7122]***	[0.6197]	[-0.0124]
D(GEXP(-1))	2.0211	-1.3041	0.0070	-1.3080
	(2.3287)	(0.4853)	(0.0078)	(0.2069)
	[0.8679]	[-2.6869]***	[0.8987]	[-6.3220]***
D(HDI(-1))	51.4690	-4.6728	-0.3775	21.0903
	(78.0375)	(16.2653)	(0.2622)	(6.9335)
	[0.6595]	[-0.2872]	[-1.4397]*	[3.0417]***
D(TAX(-1))	0.5670	1.1575	-0.0077	0.9040
	(1.9303)	(0.4023)	(0.0064)	(0.1715)
	[0.2937]	[2.8770]***	[-1.1966]**	[5.2709]***
D(RGDP(-2))	0.0883	-0.0529	-0.0003	0.0165
	(0.2482)	(0.05173)	(0.0008)	(0.0220)
	[0.3559]	[-1.0235]	[-0.4614]	[0.7507]
D(GEXP(-2))	2.4280	-0.6066	0.0018	-0.4360
	(2.1552)	(0.4492)	(0.0072)	(0.1914)
	[1.1265]	[-1.3503]**	[0.2519]	[-2.2773]**
D(HDI(-2))	26.8098	-14.2760	-0.2921	8.0799
	(55.4555)	(11.5586)	(0.1863)	(4.9271)
	[0.4834]	[-1.23511]	[-1.5676]*	[1.6398]*
D(TAX(-2))	-0.2043	0.1579	-0.0010	0.6185
	(1.9027)	(0.3965)	(0.0063)	(0.1690)
	[-0.1073]	[0.3981]	[-0.1641]	[3.6590]**
ECM	0.0122	-0.0054	2.41	-0.0067
	(0.0106)	(0.0022)	(3.6)	(0.0009)
	[1.1473]	[-2.4589]***	[0.6744]	[-7.1333]***
Summary Statistics				
R – Squared	0.7550	0.6742	0.2852	0.9023
Adj R – Squared	0.6447	0.5275	-0.0364	0.8584
S.E equation	837.5354	174.5671	2.8143	74.4141
F – Statistic	6.8489	4.5986	0.8867	20.5419
Akaike AIC	16.5600	13.4237	5.1685	11.7183
Schwarz SC	17.0270	13.8907	5.6355	12.1854
Mean dependent	1645.633	172.5227	-0.2542	98.2433
S.D. dependent	1405.258	253.9830	2.7644	197.7896

Source: Author's Computation using Eviews 8.0, 2018.

Note: Standard Errors are in parenthesis (), and t-values are in brackets [].

*/**/** = Significant at 10%, 5%, and 1% levels with critical values of 1.282, 1.645 and 2.326 respectively

F Statistics: */** significant at the 5% and 1% levels of significance, with critical values of 2.39 and 3.46 respectively.

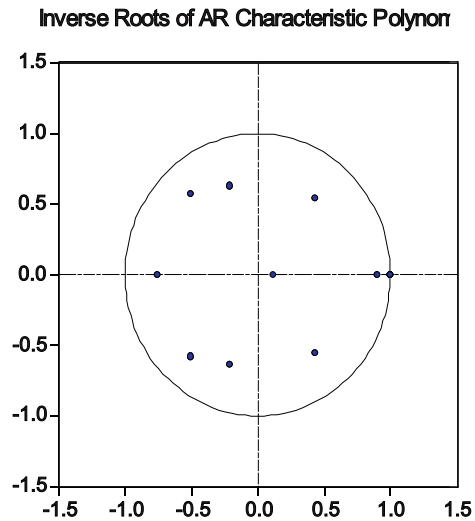
The coefficient of determination (R^2) of 0.75, 0.67, 0.28 and 0.90 in the two lags of the vectors of the variables account for at least 28% and at most 90% of the systematic variations in human capital development activities in the economic, while the F-statistics (6.848, 4.598, 0.886, 20.54) were found to be jointly significant at the 1% and 5% level significance.

Concerning ECM, the RGDP has an adjustment coefficient of -0.0122 in absolute terms, and was found insignificant according to theory. GEXP had an adjustment coefficient of 0.005455 in absolute terms, which was significant at the 1% level of significance, this shows that the economy adjusts to change in GEXP by about 0.54% in a given period. The size of the absolute value of ECM is rather very small, indicating very slow speed of restoration to equilibrium. HDI has an ECM value of 2.41 in absolute terms, and therefore found to be insignificant theoretically.

TAX on the other hand, had an adjustment coefficient of 0.006746 (in absolute terms), which was significant at the 1% level of significance, this indicates that the economy adjust to changes in TAX by about 0.674% in a given period. This speed of adjustment is also quite slow.

Generally the variables portray weak respond to unanticipated changes in the economy.

Inverse Roots of AR Characteristics Polynomial



The graph above reports the inverse roots of the characteristics AR polynomial. It is done to check the state of impulse responses in the estimated model. The above shows that the estimated VEC is dynamically stable, since all inverted roots fall within the circle, with just one exactly on the circle, showing that one root is equal to one. The result shows that impulses responses are good.

Results of Forecast Error Variance Decomposition (FEVDs)

Forecasts error variance decomposition was examined in the study to be able to measure the proportion of total variability due to shocks in the variable itself, relative to shocks in all other variables in the VEC Model, at various forecasting Horizons (Arodoye and Edo, 2015).

The variance decomposition of this study were generated over ten periods forecasting horizons.

Table 4.5: Forecast Error Variance Decomposition Estimates (in percentages)

Explanatory Variables						
Variables	Horizons	RGDP	GEXP	HDI	TAX	S.E*
RGDP	1	100.0000	0.000000	0.000000	0.000000	837.5354
	2	95.87760	0.027697	0.334764	3.759936	1618.464
	3	94.10232	0.029516	1.981922	3.886240	2459.376
	4	93.45298	0.249098	2.650029	3.647889	3293.585
	5	93.40296	1.020174	2.803855	2.773007	4151.522
	6	92.98672	2.282075	2.647437	2.083769	5062.877
	7	92.61341	3.382117	2.443376	1.561094	6022.962
	8	92.23546	4.272939	2.260513	1.231085	7001.723
	9	91.95825	4.892776	2.146990	1.001984	7985.523
	10	91.68376	5.402870	2.069094	0.844276	8961.008
GEXP	1	8.83567	85.8842	5.27731	0.00278	174.567
	2	42.1115	53.7055	2.35884	1.82409	266.099
	3	40.4325	56.1954	1.34803	2.02395	358.251
	4	45.3785	51.1685	1.26907	2.18381	508.051
	5	52.6021	44.6290	0.83236	1.93653	630.549
	6	54.7815	42.8015	0.73593	1.68091	747.791
	7	57.7035	40.0423	0.79029	1.46384	880.284
	8	60.0824	37.8696	0.70680	1.34113	1001.53
	9	61.1615	36.8984	0.70638	1.23359	1124.88
	10	62.5216	35.6007	0.70715	1.17047	1251.90
HDI	1	33.5570	0.00000	66.4429	0.00000	2.81430
	2	39.8203	1.44194	58.7308	0.00683	3.65283
	3	42.9494	1.60533	53.6888	1.75632	4.06090
	4	39.3362	3.37677	55.2603	2.02671	4.56204
	5	37.0089	2.83740	58.1946	1.95906	5.04315
	6	38.2886	2.52627	57.4023	1.78273	5.40041
	7	37.9891	2.38830	57.7949	1.82762	5.66944
	8	37.6359	2.11893	58.5333	1.71171	6.01987
	9	38.0951	1.96596	58.2489	1.68996	6.32640
	10	37.8994	1.88199	58.5092	1.70927	6.58931
TAX	1	0.00204	0.00000	2.41689	97.5810	74.4141
	2	1.72912	3.79324	13.8653	80.6122	82.7113
	3	4.21254	69.4653	5.52999	20.7920	167.425
	4	26.6306	56.0140	2.61046	14.7448	248.041
	5	32.8907	54.4580	2.17394	10.4773	304.735
	6	40.1899	50.4518	1.69877	7.65944	378.405
	7	47.5221	45.5337	1.24119	5.70289	446.472
	8	51.1916	43.1087	1.01312	4.68644	506.170
	9	53.6372	41.6009	0.93714	3.82458	574.896
	10	56.1729	39.6865	0.81205	3.32843	643.482

Source: Author's Computation using Eviews 8.0, 2018.

Note: * Standard error of variance (in percentages).

The FEVD of RGDP indicated that the variation in its 'own shocks' falls within the range of about 91.68% to 100%, there was a decline from period one over the forecast horizon. Shocks to GEXP indicated a rising proportion from about 0.02% to 5.40% from period two to ten, shocks to HDI showed a 0.33% explanation in the 1st horizon to 2.80% in the 5th horizon, however, the figure fell in subsequent horizons to 2.06% in the 10th horizon. Shocks to TAX indicated a rise from the 2nd horizon at 3.75% to the 3rd horizon 3.88%. Subsequent horizons were faced with a fall from 3.64% in horizon 4 to 0.84% in the 10th horizon. This shows that apart from RGDP itself, GEXP has a more significant account for shocks in RGDP.

FEVD of GEXP showed that shocks to GEXP explained about 35.60% to 85.88% of variations in its own shocks, while RGDP accounted for about 8.83% to 62.52% of variations in GEXP, shocks of HDI explained a low and falling variance in GEXP ranging from 5.27% in the 1st horizon to about 0.70% in the 10th horizon, TAX shocks explained about 0.002% in the 1st horizon to 2.18% in the 4th horizon, with about 1.17% being explained in the 10th horizon, RGDP showed predominant variations in GEXP (aside from GEXP itself).

The FEVD of HDI explained by its own shocks ranges from about 53.68% to 66.44%, while the variation in the shocks of RGDP ranges between 33.55% to 42.94% within the time horizon, while that of GEXP ranges unimpressively between 0.00% to 3.37% (in the 4th horizon), having a FEVD of 1.88 in the 10th horizon. TAX shocks on HDI ranged from 0.00% to 2.02%, RGDP again shows predominant variations in HDI.

FEVD of TAX shows that the variation in its own shock account for the ranges 3.32% to 97.58%, while shocks in RGDP ranges between 0.002% to 56.17% rising throughout the horizon. Shocks of GEXP explain about 3.79% to 69.46% of variations in TAX. HDI accounts for variations in TAX ranging between 0.81% to 13.86%, having several rises and falls throughout the period.

In general, each Variable explained variations

in its own shocks best, except TAX. Variables that explained shocks in other variables in the highest overall percentages over the ten periods were; GEXP in explaining variations to shocks in RGDP, RGDP in explaining variations to shocks in GEXP, RGDP in explaining variations to shocks in HDI, and GEXP in explaining variations to shocks in TAX.

5. Recommendation and Conclusion

Policy Implications and Recommendations

The findings of this study have the following implications;

1. Government Expenditure and Human Capital Development are significantly responsive to one another, as also indicated in Akaakohol and Ijirshar's (2018) study. This shows the rising importance of the linkages between Human Capital Development, Government Expenditure, and Economic Growth in Nigeria.
2. Government Expenditure and Human Capital Development did not granger cause Economic Growth, this could be attributed to the inadequate amount of Government Expenditure in Nigeria, and the insufficient investment in Human Capital in the Country.
3. Evidences of a bi – directional causation was found between Economic Growth, and Human Capital Development in Nigeria. It therefore shows that investments in Human Capital can boost Economic Growth, while Economic Growth exhibits a growth enhancing effect (Arodoye and Edo, 2015) on the performance of Human Capital Development in Nigeria.
4. The ability for Variables to respond to unanticipated changes in the Economy is weak, shown by the speed of adjustment (ECM).

With the aforementioned, a few recommendations are stated below;

1. Adequate investment in human capital by the Nigerian government, so as to boost economic growth.
2. The appropriate use of Tax as a major instrument of increasing Real Gross Domestic Product, through revenue generation, and proper use of such moneys
3. Increase in Government expenditure and strict adherence to the UNESCO stipulated 26% of annual budget to education, and WHO 15% to health, as this could have a very positive multiplier effect on the Nigerian economy.
4. Putting in place Machineries to fight against corruption in the Country, especially amongst those holding public offices, so as to reduce the embezzlement of funds allocated for the improvement of the Nigerian economy.

Capital Development, Government Expenditure and Economic growth in Nigeria. The Forecast Error Variance Decomposition further indicated that variables significantly explain variations in their own shocks and in the shocks of other variables.

The ability for Human Capital Development Variables to respond to changes was found to be weak, this was shown in the speed of adjustment (ECM), which was found to be very slow (using the error correction coefficient of Government expenditure and Tax).

The study recommended more investment in Education and Health by the Government to improve the impact Human Capital Development has on Economic Growth in Nigeria.

Conclusion

The study examined the dynamic responses, causality and interrelationships between Human Capital Development, Government Expenditure, and Economic Growth in Nigeria. The period of analysis was from 1981 to 2015, and the variables used in the model include Real Gross Domestic Product (RGDP), Government Expenditure (GEXP), Human Development Index (HDI), and Tax Revenue (TAX). The study employed techniques such as the Augmented Dickey Fuller Tests to check for unit roots, the variables were found to be integrated of order two $I(2)$, i.e. they were found to be stationary at second difference. Also Johansen Cointegration Test was used to check for a cointegrating relationship amongst variables. The existence of a long-run relationship between the variables was established.

Also VEC Granger Causality and VEC Model were analyzed, the overall system of the VEC Causality test showed evidence for a bi-directional relationship between Human

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ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY, FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT AND ECONOMY GROWTH: UNDER GOODLUCK JONATHAN ADMINISTRATION, 2010-2015.

ANAELE, Rosemary
Department of Political Science,
Edwin Clark University,
Kiagbodo, Nigeria
Tel: 07060435063
Email: anaelerosemary@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Indeed, economic diplomacy has shown its usefulness and needfulness over time. The associations of most countries are not for mutual friendship or understanding but they most time come together because of what they aim to achieve from each other. However, the case of economic diplomacy as a weapon for foreign direct investment (FDI) and economic growth has continuously yield positive results in some countries of the world, most especially in the developing country like Nigeria. The paper examined the relationship between economic diplomacy, foreign direct investment and economic growth under Jonathan's administration. Historical design was adopted which made use of secondary data. It was gathered that economic diplomacy is a very important factor when it comes to achieving FDI. Both are the key factors in contributing to economic growth in a nation has shown during Jonathan's administration. He used economic diplomacy to attract foreign direct investment and which also significantly impacted on the nation's economy, including development and prosperity. Based on this, the paper recommends that, government should always look out to attract foreign investors has shown in Nigeria under Jonathan rule. Also, the issue of security and infrastructure should be addressed as this is one key area foreigners look before deciding to invest in a country.

Key words: Economic Diplomacy; Foreign Direct Investment; Economy Growth; Domestic Savings; Political; Security; Infrastructural

Introduction

As the world is politically organized, every nation needs each other to survive. No man is an island, you must relate with others to grow successfully in terms of the economy and other wise. Counting on one's self to succeed in this politically arranged world order would be a myth of thinking. In other words, one needs others to succeed; no country can deny its needs for cooperation considering the benefit it could get by relating with other countries.

Economic diplomacy is very important for a developing country like Nigeria. It helps to accumulate foreign capital and expands domestic savings. The importance of economic diplomacy cannot be deny as it is a way of inviting or attracting others to invest or gain access in the investment of your country and at the same time exploiting the benefits including capital and technological knowhow

from the foreign investors. It is believed that economic diplomacy is much needed to achieving economic growth and development. The role economic diplomacy play in international relations is as crucial as man can ever imagine. It has taken a leading role in most developing countries to giving their economy a better and lively look.

President Jonathan believing that economic diplomacy is the key factor for economic growth urges the country's diplomats abroad to focus more on promoting and attracting investment to Nigeria. To him, they will put more effort looking for opportunities, programmes among others that they will bring back home to help the economy grow stronger. Jonathan administration gave special attention to the improvement and strengthening of economic ties with the country's partners in the international

community as a foundation for stability and growth. On his attends to carry out his economic diplomacy, he targeted to restore/improve the country's economy through foreign direct investment. To him, attracting foreign direct investment could be the engine for the country's economic growth. Foreign direct investment which is the investment made outside the home country of the investing company in which control over the resources transferred remains with the investors (O'Brein and Williams 2014:168). A key feature of foreign direct investment is that production will be directed by (and presumably organized to benefit) a corporation from outside the territory in which the investment is made (Burnell and Bandall 2008:62-3).

President Jonathan's economic diplomacy was to ensure that the economy was strengthened and to improve the standards of living of the citizens. However, it was recorded that several foreign direct investment flowed into Nigeria during his administration and this was a huge success for his administration and Nigerians in general.

Conceptual Clarification

Economic diplomacy has grown wide that his relevance/needs has been feet over time. As earlier stated "no country can deny the need for cooperation, considering the benefit it could get. Diplomacy is important in our day to day activities. It helps to regulate our dealing with people. It is the peaceful way of negotiating your way to success.

Thus, the concept of economic diplomacy is not a new phenomenon, it can be dated far back in the past. It growth can be trace back to 1580 when there was vogue in the policy of technical assistance, the objective of the adaptation then was to promote export markets. However, it is worthy to note that as important as the concept "Economic Diplomacy", it still does not have a universal definition, as scholars seems to have defined the concepts the way its most suitable and understanding to them. It is within the controversial definition of the concept that made Asisi Asobie (1991, 35-36) to argue that the concept may be understood as the

management of international relations in such a manner as to place accent on the economic dimension of a country's external relations. That it is the conduct of foreign policy in such a manner as to give top-most priority to the economic objectives of a nation. Going further it stated that, it has to do with the various diplomatic strategies which a country employs in its bid to maximize the mobilization of external material and mineral resources for economic development.

Economic diplomacy according to Ashiru (2011) is a method of deploying our foreign relations instruments to propel our economic and industrial programmes. What this implies is that, economic diplomacy is a weapon as well as instrument to trap or gain assess in the economy of other countries through the influence of foreign relation to enhance her home economy. It is a method whereby arrangement/agreement is being made to two or more countries to share trade ideas or to associate in a certain trade which is being known as multilateral or bilateral trade/agreement. In the world as a whole, many nations are engage in this type of trade. Although it is paramount to act smart when dealing with other countries in this type of agreement, because all what they see in foreign trade is how to gain from other country's weaknesses. Thus, Asobie (2005:57) asserts that the external relations of a state are usually aimed at garnering economic resources that are located outside its geographical boundary to serve its domestic project.

Looking at Asobie (2005) view on economic diplomacy, one can argue that countries associated with each other not because of mutual friendship or likeness but because of the things they aim at achieving. That is why it is being said in international relations, that there is no permanent friend no permanent enemy. You will be my friend if there is something to benefit from your home and you will be my enemy if you stand against my way of benefiting from your home. Economic benefit can come from associating with other countries in the world, that nations usually relates with each other for the benefit they can receive/get from them. Nations usually influence their external relations in

order to gather economic strength that could be used to meet up with their domestic programmes. Akpotor and Nwolise (2014:133) opined that “economic diplomacy connotes the means by which government influence and controls certain productive arms of the government in concert with the private sector interest in the economics of other countries to her domestic benefit”. Relating with other nations is always carryout for a reason, it is actually done for a purpose which is “what they can gain or achieve from the other parties”. Economic diplomacy is how a nation want to use the advantage/influence of other nations' economic to better her own economic. It is a trade done with foreign nations. In trading with foreigners, what usually comes to mind, is, the objective or aim of the union is how she can use the advantage of the relation to enhance her national economy and serve the welfare of the people. International relations have always been what they aim to achieve from the system (national interest), so that is why national governments always make sure not to be at the losing side but at the gaining side. As President Jonathan rightly said in the work of Nwankwo (2013), that special attention will be given to the improvement and strengthening of economic ties with the country's partners in the international community as a foundation for stability and growth. The point here is that, influencing the economies of other countries can enhance economic stability and growth to your country. It may not be an easy task but it can be done by influencing other countries to invest in your country which is commonly known or called Foreign Direct Investment.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is largely believed to be an important weapon used most time to generate economic growth and promote development. The usefulness of FDI cannot be denied as most countries need it to boast their economies, including Nigeria, and the impact on the global economy is tremendous. Foreign direct investment which investment made outside the home country of the investing company in which control over the resources transferred remains with the investors (O'Brien and Williams 2004:168-9). The idea here is that, production will be directed outside the home country of the

investors but will still remain and controlled by the investing company. A key feature of foreign direct investment is that production will be directed by (and presumably organized to benefit) a corporation from outside the territory in which the investment is made (Burnell and Randall, 2008:62-3). It is a joint venture that involves two or more countries.

There are several factors that stimulate FDI, which is the location and environment which includes, political, economic, security among others. Foreign direct investors would prefer to invest in countries that are politically and economically stable well established infrastructure and developed financial system.

Antwi, et al., (2013) argued that foreign direct investment has taken a leading role in developing countries of Africa giving rise to a widespread belief among policy makers that foreign direct investment has enhanced growth and promotes development in developing and low income countries (LICs). The point argued by Antwi can be said to be truth. Due to the rising influence of foreign direct investment on economic growth, supporting the idea of Antwi may not be totally wrong. It is believed that the existence of foreign direct investment has brought more positive impact than negative impact. Although, everything that has positive side (merit) must surely have negative effect (demerit) as long as the world is “naturally rational”, putting one's interest above others. Lipsey (1999) has said that “beyond the initial macroeconomic stimulus from actual investment FDI influences economic growth through three channels the linkage between FDI and foreign trade flows, the spillover and other externalities in relation to the country's business sector, and the direct impact and structural factors in the host economy.

Evolution of Economic Diplomacy in Relation to Foreign Direct Investment in Nigeria

On 25, October 1963 as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established, the Nigeria's Prime Minister Balewa noted that “African Unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural

cooperation” (cited in Clark, 2016). This was a practical approach on economic integration and cooperation in order to strengthen growth and development among the various countries in Africa. Prime Minister Balewa objective was to use economic diplomacy to promote Nigeria's economic interests within Africa and elsewhere in the global society (Clark 2016:67; Ajaebili, 2011).

In 1981, President Shehu Shagari called the first economic summit in Africa, which was held in Lagos. The Economic Summit was attended by several African Heads of State and Government, where it deliberated on the declining economic situation in Africa. Infact, the outcome of the Summit was the document on the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA). The emphasis was to boost Africa's economic diplomacy in the world economic system.

Again, the Murtala Mohammed/Obasanjo regime in 1977 deployed offensive and aggressive economic diplomacy against the British conservative government under Mrs. Margaret Thatcher over her position on the issue of transition in Rhodesia from Mr. Ian Smith minority regime to majority rule. As such, the Nigerian government nationalized both BP and Barclay Bank. Thus, the Nigerian government uses both economic diplomacy and petroleum dollar diplomacy to effect the transition in Rhodesia to democratic legality (Clark 1991).

The chronic economic situation of the 1980s in Nigeria, led to a new Posture and fresh impetus on how to deploy economic diplomacy to tackle the problem. Under the military leadership of General Ibrahim Babangida the emphasizes was placed on how to use the implementation and articulation of Nigeria's foreign relations to promote pragmatic economic diplomacy in the comity of nations. Hence, the then federal Minister of External Affairs, Major General Ike S. Nwachukwu gave fresh impetus, shape and style to the promotion of the nation's economic diplomacy. He mandated all Nigeria's Embassies and High Commission to endeavor to use their good offices to attract business ventures, including FDI to Nigeria. The focus should cut across all ideological bridges (barriers) such as capitalism and socialism,

where the economic benefit of the country will be fully maximized (Okogwu and Akpuru, 2004; Clark 2007).

In economic diplomacy nations both developed and developing have used and still using unconventional diplomatic means to gather and steal information on vital economic and technological materials from each other. For instance, in the espionage world the CIA, KGB (now SSS) M6, MOSSAD, among others, are waging Covert War to collect secret data on military, political, technology and industries in order to strengthen, protect and undermine their national security interests respectively. Nigeria's SSS also is involved in this diplomatic espionage game in the international system. For example, in 1983, Umaru Dikko was kidnapped by the Nigerian secret service in London, during General Buhari regime. It led to a diplomatic row between London and Lagos (Clark 2008; Clark 991). Today, the United States of America and China are in a diplomatic row over 5G technology, which President Trump noted that 5G a new GSM technology, among others, is designed to steal American technologies in the competitive economic and technological diplomacy in the international system (Clark, 2020).

Review of Economic Diplomacy in relation to Foreign Direct Investment and Economy Growth

Improving the economic sector of a nation should be a great concern to governments and diplomatic missions. Every government seeks to promote its country's economic interests to be strong and fit to stand among others.

Economic diplomacy is determined by the nation's relations with other nations of the world. it refers to the means whereby government influences and take charge of certain production in the economic sector or company of other countries in her domestic benefit. Economic diplomacy is actually being carried out through FDI which is determined by several factors such as political, economic, cultural, and social among others. According to the World Bank (2002), Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is seen as the investment

made so as to acquire a lasting management interest in an enterprise operating in another country other than that of the investor's country. Foreign direct investment provides developing nations including Nigeria with much needed capital investments with a view to achieving economic growth and development (Saqib, et al., 2013; Wai-mun et al., 2008; Osinubi and Amaghionyeodiwe, 2010). Foreign direct investments create/enhance job opportunity and contribute to economic growth and development. Lipsey (1999) observes that FDI within a long time in this countries brings out many externalities which include transfers of general knowledge, specific technologies in production, work force and introduction of modern management techniques. FDI also creates traditional primary exports to expand the volume of trade and to upgrade production through product process innovation. In as much as its usefulness, it still has its negative side. Morrissey (2008) claimed that FDI had significant negative effect on domestic investment, suggesting that it crowds out domestic investment. Hence, FDI appears to have been immiserizing. Although, it's significant impact is on the high side, FDI has grown to be the number one source of external resource flows to developing countries (DC). Scholars like Blomstrom, 2007; Umar 2010; Feldstein 2009; Tang, 2008; Shiro 2008, emphases on the advantages of FDI to developing countries' development. For instance, Feldstein (2009) said that FDI leads to new technology research and innovations in products and techniques of production which are in short supply LDCs. He added that FDI leads to mass production in LDCs, which reduces average cost or cost per output. Umar (2010) claimed that FDI does not only provide finance but also managerial, administrative and technical personnel, which enhance the efficiency of these multinationals. Shiro (2008) also said that FDI makes local technology cheap and easy to use. This may, in turn, encourage local enterprises to invest more, itself in ancillary industries or in collaboration with foreign enterprises. Tang (2008) said, foreign enterprises encourage local enterprises by fostering them with

materials. FDI has been argued to have positive impact of commercial banks performance, though the level of the impact varies among nation. The role of FDI has been widely recognized as a growth enhancing factor in developing countries (Khan and Ahmad, 2008).

Foreign Direct Investment helps in bridging the capital shortage gap and complement domestic investment, especially when it flows to a high risk area of new firms where domestic resources are limited (Noorzoy, 2009). Thus, in a country where the domestic savings is low, foreign direct investment maybe very important for such a country to help in developing their capital. The importance of FDI was well established in Jonathan's administration as evidence showed its use on FDI to touch the domestic savings/priorities. His stronghold on using the influence of international environment in relation to economic diplomacy to better the domestic priorities was never really in doubt. During Jonathan administration, Nigeria recorded the highest flow of foreign direct investment which equally reflected on her economy as her economy also stand out to be the largest in Africa (Anaele, 2018).

Nigeria was among the top 3 countries for foreign direct investment (FDI) and also number one economy in Africa (Vanguard, Thursday, June 26, 2014:9). Nigeria remains one of the top three destinations for foreign direct investment in Africa, despite the challenges, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, (UNCTAD, 2014), has said. According to the UNCTAD report released June 25, 2014, FDI inflows into Africa rose by four percent to \$57 billion, with Nigeria's inflow standing at N5.6 billion in 2013. The report said only seven countries in Africa went above the \$3 billion FDI inflow point, these are Nigeria, South Africa, Mozambique, Egypt, Morocco, Ghana and Sudan.

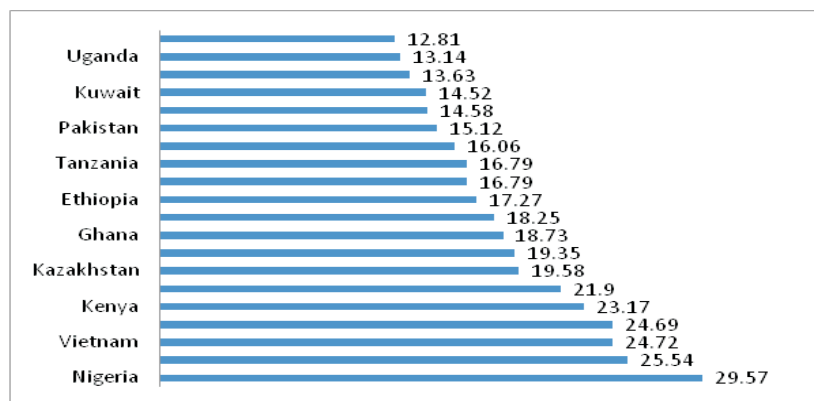
After being recognized as the country with the largest economy in Africa, Nigeria was ranked as the top economy that American and European multinational companies are most interested in. This ranking was derived from "The Frontier Markets Sentiment Index",

created exclusively for the Wall Street Journal by Washington DC-based advisory firm Frontier Strategy Group. The index tracks the level of interests shown by major European and American Multinational Companies in countries across the Frontier Markets world.

The report was based on information collected from FSG's over 200 multinational clients, which include companies like General Electric, Coca-Cola, and Novartis. Below is a chart that shows the rankings:

Frontier Market Sentiment Index: Top 20

Corporate Sentiment Rate, June 2014 (%)



Source: WSJ.Com, (cited in Vanguard, June 26, 2014:22).

This shows that Nigeria ranked the highest as indicated in the chart. If we should look at previous ranking of Top Recipients of Foreign Direct Investment in the Developing World from 2000-2004, we will find out that Nigeria was nowhere to be found in the ranking. In 2011 to 2015 precisely, when counted top recipients of Foreign Direct Investment, Nigeria comes among the Top 4. Evidence of the ranking as at 2000 and 2004:

Table 1: Top Ten Recipients of Foreign Direct Investment in the Developing World, 2000 and 2004.

Country	2000		Country	2004	
	US\$ billion	% of developing World total		US\$ billion	% of developing world total
Hong Kong, China	64.5	27	China	60.6	26
China	40.8	17	Hong Kong, China	34	15
Brazil	33.5	14	Brazil	18.2	8
Mexico	13.2	6	Mexico	16.6	7
Argentina	11.2	5	Singapore	16.1	7
South Korea	10.2	4	South Korea	7.7	3
Bermuda	6.6	3	Chile	7.6	3
Singapore	6.4	3	India	5.3	2
Malaysia	5.5	2	Malaysia	4.6	2
Taiwan	4.9	2	Argentina	4.3	2

Source: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 2001: Table B1, 291-5, and (2005b): Table B1, 303-7. Cited in Burnell and Randall (2008:64)

It was gather that under Jonathan's administration, Nigeria became Africa's number one destination of foreign direct investment. In the first Six (6) months of 2014 FDI stood at US\$ 9.70 billion or N1.51 trillion. Over 27 billion foreign direct investment (FDI) flowed into Nigeria under five years of Jonathan's rule. The economy became the largest in Africa with a GDP value at USD 510bn and it grew at an average of 7% overtaking South Africa and Egypt in the process. Major works were carried out in critical sectors like Educational sector, Agriculture sector, Electricity, Transportation which include aviation and road construction and railway constructions, telecommunication, hospital, water and job creation among others. For instance, the Jonathan administration increased generation from the 2800 MWs it met on ground to the present 4500 MWs Nigeria generates today a 35% improvement (Omokri Reno, Vanguard, May 13, 2013:48). Looking at the road sector, some major road projects that were rehabilitated and completed include among others:

- i) Rehabilitation of Mokwa-Bida Road in Niger State
- ii) Rehabilitation of Von-Manchok Highway in Planteau State
- iii) Rehabilitation of Vandekiya Obudu Cattle Ranch, section 1
- iv) Dualisation of Abuja-Abaji Lokoja Highway in FCT and Kogi State
- v) Reconstruction of Gombe Bypass Highway in Gombe State
- vi) Rehabilitation of Uba-mbalala Highway in Borno state
- vii) Rehabilitation of Katsina-Daura Highway in state (one of the 3no Dangerous single-lane Bridges in Nigeria).

- viii) Rehabilitation of Mianch-Anka-Dakai Takwas Highway Zamfara State
- ix) Rehabilitation of Zaria-Gusau-Sokoto-Birnin Kebbi Highway
- x) Construction of 2 No Bridges along Auchi Polytechnic-Ekperi-Agenebode Road in Edo State
- xi) Completion of the dualization of Access road to Onne port in Rivers State
- xii) Rehabilitation of Sokoto-Tambuwal-Jega road in Sokoto state
- xiii) Dualised Onitsha-Owerri highway in Anambra/Imo states
- xiv) Rehabilitation and Expansion of Onitsha head bridge into 10 lanes in Anambra state
- xv) Rehabilitation of Enugu- Abakaliki Highway in Enugu/Ebonyi states
- xvi) Njaba bridge on Owerri-Orlu highway in Imo state
- xvii) Rehabilitation of Onitsha-Enugu expressway
- xviii) Rehabilitation of Apapa-Oshodi expressway (section 1) in Lagos state
- xix) Dualization of Ibadan-Ilorin expressway (section 1) in Oyo/Kwara States
- xx) Rehabilitation of Akure-Ilesha Highway in Ondo/Osun States
- xxi) Reconstruction and Expansion Lagos-Ibadan Highway (section 1&2)
- xxii) Rehabilitation of Benin-Ore-Shagamu (section 1:Benin-ofosu) in Edo state
- xxiii) Rehabilitation of Abakaliki-Mbok Highway (Ogoja junction) in Ebonyi/Cross River States
- xxiv) The commission of Utor Bridge in Delta State

Source: Vanguard, Tuesday, March 10, 2015:33

The construction of roads has reduced travel times for instance:

		Before	Now
Abuja-Abaji Lokoja Expressway_	4hours	2hours	
Onitsha-Owerri Expressway_ _ _	3hours	1hour	
Benin-Ore-Shagamu-Lagos Expressway_	9hours	4hours	
Gombe-Numan-Yola Expressway_ _ _	_6hours	3hours	
Enugu-Abakaliki-Ogoja-Mfum Highway_	_8hours	3hours	
Lagos-Ibadan-Ilorin Highway_ _ _	_6hour	3.5hours	
Otukpa-Ayangba-Ajaokuta-Lokoja Highway_	4hours	1.5hours	
Jebba-Lafiaji-Mokwa Highway__ _	_2hours	45min	

Source: Vanguard, Tuesday, March 10, 2015:33

This has shown that with the excellent roads, there will be a free and smooth movement of both human and goods. On the Airports sector, he remodernized and beautified the airports across the country. Nigeria airport now wear a new look. A lot of successes were recorded on this area. For the first time in Nigeria history, five brand new international airport terminals were built. One located in Abuja, Lagos, Kano, Port Harcourt and Enugu.(Vanguard, August 29, 2014:43).The Akanu Ibiam Airport in Enugu was upgraded into an international airport which has equally directly connecting the South-East region of the country to the outside world for the first time since post-independence. In addition to that, Nigeria aircraft can now fly directly to the United States of America instead of going through many stopovers in Amsterdam and some other European cities along in the route. On the area of the railway, for the first time in over 25years, we have trains moving people and goods in and around places. Omokri, (Vanguard, May 13, 2013:48) rightly said, before the Jonathan administration, if you wanted to travel form Lagos to Kano you had two choices, you either

go by road or by air. But today, under President Jonathan's direction, Nigeria's railways have been revived and a traveler planning the same journey has a third alternative either to go by rail as well.

President Jonathan on working on the transportation sectors showed a clear understanding of the positive correlation between good road network and economic growth. Saliu (2010:173), a foreign policy with a poor infrastructural base cannot but project a negative image for a country. It is therefore, incumbent on nations of the world to attach great importance to infrastructure in view of its importance as a critical enabler that propels foreign policy to a higher level of delivery. The construction of roads has also contributed to smooth movement of foreign direct investment.

i) Agricultural Sector

Before 2010, agriculture in Nigeria was largely treated as a social service to be dispensed by government mostly through a corrupt fertilizer subsidy regime that only helped to enrich the middle men at the expense of farmers.

The government seeking to change the approach which had failed the country woefully, appointed a technocrat Dr. Akinwumi Adesina as the Agriculture Minister. The Minister has instituted new policies which revolutionized the sector. The ministry redesigned the supply mechanisms of agriculture inputs like fertilizers and seeds through an e-wallet system that ensures about 70 percent of farmers have access to subsidized inputs, against 11 percent under the old system. There was also a new value chain approach to food production, starting with Rice and Cassava. Rice production by dry season paddy in 2013 increased by 1.22 million MT, adding to the 1.74 million MT wet season paddy (Vanguard, December 5, 2014:13).

There was also an expanded production of high quality cassava to substitute imported wheat flour (up to 20 percent substitution) in the bakery industry, helping to attract a lot of private investment in high-value cassava processing from Cargill (for starch) and Unilever (for Sorbitol). (Source: Vanguard, 2014:13)

The government's effort at reforming agriculture comes after many Nigerian farmers abandoned their fields and moved to cities in search of alternative work after commodity prices collapsed in the mid 1980s and the country's booming oil industry siphoned investment away from the sector. Today, agriculture is the largest contributor to the non-oil sector and the key component of this is cocoa.

The 2013 rebased GDP showed the Agriculture sector contributing 21.97 percent of N17.625 trillion (\$112.26 billion) of the total N80.22 trillion (85.10 billion) in economic output. This compares with N14.71 trillion (\$93.7 billion) in the old non-rebased estimates for 2013 (Vanguard, December, 2014:13).

The agriculture sector recorded successes with about a good number of farmers in their data base, the policy enforced by the federal government led to the establishment of about 19 new rice mills by private investors in Nigeria. Nigeria became one of the largest exporters of dried cassava chips exporting about 30 million metric tonnes.

The efforts by the government to boost food supply has seen the country's food import bill drop by more than half to \$5 billion from \$11 billion two years ago. Nigeria import bill was reduced from N1.1 trillion in 2011 to N648 billion in 2012 which simply means Nigeria was on the path to food self-sufficiency or food self-dependency (Vanguard, December, 2014:13).

ii) **Educational Sector:**

The Jonathan's administration has also improved the educational sector through the provision of grant to different institutions. He accelerated the development of education at all levels. He has not only repositioned the public school system but had also provided the enabling environment for greater participation of private individuals and agencies in the delivery of education services under government regulation. He refurbished and equipped 51 federal and state polytechnics with modern laboratories to encourage participation in technical and vocational education and training. Over 352 science and technical laboratories in the 104 federal unity colleges had been refurbished, in addition to providing 62 ICT centers and 40 sets of mathematical kits (Vanguard, Thursday, February 5, 2015). He as well made provision for a three-pronged programme of the Almajiri education system, the girl child education and back-to-school initiative which have drastically reduced the out of school children profile in the country, particularly in the North. He also established 14 new universities, 9 in the Northern states of Kogi, Taraba, Jigawa, Gombe, Nasarawa, Katsina, Yobe, Kebbi and Zamfara state, three in the Southern states of Ebonyi, Bayelsa and Ekiti, including two specialized police and maritime universities. With such development, all state in the federation has at least a federal university

Having seen the progress on the economic sector in general (both infrastructural, agriculture and educational sector), one can justifiably say that Nigeria has consistently benefited or favoured from the FDI inflow in Nigeria. This showed that there is a significant direct link between Foreign Direct Investment and economic growth. That Nigeria under

Jonathan administration runs the fastest growing economy in the whole of Africa. So for that, Jonathan deserves a credit mark for touching all aspects of the country.

The Nexus between Economic Diplomacy, Foreign Direct Investment and Economy Growth

As early stated, economic diplomacy is the method deployed by national governments in which production will be directed to another country but the control/management of the company still remains with them. It is the method of influencing other country's economy for the betterment/benefit of their economies and domestic system at large. There is offensive Economic Diplomacy and Defensive economic Diplomacy. By offensive Economic Diplomacy, a country in pursuit of its international relations, with its buoyant economy is not only ready to change the course of events and situations, but also has the capability to strike first at any instance its national economic interest is at stake (Igweonwo, 1985:109, Akpotor & Nwolise, 2014). This may entail the extension or denial of financial benefits, petroleum productions, food supplies, the granting, denial or withdrawal of trade concessions, the establishment or disinvestment of foreign investment, etc. Here economic diplomacy is tied up with international political interest, e.g. Nigeria nationalized British Petroleum assets in Shell Development Company on August 2, 1979 over Zimbabwean Independence (Akpotor & Nwolise, 2014). In defensive Economic Diplomacy, a country that is exploited and objectified, reacts violently to its opponent and tries to fence her out rather than succumb to servitude. In this instance, it is as if you want to be a master of yourself and the means of your production without dictation from outside. This indeed was the struggle in countries like Japan, China, Cuba, Nicaragua and others put up to sustain their sovereignty, and they have made it (Akpotor & Nwolise, 2014).

Economic diplomacy can either be multilateral (which involves more countries) or bilateral (which involves few countries) it

involves a pattern of economic relationship among economic partners. Economic diplomacy is being conducted more on bilateral rather than multilateral. If economic diplomacy is being properly managed it can result to a high flow of foreign direct investment which can also bring a positive result to the economy. This paper identifies the relationship between economic diplomacy, FDI and economic growth. The relationship between Economic Diplomacy, Foreign Direct Investment and Economic Growth is like the relationship with the government and its citizen. One cannot do without the other. Economic diplomacy is the backbone of FDI as a good inflow of foreign direct investment will result to growth in a country's economy. As early said, it was based on the good diplomatic relation Nigeria had with the comity of nations that made her emerged as the number one country in African that Foreign Direct Investors were willing to invest in. She used her economic diplomacy to attract so many investments into Nigeria. At that time, Nigeria recorded the highest flow of FDI with over 27 billion FDI flowed into the country.

The success of the FDI flow in the country was reflected in her economy as her economy also stand out with a GDP value at USD 510bn and it overtaking both South Africa and Egypt in the process. Major works were also done in critical sectors in the country. With this, one can say that a good economic diplomacy can influence a high flow of foreign direct investment which can result to a buoyant economy.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion

The usage of economic diplomacy has grown tremendously over the years due to its usefulness. Its positive impact as a major source of capital flows to achieve economic growth and development has been seen continuously. Its effectiveness has been spread worldwide that one cannot deny its needfulness. In Nigeria, during the Jonathan's administration, he used economic diplomacy to influence FDI which also impacted on the economy significantly. Evidence showed that

during the Jonathan's administration, FDI in Nigeria recorded 27 billion which became the highest in Africa and her economy also became the largest in Africa with a GDP value at 510bn which grew at an average of 7%. Being successful in the economic sector, he was able to do some major work in some critical sectors like agriculture, educational, electricity, hospital, transportation which include aviation, road construction and railway constructions, telecommunication, water, job creation and many others. With this, one can rightly say that foreign direct investment is as a result of economic diplomacy as it seen that good economic diplomacy has a stronghold on FDI and economic growth.

Recommendations

Based on the findings, the following recommendations were put forward.

- Economic diplomacy should be used as an instrument to attract more FDI. Its usefulness should not be over looked. Indeed, Nigeria under Jonathan has proven this point on his administration as he used economic diplomacy as a key to attract FDI which also hit the economic sector positively.
- Governments should ensure to provide the necessary environment to encourage the flow of FDI. Nigeria government should try to provide security to encourage FDI because the fear of insecurity can hinder the flow of FDI.
- Efforts should be made to involve in Joint Ventures that can be beneficial to the economy. The Nigeria government should adopt a more flexible policy and business environment, which can be a weapon in attracting more FDI.
- A conducive environment should be provided at all times to encourage foreign investors

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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN SOCIAL WELFARE PRACTICE IN NIGERIAN SOCIETY

Bonga, Francis Eniekedou

08068087372

eniyes82@gmail.com

Department of Adult and Non-Formal Education
College of Education Warri, Delta State

Ebegha E. Shadrack

08039169265

Department of Social Studies
College of Education Warri, Delta State

&

Reuben Daniel (Ph.D)

08032394065

Department of Social Studies
College of Education Warri, Delta State

ABSTRACT

The contemporary Nigerian society is bedeviled or besieged with many social challenges in the field of social welfare practices, which affect its prospects. Social welfare profession is designed to help and promote the wellbeing of individuals, groups and community by helping them live optimally. Some of the emerging contemporary social issues that need social intervention are: the poor, the sick, welfare for the aging adults, inmates, disables and physical/mentally challenged person. However, the more complex contemporary societal challenges or social problems are kidnapping, human trafficking, cultism, drug addict and the likes. These categories of persons are found in the Nigerian society in the immediate /extended family and community. In order to address these contemporary issues, social workers need to strategize new methods of carrying out their social welfare practice in Nigeria. Some of the social welfare workers in Nigeria are philanthropist (individual bodies), religious organization, social clubs, and governmental institution like Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture. The paper recommends that social workers should be professionalized to meet the emerging challenges of individuals and groups and community.

Keywords: Social, welfare, workers and practice.

Introduction

Social welfare addresses variety of social problems such as the poor, the sick, welfare for the aging adults, inmates, disables, and physical/mentally challenged person. The aforementioned category of persons is found in the Nigerian society in the immediate/extended family and community at large. However, the profession of social welfare practice is design to help and promote the wellbeing of individual by helping them live optimally (Egenti, 2012). This is in line with social work definition by the International

Federation of Social Work (IFSW) in July, 2014, as a profession which promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships, and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being (Okoye and Ijiebo, 2013). The principles of human relation is fundamental to social welfare and it brings to the fore the essence of the profession, which is to better the lives of individual by resolving challenges confronting their daily living irrespective of the social context to which they belong (Okoye, 2007).

Social welfare practice in Nigeria has

come a long way from just being a religious and voluntary offshoot to a professional discipline. Despite the fact, it is new in contemporary Nigerian society. However, social welfare practice has been in existence since the pre-colonial era and it was confined at communal levels through religious bodies, voluntary organizations and the extended family system (Okoye, 2013).

However, the contemporary Nigerian society is confronted with the problem of how to develop ways to meet human needs especially of the less-privilege citizens such as orphan, the poor, the sick, welfare for the aging adult, disables and physical/mentally challenge person and the likes. In the past, it is the responsibilities of the traditional society – family/individual, churches/mosques and other related agencies that cater for the less-privilege; but recently, the transformation that engulfs the Nigerian society has drastically changed the operational mode of social welfare practice. Therefore, social workers in contemporary society did not only focus on the social challenges, but the social challenges of resource systems seeming to be in dearth in Nigeria (Udeani, 2019). In most cases, some social welfare practices are synonymous with charity-work or one-to one intervention by well-to-do citizens in modern today society thereby using therapeutic approach to reach out the less privilege (Cox and Pawar, 2006).

Historical perspective of social welfare practice in Nigeria

Social welfare profession is relative new in Nigeria. However, indigenous social welfare practice existed since the advent of colonialism in Nigeria. The pre-colonial Nigerian societies carry out social welfare practice based on social needs of members in the society. The social structure of traditional Nigerian society is a web of relationships by blood and marriage, which unite everybody as one and be their brother keeper. People lived together as one big family, and the process is known as welfarist culture. It means the show of brotherliness, friendship, hospitality and respect for one another most especially the elders; and the less privilege ones and aging adults are well taken care off in the social

system. It is the duty of the young ones or well-to-do in the family to cater for the less privilege and older adults of the family not minding whether he/she is the biological parents or not. However, the advent of Islamic religion in the Northern Nigeria brought about new social problem. For instance, the *Almajiri's* who survived on begging (Mbah, Ebue and Ugwu, 2017).

In the colonial era, social welfare practice in Nigeria can be traced to Christian missionaries' activities in the late 19th Century. The Christian missionaries' social welfare practice were based on the teaching of Jesus Christ, love, peace, kindness, community service and the likes. The Christian missionaries established schools in different location in Nigeria and the teaching was mostly based on the knowledge of the bible, singing of hymns, chanting of psalms, and training of catechists. Health facilities were also provided to cater for the local dwellers. The major aim of the social welfare practice by the Christian missionaries is to convert the pagans or unbelievers into Christianity and use the newly trained catechist to expand missionary activities in Nigeria (Odera and Eromole, 2013).

Hoverer, the end of the First and Second World War make the social problems in Nigeria to be more complex than ever before, which require professionalism as social welfare intervention. Some of the social problems that affected negatively in the society are slave trade, drug abuse, smoking, prostitution, and the likes; but the social problems in the North and South are not alike which needs to address in more professional way (Eze, Ezea and Anichie, 2000; Kazeem, 2011).

When Nigeria gains her independence in 1960, the social problems in society increased tremendously which was difficult for traditional welfare institutions and the government to handle. The social problems escalate as result of the civil war that was fought between Nigerian government and Biafra from 1966-1970. However, in 1970, the Federal Government of Nigeria invited the United Nations Regional Adviser on Social Welfare Policy and Training - Dr. A. H.

Shawky to study the social welfare service situation in the country and proffer possible solution. The commendation led to establishment of Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports, and Culture in 1975 to specifically cater for social problems/developments in Nigeria; social welfare offices were established in all states and local government areas of the federation.

This development requires professionals to effectively manage the newly established social welfare offices in Nigeria. As result of that, various professional social welfare training institutions/universities in Nigeria were establish in the 70s and 80s to offer certificate courses on social work. However, social work is in the department of Sociology and Anthropology, Faculty of Social Sciences in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka; University of Benin, and University of Jos that run diploma, degree programme, and later post graduate programmes (PGD, M.Sc and Ph.D). While institutions that run diploma courses on social work are Federal School of Social Work, Emene, Enugu State, and Social Development Institute, Iperu, Ogun State. The institutions that offer social work programme aimed to train the needed work force that can run the Social Welfare Departments in the Ministry. Nevertheless, the quest for professional social workers in Nigeria, make other Nigerian universities and polytechnics to also establish social work department (Okoye, 2014; Mbah, Ebue and Ugwu, 2017). This also led to the formation of various social work associations in Nigeria, which include the Nigerian Association of Social Workers (NASOWS), the Association of Medical Social Workers in Nigeria (AMSWON), the Nigerian Association of Social Work Educators and the likes (Ogbonna, 2017).

Objectives and scope of social welfare practice

In the 20th century, social workers began to experience the complexities of human needs and problems. Their original philosophy that poverty was caused by moral defects gave to a new understanding of the interaction between people and their immediate environment and problems arises from the

interaction. Besides, the charity organizations, which are also a sub unit of the church, were also keenly involved through the support and care for human needs. The core of these interventions is that, human needs must be provided formally and informally in cases where the formal social system does not have the policy framework to offer such support. Therefore, social welfare practice means the process through human needs are met that serve the common good collectively and has its major objectives, namely:

- To serve as an institutionalized interventionist process and programme in the social system.
- To serve as a means of responding to social needs, social satisfaction, environmental and situational challenges that impinge significantly on the human survival.
- To bridge the gap between the privilege and less privilege group through social welfare support programme.
- To promote, restore, maintain, or enhance the functioning of individuals, families, households, social groups, organizations, and communities, by assisting them to prevent distress and utilize resources effectively.
- To supply non-monetary help that directly or indirectly that increases people's abilities to function in the society.
- The provision of wide range of counseling services.
- To provide social services ranging from mutual aid, charity/philanthropy, information, and referral, socialization and older group services, as well as supportive services (Egenti, 2012; Udeani, 2019).

Organization and administration of social welfare practice in Nigeria

The structure of social welfare is under the Ministry of Social Development, Youth, Sports and Culture in Nigeria. Although the

structure has different classifications but whatever nomenclature, social welfare comes under the framework of the Ministry of Social Development and Woman Affairs. Usually, the department is often referred to as Community Development and Social Welfare (Egenti, 2012).

Therefore, the organization of social welfare activities in Nigeria was earlier associated with services like the less privilege and aging adults in various family and community; and it was religious bodies, voluntarily organizations and the like that actually cater for them. Therefore, there was a cordial intergroup relationship in traditional society before social welfare practice was professionalized. The intergroup relations theory is based on the assumption that individuals are grouped into social meaningful units in a process called “socio-categorization” (Ezimah, 2009).

Relevance of social welfare practice in Nigeria

Nigeria like any other developing African countries has adopted a new parameter on social work, which stresses developmental and institutional orientation. Developmental social work involves relating the level of social functioning of a target population to national development. It also involves coordinating different service and guiding the target population to derived total benefit from the service provided (Anyanwu, 2002).

Social welfare practice is very relevant in Nigerian society because of the very rapid changes in socio-cultural and economic environment in the few decades. Its immediate benefit lies in the application of social work knowledge, values and skills to the pursuit of national developmental objectives increasing the capacity of individuals, families, and communities to cope with the rapid social change. In addition, social welfare is very relevant in Nigeria because of its holistic orientation. It is one single profession that is concerned with the totality of individuals, group and community in terms of the capacity to survive in an environment. This is strikingly different from other professions like engineering, accounting, political science,

history, law, medicine and other science related disciplines that are concerned with one aspect of an individual's life to the total exclusion of others (Abiona, 2009).

The relevance of social welfare in Nigeria also lies in the usefulness of social workers in providing information on varying needs of individuals, families, groups and communities, and in evaluating developmental programmes and policies, with a view to enhancing the quality of life of the people in the society.

Contemporary issues social welfare practice in Nigerian society

In conceptualizing social welfare as an organized system of social services and institutions, is design to enable individuals and groups to attain better condition of living. The premise of this meaning is that, the practice involves the use of community resources and their mobilization in meeting the needs of individuals and groups in Nigerian society. Therefore, the underlying contemporary assumption of present social welfare practice and its services is that “all human beings, irrespective of their present level in which they find themselves have some potentialities for development” (Egenti, 2012:103). When an individual potential cannot affect the society positively; it is crux of contemporary social welfare service.

In this modern era, there are social problems in the Nigerian society that require social intervention such as kidnapping, terrorism, conflict, cultism, child trafficking, drug abuse, prostitution and just to mention but few. These problems need to address holistically from a professional background due to its complex nature. However, the above social problem generally hinders the growth and development of any given society. Therefore, there is urgent need to address such problem in order to utilize the growth and development of the society effectively. Since the society is viewed as social system that controls its members and unite them for common goal (Okoye, 2013)

Against this backdrop, contemporary social welfare practice is concerned with maintenance, developmental and change

activities respectively, which relate to the individuals and community. Therefore, in providing these services, there are systems, institutions, organizations, and programmes. The term system refers to a collection of the programmes they administer; while the term institution means the overall network of structured relationships that have been accepted by society and designed to carry out certain essential social functions. Such institutions are however found in organization, which implies a single unit, involving a formal structure and having a defined purpose that involves the delivery of certain specified services to the defined clientele. Thus, the organizations found within the institutions of social welfare are called agencies. In this wise, organization carry out their functions through programmes for better living condition of Nigerians. A programme may be considered therefore as the structure, plans, and processes developed to assure the delivery of certain services to the eligible needy in the society.

In contemporary society, social welfare practice includes individuals, groups and community as protection and social care; developmental and socialization, and rehabilitation services. Meanwhile, the typical organization or personal social service delivery system often referred to as agencies. However, the important emphasis is that, all the social welfare agencies in Nigerian state have programmes designed to assist people in needs depending on the classification of such needs (Udeani, 2019).

Conclusion

Social welfare practice in contemporary society is confronted with varying degrees of social problems, which has already highlighted in the body of the work. However, social welfare practice without any doubt is an organized body that response to the various social problems confronting individuals, groups and community. This work as actually revealed how social welfare practice metamorphosed from the traditional practice of the pre-colonial Nigerian society where the extended family, religious organization were some of the major institution of social intervention, to the

colonial era where Christian missionaries and voluntary organizations were at the fore front, and then to contemporary times where social welfare practice was institutionalized. Then, government agencies and voluntary organizations championing the course of social welfare practice in Nigeria. This shows that there was a total transition of social welfare practice which requires professionalism in addressing or finding possible solution to the emerging societal problems. This work recommends that social welfare practice should be professionalized in order to handle contemporary societal challenges due to its complex nature.

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THE POLITICS OF SECESSION AND THE PARODY OF NIGERIAN FEDERALISM IN POST-BIAFRA NIGERIA

Olawale O. Akinrinde

Department of Political Science, Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria
olawale.akinrinde@uniosun.edu.ng

Abdullahi A. Osuwa

Department of Political Science, Kogi State University, Anyigba, Nigeria
abdulinlondon@gmail.com

David A. Babalola

Nigerian Defence Academy, Kaduna, Nigeria
davidekiti@gmail.com

Kenneth Y. Irhue, PhD

Department of Political Science, Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria
kenneth.irhue@uniosun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

This article, relying on the strength of the qualitative orientations, examines the parodies of Nigerian federalism, and empirically established a linkage between these parodies and the unending contests among the centrifugal and centripetal forces within the Nigerian federation. It debunks the popularly held notion of Nigerian federalism as quasi-federalism on the pretext that the purported Nigerian federalism is purely a parody of what federalism stands for and represents. In light of the over-concentration of powers in the center, absence of resource control and fiscal federalism, the limitless powers of the federal government over other federating components, and lack of regional autonomy of the federating components, this article concludes that the unending politics of secession, ethnic rivalry, and underdevelopment would continue as much as the current parody of federalism remains unaddressed.

Keywords: Parody, Secessionism, Inter-group Relations, Federalism, Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces

Introduction

Federalism remains the only known potent political antidote till date, in addressing the problems of irreconcilable political differences and schisms between centrifugal and centripetal social and political forces in an ethnically diverse and socially pluralistic society. However, realities and evidences from federalist states, including advanced federalisms, have shown that the adoption of federalism

has further precipitated what it was initially designed to address: the concerns and interests of the centrifugal and centripetal groups (Fossum & Jachtenfuchs, 2017). Evidences from Nigerian federalism, albeit its shortcomings, has witnessed consistent rise in those calling for more transfer of governmental powers from the center to the component units, and those calling for more concentration of more powers in the center (Suberu, 2010). These two groups,

aside representing the centrifugal and centripetal forces that are always embedded in all federalisms, represent the two geopolitical divides in Nigeria that are, first, those that are comfortable with the current federalist structures and the concentration of powers in the center, and secondly, the group of those that believes there is excessive concentration of powers in the center, and the need for more devolution of powers from the center to the component units, that is, the federating states in Nigeria, and also the need for political restructuring of the Nigerian federalism. Contextually, these irreconcilable differences between the two groups precipitated the Nigerian civil war, the Biafra war from 1967 to 1970, and continue to trigger the unending contradiction of federalism, which of course, the adoption of federalism at independence in Nigeria was meant to address. Unfortunately, rather than address the concerns of the diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria, the Nigerian federalism has further exacerbated the concerns of these groups, thereby putting the existence of the Nigerian state on the precinct of discontinuity (Osaghae, 1998). This article is therefore an attempt to unbundle these dialectics and politics surrounding Nigerian federalism and group relations in its post-Biafra era.

Albeit its political potency and administrative efficacy as a unique and reliable political antidote in addressing the problems of irreconcilable political and ethnic differences in a multi-ethnic societies where centrifugal and centripetal social forces jostle for decentralization and centralization respectively. Federalism wherever practised remains an ideal that can desirably and considerably be pursued, whereas, its truest reality and state of perfection can never be attained even in the most advanced societies. This, justifiably

so, according to its progenitor, makes federalism susceptible to imperfection and human errors when practiced as there is apparently no true federalism anywhere in human organization and society. In its imperfections, federalism accounts for the relative peace most ethnically diverse states that have opted for it as system of governance are currently experiencing.

Federalism, for Suberu (2009) and Isumonah (2003), has been relatively successful in overcoming and containing the syndrome of state disintegration, large-scale internal disorder, and the breakdown of law and order that has afflicted some of the world's other large un-federal states. Nigeria's relative stability, for Suberu (2009), derives significantly from its unique federal structure, which has, over time, been reconfigured, especially after her 1967–1970 civil war from an unstable union of three unwieldy ethnic regions into a more integrated, 36-unit, multiethnic federation. Why Suberu's submission of transformation of Nigerian federalism from an unstable union of three unwieldy ethnic regions into a more integrated 36-unit multiethnic federation may fail the test of contemporary reality and empirical check in contemporary Nigeria is that there has been a resurgence of unprecedented and sustained conflagration between the centrifugal and centripetal forces within the Nigerian state in recent times over the restructuring of the political and governance structures of the country. Within the federalist divides, the advocates of the centrifugal measures and policies have sustained vigorously their demands for the restructuring of Nigeria's governance and political structures in line with the dictates and true idea of federalism since the installation of Nigeria's fourth republic in 1999. This position has been the fulcrum of the Igbo ethnic nationality's agitation in Nigeria since the end of

Nigeria's first republic from 1963 to 1966 which witnessed Nigeria's second coup d'état where many officers of the military of the Igbo ethnic extraction were killed. Late General Agunyi Ironsi who was the military Head of State at the time of this second coup d'état and of the Igbo ethnic nationality was more predisposed to a more centralized governance and administrative system. This was evident in a military decree, popularly known as the "the unification decree, decree 34" that was intended to unify and centralize the governance and political structure of the Nigerian state. In practical terms, this decree emplaced the Nigerian state on the path of unitary system. Agunyi Ironsi's dream of a unitary Nigerian state remained stillborn as he never lived to make it a reality following his killing in the second coup d'état in July 27 1966. The termination of Ironsi's regime and his killing in the coup d'état marked the beginning of ethnic chauvinism, rivalry and jingoism into the Nigerian body polity.

For Johnson and Olaniyan (2017: 1):

"In spite of the consistency of the Biafra agitation through successive administrations, there was a noticeable lull in the secessionist demands during the time of President Good luck Jonathan. The palpable lull in the agitation was, however, short-lived whilst assuming a frightening proportion since the advent of the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari in 2015."

Johnson and Olaniyan (2017: 2) tended to have located the sudden resurgence in the Biafra agitation since the emergence of President Muhammadu Buhari's presidency within the primacy of an

interplay of factors such as; the outcome of the 2015 general elections, the question of inclusion and representation; the unfinished nature of the Nigerian civil war; economic challenges, miscalculation both on the part of the Igbo people and indiscretion in the initial appointments made by President Muhammadu Buhari. The outcome of the 2015 general elections, for Johnson and Olaniyan (2017) fell short of the aspirations and expectations of the Biafra agitators whom are mostly of Igbo ethnic extraction. As pointed out by Johnson and Olaniyan (2017), the general expectation of the Biafra agitators and most Nigerians from the South Eastern parts of the country was nothing short of Former President Good luck Jonathan's victory in the 2015 presidential elections, having voted him en-mass during the elections. It was no surprise that former President Good luck Jonathan won both in the South-East and South-South geopolitical zones of the country. However, against the backdrop of the Biafra secessionist agitators and the Easterners' expectations, President Muhammadu Buhari won in the South-West, North-West, North-East and the North-Central zones of the country, thereby winning the presidential elections. This, among other factors, did not go down well with mostly the Igbo whom had wanted and voted for former president Goodluck Jonathan as the president.

The question of inclusion and representation of the Igbo equally came to play in the renewed agitation of the Biafra known as Independent People of Biafra (IPOB). For so long, most especially since the killing of a military head of state of an Igbo origin, General Aguiyi Ironsi in 1966 through a bloody military coup, the Igbo ethnic has been unable to produce another a president or head of state for more than fifty years of the 70 years of Nigeria's

existence as a sovereign state. The closest the Igbo had come to the Nigerian presidency was when Alex Ekwueme was elected the vice-president a joint presidential ticket with Alhaji Shehu Shagari of the National Party of Nigeria in 1979. After the termination of the tenure of President Shehu Shagari and Vice-president Alex Ekwueme through a military junta in 1983, no Nigerian of Igbo ethnic extraction had ever been elected to the presidency. This political exclusion disguised as “the will of the majority in a democracy” resonates the visible exclusionary politics the Igbo ethnic nationality has been subjected since Nigeria's civil war (Ekeh, 1996). Given the prevailing politics of ethnicity and diversity that the adoption of a federal system was designed to address in Nigeria officially since independence, has remained constant in intergroup relations in Nigeria, and had become more prominent, assuming a dangerous point in the wake of the 2015 general elections.

Aside the politics of exclusion and underrepresentation of the Igbo at the federal level in terms of accessibility and capacity to contest for and be elected into the presidency; appointments into federal institutions; and parliamentary representation in the National Assembly, the unfinished nature and business of the civil war continues to give more impetus to the secessionist agitations of the Igbo through the Independent People of Biafra (IPOB) movement. What is therefore clear in these dialectics is the continued paradox of the government in relying on its adopted quasi-federal system to resolving the secessionist agitations of centrifugal forces as that of the IPOB. The next section considers a few of the dialectics and contradictions that make the Nigerian federalism wholly inefficient in addressing the usual contestation between the centrifugal and centripetal forces as

epitomized in inter-group relations in Nigeria that is characterized by secessionist movements and agitations.

The Dialectics and Parody of Federalism in Nigeria since Independence

Federalism is a system of government in which powers are between a centre and component units or regions. Federalism, as a borrowed system of government in Nigeria, was never an indigenous origination of a pre-colonial Nigeria. No kingdom, emirate or chiefdom prior to colonial governance in Nigeria had a semblance of a federal structure or system where powers were divided between a centre and other units or levels of governance. Matter-of-factly, the pre-colonial Hausa emirate governance system had other component units of authorities and governance within the emirate system, but these component and levels of emirate administrations were never a coordinate of the centre of the emirate. For instance, in the pre-colonial Kano emirate system, there were several emirates headed by emirs with delegated powers to administer their respective emirates. However, these emirates were never a equal coordinate of the Kano Emirate which was also headed by an Emir under whose authority other emirs of the smaller emirates within the Kano emirate govern. Although, the pre-colonial system of governance had no semblance of an emirate system of the Hausas and Fulanis, however, it visualized a cabinet system where there was an Oba and Bashorun who acted as the head of state and head of government respectively. Whilst there were sub-levels of authorities and administration in the kingdom like the war-post (a military camp headed by the Balogun or the Aare Onakakanfo), these levels of authorities or administration were never coordinates of the seat of the Oba power. For instance, whilst there were several kingdoms within the pre-colonial

Old Oyo Empire such as the Ede Kingdom (a military camp/town set up by the Alaafin of Oyo) and others, they were never coordinates to the Oyo kingdom headed by the Alaafin of Oyo. The pre-colonial Igbo governance system, on the other hand, was one that differed from both the Hausa and Yoruba's respectively, and tended to be acephalous but was never a federal arrangement. This forecloses the possibility that there were glimpses of a federal structure or federal arrangement in pre-colonial Nigeria. No doubts, the foundations of a federal system were laid by the colonial administrators of colonial Nigeria. It began with the division of the colonial Nigeria into three regions – North, West and Eastern regions, by the then Governor-General, Bernard Bourdillon. The regions thus became independently administered regions under the Sir Arthur Richard's Constitution of 1946. This federal premise was built upon by subsequent colonial constitutions of Macpherson's and Lyttleton's before it was adopted by an independent Nigeria in 1960 following her attainment of statehood.

As expected, the adoption and practice was never meant to be perfect from inception. First, it was new to any known indigenous governance system in pre-colonial (Suberu, 2001). Second, its adoption and practice were far from perfection where it originated from and being operationalised for many years long before attempts to domesticate it in colonial and post-colonial Nigeria governance systems. Hence, there is not any perfect federal system across the world where all the ideals and principles of federalism are practised.

Following the official adoption of a federal system by Nigeria in 1960 with three regions making up the Nigerian federation, the prevailing politics of regionalism, ethnicity, exclusion, religious affiliations,

and minority question was billed to be addressed (Osaghae and Suberu 2005). This was so expected due to the logic that the adoption of a federal system, among other imports, would allay the fear of all the ethnic nationalities and regions of possible political and social domination in their intergroup political, social and economic relations. Above all other considerations, the social and ethnic diversities of the Nigerian people at independence thus informed the adoption of a federal system. The reluctance of the North towards independence in the build-ups to 1960 coupled with the fear of other regions over the possibility of one region dominating others eventually provided a virile ground for the general consensus to adopt a federal system.

However, the federalist experiences in Nigeria since independence have rather been somewhat dialectical to the underlying reasons that necessitated the adoption of federalism. None of the general observers and scholars of Nigerian federalism as well as the Nigerian citizenry had expected a perfect federal system in Nigeria, especially when one considers the experiences of even the most politically sophisticated systems as the United States, Germany, Australia and others. What is puzzling in the Nigerian experience is the case of complete parody of the practice of federalism. From a general distinction from what is contained in her federalist constitution to what is being practised, the Nigerian state continues to drift away from the state of parody to complete jettisoning of the provisions of federalism to political centralization and unitary system. The question here therefore is why has Nigeria become a parody of federalism?

The lopsided relationship between unequal federating components

The classical idea of a federal system lies in the equality of the federating coordinates in the federal arrangement. Anything shot of this is a parody and mockery of the spirit of federalism. This has been the situation in Nigeria since independence. The Nigerian federal system recognizes three levels of governance which are the federal government, the state government, and the local government. The Nigerian federal constitution recognizes the three levels of government as independent levels of government with their respective spheres of authorities. In the sharing of the federal powers to the three levels of government, the federal government is granted the constitutional powers to legislate and execute authority on the matters that fall within the exclusive list. Only the federal government can legislate on matters of the executive list which include defense, armed forces, aviation, currency, war, foreign policy and others. The federal government and the state government, on the other hand, are granted powers to legislate on matters that are contained in the concurrent list. The concurrent list includes education, agriculture, infrastructures, health, security, housing, transportation, land and others. Lastly, the local government exclusively legislates on matters that border on matters that are spelt out in the residual list which include chieftaincy title, markets, registration of birth and death, street naming etc. However, despite the constitutional division of powers among the three levels of government as independent tiers, the relationship among the three levels has remained a master-servant relationship where the master (the federal government) does what it must whilst the servant (the servants) accept what they must. The refusal of the federal government led by

former President Olusegun Obasanjo to release the statutory twenty-one month local government allocations to Lagos State despite the Nigerian Supreme Court's ruling in favour of the release is a case of the unequal relationships among the tiers of government in Nigeria.

The federal government pays the political piper, and dictates the political tunes regardless of the federal provisions in the constitution. This is the case with the issue of internal security as it pertains to the security of lives and properties across the federation. Whilst the constitution provides that the powers of security of lives and properties are the function of all the three federating levels of government, only the federal government controls the internal security architecture in Nigeria. Aside the Neighborhood Watch in Lagos State created by Lagos State House of Assembly to help combat crime within Lagos state by reporting suspicious potential crimes to the Police and accosting suspected criminals and handing them over to the Nigerian Police; coupled with the HISBAH security outfit created by most northern states in Nigeria that practise the Sharia legal system, no other state government had set up or controlled a civil security agency that can facilitate the security of lives and properties within their states until year 2020 when the Western Nigerian Security Network otherwise known as the Amotekun Corps was established by the Houses of Assemblies of the states in the South-western region of the country. All the while and until recently, the only police force, the Nigerian Police Force (a force of about 300, 000 personnel providing security to about 200, 000, 000 Nigerians) in Nigeria has been a centralised federal government security agency. The federal government controls the structure, operations and affairs of the police. In fact, the commissioners of the

Nigerian Police that head the police command at the state level are not accountable to the state governors. They are accountable to the Inspector General of Police who only reports to the president. This explains the parody of the practice of a federal system in Nigeria.

Over-centralization of governance and the Parody of Federalism in Nigeria

Governance in a federal state is not an exclusive preserve or prerogative of any of the federating units or components in a federal arrangement world-over. Unlike what is obtainable in advanced federal systems, governance in Nigeria has been heavily centralized and continues to drift towards a complete parody of the practice of federalism in Nigeria. Nigeria operates a 36-states and federal capital territory governance system where an executive president heads the federation and governs from the capital territory whilst the governors govern the states. Federalism requires that the functions and powers of governance must be devolved amongst the federating units in a federation. From this premise, one would have expected that the task of securing lives and properties that constitutes the core of any reasonable and modern-day governance would be naturally devolved and undertaken by all the levels or tiers of governance in a federation as Nigeria. Paradoxically, only the federal government in Nigeria undertakes the task of security of lives and properties in Nigeria. Whilst the Nigerian constitution recognizes and empowers all the three tiers of government with the powers and function to secure lives and properties, in practice, only the federal government controls the security apparatus. Whilst in advanced federal systems, all components units (from federal/central government to local/county governments) operate their own independent police department, the

Nigerian federalism, in practice abhors state and local governments (as independent federating components) from establishing their own police department. Again, the practice of fiscal federalism in Nigeria is a complete parody to the classical idea of federalism. Whilst federalism requires and supports the control of the federating units within a federation over their own resources, the Nigerian federalism places the control of the federation's natural resources within the whims and caprices of the federal government. As a monolithic economy that exists and survives only on the proceeds from the exportation of crude oil, the Nigerian federal government controls the Niger Delta oil and determines for whom to be sold, the amount of revenue that goes back to the Niger Delta region. This is the fate of all states within the Nigerian federation. No state controls its natural resources or endowments, except land which the Nigerian constitution has emplaced within the jurisdiction of the states. Despite this, the federal has been subtly trying as much as it can to appropriate more constitutional powers to the center. For instance, in an attempt to arrogate more powers and functions to itself (the center), the federal government is sponsoring a bill known as the "Water Resources Bill" in the National Assembly in the current year 2020. The aim is to bring all "water resources" on land and under the land under the control of the federal government. Whereas, the 1999 constitution provided that all lands within the Nigerian federation belong to the states and not the federal government, the action of the federal government is thus an attempt, by all indications, to take more powers away from the federating components to the center. All these actions only mean one thing the non-existence of federalism in the first place, or at best, the existence of the counterfeit and a parody of

federalism in Nigeria.

Biafra Secessionist Agitation, Intergroup Relations and the Parody of Nigerian Federalism

No federalism is perfect, but then, no federalism is also quasi. It is either it is federalism or not federalism. Thus, if this premise is to be relied upon in ascertaining whether a political system is a federal system or not, then there will be no such concepts as quasi-federalism or developing federalism. Why it has been argued that no federalism is perfect is apparently due to the human factor in the practice of federalism. Federalism is not imperfect because its ideals and philosophies are flawed, but, rather, as a result of the dynamic nature of humans in its practice. Apparently, the imperfection of federalism is not located in the absence of one or more of its ideals and classical principles. When any or all of its principle is/are absent in a federal system, such a system becomes a parody of federalism. And, at this point, it does no longer serve its purposes as an efficient administrative and governance antidote in addressing the problem of constant and unsettled conflagrations between centrifugal and centripetal intergroup relations.

It has been established that Nigeria has never been a federal state when compared against the backdrop of a federal system, as espoused by K.C wheare. Resource control, fiscal federalism, independence and autonomy of the federating units in a federation to administer their own affairs without overbearing interference from the federal government at the center, state police, devolution of power and governance, among others, are a few of the distinctive attributes of a federal state that sets it apart from others. None of the aforementioned federalist ideals and practices is respected or practised in

Nigeria. Since independence, for instance, the issue of resource control has been one of the major parodies of federalism in Nigeria. No region or state had ever been allowed to control its own resources since independence in Nigeria. In fact, this contributed to the eventual outbreak of the Nigerian 30-month civil war from 1967 to 1970. The states in the South-South geopolitical zone house the crude oil that sustains the Nigerian economy. Sadly, none of these South-South states controls its own resources despite the environmental hazards and oil-spillage that accompany the oil-exploration by the federal government in this South-South Niger Delta. This alone dislodges any premise, justification or argument that attempts to see the Nigerian state as a federation or a federal state. True federal system provides for fiscal federalism and allows each federating unit or component to control its own resources. This explains why the so called "Nigerian federalism", widely famed as quasi-federalism, which in the real sense is nothing but a parody, has failed to address the problem of politics of ethnicity and diversity, for which it was adopted.

Beyond the issue of issue of resource, another completely entrenched practice that makes the Nigerian federalism a complete parody is the over-centralization of internal security architecture in the country. Till date, the localization of the police remains a fleeting mirage in Nigerian federation, even when, non-federal systems are already embracing the utility of state and local police; the security of lives and properties through the instrumentality of the police remains an exclusive prerogative of the Federal Government. Despite the recognition of the governors of states within the Nigerian federation as the chief security officers of their states, they completely lack the

institutional and structural provisions to perform their responsibilities as CSOs of their states. The Commissioners of police that ideally should be made to report to the governors at the state level, reports only to the Inspector General of Police, who, in return, reports to the President of the federation. This practice negates the essence of federalism, and suggests very clearly a parody of the federal system in Nigeria.

The implication of these parodies of Nigerian federalism hinges on the continued politics of ethnicity, centrifugal and centripetal relations, violence, and bitterness in intergroup relations. Rather than address these unconventional patterns of intergroup politics that are filled with mutual suspicion, hatred, and supremacy battle, violence, and secessionist agitations, the Nigerian federalism has become a victim of what it was meant to address. The Nigerian federalism has however become a source of intergroup contestations, rivalry and unconventional politics of bitterness, parochialism, corruption and secessionist agitations. Since Nigerian version of federalism, loosely dubbed as quasi-federalism, has failed to allay the fears of the diverse ethnic nationalities and groupings by failing to allow each federating unit (states and local governments) govern independently and in accordance with the ideals of federalism, secessionist politics and movements therefore offer the ethnic groupings an opportunity to actualize their political aspirations outside of the federation. This therefore explains in great depth the rationale behind the sustained clamours from the Igbo nationality for secession. This therefore is no coincidence, as many more of the clamours for secession and its politics from other ethnic groupings, is predicted to intensify and gain more momentum. This explains the latent

advocacy and calls from the Yoruba-speaking states for restructuring (a fundamental change to the political system and structure of the country) in recent time. In praxis, intergroup relations in a paradoxical and quasi federal system as Nigeria would continue to be characterized by constant centrifugal and centripetal contest and secessionist politics as evident in Nigeria since independence.

Conclusion

Building on preceding arguments, this argument has unbundled the dialectics and parodies of Nigerian federalism. It established that there is no such political system as quasi-federalism anywhere in the world. The idea of a federal system being a quasi or developing federalism was an escapist strategy to window-dress political systems that are not federalism-practicing systems. All the ideals and principles of federalism are unambiguous and clear. When any or all of these principles which, among other things, include, fiscal autonomy, resource control, independence of each federating unit to administer its own affairs, devolution of powers among the federating coordinates etc., is/are missing in a federal system, such a federal system becomes a parody and dialectical. It therefore becomes another source of political problem when; rather than address the common teething political problems of ethnic diversity, intergroup contests over resource and power appropriation and tendencies, it promotes them.

It is in light of this premise, this paper recommends that the current parodies and dialectics of Nigeria federalism characterizing the supposed Nigerian quasi-federalism must be revisited, jettisoned and abandoned in an attempt to promoting true federalism in its undiluted form. This remains the only strategy to

addressing the politics of secessionism, divisionism and ethnic intergroup rivalry that characterize the Nigerian federal system and intergroup relations.

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND CYBERCRIME IN NIGERIA A STUDY OF UGHELLI NORTH, DELTA STATE, NIGERIA

Dr. Chinyere Eucharia Ihedioha

Department of Sociology

Edwin Clark University, Kiagbodo, Delta State, Nigeria.

Email: uk_345@yahoo.com. Phone: +2348069265086

ABSTRACT:

This work examined unemployment and cybercrime in Ughelli North Local Government Area, Delta State, Nigeria. The purpose was to investigate the extent to which unemployment influences or lead to cybercrime in Ughelli North, Delta State. The work adopted the sociological theory of crime. A sample size of 147 was drawn. In-depth interview and questionnaire were adopted in the selection of respondents. Three research questions were raised. Data that addressed the research questions were analyzed using descriptive method. The findings of the study include: Presence of unemployment, presence of cybercrime, and unemployment as a major cause of cybercrime. Based on these findings the study made the following recommendations. i. Regular sensitization programmes should be done through mass media such as the television, radio etc, worship centers, and even the public to emphasis and discourage individuals who intend to be involved in this crime, ii. The Federal, State and Local Governments should enact laws that will prescribe penalties for anybody caught in any form of crime especially cybercrime. iii. The Economic Financial Crime Commission should work hand in hand with other security agencies, banking sector and other financial institutions to avert this menace in the society, iv. There should be electronic tracking equipment that will capture the photograph, location, time of any withdrawer and payment into any account, v. Nigeria can emulate from other countries whose penalty for such crime is life imprisonment or death penalty.

Keywords: Employment, Unemployment, Crime, Cybercrime, Ughelli, Delta State

INTRODUCTION

In recent times, the rate at which young men and women engage in cybercrime or computer fraud has been of a great concern to the government, information technology specialists, individuals and the society at large. **Cybercrime** is a crime that involves the use of computer network (Moore, 2005). Cybercrime can be defined as an illegality that is committed against an individual, group of individuals, organization etc, with a criminal motive to intentionally defraud the victim or victims. It causes physical or mental harm, or loss, to the victim directly or indirectly with the use of internet facilities such as chat rooms, emails, video calls, mobile phones, etc. (Halder, & Jaishankar, 2011). Cybercrime has serious negative effects on an individual, a nation and even the entire world. Cybercrime can also be seen as a modern form of robbery, stealing and illegal or forceful means of collecting something especially money and

other valuable items from an individual, or even a group of persons. Cybercrimes are committed by group of criminals in collaboration with the victim. Usually the victim is not aware of the action or intention of the fraudster. The victim will be made to disclose his or her details such as bank account details, email account details, international passport details etc. The perpetrators of this crime are usually very knowledgeable on the use of computer and internet facilities. They are smart, quick in their actions and friendly at their initial encounter with their victim. With the increase of modern technology so also the nature of crime has increased in the society,

Although cybercrime looks or seems new in some parts of the world like the developing nations, it is not as new as it seem. Cybercrime has been in existence but with the development of more modern internet facilities so also the awareness and involvement of more people

that engage themselves to it. The increased in the number of people involved in cybercrime in Nigeria today, can be linked to unemployment in the society. With high unemployment rate in Nigeria many young men and women who ordinarily would have been engaged in one paid job or the other now engages in cybercrime.

Cybercrime, usually does not require much expertise, mostly, human weaknesses are generally exploited. Damages caused by cybercrime are usually devastating, psychological and most times may lead to suicide by the victim especially when it involves huge amount of money. Because cybercrime is a crime committed by an unknown, unseen individual, legal suit is usually difficult after the crime has been committed. Cybercrime criminals usually get their victims using various tactics such as marriage promises to the opposite sex, building of mansions to their victim, making travelling documents for trips abroad, award of contracts, etc. Cybercrime operators usually have no specific place or office where they stay to perpetrate their acts. With their computers, phones, they can operate at any point and at anytime because the world has become a global village so also trade and other criminal activities can be done anywhere. More than one person can fall victim into the hands of cyber criminals at a time. What is required of them is just the availability of virtual spaces *Barnard-Wills, David; Ashenden, Debi (2012). According to ("Facts + Statistics: Identity theft and cybercrime" 2018), The Internet Crime Complaint Center received 351,937 complaints of cybercrime, which lead to \$2.7 billion lost.*

According to International Labour Organization (2012), world unemployment rate is as high as 23.10 percent. Alabi and Osagie (2006) assert that crime such as drug trafficking, kidnapping, armed robbery, prostitution, cybercrime, etc, is as a result of high rate of unemployment in the society. In recent years even with the large number of university graduates in Nigeria, unemployment has gone so high more than ever. Unemployment is seen as a disease that has eaten deep into the whole society. Hardly

does one find any Nigerian family without unemployed capable youth. The outcome of unemployed are much, they range from poverty, hunger, malnutrition, prostitution, armed robbery, kidnapping, cybercrimes, etc.

Becker (1968), Stigler (1970) and Ehrlich (1973), state that in most parts of the world, unemployment and crime are somewhat connected. In New Zealand, Small and Lewis (1996), based their study on time-series techniques and Granger causality tests, lends "strong support to the idea that crime and unemployment are linked in various ways" they claimed that unemployment causes crime most often. Studies of crime such as cybercrime and unemployment usually are based on any of the following types of data; aggregate (national) time series data, aggregate cross-section data, regional panel data or individual level data (cross-sections or panel). Studies of aggregate (national) time series data, aggregate cross-section data, often affirm a causal relationship Ehrlich (1975), Leveson (1976), Chapman (1976) and Brenner (1978). Though to certain degree these studies vary, they try to control other factors that may also likely to be affected by misplaced variable. In the case of individual level data, it is observed that the labour market status of a particular offender at the time of committing a crime is related to lack of job or unemployment (Myers (1983), Schmidt and Witte (1984), Trumball (1989), Tauchen (1994), and Grogger (1991)).

Statement of the Problem

The rate at which young men and women are involved worldwide and Nigeria in particular on cybercrime has risen so high because of the number of unemployed youths in the society. Due to high rate of unemployment, crime rate has seriously increased in Nigeria. Almost every country in the world suffers from unemployment. The degree of unemployment varies from continent to continent, country to country. It is observed that the effect of unemployment hits more on the developing countries like Nigeria and other African countries. The degree of unemployment in a society also determines the level and nature of

crime in that society.

Unemployment has a serious impact on the society. Any society with high rate of unemployment faces serious social problems. There is a popular say that “a hungry man is an angry man,” and another “an idle man is the devil's workshop”. Most of the criminal acts that take place in our contemporary society have bearing to unemployment. Ughelli North Local Government in Delta State has been faced with serious criminal activities such as cybercrime. This is because most of its youths have no job and in order to earn a living most of the youths and even some elderly people engage in cybercrime. Like most developing nations, Ughelli, in Delta State of Nigeria has a variety of social problems. This is because of limited or lack of employment opportunities in the areas. Unemployment and underemployment are high, which further aggravates the situation. The cybercrime rate is also high, and incidences of violent crime have increased significantly in recent years in this area.

Unemployment is the major cause of poverty that is the condition of having insufficient resources or income. In its most extreme form, poverty is a lack of basic human needs, such as adequate and nutritious food, clothing, housing, clean water, and health services. Extreme poverty can cause terrible suffering and death, and even modest levels of poverty can prevent people from realizing their desired goals. Observation shows that any society in which its citizens suffer unemployment is usually a society with a high crime rate. In Ughelli, previous criminal cases show that those who perpetuated the criminal acts are usually those that are not engaged in any form of formal employment.

Aim and Objectives of the Study:

The aim of this study is to draw the attention of government on the high rate of unemployment and cybercrime in Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State, Nigeria.

The Objectives of the study are to:

1. to investigate if unemployment causes cybercrime in Ughelli North Local

2. Government Area of Delta State. examine the causes of cybercrime in Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State.
3. highlight the extent to which unemployment influences cybercrime of Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State.

Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. does unemployment lead to cybercrime in Ughelli North Local government Area of Delta State?
2. what are the causes of cybercrime in Ughelli North Local Government of Delta State?
3. to what extent does unemployment influences cybercrime in Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State?

Significance of Study

This study has both theoretical and practical significances

Theoretical Significance.

These works looked at the issues of unemployment and cybercrime in Ughelli North Local

Government Area of Delta State. Several works have been done in Nigeria on issues related to unemployment and different forms of crimes but none has actually looked at unemployment as it leads to crime in Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State.

This creates a gap in knowledge for which the present study has tried to close.

Practical Significance

The outcome of this study shall benefit Information Communication Technologies (ICT), the government, security agencies, policy makers, employment agencies, International Labour Organization (ILO) etc.

Theoretical Framework

Sociological theory of crime is relevant and was adopted for this study. This theory explains crime as the result of social or cultural forces that are external to any specific individual, that exist prior to any criminal act, and that emerge

from social class, political, ecological, or physical structures attaching large groups of people. Sociological theory of crime can be sub-divided into two classes; the Structural theory and the Sub-cultural theory. Structural theories emphasized that most people have similar interests but differ dramatically in opportunities to employ their talent in socially legitimate ways. Discrepancies between aspirations and means of alienation lead people to commit crime. Thus disorganised social arrangements thwart legitimate attainments and result in illegal conduct. Whereas Sub-cultural theory states that crime originates when various groups of people adhere to cultural values that are inconsistent with the dominant, general rules of society. On this view, Crime is the product of sub cultural deviation from the agreed-upon norms that underline the criminal law.

METHODOLOGY

In this section, the various methods that were used to gather data for the study were examined. Diverse approaches are adopted in the quest for finding solutions to problems in social research. The researchers' understanding of the problem at hand is what determines the choice of methods used provided it is applied logically and it serves the purpose for which it is used. Aware of the fact that unemployment and cybercrime are our major concern, this chapter on methodology was discussed under the following divisions; Research Design, Study Population, Source of Data, Scope of Study, Method of Data Collection, and Method of Data Analysis.

Research Design

This work made use of both *survey* and *exploratory* type of research design. The *survey* method enabled the researcher to collect data through Questionnaires and In-depth Interviews. With this method, the researcher had the opportunity to come face to face with most of the respondents. The *exploratory* method was also adopted because it allowed the consideration of many different views on the subject matter, as Sellitze (1976) noted the methodology appropriate to exploratory study.

The population of the Study

The population of this study includes mostly

young men and women and of the seven districts or areas in Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State.

Sources of Data

Data for this study was obtained through both Primary and Secondary Sources. The Primary Sources of Data include the In-depth Interview (IDI), the Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and the administration of Questionnaire, while the Secondary Sources include Literatures (books), Internet and related documents, etc.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study is concentrates on Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State, Nigeria. In Ughelli, there is the Ughelli South and the Ughelli North Local Government Areas. The scope of this study is limited to Ughelli North Local Government Area. **Ughelli North is one of the Local Government Areas in Delta State, Nigeria**, and also the headquarters of Ughelli North Local Government Area. The city is dominated by the Uhrobo ethnic nationals, the Isoko, and a mixture of other tribes such as the Edo, Yoruba's, Igbos, etc (Wikipedia, the free Encyclopedia). Ughelli Local Government is divided into seven districts/areas. The districts/areas are as follows: Agbarha, Agbarho, Ewreni, Ogor, Orogun, Uwheru and Ughelli. In the course of this study finance was a major constraint. Similarly, due to the nature of the study, it was difficult collecting data from respondents. But after several attempt and with the help of some community leaders, and the researcher leaving in one of the districts, the researcher was able to penetrate the people and that made it possible for the researcher to collect the needed data for the study.

Method of Data Analysis

Since Data for this study was mainly In-depth Interviews (IDI), and Questionnaire. The descriptive method with the aids of the Likert three scale "Agree" "Disagree" "Neutral" was used to analyzed the data got from the field. The Likert Scale was used because it is used in measuring internal states of people (attitudes, emotions, orientations), this is important because Likert realized that most internal states are multi-dimensional.

Presentation of Data and Analysis

Data collected from the field was presented and analyzed in this section. One hundred and seventy (170) questionnaires were administered to respondents of Ughelli North in Delta State, a total of one hundred and forty seven (147) questionnaires were filled and returned. The data derived from the questionnaires were analyzed using simple percentages and in-depth interviews.

Data Presentation

Table 1: Retrieval of Questionnaires

S/n	District/Area (s)	No. of Questionnaire Retrieved	Percentage of Retrieval
1	Agbarha	34	23.1
2	Agbarho	13	8.8
3	Evwreni	16	10.9
4	Ogor	10	6.8
5	Orogun	15	10.2
6	Uwheru	12	8.2
7	Ughelli	47	32
	Total	147	100

Source: Researcher's Survey Data, 2020.

The sample table above was drawn from the population in the study areas. While the percentage of questionnaires retrieved from Agbarha was 23.1%, Agbarho 8.8%, Evwreni 10.9%, Ogor 6.8%, Orogun 10.2%, Uwheru 8.2 and Ughelli 32%, provides elaborate data with the opportunity for good analysis and inferences for this research study.

Table 2. Does unemployment cause cybercrime in Ughelli North Local government Area of Delta State?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	125	85
Disagree	10	6.8
Neutral	12	8.2
Total	147	100

Source: Researcher's Survey Data, 2020.

Table 2 above indicates that 125 respondents representing 85% agreed that unemployment is the major cause of cybercrime in Delta State, while 10 respondents representing 6.8% disagree, and 12 respondents representing 8.2% neither agree or disagree. The high rate of respondents who agree that unemployment is the major cause of cybercrime in Delta State shows that unemployment is a major cause of cybercrime in Ughelli North, Delta State, Nigeria.

Table 3: To what extent does unemployment influences cybercrime in Ughelli Local Government Area of Delta State?

Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Agree	130	88.4
Disagree	10	6.8
Neutral	7	4.8
Total	147	100

Source: Researcher's Survey Data, 2020.

Table 3 above indicates that 130 respondents representing 88.4% agree to a great extent that unemployment influences cybercrime in Ughelli North, Delta State, 10 respondents representing 6.8% had a contrary opinion, whereas 7 respondents representing 4.8% of the total had a neutral opinion concerning the issue. The appreciable responses of those who agree to a great extent affirms that unemployment influences cybercrime in Ughelli North Local Government Area, Delta State.

4. Do you know of anybody that is involved in cybercrime in Ughelli?

(a) Y e s (b) N o .

5. If your answer above is Yes, please explain

Yes. In Delta State generally there are a lot of boys and girls who are into this cybercrime deal. Most of these boys and girls are still in their early twenties. Some have not even gone to university. They call it Yahoo, yahoo. Most of these boys and girls who are into it do not do any other job, they live big and flamboyant lives. They drive expensive cars, some build big houses. They are always pressing their computers or their phones, twenty four hours their generators are on. (IDI, Male, 38 Years).

Similarly, another respondent agree that he knows so many boys and girls that are into this crime. Once I tried to encourage one of them who used to be my friend to desist from that, he asked me if I stop this will I give him a job? He said is because of no job that made

him to indulge into this cybercrime called yahoo yahoo. (IDI, Male, 32 Years).

The above-mentioned claims by the respondents indicate the extent to which unemployment is a major cause of cybercrime in Ughelli North Local Government Area, Delta State.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This study has got the following findings that are:

Presence of cybercrime in Ughelli North Local Government Area of Delta State.

Presence of Unemployment, presence of cybercrime, Unemployment is a major cause of Cybercrime.

This study established the fact that unemployment is a major cause of cybercrime in Ughelli

North. Comparing this finding with the assertion of Becker (1968), Stigler (1970) and Ehrlich (1973), which state that in most parts of the world, unemployment and crime are somehow connected. Furthermore, the findings and indebt interview with most of the respondents of the study areas strongly agree that most of the young men and women who are involved in cybercrime or yahoo yahoo is as a result of no job.

Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendation

Summary

The aim of this study is to draw the attention of government on the high rate of unemployment and cybercrime in the state. The consequences of this cybercrime are huge on both individual, group of individual and even society at large.

There is the need for government intervention to correct this ugly trend that has eaten deep into the society. The federal, state and the local government must come together to see how they can create employment for the youths so as to stop crime especially cybercrime not only in Ughelli, Delta State, but to all other states in the country.

The study adopted Sociological theory of crime as the theoretical framework. This theory explain crime as the result of social or cultural forces that are external to any specific individual, that exist prior to any criminal act, and that emerge from social class, political, ecological, or physical structures attacking large groups of people.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study outcome is consistent with profound views of individuals, public and society at large that unemployment is a major factor that influences and causes crime in Ughelli North, Delta State and the Nigerian society at large. The work analyzed unemployment and crime in Ughelli North Local Government Area in Delta State. The findings of this work showed that majority of young people in Ughelli are unemployed and are seriously involved in the internet fraud commonly called yahoo yahoo. The work also revealed majority of those involve in this crime is because of no job.

Recommendations

Based on the summary, findings and conclusions drawn, the following recommendations are made:

1. Regular sensitization programmes should be done through mass media such as the television, radio etc, place of worship, and even in the public to emphasis and discourage individuals who intend to be involved in this crime.
2. The Federal, State and Local Government Areas should enact laws that will prescribe penalties for anybody caught in any form of crime especially cybercrime.

3. The Economic Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) should work hand in hand with the banking and other financial institutions to avert this menace in the society.
4. There should be electronic tracking equipments that will capture the photograph, location of any withdrawer and payment into the banking system.
5. Nigeria can emulate from other countries whose penalty for such crime is life imprisonment or death penalty.

Contributions to Knowledge

The study made the following contributions to knowledge

1. It provides evidence to the extent to which unemployment causes and influences Cybercrime.
2. It provides a guide for security agencies and the financial institutions on how this crime can be handled.

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INTERTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF BARACK OBAMA'S INAUGURAL SPEECHES

Michael GUNN

Department of English, University of Uyo, Uyo
gunnmichael99@gmail.com
+2348066095327

Yusuf Tsojon ISHAYA (Ph.D.)

Department of English and Literary Studies
Federal University Wukari, Taraba State
Ishayayusuf234@gmail.com
+2347031811700

ABSTRACT

This paper entitled “Inaugural Speeches of Barack Obama: Intertextual Analysis” explores intertextuality in the first and second speeches of former President of America, Barack Hussein Obama. The aim of the study is to uncover how Obama's inaugural speeches embody several other texts which pervade both speeches. The data for this study were extracted from online sources. The paper adopted Fairclough's model of intertextuality as the theoretical foundations upon which textual analysis is based. The study reveals that Barack Obama employs devices of manifest intertextuality such as discourse representation, presupposition, negation and metadiscourse to achieve intertextuality in his inaugural speeches. The paper concludes that no text is independent of other texts, but all texts integrate, recontextualise or negate what others have written or said previously.

Keywords: Intertextuality, Manifest intertextuality, Inaugural speeches, President Barack Obama

INTRODUCTION

Texts are usually not self-sufficient or independent of other texts (spoken or written) in their exploration of their themes or subject matters. For every text, there exists an inevitable relationship between 'what is actually said or written' and 'what has been said or written' elsewhere. What is normally presented in a text is always based on the background of what has been said or written elsewhere. As such, when a text echoes, recontextualises, incorporates, argues against, dialogues with and/or improves on what has been said or written elsewhere in time past, it is said to be a case of intertextuality.

Intertextuality as a field of study, investigates the voices or other texts which a writer incorporates in his or her text to achieve an effect on the audience. Through a process of direct quotations, summaries, paraphrase, reported speech and analogy, the writer or

speaker makes direct or indirect reference to texts outside of his or her text. The goal of intertextuality therefore is to trace various strands of other texts from the text in which they appear to the source text and show the relationship between the meaning of the source text and the meaning of the new text. As such, dialogicality of a text with a number of other texts outside itself and the effects of such dialogicality on the meaning of the text is the primary concern of the field of intertextuality in the study texts. Though intertextuality has been classified differently by different scholars, we adopt Fairclough's (1992) classification. Fairclough (1992) classifies intertextuality into two: Manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity. These will be discussed under our theoretical framework.

However, intertextuality cannot be achieved without the use of language. Since

language is the raw material with which texts are created and texts are the bedrocks upon which intertextuality thrives, then language is central to the study of intertextuality. Odebunmi (2001) argues that “ language ties members of a speech community together in continuing interrelationships. “It is the instrument people draw on for sociocultural identification” (p.26). This definition highlights that language performs the functions of unifying members of a speech community and as a means of identification. It is therefore noteworthy to say here that language is an indispensable element in the exploration of intertextuality.

Many scholars such as Calderwood (2012), West (2014) and Ekpang (2016) have studied inaugural speeches from different theoretical perspectives. For example, Calderwood (2012) analysis 21 speeches of Barack Obama, with the aim of exploring the environmental rhetoric of President Obama's speeches in climate change. Emphasis is placed here on the intensity of the climate change phrase and the frequency of its use in Obama's speeches. The research shows that President Obama does not spend so much time discussing the issue of climate change.

West (2014) in an undergraduate research, analyzes president Obama's rhetoric in his two inaugural addresses in a bid to determine his presidential rhetoric conforms and violates current rhetorical traditions in inaugural speeches. The research aims to show how President Obama's rhetoric is more secular than that of previous Presidents. At the end of the research, it was discovered that president Obama has unique rhetorical style as different from that of his predecessors. He places more emphasis on America's shared religion, as binding on all Americans.

Ekpang (2016) also explores the rhetorical devices employed in five purposefully selected speeches of Barack Obama in her work. She explores the rhetorical devices such as: anaphora, asyndeton, symplece, diaploce, parallel structures, rhetorical questions, and analyses to confirm how these devices aid in the development of ethical, emotional and logical appeal of the speeches together with how they promote the

effectiveness and persuasiveness of the speeches. Her work portrays how President Obama employs the various rhetorical devices of foregrounding and as effective methods of stirring the emotions of the audience. For her, Obama's success with his speeches are as a result of his choice of appropriate words and his mission of hope and revival created from his speeches to the minds of Americans in the midst of crisis.

Worthy of note from the above is the neglect of intertextuality in unraveling hidden meaning in the speeches of Barack Obama. This study therefore, investigates intertextual elements in Obama's two presidential inaugural speeches.

Inaugural speeches

The word 'inaugural' has its roots in the Latin word 'augur' which alludes to rituals performance by Ancient Roman priests to enquire and interpret the will of the gods on public matters like enquiring if a public official is deemed worthy to assume office, or for other private and trivial matters. According to Merriam Webster online Dictionary, the word 'inaugurate' means 'happening as part of an official ceremony or celebration (such as a newly elected official)...happening as part of an inauguration'.

On the other hand, 'speech' is defined by Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (8th Edition) as “a formal talk that a person gives to an audience ”. A speech could also be seen as a spoken or written text delivered to an audience with the aim of informing, educating, entertaining or convincing them about a subject matter.

Consequently, an inaugural speech could simply be seen as a formal talk or speech delivered by a newly elected official on the occasion of his or her inauguration or at the commencement of his or her tenure. Inaugural speeches typically demonstrate the deployment of rhetorical strategies such as persuasion and evaluation. The persuasive strategy is usually characterized by ethos, logos and pathos. Ethos is a persuasive strategy where the speaker persuades his audience by showing his authority or credibility in a chosen field. It is also achieved when a speaker appeals

to the shared moral and ethical values of the audience. Logos, on its part, is the persuasive strategy whereby the speaker appeals to the logical reasoning of his audience by means of presenting facts and figures. Lastly, pathos, which is a very potent persuasive strategy, is the speaker's appeal to the emotions and humanity of the audience. By stirring the emotions of the audience, the speaker could incite the audience into action.

BARACK OBAMA: A BRIEF BACKGROUND

Barack Hussein Obama was born in Hawaii on the 4th of August, 1961. He was born bi-racial to a white American mother, Ann Dunham and an African (Kenyan) father, Barack Obama Snr. His mother later remarried an Indonesian and relocated to Jakarta. Obama (Jnr.) was, therefore, brought up by his grandparents in Hawaii. He was named the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate in 2009 and he is married to Michelle; they have two daughters.

He launched his presidential campaign in February 2007. He contested against Hillary Rodman Clinton and won his party's nomination at the national convention. He also won at the general elections against John McCain, the Republican candidate, and was inaugurated as president of the United States of America and the first African American president of the United States of America on 20th January, 2009.

President Obama won election for a second term in 2012 but was inaugurated on the 21st of January 2013. His inauguration into second term made him the seventeenth person to United States' presidential election twice.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is basically a library-based research. Barack Obama's two Presidential inaugural speeches were got from online sources. These speeches were purposefully selected from the many speeches of Barack Obama. The speeches were analyzed based on Fairclough's model of intertextuality. The two speeches under study are; Obama's first tenure's inaugural speech delivered on the 20th of January, 2009 on the occasion of his victory as President elect. The second speech is his

second tenure's inaugural speech delivered on 21st of January, 2013 on the occasion of his second tenure victory as President elect.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study adopted Intertextuality as the theoretical framework of analysis of our data. The theory /is reviewed here to show how it is applied in the analysis of the data excerpt.

The word "intertextuality" is derived from the latin word "intertexto" meaning to intermingle while weaving" (Kristeva, 1980). Intertextuality is a term first introduced and popularized by French semiotician, Julia Kristeva in the late sixties. She coined the word in an article which is targeted at introducing the work of Mikhail Bakhtin in France. Though written in the 1920s and 1930s, Bakhtin's work remained unpublished until the 1970s and 1980s. As such, intertextuality was first used with reference to what Bakhtin calls the "dialogic aspect of language". The otherness of language or its internal stratification constitutes the point of emphasis of Bakhtin. He calls it polyphony" or "heteroglossia" – the coexistence and interplay of several types of discourses reflecting class and social dialects.

According to M. H. Abrams and G. G. Harpham (2010), intertextuality,

... is used to signify the multiple ways in which any one literary text is in fact made up of other texts, by means of its open or covert citations and allusions, its repetitions and transformations of the formal and substantive features of earlier text... (p. 401).

As such intertextuality maintains that a text "cannot exist as a Hermetic or self-sufficient whole and so does not function as a closed system" (Raj, 2015; Worton and Still, 1991). In Kristeva' formulation, authors are not original in their writings and do not create things from original minds but compile their texts from already existing texts. She sees a text as "a permutation of texts... where several utterances taken from other texts intersect and neutralize one another" (Raj, 2015; Kristeva, 1980, p. 36). Consequently, "any text is in fact

an 'intertext'- the site of an intersection of numberless other texts, and existing only through its relation to other texts" (Abrams and Harpham, 2010, p. 401).

In the process of writing or speaking, the thoughts, ideologies and language of speakers or writers are influenced by the speeches or writings of others in time past. Recourse is usually made to things which had been said or written elsewhere, and writers or speakers creatively present such ideas to suit new situations. Meanwhile a text reverberates voices or ideologies presented elsewhere, the autonomy of the text becomes questionable, the meaning of a text is derived by the process of inter-coherence, where texts generate structural connections between other texts. This makes a text to be a site for the interplay of texts and not a singular independent entity (Raje, 2015).

Manifest intertextuality

Fairclough (1992) sees manifest intertextuality as "the case where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text" (p.117). he categorises manifest intertextuality into five (5); namely discourse representation, presupposition, negation, metadiscourse and irony.

i. Discourse representation

Fairclough (1992) sees discourse representation in terms of "speech reportage". When a person's speech (spoken or written) is reported by someone else, intertextual references are made to the represented discourse. This could be done in two different ways: direct discourse representation and indirect discourse representation. Direct discourse representation aims to produce the exact same words used in the represented discourse, and it is marked by quotation marks. On the other hand, indirect discourse representation blurs the line of demarcation between the voices of the represented discourse and the representing discourse, making it difficult for one to know which words are from the source text and which are not. Indirect discourse representation thus becomes ambivalent.

ii. Presupposition

Presupposition is defined by Fairclough (1992) as "propositions which are

taken by the producer of the text as already established" (p.120). In other words, certain utterances are made by producers of texts which make certain assumptions which are taken for granted. In such instances, the background upon which such assumptions or propositions are made, then form the basis of such intertextual references.

iii. Negation

Fairclough (1992) is of the opinion that "negative sentences carry special types of presupposition which also form intertextuality, incorporating other texts only in order to contest and reject them". When negation is used, it makes the presupposition that the statement had been affirmed elsewhere. By employing the device of negation, however, a text makes an intertextual reference to the texts which had affirmed such propositions which it negates.

iv. Metadiscourse

Metadiscourse investigates situations where the text producer distances himself from some level of the text, situating himself above and outside his own discourse, possessing the skill to control (and manipulate it, and treating the distanced level as if it were another external text (Fairclough, 1992).

Because of the limited space given we will not touch other areas such as interdiscursivity.

EXISTING STUDIES ON OBAMA'S POLITICAL SPEECHES

Various scholars have studied President Obama's speeches from different theoretical perspectives. While scholars like Ekpang (2016) and West (2014) have studied Obama's speeches from the perspective of rhetoric, trying to uncover how the effective use of rhetorical devices strengthen and enrich his speech, scholars like Ito (2012) studies Barack Obama's political speeches from a stylistic perspective, showing how the content or message of the speeches are communicated by the skillful manipulation of linguistic resources. Also scholars like Irimeia (2010) had studied Barack Obama's speeches from a comparative rhetorical point of view. The aim of scholars such as Irimeia (2010) is to compare the rhetorical strategies of Barack

Obama with that of other speakers in order to deduce which rhetorical strategies are more effective.

Irimiea (2010) compares the rhetorical strategies of Barack Obama and that of Mircea Geoana (the Romanian Social Democratic Party leader). Using Halliday's model of systemic Functional Linguistics, the study reveals that the tenor, mode and field of the inaugural speech of Barack Obama and that of Mircea Geoana are similar. Irimiea also discovers that the lexical choices which Obama makes are similar to that which Mircea Geoana makes. In conclusion, Irimiea asserts that the similarities between the rhetoric of Barack Obama and Geoana are as a result of Geoana's disposition to Obama, thus he modeled his speech according to that of Obama.

Wang (2010) analyses two of Obama's speeches: his victory speech and his first inaugural speech from a Critical Discourse Analytic framework. Guided by M.A.K. Halliday's model of Systemic Functional Grammar, Wang conducts a statistical analysis of both speeches and explores the relationship among language, ideology and power. Wang makes use of M.A.K. Halliday's idea of metafunctions which includes: Ideational function, interpersonal function and textual function to analyse Obama's speeches. He concludes by stating that the features of Obama's speeches include: making use of simple words and sentences instead of difficult ones; easy language and colloquialism, the use of first person pronouns and religious belief; shortening the distance between him and the audience to help him persuade the public to accept and support his policies.

Furthermore, Ito (2012) approaches Barack Obama's speech of 2009 from a stylistic point of view. He focuses his attention on the promises and requests Obama makes in his speeches and how he makes them; the frequent use of certain words in his speeches and the effects of such repetitions on the audience, the structural resemblance of Barack Obama's speech and that of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the great Depression era; and the ways personal pronouns like "I", "we", "you" and "they" are used in Obama's inaugural speeches, together with their implications and

effects on the audience. In conclusion, Ito (2012) suggests that the stylistic characteristics of Barack Obama's inaugural speech are unique and novel.

In addition, West (2014) conducts a comparative rhetorical study of Obama's speeches, especially his inaugural speeches, and that of previous American presidents. The study aims to show the uniqueness of president Obama's rhetoric and it does so by pointing out the points at which Obama's rhetoric conform to the presidential rhetoric of America and its point of departure. The research uncovers that Obama conforms to the long standing rhetorical tradition of portraying Americans as God's chosen people, calling them to action in order to fulfill their divine destiny. The study however, uncovers that Barack Obama transcends the notion of shared and common civil religion when he states that "we are a nation of Christian and Muslims, Jews and Hindus and nonbelievers" (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 74).

On her part Ekpang (2016) explores the peculiar rhetorical devices used in the speeches of Barack Obama. Having purposefully selected five speeches of Barack Obama, Ekpang (2016) identifies the various rhetorical devices in his speeches which include anaphora, epistrophe, asyndeton and the frequency at which they occur. This is done to carefully portray how each rhetorical device employed in the speeches contributes to the success of the speeches. From the above review, it becomes clear that intertextuality in two Barack Obama's inaugural speeches is yet to be investigated. This identified research gap is what this paper attempts to fill.

PRESENTATION OF DATA AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Intertextuality in the inaugural speeches of Barack Obama

Based on Fairclough's (1992) model of intertextuality which is divided into manifest intertextuality and interdiscursivity as stated in our theoretical framework, because of the space in this paper, we will only analyse base manifest intertextuality only. The analysis reveals that the inaugural speeches of Barack Obama possess several strands of manifest

intertextual reference to texts outside itself. Some of them would be discussed below under the following sub-headings: discourse representation, presupposition, negation and metadiscourse.

1. Discourse representation

Our analysis shows that Barack Obama employs both direct and indirect discourse representation in his inaugural speeches. It could be seen in the following instances.

Text i.

We remain a young nation but in the words of scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 23).

It is important to note that Barack Obama synthesizes his own words with those in the scripture, making it difficult for one to separate his words from the actual words used in the scripture. The synthesis of the voice of the reporter and the reported is a feature of indirect discourse representation.

To vividly portray the extent of this synthesis of the voices of Barack Obama and those of the scripture, it would be ideal to present the actual words used in that verse of the scripture: I Corinthians 13:11, it says: "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understand as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things" (KJV).

Text ii.

The father of our nation ordered these words be read to the people: "Let it be told to the future world... That in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope could survive... That a city and a country alarmed at one common danger came forth to meet it" (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 100-104)

The above quotation is alluded to someone Obama refers to as "the father of our nation". To the Americans and people from other parts

of the world, this expression is unambiguous because the father of America in this context could only refer to one person; George Washington (1732-1799), the independence war leader, statesman and the first president of the United State of America. He was president from April 30, 1789 to March 4, 1797. Though Obama presents the quotation as if Washington composed the words he asked to be read to the troop, in reality, it was a request by Washington that the words be read from Thomas Paine's pamphlet titled "The Crisis 1" in the American Crisis (1776). As such, there is a complex intertextual relation here between Obama's quotation, Washington's speech and Thomas Paine's text, though it was taken by Obama as if they were George Washington's words. The words quoted were presented originally by Thomas Paine as:

Quitting this class of men, I turn with the warm ardor of a friend to those who have nobly stood, and yet determined to stand the matter out: I call not upon a few, but upon all; not on this or that state, but on every state; up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and to repulse it. ("The Crisis I", The American Crisis, 1776).

The words were read to the soldiers in valley Forge by the order of George Washington to lift up their spirit during independence war. In turn Barack Obama invokes these words to stir up the spirit of nationality and patriotism in his audience making them to know that anything is possible for people who have one mind. Let us consider another example.

Text iii.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable

rights; that among those are life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" (Inaugural speech 2: sentence 4).

This quotation was taken from the United States of America independence declaration of 1776 written by Thomas Jefferson.

Text iv.

...to hear preacher say that we cannot walk alone...
(Inaugural speech 2: sentence 62)

It is evident here that the voice of Barack Obama is synthesized with the voice of the "preacher", making it difficult to decipher which words are actually the 'preacher's'. This instance also exemplifies indirect discourse representation in Obama's inaugural speeches.

Text v

...to hear a king proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on earth. (Inaugural speech 2 sentence 62).

Just as the instance in example 1 and 4 above, this instance portrays indirect discourse representation in Obama's inaugural speeches. While in text 2 and 3 are instances of direct discourse.

2. Presupposition

Instances of presupposition were found in our data. We shall illustrate with the following examples:

Text vi.

I stand here today humbled
by *the task before us*... (Italics mine)

(Inaugural speech 1 sentence 1.)

The clause above makes a presupposition. Though it is not explicitly stated, the statement above presupposes that both the speaker and the audience have a definite task before them which they are aware of.

Text vii.

...grateful for *the trust you have bestowed*... (Italics mine)
(Inaugural speech 1: sentence 1)

This clause is a follow up of the one analysed above but embodies its own presupposition. Having the speaker as Barack Obama and the audience as Americans, this clause presupposes that the audience (Americans) had bestowed some form of trust on the speaker, Barack Obama. In this case, the trust bestowed would be the trust of voting him in as President of the United States of America.

Text viii.

Mindful of *the sacrifices borne by our ancestors*
(inaugural speech 1: sentence 1)

Just like the two clauses, this clause makes its own presupposition. It presupposes that both the ancestors of Barack Obama and that of all Americans have made sacrifices. Nevertheless, Barack Obama collectively refers to them as "our ancestors". He takes for granted the fact that his audience (Americans) knows who their ancestors are and the sacrifices they made for their overall good.

Text ix.

Today I say to you that *the challenges we face are real*. (Italics mine)

(Inaugural speech 1: sentence 17).

The sentence presupposes that both the speaker (Barack Obama) and his audience (Americans), collectively referred to by the pronoun "we", have definite and known challenges. In other words, the statement "...the challenges we face are real" can be acceptable under the background that the subject, "we", have challenges that they are facing, which they may or may not be aware of.

Text x.

...*the father of our nation* ordered these words to be read to the people...
(Italics mine) (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 104).

This statement also bears its own presupposition. It presupposes that the nation under question (America) has a father. In this case, the father of the nation is George Washington and Barack Obama presupposes that his audience (Americans) knows who the father of the nation is, without doubts.

3. Negation

Negation is one of the most frequently used strategies of manifest intertextuality in the two inaugural speeches of Barack Obama. By employing the device of negation, Barack Obama makes an intertextual reference to the texts which had affirmed certain propositions which he negates in his inaugural speeches. The following are instances of negation in the first inaugural speech of Barack Obama.

Text xi.

“they will *not* be met easily or in a short span of time”(Italics mine)(inaugural speech 1: sentence 19).

This clause presents an instance of negation with the use of the word "not". It makes intertextual reference to unspecified texts which may have posited that "the challenges will be met easily" or that "they will be met in a short span of time". In refuting such proposition, Barack Obama submits that "...they will be met" (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 20)

Text xii.

Our journey has *never* been one of short-cuts or settling for less. (Italics mine) (inaugural speech 1: sentence 27).

Negation in this case is achieved by the use of the negative marker "never". It aims to negate the propositions that "our journey has....been one of short-cuts or settling for less", which may have been said or thought elsewhere. By negating these propositions, the negative sentence makes an intertextual reference to them.

Text xiii.

“Our workers are *no* less productive than when this crisis began" (Italics mine) (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 38).

In the above example, Barack Obama makes use of another negative marker: "no". In essence, this statement makes intertextual references to texts which say that "our workers are ...less productive than when this began". In making reference to them, the utterance aims to refute and debunk such beliefs.

Text xiv.

...we say to you that our spirit is stronger and *cannot* be broken; you cannot outlast us, we will defeat you. (Italics mine) (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 72).

Furthermore, Barack Obama achieves negation and by extension, intertextuality by the use of the negative markers "cannot" as seen above. The first "cannot" bears an intertextual reference to texts which affirm that the spirit of America is weak and can be "broken". Though no text is mentioned in particular, the presupposition of the statement stands on the assumption that the proposition had been affirmed or thought elsewhere.

In like manner, the second "cannot" in the clause above refutes vehemently, the assertion that the subject "we" would be outlasted by "...those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents..." (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 72). The statement "you cannot outlast us" seems to be directly challenging an assertion supposedly made elsewhere that these unscrupulous individuals would outlast the speaker and Americans as a whole. In this case, negation achieves intertextual referencing.

Text xv.

At these moment, America has carried in *not* simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office (Italics mine) (inaugural

speech 1: sentence 6)

The presence of the negative marker "not" in the above sentence not only negates the sentence but makes intertextual reference to certain texts. The above negative sentence proposes that some other texts may have affirmed that "America had carried on simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office". This statement is negated so as to affirm another proposition which is that "America has carried on... Because we the people have remained faithful to the ideals of our forbearers and true to our founding documents".

Text xvi.

We recall that what binds this nation together is *not* the colors of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origin of our names (Italics mine) (inaugural speech 2: sentence 3).

This statement presupposes that it had been affirmed elsewhere that "what binds this nation is.... the colors of our skin or the tenets of our faith or the origin of our names". It is this presupposition that the statement refutes.

Text xvii.

The patriots of 1776 did *not* fight to replace the tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. (Italics mine) (inaugural speech 2: sentence 7).

The statement above presupposes that it had been stated elsewhere that the patriots fought for the replacement of tyranny of a king with the privileges of a few or the rule of a mob. As such, his sentence aims to negate such proposition.

Text xviii

For history tells us that while the truths may be self-evident, they've *never* been self-executing... (Italics mine) (Inaugural speech 2: sentence 6).

Negation, in this instance, is achieved by the use of the negative marker "never". The sentence presupposes that it had been said that these truths are self-executing.

Text xix

...we learned that *no* union founded on the principles of Liberty and equity could survive half-slave and half-free. (Italics mine) (Inaugural speech 2: sentence 10).

Here, we encounter another instance of negation in Obama's speech. Negation in this sentence is achieved by the word "no". It makes a presupposition that some might have thought that there could be a union founded on the principles of liberty and equity that could survive half-slave and half-free.

4. Metadiscourse

In Barack Obama's inaugural speeches, there are few instances of paraphrase and no instance of hedging. The instances of paraphrase in the inaugural speeches of Barack Obama are discussed below.

Text xx.

The time has come to reaffirm *our enduring spirit*; to choose *our better history*; to carry forward *that precious gift, that noble idea*, passed on from generation to generation; the God given promise that *all are equal, all are free* and *all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness*. (Italics mine) (Inaugural speech 1: sentence 24).

From the above, it is evident that certain utterances are paraphrased in subsequent utterances to better portray the intended meaning of the speaker, while "our better history" is a paraphrase of "our enduring spirit", "that noble idea" is a paraphrase of "that precious gift" and "all are free" and "all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of

happiness" are both paraphrase of "all are equal". In this case, paraphrase is used as a device by Barack Obama to distant himself from some aspect of the text, and treating such as though they were another external text. By doing that, Barack Obama achieves manifest intertextuality through paraphrase and through metadiscourse.

In Barack Obama's second inaugural speech, he introduces another instance of paraphrase. Text xxi.

What makes us *exceptional*-
what makes us *American* is
our allegiance to an idea
articulated in a declaration
made more than two
centuries ago... (Italics mine)
(Inaugural speech 2:
sentence 4).

In the above sentence, it is evident that the word "American" is introduced as a paraphrase of the word "exceptional", the word "American" further explains what the speaker means when he said "exceptional".

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The paper has revealed that Barack Obama makes textual references to texts outside his texts in his speeches. To achieve this, he makes use of such devices of manifest intertextuality as: discourse representation, presupposition, negation and metadiscourse in his inaugural speeches.

The paper has successfully shown the specific devices of intertextuality which Obama employs in his inaugural speeches. Our findings have shown that no text is independent of other texts, but all texts incorporate, recontextualise or negate what others have written or said previously.

Finally, the study has contributed to the literature on intertextuality and political discourse. It has improved on the wealth of scholarship on the review of intertextuality and political speeches.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this research, we make the following recommendations.

1. The study of intertextuality in the first and second inaugural speeches of other american presidents should be attempted.
2. The study of intertextuality in the inaugural speech of American president, Donald Trump should be considered for study.
3. The study should complement existing studies on intertextuality and ideology and stir up further studies in intertextuality and ideology in Nigeria.

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**POOR REMUNERATION, PHOBIA OF RETIREMENT AND BUREAUCRATIC
CORRUPTION:
THE NIGERIA EXPERIENCE**

BY

Tumbo Hippo Brodrick Ph.D

Senior Lecturer, Development of Political Science Novena University Ogume,
Delta State Nigeria.

hbtumbo2011@yahoo.com

08036747831

&

Ebenezer Okorodudu (PhD)

Delta State University
Department of political science
ebenezerokorodudu@gmail.com
08038176298, 08052376650

ABSTRACT

The existing remuneration paid to workers in the public/civil service in Nigeria is quite poor and below the poverty level. Many are unable to afford three standard meals a day and cannot earn the World Bank standard of income a day. This coupled with government inability to pay gratuity and pension as at when due, workers resort to corruption while in the public/civil service. This paper examines the role of these factors in aggravating the menace of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria. It relied on secondary data and the methodology adopted is content analysis of materials already published in the subject area. The study revealed that government payment of poor remuneration to workers, phobia of retirement and non-payment of gratuity and pension to retirees as at when due encourages bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria. Thus the study recommended the payment of high remuneration and governments commitment to the payment of benefits to retirees as at when due as one antidote to the upsurge of bureaucratic corruption

Keywords: Remuneration, Phobia, Retirement, Bureaucratic Corruption, Pension and Gratuity.

Introduction

The public/civil service, generally is made up of workers who are paid remuneration by government according to qualification, experience, profession and rank. Civil generally means belonging to the general public and not the armed or other uniformed force (Olagboye 2005). Therefore civil service means government service which is an organization made up of people employed by government to serve the public in a civil capacity. In the administration of a state the public and civil service are indispensable. The state cannot be administered without the service of these categories of workers. Even in biblical days, Solomon needed and made use of civil service to govern ancient Israel. Therefore the civil service is an age long institution and

has become indispensable in contemporary government all over the world.

According to Augustus Adebayo, well-known author in public administration, the civil service is the “entire service of government which is divided into departments and in which civil servants work”. On the other hand, the civil service handbook describes the civil service as a “body or organ which enjoys continuity of existence” and whose members unlike elected political office holders at the end of which they may not be returned to office.

The civil service which is the bureaucracy is not a mere arrangement, procedures and people for performing specialized functions but have progressed and developed beyond that. In the book 'People, power and politics by Bonovan,

Morgan and Patholin, the civil service now also plays a significant role in “initiating new programs and policies and therefore become an important policy maker as well as policy implementer”. The civil service in Nigeria does not only implement policies but also originate policies. In governance, the civil service / bureaucracy is found in the three arms of government, judiciary, legislature and the Executive. The civil service is made up of people recruited into the different cadres in the service. The period of service is thirty-five years or sixty years of age whichever comes first, after which the employee retires from service. Upon retirement such a person(s) are entitled to gratuity and pension for expected life period. Some retirees from the civil service are under the old pension scheme while others are under the new scheme known as contributory pension scheme.

Retirement from service in any organization after a successful completion of the above stipulated service years is supposed to be an enviable, glorious end in the life of every employee. Olusakin(2018) view retirement to be of two categories of compulsory or involuntary mandatory or regulatory retirement. Compulsory or involuntary retirement means an imposed retirement over an employee by the employer due to various reasons while voluntary retirement is on the basis of personal withdrawal from active service by an employee who has completed the required years of service.

In Nigeria according to decree No.43 of 1988 retirement in the civil service has been pegged at 60 years or 35 years in service whichever comes first and also depending on the individual area of employment. For instance, the retirement age of academic staff who are not professors are to retire at 70 years as contained in Act No 11 of 1993 (Juliana B Aidenojie 2015) But many people are not enthusiastic about retirement, rather dread it due to challenges of lack of full or definite remuneration payment and government delay in the payment of gratuity and pension. Consequently workers resort to unorthodox and dubious means in enriching themselves

while in service to cater for themselves during retirement.

A worker is expected to be paid remuneration for work done in the civil service either monthly or twice a month. Before now some government organizations or establishments even pay workers remuneration weekly. Corruption is aggravated in government service where there are low remuneration paid to workers and where in the service there are large income disparities, particularly in developing nations which Nigeria is not an exception.

The Problem

In Nigeria, bureaucratic corruption has become a clog in the war against corruption. Bureaucratic corruption perpetrated by civil servants has become intractable due to basically poor remunerations paid to workers, income disparities and government non-committal to the payment of gratuity and pension to retirees as at when due. The workers resort to unwholesome means of enriching themselves while in the civil service in order to address financial and related matters while in service and after retirement. As a result of uncertainty of life after retirement many have been confronted with lots of psychosomatic problems and some show psycho-phobic responses. Today civil servants in Nigeria perceive retirement as the most intractable problem (Abdullahi 2002 cited by Juliana & Aidenojie E (2015). Due to increase in the number of people retired, the welfare has become an issue of national attention. There is need for both employees and employers to consider life after retirement as the payment of pension and gratuity is becoming a difficult task of government at all levels to cope with now.

The focus of this paper is the relationship between poor remuneration paid to workers, Phobia of retirement and delay in the payment of gratuity and pension by government and bureaucratic corruption in the civil service of Nigeria.

Aim and objectives.

The main aim of this paper is to examine the

- I. Ascertain the level of remuneration paid to workers in the civil service
- II. The cause of fear of retirement by workers in the civil service
- III. The cause of bureaucratic corruption perpetrated by civil servants
- IV. Suggest ways in form of solutions to mitigate poor remuneration and bureaucratic corruption.

The study is also geared towards proving answers to the following

Does poor remuneration paid to workers and fear of retirement encourages bureaucratic corruption?

- I. What are the possible solutions to mitigate bureaucratic corruption in the civil service in Nigeria
- II. Why government is not committed to the payment of gratuity and pension to retirees as at when due?

Research Method:

The paper adopted the content analysis to establish the relationship between poor remuneration paid to workers, fear of retirement due to governments' non-committal to the payment of gratuity and pension to retirees, and the upsurge of the incidents of bureaucratic corruption in Nigeria. Consequently, relevant data for the paper were derived from existing literature via textbooks, journal articles and internet materials

Civil servants are employees of government to carry out specific functions in the process of governmental administration and they are paid salary or remunerations at the end of the month. However, in some countries workers are paid fortnightly. The remunerations paid to workers in the civil service are according to qualifications, experience and profession. These factors determine the salary grade levels of civil servants and their total package. remuneration These elements also are the determinants of the gratuity and monthly pension retirees are entitled to. The paid to remunerations workers in the civil service in Nigeria is adjudged as one of the lowest globally. Due to poor remunerations paid to

workers in the civil service most of them are poor. In fact the workers in the civil service in Nigeria are under paid because they are paid less than what they produce. Generally in a capitalist economy most workers are paid less than what they produce. The system in capitalist organization extracts much labor out of the worker as it can (Buzuev 1987). There are no functioning social policies operating in the civil service that can ameliorate the glaring incidences of poverty. Many that depend on their monthly remunerations cannot afford a car, a house, payment of medical bills and school fees for their children. Under such circumstance, workers resort to corrupt practices as a way out of the ugly situation while in service and save for retirement period. Through there exist in paper in some states, housing and car loans for civil servants such as policies are not implemented regularly and not transparent. In addition the civil servants who are the beneficiaries must pay back the loan including interest before retirement.

There is no doubt about the level of poverty in Nigeria. Though there are numerous definitions of poverty, The United Nation defines poverty as a "denial of choice and opportunity, a violation of human dignity"(2014). This means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go, not having the land on which to grow ones food or a job to earn ones living, not having access to credit. This amounts to insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individual household and communities.

The Copegham Declaration (1995) states that poverty is the condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. The World Bank standard income daily is \$1.5 per day which is unachievable by majority of the people in Nigeria

The issue of retirement and its phobia by civil servants in Nigeria is hinged on poor remuneration and the level of poverty while in service

Retirement falls with the popular saying that "everything that has a beginning must have an end" A civil servants starts his career by being

recruited into the service. The disengagement from the civil service by a serving officer is usually through either resignation, withdrawal or voluntary and compulsory retirement. Disengagement results in discharge from the service, termination of appointment compulsory retirement or dismissal.

Retirement from service in any organization after successful completion of stipulated years of service or years of age is supposed to be an enviable, glorious end in ones' life but in the civil service in Nigeria the opposite is the case. This situation is prevalent because the remuneration paid to workers hardly takes care of the basic needs of the family and no functional social welfare program for workers while in service and during retirement. Even the statutory gratuity and pension for retirees are not paid for years. The fact is that retirement is expected to be and should be an exciting time. It is a period to travel and do things of interest freely. In Nigeria retirement is a nightmare due to numerous challenges awaiting them. The fear of retirement is not only associated to adjustment to stable work routine and income and its related sense of purpose. Other retirement challenges include relationship, particularly those without new meaningful activities to replace work, there is the risk of boredom and sense of purpose which can metamorphose to depression and other health problems. To Masses (2007) retirement is to withdraw from business or public life in order to leisure on ones income, savings or pension. He further states that for retirement to be meaningful and successful prime ingredients must be available, robust health, financial security and the balance of intellectual, physical, cultural and social activities. The situation in Nigeria these prime ingredients are absent and retirees are left without gratuity or pension for years. Even when they are paid particularly the monthly pension, is done intermittently.

Bur(2000) however regarded retirement as the act of leaving the service either voluntarily or compulsorily when such an employee have served for a specific period of years or removed on compulsory retirement, lay off, dismissal (due to insubordination or misconduct) death,

illness, disability or voluntary withdrawal from service . He identified various sources of retirement, voluntary retirement involuntary retirement, lay- offs, flexible retirement and redundancy, discharge of staff, termination of appointment, LIFO separation and dismissal. This result of this study will encourage governments at all levels to pay more attention to the welfare of civil servants by ensuring the functioning of social welfare packages for civil servants and ensuring returnees enjoy their benefits immediately they retire as one of ways of eradicating administrative corruption.

Nwachukwu (2000) viewed retirement as a socially accepted way of withdrawing from ones occupation or business in later life to enable one enjoy leisure, freedom or simply cope with health challenges. But Cole (2002) refers to retirement as a "period when an employee reaches the end of his working life.

From whatever perspective one view retirement, it is an important face in human development all over the world. According to Wikipedia, retirement is the point where an individual disengages totally from occupation, business or from office. Retirement is a multifaceted social activity retirement shows the disconnection from customary activity in business, industry or active service as full time employee (Morris 2001) Igwe (2000) defined retirement as the termination of the services of an individual when he or she becomes incapable of rendering active service.

Asuquo and Moloki (2007) stated that there are three forms of retirement namely ; voluntary or self retirement is when the individual decides to leave service due to personal reasons inspite of age, experience, length of service or policies of retirement. The second form of retirement is the compulsory or forced retirement. Such circumstances is beyond the individuals anticipation and where is not prepared for it. This type of situation is regarded as negatively in that as unplanned and under reasons such as insufficiency , old age, and rationalization in work force (Elder & Johnson 2003). Oneye 2012 stated retirement from work often give rise to a lot of problems for retirees. These problems include sudden lose of income, financial insufficiency and anxiety ,

deteriorating health conditions, anxiety after retirement accommodation. In addition, learning new survival skills for post retirement life.

The fear of retirement life among civil servants in Nigeria is basically factored from financial challenges faced by retirees or pensioners. Though there are other challenges such as anxiety, residential home, lack of occupation, physical disability and aging, dwindling status, decreased stress and deteriorating health condition. However with adequate savings resulting from good remuneration coupled with timely payment of gratuity and pension by government, these challenges can be properly addressed.

Bureaucratic Corruption

Corruption as defined by the oxford advance learners' dictionary is "dishonest and wicked behavior"

Corruption has become a phenomenon that exist both in the private and public sector, private life, and even in religious bodies like churches, mosques, shrines, and also in world bodies like FIFA, UNO etc. Corruption can be described as the diversion of material wealth intended for effective achievement of social desirable ends into the pockets of individual(s)

- To NKOM (2000) corruption is the pervasion of public affairs to private advantage, it includes bribery or the use of unauthorized rewards to influence people in position of authority either to act or refuse to act." The misappropriation of public funds and nepotism"

Scholars have classified corruption into: private, public bureaucratic, military and other forms of institutional corruption (Samuel 2018 p.178)

- I. Private corruption refers to corruption perpetrated by people outside government, private individuals who engage in unethical unorthodox acts to enrich themselves.
- II. Public corruption takes place in government or by government

officials and their accomplices who may be in the private sector or private individuals. Public corruption takes place in the three arms of government. In addition we have what we can refer to as political corruption in the three arms of government in a democratic dispensation. In fact corruption is monumental at this level as it involves state funds which take place in the area of appointment, award of contract and inflation of contracts, embezzlement and misappropriation of public funds.

- III. Bureaucratic corruption is perpetrated by civil and public servants who implement government policies. This involves personnel in ministries, Departments and Agencies. Corruption at this level is the worst as the allocation and use of funds is executed by staff and they effect proposals and also submit financial needs to carry out the projects/ units and in addition transfer and effect payment.

Administrative corruption is similar if not synonymous with bureaucratic corruption. According to Shleifer (1998) Administrative corruption is when Administrative decision makers use the administrative office and power they are armed with to sustain their office and power, Status and wealth. Administrative corruption in this regard can be defined as the misuse of government officials of their administrative powers for illegitimate and private gain.

World Bank and Transparency International define administrative corruption as "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain or for family relations and Interests" (Jalikhairi 2010, Nostrati 2011) To many Political Scientists, administrative corruption is any transaction between private and public Sector actors

through which collective goods are illegitimately converted into private, regarding pay offs (Heidenheimer et al 1996). This distinction does not draw a differentiation between administrative/political and bureaucratic corruption. The definition only constitutes the necessary involvement of the state and state agents in corruption without any notion as to the level of authority where corruption takes place (Shlefer 1998). Administrative corruption is perpetrated at the high level of political system and could also be referred to as political corruption. It is perpetrated when politicians and state agents who are entitled to make and enforce the law on behalf of the people are themselves involved in the corruption. Under this situation administrative corruption can be distinguished from bureaucratic or petty corruption, which is corruption in public administration, at the implementation level. In a wider perspective administrative corruption is the misuse of government officials of their administrative or governmental power for illegitimate private gains.

The process of committing administrative corruption involves nepotism. Nepotism means an unworthy behavior or practice by powerful individuals or group of influential people in society who use their power and position to favor their relations especially by helping them to gain a job, promotion, appointment etc without going through the due process or procedure.

Durkheim (1974) regarded corruption generally as an or any act of deviance as a result of anomalies. He propounded the notion of anomie in reference to the thesis that in modern societies traditional norms and standards become undermined, without been replaced by new ones. He believes that anomie exist when there are no clear standards to guide behaviour in a given area of social life. Anomie is a social factor that makes people feel disoriented and anxious thereby making them to be influenced by corruption. Ekeh (1993) and Ake (1991) linked bureaucratic corruption among other factors to the failure of the last colonial era in Africa to meet the long term and short term interests of the people. These scholars are of

the view that states does not exist to advance the interest of the generality rather it has turned out to be the instrument in the hand of few privileged bureaucrats to exploit and oppress the masses.

Ekeh identified two moral imperatives,

- The primordial realm and
- Civil public

According to Ekeh, the primordial realm is governed by moral imperative that makes stealing an act of deviance. Thus emphasis is placed on what will benefit the people collectively while the pursuit of parochial interest is given minimal attention as the people gets more attraction and attention from it because it is the collective interest that predominates in the policy formation and decision. The civil/public does not command the same royalty, patriotism, commitment and confidence due to its kind of cohesion and oppressive structure that does not value the interest, welfare and well being of the people. Consequently stealing in the public sector or civil public is not viewed as defiance, ethically and morally wrong.

To Joseph (1987) bureaucratic corruption is prevalent in Nigeria because the people make use of public offices as prebend to satisfy the short and long term interest of individuals or groups of individuals rather than those of the general populace. Consequently there is prebendalization, to meet the individual family and sectional interest because they are not being governed by recognized moral ethics which bond them beyond their legal, rational justification.

Bureaucratic corruption has become popular in developing countries due to increased income disparities though there are other factors. Other such factors include, wrong value and ideas, ethnicity, poor reward system, favouritism, weak legal system, poor pay, incentives, lack of openness and transparency in the public service, religious centralization of political power, weak enforcement institutions and fear of job security and retirement. However, the major factor lies with poor remunerations which makes the workers unable to provide the necessary basic needs while in service and also

in their retirement.

All categories of corruption enumerated earlier in this paper are all related in their cause and effect. Corruption in all ramifications involves the improper and unlawful behaviour of public service officials, both politicians and civil servants whose positions afford them opportunities for the diversion of money and assets from government to themselves and supporters (Awogbemi 2014).

The causes of corruption differs from country to country. The major contributing factors generally on corruption are policies, programmes and activities that are inadequately conceived and managed, failing institutions, poverty, income, disparities, inadequate civil servants remuneration and lack of accountability and transparency (United Nations 1999). Generally, the scope of corruption is not limited to financial reward as conceived by many people. It also involves material possession, integrity, moral values and the society or the economy on the aggregate and therefore encompasses both institutional and personal decadence (Awogbemi 2014). Though there are no serious distinctions between the categories of corruption and their causes and effects, this paper focus is on the relationship between poor remuneration to workers in the civil service in Nigeria, fear of retirement and bureaucratic corruption. Consequently the causes and effects are considered along this direction.

Low civil servants salaries and poor working conditions, with few incentives and reward for efficient and effective performance in the civil service are in no doubt, strong encouragement for corruption in Nigeria.

In Nigeria, the overall culture of governance plays a significant role as most leaders and top bureaucrat set bad examples of self enrichment and ambiguity or complexity over public ethics thereby encouraging and promoting the lower level officials and members of the public into corrupt ventures. Under such circumstances informal rules are promoted above formal ones, thereby ensuring that stringent legal principles and procedures lose their authority. Thereby corruption elements are embraced by many Nigerians as the norm instead of exception even in the face of anti-corruption

crusaders and government agencies constituted to support clean and clear governance.

Corruption in Nigeria is one of the biggest challenges and this situation has been captured by international organisations such as the World Bank, transparency international. In 2000, Transparency International in its survey of 90 countries including Kenya, Cameroon, Angola, Nigeria, Cote-d'voire, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Ghana, Senegal, Zambia, India, Venezuela, Moldova and others, ranked Nigeria as the most corrupt as Nigeria. In 2011, Nigeria was ranked the second most corrupt nation out of 91 countries. Nigeria never improved in the corruption index up to 2003 only to improve marginally in 2004 where it was ranked the 3rd most corrupt out of 146 countries. Nigeria got the worst in transparency International rating corruption index since 2015. The report released in Abuja revealed that Nigeria nosedived in its global rating scoring 22 out of 100 points and score the worst performance since 2015. The report stated further that in country comparison Nigeria ranked 149 out of 183 countries dropping down three points compared to 2019 results (Vanguard January 2021 pg 9)

The theoretical framework for the explanation of the relationship between poor remuneration and the fear of retirement and bureaucratic corruption is what is referred to as the vicious circle whereby low income leads to low savings which again leads to low investment. This model has also been used in explaining the pattern of development in developing and under developing nations. The vicious cycle is also referred to as 'poverty trap', in addition, Laureate Igunnar Muder referred to it's as "circular and cumulative causation" (cited by Michael p Todaro and Stephen Smith in economic development 2009).

Therefore the payment of poor remuneration to workers consequently attracts low savings, and investment for retirement period becomes difficult. In the absence of investment for retirement, fear emanates and the option is to use unwholesome means to amass wealth while in service and the handy method is bureaucratic corruption;

However the following factors also influence bureaucratic corruption.

- a) Economic factors
- b) Socio-cultural factors
- c) The political system.

The rate of high unemployment, the dominance of the informal and traditional relationship on ties between people, the maturity of the political system etc. Invariably affects the scale of bureaucratic corruption in any society. On the other hand bureaucratic corruption has serious adverse effect on the efficiency of the administrative system, the legitimacy of the political system and the quality of the socio-cultural system of the society (Farhadinejad 2011). Though there are other factors that may not be directly connected to poor remuneration paid to workers encouraging bureaucratic corruption but poor income earned by the workers is a key factor. Due to poor income they are unable to meet their basic needs especially the absence of good functional social policy that ensures the basic facilities for the workers when they are in service and when out of service (retirement). The fear of retirement entertained by workers in the civil service which endear them to bureaucratic corruption is basically economic. Some of these factors in summary include;

- Unequal distribution of wealth
- Weak monitoring mechanism.
- Concentrated economy/government bureaucracy.
- Unequal, allowances and reward system of employees on the same grade level.
- Unemployment
- Lack of transparency.
- Greed and poverty.

There are general effects of corruption which applies to bureaucratic corruption and in summary they are as follows (Mamadu 2009).

- Poor investment.
- Rise in poverty.
- Poor national development
- National crisis.

- Loss of much needed revenue.
- Decrease in national prestige and respect.
- Leads to brain drain.
- Causes civil unrest.
- Business failure.
- Election rigging.
- Absence of law and order and failure of government institutions.

According to Ribadu (2006) corruption is worst than terrorism as it is responsible for perpetual collapse of infrastructure and institutions in Nigeria. It is the cause of endemic poverty and under development and cyclical failure and democracy to take root (Awogbemi 2014) Government at all levels in Nigeria recognises the cancerous effects of corruption to the conduct of average development of the country and embarked on war against it. Since 1999 this war against corruption generally has remained a core commitment of various regimes. This has led to the establishment of the Code of Conduct Bureau, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) Money Laundering Act of 1995, re-enacted in 2004, Advance Fee Fraud (419) and fraud related offences Act of 1995, Independent corrupt practices and related offences Act of 2000, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) 2003 etc.

Through these Agencies the Federal Government has recovered billions of naira back to the treasury of government and this has installed some restraint to those involved and intending on corruption.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the effects of payment of poor remuneration to workers as it causes low savings and low investment towards retirement, on bureaucratic corruption. Consequently the workers settle down for criminal primitive accumulation of wealth while in the civil service through bureaucratic corruption to take care of their basic needs while in service and during their period of retirement. Thus creating further challenges against the success of the war against corruption by the government

re-socialized in the benefits of ethics and behave accordingly.

Recommendations:

Governments at all levels should ensure the strict implementation of the old and new pension scheme.

Government at all levels should ensure timely payment of gratuity and pensions to retirees immediately they retire.

Government should ensure the formulation and implementation of workers social insurance and welfare packages where retirees are also beneficiaries.

The government should effect the payment of remuneration/allowances to her workers that are in tandem with global standards.

The main anti-corruption agencies, ICPC and EFCC should be made more effective through serious public enlightenment of their activities at the grassroots. In fact they should open offices in all local government areas in the country and outlets in all government offices.

The leadership in the government should adopt intelligence gathering method and collaboration amongst all agencies concerned with the war against corruption. In addition demonstrate seriousness in tracking and punishing corrupt Government officials including civil servants.

Special courts be established to try corruption cases in order to avoid delay of such cases in the conventional courts.

Well articulated reward system be adopted for good and honest civil servants and wage increase to reduce income disparity.

Institutionalize code of ethics for civil servants where they are re-educated and enlightened,

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PATHOLOGIES BEDEVILING RESEARCH IN TERTIARY EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

BY

Professor Akongbowa, Amadasun Bramwell (Ph.D)

Professor Of Public Administration

Department Of Public Administration, Federal University Wukari, Taraba State.

And

Dr. Victor Abhiele Okosun (Ph.D)

School Of Education

Chief Lecturer Of Public Administration

College Of Education, Ekiadolor, Benin City.

Tel: 08094929950

Email: Vicbismack@yahoo.co.uk

ABSTRACT

The focus of this paper, is on the pathologies bedeviling research in tertiary education for sustainable development. The desire of the political actors/political leaders to place Nigeria amongst comity of nations that is sustainable developed, led to the initiation and execution of research policies. This was aimed at moving the nation out of her economic, political and social morass. Research in tertiary education from all intent and purpose, is the pedestal for the transformation of the nation's economy. It is in this breath, that Nigeria since independence have sunk in trillions of naira into funding various researches in tertiary institutions, across the thirty six states of Nigeria including Abuja,. Alas, a panoramic view of the nation political landscape will reveal that research in tertiary institutions, as a leeway for sustainable development in Nigeria is benighted by various pathologies. They include, funding, corruption, policy somersault of government etc. Consequently, the paper defined the concept research, tertiary education and sustainable development. The paper is explicated with the aid of system theory. It also examines the various pathologies bedeviling research in tertiary institutions. Epitomizing, the paper opines that, research is the main plank for Nigeria sustainable development.

Introduction

The issue of the pathologies bedeviling research in tertiary education for sustainable development, has been front burner in various discussions, fora, seminars held in various institutions in Nigeria.

The aftermath of the foregoing, is that it has drawn the intellectual and practical attention of academics and scholars in various disciplines such as Education, Public Administration etc.

The federal government initiation and execution of various policies of research in tertiary education is due, to the fact that it dawned on her from the experience of advanced and industrialized nations. That research remains the only vehicle or pedestal

through which sustainable development can be attained (Okosun and Aihie-Ezomo, 2013).

According to Ahiakwo (2007), “through research in tertiary education, the nation will be able to produce it own bicycles, tricycles, cars, aeroplanes, farm equipment and not mere assembling them. The country will utilize these products as well as leave a better environment for future generations (World Bank, 1995).

On the contrary, a macroscopic view of the nation political landscape will reveal, that research in tertiary education is bedeviled by various pathologies. Which tend to militate against Nigeria, in her drive for sustainable development.

According to Zuofa (2007), there are various challenges militating against research in tertiary institutions in Nigeria, such as poor funding, the need for policy framework etc. The latter sentence constitutes the pathologies bedeviling research in Nigeria tertiary institutions. Thereby, thwarting the nation strides towards sustainable development.

Given the above background, the paper review the core issues relating to the pathologies bedeviling research in Nigeria ivory towers. The paper is divided into sections beginning with an introduction. The first sections deals with the concept of research and sustainable development. It also includes the theoretical framework. The paper is explicated with the aid of system theory. The second part examines the role of research in tertiary education. It also includes the recommendations and policy prescription made by the authors. This section ends with conclusion.

Conceptual Clarification

Various scholars have defined the concept research. Their definition of the concept depends on their perception of the concept.

According to Best (1997), “research is a more systematic activity directed towards discovery and development of an organized body of knowledge. A synthesis of the definition will bring to limelight, that the essence of research is to validate, repudiate, disprove or discover and extend the frontier of knowledge” (Wikipedia Dictionary, 2017).

Young (1997), postulated that the concept “research is a scientific undertaking of means of logical and systematic techniques aimed at:

- 1) *“discovery new facts or verifying old facts*
- 2) *Analyzing their sequences, interrelationship and causal explanations which were derived within an appropriate theoretical frame of references.*
- 3) *Developing new scientific tools concepts and theories which would facilitate reliable and valid*

study of human behaviour”.

This definition of Young, provides a clearer and vivid picture of the concept research. This is due to the fact that, the research process involves stating the problems, stating the objective, hypotheses, research design and generalization. The purpose of it is to extend the horizon of knowledge (Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, 2017).

Tertiary Education

The concept tertiary education has been addressed by different scholars, academics and organizations across the world. Their perception of the concept depends on the way they view it.

According the World Bank Organization (2017), higher education also referred to as tertiary education in some countries refers to all post secondary education including both public and private universities. colleges, technical training institutes and vocational schools. higher education is instrumental in fostering growth, poverty and boosting shared prosperity”.

An extrapolation of the above definition will reveal that it is quite apt to the situation in Nigeria. In Nigeria, the federal government places a higher premium on tertiary education. Tertiary education cut across the ivory towers (the various states and federal government owned universities, polytechnics monotechnics etc. The essence for the establishment of these institutions, is to galvanize and simulate manpower development, industrial and agricultural development etc (World Bank, 2017).

Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia (2017), “postulated that tertiary education also referred to as third level or third stage or post secondary education following the completion of a school providing a secondary education”.

A synthesis of the above definition will reveal that, tertiary education connotes the education that takes place after a child or student has completed his/her secondary school. That is, having acquired the West African School Certificate as in the past, or the Senior Secondary school Certificate or its equivalent. The student proceeds to the third stage of education. Which is higher education

or tertiary education. These are institutions that teach specific capabilities of higher learning e.g. colleges, technical training institutes, community colleges, nursing schools, research laboratories etc (World Bank, 2017). Just as it is obtainable in other advanced and developed nations e.g. the United States of America. Higher education or tertiary education in Nigeria terminates or culminates in the acquisition, receipt of a certificate, diplomas or an academic degree (World Bank, 2017).

Sustainable Development

The concept of sustainable developments have been addressed by many scholars. This depends on the ideological perspective which the concept is viewed by the different scholars (Idemudia, 1999).

According to the United Nations Organization (1987), *“sustainable development refers to the development that is designed to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”*.

A synthesis of the above definition will bring to mind, that it is quite vivid and clear. It can be deduced, that it refers to all the indicators of basic needs of the present generation such as good roads, access to pipe borne water, institutional, physical and social infrastructures etc. It equally takes care of future generation yet unborn (Okosun and Urhoghide, 2012). Sustainable development also harps on the need for the overall transformation of the economies of both the less developed countries (LDC) of the world, as well as the industrialized and advanced nations. Simply put, sustainable development seeks to make the world a better place for all generations of mankind (Amadasun, 2016).

Deborah and John (2010) contend that *“sustainable development is the pathways which are needed to both developed and underdeveloped countries. It requires a high level of dialogue, cooperation, collaboration and most importantly, trust that is simply not reflected in today multilateral institutions or regions”*. If the latter sentence is reversed to reflect the yearnings and aspirations of the vast majority of population residing in both rural and urban sectors of Nigeria economy,

sustainable development will be realizable in the near future (Adam Oshiomole, 2017).

Theoretical Framework

System Theory

Alan Issack (1978) contends *“that theories are the building blocks of any social occurrence or a given phenomena”*. It is the tripod on which the explanation of occurrence hinges. To the end, this paper will be explicated with the aid of system theory.

In all ramifications, the system theory is quite crucial to research in tertiary education. The system theory to research development contends that, *“the development of any given political entity, state or nation is always influenced by a host of interactions within the environment or outside its environment boundary (David Easton, 1957)”*.

Undeveloped nations all over the globe, such as Nigeria are characterized by poor economy growth, low level of agricultural development, high level of illiteracy among its citizens. Dearth of physical and institutional infrastructures e.g. schools etc (Idachaba, 1999). These indices of underdevelopment mentioned in the latter sentence are attributes of both the urban and rural sectors of Nigeria economy. The tertiary institutions in Nigeria, which are established by both the federal, states, and private individual/organizations do not exist in isolation. It is mutually dependent on the environment and the environments have various boundaries which are distinct. The boundaries relies on one another. Thus, inputs flows from the various boundaries through the conversion process (Easton, 1957). These inputs are transformed into finish goods or products, example is the production of graduates of various discipline, who are worthy both in character and learning (University of Benin, 2000).

Another attribute of the system theory is the operation of subsystems outside the environment, for instance the tertiary institutions located in the 36 (thirty six states of the federation, including Abuja interact with the federal, states and local government, interventionist agency, ministry officials who are *“clothed with offices”* (Deil Wright, 1996). These interactions lead to the generation of

policy and programme framework in research development, as a pedestal for Nigeria sustainable development drive. For an elaborate and effective research development policy to evolve and be sustained, the officials of the three tiers of government must meet with management of various federal and states universities, etc to formulate policy on research development. The execution of the policy including the assessment and feedback must flow between the various subsystems (Okosun and Urhoghide, 2013).

The national system (urban and rural) structural framework include the bureaucrats at the apex, the tertiary institutions (universities, polytechnics etc), the interventionist agency and the host communities. By definition and in line with this paper, research development (behavioural pattern) among development actors of a hierarchically structured level in national development framework includes the following areas important areas or level of interactions.

1. Between policy makers and tertiary institutions
2. Between policy makers and the host communities.
3. Between the interventionist agency and tertiary institutions.
4. Between the interventionist agency and the host communities.

Within this framework, research development policy, initiatives, programmes implementation, evaluation and control or impact analysis, both at the national and state levels with particular reference to Nigeria seeks to answer five (5) main fundamental questions namely:

1. What are the objectives of research development?
2. What patterns of interactions are manifested between and among national/states, local government and tertiary institutions officials with regard to research development?
3. What is the nature of the interactions among and between subsystems?
4. How are these interactions managed

and can be managed for effective realization of national development aspiration? (Okosun and Urhoghide, 2013).

5. How will research development in the tertiary education enhance sustainable development in Nigeria?

The national development policy and programme coupled with research development framework provide a comprehensive framework. For identifying, strategizing and building institutions. The essence is to developed both the rural and urban sectors of Nigeria economy. The interactions among officials of national, states government, interventionist agencies etc may be vertical, horizontal or diagonal (Deil, 1996).

In the widest sense, the objectives of research development in tertiary institutions are:

1. To instill the highest order of Nigeria economy transformation and thus provide the basis for her citizens participation in sustainable development
2. To enhance the production of graduates with degrees and diplomas, who are worthy in character and learning, thereby leading to manpower security in Nigeria.
3. Attract research focus in tertiary education as a basis for the optimal participation of the Nigeria populace in market economy. (Federal Government of Nigeria, 2001).

Epitomizing, from the layout of the theoretical work, it can be fully said, that the authors of the paper has lucidly explained the system theory.

The Role of Research in Tertiary Education and Sustainable Development

Research in tertiary education is crucial to the development of sustainable development. This is due to the fact that it is the main vehicle for the transformation of any nation economy (World Bank, 2002). The

World Bank lend credence to the latter sentence, when it asserted that tertiary education, is an instrument par excellence in fostering growth, reducing inequality, poverty and boosting shared prosperity (World Bank, 2016).

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RELIGION AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN NIGERIA

BY

OJIGHORO REUBEN EDAFENENE(Ph.D)

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION,

PMB 1251,

WARRI,

DELTA STATE

GSM: 08073109641,09038701423

Email : reubenojighoro@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

Religion occupies an important place in human society. Almost all aspects of society including economic and political domains are guided and controlled by it. Religion formulates human conduct, behaviour and choices. Religion is a universal part of human life. It must, therefore, have a great and important value, otherwise, by now most people in the world would have abandoned it completely. But in spite of all these, there are some dark sides of it, for which some thinkers are of the opinion that if religion is eradicated from the society, many bad things will disappear and people will live peacefully. However, efforts will be made to delineate the dark aspects of religion and justify the necessity of religion in society. In Nigeria, for example, our democratic process and politics are tilted toward religious and ethnic divide. Religion can either make or mar the democratic process of any nation. The purpose of this paper therefore, is to highlight the impact of religion on our democratic process and consolidation in Nigeria.

Introduction

Politics and religion are so interwoven that their separation in society is impossible. Even though, the relationship between religion and politics has not always been a cordial one in almost all nations of the world, yet it is imperative to note that religion has played impressive role in all democratic processes of most nations of the world. In some nations where religious fundamentalist are absent, religion becomes a source of peace and humanitarian concern.

Religion played a role in imperial era as Catholics and Protestants missionaries were among the early European explorers and colonizers of Africa, Asia, Australia and Latin America. Religion formed the basis upon which the Fulani invaded the Hausa homelands and established the Sokoto Caliphate. It also served as a forerunner of colonialism from the Coast as it paved the way for the British to overrun the Southern Coastlands, and implanted Christianity. Nigerians therefore became religious before their unification into

the modern Nigerian State in 1914 by the British. One way or the other, people do seek meaning in life, a sense of purpose that politics cannot adequately provide, but can be provided by religion.

Religion has been defined by Kegley and Wittkopf (2004) as a system of thought shared by a group that provides its members with an object of devotion and a code of behaviour by which they can ethically judge their actions. As a system of thought or belief, it provides its members with their main source of identity. This identification with, and devotion to a religion, Kegley and Wittkopf (2004) maintain, springs from natural human need to find a set of values with which to evaluate the meaning of life and the consequences of their choices. Religion therefore is the belief in the supernatural and the practices sustaining that belief. It is the ultimate superstition and a level of consciousness mostly centering on good and evil; God and Satan; gods, spirits and deities. It arises from historical, socio-economic and political factors in a society (Igwe, 2004).

Meanwhile, democracy is often conceived as a form of government that offers popularly acceptable and workable solutions to socio-economic problems, particularly through collective decisions (Hague and Harrop, 2001). Democracy can simply be seen as government by elected representatives. Thus a democratic both in normative and empirical perspectives should be able to satisfy certain universally acceptable values and norms. It is based on these universally acceptable values and norms that the degree and extent of the democraticness of a regime is examined. At its minimalist level, the democratic regime should be transparent and accountable, provide fundamental human freedoms and rights, ensure rule of law, conducts free and fairly acceptable periodic elections, and so on.

The idea of democracy is to provide a functional government and a responsible citizenry. A democratic government must protect the divergent interest of the citizens, while the latter must support the former through participation and adherence to the terms of social contracts. This will always be the defining nature and character of the interaction between the state and the civil society (Kura, 2009).

The issue of religion and politics is a very important one hence the need for it to be brought to the fore. However, the way religious faith glosses over the political realm in Nigeria, make some feel and think that religion and politics are incompatible, especially to the development of democracy. The level of religiosity is so high that religion has acquired the capacity to impose and assert its perspectives in the country's political agenda. The assertion of religious authority over secular authority for the democrat undermines the legitimacy of the state and the fundamental human rights of the citizens; and the assertion of secular authority over religion "questions" God's authority over His creation on earth and "undermines" the power and authority of God's representatives on earth (Akwara & Ojomah, 2013). The questions that arise therefore are: does the gloss of religious beliefs and practices over the nation's political process engender or endanger the growth of democratic beliefs and practices in the country?; and how can

religious and democratic practices be reconciled to guarantee the institutionalization of an enduring democratic order in a multi-ethnic society as Nigeria?

Religion in Nigerian Politics

Religion has been a potent factor in Nigerian politics since independence. The fact that no religion is recognized as a state religion does not suggest that religion is not an issue of concern to successive administrations in Nigeria (Famulusi, 2019). In fact, it has been a matter of inevitability. However, the pluralistic nature of the country is largely recognized. For this reason, the three major religions are given equal opportunity; however, the traditional religion has been disadvantaged in the Nigerian polity. This is not unconnected with the politics of evangelization of the two main foreign religions, ie Christianity and Islam. Christianity, for example has a universal mission and, therefore, rest on the principle of a universal God, evangelism, salvation and brotherhood of mankind. Islam is also a missionary religion and going by history, it aims at growing numerically (Famulusi, 2019). Prior to the arrival of these two religions, in what is now known as Nigeria, traditional religion was firmly rooted. However, their arrival spelt doom on its entirety and many Muslims and Christian converts were won. Thus the growth of Islam and Christianity became the end result of the wane of African traditional religion. Another factor is its small scale nature. This religion is highly segmented, localized and not universal (Mbiti, 1976). Moreover, zeal for evangelism manifesting in membership drive, is not its attribute. It is, therefore ironical that Christianity and Islam are now more recognized than the traditional religion.

Religion manifests in various aspect of life in Nigeria, however, what is worthy of note, is the fact that caution has always been taken not to cause religious acrimony. This is done by making sure that no religion is overtly preferred or neglected. For example, at public gatherings, it is either prayers are not offered at all or they are offered by leaders or functionaries of the recognized religions. In this case, if the opening prayers were said by a

Muslim, a Christian will say the closing prayer, and vice versa. This is a way of preventing conflict, which may snowball into violence. On the issue of public holidays, Christianity and Islam are adequately taken care of as work free days are observed during their festivals. But, in the history of Nigeria, no public holiday has been declared for traditional festivals by the Federal Government (Famulusi, 2019). Though, no official reason has been given, one is noticeable. As earlier mentioned, the traditional religion is segmented and, invariably there is no common interest. Festivals are celebrated locally and many of them could last for a week or more and the times they are observed vary from one community to another. For this reason, there are no specific days or times as obtained in Christianity and Islam. More importantly, it has never been seriously impressed on the government, especially at the federal level, to declare public for the celebration of these festivals.

Religious organizations have never pretended not to be interested in the affairs of the country as they are, in many ways, involved. One of such way is prayers that are offered for leaders and the country as an entity. These prayers are both solicited and unsolicited. Sometime ago, when Goodluck Jonathan was still Vice President of this country, he enjoined all Nigerians to be praying for the government, even though this request did not appeal to the sensibility of those who believe that most of the problems confronting Nigeria are man-made. The state of health of the late President, Ya'radua, engaged the services of many religious men and women, who consistently prayed for his quick recovery. It was reported in the news media, shortly before his death, that some renowned clergy men visited him even when the then acting president did not have free access to him (Famulusi, 2019).

The establishment of the Pilgrim Welfare Board is another way of understanding religion and democracy in Nigeria. The implication of this is that government now has serious influence on pilgrimage and a great deal of public fund is expended yearly to run the Board. The government at different levels has sponsored pilgrims to Jerusalem and Mecca.

Also, the building of the central mosque and Christian centre in Abuja was supported by the government, while in various government houses, there are either chapels or a mosque or both, depending on the prevailing religious situation in the states concerned.

One religious issue that has, for a longtime, been a subject of debate and discord in Nigeria is the question of Sharia, the Islamic legal system. On its origin, (Kukah, 1994), has argued that the Sharia debate of the Constituent Assembly (C.A.) of 1978 must be seen as the beginning of the introduction of the religion into Nigerian politics. He (Kukah) maintains that the basis of the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio was the establishment of an Islamic state based on Sharia. In its Native Court Proclamation in 1900, the British accepted Sharia court as being at par with the customary court, thus they were empowered to administer native laws and custom prevailing in their area of jurisdiction. Punishments that are not repugnant to natural justice could be awarded (Famulusi, 2019). The first Sharia court of appeal was established in Kaduna in 1960. However, its jurisdiction was restricted to Islamic personal law. This was in apparent recognition of religious plurality of the then, Northern Region. The issue took a political dimension with the setting up of the Constitution Drafting Committee (CDC) in 1976 as part of the efforts to return the country to civil rule (Ngwa, 2002). In the draft constitution, the following provisions were made:

- i. There shall be Federal Sharia Court of Appeal, which shall be an intermediate Court of Appeal between the states Sharia Court of Appeal and the Supreme court of Nigeria.
- ii. The court shall be composed of the grand mufti and such a member of muftis (not less than three) as the National Assembly may prescribe.
- iii. In each of the States of the Federation that desires, there shall be a Sharia Court of Appeal to be established by the constitution of the state (as quoted by Kukah, 1994).

As contained in the 1979 constitution, theoretically, Sharia was not problematic, but it developed into a major political confrontation in 1999, and in 2000, former governor of Zamfara State, Sani Yerima, inaugurated the adoption of Sharia, legal system. Following his example, some states in the North adopted it. The first victim was Buba Bello Jengede, who had his wrist amputated for stealing a cow (Familusi,2019).

Furthermore, there are some fundamental principles underlying religious factors in the electoral process in Nigeria. One of such is how region often determines the choice of flag bearer/ running mate for the posts of the president and governor in some states. This is done to ensure that the interest of adherents are protected. Where and when this principle is adopted, there is usually a Muslim/ Christian or Christian /Muslim ticket. Thus in 1979, National Party for Nigeria (NPN) adopted a Muslim/ Christian ticket.while Unity Party of Nigeria did not take religion into consideration, hence its adoption of a Christian/ Christian ticket. Perhaps, Chief Awolowo, saw this as one of the reasons why he lost, hence, he chose a Muslim from the North as his running mate in 1983. Even some military regimes recognized religion as a factor in governance. For instance, the Murtala/ Obasanjo era was a Muslim /Christian ticket and Obasanjo, upon becoming the Head of State, chose a Muslim as his deputy. However, the Buhari/Idiagbon regime was Muslim/Muslim, while the two chiefs of staff under Babangida were Christians. Both Abacha and Abubakar maintained the status quo as they picked Diya and Akhigbe (Christians) as their second in command, respectively.

In subsequent political dispensation, religion has continued to be a sensitive factor in choosing candidates at the national level. During the aborted republic, the National Republican Convention (NRC) had a muslim/ Christian ticket, while that of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) was a Muslim/Muslim. Former President Obasanjo,

had a Muslim as his Vice. The incumbent (Buhari), is a Muslim, while his Vice (Osinbajo) is a Christian. With this, tension will not be generated, since no religion is marginalized. It is also an issue that voting and campaign, in some cases, are based on religious sentiment. In this case, religion could be used to either canvass support for a candidate or dissuade the electorate from voting for him or her. This is why some Muslims will not support Christian candidate and vice versa.

In 2003, Muhammadu Buhari, of the All Nigerian Peoples Party (ANPP), was criticized for his stand on religious matters and this, no doubt, worked against his political fortune. As a perceived advocate of the Sharia Law and fundamentalist, he was quoted to have said that Muslims should not vote for Christian candidates. From the foregoing, it can be inferred that religion could sometimes be a dangerous factor in an electoral process. The input of religion has been both liberal and radical in that it is not all cases, that religious beliefs govern political attitudes or that Nigerians vote on religious sentiment. For example, in 1979, Muslims in the South West voted for Chief Obafemi Awolowo, a Christian, while Christians in the North voted for Shagari, a Muslim. The result of the annulled 1993 presidential election lends credence to this claim as the victorious party adopted a Muslim/Muslim ticket and Christians did not because of this decision, refuse casting their votes for their candidate.

After an election, the oath of office is administered on whoever is elected. The main thrust of the oath is the promise to act faithfully and in accordance with the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. In doing this, the help of God is solicited. Though religious leaders are not given specific roles to play when the oath is being administered, the mention of God's name, coupled with the holding of scripture or any religious object, is enough to establish the invocation of the divine (Ayantayo,1999; Ilesanmi,2004).

The infiltration of religion into the electoral process is consummated with thanksgiving by

politicians in churches and mosques to acknowledge God's sovereignty and faithfulness; and for granting them victory. This has been understood as partisanship of religious leaders. On the whole, as earlier mentioned, severing religion from any aspect of society is a mission impossible and that is why it is an issue that cannot be ignored with the question of sustainable development. At this point, we shall discuss the positive implications of religious politics for democratic consolidation in Nigeria.

Positive Implications of Religion on Nigerian Politics

The impact of religion on politics will enhance sustainable development, if, and only if the impact is positive. In this sense, one expects religious ethical values to manifest at every point of influence. This means religious people have a duty to abide by the ethical teachings, inherent in their religious and such, will provide good leadership and obedient followership. This confirms Comte's creed of "religion of humanity", which is aimed at bringing material, security, peace, justice and progress. According to him: Love is the principle; Order is the basis, and Progress is the end (Dzurgba, 2009).

Adherence to religious ethical values is imperatives for all religious practitioners. Interestingly, Nigerians are one of the most religious people in the world. Therefore there is need to live a moral life because it is commanded by God. Failure to do this will be counterproductive in the matter of sustainable development.

Religion, being an agent of social control and transformation, helps to keep people with the norm of the society, which is the real basis of politics. According to Adeleye (1988);

Religion breeds an ideal heart in man to be able to be conscious of the need to have a clean heart. By this, he will grow to have a philanthropic or patriotic thought before venturing to lead or represent his people in government of the State. In other

words, religion will prepare the mind of man to be a good politician who will constantly fall back upon his religion to guide him. The teachings or threats of religion are expected to guide him to be able to lead his people aright as a politician with fear of God in him. He will not consider himself first, rather he knows that he is the servant of the electorates (sic). Religion is an idealistic set up, therefore, serves as oil to lubricate politics. This is to say that religion bears peace and love, both of which are vital ingredients that can sum the interests of societies together for an ideal and a very purposeful politics.

Another positive implication of religion on Nigerian politics or democracy is adherence to the oath of office. In this case, political leaders, having invoked God when the oath is being administered, will rule with the fear of God. We must be cognizant of the fact that every content of the oath is a guarantee for good governance, if imbibed.

Because of the litany of gruesome activities of fanatics, religion, however, is being given a bad name. Can we convincingly still say that religion is an unwanted commodity or that the religious phenomenon is overbearingly unnecessary or has no relevance in the governance of this nation or can we say otherwise?

On the Nigerian terrain, as earlier indicated, religion has been driven to assume both disintegrative and integrative functions, covering all spheres of national life. In taking an in depth look at this, the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial phases of her history were brought into focus.

The functional perspective of religion is derived from Emile Durkheim who indicated that the functions religion performs are so important that all societies needed it for some means of recreating its basic elements in secular form (Amakiri, 2016). At this juncture, it is pertinent to observe that the patterns of

interaction between religion, the Nigeria State and governance, is not all that of mistrust, rivalry and suspicion. Governance does not take place in a vacuum, but occurs within the environmental framework in which psychological, historical, political, economic, sociological and spiritual factors play various roles (Amakiri, 2016). To this extent, that Nigeria is a secular state does not mean that she is a godless or atheistic entity. This assertion is supported by wording of the former National Anthem and the second stanza of the present National Anthem. The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria equally alludes to this fact when it emphatically grants citizens freedom of worship as a fundamental human right. The relevance of this becomes glaring during public functions and football competitions where prayers are said at the beginning and at the end, and rendition of religious songs for God's intervention, including calling on the god of soccer to favour the nation respectively. On occasions such as Armed forces remembrance day and independence anniversary, Jumat services are held by Muslims while Christians hold denominational church services to commemorate such events

Owete and Odili(2008) also captured the role of religion in national development in the areas of moral, educational, political, economic, national unity and social control. With reference to governance, they point out that:

Religion and politics are so closely related that they are difficult to define . First, they both involve system of values and actions which are justified in terms of values. Second, fundamental religious principles are features of the present day politics in Nigeria.

Following this however is their concern as to whether religion is the brain behind the formulation and generation of political ideology or it is simply used to make legitimate actions which actually emanate from political, ethnic or personal concerns. This again points to the influence of religion in the governance

process of the nation. From pre-independence to post-independence eras, the role of Nnamdi Azikiwe and Obafemi Awolowo of Christian extraction and their political parties favoured egalitarian and prosperity within the economic equation, while that of Ahmadu Bello and later Ahmadu Bello and later Aminu Kano of Islamic extraction, supported the exercise of power by the oligarchy (Amakiri, 2016). Furthermore, political leaders have transferred religious connotations such as walking sticks, horsewhips, elephant tusk, red caps and chieftancy apparels into the political space (Amakiri,2016). In addition, they pay visits to the traditional rulers who are the custodians of the culture of the people as a way of seeking and attracting divine (royal) blessings. They also seek divine intervention by paying homage to religious leaders, asking for their prayers to God, to enable them succeed. There are reports of visit to native doctors/ diviner in a bid to curry favour from the deities and surmount opposition (Amakiri, 2016). Equally, the religious language is popularly used during political campaigns and rallies, in songs, with the claim to have a divine mandate to liberate the people. Clichés such as God sent, God fearing leaders inundate the political lexicon.

Challenges

The interaction between religion, the Nigerian state and governance / democracy throws up some obvious challenges.

1.Corruption: What is interesting here is that the occupant of public offices who engage in one form of misdemeanor or another belong to one religion or the other. This raises the concern of the potency of how religion can tame man in exhibiting his natural inclinations towards licentiousness and debauchery. Related to this is the prevalence of injustice and disrespect for the human person.

2Mundane interests and drives: Issues of ethnicity, tribalism, nepotism, gender and classmates etc. have continued to paint the Nigerian political space dark. People seem not to be much interested in effective performance

or good governance and selfless service but in what portion or size of the national cake could be sliced, taken away and eaten even when it gets to our turn. The basis for exclusion or inclusion in the resource base is shifting drastically from tribalism to whether one is a Christian or Muslim (Amakiri, 2016).

3. Unstable governments /administration:

Until very recently there has been fear of coup d'état and counter coups by the military. Their truncation of governments has further heightened the concern about governance and seemed to have further fuelled religious rivalry as attempts by successive military regimes to seek for acceptance from religious leaders among other elites, has been a sore point for suspicion.

4. External influences: There is what political watchers call neo-colonialism orchestrated by agents such as the World Bank, Paris Club and European Union, who display loans and other financial attractions to the nation. With sometimes murky and hidden terms and conditions, governments are lured in, that today the external debt profile of the Federal and State governments is on the increase, to the detriment of the National Gross Domestic Product(NGDP) and the depletion of external reserves. Interpreted as Christian organizations, Islamic banking through the Islamic Development Bank is being introduced from Muslim Countries to balance the equation.

5. Terrorism: Perhaps, more worrisome is the external dimension that the current trend of terrorism in the country has assumed. The fundamentalist group called Jamaa'tu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'wati Wal Jihad, otherwise called Boko Haram (Western or non-Islamic education is prohibited) has been linked to Al Qaeda and Hezbollah, the Lebanese militant group, and other Arab terrorist organizations. The kidnapping of school girls in Chibok, Bornu State, is still fresh in the mind of the nation. Beyond bombings, maiming and killing, they have adopted a new strategy of invading communities and hoisting their flags (territorial expansion). The international

military efforts of the United Kingdom, France, China, USA and Israel, have so far not been able to effectively checkmate trail of woes which the group inflicts upon the nation almost on daily basis.

Recommendations

From what has been experienced in Nigeria and as established in this paper, absolute secularity is not achievable because of the unavoidable interplay between religion and society. This is to say that religion in politics has come to stay and religion will continue to be relevant in the society. What can be done in view of this reality is to utilize the benefits accruing from it so as to attain sustainable development, which has been elusive in Nigeria since independence. On this note, one would recommend adherence to religious moral values by both leaders and the led. This is imperative because they all have responsibilities to discharge in ensuring good governance and these responsibilities are implied in religious ethics. With this in place, the social relevance of religion as established by Emile Durkheim can be justified (Ritzer,1996).

Government should, as a matter of necessity, handle religious matters with caution in order to prevent the recurrence of violence. Any country or society that is caught in the web of religious violence cannot experience social stability, unity and integration, which are necessary conditions for sustainable development. More importantly, the constitution should be religiously adhered to, while manipulation of religion should be avoided by all stakeholders. Also, those who are found guilty of using religion to destabilize the society must be made to face the wrath of the law according to the severity of their offences. The judiciary, therefore, should be given every necessary incentive to play its role fearlessly. The issue of sacred cow should not arise because the rule of law stipulates equality. The notion by some scholars that government should stop sponsoring people on pilgrimage with public funds, should be discarded by all and sundry. Pilgrimage is an holy exercise and not a funfair. People's moral lives are reformed and transformed during pilgrimage as they

encounter spiritual reality. If people's moral lives and values can be affected positively, the society will become a better place to live in, and governance will not be difficult to run. Moreover, there will be zero tolerance for corruption and other vices in our society.

Conclusion

This paper has attempted at examining the relationship between religion and democratization (politics) in Nigeria. Tracing this from pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial eras, it was discovered that it has not been possible to shut religion out of governance despite challenges that have been faced so far. Research has equally shown that religion is not the only phenomenon that can or has been manipulated but because the legitimacy of every government or state hinges on popular acceptance, politicians who have the problem of acceptance, advance religion as the cause or platform on which to explain or advance their inordinate ambitions. Religion, therefore, has been largely misunderstood by various persons due to ignorance and biases hence many are using it to meet their selfish ends. Religion, despite all informed and largely uninformed criticisms is an integrative force which elicits relationship between the ruled and the ruler who must give account of their stewardship because ultimate sovereignty belongs to God. Because people evade accountability, which is a major ingredient of democratic evolution, religion has been made to account for this inadequacy. There is no doubt that religion is a necessity for humanity and humanity is one and so any effort to relegate religion to the background is to miss the mark. Inter-religious co-existence is *sin qua con* for Nigeria's continued existence; religion and the Nigerian State cannot and must not be painted as strange bedfellows even when they are not. It is this attitude of tolerance that would drive home the much advocated and cherished peace and unity.

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THE NIGERIAN LOCAL CONTENT ACT AND THE UTILIZATION OF NIGERIANS IN THE TECHNICAL AREA OF OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY

Fada, Douperre Paul
&
James, Kodilichukwu Anekwe
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OTUOKE

ABSTRACT

The paper explores the Nigerian Local Content Act and the Utilization of Nigerians in the Technical area of Oil and Gas Industry. In recorded history, the oil and gas industry in Nigeria has played a sustaining role in fueling her economy and development. The domination of the international oil companies in this industry and the huge amount of resources spent in maintaining expatriates has resulted in huge capital flight. The major reason for this situation was attributed to low local content, as service contracts are awarded to foreign firms because local indigenous firms lack the requisite skills, technical expertise, manpower and production capacity and capability to compete favourably. This gave rise to the Nigerian oil and gas industry content development act 2010 seeking to increase indigenous participation in the industry by prescribing minimum thresholds for the use of local services. This study therefore seeks to unearth the impact of the local content policy and how it has enhanced the participation of Nigerians in the technical areas of the oil and gas industry. The objective of this work is to ascertain whether the implementation of the local content policy since 2010 has enhanced the participation of Nigerians in the technical areas of the oil and gas industry. The study adopted the ex-post factor research design and qualitative method. The paper anchored on the theory of Technological Development as the tool of analysis. The findings of the research show that there has not been any significant increase in the percentage of Nigerians engaged in the technical areas in oil and gas industry despite the implementation of the local content policy in 2010.

Key Words: Nigerian local content act, oil and gas industry, Nigerians with Technical expertise,

Introduction

It is an established fact that, the oil and gas industry in Nigeria plays a crucial role in the sustenance of the nation and fuels her economic and other development activities. Available evidence in extant literature shows that the industry has been widely described as the nation's livewire. Nonetheless, an estimated \$8billion is spent annually on servicing the industry in operations such as Fabrication, Engineering Procurement Construction (EPC), Front Engineering Design (FEED), Conceptual Designs and Seismic Studies. This figure is projected to hit \$15 billion within the next few years (Business Day, 2008).

Regrettably, despite these huge sums of money spent in servicing the industry, only a very little proportion of the accruable profit is spent in

Nigeria. Most of the profit is repatriated abroad, where most of the equipment is manufactured, and thus providing employment opportunities for citizens of other countries. The major reason for this situation has been attributed to low local content (LC) or over reliance on foreign content (FC), which is a situation where most of the servicing contracts are awarded to foreign firms because local indigenous firms lack the requisite skills, technical expertise, manpower and product capacity and capability to compete favourably. To address this anomaly, the federal government of Nigerian in the early 2010 introduced the local content policy, christened Nigerian content (NC) and it was primarily aimed at enhancing increased participation of local indigenous firms in the oil and gas industry (OGI). The policy was targeted at

transforming the industry through the development of in-country capacity and capabilities in areas of manpower development, facilities and infrastructure towards ensuring that a higher representation of local indigenous companies participate actively in the industry.

It is pertinent to note that, the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development Act 2010 (the Act) seeks to increase indigenous participation in the Oil and gas industry by prescribing minimum thresholds for the use of local services and materials and to promote transfer of technology and skill to Nigerian staff and labour in the industry. The Act is comprehensive, running into 107 sections and applies to all operators, contractors and other entities involved in any project in the oil and gas industry. It takes precedence over all other existing enactments and laws in respect of all matters and operations in the industry pertaining to Nigerian content carried out in the oil and gas. This study therefore seeks to unearth the impact of the local content policy and how it has enhanced the participation of Nigerians in the technical areas of the oil and gas industry. It is on the above backdrop that, the paper seeks to unearth the impact of the local content policy and how it has enhanced the participation of Nigerians in the technical areas of the oil and gas industry. The objective of this work is to ascertain whether the implementation of the local content policy since 2010 has enhanced the participation of Nigerians in the technical areas of the oil and gas industry.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on the theory of Technological Development that is believed to be originated from Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929), an American sociologist and economists, and later popularized by other American radical technological determinists like Clarence Ayres who was a follower of Thorstein Veblen and John Dewey. However, available evidence in extant literature shows that, the first elaboration of a technological determinist view of socioeconomic development came from the German

philosopher and economist Karl Marx, who argued that changes in technology, and specifically productive technology, are the primary influence on human social relations and organizational structure, and that social relations and cultural practice ultimately revolve around the technological and economic base of a given society. This assertion has become embedded in contemporary society, where the idea that fast-changing technologies alter human lives is pervasive.

The central theses or theoretical assumption of the scholars is that, technological development and innovation is the principal vehicle of social, economic or political change in modern societies. They believe in technology as the key governing force in society. That technological development determines social change. It changes the way people think and how they interact with others. They are of the view that, the idea of progress or the doctrine of progress is centralized around the idea that social problems can be solved by technological advancement. It is the central causal element in the process of social change.

It is an established fact that social theories focus on how humans and technology affect each other. Some theories focus on how decisions are made with humans and technology; humans and technology are equal in the decision, human drive technology, and vice versa. But it is pertinent to note that, technology does not determine human actions, but that human actions shape technology.

The theory of technological development attempts to explain the factors that shape technological innovation as well as the impact of technology on society and culture. The theory points to the historical evidence that technological innovations often give rise to new scientific fields, and emphasizes the important role that social networks and cultural values play in shaping society.

The import of the theory of technological development on this paper cannot be over emphasized, this is because the ultimate goal of a viable local content policy is to create a multiplier effect on the economy, thus enhancing sustainable growth and national wealth. Government seeks greater indigenous

involvement through the encouragement of indigenous participation in the oil and gas industry by increasing the quantum of composite value added or created in Nigeria economy through the utilization of Nigerian human and material resources. This is thus an attempt at circumventing both the capitalist and the social theories of technology transfer and developing an indigenous technology initiative.

The Formation of the Nigerian Local Content Act 2010

The Nigerian oil and gas content development Act of 2010 was promulgated on the 22nd of April 2010. The Act provides for the development of Nigerian content in the Nigerian oil and gas industry. The goal of the Act is to ensure that all regulatory authorities, operators, contractors, subcontractors, alliance partners and other entities involved in any project, operation, activity or transaction in the Nigerian oil and gas industry consider Nigerian content as an important element of the overall project development and management philosophy for project execution.

Local content refers to a set of policies that increase the utilisation of human and material resources in the oil and gas sector and domiciles in the country oil-related economic activity previously located abroad. With passage of the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development Act of 2010 (henceforth referred to as the Nigerian Content Act or NOGICD Act), a new agency called the Nigerian Content Development and Monitoring Board (NCDMB) was formed to implement local content policies. The NOGICD Act defines Nigerian content as “the quantum of composite value added to or created in the Nigerian economy by a systematic development of capacity and capabilities through the deliberate utilisation of Nigerian human, material resources and services in the Nigerian oil and gas industry.”

The term Local Content (LC) aptly christened 'Nigerian Content' has been defined as 'The quantum composite value added or created in the Nigerian economy through the utilization of Nigerian human and material resources for the provision of goods and services to the

petroleum industry' (NNPC Website). This definition seems what can be termed a textbook definition for LC. However, according to the former Chairman Nigerian House of Representatives Committee on Petroleum (Upstream), Tam Brisibe, local content means different things to different people...the common denominator is value addition in the country (Ogbodo, 2008). Obuaya (2005), a leading voice in the clamour for higher participation of local companies in the industry, provided his definitions in line with this idea of 'value addition.' He defines LC as a set of deliberate orientation and actions to build domestic capacity relevant for service and product delivery comparable within that industry and an opportunity to locally build a sustainable culture of service quality and capabilities exceeding customers' expectations and comparable to international standards through key local personnel and management.

According to Olsen (2008), Local content is a means – not a goal. The purpose is to increase national wealth through economic growth and more employment of locals. Nigeria, local content also represents an attempt to move beyond the “indigenisation” policies of the 1970s. The stated aim of Nigerian content policy is the “domiciliation” of economic activity in Nigeria. In theory, the emphasis of domiciliation is on doing work in Nigeria that was previously done abroad, rather than on work being done by Nigeria-owned service providers. In practice, even under Nigerian content, a major emphasis on promoting Nigerian ownership remains. However, the acceptance of foreign multinational oil service companies has gained Nigerian content widespread support among both labour unions and industry groups.

In April 2010, President Goodluck Jonathan signed the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development (NOGICD) Act into law. The NOGICD Act gives first consideration for awards of oil blocs, oil fields, and oil lifting to “Nigerian independent operators”; gives exclusive consideration to Nigerian indigenous service companies that meet certain conditions to bid on land and swamp operating areas; and creates the

Nigerian Content Monitoring and Development Board (NCDMB) to enforce compliance with the act and build Nigerian capacity to participate in the oil and gas industry.

All exploration and production companies are required to submit Nigerian content plans for all bidding on tenders in the industry and comply with a series of regulations designed to domicile manufacturing and services relating to the oil and gas industry in-country. Among the NOGICD Act's most controversial measures is a stipulation of a maximum of 5% of management positions for expatriate workers and a Schedule containing minimum levels of Nigerian content in any project. This schedule sets minimum targets in engineering, fabrication, materials and procurement, services, research and development, shipping and logistics, and many other categories. Included in the Nigerian content regulations are also minimum levels of Nigerian content in finance, including 100% of general banking services, 70% of monetary intermediation, and 50% of the amount of loans for credit. Finally, the NOGICD Act also gives the NCDMB authority to hand out hefty penalties – 5% of the project sum for each project or cancellation of the project. The table below presents the categorization of contractors by the Nigerian Content Act.

Table 1: Nigerian Content Categorization of Contractors

Category	Description		NC%
A	Wholly indigenous company	Equipment must be 100% owned or leased by the company	100%
		At least 80% of directors must be Nigerians	
		At least 80% of top managers must be Nigerian	
		At least 90% of senior field personnel must be Nigerians	
B	Major Nigerian shareholding company	Company registered in Nigeria with majority Nigerian shareholding	75
C	Alliance or joint venture	Company alliance between a Nigerian company and (Category A) and a foreign company (Category E)	50
D	Majority foreign shareholding company	Company registered in Nigeria with minority Nigerian shareholding	25
E	Foreign company	A foreign company registered in Nigeria with no Nigerian shareholding and whose assets belong to the offshore company	5

Source: NCDMB (2010) Draft NCDMB Monitoring & Evaluation Directorate Procedure. Nigerian Content Development and Monitoring Board culled from: Ovadia, J. (2013) *“Measurement and Implementation of Local Content In Nigeria – A Framework for Working with Stakeholders to Increase the Effectiveness of Local Content Monitoring and Development.”*

A Sahara Reporters report of 12th October 2011 had stated that at least 94 contract workers at the Qua Iboe Terminal, operated by Mobil Producing Nigeria (MPN), an ExxonMobil subsidiary in Ibeno, Akwa-Ibom, had been thrown into the labour market in gross violation of the provisions of the Petroleum Industry Bill. The National Union of Petroleum and Natural Gas Workers (NUPENG) officials at the Terminal told Sahara Reporters that the manner of the sack was at best inhuman. According to the Sahara Reporters:

The management of Mobil has been very inconsiderate in the way they treat locals here, how can a worker who finished his job the previous day without any problem come to work and be locked out... There is no room for workers to be briefed on the decision to relieve them of their duties. This has been the practice and we are being treated as slaves in our own country, the employer has the right to hire and fire but it should be done in line with laid down procedures... Hundreds of workers may have lost their jobs in the jobs cut, as the figure of 94 were unionized workers.

According to Ernest Nwapa, Executive Secretary, Nigerian Content Development and Monitoring Board (NCDMB), the Board was implementing the Nigerian Content Act to reverse a situation whereby the Nigerian oil and gas industry merely exported job opportunities and aided capital flight from the economy between 1956 when oil was discovered and 2006 when the Nigerian Content Policy was introduced. He noted regrettably: The industry exported two million job opportunities and suffered an estimated capital flight of about \$380bn during the 30-year period, with over 95% of industry annual budget expended abroad. If the successes being recorded in reversing the trend were consolidated, by 2020, Nigeria would have become the hub for oil and gas services and an estimated \$191bn could be retained; 300,000 new job opportunities created in engineering, sciences and technical services and over 65% of industry expenditure domiciled in Nigeria (Vanguard Sweet Crude, 22/12/2011). He also noted some policies and practices which

impaired local content development in Nigeria such as the Temporary Import Permit (TIP) for marine vessels, Nwapa informed that the TIP not only discouraged the ownership and registration of marine vessels in Nigeria but also gave advantages to foreign vessel owners, who were allowed to pay a token to the government for bringing in their vessels. This promotes the situation whereby vessels that work in Nigeria sail to neighbouring countries to meet their TIP conditions and undergo repairs concurrently whereas such maintenance can be done at shipyards in Nigeria.

The board has been implementing its strategies with emphasis being placed on areas with high impact on employment, retention of industry spending, technology transfer and value added services. The marine sector is one of such areas as it used to be dominated by foreign-owned vessels and rig operators, resulting in \$3bn capital flight. But the board has now come up with marine vessel and rigs ownership strategy which has begun to ensure a change in the status quo.

The local content initiative becomes very imperative given that unemployment rate in Nigeria is very high as a result of the abuse of the expatriate quota by foreign companies in Nigeria. Despite its good intention, the expatriate quota system is now taking its toll on the nation's youths, as foreigners remain the preferred applicants in the labour market, especially in the oil and gas industry. According to the National President, Rivers Youth Organization, Victor Briggs, some of the oil companies are breaching the local content policy and were yet to key into the initiative, the failure of which was affecting the economy of the Niger Delta region. According to him, The companies have bluntly refused to engage locals for jobs that could be conveniently handled by them. Some of the companies, like Saipem, have been doing perfectly well. They fabricate here in their Rumuolumeni base, employing more than 800 Niger Delta people. Daewoo, Nestoil, Oando, Agip and Shell are other companies that have shown courage to meet up the provisions of the Local Content

Law. There are so many other companies that have failed to help matters. They have not given the local people the opportunity to benefit from the oil and gas industry activities going on in their land and that is why the Niger Delta people are calling on the Minister of Petroleum and the Local Content Development and Monitoring Board to step in (Sunday Vanguard, 26th February 2012).

The 1963 enabling Act of the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS) made provision for the employment of foreigners in areas where Nigerians are lacking the required skills. The NIS was empowered to issue business permit and expatriate quota and to monitor the quota granted in order to ensure effective transfer of technology to Nigerians and eventually indigenize the positions occupied by the expatriates. But since 1963 when the law was made, there has been no monitoring and there has been no technology transferred to Nigerians in whatever form. In fact, the law has been abused as foreigners can now be seen at construction sites, factories, auto sale outlets, telecommunications and maritime companies doing semi-skilled and even menial jobs that should have been reserved for Nigerians in order to reduce unemployment in the country. Indians and Asians are more in this category of foreigners with questionable entry into the country and in abuse of the expatriate quota regime as many can be found in sale outlets as attendants.

It had not been a completely hopeless case as there are evidences that some major IOCs have taken up the gauntlet in the local content initiative. For example, Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria Limited (SPDC) in November 2011 awarded a contract for line pipes worth over N7.8 billion to an indigenous company, S.C.C. Nigeria Limited. The deal was one of the biggest contracts by an IOC to encourage in-country manufacture of the key pipeline making material. Shell had earlier worked with S.C.C. to enhance their production processes and capability, such that the company is now able to manufacture line pipes of varying diameters, meaning that line pipes are now available within Nigeria, saving

money and time, and developing the right expertise and creating jobs at the same time; at the same time, SPDC is studying the findings of a feasibility study it commissioned on the establishment of a second mill in Nigeria, which would manufacture other types of line pipes. The company commissioned the study earlier in 2011 and is currently working with the Nigerian Content Development Monitoring Board on how the mill would be set up (Udo.2011).

Shell Nigeria Exploration and Production Company (SNEPCO) is equipping and training the personnel of the Nigerian Institute of Welding in mechanical and corrosion laboratory testing and will invest N237 million to procure, install and commission laboratory equipment for mechanical testing, metallographic testing, chemical analysis/instrumentation, corrosion testing and non-destruction testing. These activities would help the institute to realise its potential as the foremost knowledge centre for welding engineering in Nigeria.

In 2010, Shell-run companies in the country awarded contracts worth nearly \$947 million to Nigerian companies. This represented more than 96% of the overall number of contracts and amounted to over 93% of the total expenditure on contracts. After the passage of the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry Content Development Act in 2010, Shell companies in Nigeria have continued, as far as possible to make use of local contractors and hire workers from the communities in which they operate. The Nigerian content strategy of Shell-run companies in the country also promotes the use of locally manufactured goods and Nigerian service companies in production operations, projects and well engineering. Shell has also adopted the Local Content model being applied in Nigeria for use in its global operations.

Although the implementation and enforcement of the NLC Act in Nigeria's oil industry, based on the comment of the past Executive Secretary of the Nigerian Content Development and Monitoring Board

(NCDMB), Ernest Nwapa, has seen to the increased ownership of vessels by Nigerians with over 30,862 jobs created, between 2010 when the Act became operative, to 31st December 2012, yet the number of Nigerians occupying managerial positions in operating companies was placed at 2,143 (Vanguard Newspaper, Tuesday May 1st, 2012). This suggests that the percentage of Nigerians occupying managerial positions in the oil and gas industry has not significantly improved in line with the provisions of the Nigerian content policy.

Although the LC policy has resulted in increased contract awards and participation of indigenous companies in Nigeria's oil and gas industry; however this cannot be considered as higher SMEs participation, because it only led to increased contract awards to existing companies, without significantly enhancing the participation of new entrants into the industry. Therefore, the capacity of indigenous firms remains hugely undeveloped and grossly underutilized since the industry is still dominated by MNOCs handling projects which ought to have accrued to Nigerians with respect to employment generation; capacity building and economic empowerment have remained elusive. Available data indicate that the NNPC was unable to attain its stated targets of

achieving 45% of local content in 2006 and 70% of local content by 2010 (Ovadia, 2013). The low participation of Nigerians in the oil and gas industry is often predicated on her near total dependence on foreign owned oil and gas firms or technical partners for the exploration and production of petroleum, due to the fact that local or indigenous technology has not been properly developed to meet with modern day exploration and production of petroleum, or the total failure of the Nigerian state through her agencies and agents to create an enabling environment for it to be developed and utilized. This has led to the poor implementation of the local content policy of the government and also the continued dominance of the oil and gas industry by MNOCs to the detriment of the Nigeria's development. In the view of Ndu (2008) the poor implementation of the local content policy and as such poor performance is as a result of lack of commitment on the part of the Nigerian government through their agencies like NNPC and NCD to effectively enforce compliance. The local content target set by the government to be met by 2006 and 2010 respectively could not have been met considering the situation on the ground and other prevailing logistics, problems or inadequacies that characterized the oil and gas industry which were some of the factors that gave rise to the local content law.

Table 2: Nigerian Content Measurement of Contractor Input

	Description	Nigerian content (%)
Procurement	Imported (sourced directly from foreign company)	0
	Imported (sourced through local company)	5
	Assembly done in Nigeria	20
	Manufacturing done in Nigeria with over 60% of input materials been imported or less than 40% local input materials	40
	Manufacturing done in Nigeria with over 60% local input materials	100
Labour Cost	All gross payment to Nigerian citizens	100
	Non-Nigerian citizens employed in the direct performance and direct support of the work and for the period of the work	20
	Training of Nigerian labour in-country	100
	Training carried out abroad	20

Source: NCDMB (2010) Draft NCDMB Monitoring & Evaluation Directorate Procedure. Nigerian Content Development and Monitoring Board culled from: Ovadia, J. (2013) *“Measurement and Implementation of Local Content In Nigeria – A Framework for Working with Stakeholders to Increase the Effectiveness of Local Content Monitoring and Development.”*

Conclusion/Recommendation

In recapitulation, it is sacrosanct to conclude this paper by saying that, there is no doubt that the passage of the Content Act was a welcome development as it was intended to set Nigeria on the path towards achieving sustainable development of the nation's economy through the stimulation of industrial development, growth of local capabilities, building of a skilled national workforce and the creation of a competitive supplier base. Findings among others revealed that this policy of the government has been in operation since 2010, there have been some increase of Nigerians participating in the activities in the petroleum sector of the economy, but there have not been any significant increase in the percentage of Nigerians engaged in the technical areas especially in the upstream section of the petroleum industry. Alike (2014:3) thus observed that: Out of over 110,000 tonnages, only about 8,000 tonnes are fabricated in Nigeria by indigenous contractors as the major fabrication works are done in Korean yards for integration into the main FPSOs, before the FPSOs sail to Nigeria on completion. Currently provision of subsea systems engineering and project management along with subsea Christmas trees, production and intervention control systems, manifolds, flowline connection systems installation support and associated spares are done in the United Kingdom and also integrated into the FPSOs in Korean yards. Fabrication, assembly and testing of manifolds and associated structures are done mostly by Norwegian firms while the contract for the umbilical's, flowlines, risers and oil loading terminal activities are executed mostly by Italian contractors. Even when the contracts are awarded to Nigeria's indigenous contractors, as observed by Balouga (2012), over 70% of the contracts are executed in foreign countries, thereby defeating the primary objective Nigerian Content development which is to develop in-country capacity by executing contracts in Nigeria through the Nigerian local content. This type of situation only ends up providing employment and business opportunities for the citizens of these countries where these contracts are taken to, with only a

fraction of employment to Nigerians. Mr. Ernest Nwapa as quoted in Alike (2014) notes that; the industry exported two million opportunities and suffered an estimated capital flight of about \$380bn during the thirty years period, with over 90% of industry annual budget expended abroad (Vanguard Sweet Crude, December 22nd, 2011). He noted further that there were 184 Hyundai Heavy Industries (HHI) of Korea Staff on the project in Nigeria out of which only two were Nigerians while the other 182 were Koreans (Alike, 2014).

Deriving from the above backdrop, the paper argued that the failure of the government through her agencies and agents to fully implement and enforce the local content policy has manifested in the poor or low utilization of indigenous workforce in the technical areas of the oil and gas industry in Nigeria. That despite the implementation of the local content policy since it has not significantly enhanced the participation of Nigerians in the technical areas of the petroleum industry in Nigeria.

Thus, it is not enough to say that because existing indigenous companies are now getting a few more contracts in the petroleum sector, then that solves the local content issue. It is far deeper than that. There are far more projects that can still be handled by indigenous firms that are not yet being handled today, instead they are given to foreign firms. Thus, a lot more needed to be done to ensure that the local content policy is made to become very effective. Thus, the participation of expatriates in oil production, installation, servicing and maintenance of oil facilities has been responsible for ineffective enforcement of the local content policy, as less than 20% of the labour force engaged in the oil industry are Nigerians.

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