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Identity crisis, contested citizenship and the challenges of democratic governance in Nigeria since 1999

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Abstract

The article focuses primarily on the issue of identity and contested citizenship within the context of democratic governance in Nigeria since 1999. A deep understanding of the workings of Nigeria's democratic terrain may not be possible without some understanding of the identity. Given the political salience of ethnic, religious, and other social forces identities, it has led to a bifurcated citizenship crisis such as the dichotomy between "settlers" and "natives" and "indigenes" and "non-indigenes" or local citizenship. These centripetal and centrifugal forces have not only has become the rule for distributing position, power, and resources in Nigeria but have also coalesced to give rise to an identity crisis and contested citizenship. Different explanations have been offered regarding the implication of the above subject matter for democratic governance. However, the article tries to subsume these explanations under the indigene-settler perspective. Hence, the emergence of federal character, quota system, and true federalism as well as several socio-economic and political crises that became heightened since the beginning of Nigeria's Fourth Republic are the manifestation of identity and citizenship crisis. The article, therefore, articulates viewpoints that bring into forefront intellectual debate on the future of Nigeria's democratic governance amidst identity crisis and contested citizenship. The article adopts a historical research methodology and relies on secondary sources of data.

Keywords: Identity, citizenship, democratic governance, Fourth Republic, Nigeria

Introduction

Writing the post-colonial history of Nigeria is as good as discussing identity politics, contested citizenship, and its challenges to democratic governance. This assertion is premised on the fact that after more than sixty years of independence, a question which had baffled many borders on if Nigeria can foster a common identity, citizenship, pan-Nigerian, and a sustainable democratic state.¹ For instance, the dichotomy between "settlers" and "natives" and "indigenes" and "non-indigenes" or local citizenship has become the rule for distributing position, power, and resources in Nigeria. It has generated serious tensions and conflicts between "majorities" and "minorities" creating the logic

¹ Joseph Yinka, Nigeria: Understanding the Contour of the Political Terrain, in Rotimi Ajayi, Joseph Yinka, ed. Nigeria Politics, Springer, 2020, 1-17

of “we” and “them” at all levels in the country.² In other words, issues in Nigerian politics often reflect primordial identities and questions of citizenship in which contestation over power, position, land, religious rights, and access to state resources heightened.³

Thus, with the rebirth of democratic governance in Nigeria in 1999, there is no denying the observation that what obtains in Nigeria is a bifurcated system of citizenship by which a pan- Nigerian notion of citizenship is now marred in the ongoing democratisation process and the political mobilization of identities. In other words, identity crisis was encouraged by the inability to effectively conceptualised identity crisis. It has, therefore, introduced such principles in the constitution like the federal character and the quota systems which has promoted rather than stem ethnic and congenital problem. In addition, a strong attachment to ethnic and religious identity was encouraged by the failure of the state to promote good governance and provide democratic “dividends” that would meet the yearnings and aspirations of the citizens. More than this, the “indigene”–“settler” policy is also an instrument of political manipulation and power control by the political elite in a crisis-ridden political system.⁴ Since the state could not isolate itself from the politics of ethnicity, thus, it has become an instrument of oppression of other groups. Indeed, the failure of the state to mediate in the ethnic and identity crisis aggravated civil strife in such a way as to bring the country almost to the precipice of collapse and disintegration.

One of the myths used to justify the dichotomy between indigenes and settlers is that “one can only belong to a particular ethnic group and by that, one might not be in a position to enjoy those benefits associated with settling in a place or among groups with a different history, culture, and language.”⁵ This myth is at the centre of the identity and citizenship crisis that has plagued Nigerian post-colonial history. Mahmood Mamdani⁶ enunciated several principles in understanding this identity crisis. According to him, settlers exist because some people have succeeded in defining themselves as indigenes to exclude others, whom they have identified as settlers. The indigene/settler relationship is thus based on the principle of exclusion. Secondly, settlers are not merely defined in terms of immigration but also as a political construct with roots in conquest, state power, coercion, and law. Thirdly, the settler can never become a native/indigene since “the basis of differentiation is the denial of civic citizenship through a political imposition of a permanent and exclusionary tribal or religious label”. With these principles, identity crisis brought to the

² Said Adejumbi, *Introduction: State, Economy, and Society in a Neo- Liberal regime in Said Adejumbi, ed., State, Economy, and Society in Post-Military Nigeria*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 13

³ Said Adejumbi, *Introduction: State, Economy, and Society in a Neo- Liberal regime*, 36

⁴ Human Rights Watch, “They Do Not Own This Place: Government Discrimination against ‘Non- Indigenes’ in Nigeria,” *Human Rights Watch Report*, Vol. 18, No. 3, (April, 2006): 17; Ojo O.E., “Guarding the Guardians: A Prognosis of Panacea for Evolving Stable Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria”, *Armed Forces and Society* Vol. 35, No. 4, (July, 2009).

⁵ Adesoji Abimbola and Alao, Akin, *Indigeneship and Citizenship in Nigeria: Myth and Reality*, in *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.2, no.9, March 2009

⁶ Mamdani Mahmood, “Beyond Settler and Native as Political Identities: Overcoming the Political Legacy of Colonialism” in Peter Ozo-Eson and Ukoh Ukiwo (ed.) *Ideology and African Development* (Port Harcourt and Abuja: CASS and AFRIGOV, 2001)

fore the problems of the definition of a citizen of Nigeria. The problem of definition, often described as the National Question⁷, raises such issues as who is a Nigerian? Or are there citizens of Nigeria?

The article is divided into four sections apart from the introduction and conclusion. The first section examines the concepts of identity and citizenship. In the second section, an attempt is made to historicize the problem of identity and citizenship crisis within the Nigerian context. The third section is an explanation of post-1999 crises of identity and citizenship within the question of democratic sustainability and consolidation debate. The fourth section examines some measures taken towards understanding and addressing the identity and citizenship crisis in Nigeria. To achieve the aforementioned objectives, the chapter adopts a historical research methodology and relies on primary and secondary sources of information.

Conceptual Clarification: Identity and Citizenship

Identity

The identity crisis is not peculiar to Nigeria. In almost every multi-ethnic society, serious crisis have been recorded among different groups over one claim or the other which are based on an individual or group identity. Based on this observation, even though there might be some deviations, it seems plausible to contextualize identity in a broader perspective. According to James Fearon,⁸ identity has two distinct but intertwined meanings. The two senses are referred to as the “social” and “personal” identity. For this paper, the first category which is the social appears more relevant. In this sense, “identity is just a social category, a group of people designated by a label (or labels) that is commonly used either by the people designated, others, or both. This is the sense when one refers to Nigerian, Christian, Muslim, professor, or trader as identities.⁹ Mohamed Kuna also conceptualised identity from an objective and subjective perspective. According to him,

An identity is a distinguishing label that objectively exists, is subjectively felt, and enables its bearers to experience individually and collectively a sense of solidarity. As a label, it can be assumed by, or imposed on bearers. It is also a prism by which objects, people, and collectivities are sorted, organized, mapped, and ordered into meaningful [and] understandable units. Identities are socially constructed, dynamic and multifaceted. Subjectively, identification with a category is simultaneously a definition of self, so that groups come to identify themselves as ethnic, religious, occupational, national, and other terms. Objectively, individuals do not identify in general but do so in relation to others’ definitions of

⁷ For more discussion on National questions in Nigeria, see, Abubakar Momoh, Said Adejumobi, *The National Question in Nigeria*, London & New York, Routledge Revivals, 2002.

⁸ James Fearon, *What is Identity (As We Now Use The Word)?*, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, November 3, 1999, 10-11

⁹ James Fearon, *What is Identity (As We Now Use The Word)?*, 13-14

themselves and the boundaries implied in such definitions.¹⁰

Based on these conceptual definitions, it could be argued that each Nigerian group before their forceful colonial amalgamation is a social category with distinct features that delineate them from each other. Although, it could also be argued that in the strict sense of it, these groups have ways of life that are similar, notably in their socio-political organizations and belief systems. However, it must also be pointed out that differences among these groups in the pre-colonial period did not prevent them from associating with one another. They intermarried among themselves, traded together, and enjoyed good diplomatic relations. They also accommodated strangers and groups of other ethnic backgrounds in their communities by giving them land for settlement and agricultural purposes. To this extent, a difference in identity or indigeneity was not a major factor responsible for the allocation of resources and giving of favours in the state. Also because of the accommodative nature of different communities the citizenship status of an individual was not a subject of major contest. Although tributes were paid by strangers to leaders of their host communities as an acknowledgement of benefaction, they were not always denied their right to participate in the social and political activities of the communities.

Citizenship

Citizenship in its modern form, as pointed out by Idowu, “consists of three essential and three central propositions: the notion of individual and human rights, the idea of political participation, and the principles of socio-economic welfare.”¹¹ According to T.H. Marshall, “citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed.”¹² For much of intellectual discussions on the concept of citizenship, the central argument has always been between the political and legal component and the social component. The former component refers to the “political and legal standing of an individual in a particular country that entitles him, from the constitutional position to an array of rights such as the right to participate in the exercise of public power, political decision making, right to life, and a fair hearing”¹³. The latter, according to Marshall refers to a person's right to “share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of civilised being”.¹⁴ Usually, this is the product of history and culture and an outgrowth from inter-personal relations.¹⁵

¹⁰ Kuna M., “Variations in Perceptions and Impact of the Sharia in Twelve States in Northern Nigeria”, in Alemika E., Okoye F., (ed.) *Human Rights and Sharia Penal Code in Northern Nigeria* Kaduna: Human Rights Monitor, 2005, 183-194

¹¹ William Idowu, “Citizenship Status, Statehood Problems and Political Conflict: The Case of Nigeria”, *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 8 (2): 73-88 (1999)

¹² Marshall T. H. “Citizenship and Social Class”, cited in William O. Idowu, “Citizenship Status, Statehood Problems and Political Conflict

¹³ William Idowu, “Citizenship Status, Statehood Problems and Political Conflict”, 81

¹⁴ Marshall T. H. “Citizenship and Social Class”

¹⁵ Ifidon A. E. “Citizenship, Statehood and the Problem of Democratisation in Nigeria”, cited in Idowu “Citizenship Status, Statehood Problems and Political Conflict

Both the political/legal and social conceptions of citizenship are very relevant to the understanding of the Nigerian situation. In the former sense, there are no citizens in Nigeria but citizens of Nigeria. In this regard, Nigerian citizenship is merely geographical which lacks moral-ideological content.¹⁶ "Specifically, citizenship in the political and sociological histories of Nigeria is now defined in exclusionary rather than inclusive terms. The emergence of citizenship sentiments in Nigeria has its profound base in the particularities of birth, ethnic considerations, [and] emphasis on geographical location..."¹⁷ In the modern conception of the relationship between state and citizenship, less emphasis is placed on geographical boundaries within the state as people, irrespective of their background are free to live anywhere in the country without being challenged or molested by other groups. On the other hand, the social conception emphasizes the fact that citizenship is an outgrowth of culture and history. As explained by John Scott,¹⁸ the importance of the social component is to transcend the limitations of the political and legal components which fail to account for the social conditions that establish contradictory conventions and practices that define the boundaries of citizenship.

Thus, Idowu points out that the social component would help us to "understand the idea of citizenship which is found preponderant in people's mental awareness and acceptance. This conception identifies the idea of citizenship as a whole complex of institutions, practices, and conventions that are embodied, in often contradictory ways, in the cultural and sub-cultural perspectives of a society and which informs its political and ideological struggles."¹⁹ Thus, taken from the perspective of the history of Nigeria, its culture and its people, it could be argued that citizenship in Nigeria is a social phenomenon, "involving contradictory patterns and conventions."²⁰ The contradiction is validated in the observation that while a Nigerian nationality is non-existent, citizenship is operative at the homeland level. This point is further underscored by the fact that the concept of citizenship in Africa is defined in inclusive terms rather than exclusive. Every individual is a member of the community he belongs; and whether he lives within this community or not, the attachment to his kith and kin is ever-present.

Identity Crisis and Contested Citizenship: A Historical Perspective

Nigeria, as it is today, came into existence in 1914 through the amalgamation of the northern and southern protectorates into a single entity.²¹ This singular act of amalgamation brought together people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, which to a greater extent has continued to affect the political

¹⁶ Femi Taiwo, "Of Citizens and Citizenship" cited in Idowu "Citizenship Status, Statehood Problems and Political Conflict

¹⁷ Idowu William, "State Formation, State Failure and Nation Building in Africa", in Alao, Akin, Ed. *The Nigerian State: Language of its Politics, Essays in Honor of Stephen Oladipo Arifalo*, Nigeria: Rex Charles and Publishers, 2006, 141-152

¹⁸ Scott J., *Poverty, and Wealth, Citizenship, Deprivation and Privilege*, cited in Idowu "Citizenship Status, Statehood Problems and Political Conflict.", 82

¹⁹ Idowu "Citizenship Status, Statehood Problems and Political Conflict, 82

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 82

²¹ Crowder M., *The Story of Nigeria*. London: Faber and Faber Press, 1980.,11.

landscape of the country. In explaining the origin of identity and citizenship contestation, Peter Ekeh contended that colonialism was responsible for duality and contradictions in identity and citizenship because it encouraged rights with no civic duties, in contradistinction to the European states where citizenship rights came with civic duties. Thus in the post-colonial states, "there is the diminution of duties and inflation of rights".²² This for him has implications for morality and immorality in both the traditional and primordial sphere and the public and civic sphere because citizens now believe they owe their communities some duties while they expect rights from the state or the government."²³

Also, as explained by Mamdani,²⁴ the colonial system created legal dualism in African countries; one civil and the other customary. The settlers were governed by civil law while the natives were under customary law. Under this system, the settlers could exercise their rights while the natives were under the traditional rulers where they only enjoyed temporary privileges. Meanwhile, the natives were subjected to the same laws by the colonial authority on a national scale together with their traditional rulers while the traditional rulers had control of their lives at the local level. This dual allegiance is further compounded by the racist ideology of the colonial system. As a principle that discriminates against the blacks, racism united the Europeans while ethnic ideology was used to divide the subjects. Inadvertently, race empowered the settlers while ethnicity disempowered the natives. Against this background, Mamdani contended that the logic of this colonial system for the post-colonial society is one of reversal in which yesterday's native became today's indigene, and yesterday native who was disempowered became empowered. Yesterday's settler who was the white racist was now replaced with a black settler. However, unlike the colonial situation where the settler had power and rights, today's settler is disempowered and cannot make claims to rights based on national citizenship. This contradictory trend is thus at the heart of the citizenship and ethnic conflicts of the post-colonial African societies today.²⁵ Explaining this further, Obianyo observed that:

an Igbo person from Anambra state or Imo state (all within the geographical region occupied by the Igbo ethnic group) in Ibadan town will be seen by the Yorubas as Igbo, if he happens to relocate to Onitsha in Anambra state which is an Igbo state, he still does not enjoy the rights of other Igbos from Anambra State. He is discriminated against as non-indigene. An Anambra Igbo will suffer a similar fate in any of the other Igbo States. Similarly, Anambra State citizens resident in communities other than the ones of

²² Peter Ekeh, "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 17. No.1, January, 1975.

²³ Obianyo Nkolika, *Citizenship and Ethnic Militia Politics in Nigeria-Marginalization or Identity Question? -the case of MASSOB*, Paper presented at the 3rd Global Conference on Pluralism Inclusion and Citizenship, at Salzburg, Austria November 18-19th 2007.

²⁴ Mamdani, Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

²⁵ Mamdani, Mahmood, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*,

their ancestral origin faces the same discrimination based on 'indigeneship' or what has also become known as the 'son of the soil' in Nigeria, meaning a son of the relevant community.²⁶

Yet, it has been observed that the indigene factor does not define the contestation for power at the centre as much as ethnicity. The indigene factor is mostly observed in local politics at the state and local government levels where an ethnic group does not feel it should be represented by members of other ethnic localities except their own.²⁷

Beyond the theoretical origin of the indigene/settler divide, it is a well-established fact that the 1914 amalgamation of different Nigerian groups signalled the beginning of identity crisis and citizenship contestation in Nigeria. But amalgamation itself was not the problem; rather it was the system of administration after the amalgamation that fostered the crisis. The colonial administrators promoted a divide and rule policy whereby different ethnic groups were consciously administered separately. It was a strategy meant to curb the resistance and nationalism of Nigerian groups to maintain the colonial power. For much of the period of colonial administration in the country, the British administrators reminded Nigerians that they did not have a common destiny because they were separated by differences in history and tradition.²⁸ As pointed out by Nnoli²⁹ and Coleman,³⁰ the colonial government seized every available opportunity to spread the myth and propaganda that they were "separated from one another by great distance, and by ethnographical, racial, tribal, political, social and religious barriers". This myth was further encouraged "structurally by the administrative system of indirect rule and regionalization. Indirect rule started as an instrument for overcoming the pervasive financial personnel and communications problems of colonial administration in northern Nigeria but ended up as a means for reinforcing communal identity among Nigerians, creating a new sense of communal identity where none existed, and providing a new symbolic and ethnocentric focus for the urban population."³¹ Today, as contended by Adesoji and Alao,³² this myth has been sustained by many groups in Nigeria.

Curiously, it seems plausible to state that the identity crisis that was created by the myth of individuality of Nigerian groups was the beginning of a period where, as pointed out by Fearon, there could be disputes between membership rules and the content of the social category.³³ In this period, differences among

²⁶ Obianyo Nkolika, *Citizenship and Ethnic Militia Politics in Nigeria-Marginalization or Identity Question? -the case of MASSOB*,

²⁷ Obianyo Nkolika, *Citizenship and Ethnic Militia Politics in Nigeria-Marginalization or Identity Question? -the case of MASSOB*,

²⁸ Okwudiba Nnoli, *Ethnic Violence in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective*, Okwudiba Nnoli: 2003

²⁹ Okwudiba Nnoli, *Ethnic Violence in Nigeria*., 5

³⁰ James Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*.,193

³¹ Okwudiba Nnoli, *Ethnic Violence in Nigeria*., 5

³² Adesoji, Abimbola and Alao, Akin, *Indigeneship and Citizenship in Nigeria: Myth and Reality*...

³³ James Fearon, *What is Identity*, 13-14

groups that were hitherto salient are brought to the fore as members questioned each other's identity and became more aware of differences that separate them.

Certainly, some measures were adopted by different governments to stem the tide of ethnic sentiment and manage the identity crisis. Such measures include state creation, establishment of the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) scheme, and federal unity colleges, the Quota system, the Federal Character Principle, revision of the revenue allocation formula, creation of local governments, and multi-party democracy. Indeed, these measures have only provided a smouldering truce in identity contestation. More than this, some of these measures have been responsible for heating the crisis. The examples of the Quota System and Federal Character principle are worthy to note in this regard. Although, it must be stated that the Federal Character principle was also motivated by the need to promote an even development especially in less developed areas of the country; be that as it may, it has produced a new set of problems in the indigene/settler debate.³⁴ Apart from this, the principle itself is, by and large, a product of contradictions. The contradiction is reflected in the imprecise way it is defined by its proponents. It is vague in terms of its contribution to the ethnic-moral debate on the one hand and the politico-moral balance on the other.

To this end, it must be emphasized that the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria made no distinction on who a citizen of Nigeria is, the document, therefore, confers every right to Nigerian citizens wherever they may be across the country. The constitution affirms that nobody must be discriminated against in any part of the country based on the circumstances of his or her birth. But the same constitution affirms the rights of indigenous people to protection from extinction and domination. The constitution recognized the right to equal representation and enjoyment of privileges of all Nigerian states and groups in public services and welfare amenities. The constitution made it clear that all appointments by the federal government shall be done in such a way as to reflect the federal character of Nigerian peoples. The implications of this for national security and development have thus been very alarming. The constitutional provisions became a constant factor in the appointment of public office holders, admission of students into universities, job recruitments, giving of contracts, allocation of development projects, and enjoyment of other privileges like scholarships, housing, and healthcare services. The phenomenon of *omo a ni e je o se* (our real son must be allowed to rule)³⁵ which most times encouraged the appointment of square pegs in a round hole thus became a normal practice in state's civil services across the federation.

Perhaps, it is also important to underscore the debilitating crisis the principle has caused in the Nigerian education system, especially in the higher institutions. Virtually all State Universities in the country discriminate against academics and staff from different states for different job appointments. Also, in admission requirements, different criteria are used for indigenes and non-

³⁴ For quota system, see Ambrose Ihekwoaba Egwim, *The Dynamics of Federalism in Nigeria*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

³⁵ Adesina Olutayo, "Sub-Ethnic Identities and the Crisis of Development in Contemporary Nigeria: Perspective from Ife-Modakeke Conflict."

indigenes which are mostly in favour of the former. These practices encouraged more states to establish their university where similar discriminatory practices are continued. As a result of this, it would appear more difficult today for a Southeastern or Southwestern academic to become Vice-Chancellor even in a Federal University in Nigeria as obtained in the University of Ibadan and the former University of Calabar where Professors Takena Tamuno and Emmanuel Ayandele were Vice-Chancellors respectively.

Apart from the constitution, it is also important to underscore the role of the political class in a breeding identity crisis in Nigeria. As inheritors of the colonial government, the political class had realized that being in control of political power was an opportunity to manage the apparatus of the state and its resources. Fearing attempted domination from other groups, the political elites used series of measures to prevent opposition and competition from other groups for political power and recruitment into public services. This competition for power had become the most debilitating blow to the nation-building project of Nigeria since independence. And all of these have been mostly perpetrated in the name of ethnicity. To secure an advantaged position for themselves, the political elites have used ethnicity to drum support from their ethnic groups and region. As observed by Jega,

The faction of the ruling classes that control political power at the federal level tends to rely on reactionary ethnicity to generate group solidarity to secure its hegemony. Those who lose out of this power game in the accumulation process, also, whip up 'fairy tales' and reactionary ethnicity to cultivate group solidarity to prop up and strengthen their contest for hegemony.³⁶

It is, therefore, not surprising that fifty years after independence, the question of zoning of presidential ticket became the headline news on virtually all news dailies in the country. The desperation of the political class and the damage done to the Nigerian nation by their political machination was observed by the governor of Edo State, Adams Oshiomole in his Independence Day Address when he stated that Nigeria today:

Has a new colonial order as many of our leaders imposed themselves against the will of our people. In the process, many of our leaders have perfected the art of ethnic and religious manipulation. Today our leaders have replaced a healthy competition for development with destructive ethnic and religious sloganeering.³⁷

However, it must also be noted that the world economic depression of the late 1970s and 80s which affected many businesses and governments across the world added to the deepening citizenship crisis in Nigeria. Rescue efforts from

³⁶ Jega A.M., "The Political Economy of Nigerian Federalism", in Elagwu J.I., Akindele R.A., eds., *Foundations of Nigerian Federalism, 1960-1995*, Jos: Institute of Governance and Social Research, 87-104

³⁷ *Saturday Punch*, 2, October 2010

the World Bank which introduced the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) further worsened the economic woes of developing countries like Nigeria as many people lost their jobs due to retrenchment in public services and privatization and commercialization of public corporations. To keep soul and body alive, many people turned to their homeland for available opportunities and resources. The need to seek opportunities in homelands led to the rebirth of ethnic consciousness between hitherto friendly but different ethnic neighbours in various parts of the country. For example in Jos/Plateau state citizenship crisis developed between Hausa/Fulani and other groups over land and politics, while the Niger-Delta region witnessed a resurgent face-off between environmentalists and rights activists and multinational corporations on the one hand and between the rights activists and the government on the other hand over the pollution of the environment and lack of infrastructural facilities.

Against this background, there is no gainsaying the fact that the Nigerian state faced critical challenges of nation-building and development before the return to democratic governance in 1999. Before this time, many had called for an end to the military rule which not only failed to resolve ethnic militia activities but had also lost its popularity in the country. Implicitly, it could be argued that the new call for democratic governance was predicated on the advantages noted in democratic institutions and its potentials for managing conflicting group interests in Western countries. But how far this is true will be examined below.

Post-1999 Crisis of Identity and Citizenship in a Democratic Nigerian State

The 1999 transition to democratic governance in Nigeria was considered as holding great promise for managing the identity and citizenship crises in the country. Democratic systems are noted for various ideas and principles which accommodate the interests of diverse elements and groups in multi-ethnic societies like Nigeria. One of the major concepts found in democracies is the principle of good governance. Governance is "the processes and systems by which a government manages the resources of a society to address socio-economic and political challenges in the polity," while a good governance system "is defined by its relationship to some key prerequisites, including accountability, transparency, participation, and predictability."³⁸ Good governance is a system that is based on a strong belief in the people and views widespread participation as crucial for responsible and responsive government. Also, in the system, citizen "involvement is characterized by a sense of shared responsibility in public policy, ordinary people have strong voices in the political process, and there are opportunities to hear diverse views and take them into account in policy formulation and implementation... With good governance, no one is subjected to the whims and caprices of another, to repression or any form of inhuman treatment."³⁹ Therefore, with good governance under a democratic system, it was expected that identity crisis and citizenship contest would be effectively managed in the country. Given the

³⁸ Natufe Igho, "Governance and Politics in Nigeria," being a lecture delivered at the Staff and Graduate Seminar, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Benin, Benin-City, Edo State, Nigeria. 2, November 2006

³⁹ Okwudiba Nnoli, *Ethnic Violence in Nigeria*, 22

current situation, there is a sense in it could be said that this has not been achieved.

The problematic nature of Nigeria's citizenship is a major challenge facing Nigeria's federal structure. In no small measure, it has undermined the efficacy of the federal structure. Unlike in India where there is no dual citizenship, in which case there is only one Indian citizenship, and where the concept of a state citizen does not exist.⁴⁰ To be employed outside one's ethnic base at the state level in Nigeria is a big risk in the sense that such a person would bear the burden of a 'non-indigene'. Indeed, there is a conscious notion of 'my state' or 'my home' which afflicts every Nigerian who lives outside his state of origin and makes him go 'home' to marry a wife, to build a house, or to vote. Even the dead are rarely buried outside their states of origin. The implication of this is that citizens' allegiance to the federation is truncated because of the state's preferential treatment of its citizens. A system whereby the state cannot effectively tackle the problem of citizenship negates the tenets of federalism.⁴¹

As a result of the mismanagement of the system, in recent times, there has been a dramatic surge in xenophobic expressions, the hardening of ethno-religious positions, and the proliferation of ethnic militias that have unleashed varying degrees of violence and terror on the polity.⁴² In a perceptive work, Ikengah-Metuh identified three broad types of religious violence in Nigeria, viz, (i) interreligious disturbances which occur between different denominations or sects; (ii) interreligious conflicts prevalent between adherents of different religious beliefs but capable of assuming socio-economic dimensions; and (iii) interreligious conflicts, which though have socio-economic origins, end up in the form of religious conflicts.⁴³

A survey of ethno-religious conflicts between 1999 when democracy was inaugurated till date shows that they are worrisome developments that threaten harmonious coexistence and jeopardize the unity of the Nigerian nation-state with its fledging democratic experiment far more than any other challenge of democratic sustenance and consolidation.⁴⁴ For instance, one of the most virulent of these clashes was the Ife/Modakeke indigene/settler conflict in Osun State in the South-Western region of Nigeria. In the crisis, Adesina highlighted the causes as "first, the desire of the Ife to retain age-old relations of production, which had led in the pre-colonial period to the formation of a system based on a tenant-derived social and economic organization; second, grievances that have to do with the distribution of resources and power, most

⁴⁰ Sangma P.A., "Understanding Federalism in India" in Roundtable on Mechanism of Intergovernmental Relations, Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, India, 2002

⁴¹ Laski H., *A Grammar of Politics*, (7th Impression), London, Allen and Unwin. Mabogunje, A.L. (1998), 'Nigeria', in *Regional Survey of the World: Africa South of the Sahara*, 28th Edition, Europe Publications Limited, London.

⁴² Egwu S., *Ethnic and Religious Violence in Nigeria*, African Centre for Democratic Governance (AFRIGOV), Abuja, Nigeria, 2001, 1

⁴³ Ikengah-Metuh E., *Two Decades of Religious Conflict in Nigeria: A Recipe for Peace*, *Bulletin of Ecumenical Theology*. Vol. 6, No. 1, 1994

⁴⁴ Ojo O.E., "A Survey of Ethno-Religious Crisis in Nigeria and its Implications for Democracy", in Ojo, O.E. (ed), *Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria*, John Archers Publishers, Ibadan, Nigeria, 368-378.

especially, the ability of the Ife to use their stature and positions to divert the most important infrastructures to their territory to the detriment of their neighbours; and finally the desire of the Modakeke for self-identity and territorial domination.⁴⁵

The Tiv-Jukun clash in Taraba state in 2001 was another incidence of identity and citizenship crisis in the post-1999 transition to democratic governance in Nigeria. According to Moses Aluaigba's⁴⁶ research on the crisis, three major factors were found to be responsible for the face-off. These are the land issue, the political factor, and the indigene/settler question. Although the three factors are intricately intertwined, the Tiv-Jukun conflict raises such issues as the ownership of land, trespassing over properties, and fear of domination of one group over the other.

Closely related to the Taraba conflict is the Jos/Plateau crisis. According to the findings of Umar H. D. Danfulani,⁴⁷ the remote causes of the Jos-Plateau crises are "first and foremost a struggle over land." This was not a major cause for a crisis in the past until the economic downturn of the 1970s and 80s and the decline in the fortune of the tin industry in Jos. The difficulties caused by the economic crisis led to an increase in the number of people looking for land for the cultivation of agricultural goods. Before this time, Jos had accommodated different ethnic groups including Europeans, Christians, and Muslims. Indeed, the favourable weather condition of Jos was also a factor that attracted many people to the region. As observed by Danfulani, Jos was regarded as almost the most peaceful state to live in Nigeria, and this earned the state "Home of Peace and Tourism" by the Federal Road Safety Commission. But the peaceful atmosphere enjoyed by the state for many years began to deteriorate from the 1990s when Berom indigenes and Hausa/Fulani settlers clashed over farmlands and local chieftaincy titles.

Another remote cause of the Jos-Plateau crisis could be described as the politics of participation in government by both "indigenes" and "settlers". Some of the issues involved the "creation of Jos South Local Government out of Jos North by the military administration of Babangida, along religious lines, with the former purportedly for Christians and the latter for Hausa-Fulani Muslims."⁴⁸ More so, "appointments in Plateau State which is predominantly Christian during the long military rule was along religious lines with the Muslim minority sometimes having more portfolios than Christians. With the return to multi-party democracy, however, the Hausa-Fulani Muslims were left out in the cold, since

⁴⁵ Adesina Olutayo, "Sub-Ethnic Identities and the Crisis of Development in Contemporary Nigeria: Perspective from Ife-Modakeke Conflict." In *AAU: African Studies Review, Journal of the Department of History and International Studies, vol.3 No.1(2004)*Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba-Akoko, Nigeria,pp.1-24

⁴⁶ Aluaigba T., Moses T., *The Tiv-Jukun Ethnic Conflict and the Citizenship Question in Nigeria*, Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Bayero University, Kano.

⁴⁷ Umar H. D., Danfulani, *The Jos Peace Conference and the Indigene/Settler Question in Nigerian Politics*, ASC, Leiden/University of Jos, Nigeria

⁴⁸ Umar H. D., Danfulani, *The Jos Peace Conference and the Indigene/Settler Question in Nigerian Politics*, ASC, Leiden/University of Jos, Nigeria

they lacked the numerical strength to successfully back their candidates.”⁴⁹ This situation, therefore, increased the indigene and citizenship question in the state.

Apart from the factors highlighted above, the inability of the Muslim Hausa/Fulani to tolerate other groups in the state is also a major factor in the crisis. As observed by Danfulani, most people in Jos who are Christians detest the fact that the Hausa/Fulani do not encourage much social interaction with them in terms of marriage. They also detest the way the Hausa/Fulani are wont to denigrate the cultures of other groups in the society. Within the context of these remote causes, therefore, it seems plausible to affirm that the lingering Jos/Plateau crisis is caused by three inter-related factors which are; the contest over land, political participation, and religious intolerance.

The Niger-Delta crisis and agitation was another major challenge in the 1999 post-democratic Nigeria. The causes of the Niger-Delta agitation are based on the devastation of the region’s environment and ecosystem, the refusal to develop social infrastructure in the region, and the unequal compensation for resources and wealth generated from the oil-rich delta region. The host communities of the region, “are of the view that since oil is mined in their land, and they suffer from the pollution and environmental degradation attendant to oil production, they have the right to adequate compensation, a clean and safe environment, and a fair share of oil rents, while the state and its partners, the multinationals, insist on the optimisation of rents and profits based on the modalities defined exclusively by the partnership.”⁵⁰ Therefore, they called for the stoppage of oil exploration in the region and requested compensation for the damage done to the environment. They also campaigned for resource control of their territory and called for an improvement in the quality of life of the region and the provision of social amenities. More than this, they questioned their identity and allegiance to the Nigerian state that failed to improve their economic and social conditions. Through the struggle for resource control, infrastructural development, and economic empowerment, therefore, the people of Niger Delta linked their fight with the tendency of successive Nigerian governments represented by the Northern oligarchy to marginalize the region and deny them their means of survival.

Despite these arguments, the government was more determined to repress the right activists and environmentalists like Ken Saro-Wiwa. This, therefore, led to the growth of militia groups who almost brought the region to a state of collapse through bombing and blowing up oil and gas pipelines, vandalism of public and private properties of multinational corporations like Shell, and killing and kidnapping of oil staff and state officials. Although, the administration of President Obasanjo sought to address the problems of the region through schemes like the Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC) and an increase in revenue allocation to the region. But these were not enough to bring peace to the region as the wave of bombings and kidnapping extended beyond the shores of the Niger Delta region to states like Lagos and the Federal

⁴⁹ Umar H. D., Danfulani, *The Jos Peace Conference and the Indigene/Settler Question in Nigerian Politics*,

⁵⁰ Wunmi Williams, “Citizenship Questions and Environmental Crisis in the Niger Delta: a Critical Reflection”, *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 11(3): 377-392 (2002), 383

Capital Territory, Abuja. The Government, therefore, responded by deploying the army under the Joint Task Force (JTF) to dislodge the militia groups. This made the security situation worse. Thus, in 2009, the administration of President Musa Yar'adua tried another initiative when it implemented an amnesty package that called for the laying down of arms from militia groups, a presidential pardon for the militias, and an infrastructural development programme for the region. To some extent, this has brought a 'relative peace' to the region. However, the Jos/Plateau crisis remained a threat to be addressed by the government.

Perhaps, it is important to emphasize that certain issues have made the indigene/citizenship issue more troublesome in Nigeria. One of the factors responsible for the deepening crisis is the role of religion in the debate. As an identity, Bangura noted that "religion is about solidarity and setting of boundaries between those who are considered to be believers and those who are not. This deals with issues of sentiments, feelings, and norms that may be a result of shared experiences. This identity is used to create a sense of order, meanings, and hope to the insecurity of everyday life or to what may be perceived as unjust social order."⁵¹ Nowhere was this demonstrated more than in the northern region of Nigeria? As observed by Egwu, "ethnicity and religion are what shape and define (ethnic) identity formation in Northern Nigeria."⁵² And "the closer an ethnic group's link to a particular religious identity, the higher the level of religious significance in socio-political matters, which eventually breeds intolerance and ethno-religious violence."⁵³ It is amazing to note for instance that virtually all appointments in the Executive Council of Kebbi State between 1999 and 2004 were only given to the Muslim Hausa-Fulani groups. To be sure, there were more educated and qualified Christian groups mostly in the Zuru community of the state, but were mostly denied any access to power and other privileges.⁵⁴ Students in the community, according to Danjibo, were also frequently subjected to discrimination in schools, which include denying them the right to study courses like Medicine, Law, and Accountancy.⁵⁵

Another instance could be cited in the wave of crises generated over the imposition of the Muslim law in some of these northern states. According to Ibrahim, "the introduction of Shari'ah and the attendant controversy surrounds the question of collective versus individual rights. While the Muslim Shari'ah activists insist on their individual and collective rights to religion, others are looking at how such rights may infringe on the individual and collective rights of others. Non-Muslims are afraid that the laws would be made to discriminate

⁵¹ Bangura Y., "The Search for Identity: Ethnicity, Religion and Political Violence, 3

⁵² Egwu Samuel "Ethnic and Religion Violence in Nigeria" (Jos Nigeria: St Stephen Inc., Book House, 2001) in Ojo Emmanuel, ed. *Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria* (Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Ltd., 2008) p.316

⁵³ Suberu Rotimi "Religion and Politics: A View From the South" in Ojo Emmanuel, *ibid.*, 317

⁵⁴ Danjibo Nathaniel, "Democracy and the Paradox of Domination Politics: The Caliphate Versus the Zuru in Northwestern Nigeria" in Ojo Emmanuel, *op cit.*, 314-329

⁵⁵ Danjibo Nathaniel, "Democracy and the Paradox of Domination Politics:

against them and be made second-class citizens.”⁵⁶ In addition to this, one can also mention the crisis in 2010 in Kaduna State over the emergence of a Christian Deputy-Governor after the incumbent Muslim Governor was selected as the Vice-President of the country.

Given the situation just described above there is no gainsaying the fact that when issues that are germane to human survival could not be guaranteed by institutions in the state, people are bound to react in various ways. As noted in the functional and anomic perspective of Robert Merton,⁵⁷ their reactions could either be to ‘conform to that society, retreat from it or react against it. Whichever option they seek to take would affect their relationship with that society and the development therein.

Also, it is important to note the discriminatory practices against some segments in the country. A married woman for example cannot perform some transactions in the banks without the consent of her husband. She also needs the consent of her husband before she can obtain an international passport. The fate of the people of the Southeastern region of Nigeria is also worth mentioning. A noticeable trend after the Nigerian Civil war is perhaps an attempt to deny the Igbo group from holding certain positions of authority in the country. This has made the Igbo renew their agitation for the separate Republic of Biafra away from the Nigerian nation. According to Obianyo,⁵⁸ the agitation for a separate state by MASSOB is underscored by what the people referred to as the attempt of the ruling oligarchy to marginalized people from the region. As pointed by a Pan-Igbo group, *Oha n’eze ndi Igbo*, marginalization is:

the deliberate disempowerment of a group of people in the federation politically, economically, socially, and militarily, by another group or groups, who during the relevant time frame wield power and control the allocation of materials and financial resources at the centre of the federation... It entails the apparent deliberate exclusion of any particular group(s) by another similar group or groups from either having access to and or taking due possession of common key positions and common resources, as manifested in the political-economic military, educational, media, and bureaucratic realm.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibrahim, J., “The National Conference and the Challenge of Developing Federalism in Nigeria” in Abdu, Hussaini, *Religion and Citizenship in Northern Nigeria: The Politics of Shari’ah*. Centre for Development and Advocacy, Kaduna. p.12

⁵⁷ Cuff E.C., Payne, G.C.F., ed., *Perspectives In Sociology*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979, 49-50

⁵⁸ Obianyo Nkolika, *Citizenship and Ethnic Militia Politics in Nigeria-Marginalization or Identity Question? -the case of MASSOB*,

⁵⁹ Oha-Na- Eze Ndi Igbo, “The Violations of Human and Civil Rights of Ndi Igbo in Nigeria (1966-1999): A Call for Appropriate Restitution” A Petition the Oputa panel on Human Rights Violations Investigating Committee, Reported in Nigeria/Africa Masterweb News Report, 1999, Retrieved 18, May 2021 from <http://www.nigeiamasterweb.com/>. Cited in Obianyo E. Nkolika, *Citizenship and Ethnic Militia Politics in Nigeria-Marginalization or Identity Question? -the case of MASSOB*

Against this background, it is important to emphasize that the post-democratic Nigerian state has not been able to manage effectively the critical challenges of nation-building since independence. The problem posed by identity and citizenship contests in the last fifty years of the country's independence is a pointer to critical areas where the government should concentrate its effort. As the nation enters the second half of its centennial independence year this paper contends that despite the challenges faced in the past, the prospect for a better Nigeria is not elusive.

Facing the Challenges of Identity and Citizenship Crisis

To tackle the challenges posed by the identity and citizenship crisis, Nigeria needs to adopt a federal system of government that emphasizes the principles of good governance and democratic tenets. This will ensure that political power would be used to promote the public good or the welfare of the people. The advantages of federalism and a good governance system are significant for a multi-ethnic Nigerian society. As a system of governance, federalism unites separate states or units within an overarching political system in such a way as to allow each to maintain its fundamental political independence and integrity. Federal units do this by requiring that basic policies be made and implemented through negotiation in some form so that all the members can share in making and executing decisions. This system does not encourage the concentration of power in one unit to be able to ride roughshod on other units. The Nigerian constitution, as is presently constituted, gives enormous powers to the presidency in such a way as to promote dictatorship and tyranny. One of the dangers of this system, as experience as shown in the country, is to increase tension in the polity, as many groups compete for the centre where power is mostly concentrated.

Institution building is also imperative for curbing the threat posed by identity and citizenship clashes. The ability to manage "political and social disputes peacefully, without lapsing into conflict, or sustain economic growth without creating huge inequalities, critically depend on the quality of the relevant national institutions."⁶⁰ There is a need to strengthen the operations of various security outfits like the Police to enable it to cope effectively with incidences of indigene/settler crises. There is also a need to have institutions that can manage the post-conflict clashes in such a way as to prevent a re-occurrence. Unfortunately, one of the features of post-conflict clashes in Nigeria is the inability of authorities to prosecute people who were guilty in the crisis. More than this, most of the reports of the post-conflict investigations are also kept secret, thereby frustrating any effort to implement findings of the report and prosecution of offenders. Indeed, the inability by the government to publish reports of indigene/settler clashes constitutes another threatening factor in the Jos-Plateau crisis.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Gambari Ibrahim, "The Challenges of Nations Building: The Case of Nigeria" being a lecture delivered at the *First Year Anniversary Lecture Mustapha Akanbi Foundation*, 7 February 2008 <http://www.mafng.org/> accessed on 26 September 2010.

⁶¹ Umar H. D. Danfulani, *The Jos Peace Conference and the Indigene/Settler Question in Nigerian Politics...*

At a point, it must be noted that the Obasanjo Administration's initiated the National Political Reform Conference (NPRC) where such issues like identity and citizenship were discussed. In one of the debates, the conference was to decide on the question of whether or not to extend full indigene status to every citizen wherever they chose to reside, irrespective of birth, religion, sex, and group. It was interesting to note that in the build-up towards the would-be decision, the media survey showed for the first time that all the three more mobile and dominant ethnic groups (Hausa-Fulani, Igbo, and Yoruba) were united over an issue. Their common position was that there should be no distinction in status between the two; that a citizen should be regarded as an indigene and be accorded all indigene rights wherever they find themselves or chose to reside. Unfortunately, the NPRC did not resolve the controversy before it folded up.⁶²

Against this background, the review of the nation's constitution is another significant imperative for tackling the identity problems in a newly democratic Nigeria. The process of constitutional amendment must include the participation of various segments of society. The voice of the people must be reflected in the constitution and the document must be made available to them. A review of this constitution must redefine the notion of citizenship, human rights, and social justice. This must include a review of the rights and powers of married women in the pursuance of any endeavour. Therefore, provisions must be made to give equal powers and rights to both sexes. In the same vein, the constitution must be able to tackle the problems of rights, identity, indigene, and settler questions once and for all. A situation where a citizen who has been resident in a particular geographical location or state for more than ten years, and yet cannot claim substantial benefit or services from such state must not be encouraged to secure the loyalty of the citizens towards the state. A constitutional amendment must also seek new ways of protecting fundamental human rights and recommend appropriate sanctions against erring culprits. It must state in clear terms that crime against any citizen is a crime against all Nigerians. It is particularly disturbing that little has been achieved in bringing to justice the perpetrators of various ethnic and religious crises in the country where such measures would have to serve as a deterrent to intending perpetrators.

Finally, there is a need to reform various sectors of the economy to make them useful for various needs of the citizens. There is a need to reduce the level of unemployment and job losses through the expansion of industries and diversification of the economy to include investment in solid mineral development, agro-allied, and services. Other sectors like the educational system, health, and power are also in need of urgent attention in the country. Reform of these sectors and provision of needed facilities therein are necessary to make the citizens have the assurance that the government is interested in their plight. This will, in the long run, help to build a cordial and formidable relationship between the government and the citizens.

⁶² Bala J. Takaya, *Re-Examining the Question of Citizenship and Indigeneity in Modern Nigeria*, posted online by KG Nesta on 2010-08-07

Conclusion

The identity and citizenship crisis is the most important challenge in the post-1999 democratic governance in Nigeria. The crisis itself is an outgrowth of the conditions of the foundation of the nation which dates back to the pre-colonial period. However, it must be stated that the amalgamation itself cannot be blamed for identity contests in the country; rather it is the failure of the post-independence Nigerian state to manage the identity crisis. It has been argued that the notions of indigene and settlers have no scientific or rational basis but the government has tended to promote the notion of individualism of various groups in the country in such a way as to promote violent clashes across the country. However, it must also be stated that the country has been able to wriggle itself out of the threats posed by identity crises on many occasions.

Be that as it may, there is an urgent need to carry out critical reforms in the country's social and political systems. There is a need to adopt a federal constitution that would help to reduce overwhelming power at the behest of the centre. This will not only put more power in the hands of states, but it will also help to foster healthy competition among them. Also, there is a need to review the constitution of the country to correct the theory of identity and citizenship (i.e. the Quota System and the Federal Character principle) as practised in virtually every social and political sector of the nation. Significantly, a review of this principle is necessary to redefine when a settler becomes a citizen of another state. This should also include the rights and privileges such a person can enjoy. In addition, institutions like the police must be strengthened to enable them to cope effectively with the threat posed by indigene/settler clashes. There is also a need for the government to properly prosecute offenders and violators of human rights abuses irrespective of religion, belief systems, sex, and ethnic background. Finally, serious sectorial reform is needed to ensure that the basic needs of Nigerians are met any time of the day. All of these are needed to help in promoting the ideals of democratic governance in the country.

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Abstract

The statesmanship of Olusegun Obasanjo is interrogated in this paper in relation to his contribution to the nation building process in Nigeria via the platform of multilateral diplomacy at the level of the commonwealth. The paper focuses on National Interest and foreign policy which are two inseparable concepts in international diplomacy. It historically examines the process of foreign policy creation during Obasanjo's tenure in office. The paper suggests that the proposed commonwealth Union will create an a better enabling environment for engaging at multilateral levels.

Keywords: Foreign Policy, Diplomacy, National Interest Commonwealth

Introduction.

The statesman diplomat

An Ambassador's only mission was to be a spokesperson for his sovereign. Not until the 15th Century did he also begin to be the "eyes" and "ears" of his country abroad¹

The office of the head of state represents the primary embodiment of a nation's foreign policy objectives and power projection. Leaders often operate within this capacity as the primary diplomatic instrument of a nation's interest. In this regard Chief Olusegun Mathew Okikiola Arẹmu Obasanjo, GCFR has brought the essence of this office to bear on Nigeria's diplomatic landscape in a most profound manner. He was born on 5 March 1938² in Abeokuta, present day Ogun State of Nigeria. His current home is Abeokuta, the capital city of Ogun State, where he is a nobleman as the holder of the chieftaincy titles of the Balogun of the Owu Lineage and the Ekerin Balogun of the Egba clan of Yorubaland.

¹ M. H. Cardozo, *Diplomats in International Cooperation: Stepchildren of the Foreign Service* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1962), 19.

² The Exact birthday or birth date of President Olusegun Obasanjo is not very clear

As a young man of 21, he enlisted in the Nigerian Army in 1958. He trained at Aldershot, and was commissioned as an officer in the Nigerian Army. He was also trained in India at the Defence Services Staff College, Wellington and at the Indian Army School of Engineering.^{[9][10]} He served at 1 Area Command in Kaduna. Promoted to Chief Army Engineer, he was made commander of 2 Area Command from July 1967, which was redesignated 2 Division Rear, and then the Ibadan Garrison Organisation.^[11] He was also trained in DSSC, Wellington. During the Nigerian Civil War, he commanded the Army's 3 Marine Commando Division that took Owerri, effectively bringing an end to the civil war.

He is a former Nigerian Army general who was privileged to take the surrender of the Biafran Army in January 1970³. He rose to become the Chief of General Staff (An equivalent of Vice President) in the famous Murtala/Obasanjo regime from 1975 to 1976. He became the Head of State and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces on February 13, 1976 at the demise of the then Head of State: Gen. Murtala Mohammed.

In an unprecedented and rare commitment to democratic rule and unusual loyalty to his erstwhile boss, he stuck to the hand over program of the Murtala regime and conducted the 1979 general elections leading to the handover of the military to the civilian administration of President Shehu Umaru Shagari on Oct. 1, 1979.

The handover to civilian democracy which was very rare on the African politics at the time endeared him to the international community especially the Commonwealth of Nations leaders who commended the rare feat from a Military General. He became the civilian President of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007. A Nigerian of Yoruba descent, Obasanjo was a career soldier before serving twice as his nation's head of state, as a military ruler from 13 February 1976 to 1 October 1979 and as a democratically elected president from 29 May 1999 to 29 May 2007.

Obasanjo spent most of his first term travelling abroad. He succeeded in winning at least some Western support for strengthening Nigeria's nascent democracy. Britain and the United States, in particular, were glad to have an African ally who was openly critical of abuses committed in Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe at a time when many other African nations (including South Africa) were taking a softer stance. Obasanjo also won international praise for Nigeria's role in crucial regional peacekeeping missions in Sierra Leone and Liberia. The international community was guided in its approach to Obasanjo in part by Nigeria's status as one of the world's 10 biggest oil exporters as well as by fears that, as the continent's most populous nation, Nigerian internal divisions risked negatively affecting the entire continent.

On June 12, 2006 he signed the Greentree Agreement with Cameroonian President Paul Biya which formally put an end to the Bakassi peninsula border

³ Chief Olabode George, in his comments on Channels Television on February 16, 2015 at the Dramatic Exit of the former President from the ruling Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP). Channels Nigeria 2015 anchored by Chamberlin Usoh at 8pm.

dispute.^[14] Despite the fact that the Nigerian Senate passed a resolution declaring that the withdrawal of Nigerian troops from the Bakassi Peninsula to be illegal Obasanjo gave the order for it to continue as planned.^[15]

Economic Growth and Debt Payment

Before Obasanjo's administration Nigeria's GDP growth had been painfully slow since 1987, and only managed 3 per cent between 1999/2000. However, under Obasanjo the growth rate doubled to 6 per cent until he left office, helped in part by higher oil prices. Nigeria's foreign reserves rose from \$2 billion in 1999 to \$43 billion on leaving office in 2007. He was able to secure debt pardons from the Paris and London club amounting to some \$18 billion and paid another \$18 Billion to be debt free. Most of these loans were secured and spent by past corrupt officials.

Prof. Akinjide Osuntokun in 1987 tried to articulate Nigeria's National Interest as follows:

The Question then is what constitutes Nigeria's National Interests? Our national interests are internal cohesion, national unity, the creation of a happy and egalitarian society, the creation of a state where career is open to talents and where there is employment for those who want to work and where there are the traditional freedoms of speech, political association, religion and equality before the law, coupled with this is the defence of the humanity and rights of all black men through deliberate action and policies. Once we agree about our national interest then it follows that these national interests are worth defending.⁴

The process of foreign policy making can be subdivided into two main categories, namely formulation and implementation. Largely, the two processes of foreign policy in Nigeria has been affected by the nature of the government that ruled the country at different times. During military regimes, all democratic institutions meant to formulate and implement foreign policies were absent. The constitution was suspended, the structures were sacked and the institutions were dissolved or weakened. Foreign policy making and implementation was the exclusive task of the military head of state and the high command. This is particularly so because of the hierarchical nature of the military with a top-down flow of power.

The head of state may engage whomsoever he wishes for implementation of the policies. There is therefore the fusion of roles in foreign policy making. The perception, conception and infusion of roles at the foreign policy formulation stage, and the performance of roles and execution of foreign policies become the tasks of the military ruler and his cabinet. Most times, Nigeria's foreign

⁴ Prof Jide Osuntokun quoted in Sina Fagbenro-Byron "Towards A New Order of Diplomatic Practice for Nigeria" 14/11/2014

policy action is actually the extension of the individual attitude and disposition of the head of state.⁵

It is pertinent to note that the military principally follows the institutional structure of external relations (except the legislative bodies) and engages the civilians and foreign policy institutions in the art of foreign policy making and implementation. Policy and research centres, such as the National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS), Development Policy Centre (DPC), Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA), Universities, Civil Service, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and non-governmental institutions constitute a pool from which military governments draw their personnel, ideas and strategies for external relations.⁶ Although the orientation of the nation's foreign policy depends on the head of state or military president as the case may be.

Under a democratic dispensation, the formulation and implementation of foreign policies are shared responsibilities. However, the constitutional head of a foreign policy process is the President. In reality, however, the President is constrained by the group factor, namely his cabinet (particularly his kitchen cabinet), his political party, the legislature and the electorate.⁷ The President's aides on foreign relations matters are also particularly of importance in this regard. The ministries and bodies of equal status assisting in the daily making of foreign policy include Office of the Vice President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the Foreign Service, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Culture and Tourism, Petroleum Resources, Education, Sports, the National Security Adviser and other Advisers to the President.⁸ This joint responsibility for foreign policy formulation underscores the Bureaucratic Politics Theory that there is no preponderant individual in foreign policy making.

Actually, there are other federal agencies as Customs, Immigration Service, State Security Services (SSS) or DSS, National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), and the National Administration of Food and Drugs Control (NAFDAC), which have advisory or implementation roles to play in the foreign policy process.

The President's small group of the think-tank is also important in foreign policy decision making. The think-tank is made up of experts and experienced hands in the field of the country's international affairs, and could be at different times made up of members of the academia, diplomatic community, intelligence community, politicians and a few State Governors, leaders in the National Assembly, and a select-few from the Federal Cabinet, including the Foreign

⁵ W. A. Fawole, *Nigeria's External Relations and Foreign Policy under Military Rule 1966 – 1999* (Ile-Ife: OAU Press, 2003); D. M. Jemibewon, *A Combatant in Government* (London: Heinemann, 1978).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Professor Bolaji Akinyemi, former Minister of Foreign Affairs, quoted in Folarin, "National Role Conceptions and Nigeria's African Policy, 1985 – 2007," 454.

Affairs Minister. The think tank's tasks include to advice, recommend, enlighten, and possibly warn the chief executive on external relations policies.⁹

The other institutions that are expected to complement the process of foreign policy making include: Federal Aviation Authority of Nigeria (FAAN), the Nigerian Maritime Authority (NMA), Nigerian Olympic Committee (NOC), the Nigerian Football Association (NFA) and other Sports bodies. President Olusegun Obasanjo also created many other foreign affairs portfolios probably to either take up overlapping responsibilities with the Foreign Affairs Ministry, or to accord the minister marginal tasks so that the President himself would become the *de facto* Foreign Affairs Minister. These portfolios included the Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa, office of the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Senior Special Assistant to the President on Foreign Relations, Chief of Staff to the President, and the office of the National Security Adviser.¹⁰ The President in absolute terms was firmly in charge of the nation's foreign affairs management. He was acknowledged the most travelled President in pursuit of the nation's foreign policy. The Presidents' frequent trips were indeed undertaken to get the nation out of the pariah state it had been drawn under the leadership of Gen. Sani Abacha. Gen. Sanni Abacha had ruled the country from November 1993 till June 1998 in the course of which the nation lost most of her western friends and allies. The regime executed Ken Saro Wiwa and eight others to earn a suspension from the Commonwealth of Nations further alienating the country from positive estimation in the eyes of the international community.

However, several of the Missions were closed down during the Buhari/Idiagbon regime due to worsening economic situation in Nigeria. By 1984, Four Missions were closed by the administration due to economic considerations. The Babangida administration from 1985 brought its own innovations into the Nigerian Foreign Service and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, creating more departments and units to cater for Nigeria's ambitious power politics and economic diplomacy.¹¹ Twists and turns in the Ministry, the need for capacity to meet prevailing challenges, and political considerations of the groups in power were compelling factors in the several cases of organizational restructuring of the Ministry. The military exit of 1999 also prompted certain overhauling.

The Obasanjo administration, which ran from 1999 to 2007, carried out reforms in the Nigerian international scene as he restructured the entire Foreign Service. What was noticeable as from 2001 was a bloated foreign policy bureaucracy, which was deemed necessary because of the crisis in Nigeria's external relations which needed to be straightened then.¹²

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Senator Abubakar Sodangi, Member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, quoted in Folarin, "National Role Conceptions and Nigeria's African Policy, 1985 – 2007," 464.

¹¹ Bolaji Akinyemi, "How Nigeria is Letting Down the Black Race," text of lecture, Nigeria: The Blackman's Burden, delivered 24th February 2005 at the NIIA, organized by Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization to mark 28th Anniversary of FESTAC and 2005 Black History Month.

¹² Sule Lamido, "BBC Hard Talk Show," Tuesday, 12 November 2002, 11:54 GMT.

Before the coming of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo in 1999, Nigeria had the label of a pariah state. She was clearly avoided in the international system by very many countries, necessitating the frequent foreign trips of the new democratically elected President on "Diplomatic Fence Mending" adventures with the nations of the world in an attempt to re-establish the nation as a worthy, civil and friendly partner in the international system.

The Yar'Adua administration that succeeded Obasanjo in 2007 continued the structure it inherited but did not have to repeat those diplomatic trips as the Obasanjo administration had succeeded largely in renewing the diplomatic relations of the country with the majority of the countries that had hitherto severed relations and interactions with Nigeria in the comity of nations. President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua indeed inherited a greatly improved diplomatic relations between Nigeria and several states in the comity of nations.

These great improvements in the nation's diplomatic relations led to the enlargement of the diplomatic outposts. The Missions increased to 112 in 2010 and 118 by December 2013¹³ these enlargements of the Mission outposts have placed heavier demands on the supervisory roles and responsibilities of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

These attitudes and treatments go a long way to influence the orientation and direction of the nation's foreign policies. It will be recalled that the three elements of Foreign Policy include overall orientation and direction of the nation's foreign policy, the objectives the nation intends to achieve and the strategies required in her foreign relations activities.

For example, the recent announcement by the UK government that Nigerians visiting the UK for the first time will have to deposit the sum of £3,000 {Three Thousand Pounds} have been interpreted correctly, the home government - including the Executive, Legislative arms of government and the Nigerians themselves have spoken vehemently against the proposal at every given opportunity and forum¹⁴.

This proposed restriction, which includes other nations like India, Pakistan and Bangladesh: all members of the Commonwealth of Nations are being restricted in their visits to the UK. This is coming when the Commonwealth Union is being proposed to provide an alternative to UK's membership of the EU. The proposed Commonwealth Union is to be guided by four fundamental philosophies: the creation of a free trade area, visa-free travel area, common foreign policy and representation at the United Nations and Group of 20. There is significant support in the United Kingdom for a Commonwealth Union (CU) as

¹³ Bola Akinterinwa, This Day Column on Sunday, March 9, 2014

¹⁴ The UK government in 2013 had proposed that Nigerians along with first time visitors from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh visiting the UK for the first time will have to deposit the sum of £3,000 {Three Thousand Pounds}. The Nigerian government - including the Executive, Legislative arms of government and the Nigerians themselves have spoken vehemently against the proposal at every given opportunity and forum. Reactions have been carried by all Print and Broadcast Media channels in the country and beyond

an alternative to its membership in the European Union¹⁵. Therefore, the proposal to limit the movement of these categories of Commonwealth citizens to the UK is a clear negation and violation of the principles of the CU proposal. Because the Mission outpost is responsible for the Protection of National Interests and the interests of Citizens in their host countries, the number of her Mission outposts measures the gauge of the nation's popularity in the international community and the level of accommodation the nation is accorded in the partner nations.

The Nigerian Diplomatic Mission to the UK like every other major diplomatic outposts of sovereign nations across the world is not only vested with bilateral responsibilities and management of relations between the home and the host countries, some of the diplomatic mission outposts also have the added responsibilities of managing the multilateral diplomatic relations of the nation. These multilateral diplomatic relations range from the nation's relationships and interactions with supranational organization (UNO), Regional Organizations, Intergovernmental International Agencies to Non Governmental International Organizations and Specialized Intergovernmental Agencies which are contracted and managed in furtherance of the nation's national interests.

A few of the Nigerian Diplomatic Missions in this category are Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in relation to the African Union {AU}, the Washington/New York, USA in relation to the United Nations {UN} and for the purpose of this unique study, London/UK in relation to the Commonwealth of Nations. These unique Mission outposts undertake the onerous diplomatic tasks of managing the nation's interactions with multiple nations through the vanguard of regional, specialised or supranational organizations. Multilateralism has become a major medium for interactions among and between the nations of the world especially from the end of the WWII.

Nigeria's Multilateral Agenda.

The concept of Multilateralism explains Nigeria's enthusiastic and instinctive search for membership in key international organisations not only at sub regional, regional levels but also at global levels.¹⁶ Nigeria as a nation believes such international organisations provide numerous opportunities, platform and vanguard for multilateral negotiations, relations and collaboration among states and could also be exploited by the country to its advantage in several other areas in the interest of the nation's economic and diplomatic advancement as the case may be. Lindsey Powell, while discussing the benefits of multilateralism to developing countries noted that:

Multilateralism is the most egalitarian form of international cooperation and decision making, and multilateral institutions are among the few in which developing countries can potentially have an equal

¹⁵ Introducing The Commonwealth, The Commonwealth Year Book 2013, (Commonwealth Secretariat, London: Nexus Strategic Partnerships, 2013) p. 70

¹⁶ G.O. Olusanya and R.A Akindele, 'The Fundamental of Nigeria's Foreign Policy', 4.

voice. Because developing countries greatly outnumber developed countries in a one-country-one-vote framework, such nations are given the opportunity at least in theory, to exert an influence as great if not greater than their developed counterparts'¹⁷

In line with its avowed foreign policy principle; Nigeria joined a host of international organisations such as the United Nations and its specialised agencies, the Commonwealth of Nations, played a very active role in the establishment of the African Union, practically championed the formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) among other regional organizations and organs/agencies of such bodies.

The Commonwealth membership of Nigeria can therefore be seen as the practical demonstration and expression of the Sir. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa government's implementation of multilateralism. This indicates that a major feature of Nigeria's diplomacy at independence was multilateral diplomacy. The Commonwealth Organisation was an ideal platform for member countries to discuss issues of mutual benefits to the Fifty-Three member states, solutions to global and members challenges and interactions in areas of mutual economic benefits. In this regard, Nigeria joined the Commonwealth Organisation in order to actively participate in Commonwealth Members decision-making processes.

Nigeria's diplomacy and participation in international organisations such as the Commonwealth of Nations which was logical as a former British empire, was conditioned by the desire to achieve ascendancy to a better position in the international system with a view to furthering its national interests different from the colonial interests. Nigeria also intended to use the Commonwealth platform to further the interests of Africa in as many sectors as possible. Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa made one of the official revelations of Nigeria's self-perception, when he affirmed that: "*Nigeria will have a wonderful opportunity to speak for the continent of Africa*"¹⁸

In the same vein; Maj. Gen. Joe Garba, former External Affairs Minister further remarked that "*... in all our dealings with international organisations, we are guided not by selfish interests, but by a higher sense of responsibility and concerns for countries, particularly in Africa, whose needs in some respects are greater than ours*"¹⁹ Nigeria's perception of her leadership role and "Big Brother" in Africa was informed by its size, population as well as her rich natural resources and massive economic potentials.

As a corollary, Nigeria attempted to assert itself by making Africa the centre of her foreign policy and by giving a considerable attention to multilateral

¹⁷ Lindsey Powell, 'In Defence of Multilateralism'. Paper presented at the Yale Centre for Environmental Law and Policy, New Haven CT. prepared for Global Environment Governance: The Post-Johannesburg Agenda – 23-25 October 2003.

¹⁸ Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, *Nigeria Speaks* (Lagos, Longman, 1964.)

¹⁹ Joseph Garba, "The New Nigerian Foreign Policy" *Nigerian Bulletin on Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 2. (December 1976).

diplomacy, through which to further Nigeria and Africa's interests. One major interest area apart from the United Nations and its specialised agencies was the Commonwealth which Nigeria had belonged from inception of her sovereignty.

Commonwealth Diplomacy

The Commonwealth and the United Nations were two remarkable platforms on which Nigeria amplified her Afro centric diplomatic interests of eradication of colonialism and apartheid from all corners of Africa. A very glaring manifestation of this interest was Nigeria's support for the expulsion of South Africa from the World Health Organisation in 1964 and in fact pushed for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth.

In 1964, when the South Africa declared Apartheid to be its official policy, the seventeenth World Health Assembly pressured by Nigeria referred to this as a: "special circumstance of failure to adhere to the humanitarian principles governing the World Health Organisation"²⁰ The WHO is just one of the many platform or forum in which Nigeria had championed her opposition against the Apartheid regime. The Assembly deprived South Africa of its voting privileges based on Article 7 of the constitution, which allows it 'on such conditions as it thinks proper to suspend the voting privileges and services to which a member is entitled'²¹

More importantly, it was a collective attempt by African countries led by Nigeria at the forefront to bar South Africa from the UN, Commonwealth and their specialised agencies. Consequently, South Africa withdrew from the WHO and became an inactive member, However, it was restored to full membership rights including voting rights, at the May 1994 Assembly when Dr. Nelson Mandela was installed as the first Popularly elected President of an apartheid free South Africa. Although Nelson Mandela had been released on February 11, 1990 signalling the end of Apartheid, the Global community took them serious when democracy was restored with the inauguration of Dr. Nelson Mandela as President in 1994.

The Commonwealth of Nations is an intergovernmental organization of 53 member states that were mostly, essentially former territories of the British Empire. The Commonwealth operates by intergovernmental consensus of the member states, organized through the Commonwealth Secretariat and NGOs organized through Commonwealth Foundation.

The Commonwealth dates back to the late 19th century with the decolonization of the British Empires through increased self-governance of its territories. The London Declaration formally constituted it in 1949, which established the member states as "free and equal". The London Declaration indeed marked the epoch of the "New Commonwealth" Whatever had existed in the interactions between the Commonwealths nations from the 1860s to 1949 were confined to the "Old Commonwealth" order.

²⁰ WHO Official Record 135, 1964, p.23.

²¹ WHO Constitution, Article 7, p. 4.

The symbol of this newly defined free association is Queen Elizabeth II who is the Head of the Commonwealth, a wholly symbolic position. Queen Elizabeth II is also the head of state of 16 members of the Commonwealth, known as Realms²². The other members of the Commonwealth numbering about fifty-three have their own heads of states: 32 members are republics and 5 of the members are monarchies.

Member states have no legal obligation one to another, instead they are united by language, history and culture as well as their shared values of democracy, human rights and the rule of law. These values are enshrined in the Commonwealth Charter and promoted by the quadrennial Commonwealth Games.

The Commonwealth covers more than 29,958,050 km² (11,566,870 sq mi), almost a quarter of the world land area, and spans all the continents. With an estimated population of 2.245 billion, almost a third of the world population, the Commonwealth in 2012 produced a nominal gross domestic product (GDP) of \$9.767 trillion, representing 15% of the world GDP when measured in purchasing power parity (PPP). This represents the second largest nominal GDP and GDP PPP in the world²³.

Member states are seeking to establish a Commonwealth Union (CU) through the creation of a free trade area, visa-free travel area, common foreign policy and {a common voice} representation at the United Nations and Group of 20. There is significant support in the United Kingdom for a CU as an alternative to its membership of the European Union.

Although the major focus of this work is not to consider how Nigeria's decision-making process has affected foreign policy during the 1960s, a brief examination of the phenomenon will be expedient at this juncture so as to put the work in proper perspective.

The fact that during the First Republic the Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar, maintained a rigid personal control over foreign policy formulation gave foreign policy a very conservative bias. Sir Abubakar Balewa and his party, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) were thoroughly imbued with conservative principles. Similarly, the fact that top civil servants, either in the Cabinet Office or in Ministry of External Affairs, have been closely involved in decision-making has contributed towards the adoption of cautious and responsible policy in Nigeria's relations with other countries.

This is mainly because government officials anywhere tend to be cautious, conservative and realistic in their actions, the conservatism of Nigeria's policy has led to the adoption of the principles of laissez-faire in foreign relations and the rejection of sudden and violent changes. This has led to the adoption and pursuit of the principle of respect for the independence and territorial integrity

²² Natalie Teniola, *The Commonwealth of Nations 2002: Bringing Alive The Commonwealth We All Share*, (London: Media House, Old Trafford Press, 2002), 4-10.

²³ *Introducing The Commonwealth, The Commonwealth Year Book 2013*, (Commonwealth Secretariat, London: Nexus Strategic Partnerships, 2013) p. 70-74

of all African states. This principle paid off handsomely during the Thirty months of Nigerian civil war from 1967 to 1970.

Another principle of policy, which owed much to the pragmatism of the late Prime Minister and his top officials, is that of functional cooperation as a means of forging African political unity. This principle was vindicated by events in Africa during the 1960s. Likewise, the conservatism of Sir Abubakar and his top officials substantially contributed towards the pro-West bias of Nigeria's non-alignment policy. Although this did not prove to be a disaster, it did for some time make Nigeria unpopular among African nationalists. The unwillingness of the entire Western powers including Britain to sell Nigeria arms at the beginning of the Nigeria's civil war showed the bankruptcy of that policy²⁴.

Thus, Nigeria can see that the main principles of her foreign policy in the 1960s have been sound. Only her brand of non-alignment has been discredited. This has been realized by the authorities as can be seen from the establishment of closer contacts with the USSR and other East European countries. From the 1990s till date, the Asian Tigers have strategically begun to make diplomatic inroads into the Nigerian economy thus displacing and replacing the UK and the West in some critical sectors of the Nigerian economy. It is hoped that greater effort will continue to be made to demonstrate her independence in the pursuit of the economic advancement policies henceforth. After all, there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies in the international milieu, only permanent interests abound!

In spite of this, the ministry has consistently contributed effectively to the formulation of policy. Dispatches from the overseas missions have continued to serve as the basis for policy formulation. This function in fact increased significantly after the January 1966, coup. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs now drafts most of the policy papers, major speeches meant for international conferences and other important occasions. Under the Gowon administration the Ministry formed the lynch-pin in the formulation and execution of the country's foreign policy. The permanent secretary in the ministry also served as a member of the Federal Executive Council²⁵. This arrangement was discontinued by the Murtala Muhammad regime.

The regime in fact seems to have regarded the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as being too conservative, reactionary and routine bound and thus incapable of advocating and formulating foreign policies commensurate with its radical posture. The government therefore used the services of extra-ministerial organizations especially the Universities, the press²⁶ and the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs.

²⁴ Ukiwo, Ukoha. "Violence, Identity Mobilization and the Reimagining of Biafra." *Africa Development*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1, (2009):22-25.:

Falode, Adewunmi, James. "The Nigeria Civil War, 1967-1970: A Revolution?." *African Journal Political Science and International Relations*, vol. 5, no. 3 (March 2011): 120-124.

²⁵ Oral Interview with Amb. Olu Adeniji, Retired Diplomat and former Minister of Foreign Affairs on June 15, 2012, in NIIA, Victoria Island, Lagos

²⁶ Oral Interview with Amb. Victor Adegoroye, Retired Diplomat on June 1, 2012, in NIIA, Victoria Island, Lagos

In his speech at the launching of the Nigerian Journal of International studies, the Commissioner for External Affairs Col. J. N Garba (1975) reiterated the government's desire to make use of scholars in the formulation of Nigeria foreign policy²⁷

The 1960s and 1970s saw a growth linked to the decolonization process. Nevertheless, the collapse of communism and the continuing vigour of nationalism also gave rise to a substantial expansion in members of the independent states in the last twenty years. No independent state feels it has truly reached the status unless it has a network of diplomatic missions to fly its new flag in foreign countries and the United Nations.

The growth of international organizations and the need to staff them has also contributed as has the broadening of many embassies remit to take in work in economic and trade spheres while traditional consular sections and consulates have had to deal with an exceptional growth in world tourism and immigration.

While summitry has on occasions displaced the ambassador from prime positions even the most energetic leader could not be in two or more positions and meetings at a time. Prime Ministers and special envoys still rely on the ambassadors to pave way for successful visits abroad just as foreign ministers needed embassies to keep them informed about other countries' negotiation positions ahead of multilateral talks.²⁸

A distinguished British Diplomat Christopher Ewart-Biggs, who was assassinated in Dublin by the IRA, wrote of the Paris embassy's support for an EEC summit, "...one doesn't reach the summit without a base camp. The base camp was this embassy."²⁹ It is the modern diplomat's task to man that base camp and occasionally perhaps to bask in the reflected glory of those who reach the summit. Less glamour than in diplomacy of old but no lack of fulfilling tasks to execute.³⁰

Foreign policies are the authorized official guidelines, courses of action and strategies used by governments to guide their actions in the international arena. They spell out the objectives state leaders have decided to pursue in a given circumstance or relationship.

They also define the strategies by which they intend to pursue those objectives. Foreign Policy is described "as a coordinated strategy with which institutionally designated decision makers in a country seek to manipulate the international environment in order to achieve certain national objectives"³¹ Day-to-day decisions made by government are guided by "*Raison d'état*." While the foreign policy of a nation is necessarily a reflection of its domestic reality, the

²⁷ Joseph Garba, the New Nigerian Foreign Policy Nigerian Bulletin on Foreign Affairs, Vol. 6, No 2. (December 1976).

²⁸ <http://grberridge.diplomacy.edu/>. accessed on July 1, 2013

²⁹ Satow, Ernest. A Guide to Diplomatic Practice, (London: Longman Press, 1975), p. 21

³⁰ <http://grberridge.diplomacy.edu/>. accessed on August 12, 2013

³¹ W. F. Handrieder, "Compatibility and Consensus, a Proposal for the Conceptual Linkage of External and Internal Dimensions of Foreign Policy" in American Political Science Review, Vol. CXL, No. 4, December, 1967. p 971.

preoccupations of all foreign policies are protection of national and citizens' interests, image, territory, promotion of economic interests and enhancement of national security and peace.

Foreign policy makers set out certain objectives before they proceed to lay down basic principles and formulate the policy. Several of these objectives are common, though the degree of emphasis always vary. A former Foreign Secretary of India submitted:

The primary purpose of any foreign policy is to promote its national interests, to insure its security, safeguard its sovereignty, contribute to its growth and prosperity and generally enhance its stature, influence and role in the comity of nations. A country's foreign policy should also be able to serve the broader purpose of promoting peace, disarmament and development and of establishing a stable and equitable global order.³²

All these factors go a long way to determine the nation's choice of principles and objectives and the extent to which it can go in pursuing foreign policy goals as well as the recognition and respect accorded the nation and her citizens in the international environment.³³

Officials of the Foreign Service are Diplomats. A diplomat is at times spoken of as the "eyes and ears" of his government in other countries. His chief functions are to execute the policies of his own country and to keep his government informed of major developments in the rest of the world which eventually guide policy formulation³⁴

In recent years, the Commonwealth has suspended several members "from the Councils of the Commonwealth" for "serious or persistent violations" of the Harare Declaration, particularly in abrogating their responsibility to have democratic government. This is done by the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group (CMAG), which meets regularly to address potential breaches of the Harare Declaration. Suspended members are not represented at meetings of Commonwealth leaders and ministers, although they remain members of the organisation. Currently, there is one suspended member, Fiji.

Nigeria was suspended between 11 November 1995 and 29 May 1999, following its execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa on the eve of the 1995 CHOGM.[58] Pakistan was the second country to be suspended, on 18 October 1999, following the military coup by Pervez Musharraf. The Commonwealth's longest suspension came to an end on 22 May 2004, when Pakistan's suspension was lifted following the restoration of the country's constitution. Pakistan was suspended for a second time, far more briefly, for six months from 22

³² D. Muchkund, "India's Foreign Policy in the Evolving Global Order" International Studies April-June 1993, 17.

³³ M. Mamman, Four Decades of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: An Overview 1960-2000 (Lagos: NIIA, 2001). p. 3

³⁴ R. Roberto, World Order and Diplomacy (New York: Oceania Pub. Inc.1969), p. 42.

November 2007, when Musharraf called a state of emergency. Zimbabwe was suspended in 2002 over concerns with the electoral and land reform policies of Robert Mugabe's ZANU-PF government, before it withdrew from the organisation in 2003.

In an address before the America-Japan Society in Tokyo, on Nov. 22, 1938, Joseph C. Grew, United States Ambassador to Japan, commenting on the work of the Diplomatic Mission and the diplomat in Foreign Service, thus explained the supreme purpose of a diplomat:

He must be, primarily, an interpreter and this function of interpreting acts both ways. First, he tries to understand the country in which he serves, its conditions, its mentality, its actions and its underlying motives and to explain these things clearly to his own government. Then, contrariwise, he seeks means of making known to the government and the people of the country to which he is accredited or assigned the purposes and hopes and desires of his native land. He is an agent of mutual adjustment between the ideas and forces upon which his nation acts³⁵

The Foreign Service provides a nation with a platform to enhance her image in the estimation of other nations in the international arena. It must be such that citizens will be proud of their nation. Lord Palmerstone once argued that just like the Romans of old could say: "Civis Romannus Sum" meaning "I am a Roman" and expect to be protected by the military might of Rome, a Briton in any part of the world, should be able to say "Civis Britannicus Sum" meaning "I am British" and expect the long arm of the British government to protect him.³⁶

In the same vein, a Nigerian in any part of the world for whatever reason must be able to depend on his Diplomatic Mission to protect him and his interests. This has come to assume a very critical aspect of Diplomacy in recent times. Diplomacy has not only become a major instrument of regulation of relationships between nations, it has also assumed a vehicle and machinery for the protection of the citizens and their interests in a foreign country.

Diplomacy as a concept and practice is as old as man. However, the origin of organized diplomacy may be traced to the relations among the city-states of ancient Greece. By the fifth century BC, Nicolson stated, "special missions between the Greek city-states had become so frequent that something approaching our own system of regular diplomatic intercourse had been achieved."³⁷ Thucydides reported about diplomatic procedure among the Greeks, as, for instance, in his account of a conference at Sparta in 432 BC in which the Spartans and their allies considered what action to take against Athens.³⁸

³⁵ P. Chandra, *Theories of International Relations* Third Edition (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Ltd., 2007), 114.

³⁶ M. Andres, "Foreign Service - New Tasks and Methods," *German Foreign Affairs Review* Vol. 36, No. 1, (1985).

³⁷ Harold Nicolson, *The Congress of Vienna, A Study in Allied Unity: 1812-1822* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1946), 46.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

The Romans contributed in a way to the advancement of the art of diplomacy by negotiation. Their representatives became skilled diplomats and trained observers. This extended the practice of diplomacy to include observation and reporting along with representation.³⁹

Modern diplomacy as an organized profession arose in Italy in the late middle ages. The rivalries of the Italian city-states and the methods, which their rulers used to promote their interests, are described in masterful fashion in Machiavelli's "The Prince". Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, established the first known permanent mission at Genoa in 1455.⁴⁰

In the next century, Italian city-states established permanent embassies in London, Paris and at the court of the Holy Roman Emperor; a British Ambassador was assigned to residence in Paris; and Francis I of France "devised something like permanent diplomatic machinery"⁴¹ After the peace of Westphalia of 1648 formalized the state system⁴², permanent missions became the rule rather than the exception. Diplomacy became an established profession and a generally accepted method of international intercourse. As diplomacy became more formal, its rules became more standardized. The 1815 Vienna Congress contributed in this respect, placing diplomacy on a formal basis, with standardized rules of procedure and protocols. The rules were embodied in the Reglement of March 19, 1815 and in regulations of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818.⁴³

The new diplomacy of the nineteenth century, then, demanded new methods, new skills, broader knowledge as well as new personnel. These methods were defined in many international agreements and became an intricate and generally observed code. Diplomats were people who observed the rules of the game and understood each other.⁴⁴

Harold Nicolson, whose delightful little book *Diplomacy* has become a classic on the subject has called attention to three developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which have greatly affected the theory, and practice of diplomacy. These are:

- (1) The "growing sense of the community of nations,"
- (2) the "increasing appreciation of the importance of public opinion" and
- (3) The "rapid increase in communications"⁴⁵

The first two clearly enlarged the diplomat's functions and enhanced his importance. The foregoing process stimulated the evolution of the five

³⁹ Kishan S. Rana, 21st Century Diplomacy - A Practitioner's Guide, Key Studies in Diplomacy (England: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011), 67.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 309

⁴¹ O. Akadiri, Diplomacy, World Peace and Security, (Akure: Ondo State Government Printing Press, 2003), 240.

⁴² Ibid., 246

⁴³ Ibid., 240-248

⁴⁴ Ibid., 241

⁴⁵ H. Nicholson, Diplomacy, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 44

traditional roles of diplomacy, namely; Representation, Negotiation, Reporting, Interpretation and Protection. These five pillars of diplomacy now extend into trade, investments, security, sports and cultural exchanges. The Nigerian mission to the UK, which represents the Nigerian Foreign Service in that country, is expected to perform all these functions to advance Nigeria's national interests. The research seeks to assess its performance in the actualization of its mandate over the study period.

Conclusion

It is clear that the diplomat cannot be distanced from the diplomatic craft and the embodiment of foreign policy in heads of state had created both opportunities for enforcing state agenda and personal idiosyncrasies that in some instances have not turned out well for the state. The expansion of multilateral platforms for diplomacy like the commonwealth has overtime created more encompassing avenues for diplomatic forays increasing the likelihood of success.

**Drumming as a means of Communication and Culture in Nigeria. A Study
of Talking Drum**

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Abstract

Drumming is an activity characterised by percussive instruments with different functions. This study evaluated the communicative and cultural significance of drumming in Nigeria using the talking drum. The study was evaluated using the Uses and Gratification theory. This study was analysed with the aid of secondary data on drumming and talking drum from Nigerian scholars and online websites. The analysis revealed that the talking drum is an established tool of communication and culture in Nigeria despite the upsurge of digital technology revolutionizing societal outlook. Drumming however no longer only exists in the physical space but can now be accessed through the internet and digital media. The study recommends that, drumming should be taught in schools and promoted through popular culture.

Keyword: Drumming, Communication, Culture, Talking Drum

Introduction

Communication is an activity necessary for any society to function effectively. The importance of communication is essential for peace and conflict resolution, cultural continuity, knowledge impartation, research endeavour among many other things. Communication is simply the exchange of meaning. It exists through different forms and channels. One of the means of communicating globally is drumming. This aspect of communication is called drum communication. It is the use of drum to convey information, establish interaction and make meaning. The phrase "drum rolls please" that precedes an important announcement is used to build up suspense. It is an example of drum communication. Different kinds of communication can be conveyed through the medium of drum language. Messages, public announcements, comments and many types of poetry and the same sorts of functions can be fulfilled by the corresponding speech forms, with the additional attributes of

greater publicity and impressiveness of performance¹. Drums are found nearly in every culture in the world and have existed since 6,000 BC. They have had ceremonial, sacred, political and symbolic associations in most cultures around the world².

In Nigeria, drumming has a communicative and cultural significance. Drumming is a part of the Nigerian culture with informative, educative and entertainment functions. Every society evolves and uses forms of communication that suit kinds of activities and cultural ideologies in it. In many traditional cultures in Africa, drums are played to communicate, celebrate, inspire and mourn. They are played in times of peace and war, in times of planting and harvesting, at birth and death³. Drums are therefore important cultural and communicative tools in Nigeria. There are different types of drums in Nigeria. This study evaluates the use of talking drum as a means of communication and culture in Nigeria using discourse analysis.

Objectives of Study

1. To examine the relevance of drum communication in the digital age.
2. To evaluate the role of talking drum in promoting Nigerian culture.
3. To examine the usefulness of talking drum in the traditional and modern Nigerian society.

Theoretical Framework

The study utilizes Uses and Gratification Theory to analyze this discourse;

1. Uses and Gratification Theory

This study was analysed using the uses and gratification theory to explain the use of talking drum as a means of communication and culture in Nigeria. This theory was propounded by Jay Blumler, Elihu Katz and Michael Gurevitch in 1974. Elihu Katz first introduced the Uses and Gratification Approach, when he came up with the notion that people use the media to their benefit. The perspective emerged in the early 1970's as Katz and his two colleagues, Jay Blumler and Michael Gurevitch continued to expand the idea. This theory was contemporary because it contradicted older views that assumed the audience was a passive group. The Uses and Gratifications Approach views the audience as active, meaning that they actively seek out specific media and content to achieve certain results or gratifications that satisfy their personal needs⁴.

1 Finnegan, R. Drum language and literature. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers. Drum Beats in Selected Indigenous Communities in South- West and South -East Nigeria. *Journal of Communication and Media Technology*. 2,2. 2014: 61-71

2 Johannes, A.S. Drums and drum language as a culture artefacts of three Asafo companies of Oguaa traditional area of Ghana. 2014.

3 Ihebuzor, Lambert, ed., *Scholarship in Communication Studies* (Ibadan, College Press Ltd) 47

4 . Spring Rossi, "Uses & Gratifications/ Dependency Theory", 2002, <http://zimmer.csufresno.edu/~johnca/spch100/7-4->

The Uses and Gratification theory is a well-utilized theoretical framework for explaining the different motives and reasons behind the use of any given medium⁵. The drum is a traditional medium of communication that can be used for various purposes. Each type of drum depending on the culture has its peculiar purpose. Some drums are used for ceremonial purposes like festivals, some are used to communicate messages such as the death of a king, the birth of a prince, war, appointment of a new king, etc.

Assumptions

In mass communication process, uses and gratifications approach puts the function of linking need gratifications and media choice clearly on the side of audience members. It suggests that people's needs influence what media they would choose, how they use certain media and what gratifications the media give them. This approach differs from other theoretical perspectives in that it regards audiences as active media users as opposed to passive receivers of information. In contrast to traditional media effects theories which focus on "what media do to people" and assume audiences are homogeneous, uses and gratifications approach is more concerned with "what people do with media"⁶. The Uses and Gratification theory discusses the effects of the media on people. It explains how people use the media for their own need and get satisfied when their needs are fulfilled. In other words, it can be said that the theory argues what people do with media rather than what media does to people⁷. This theory in relation to this study explains that the cultural and communicative benefits or lack thereof, derived by Nigerians while using the talking drum is dependent on how they use the talking drum to fulfill their needs such as information, entertainment and cultural continuity.

Conceptual Review

History of Talking Drum

Africans and Europeans developed a wireless communication system long before cell phones were invented! In a time and place where roads didn't exist, men went into deep in the forest to hunt and women walked long distances to gardens. They needed a way to be informed if something went wrong in town. Drums were used to send detailed messages from village to village much faster than a person could walk or ride a horse⁸. The sound of talking drums could reach up to 4 to 5 miles. These drums have hollow chambers and long, narrow openings that resonate when they are struck. They are made out of hollow logs. The larger the log, the louder the sound would be. The drummer would

uses.htm#:~:text=Elihu%20Katz%20first%20introduced%20the,continued%20to%20expand%20the%20idea.

5. Gan, Chenmei, Understanding WeChat users Liking behaviour: An empirical study in China, March 2017, Computers in Human Behaviour, 68, 30-39

6 Katz, E. Mass communication research and the study of culture. Studies in Public Communication, 2, 1959: 1-6.

7 Communication Theory. "Uses and Gratification Theory" 2016, <https://www.communicationtheory.org/uses-and-gratification-theory/>

8 Omaha School of Music and Dance, 5 ways drums are used to communicate., <http://omahaschoolofmusicanddance.com/our-blog/5-ways-drums-are-used-to-comzte/>

communicate through phrases and pauses, and low tones referred to males while high tones referred to females. Some have called this a way to gossip, or learn information through the grapevine⁸. The drum originated in West Africa down to Nigeria where the drums are still played today mostly by Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa and Tiv people. They are thought to mimic language by closely imitating the rhythms and intonations of the spoken words⁹.

The talking drum is rich in culture and tradition; it has three possible origins such as the Ghana Empire, the Hausa people, and the Yoruba people. The drum answers to its name. In the 18th century, the colonial masters (Europeans) noticed that messages were being passed across within the locals just by playing the drum. The talking was used to warn the villagers or neighbouring villages against attacks or inform them about a ceremony. The talking drum mimics language by tactfully copying the intonations and rhythms of a voice or spoken words¹⁰. African drums talk by creating tones that correspond to words. A sophisticated method was developed in which short words were grouped with redundant phrases to clarify the meaning of the sounds. Different drums elicited different playing styles, which varied from region to region. Senegalese drummers used rapid rolls and short sound bursts using a stick and a hand¹¹.

To the east, the playing style consisted of long and sustained notes, creating a sort of rubbery sound that mimicked local speaking patterns. Talking drums were also used in ancient India and were called "idakka". These were stick-beaten drums whose pitch was controlled by squeezing the lace in the middle of the hourglass. Obviously, there are many different examples of ancient drums from Africa and Asia, each having a rich tradition and specific characteristics¹¹.

Talking Drum

Talking Drums are also used to imitate different tones and chant patterns of the Yoruba language. Its hourglass shape makes it possible for it to be held under the arm. It is made of adjustable cords. These cords can determine the pitch of the drum. If the cords and strings are pulled hard, the sound or tone from the drum would increase and if the chords are softly squeezed, the sound will be low¹². They are frequently used in modern churches, festivals, wedding ceremonies and carnivals. The talking drum is an hour glass shaped drum from West Africa, whose pitch can be regulated to mimic the tone and prosody of human speech. Its body is covered by two skins which are connected by leather

9 Uche, Mike. The talking drum: an inquiry into the reach of a traditional mode of communication. *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology*. 3(2) 2015:113
10 Balogun Wole, Celebrating the Talking Drum by Oba Adeyemi, The Alaafin of oyo, https://www.africanstyles.com/culture/talking_drums.html

11 Make Drums, The history of drums-early history, October 11, 2011, <https://makedrums.com/the-history-of-the-drum-early-history>

12 Wole Adedoyin. *Compilations of Yoruba History, Culture and Tradition*, Yoruba Fact Finder

strings, which allow the player to tweak it's pitch by pressing the drum between his arm and body¹³.

Talking drum is a term that involves the use of drums or drum beats to disseminate properly conceived ideas, appropriately coded or articulated via meaningful and comprehensible drum beats that can be decoded or understood or interpreted by the target who responds to the message of the drum beat with the aid of appropriate, desired response¹⁴. The drums are carved out of tree trunks and is made having an hourglass shape with long leather tension cords attached from the drum head to the base of the drum. The drums are traditionally carved from tree trunks and moulded into an hourglass shape. The head usually has a membrane that is made out of dried animal skin like sheep, cow, goatskin depending on the functionality, but today's drums head are made out of suede material. They have many leather tension cords fastened to the head which cascades down the sides and is attached to the bottom region¹⁵. These medium sized drums have a distinctive hourglass shape with a drum head at each end, often made of goatskin. What gives the talking drum its voice (so to speak) are the many leather cords, or ropes, that run along the body from one drum head to the other¹⁶.

To play, the drummer tucks the drum under his arm and taps the head with his hand and a hook shaped drumstick. To mimic the stresses and intonations of speech, the drummer simply squeezes the drum between his arm and body, causing the leather cords, or ropes, to change shape¹⁷.

Communicative and Cultural Significance of Talking Drums

Generally, communication is a tool in the spread of culture. Without it members of a society may not be able to transfer knowledge of the norms value, etc. among themselves¹⁸. The talking drum is an important cultural instrument in the African society. It is a functional African communication instrument used for disseminating information in the African society. In many African societies, the talking drum serves as a potent channel of traditional communication. It is the most efficient traditional communication method used in villages and rural areas to enhance grass root mobilization for societal development¹⁹.

13 Adebayo, J. Talking drums: Delineating between the boundary of uses and the border of abuses in South West Nigeria. *New Media and Mass Communication*. Vol 34. 2015.

14 Splinditty, The Talking Drum: Kalangu, Gangan, and Odondo November 29, 2018. <https://spinditty.com/instruments-gear/The-Talking-Drum-The-Talking-Drum-Kalangu-Gungun-Odondo-drum>

15 William Rodriguez, Talking Drums: Ancient Storytellers of West Africa, *Archaic Roots*. December 8, 2016, <https://www.archaicroots.com/drums/talking-drums-ancient-storytellers-west-africa/>

16 Raufu, Goke, Mass media and the society; Issues and perspectives, Abeokuta, Ogun State. Kagor International.

17 Ifegunni, J. 2015, The history of the talking drum. *Hotels.ng*. <https://hotels.ng/travel>

18 Onikoyi Babatunde and Ayodabo Sunday, 2019, Tunde Kelani, Film Review, *African Studies Association*, doi:10.1017/asr.2019.23

19 Uche, Mike. The talking drum: an inquiry into the reach of a traditional mode of communication. *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology*. 3(2) 2015:113

The real significance of the talking drum lies in the role it plays in communication. In its earliest form, the talking drum served as an aid to ancient Griot or storytellers. These travelling poets and musicians would use the talking drums to carry on the oral traditions of their culture²⁰. Talking drums were used as a means of inter-village communication themselves rather than accompaniment. Instead of hand delivering a summons or warning from one village to another, a message could be sent directly via drum. Players were taught the corresponding drum phrase for any given word. Messages would then be sent between drum players beginning with the name of the recipient, followed by the name of the sender, and then finally the message²¹. When danger approached a village, the talking drum was used to warn villagers using sounds plucked from the beat in tones that match the speed of the land. The drumbeats travel across the air with clarity and faster than a horse rider would, thus serving as an effective means of communication²². The talking drum is a means by which Nigerians communicate their identity. Renowned Nigerian film maker, Tunde Kelani, uses taking drum as part of his film making identity. This has been exemplified in movies like *Saworoide* (1999), *Arugba*, *Agogo Ewo* (2002).

In *Akinwunmi Isola and the Rest of Us*, director, Tunde Kelani has produced a reflective documentary that captures his artistic and fascinating relationship with the cinematographer and playwright, Akinwunmi Ishola...the documentary begins with the sound of a talking drum from *Saworoide* (1999), a movie that remains one of the finest examples of Akinwunmi Isola's and Tunde Kelani's collaboration²³. Ashuman being is constantly destined for change in himself and his surroundings, such dynamism in human nature keeps his culture on a constant change. This is evident from the fact that he is no more a creature of primitive or metal age but of satellite and space age. During these ages, all his efforts aimed at refining his life and surrounding, for which he invented and introduced many new things. This efforts resulted into the existence of societies that taught him to live in an orderly fashion and decorate his life with language, education, ideas, customs, habits, religion, manners, values, music, art, architecture and other artifacts. The manifestation of all these activities was given the name of culture²⁴.

The talking drum is used in different cultures, although it has different names. For example, The Bambaras (Mandé people of Mali) call the talking drum *Oondo* or *Dondo*, the Yorubas (Western part of Nigeria) call it *Gangan* or

20 William Rodriguez, *Talking Drums: Ancient Storytellers of West Africa*, Archaic Roots. December 8, 2016, <https://www.archaicroots.com/drums/talking-drums-ancient-storytellers-west-africa/>

21 William Rodriguez, *Talking Drums: Ancient Storytellers of West Africa*, Archaic Roots. December 8, 2016, <https://www.archaicroots.com/drums/talking-drums-ancient-storytellers-west-africa/>

22 Khan, F. Igbal, Z. and Gazzaz, O. *Communication and Culture: Reflections on the Perspectives of Influence*. *Wulfenia Journal*. 19(8). 2012:198

23 Insider Instrument Team, *History and How to Play the Talking Drum*, 2019, <https://www.instrumentinsider.com/history-play-talking-drum>

24 Bella Africana. *The African Talking Drum*. <https://bellaafricana.com/the-african-talking-drum>

Dundun, the Hausas (Northern part of Nigeria) call it Kalangu or Dan Karb'bi, and Songhai (Central Mali) call it Doodo to name a few. However, the talking drum is not limited to Africans; similar talking drums were found in Asia²⁰. Culture is the way of life of people in a particular society. It is what defines how things are done in that particular society. There is an element of culture in everything done in a society. Human society relies on culture to thrive. No human society can exist without a culture and conversely no culture can exist without a society. The intertwining relationship between both makes it pertinent to discuss culture within the context of society and in relation to the nature of the components of the society. Human languages in which we express ourselves, our sense of self consciousness and our ability to think or reason are products of culture, because culture provides ready-made patterns of thinking, acting and doing things for members of a society¹⁶. Talking drum serve as an instrument to celebrate and promote the cultural heritage of people of a particular society. Talking drums have been the most effective means of information dissemination, not only in Yoruba land but it's informational use spreads across Sub Saharan Africa. The talking drums are employed not only in social gatherings among Yoruba people but they are also used in the traditional festivals such as Egungun festival, Ogun festival, Oyo festival and Alagemo festival²⁵.

The talking drum serves as an important function in West African cultures and had a language specific to each region. It is called in different names including Dondo, Tamanin, Lunna and Dundun among others. It was used to assist in story telling communication; used to relay an important message as a summoning to a ceremonial dance or as an aid in telling fables that taught important life lessons and guidance²⁶. As a royal father and custodian of Yoruba heritage, the Alaafin talked about his involvement in the proposed cultural festival. "The talking drum is an important cultural evaluation of the Yoruba people and it was given leap and pioneered by the Oyo Yoruba. When people hear of the talking drum, they believe it is just an instrument to be drummed for people to dance but it is not so, we can use it as a means of conveying message. One can convey messages in diverse forms, one can convey messages in a long or short distance, depending upon the situation. As an Oba or a traditional Chief like the Alaafin of Oyo, the palace would not be complete without the talking drum. The talking drum wakes up the Alaafin early in the morning from 5.00 am and starts with the reciting of the Oriki of the past Alaafins, telling the incumbent Alaafin the challenges they faced, how they overcome the challenges and problems as well as the methods, they used so the talking drum serves as an important instrument of history²⁷.

The drum goes on to talk about particular songs, dance steps or mannerisms of a past Alaafin to enable the incumbent Alaafin know the history of his predecessors. And that is why in Yoruba land, especially in Oyo, every Alaafin is

25 Adebayo, J. Talking drums: Delineating between the boundary of uses and the border of abuses in South West Nigeria. *New Media and Mass Communication*. Vol 34. 2015.

²⁶ Bella Africana. *The African Talking Drum*. <https://bellaaficana.com/the-african-talking-drum>

²⁷ Balogun Wole, Celebrating the Talking Drum by Oba Adeyemi, The Alaafin of Oyo, https://www.africastyles.com/culture/talking_drums.html

the representative of all his ancestors. And it is important that he knows all their history²⁸.

Lasswell's Model of Communication and Drum Communication

This model of communication was developed by Harold D. Lasswell in 1948. Lasswell opined that to examine the meaning of communication, one has to answer the questions;

Who?
Says What?
In What Channel?
To Whom?
With What Effect?

In relation to this study, drum communication can be explained through;

1. Drummers

They represent the "who" in the process of drum communication. They could be disseminating the information for themselves or on behalf of another person or group of persons. For example, drummers in film are drumming on the directive of the film based on the film script.

2. Drum beat/Sound

This represents "Says what" part of drum communication process. Sounds created by Talking Drum can be used to communicate with someone who understands drum language.

3. Drum

The drum in the channel or medium of communication under this circumstance. Drums serve as the medium through which drum communication is actualized.

4. Target Audience

Drummers have target audience, people who their drum beats resonate with. At a wedding, drumming could be directed to the bride and groom or wedding guests. The target audience differ based on events or circumstances.

5. With What Effect

This refers to responses and reactions to drum beats or sounds. Drum beats could generate different reactions. Some could hear the sound of a talking drum and dance to it, some could spray the drummers money in appreciation of their artistry, some could hire them for other events, some record them and post it on the internet for the world to see.

²⁸ Ibid.

Talking Drums in the Modern Society

Computer-mediated Communication (CMC) as any human communication that occurs through the use of two or more electronic. While the term has traditionally referred to those communications that occur via computer-mediated formats (e.g., instant messaging, email, chat rooms, online forums, social network services), it has also been applied to other forms of text-based interaction such as text messaging²⁹.

In the 21st century the sound of the talking drum can be accessed on the Internet, Online radio, Online television and Social Media Platforms such as Whatsapp, Telegram and Instagram among others. It aids social media interactions and interconnectivity in Cyberspace. After being assigned to score a film with a far-flung backdrop, most composers would do a little research to try to add the appropriate atmosphere. Variety Magazine reporter, John Burlingame reported that Ludwig Göransson, the Swedish-born composer who was charged with scoring Marvel's "Black Panther" movie and has worked with director Ryan Coogler on all of his films, didn't just visit a university library or look at YouTube videos: He spent a month in Africa²³. The result was life-changing, he tells Variety: "I came back with a totally different idea of music, a different knowledge. The music that pairs with T'Challa (Chadwick Boseman), monarch of the film's fictional African kingdom Wakanda, is led by six "talking drums," which Göransson explains as "a small drum you put on your shoulder, one that does what no other percussion instrument does — it breathes." The drummer squeezes, then loosens it to change the pitch³⁰.

Uses of Talking Drums

1. For communication:

Communication is a many sided phenomenon. It means different things to different people. It is a process or a means of access to the mind or thought of another. As a process, many models have been created to explain it. Yet, unlike many other human processes, it does not have a clearly defined beginning or end³¹. Drummers use the talking drum to disseminate information. Such information includes, praises of someone in the audience or a community and solicit for money from the dancing audience, messages, public announcements and comments among others. The talking drum serves as a medium through which the people convey important and sometimes coded messages. In the pre colonial Yoruba community, talking drums are deployed to pass classified messages as a strategy to overrun the enemies during war. The talking drum was used in the old days as a means of communication between tribes; the drum because of its ability to mimic the spoken word effectively relayed long

29 Asemah, E. Selected Mass Media Theme. Jos: Matkol Press, 2012

30 Burlingame, John. Black Panther' Composer Infuses Score With Trove of African Sounds, Variety, 2018, <https://variety.com/2018/artisans/production/black-panther-score-1202697385/>

31 Anaeto Solomon, Onabajo Olufemi and Osifeso James, 2008, Models and Theories of Communication, African Renaissance Books Incorporated

distant messages of coronations, deaths, celebration and war. It was also used for entertainment, praise singing, fun, folklore and leisure³²

2. For Proverbial/ Didactic Purposes:

Proverbs or didactic stories or tales are means by which moral lesson and cultural values are imparted from generation to generation. Nigerian proverbs can be disseminated through the use of talking drum in a way that would be understood by a Nigerian conversant with Nigerian language and proverbs. This is particularly common in South-West Nigeria. The talking drum in a rhythmic tone mimics spoken words to disseminate proverbs and words of moral lessons.

3. For Entertainment:

Entertainment as used in this study refers to activities from which pleasurable delight can be derived. The talking drum serves as a source of entertainment for ceremonial events such as weddings, chieftaincy coronation, funeral parties, birthdays, festivals among others. The talking drum provides beats for dancing and stories to entertain a familiar audience at events. The famous Oyo State radio station Radio O Y O signature tune 'Ti Olubadan ba ku, tani o joye?' was produced with the aid of a talking drum.

4. For Cultural Propagation:

Culture is the total way of life of people. It expresses the way people in a particular community do things, the way they dress, the food they eat and the songs they sing are some of the things that constitute culture. Element of culture include, mode of dressing and language among others. Individual identity is embedded in the culture of the land in which such individuals originate. Talking drum is used to remind and enlighten Nigerians of the cultural significance of their traditions and instruments. Oyo in western Nigeria is believed to be the cradle of Yoruba civilization and the talking drum is believed to have a significant role in the history of the ethnic group³³.

5. For Advertisement Purposes:

Advertisement is a communication in the media by an identifiable sponsor, about products, services and idea. Advertisement is a form of marketing communication that connects an organization's target market with their products, services and idea. The "New Credential" advertisement campaign which was used to promote Goldberg, a product of Nigerian Breweries utilized drum as a symbol of unity and leveraged on it. Aside the fact that it played a prominent role at various places where the event held, its major campaign, which was used in print and billboard shows a Nollywood artist, Odunlade Adekola proudly holding Gangan, the talking drum as a message career.

Discussion of Findings

32 Splinditty, The Talking Drum: Kalangu, Gangan, and Odondo November 29. 2018. <https://spinditty.com/instruments-gear/The-Talking-Drum-The-Talking-Drum-Kalangu-Gungun-Odondo-drum>

33 Ibid.

This study revealed that drumming is a significant cultural and communicative activity, with benefits that spread across various disciplines such as Sociology, Advertising, Languages and Politics among many others. Drum communication is significant to the field of sociology because it constitute a significant activity utilized by people in different environment. Relationships have been formed on the basis of drumming. Nigeria Drummers Association is an example of an organization forged on the basis of drumming. Notable drummers from Nigeria include Tony Allen, Babatunde Olatunji, Francis Awe and Yusuf Olatunji among others. This therefore validates the assertion of this study that drumming is a significant activity. Drumming is also significant in the field of advertising.

Many Nigerian advertisements have utilized drumbeats (of talking drums and other drums) to carve a niche for products, services and idea in the mind of the target audience. Notable among such advertisement is MTN "I don port advert". talking drum mimics human sounds and can communicate. This study established that during the colonial era, villages communicated with each other using talking drum. This provided the basis for this study to conclude that drum beats is a language. This study also revealed that talking drum was utilized as a tool the politics of the colonial society. Politics refers to the process of allocating power and resources in a particular society. At a time when there was no internet, no mobile phones and no social media, members of the traditional Nigerian society discovered a way to access and disseminate political information at a speed of light, (war, death of a ruler, appointment of a new ruler and warn members of their community against danger) using talking drum. The talking drum today still serves as a tool of entertainment during ceremonies. It is a tool for making music. Modern day Nigerian musicians such as Adekunle Gold, Davido, Burnaboy make drumbeats into popular music. Nollywood, the Nigerian film industry also utilizes drum beats and drum communication to portray the Nigerian culture. This study established Tunde Kelani's Saworoide as an example. Another example is the movie Chief Daddy, directed by Niyi Akimolayan (Film Director) and produced by Mo Abudu (Nigerian Media Entrepreneur). In this scene, drummers where gathered in front of the house of a character, Chief Daddy who had just passed away in the movie. The drummers use talking drums to create dirge to mourn the loss of the character. The talking drum can serve as a vessel for passing down cultural values, tools, element and principles from generation to generation thereby immortalizing the Nigerian culture. By fusing drum communication and drum beat with modern trends, songs, platforms(internet, new media), Nigerians promote drumming and it's components.

Conclusion

This study was carried out to evaluate drumming as a means of communication and culture in Nigeria using the talking drum as a case study. Literature reviewed in this study revealed that the talking drum originated from West Africa. It established that drumming was and is still a part of the Nigeria culture and a vital communicative instrument that is still relevant in the digital era. This study uses qualitative approach to gather information of the relevance of drumming. The study was analysed and evaluated using secondary data gathered by the researchers. The findings revealed that drums particularly talking drum is of indispensable benefit in the Nigerian society.

Such benefits as stated in this study include;

1. Cultural communication during traditional festivals
2. Entertainment
3. Job creation and Income earning opportunities for drummers
4. Communicate advertising messages
5. Cultural representation

This conclusion was made in relation to the immense communicative (this include, marketing, interpersonal and group communication) and cultural significance of talking drum. This study concludes that drumming is an activity with benefits that does not diminish over time.

Recommendation

This study recommends that;

1. A convergence between talking drum and new trendy practices. This means the inclusion of drum beats in new music, new movies, all things popular culture to promote the adoption and usage of talking drum.
2. This study suggests that the promotion of drumming and talking drum should be the core of educational curriculum and cultural training. Students at primary, secondary and tertiary educational institution should be familiar the the communicative and cultural role of drumming and talking drum.
3. Drummers should be recognized and rewarded. Movie stars and singers have award nights, competition and financial reward to celebrate their excellence. The same should be made available for drummers. This is to encourage drummers nationwide and to make drumming a desirable profession for younger generation.
4. There are talent shows such as Nigerian Idol and The voice Nigeria to give young singers an opportunity to showcase their talent. Young drummers also need shows like these to showcase their talent to the world.
5. This study recommends the promotion of literature and research in the areas of drumming and drum communication. This can be supported through the provision of research grants from non governmental institutions and research councils.

Electoral reforms: Reducing the influence of incumbent state governors in the conduct of general elections in Nigeria

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Abstract

Since the advent of the Fourth Republic in 29th May, 1999, achieving credible elections under incumbent state governors has been a challenge despite different strategies aimed at strengthening Nigeria's electoral system. In states where elections have been held and power handed over to successors, there have been disputes, violence, rejection of election results and litigations linked with the influence of incumbent state governors especially governorship and National Assembly elections, where incumbent governors were contestants. In consequence, this study utilized Content Analysis which relied on secondary data to examine areas incumbent state governors influenced the electoral process. The paper further discussed the impact of such influence and there forms that are needed to address the ugly trend. The paper concluded that there should be transition committee to take charge of state affairs ahead of elections, fix the tenure of governors to end before another election, outlaw the use of state resources for elections, foreclosing of second term, and making the term of governors single term of five years. The reforms offered in this direction are to reduce the enormous influence of serving governors as 'state's chief security officer and party leader' which undermine the various electoral processes.

Keywords: Electoral reforms, electoral processes, influence, state governors, general elections

Introduction

Effective election management is fundamental to democratic stability and survival. The task of having credible elections is the responsibility of election management body and the managerial skills developed by it. A lot of reforms are therefore made from time to time to ensure that the conduct of elections in Nigeria is in line with best global practices. For example, the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) is a product of some reforms in Nigeria. Such regulations are designed by the electoral management body to proffer solutions to, and mitigate the pre-election, election and post-election related challenges. Affirming the

potency of electoral reforms, Jega¹ acknowledges that if elections in Nigeria would be more open, transparent and their outcomes acceptable to good number of stakeholders, it is imperative to have reforms that will regularly tackle new electoral challenges. According to Momah², the reforms are either entirely new or repackaged to capture emerging electoral demands. Such reforms could also be initiated through the inputs from stakeholders such as political parties, civil society organisations, the media and the security agencies³.

In Nigeria, a number of reforms adopted in recent times include the overhaul of the electoral register, the use of modified open-secret ballot system, and improved logistics on the transportation of electoral materials and personnel to polling units, as well as the systematic collation and announcement of results from polling units up to collation centers. For example, from 2015 general elections, votes are being counted in the full glare of the electorate and copies of signed result sheets given to key actors. The reform also reflected in the recruitment of ad-hoc staff for the conduct of election⁴. Before the appointment of Professor Attahiru Jega in 2010, the practice was to recruit temporary staff for election duty from members of the public with no 'verifiable identity'. As observed by Sunday, at that time, such ad-hoc staffs are difficult to be held liable for irregularities they perpetuate during elections⁵. In addition, politicians and political parties often scrambled to have their preferred supporters recruited as ad-hoc staffs. This made politicians, political parties to influence some of the ad-hoc staff who invariably compromised the integrity of the electoral process. However, the old practice described above changed in 2011 when the commission shifted recruitment of its ad-hoc staff to National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) members and academic staffs from Nigerian public universities' as collation officers or returning officers respectively⁶

In addition, on appointment as INEC Chairman on the 21st October 2015, Professor Mahmood Yakubu introduced simultaneous accreditation and voting system, which allowed voters to be accredited and cast their votes at the same time⁷. The new reform guided against large number of voters from not voting

¹ Jega, Attahiru. Electoral Reforms in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects. A Paper Presented at the First University of Abuja Public Lecture Series, 2015.

² Momah, Paul O. Electoral Commissions and the Conduct of Elections in Nigeria: The Role of INEC. In Osita, A. (ed.) Elections and Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. United Kingdom: CODESRIA Publishers, 2016.

³ Nwafor, Clifford. Technology Gaps, Communication and New Direction for Elections in Nigeria, A Paper presented at the Situation Room's Stakeholders' Forum Organised by the Independent National Electoral Commission, 7th November, 2016.

⁴ Omotola, Hezekiah M. Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election. Published in Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 31 (2), 2017.

⁵ The Punch. Rivers Bye-election Remains Suspended – INEC written by Sunday, Olusola, 2018.

⁶ Diamond, Lee; Lin, James. and Lipset, Mathew. Democracy in Developing Countries, 2th ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989.

⁷ Vanguard. Rivers 2019: How Amaechi convinced me to run – APC Candidate written by Victor, Taiwo 11th November, 2018.

because of being delayed after accreditation. According to Omeleke⁸, he also outlawed the use of telephones and other electronics materials capable of taking pictures at polling points.

This was in response to allegation of sales of votes during the staggered gubernatorial elections in Edo, Kogi, Bayelsa, Anambra, Ondo, Ekiti, and Osun states. Therefore, ahead of the 2019 general elections, the commission proscribed voters from being in possession of any electronic device capable of capturing the ballot paper, with a view to showing it to any political party or its agent so as to collect monetary or material thing in return⁹. While interrogating into circumstances that surrounded vote buying, the commission discovered that agents of politicians or political parties hide in secret places with money and many other valuable things, and after pictures of votes cast are shown them, they collect money or material thing in return¹⁰.

Also, changes have also been made to enhance the secrecy of votes through effective polling unit management. The chairman of INEC, Professor Mahmood Yakubu affirmed that the plan for the 2019 general elections had been ready since 2017 while the time table for the elections and other activities over a year ahead of the 2019 general elections. These forms have contributed to the country's election management¹¹. It is unfortunate that some of the new reforms could not achieve the desired goal due to party affiliation, lack of power by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) to directly prosecute electoral offenders, corruption, and compromise by security agencies. Beyond these general limitations, use of incumbency power by the state governors has undermined electoral integrity. Thus, in spite of several reforms undertaken by the electoral body in Nigeria, observations from past general elections revealed that incumbent state governors use their influence to manipulate the processes. Hence, this study examines areas incumbent state governors still influence the electoral process, discusses the impact of such influence and the reforms that are needed to address the ugly trend.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are to:

- i. examine areas incumbent state governors still influence the conduct of general elections in Nigeria;
- ii. discuss the impact of the influence of incumbent state governors on the outcome of general elections in Nigeria;
- iii. identify reforms that are necessary to forestall influence of incumbent state governors in the conduct of general elections in Nigeria.

Research Questions

⁸ Omoleke, Moses. An Assessment of Determinants of Electoral Integrity: A case of Independent National Electoral Commission in Nigeria. Published in International Journal of Contemporary Research and Review, 9(8), 2018.

⁹ Yusuf, Ayeni and Zengeni, Gabriel. The Police and Election Administration in Nigeria. Published by the Journal of Public Administration, Finance and Law, 14, 2018.

¹⁰ INEC Report. The 2019 Pre- Election Preparation and Tasks, Abuja: Federal Government Printers, 2018.

¹¹ Ibid

This study attempts to provide answers to the following questions:

- i. In what areas do incumbent state governors influence the conduct of general elections in Nigeria?
- ii. What are the impacts of the influence of incumbent state governors in the conduct of general elections in Nigeria?
- iii. What reforms should the electoral management body introduce to reduce the influence of incumbent state governors in the management of future general elections?

Methodology

The study is a descriptive one and employed secondary data. Relevant literature such as books, journals, newspapers, online and government publications, including the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria, and the Electoral Act 2010 (as amended) were reviewed and content analyzed. Content analysis is adopted as a result of its systematic, objective and quantitative manner of measuring variables. The method involved extensive reading, prognosis, critique and drawing of conclusions from the discussion of relevant information gathered from secondary source.

Conceptualizing Election, Election Management and Electoral Reforms

This study is premised on the theory of decision making. Decision making theory is seen as the act of choosing among alternatives so as to have a free and fair election, which in this study, is expected to be devoid of the influence of incumbent state governors. Although, there is no specific accepted best way of making administrative decisions, yet an effective administrator must understand the characteristics that make each situation unique, so that each situation may be adjusted accordingly. Hence, this study, as later argued, believes that other vital decisions need to be taken and legislated into Nigeria's electoral reforms to ensure that incumbent state governors do not use their power of incumbency to truncate electoral outcomes.

Election is the heart of democracy and the litmus for testing the level of democracy of a political system. Thus, election is the fulcrum of any democracy. Election has been a major tool by which modern representative democracy operates. According to Diamond, Lin and Lipset¹², election is central to democratization, in that, there can be election without democracy and whereas, there cannot be democracy without election. According to Yusuf & Zengeni¹³, elections in a democracy are very important because they are means through which political expressions of the people are shown.

¹² Diamond, Lee; Lin, James. and Lipset, Mathew. Democracy in Developing Countries, 2th ed. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1989.

¹³ Yusuf, Ayeni and Zengeni, Gabriel. The Police and Election Administration in Nigeria. Published by the Journal of Public Administration, Finance and Law, 14, 2018.

An election is a formal group decision making process by which a population chooses individuals to hold public office. Free and fair elections are the cornerstones of any democracy. They are essential for the peaceful transfer of power. Thus, Leyenaar and Hazan¹⁴ states that, "every modern version of representative democracy entails the notion of elections as the primary means of selecting political decision makers. Underlining the centrality of elections to representative democracy, Animashaun¹⁵ opines that election represents the life blood of modern democracy.

Election is not restricted to the institution of government alone. It symbolizes an icon through which changes are made and the level of democratic consolidation is either in positive or negative connotation. Hence, election must be free and fair. Thus, if election is free and fair, it suggests that democracy is consolidating, and if the election on the other hand is corrupt, it shows that democracy is stagnant. Flesken and Hartl¹⁶ identified two contrasting views of the functions of competitive elections. Election influences the formation of government if the electoral system tends to give a single party a clear parliamentary majority. The use of proportional representation may mean that governments are formed through election outcomes. Election serves as window of providing representation. It is on the principle of election that representatives in government are elected. Through competitive election, demands are channeled from the public to the government. When demands are channeled to the government, it then formed a basis for policy formulation. Government policies are also influenced through competitive election. Election can prevent government from pursuing radical and unpopular policies¹⁷. Voters can equally gain valuable education through the instrument of election. The process of campaigning provides the electorate with abundant information about parties', candidates, policies, manifestoes, the records of government and the political system.

Election management is the organization and conduct of elections to elective (political) public office by an electoral body. It is the management and organization of all stages of an electoral cycle (that is, the pre-election, election and post-election stages), by an electoral body. According to Oyekanmi¹⁸, election management is the systematic electoral process of using men and material things for the conduct of free, fair and acceptable election.

It covers the process of setting up a body to conduct elections (which are the electoral body), putting up the rules to guide procedures and activities of the

¹⁴ Leyenaar, Onyonou. and Hazan, Deayo. Causes of Instability in Nigeria, 1sted. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

¹⁵ Animashaun, Mathew A. African Democracy and the Dilemma of Credible Election. Journal of Social Sciences, Vol. 3 (1), August: AIP Publishing, 2008.

¹⁶ Flesken, A. & Hartl, J. (2017). Party Support, Values, and Perceptions of Electoral Integrity. *Political Psychology*, 3(2), 1-18.

¹⁷ Clark, Anderson. Identifying the determinants of electoral integrity and administration in advanced democracies: the case of Britain. *Kluwer Law and Business: European Political Science Review*, 9 (30), 2017.

¹⁸ Oyekanmi, Francis. Democracy, Election and Political Participation in Nigeria: 1999-2011. Published in Journal of Policy and Development Studies, 9(5), 2015.

electoral body and appointment of their members, selection and training of electoral officials, constituent's delineation, voters education, registration of political parties and voters, nomination of candidate, balloting, counting and declaration of results. There are legal documents binding the conduct of election and are expected to be amended from time to time so as to accommodate emerging challenges. The effectiveness of election management could manifest in various dimensions. All the processes surrounding the conduct of election determine its effectiveness. When the management of election is insulated with credibility, the confidence of citizens and politicians in its outcome receives a boost and there is increased in electoral participation. Kurfi¹⁹ enumerates nine steps involved in election management process to ensure credibility, freeness and fairness. They include: the carving out of electoral districts; compilation of voters' register; establishment and equipment of polling stations and polling booths; recruitment, training and employment of electoral officials; procurement, distribution and retrieval of a host of electoral materials and equipment; canvassing for votes; registration of nominations and appointment of polling agents; casting the ballot; and counting of votes and declaration of election results.

Generally, reforms connote innovations introduced to improve an existing order. They are meant to correct noticed anomalies in the existing situation. Therefore, reforms here connote new electoral innovations expected to improve the conduct of elections in Nigeria. Thus, electoral reforms refer to acts and edits that are meant to improve the quality of the administration, conduct and management of electioneering processes prior to, during and after elections²⁰. Electoral reform is perceived by Leyenaan and Hazan²¹ as 'a change in the legislation that regulates the process of voting, which includes who can vote, what voters are allowed to do in the voting booth, who they vote for, and how these votes are afterwards translated into seats.' In the views of Yusuf and Zengeni²², electoral reforms focus solely on the electoral body and the laws governing its operation.

A Look at Existing Electoral Reforms in Nigeria

Various committees have been set-up in the previous republics to improve the electoral process. They include the Constitution Drafting Committee of 1975; the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into the Affairs of the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) in 1979–1983/1984; the Political Bureau of 1986; the Constitution Review Committee of 1987; and the Constitutional Conference of 1995²³. However, in the fourth republic, late President Musa Yar' Adua was so

¹⁹ Kurfi, Solomon. Incumbency Power and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 24 (1), January, 2005.

²⁰ Agbu, Oke. Unbridled Election, Rigging and the Use of Technology: The Smart Card Reader as the 'Joker' in Nigeria's 2015 Presidential Election. Nigeria: Abuja, Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 2016.

²¹ Leyenaan, Onyonou. and Hazan, Deayo. Causes of Instability in Nigeria, 1sted. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

²² Yusuf, Ayeni and Zengeni, Gabriel. The Police and Election Administration in Nigeria. Published by the Journal of Public Administration, Finance and Law, 14, 2018.

²³ Onapajo, Timothy. Monitoring Nigeria's Elections. The Carter Formula, USA: Buttosville, MD, 2015

concerned for a better electoral conduct in Nigeria. While reacting to the irregularities that characterized the 2007 general elections that produced him during his swearing-in ceremony on the 27 May 2007, he declared that he was going to carry out a radical reform in the nation electoral system.

Consequently, on 28 August 2008, late President Musa Yar' Adua set up a 22-member Electoral Reform Committee, headed by retired Honourable Justice Mohammed Lawal Uwais, former Chief Justice of Nigeria to examine the entire electoral process with a view to ensuring that the quality and standard of general elections in Nigeria are raised. The committee was also saddled with the responsibility of examining the roles of institutions, structures, agencies and stakeholders in the re-shaping of the electoral process. The committee commenced its assignment in January 2008 and invited memoranda from Nigerians and other stakeholders to assist the panel realize its objectives. As reported by Yusuf and Zengeni²⁴, the committee invited former Heads of the States that conducted elections during their tenure, all electoral commission Chairmen and Secretaries and other key actors in past elections. The committee constituted six sub-committees saddled with various responsibilities ahead of the necessary session of the general body. The committee held a public hearing in each of the six geo-political zones to get input of Nigerian's at the grassroots levels. The panel, also reached out to 50 (fifty) political parties for inputs into what went wrong with the last general elections.

In its findings, the committee revealed the causative factors responsible for electoral irregularities, disruptions, malpractices and violence in previous elections to include the desire for political power, the perception that politics is a dirty game among politicians, the existence of weak democratic institutions and processes, corruption, negative political culture, weak legal/institutional framework, and lack of independence and capacity of electoral management bodies. In implementing the reforms, INEC introduced a new biometric register of voters, a re-modified open ballot system, security features on sensitive electoral materials and the use of academics and members of the National Youth Service Corps as ad hoc staff as against the selection at random persons from the public.

In order to hasten the process of implementation the committee recommended that the constitutional amendments involved in the proposed electoral reforms should not be submerged in the larger effort to review the 1999 Constitution but be considered separately. In order to further ascertain commitment to the goal of revamping the electoral system, Professor Attahiru Jega, former president of the Academic Staff Union of Universities, a member of the electoral reform committee, and a political scientist was appointed to chair the country's electoral commission on 8 June 2010.

Improvement in Nigerian electoral system is traceable to the efforts of Professor Attahiru Jega. This is not to say that elections since 2011 have been entirely perfect but there are visible improvements. Recounting his experience at the beginning of the Journey, Jega said:

²⁴ Ibid. Pg. 46

...when I was appointed to chair INEC in July 2010, I joined an organisation that was perceived to be fraudulent and corrupt. It was also inefficient in executing its mandate. At the same time I was entering a moving vehicle, with no time to reflect effectively. I was able to bring in a team of experts from outside, paid for by the United Nations Development Programme. These were people I could trust and who were independent of INEC's bureaucracy. They helped to map a blueprint for institutional reform²⁵

According to African Research Institute²⁶, Jega began the process of purging the perceived dirty and corrupt commission. First and foremost, he made sure INEC addressed the issue of the voters' register which was the bedrock of electoral malpractice. He narrated thus:

One of the first issues that had to be addressed was the register of voters that lacked integrity. There was a lot of data missing for people who were registered and there was clear evidence of fictitious names. We had names of trees, rivers, and international figures like Mike Tyson and Queen Elizabeth II! There was a debate between those who thought the register could be cleaned up and those who thought it should be jettisoned and replaced. Internal discussions with key personnel in the technical departments revealed the scale of the problem: a complete overhaul was needed, but the general election was scheduled for January 2011, just seven months away²⁷.

Several notable accomplishments of the Jega's administration were the introduction of the Permanent Voters' Card (PVC), the Smart Card Readers (SCRs) and the biometric voters' register. Also, it was under his administration that NYSC corps members and academic professionals were incorporated as ad hoc staff during period of election. According to Jega;

Nigeria requires close to 750,000 temporary workers to support the conduct of general elections. Before my time at INEC, civil servants from the respective states were called on. It had become clear that state governments had a strong influence over these

²⁵ African Research Institute. Election Management and Democracy in Nigeria. Nigeria: Abuja, 2017. <https://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/ARI-Conversations-Series-Jega-OCT17-DOWNLOAD.pdf>

²⁶ Ibid. Pg. 60

²⁷ Ibid. Pg. 72

individuals and this was compromising the integrity of the electoral process. The 2011 voter registration was the first time NYSC members were used. Ahead of the election in April 2011 the relationship between INEC and NYSC was formalized by the signing a memorandum of understanding. This included a commitment to paying particular attention to the welfare and security of corps members. Around half of INEC's temporary staff came from NYSC in 2011 and 2015. They were complemented by students in the final year of tertiary education, and professors, vice-chancellors and other university staff. I chose to call on academic staff because of public perceptions about their impartiality and my own personal connections with academic union²⁸.

With the appointment of Professor Mahmood Yakubu as INEC chairman on the 21st October 2015 as successor to Amina Zakari, who had served as the acting chairperson of the commission, some other reform initiatives on the use of telephones and other electronics materials capable of taking pictures were outlawed. This was in response to allegation of sales of votes during the staggered gubernatorial elections in states like Edo, Kogi, Bayelsa, Anambra, Ondo, Ekiti, Osun and so on²⁹. Therefore, ahead of the 2019 general elections, the Commission guideline was that no voter should be in possession of any electronic device capable of capturing the ballot paper, with a view to showing it to any political party or its agent so as to collect monetary or material thing in return. This decision is in line with section 20 (a) of the regulations and guidelines for the conduct of elections in Nigeria. The above is in addition to changes made to enhance the secrecy of votes through polling unit management. Another action of the Mahmood led INEC was the introduction of simultaneous accreditation and voting system. This made voters to come to the polling units, get accredited and vote immediately. The new reforms prevented large number of voters from not voting because of the claim of been held down unduly.

Areas Incumbent Governors influence the Electoral Process

Incumbent governors have been found to be guilty of illegal use of public funds to bribe electoral officers and voters in order realize their second term ambition. According to Ondotimi³⁰, money helps to win elections in politics. In view of the belief, incumbent state governors are fond of committing vast state resources to realize their ambitions. From primary elections to general elections, incumbent governors commit huge state resources to buy

²⁸ Ibid. pg. 87

²⁹ Momah, Paul O. Electoral Commissions and the Conduct of Elections in Nigeria: The Role of INEC. In Osita, A. (ed.) Elections and Governance in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. United Kingdom: CODESRIA Publishers, 2016.

³⁰ Ondotimi, Samson. Electoral Reform in Nigeria: Prospects and Challenges. Essay submitted to the National Orientation Agency, 2008.

delegates/voters to their sides. According to Mahmoud³¹, incumbent governors have been reported to have used their power to manipulate primary elections in their favour. With huge state power and resources, party executive and leaders are manipulated by the incumbent governors to work for them as well³².

Also, to realize their second term ambition, serving governors engage the use of thugs, who intimidate, maim, and kill opponents or perceived opponents. Although, senator Kola Balogun won the Oyo South senatorial seat against the then incumbent governor of Oyo state, senator Isiaka Abiola Ajimobi, in the 23rd February, 2019 elections, the victory was marred with violence ostensibly orchestrated by the then incumbent governor³³. The victory of the then incumbent governor of Imo State, Senator Rochas Okorochoa into the Senate was in controversy. It was alleged that the Senator rigged his way and that his declaration as the winner was under duress. The allegation of massive electoral malpractice was initially upheld by Independent Electoral Commission and delayed his issuance of certificate of return by the electoral management body and his swearing in.

Severally, serving governors hijack political party to realize their selfish ambition for second term. At every opportunity, incumbent governors seek to subvert the electoral process to further their personal interests. Most governors, towards the tail end of their first term often exhibit undemocratic dictatorial tendencies in their intra party affairs. The failure of most political parties to ensure intra-party democracy and live by the provisions of their constitution is caused, more than any other factor, by undue influence of serving state governors. It is very rare to see a serving governor that would not be interested in second term. As a result, serving governors wish to be automatically returned and therefore influence processes of primary election to favour them. Such desperate mindset often results in intra-party crisis, split in political camp and post-election litigations.

In addition, state governors are empowered by Section 198 of the 1999 constitution to appoint members of the State Independent Electoral Commission (SIEC) subject to confirmation by Houses of Assembly. Given the civil nature of political culture in Nigeria, the process of constituting SIEC is not insulated against impartiality. On several occasions, members of the electoral body tend to see themselves as appointees of the governor, who must deliver the electoral fortunes to his party.

³¹ Mahmoud, Yakubu. Current Challenges of Nigeria's Electoral System, Abuja: Eraga Concept Publishers, 2018.

³² Nkolika, Omosole and Emesibe, Victor. Independent National Electoral Commission and the Administration of 2015 Elections in Nigeria: The Strengths, the Weaknesses and the Challenges. A Paper Presented at the Conference on the 2015 General Election in Nigeria: The Real Issues, Organized by the Electoral Institute, Independent National Electoral Commission. Nigeria: Abuja, 12th June, 2015.

³³ Egwu, Sam. It's everywhere: Vote-buying gets more brazen in Nigeria ahead of 2019". Nigeria: African Insider Newsletter. <https://africanarguments.org/2018/09/04/everywhere-vote-buying-more-brazen-nigeria-on-2019>

As noted by Kerevei³⁴, experiences since 2003 have shown the sitting governor to have manipulated the electoral management body to boost the electoral strength of the governor's party at local government levels. Besides, Section 221 of the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria provided for political parties as only associations that can field candidates for elections. Therefore, independent candidacy is not allowed under the current electoral arrangement. The incumbents often occupy the political space by this limitation. Just shortly after the 2019 general elections, the Independent National Electoral Commission deregistered some political parties as a result of their poor spread and political strength. This can further strengthened the incumbents to disallow any new contender.

Implications of State Governors' Influence

Street clashes that have characterized elections in Nigeria are connected with retention of incumbent seats. With state in turmoil, lives are wasted and the country's stability jeopardized. Too much influence of the incumbent governor makes elections to be incredible and unfair. Thus, elections that incumbent governor is interested in turn out to be chaotic. Incumbent governor create crisis, if his anointed candidate or his party is defeated with a very narrow margin. According to Oguntoye³⁵, the idea of inconclusive election during the 2018 gubernatorial election in Osun state indirectly was a reflection of the desperation of incumbent governor to retain his party of the state control after his tenure. Also, it was reported that the Osun state former Governor, Ogbeni Rauf Aregbesola deployed the state apparatus to give more voting chance to the APC during the bye-election³⁶. It was alleged that those that were allowed entry into the seven polling centers, where the by-election was held either came in with "a specified hand band or handkerchief tied to their heads", which were ostensibly given out by the ruling All Progressive Congress³⁷. It was alleged that political thugs chased away any voter who came in to any of the seven polling centers for the bye election against the 'dress code', in the full glare of the state security agents ostensibly on the instruction of the then governor. On the long run, the APC won the bye- election which was the deciding vote. In Rivers state, during the 2015 gubernatorial election, the state recorded significant fatalities related to retention of incumbent seat. According to the report of the Commission of Inquiry instituted by Governor Rotimi Amaechi, there was an average of 19 killings per month between November 2014 and April 2015, the six-month period before the election³⁸.

³⁴ Kerevei, Ido. Electoral Reform in Nigeria: The Challenges Ahead. Published by Journal of Arts and Humanities, 3 (1), 2009.

³⁵ Oguntoye, Titus I. Kogi/Bayelsa: Early Warning Signals of Voter Inducement, 2019. <https://www.thisdaylive.com/index.php/2019/10/27/kogi-bayelsa-early-warning-signals-of-voter-inducement/>

³⁶ The Guardian. Rivers Government Bicker over Militia Training Camp written by Ojebiyi, Olusola, 2018.

³⁷ Ibid. Pg. 5

³⁸ International Centre for Investigative Reporting. With 46 Casualties, Akwalbom Most Violent State in Niger Delta. 32nd ed. 2018.

Too much desperation of the incumbent governor to win election for himself strains the state security. A serving governor might be reckless in spending the security votes against what it is originally meant for. Reckless use of security is possible since security votes of a governor are funds meant for discretionary spending on public safety measures at the state and local government. Since nobody audits the expenditures of security votes, most incumbent governors embezzle the money by diverting it to fund second term election. When this is done, security in the state suffers. In most cases as well, some state governors put up, fund and control security organizations of their own to foment trouble, realize second term ambition or continuity of political party in the state. For instance, Sorkaa³⁹ reported that the “state boys” were allegedly put in place by Ogbeni Rauf Aregbesola in Osun state to support his second term. Also, Nyesom Wike of Rivers state also inaugurated “Rivers State Neighbourhood Safety Corps Agency” in March 2018, which federal government described as illegal security outfit and clamped down upon. It was alleged that Wike used the security outfit in mention to realize his second term ambition⁴⁰. The Independent National Electoral Commission had to suspend Rivers state gubernatorial bye-election in the state capital, Port-Harcourt, indefinitely following widespread disruption by thugs⁴¹.

In addition, incumbent governor induces security forces in his favour. It also breeds impunity because troublemakers sponsored by incumbent governors are rarely punished. Incumbent governors sometimes feel threatened by the acceptance of their rivals⁴². This accounts for why serving governors deploy security forces or thugs against their rivals. During voting, the governor’s thugs invade polling centers to either snatch voting materials or intimidate voters. Desperation of incumbent governors to win election makes them to sabotage and disrupt security arrangements in opponent’s strongholds⁴³. The election of the second republic under former president Shehu Shagari was reported to be massively rigged in favour of the rulling National Party of Nigeria (NPN). In response to the results, there was mayhem in Oyo and Ondo states of the south west. The protest and violence were against manipulation of governorship polls in the two states in favour of the candidates of NPN, which controlled the centre. In the end, several lives were lost and the headquarters of Federal Electoral Commission was touched in the two states.

Some disturbing cases associated with 2019 gubernatorial elections across some states in Nigeria are briefly noted here. In Akwa Ibo, the 2011 gubernatorial

³⁹ Sorkaa, Andrew. *Development as Ethics and Accountability in Governance: the Way Forward for Nigeria*, Washington: Center for Democracy and Governance Technical Publication Series, 2014.

⁴⁰ Egwu, Sam. It’s everywhere: Vote-buying gets more brazen in Nigeria ahead of 2019”. Nigeria: African Insider Newsletter. <https://africanarguments.org/2018/09/04/everywhere-vote-buying-more-brazen-nigeria-on-2019>

⁴¹ *This Day*. Wike Gives Assent to Rivers State Neighbourhood Watch Safety Corps Law, written by Diamond, Taylor, 2018.

⁴² Stephen, Alani K. *My generation has failed*. Nigeria: Lagos. 2015. Also available at www.vanguardng.com

⁴³ Onapajo, Timothy. *Monitoring Nigeria’s Elections. The Carter Formula*, USA: Buttosville, MD, 2015.

election witnessed severe violence between main political rivals that left several people dead and many injured, the president's campaign office destroyed, and about 500 private and official vehicles burned⁴⁴. It was noted that the violence was aggravated by the split between PDP Governor, Udom Emmanuel and his predecessor, Godswill Akpabio, as well as the struggle for control of the state House of Assembly. Emmanuel, a key figure in Akpabio's state cabinet, was his anointed heir in 2015 and on 8 August 2018, Akpabio defected to the APC, switching his support to Nsima Ekere, who later emerged as the APC's gubernatorial candidate.

Nsima Udo Ekere was Akpabio's deputy governor for seventeen months from May 2011 to October 2012, but hurriedly resigned to avoid impeachment planned by the state's House of Assembly, after he fell out of favour with his principal because of political ambition. In Kaduna state, the governorship seat was largely contested in the 2019 general election by the incumbent APC governor, Nasir Ahmad El-Rufai, and the PDP candidate, Isa Ashiru. El-Rufai's feud with the state's three senators in the National Assembly was not unconnected with the governor's second term ambition which made two of them, Suleiman Hunkuyi and Shehu Sani to defect to People's Democratic Party (PDP) and the People's Redemption Party (PRP). According to Omeleke,⁴⁵ Hunkuyi had earlier accused El-Rufai of ordering the demolition of a building belonging to his APC faction so as to weaken him politically.

In the run off to the 2019 gubernatorial elections, Kano state was under an APC government but Governor Abdullahi Umar Ganduje won his second term seat amidst controversies. Former Governor Ibrahim Shekarau from the state had returned to the APC from the PDP on 25th November, 2018. The feud escalated between the previous APC governor, now a PDP senator, Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso, and his former deputy and successor, who is now the current governor and sought a second term on the APC ticket. While in office from 1999 to 2003 and 2011 to 2015, Kwankwaso and his deputy then, Ganduje (who is now the governor) worked harmoniously together. After Ganduje took over, their relationship deteriorated over control of the state apparatus⁴⁶. It was alleged that Kwankwaso wanted to retain some authority while Ganduje brooked no interference. The squabble resulted in several clashes between their supporters, Kwankwasiyya and the Gandujiyya. As a result, Kwankwaso stayed in Abuja and could not hold meetings, rallies or other public events in the state. Yet, he backed a PDP candidate, Abba Kabiru Yusuf, for governor but was weakened when some Kwankwasiyya members switched to the APC on 25th November, 2018. His campaign was hurriedly called off in January 2018 when police said they could not guarantee order after one of Ganduje's men, Commissioner for Special Duties, Abdullahi Sunusi, was seen on video urging Gandujiyya to "stone" Kwankwaso if they ever saw him in Kano⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ INEC Report. Report of the Registration and Election Committee (RERC). Nigeria: Abuja INEC Secretariat Press, 2012.

⁴⁵ Omeleke, Moses. An Assessment of Determinants of Electoral Integrity: A case of Independent National Electoral Commission in Nigeria. Published in International Journal of Contemporary Research and Review, 9(8), 2018.

⁴⁶ The News. Count down to 2019 Elections written by Akande, Biola Stephen. 2015

⁴⁷ Egwu, Sam. It's everywhere: Vote-buying gets more brazen in Nigeria ahead of 2019". Nigeria: African Insider Newsletter.

The 2019 gubernatorial elections in Plateau state witnessed severe deterioration of security in some parts of the state. The state witnessed a dangerous gubernatorial contest mainly between the APC incumbent Governors, Simon Lalong, against a PDP senator, Jeremiah Useni. On 12th November 2018, the Committee on Resettlement of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), set up by the state government five months earlier, reported that the attacks have resulted in the killing of over 1,800 people and displaced more than 50,000 in Jos North, Jos South, Bassa, Riyom, BarkinLadi and Bokokos local government areas⁴⁸. Lalong's refusal to introduce laws that banned herders from grazing on farmland was a way to achieve his second term ambition. Jos North local government area, which recorded incidents of electoral violence in 2002, 2008 and 2011, also witnessed violence in 2019.

The indigenes alleged that many young men from Tilden Fulani, a neighbouring city in Bauchi state, came to register for the elections in Jos North, in order to secure victory for the incumbent governor that resulted in clashes and bloodshed. Some other casualties associated with gubernatorial elections are cited hereunder:

Table 1: Killings Associated with Second Term Crises

S/N	Date	State	Victims and Circumstances
1	17th October, 2018	Lagos	2 thugs killed in Obanikoro
2	26th October, 2018	Ekiti	Gunmen shot a PDP Mmember of the Ekiti House of Assembly, Hon. Michael Adedeji who died on 29th October, 2018
3	27th October, 2018	Enugu	Gunmen /higher assassins stormed APC Chairman House in Enugu state, Ben Nwoye and shot his police orderly
4	14th November, 2018	Rivers	About 25 attacked a rally organized by PDP leaders in Ipo Community in Ikwe Local Government with the LG Chairman, Samuel Nwanosike narrowly escaped death
5	1st December, 2018	Jigawa	Some APC leaders were almost lynched by thugs during a meeting in Hasawa Village of Gwaram Local Government Authority

<https://africanarguments.org/2018/09/04/everywhere-vote-buying-more-brazen-nigeria-on-2019>

⁴⁸ *This Day*. Wike Gives Assent to Rivers State Neighbourhood Watch Safety Corps Law, written by Diamond, Taylor, 2018.

Source: compiled by the author from secondary sources

The Required Reforms

In addition to the existing reforms, there should be Transition Committee to take charge of state affairs ahead of elections. Since it is evident that state governors use their powers of incumbency in favour of their emergence for the second term, the author is of the view that provision should be made for the place of Transition Committee in states ahead of elections. The electoral reform should empower the electoral management body (INEC) to institute the Transition Committee that will be made up of INEC official, security agents, civil society groups, academics, and representatives of political parties. All appointed members should be free from partisan political record. The committee is to be in charge of transition and governance ahead of election. This will reduce the power of the incumbent governor in election related matters. The members of the Transition Committee should be people that have been tested overtime.

As an extension of the above, the new reform should fix the tenure of office of governors to end before another election in states. A waiting period of not more than three months should be provided for in the new reforms (which should be supported by an act of the National Assembly) within which another election would be conducted and finalized. Within these three months, the Transition Committee would be in charge of governance. The waiting period will also be a period within which all post-election litigations must be put to rest. This waiting period will afford the state to be free of undue influence from incumbent governor.

In addition, the new reform should outlaw the use of state resources for electoral campaign. In other words, the new reform should make it a punishable offence to use state resources for election matters other than by the INEC. For any reason, state resources such as money, cars, and other facilities should be proscribed from being used for election matters. A jail term of not less than seven (7) years should be suggested for anybody in the Transition Committee found guilty of this offence. Political parties should be made to pay commensurate levy for the use of state facilities such as stadium for campaigns or rallies. By this, reckless use of state resources would be put on check.

Enabling law should be made that will foreclose second term, and make the term of governors to be single (five years alone). If the state governors are disallowed from contesting for the second term, it is much likely to reduce the desperation of winning at all cost. Indirectly too, prevention from being able to contest for the second term will reduce the use of violence and arms in the conduct of elections. The kind of support a serving governor will give to anybody other than himself will be minimal if the governor is not himself contesting.

There is need to reform the current paper-based election. To reduce human influence, including from incumbent governors; electronic voting system should be adopted. Although, challenges of cost, illiteracy and low level of Information Communication Technology will still abound, yet, the challenge will gradually fade away as time passes by. It will be naïve to think that the reforms initiated

in this study will not be dotted with challenges. However, the initiatives here are capable of ensuring credible electoral outcomes and gains made capable of maximally benefitting the generality of the public rather than just few individuals.

Conclusion

The reforms offered in this study are to reduce the enormous influence of serving governors as 'state's chief security officer and party leader' whose desperate ambition for second term or retention of political power for their parties have done enormous harm to Nigeria's polity. A lot of violence, clashes, breakdown of law and order, lawlessness traceable to governors' have been cited in this study as evidence of the desperation of state governors to truncate electoral processes. It is needful that electoral reforms be carried out from time-to-time so as to rectify loopholes in the electoral system. If serving governors that are entrusted with enormous powers at the state level are guarded with enabling electoral reforms as canvassed here, the future of Nigeria's electoral conducts stands to be better. The impact of electoral reform cannot be overemphasized as revealed by the post-2010 elections, which culminated significant successes witnessed in the 2011, 2015 and 2019 elections in Nigeria.

Children theatre as a driver to reawakening African morals and consciousness in the next generation.

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Abstract

The great debate about the way forward in the reawakening of African Morals and Consciousness in the new millennium has brought about the strong need for the indoctrination of Children. Children Theatre can be used by inculcating it in the educational curriculum. Children Theatre in African culture has done a great service to moral education since Theatre has been a safe way to expose kids to difficult situations and give them direct information. This is because education is founded on human nature and any education that is devoid of morality is incomplete and useless. In recent times, children Theatre has evolved as tools for moral education through emulation, repeat after me approach, stories with fictitious characters, proverbs, caution, prohibition, customs, practices, and religious beliefs of parents, among others. In order to interrogate these the qualitative research methodology was adopted using the primary and secondary materials. The findings of this study maintain that African parents employ the use of folktales, storytelling, and other forms of traditional methods to impact cultural knowledge into their children and wards. It is therefore a sin qua nun for children Theatre to be introduced in faculties of Arts to inform academics and society of the importance of moral reawakening to curb most of the ills of modern society from childhood

Key words: Children Theatre, African Culture, Morals Ethics, Modernization

Introduction

Africa as a continent is blessed with diverse, rich, humorous, and instructive culture, morals and values that has endowed the world towards her. These are visible and evident in their cultural practices, belief system and their way of life which made the Africans peculiar, distinct, and different from the Western world. This does not presume that the continent has the same culture, but they shared common and similar traits in cultural traditions and ideologies that are obvious in their cuisines, festivals, dressing, events, some practices cut across some countries within the Continent. Thus, these unique cultural values created a niche for the people and the continent and made them a sort after from the primordial era. So, when the African culture is compared with other cultures, there is a wide margin of differences in cultural shows and display. The erosion of these positive traditional and cultural system by civilization and modernization is the bone of contention in this work and how to resuscitate the eroded morals for the holistic development of the society and the next generation. Values are interrelated to ethics and they can be materials,

profound, strict, ethics, style, communal or individualistic, People esteems are generally founded on customary strict and good rules that they stick to. Thus, values can be affected by what we see and hear. So, from the general level, aside from religion methods of reasoning and societies likewise have values. These qualities are dynamic and frequently change to meet the always developing nature of the public.¹

African Morals and Ethics in Families

The philosophical framework is based on the philosophy of morality as propounded by Churchill in 1982.² He sees morality as human behaviour and the practical activities of man. The ethical nature of the society is deep-rooted in the ideas, understandings and the general notion and pattern of what the society accept as good / bad, right/wrong behavioural patterns. The determinant factor is an unanimously approved standard of that society. Consequently, members consciously and intuitively obeyed and adhered to these mostly unwritten codes of the society. These regulate the physical and psychological behaviours that were openly applauded and commended within the society. Thus, it governs the psychodynamics processes of early childhood behavioural development abilities. Hence it breeds the essence of mutual respect, create collective coherence, and encouraging being, just, and fair to one another within the society. The African communities are made up of ethical systems that are functional, organised in nature and coordinate human characters within the communities such are moral values, ethical principles and practices, rules, and methods that regulator social and moral behavioural patterns.

From the primordial African view point all ideas and beliefs exhibited within the African societies are unwritten ethical laws that mold people's behaviours within the society. In the past, wider recognition and acceptance were not given to African morals and ethics. In the last three decades contemporary African thinkers gave sustainable focus and attention to African moral issues which has brought the African morals issues into the global world flood light. Ethics in Africa is personality-based thus it revolves around an individual's character, the quality of an individual character is very vital to the overall moral life of the society. Peculiarities in character is the major trait of the African moral system. Thus, difference in behavioural pattern revealed how the society has helped to mold the morals of the people within the family circle, villages, and the societies at large.

This is achieved through the creation of moral awareness among members, giving oral/moral knowledge and prominence to positive moral values and principles to show acceptance thereby encouraging emulation of positive behaviours. In a specific term, the African employs the medium of storytelling, proverbs, tales by moonlight, folktales, to pass across moral instructions to the younger generation. Hence such moral education instills moral fright on the

¹Igboin, Benson O. "Colonialism and African cultural values." *African Journal of History and Culture* 3, no. 6 (2011): 96-103.ss

²Churchill, Larry R. "The teaching of ethics and moral values in teaching: Some contemporary confusions." *The journal of higher education* 53, no. 3 (1982): 296-306.

society and compel the people to live within the ambit of the unwritten laws as guided by their consciences. Since the family is the first point of contact in a child life, it is at this point that the moral rules and principles are being meted out to children. Man as a social Animal showcases social statues through culture. Thus, culture is the entirety of what a people is made up off. This implies that the belief system, social organisation/ stratum, norms, taboos, history, religious practices, language, dressing codes, foods, dance methods, greetings habits and philosophy are embedded in the cultural formation/structure of the people. Africans as a continent have various cultural practices that have some similar belief structures and values that make them unique. Some of this culture has distinctive features that ran across the continent of Africa which has brought universal cultural acceptance despite some slight variations in the culture and tradition according to countries. The element of uniqueness in culture and tradition in the African society is the first tool employed in the family cycle in educating children and inculcating morals into them early in life. Whenever this is missed/compromised in the early formation of child upbringing, values and morals become abjured because African culture and tradition lay much emphasis on family proper upbringing.

Parenting necessitates using interpersonal relationship to develop cultural emotion. According to most parents who learnt parenting practices from their own parents – some they accept and some they discard.³ The parenting methods are passed on from one generation to the next, both desirable and undesirable practices are perpetuated. These practices mostly have cultural values which were passed from one parent to another. In the African system of parenting, different forms of upbringing styles are employed to mould a child to become a responsible adult. Parents logically insist on a child's acceptance of family values and ethics that can practically and positively influence behavioural pattern from childhood. These are achieved using different parenting styles such as strict parental practices, which is an upbringing method where children and wards are compelled to follow rules and regulations as specified by parents and the society. Any act of violations attracts severe punishment and stern warnings.

In like manner, some educated parents employ the permissive parental style in inculcating cultural morals and traditional principles in their children and wards. This gives a lot of freedom more than the strict parenting style because it allows less discipline, compel parents to fulfill their children's needs and demands and allows opportunity for loose communication gaps which results into slack bonding between parents and children. Despite these challenges, parents still find the opportunity to insist that their wards/children imbibe the family norms. To achieve this, parents engage methods that are suitable to them depending on their professions and availabilities; educational attainment; economic status; family background; religious belief; tribal affiliation; that can affect cultural orientation and parents' choice of style adopted. For proper mentoring and impartation of African values and traditional ethical practices into children/wards, African parents also employ some simple traits as vehicle of expression and communication. Hence, the use of nonverbal communication skill to interact with children right from childhood within the family circle has

³Santrock, John W. *Human adjustment*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006

helped to achieve privacy within the family circle. Furthermore, to make sure that children are well guided, the extended family members such as uncles, aunties, grandparents, cousins, close family friends and community lend their voices to correct, direct, give correctional advice and training from childhood to adulthood.

Reawakening the Consciousness of self-esteem of the African Child

Human advancement is diverse and can be described from physical, psychological, social, and enthusiastic perspectives. This improvement is unequivocally formed by one's social setting. It is difficult to isolate one's way of life while clarifying their improvement completely. These central points of interest incorporate language advancement; self-confidence; self-idea and character improvement. Language is a useful asset of correspondence that comprises of words utilised by a local area. It empowers us to pass down data starting with one age then unto the next thus making a rich social legacy. Hence, this paper reviews such issues as dialects that are utilised in African schools and what they mean for the advancement of an African youngsters. Additionally, confidence, self-idea and personality improvement are unequivocally installed in one's social setting. A sound confidence and positive self-idea sway a solid personality advancement. It is in this way that a child ought to be prepped from establishment.

Personalities has to do with the attributes, qualities, social relations, jobs, and gathering of people participations that characterize what one's identity is. Characters can be centred around the past; what used to be valid for one, the present and what is valid for one now or the future. The individual one expects or wishes to turn into, the individual one feels committed to or attempt to become, or the individual one's apprehensions may turn into. Thus, the need to reawaken the awareness of our children to the excellence of the African culture cannot be over emphasized.

Modernisation and its effect on Children's Morals.

Modernisation can be portrayed as "the cycle by which a juvenile territory changes due to wellsprings of data (conviction frameworks, direct codes, products and institutional models) from viably settled mechanical centres.⁴ It is as such a pattern of progress and improvement through which the standard ascribes, be it social, monetary, exacting, political and social conditions are being advanced precisely and logically to satisfy overall rules with the introduction of current methods and materials. Modernisation can similarly be viewed as the connection by which a neighbourhood from having a regular, agrarian, natural culture to having a more standard, urbanised society, through this cycle, they change regarding characteristics and conviction, people, geography, and reasoning. For the present circumstance, modernisation

⁴Hall, Douglas T., and Benjamin Schneider. "Correlates of organizational identification as a function of career pattern and organizational type." In *Academy of Management Proceedings*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 159-161. Briarcliff Manor, NY 10510: Academy of Management, 1972.

speculation regards the 'customary' methodology as obsolete, hindering to headway and has a spot with the third world, while the forefront way of life is contemporary and has a spot with the western world. Modernisation in this manner serve as a pattern that draws a profound opening between the standard social orders and current societies, where it is acknowledged that the past is fair contrasted with the last referenced. This orders the standard social orders as wards of the western world when the developmental standard is concerned, yet if not, such friendly orders would be obligated for their own state of destitution and underdevelopment.

Modernisation seems to have helped in the progression of social resources and assurance of inheritance. As shown by critical observers during the involved work, it makes people appreciate and keep up friendly practices more, most especially in this "PC age". The positive credits and impacts of modernisation on friendly and typical resources fill in as current methodologies for managing these resources and inheritances in various organisations. Various vital social constructions are as of now stunningly modified and directed using present day equipment. Social mindfulness and socially different experiences are as of now being shared considering children utilisation of current advancement. Modernisation appears to have helped in the advancement of social assets and safeguarding of legacy. As per significant sources during the hands-on work, it causes individuals to appreciate and keep up social practices more, most particularly in this "PC age". The positive credits and effects of modernisation on social and normal assets fill in as current strategies for dealing with these assets and legacies in different networks. Numerous noteworthy social structures are currently elegantly rebuilt and overseen utilising present-day hardware. Social awareness and multifaceted encounters are currently being shared because of youngster's utilisation of present-day innovation.

The drifting away from Africanism

Africanism is a symbolic feature of Africa which depict African and what Africans stood for. These are cultural features, materials and non-materials items of African origin and property that has gone through the medium of cultural transference and diverse transformations but still retained the African. Features. The western culture has greatly influenced the African traditional values and encouraged a drastic deviation from the acceptance of African cultural value system to imbibing the western culture hook line and sinker. This has given birth to acculturation and decrease in the reception of the African value system among the youth. The African traditional values and virtues that depict the Africans that was held in high esteem before now has been relegated to the background. The younger generation has accepted and applied the western way of life as part and parcel of the accepted norms in the society. The beautiful African culture that has encouraged cultural awareness, unity, collectivism, brotherliness, communism, has been rebuffed and downplayed for the western culture which is seen as been more modernised and superior. ⁵ culture is the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts and society while agreed that culture is the complex whole of a man possession which cut across knowledge, morals, beliefs, arts, customs, technology and other things

⁵Akama, E. S. "Introduction to religious cultural studies." *Port Harcourt* (2012).

that can be shared or passed from generation to generation.⁶ Going by this definition what makes African unique, different and special is her culture, traditional practices which is the way of life of the people which is synonymous to the people and an expression of their way of living. A deviation from this established African values, cultures and patterns represents a gradual eradication of African forms of identification because the culture distinguishes the people and shows their peculiarity in the mist of other cultures. Thus, this has had adverse effect on all African cultural elements such as African foods, crafts, artifacts, cultural values, virtues. Morals, languages, and ideals in a negative way. As exquisite as the African cultural elements are the drifting has submerged the sacredness and value placed on the African cultures thus the holistic acceptance of the western practices at the expense of the African values has eroded the African way of life.

Traditional and cultural values are the essential part of cultural system and culture is what describes a people's distinctiveness, and the values esteem as a people that differentiate them from other people. Cultures always try to preserve these values that are required for the survival of the people and once this is relegated or neglected the identity is affected.

Children theatre as a driving force for the reawakening of moral consciousness

Childhood is the years between 0 – 14 which is between the middle childhood and early adolescence. It is an era of development and social change in the life of youths. Many schools of thought see childhood differently. In Nigeria from 0 – 17 you cannot vote / be voted for but from 18 years you can vote and be voted for, "The United convention on the Right of the Child" sees a child as a being less than the age of 18 years. Children, adolescent, and minors are legally, culturally, and socially responsible to their parents and government to meet their needs. Children do not live-in isolation, they grow and develop within an environment practicing a moral tradition. By these they grow up to hold some basic moral and civic values and display obvious virtues within the society. Morals revolves around human behaviour and the practical activities of human behaviour. Children learn more from what they see than what they hear, because of the magnetic heart, aesthetic intrigued that appealed to them.

This is the age they are open to take instructions, explore their environment ask question before growing to form an opinion that will either be positive/negative. Children are attracted to items that are attractive and items that can be used to play. In most Africa homes this is the period to teach morals, inculcate cultural beliefs system, traditions and gives instructions that will mould the child for a better adulthood. One of the ways in inculcating morals in the African society is to teach by telling stories to children. Children theatre is the most appropriate place to achieve this because they perform the plays act the characters thereby learning and reawakening their consciousness about what Africa stands for.

Theatrical productions reinforce children thinking capabilities and enables children to be involve in critical thinking change bad perceptions and imbibe

⁶Otite, A., and P. Ogonwo. "Problems of culture in Africa." *Ibadan: Opex* (2016)

good ideas. Watching performance as a child helps to develop aesthetic and artistic feelings. In theatrical productions realities are converted to create new world, and ideas, children's feelings such as laughter, fear, pity, sadness, happiness, joy are stimulated to correct their emotions thereby help in the development of the rightful values that will build them up in the society. Furthermore, many performances for young people are targeted at triggering the youth interest in creative and cultural, phenomenon. The production of cultural and traditional plays of moral values with children as the regular audience will advance youth knowledge about Africa morals, values, etiquette, and help built the consciousness of African heritage in the conscious and subconscious of next generation which are the youth of today and leaders of tomorrow. Thus, encouraging the youth to form the habit of being a regular theatre goer can be a driver to reawakening for the African child. Even though theatre for children can be traced to 1903 in the United State of America and landmark achievement has been recorded. In Nigeria children's theatre has not flourished as a commercial theatre except in religious contexts where it is used for religious purpose.

Methodology Data collections and analyses were based on the qualitative research method. Primary and secondary materials were made used of five families of different backgrounds from Nigeria and Ghana were visually interviewed. In addition to this, resources were sourced on the Internet, involving cases of children morals in relation to family upbringing. Other approaches include newspapers and magazines as well as books published on African morals. In the cause of completing the studies there where direct interview used as well as information gained from the electronic media. In the cause of the primary data collection questionnaires were sent to families both in Nigeria and Ghana, responses from the questionnaires formed the bases of the visual meetings and discussions.

Interviews: Unstructured questionnaire was conducted among five families in Nigeria and Ghana- two families each from Lagos State, Delta State, Anambra State, Kano State and Adamawa State. Likewise, two families each from Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Tamale, Takoradi and Cape coast. Due to the restriction caused by the Covid 19 pandemic outbreak, the interview was carried out through Zoom. Ten copies of questionnaires were sent through the email address which were answered and sent back.

Results: It was discovered that parents in Africa employed the use of folktales, storytelling, and other traditional forms to inculcate morals into their children. For instance Ghana's Concert Party Theatre Troupe, a repertoire established majorly for children based using comedies and social satires was successful till the 21st Century. Through this repertoire Efua T. Southerland established 1997 the 'Mmofra' foundation which means children foundation as a non-profit organisation in Ghana. The organisation has a goal to improve the cultural and intellectual lives of Ghana youth by producing creative works that educate, improves, inculcate moral, values and impact the younger generations positively. Through this foundation Efua T Southerland stood as the first children cultural educator in Ghana; with this she played a prominent role in the development of children educational curricula, wrote several literatures, encourage traditional theatre and film productions for Ghanaian children. She championed the formal confirmation of the United Nations convention of the

Child Right and became the first president of the National Commission on children from 1981-1991. She was the brain behind the PANAFEST- Pan Africa Festival of Theatre arts held in 1992. She established the Children Drama Development Project which was aimed at sourcing materials, this she achieved by employed the storytelling and drama performance to project the indigenous Ghanaian cultures and traditions.

It was gathered that in Ghana, the Efua Southerland founded repertoire known as Mmofra (children) foundation is still in existence even after 25years of the founder's death. Her aim of using the creative art to inculcate traditional morals, values and reposition the children's mind-set to accepting Ghanaian cultural practices are still vigorously pursued. These they have achieved through the years by exposing thousands of children to creative cultural programmes which employed the dramatic arts to passed traditional morals to the next generation.⁷

The research also discovered that there are no theatre companies which produce only children's productions in Nigeria. But there are religious based children theatre groups which produce sectional dramas based on religious morals belief system for their audience on special occasions. Children regular attendance of theatre/ being a member of a theatre group instills in children some level of self- belief attitude; increase their receptive nature; broadens their imaginative capacities; expose children to different collaborative methods; build mental alertness; increase their vocabulary; and develop their maximum concentration ability. These are qualities that children develop as they watch performance regularly thus it helps to bring to their re-embrace plays of moral, values and virtues they have watched in drama productions which helps to guide their behavioural pattern in the society.

Conclusion and recommendations

Conclusion

In conclusion, theatre as an art form with a unique characteristic of bringing issues to life as a realistic picture in the mind of the audience helps the audience to interact with the story line, react and take a decision. In theatrical production, actors relate with one another and by extension relate with audience thereby pass across their messages which mostly have influence on the audience. Seeing that children could learn and imbibe new ideas faster; they enjoy working in groups and learning new things and are physically active made the theatre a good recreational facility not only to play but also to learn. Thus, a regularly produced children drama with cultural values and virtues will be inbuilt in children value awareness. A child that is a regular theatre goer will most likely adopt some slangs, act, and way of life from some of the productions the child has been watching. Therefore, theatre has the capabilities to create awareness, instill in children, cultural, traditional values system through performances.

⁷Adams, Anne V., and Esi Sutherland-Addy, eds. *The Legacy of Efua Sutherland: Pan-African Cultural Activism*. Ayebia Clarke Pub Limited, 2007.

Recommendations

There should be a children theatre companies as a recreational facility in every local government area in Africa especially in Nigeria where such theatres are not common. Furthermore, there should be a statutory law that states that children theatre companies should specialised in cultural and traditional plays that portrays African values and virtues.

The ministry of education should be mandated to create a curriculum for primary and secondary school's drama groups with themes on African ethics, cultural and traditional showing the African value system and what Africa stands for. These will enable the youth to learn more and be vast about their father's land and reawakening the consciousness about the values and virtues that must be imbibe for generational continuity.

**Adopting Bacon's Approach to Reconciling Internalism and Externalism
Rift**

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Abstract

Internalism and externalism are two rival theories of epistemic justification. For obvious reasons, they are fundamentally different on the grounds and methods of justification to be considered and adopted – internal disposition of the epistemic agent or some factors external to the epistemic agent. This paper contributes to the debate by playing a reconciliatory role. It does not hybridise or fuse the two theories to become one. It, however, argues, using Bacon's analogy of the insects as a paradigm for this sort of reconciliation. It concludes that their agitations can be taken care of by giving both avenues to assess and justify knowledge claim.

Keywords: Externalism, internalism, Bacon's insect analogy, cognitive blamelessness

Introduction

Externalism and internalism have been adopted as evaluative theories to examine some epistemic claims, where such claims are usually linked with epistemic activities in a epistemic community. Hence, in this sense, externalism, on the one hand, is the view that tends to hold back the right to accessibility to the basis of experts' evaluation. On the other hand, internalism is when each member of the community has to evaluate the reliability of the experts from first person perspective.¹ Prior to the period of being adopted as evaluative claims, they were meant to contribute to the idea of resolving, so to speak, the problem already created in the area of epistemic justification, which is that of infinite regress.² In those attempts, focus has been on just one epistemic subject; thereby making discussions of scholars revolve around an epistemic agent. But, introduction of internalist-externalist debate over the issue makes it a social discussion, having realised that no matter what, epistemic discourses should not be a one man enterprise.³ It is one this ground that scholars are divided over which of the theories is a viable alternative.

¹. Tomoju Shogenji, "Internalism and Externalism in Meliorative Epistemology" *Erkenntnis* (1975-), Vol. 76, No. 1 (January, 2002), 59

². Infinite regress is a perennial problem associated with, especially, foundationalism as a theory of epistemic justification. It has put many theories of epistemic justification into disrepute all because of their inability to find solution to the problem. In that regard, the theories, *ab initio*, thought to be viable alternatives turn out to be otherwise. For details on Infinite regress, see A. Cortens, "Foundationalism and the Regress Argument" *Disputato*, Vol. 12, (May, 2002), 22-37

³. A one man show philosophy is described as arm chair philosophy. This is the case in which one individual sees it all. D. A Masolo has, however, cautioned against this practice. This is because any analysis here is going to be subjective; hence, it is at the discretion and mercies of the author. For details, see his "African Philosophy and the Postcolonial: Some

John Greco and John Turri seem to have dragged the debate which apparently elongates rivalry and makes people think the two theories are irreconcilable. Prior to Greco's publication⁴ and that of John Turri,⁵ the scholarship atmosphere was not tensed, which would have suggested that the debate was a trivial one. In other words, it should not have arisen. This implies that Greco and Turri intensified academic enmity to make the debate become a serious one. This does not mean that those who have contributed to the debate have not taken it seriously. It means, however, that their disagreement is not a 'closing eyes' one.

Nicholas Silins has suggested that the externalist internalist debate should be reconfigured. For him, both are not infallible.⁶ There are two components to Silins' view. While one is considered tenable, the other one is not a plausible position. That which is not plausible is the one that claims that both are infallible. One needs to ask that if they are infallible, then, why the debate? What are generally known of argument are;

- (a) both arguers can be wrong;
- (b) only one of the two arguers can be correct;
- (c) both arguers cannot be correct.

Given this, the latter component, which is relevant to this discussion is taken. 'Would be reconfigured' as used by Silins, should be, and is, interpreted to mean that there should be a way such that their differences would be amenable.⁷

Externalism and internalism are no doubt rival theories in both epistemology and philosophy of mind. The paper assesses their epistemological relevance. It makes case for possible reconciliation, although the reconciliation meant is not to formulate another theory. It is meant to give both theories some chances in justificatory roles having discovered that none of the two can be jettisoned easily.

Bacon's analogy of the insect is used and adopted as a paradigm for this sort of reconciliation. It is observed that epistemic agent cannot justify his/her knowledge claim of the external world without appealing to some internal disposition/facts. It must be pointed out that both theories have their challenges. One can decide to ignore both given the fact that they are not problem free. This will, however, not be a good decision. It implies that any

Misleading Abstractions about "Identity" in E. C. Eze (Ed), *Post Colonial African Reader*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997), 283-299

⁴. John Greco, "Is Justification Internal?: Justification is Not Internal" in M. Steup, J. Turri and E. Sosa (Eds), *Contemporary Debates in Epistemology*, Second Edition, (New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell, 2005) 257-269

⁵. John Turri, "On the General Argument Internalism" *Synthese*, Vol. 170, No. 1 (Sept. 2009), 147-153

⁶. Nicholas Silins, "The Evil Demon Inside" *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. 100, No. 2 (March 2020), 325-343

⁷. See Nicholas Silins, "Reading the Bad News about Other Minds" *Philosophical Issues*, (2020), 293-310 and D. Smithies, "Access Internalism and the Extended Mind" in A. Carter Et al (Eds.), *Extended Epistemology*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 17-41

theory that is problematic should be thrown away. Despite their shortcomings there are still some good things about them. It is on this ground that the paper recommends this idea of reconciliation, which is allowing both theories to function.

Bacon's Analogy of the Insect

Bacon's analogy of insect was partly an attempt to reconcile the position of the empiricist and the rationalist. Although, he was an empiricist, his version of empiricism can be considered a moderate one.⁸ His use of insects to illustrate and drive home his points further proves this. He selects three insects to explicate this. His selection of the insects might be informed by the basic and distinctive features of these insects.⁹ They are bee, ant and spider.

For ants, their nature is to gather and accumulate things in their environment to do whatever they want to do. In actual fact, they do not add from their inner part to whatever they might have gathered. They only work on the available substances before them. This could be referred to as extreme externalist.

There is the second category of people who can be likened with spider. Spider has the ability to make cob-web. Within a twinkle of an eye, it would have produced more web than imagined. All these are from within spider. It does not get anything from outside; it uses all it has within itself to produce cob-web. For Bacon, this is also not good enough.¹⁰

The third kind of insect is bee. While it cannot be denied that bees have inner ability and capacity to produce honey, the taste of the honey is not gotten from the internal part of the bee, rather it is sourced for from outside, from plants. Hence, the taste of any honey produced depends on the plants under which bees are reared to produce a certain taste. Bacon regards this as the best of the insects. This is also similar to Kant's attempt at reconciling empiricism and rationalism.¹¹ Looking at the analogy above, it is not as if it does not have its own problems. The problems are, however not to be discussed here for its non-important role. What is intended is to look at externalism and internalism, not as rival theories of epistemic justification, although, it has always been, but how they can be reconciled in a way.

Internalism vs. Externalism

The debate between epistemic internalists and externalists is about whether what confers justification on a belief is necessarily internal to the agent. All epistemic internalists agree that justification consists in reasons or evidence that are somehow internal to the agent's cognitive perspective, and upon which

⁸. Joseph Agassi, *The Very Idea of Modern Science: Francis Bacon and Robert Boyle*, (New York: Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg, 2013), 34

⁹. Perez Zagorin, *Francis Bacon*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998), 8-11

¹⁰. Cathrine D. Bowen, , *Francis Bacon: The Temper of a Man*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993), 82

¹¹. Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early Modern Philosophy*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 34

s/he bases her belief, so that she has a justified belief, but they disagree over how to understand the notion of being internal.¹²

There are two distinct kinds of justification. On the one hand, beliefs seem to be the subject of justification. On the other hand, epistemic agent is the focus of justification.¹³ If this is the case, then, why controversy? Is the controversy not pseudo? The formal is referred to as doxastic justification which is attributed to externalist. The latter is personal justification which is that of internalist. In this regard, it appears they are not concerned about the same subject matter.

The upshot of the famous “twin earth” arguments has been that meaning and content are in part in the world and in the language community.¹⁴ This is the debate between internalism and externalism one can know via sense perception only if one knows that sense perception is reliable. Similarly, one can know by inductive reasoning only if one knows that inductive reasoning is reliable. This creates problems for the internalist, because it is hard to understand how one can mount a noncircular argument to the desired conclusions about the reliability of one’s cognitive powers. There is, however, no such problem for the externalist since the externalist can deny the initial assumption of the sceptical argument. For example, an externalist can insist that sense perception gives rise to knowledge so long as sense perception is in fact reliable. There need be no requirement, on an externalist account, that one know that one’s perception is reliable. What is more, on an externalist account one seemingly can know that one’s cognitive powers are reliable, and easily so.¹⁵

Internalism

Internalism is the view that considering a particular claim is determined by intrinsic primary properties and involves no extrinsic properties.¹⁶ It is what is referred to as personal justification. This type of epistemic justification is applicable to persons. What is evaluated is the epistemic agent. So, if the epistemic agent is evaluated as personally justified in believing what he claims to believe. For Engel, he is evaluated positive from the epistemic point of view.¹⁷ It can be said that an epistemic agent is personally justified in believing whatsoever he believes expressively on the condition that s/he has a high objective probability of being true.¹⁸ Thinking in this direction is thinking in an absurd way. The claim that an epistemic agent will be objective in an internalist perspective will be mistaken or erroneous. It can be strongly doubted that an

¹². John Greco, “Internalism vs Externalism” in Donald M. Borchert (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Second Edition, Vol. 4, (New York: Thomson Gale, 2006), 718

¹³. David Reiter, “Engel on Internalism and Externalism in Epistemology” in *Erkenntnis* (1975-), Vol. 49, No. 2, (1998), 175

¹⁴. Robert Pierson, “Alston’s Concept of Justification” in *Teorema*, Vol. 22, No. 3, (2003), 50

¹⁵. John Greco, “Internalism vs Externalism”, 718

¹⁶. Ernest Sosa, “Between Internalism and Externalism” *Philosophical Issues*, Vol. 1, Consciousness, (1991), 179

¹⁷. Mylan Engel, “Personal and Doxastic Justification in Epistemology” *Philosophical Issues*, Vol. 67, (1992), 139

¹⁸. David Reiter, “Engel on Internalism and Externalism in Epistemology”, 176

individual can possess an objective probability. Its possibility is doubted even in Kantian *noumena* world or Plato's intelligible world.

To rescue internalism from this, and to give it a more probable soft landing, it can be said that the epistemic agent is worthy of epistemic praise for believing in what he believes. What is meant by praise-worthiness is that of epistemic responsibility. The epistemic agent believes "in an epistemically responsible fashion."¹⁹ An implication can be drawn here, that is, one can think of the reverse, which is epistemic blame. In other words, the negative implication of this can be drawn. This further complicates the whole process. It equally leads to these following possible objections.

Bearing in mind, the idea of epistemic point of view which concerns itself the goal of maximizing truth and minimizing falsity in a large body of beliefs, pressure is to be felt, especially when the epistemic agent has to justify his claim such that the question "is the status of having come to believe *p* in an epistemically responsible fashion a positive status relative to epistemic goal?" can be raised. There seems to be some kind of epistemic relief of sort if truth-conducive is introduced. In that case, one will be talking about the fact that a "belief is a positive epistemic status only if coming to believe *p* in an epistemically responsible fashion of *objectively* truth conducive."²⁰ What is referred to as objectively truth conducive is "only if coming to believe *p* in an epistemically responsible fashion helps one to maximize truth and minimize falsity in a large number of beliefs."²¹ Here again, the epistemic relief surfaced will hit the rock for there is the problem of understanding epistemically responsible belief to mean truth conducive. It can equally not be understood or interpreted to mean something else.

Given the controversial nature of the understanding of the link between epistemically responsible fashion and truth conducive as property, further explications may be of help. It must be understood that truth conducive is in a strong sense being truth entailing where the epistemic agent's belief may even be false.²² It means internalism will be concerned about justifying and rationalizing the beliefs an epistemic agent has for his knowledge claim which is determined by internal facts. Is 'internal facts' not problematic? The phrase used is problematic. James Pryor defines internal facts as "facts to which one has a special kind of access."²³

An epistemic agent possesses special kind of access to a fact if one is in a position to know such fact by reflection alone. Reflection is an "*a priori* reasoning introspective awareness of one's own mental states and one's memory of knowledge acquired. When an epistemic agent claims that a belief is rational, s/he is saying that holding onto such belief is proceeding to cognitively

¹⁹. Reiter, 177

²⁰. Reiter, 177

²¹. Jeeloo Liu, "Physical Externalism and Social Externalism: Are They Really Compatible?" *Journal of Philosophical Research* Vol. 27, (2002), 385

²². David Reiter, "Engel on Internalism and Externalism in Epistemology", 178

²³. James Pryor, "Highlights of Recent Epistemology" *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, Vol. 52, (2001), 103-104

blamelessness fashion. This is because one cannot fairly be blamed for not responding to a fact that one was not in a position to know.²⁴

It is, however, doubtful whether the claim that rationality is just a matter of cognitive blamelessness explains internalism. If one cannot be blamed actually for not responding to a fact that is not within the reach of one to know.²⁵ This poses more problems. That rationality is simply a matter of mere cognitive blamelessness seems false. Wedgwood gives two ways in which an act can be considered blamelessness. It is either the act is justified or excusable. If A kills B all in the process of the former defending himself against being murdered by B, then, A's act may be justified. If on the other hand, A kills B because the former is insane and confirmed so, then, his act is excusable, although it may not be justified. If linked with blamelessness, either of the two cases could not be blamed for their act.

Another serious challenge pointed out by Dionysis Christias is that internalist argumentative model of justification is the justification of a cognitively spontaneous belief (however obvious its content may seem to us) presupposes an epistemically prior justification of the (meta) belief to the effect that content (and origin) of the cognitively spontaneous belief in question is what the subject thinks it is and not something else.²⁶

Given these challenges faced by internalism, it is obvious that it is not a viable theory, hence externalism.

Externalism

Externalism as opposed to internalism holds that the content of various mental states such as beliefs and desires may at least in part constitutively depend on features of one's physical or social environment. This is a moderate version of externalism, which is referred to as content externalism. There is active externalism (be it in the form of the extended mind thesis or the extended and distributed cognition hypotheses) holds that mental states and cognitive processes extend beyond the agent's biological organism to the artifacts or even to other agents that he or she mutually interacts with.²⁷ In either of the two, the external world is necessary in justifying. This is the reason its justification is being referred to as doxastic, and internalism is associated with personal justification.

²⁴. William Alston, *Epistemic Justification*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1989)

²⁵. Alvin Goldman, "Internalism Exposed" *Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. 96, (1997), 271-293

²⁶. Dionysis Christias, "A Critical Examination of Bonjour's, Haack's and Dancy's Theory of Empirical Justification" *Logos and Episteme: An International Journal of Epistemology*, Vol. 6, Iss. 1, (2015), 13

²⁷. D. H. Prichard, "Cognitive Ability and the Extended Cognition Thesis" *Synthese*, Vol. 175, (2010), 135

For the externalists, their mode of justification appears objective. The epistemic agent is not the focus, instead his beliefs are what are considered whether they are truly condition that will qualify for knowledge. "In this case, a person's belief is evaluated from the epistemic point of view; this epistemic point of view is defined by the goal maximizing truth and minimizing falsity in a large body of beliefs."²⁸ The agent's beliefs epistemically evaluated from the epistemic point of view iff it is a sufficiently high objective probability of being true.²⁹ For a belief to have objective probability it must be the case that it is the product of a cognitive belief forming process and most of the outputs/results are true. The probability mentioned is not to be seen as confusion. A belief is to be justified whether it can serve as knowledge or not; its status is still under probability. Its being justified or not makes it knowledge or otherwise.

The cognitive belief forming process informs the externalists to conceive that an individual's thought contents, according to Kirk Ludwig³⁰ are particularly logically determined by his/her relations to events, objects, kinds and so on in his environment. The externalist thesis can then be summarized thus: content properties are in part relational properties where "a property P is a relational property just in case, necessarily for any object O, if O has P, then there is an X such that X is (i) not an abstract object and (ii) X is not identical to O or to any part of O."³¹

From the above, two forms of externalism are distinguished, bearing in mind the initial kinds. These new ones are constitute externalism and modal externalism. The modal externalism is the thesis that no internal properties are logically sufficient for mental content.³² For constitute externalism is the thesis that relations between an individual and his environment are constitutions of his contents.³³ The second form seems to explain better what externalism is really is. Although, the two are interconnected, for they both purport what the core of externalism is. The core of externalism is that justification must be sought in relation with the external world. The mental content referred to here is the justificatory ability that is purely a mental act.

As expounded so far, the core of externalism, irrespective of any form or kind is the appeal to the external world for justification. In other words, if externalism is to be understood, its basis is the denial of internalist thesis that reflective, careful agents are able to make assessments of their reasons for a belief in order to determine whether such belief is justified.

Externalism is not without its own shortcomings. While moderate externalism can have a place in justification, extreme externalism cannot have any place. One will then ask which one is moderate and which one is extreme. Modal externalism is the extreme, while constitutive externalism is the moderate one. The extreme is too harsh in giving way for the position of internalism, for

²⁸. Mylan Engel, "Personal and Doxastic Justification in Epistemology", 137

²⁹. David Reiter, "Engel on Internalism and Externalism in Epistemology", 176

³⁰. Kirk A. Ludwig, "Externalism, Naturalism and Method" *Philosophical Issues*, Vol. 4, Naturalism and Normativity, (1993), 251

³¹. Ludwig, 251

³². Ludwig, 253

³³. Ludwig, 253

instance. The moderate one that tends to accommodate internalism will be going out of its boundary.

It may be argued that the externalist notion of justifying is more objective than the internalist. Those who want to justify a claim have access to what they want to justify. It does not mean, however, that the internalist mode of justification should be disregarded. An instance is the law court where both modes of justification are applicable.

Conclusion

Bacon uses the analogy of the insect to explain the fact that, although rationalist and empiricists are at logger heads over which of the two schools actually has a genuine claim for source of knowledge. Bacon's analogy suggests that empiricism alone cannot lay claim to this, because there are important aspects of human life that cannot be wished away. In fact, an individual that sticks to empiricism alone is the same as somebody that does not think or reflect on issues. Such a person may not be relevant in the society; for s/he has no meaningful contribution to his/her environment. If, on the other hand, the person is like a spider, his existence in the society is also not helpful. S/he may decide to live alone without minding co-habitants; Bacon also condemns this saying although, he may be knowledgeable, but his impact of knowledge is not felt in his environment. If one looks at the two insects, they are not doing any good thing.

The nature of bee allows hybridization of what it gets from outside and what it gets within itself. Externalism and internalism are rival theories of epistemic justification, each agitating for method suitable for each to explicate knowledge claim. Externalism appears to be objective than internalism; hence, the former should be adopted. However, there is a room for internalism as a theory. Since it deals with mental reflective aspect, it cannot be jettisoned. If externalism alone is given consideration, then, it will be like ant that relies on the external world alone. On the other hand, if internalism alone is given priority over and above externalism, it will be like spider that thinks it does not have anything to do with the external world. This will not be of help as well. But if the method of bee is adopted, it then means both will work together.

Let us pause for a while and think about a scenario of wetness of ground. If an individual sees a ground that is wet, the best is to reason whether the wetness of the ground is as a result of rain or that somebody pours water or tanker carrying water fell. Any of the options finally as the last option will be as a result of some reconciliatory attempt which must have taken place. The reconciliatory attempt is reconciling the individual's thought with the physical occurrence that has happened to see whether his/her thought is true or not. For the externalist, interpretation of physical events is inevitable. It must be borne in mind that interpretation of an action is nothing but a mental act. In other words, while the external world/environment is helpful in determining some thought content in the environment, which is a different thing from the purely abstract thought.

This paper is not suggesting a new theory, perhaps combination of internalism and externalism to read an epistemic theory like Haack's found herentism.

There may not be room for that, for if what is intended is not to form any theory that will be problem free. I doubt if there can be a theory in philosophy that will be problem free. If this is the case, the new theory to be formed will not be problem free. This is, however, not the reason why a new theory is not proposed. Both theories under consideration have their merits and demerits. What is, therefore, suggested is that both should be given their places when trying to justify epistemic claim by epistemic agents.

Another reason for this is that the feature of rationality does not give support for internalism alone. It will not be a good defence for an epistemic agent to argue that rational beliefs supervene on purely internal facts about his mental states. Belief can be likened to desire, decision, choice. Borrowing Kirk A. Ludwig's idea,³⁴ which is found useful here, when epistemic agent assesses a choice, or decision as rational or irrational, he is assessing such on the basis of some kinds of relations to some other beliefs which may be located in the external world. Therefore, reconciling the two theories will be by naturalizing the mental, that is, by showing how it can be integrated successfully with the rest of the picture of the natural world

³⁴. Ludwig, 250

The presidential model and the machinery for foreign policy making. The Nigerian experience.

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Abstract

This paper examines the machineries for implementation of foreign policy goals in a presidential system of government using Nigeria as a model. These machineries include; the President who is the chief implementer of the nation's foreign policy. Followed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the chief negotiator of the state and policy advisor to the President. Most significantly, is the MFA, the key machinery that provides the platform for the conduct of the nation's foreign policy relations. The study also looked at the role played by the parliament in foreign policy making and research institutes and Think-Tank Groups like NIIA, NIPSS and IPCR in influencing, articulating, and formulation of the Nation's foreign policy goals. The study observes that foreign policy making is not the prerogative of the President and the MFA alone but rather the Parliament and Think-Tank groups also play prominent roles. It also observes that foreign policy goals do not emanate from the MFA alone but rather from other Ministries like defense, trade, investment, education, justice, culture, tourism etc. also play key roles in policy formulation and implementation. Thus, the MFA coordinate policies emanating from these Ministries, agencies, and think-tank groups. The study therefore, concludes that under the presidential system of government as practiced in Nigeria and the United States, a network of synergy exists among the various organs, agencies, and relevant think-tanks group. The study made use of qualitative research design and uses content and thematic approach in analyzing the data.

Key Words: Foreign policy, Presidentialism, Machinery, Model, Experience, Nigeria.

Introduction

The foreign policy goals and objectives of every country are implemented through different modes, channels, means, and machineries. Traditionally, the Ministry of foreign Affairs is the executive agency of government responsible for the conduct of foreign relations using diplomacy (Negotiation) as a vehicle for its implementation. The purpose of diplomacy is to enable states secure the objectives of their foreign policy without resort to force, propaganda, or law. These foreign policy objectives could be economic prosperity, national security, political independence, technological advancement, self-preservation etc. using national interest as a guide. Thus, the foreign policy machineries are the

vehicles, means through which foreign policies are articulated, formulated and decision making are carried out. According to Berridge:

Diplomacy is an essentially political activity and, well resourced and skillful, a major ingredient of power. Its chief purpose is to enable states secure their objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law. It follows that diplomacy consists of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment¹.

It should be noted that the quality of foreign policy decision making and implementation is determined by the quality of the institutions, the manner of structural arrangement and the synergy among these agencies and ministries e.g., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, defense, trade and investment, culture and tourism, think-tank groups etc. These institutions are statutorily recognized and responsible for policy making, policy advice, and policy implementation. Thus, in Nigeria under the presidential system of government where the president wields executive power and act as both the head of state and the head of government, there exist the principle of separation of powers and the existence of checks and balances. It should also be noted that under the presidential system, the president is the Commander In-chief of the Arm forces and the head of the executive arm of government. The legislature (parliament) is the lawmaking body with a constitutional legislative oversight and the power to impeach the president when found wanting. The judicial arm of government has a constitutional mandate for the interpretation of the law, judicial review and the power to declare the actions of both the Parliament and the Executive null and void. Consequently, under the presidential system, the principle of rule of law is supreme and with the principle of separation of powers; foreign policy making, implementation and conduct becomes the functions and responsibility of the President and the Minister of foreign affairs who is the head of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA).

Although the Minister of External Affairs has the basic responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs, it must be noted that foreign policy does not emanate from the MFA alone but also from other ministries and department such as defense, trade investment and culture and tourism, education etc. also play key roles.² Therefore, the machinery for policy articulation, formulation, and implementation of foreign policy do not also emanate alone from the MFA but rather other branches or arms of government such as the Parliament/National Assembly and other private agencies and think-tanks like the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs (NIIA), Nigerian Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) KURU and the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR). In stable democracies like the United States, United Kingdom, and

¹Berridge, G.R.& Lorna Lloyd. *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, 2nded. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p 1.

²ObuahEzezi Emmanuel, *An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy* (Port Harcourt: University of Port Harcourt Press, 2017), p 27.

France foreign policy articulation, formulation, and pursuit of national interest are carried out by the government represent by the MFA in collaboration with relevant research institutes and think-tank groups like the Council for Foreign Relations (CFR), Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Brookings Institute etc.

Therefore, this study will attempt to examine the various machineries under the presidential system of government, responsible for policy articulation, formulation, conduct, and implementation of Nigerian foreign policy. The study will first examine the meaning of the presidential system of government and its characteristics. The study will also look at the meaning of Foreign policy, relationship between foreign policy and diplomacy; instruments for the conduct of foreign policy; vehicles for the conduct of foreign policy and the relationship between foreign policy and national interest. Other key areas the study will also examine are the role of the President in foreign policy making and implementation, the role of the Parliament or the National Assembly, the Bureaucracy or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Think-Tank groups.

Methods and Data

The study made use of qualitative research design in data collection and analysis. Thus, in data collection, the study made use of both primary and secondary sources. The primary data method used include: Key Informant Interviews (KIGs) and Personal Observation. The Key Informant Interviews involved seasoned academics in the field of Diplomacy and foreign policy. The study made use of personal observation method since; the researcher is also an expert in the field of Diplomacy and Foreign Policy Analysis and always abreast with daily trends of global events. The secondary sources used include: Diplomacy and foreign policy text books, Academic journals on foreign policy, published reports, verifiable online sources. The primary data collected through Key Informant Interviews (KIGs) was transcribed thematically coded and analyzed using thematic analysis technique. The data from the secondary sources were analyzed using discourse and content analytical method. To enhance validity and acceptability of results, data collected were subjected to triangulation.

Theoretical Framework

According to Rourke, as cited in Akpan, by thinking theoretically, it helps us to build knowledge and gives us a better chance of evaluating policies and programs of institutions³. Similarly, Smith & Baylis, as cited in Akpan, asserted that all international events must have theoretical foundation or bases and that no academic scholar can claim to lack a theory to support his argument. Theories enable us as individuals and scholars to explain the laws of international politics and recurrent patterns of national behavior.⁴ Therefore, this study used the Bureaucratic politics foreign policy decision making model

³Akpan Otoabasi, Contending Theories of International Relations. In An Introduction to International Studies and World Politics, eds. Aniekan E. Ekpe, Monday B. Abasiattai& Akpan Otoabasi (Yaonde:Book House, 2012), p 35

⁴Ibid., p 31-120

in examining and evaluating the machinery for foreign policy implementation in a presidential democracy like Nigeria.

The Bureaucratic model is an offspring of the German Social Scientist, Max Weber who asserts that bureaucracy enhances rational national decision making and efficient administration. Bureaucracy enhances efficiency and rationality by assigning responsibility for different task to different people. It also defined value and standard operating procedures that clearly specify how official task are to be done⁵.

The choice for this model is that foreign policy decision making in a presidential democracy is not the prerogative of the President and the Minister of Foreign affairs alone but rather foreign policy making emanates from other Ministries such as Defense, Trade, Investment, Education, Culture etc. which form an integral part of the Bureaucracies; also play prominent roles in decision making processes. The MFA only coordinate policies emanating from these Ministries, agencies, and Think-tank groups, like NIIA, NIPSS and IPCR. These Ministries are headed by Ministers as political heads and Bureaucrats (Permanent Secretaries) as technocrats who articulates policies and advises the Ministers on best policy choices and decisions based on professionalism since, the Ministers in most cases are not professionals. Consequently, the Bureaucrats tries to influence the foreign policy choices of their countrythrough the following ways: a) Information filtering b) Policy Recommendation and c) Policy Implementation⁶.It must be noted that in most cases, Bureaucrats often disagree with the foreign policy choices of the President and the Ministers due to the later, dexterity and policy rationality over political expediency in international politics. Thus, for example the office (Bureaucrats) of the US Secretary of States openly disagrees with former President Trump over his immigration ban on core Muslim states into the country. Consequently, the bureaucracy (MFA) in some cases work to slow or prevent implementations of foreign policies that lacks rationality through different bottle-neck measures. It is significant to note that after the 9/11, Al Qaida terrorist attack on the United States (Pentagon and the World Trade Centre), the investigative panel that was set up the George Bush administration, unraveled that part of the reason why the terrorist succeeded was as a result of flaws in the implementation of the US anti-terrorism policy by bureaucrats.

Therefore, the Machinery for policy articulation, formulation and implementation of a nation foreign policy is not the function of the President and the Minister alone, but the Bureaucracy (MFA, Trade, Investment, Education etc.), Parliament and Think-tank groups each playing complementary role in ensuring that rational foreign policy decisions in line with the country's foreign objectives is achieved.

⁵ Solomon O. Akinboye& Adeniyi S. Basiru, Foreign policy Analysis: Conceptual and Theoretical Logic. (USA: Witts Publishing Ltd.), 142-143.

⁶Ikedima H.A., Foreign policy Analysis INR 321 (Lagos: National Open University, 2012), p 6.

Literature Review

So many authors, scholars, and researchers have carried out numerous studies on "Foreign policy Making in Nigeria" however, there is dearth of studies on the machinery for foreign policy implementation in a presidential democracy like Nigeria. That necessitated this research work. Therefore, the researcher chooses from studies, that are relevant to this study in reviewing. Thus, Nurudeen and Kikeloma, in their work "Perception of Nigeria's Foreign policy" asserts that 75% of his respondents perceived the MFA as simply a rubber stamp to the President and his kitchen cabinets and that 65% of his respondents also believed that the National Assembly, Federal cabinets and think-tank groups are been sidelined in foreign policy decision making. The study concludes that in most cases the role and functions of the MFA is been undermined by the President in terms of policy implementation than in decision making⁷. This study only looks at the elite's perception in foreign policy making rather than the machinery for foreign policy making and implementation. In another study by Ejitu Nnechi and Chinyere S. Ecoma, the authors, attributed colonial legacy as one of the reasons for the lackluster nature of the country's foreign policy options and that not until 1975, when Nigeria motivated by the events of the time, begins to play an assertive and aggressive foreign policy role in global politics. The author concludes that one major limitation towards an aggressive foreign policy is as a result of the domination of the executive arm in the foreign policy decision making in Nigeria. And that what constitute Nigeria's foreign policy objectives has to be redefined⁸.

Enuka, and Ojukwu, in their work "Challenges of Nigeria's Foreign Policy" examined Nigeria's foreign policy from the formative years to the present. The paper concludes that the country is yet to achieve its foreign policy objectives as a result of neglect, bad and irresponsible leadership hindering policy performances⁹. Again, Bankole, Sheriff, Fadeke, and Ajibade, examines the foreign policy making and implementation under the Olusegun Obasanjo administration from 1999-2007. The paper asserts that the foreign policy formulated under the Obasanjo regime were dictated primarily by his personality and executive leadership decision. The paper recommended that for effective foreign policy making and implementation, strong institutions must be built in order to limit personality factor in foreign policy making and implementation¹⁰. Nwosu I Nereus, in his work "The administration of Nigeria's Foreign Policy" posits that the nature of the country's external relations determines the factors that shapes the country's foreign policy making processes. According to him, diverse policy inputs from different players in the

⁷Nurudeen Mimiko Kikeloma A. Mbada, "Elites Perception and Nigeria's Foreign Policy Process," *Alternatives Turkish Journal of International Relations* 13, No. 3 (2014): p 1

⁸EjituNnechi & Chinyere S. Ecoma, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy and the Democratic Experiment: The Lessons of History and options for the 21st Century," *International Journal of Applied and advanced Scientific Research* 1, Issue. 1 (2016): p 9

⁹Enuka Chuka & Emmanuel Ojukwu, "Challenges of Nigeria's Foreign Policy," *International Journal of Arts and Humanities* 5, No. 2 (2016): p 52

¹⁰ Bankole R. Olorunyomi, et al, "Foreign Policy Making and Implementation Under Olusegun Obasanjo's Administration, (1999-2007)," *International Journal of Research in Arts and Social Sciences* 8, No. 2 (2008): p 312

domestic environment accounts for lack of cohesion in policy implementation. The paper recommends that to avoid inconsistency in policy implementation, a special cabinet committee in charge of foreign policy issues be established¹¹. Therefore, from the above papers reviewed none of them looked at the machinery for the implementation of foreign policy in a presidential democracy and that is the basis for this research.

The Presidential System of Government

The presidential system of government is a democratic and republican system of government by which the President is both the head of state and the head of government wielding executive power. The president is the Commander In-chief of the Arm forces; the military, navy, and the air force. Examples of countries practicing presidential system are: Nigerian, United States, France, South- Africa etc. The President performs both ceremonial and executive functions¹². In terms of foreign policy making, the President is the chief implementer of the country's foreign policy using the instrument of diplomacy, propaganda, sanctions, and threat or use of force (war) when necessary. The president relies on the policy advice of the MFA for implementation.

Foreign policy and diplomacy

Foreign policy and diplomacy are like Siemens twins, as they complement each other. Foreign policy cannot function without the use of diplomacy as a machinery or instrument of peace and negotiation by state and non-state actors. Though, it must be noted that sovereign states are the only actors that conduct foreign policies while non-state actors are only players on the international system. According to Childs, as cited in Palmer and Perkins:

*"Foreign policy is the substance of foreign relations whereas 'diplomacy proper is the process by which policy is carried out. Policy is made by many different persons and agencies, but presumably on major matters in any state. Thus, whatever the form of government, policy is made at the higher levels though subject to many different kinds of controls. Therefore, it is the purpose of diplomacy to provide the machinery and the personal by which foreign policy is executed. One is a substance the other is a method."*¹³

From the definitions and distinction above one discovers that for a state to achieve its desired or stated objectives at the international arena, then the application of diplomacy which is synonymous with "negotiation, intelligence, tactfulness" becomes inevitable. Thus, Diplomacy is the vehicle for conveying

¹¹ Nereus I. Nwosu, "The Administration of Nigeria's Foreign Policy," *Trans African Journal of History* 23, (1994): p 105

¹² Ikilegbe A.O., "Post-Colonial Nigeria and Politics: Second Republic and Military Regimes" in *Elements of Man's political and Economic Environment for Africa*, ed. Andrew G. Onokerhoraye (Benin: Ambik Press, 1994), pp 222-239

¹³ Palmer, D.N. & Perkins, C.H., *International Relations*, 3rd Ed. (Delhi, India: A.I.T.B.S. Publishers, 2007), 84.

the foreign policy of a country towards the external environment using national interest as a guide. *Though, the term diplomacy originated from the ancient Greek, meaning "Official document conferring privileges."* It is derived from the Greek word "diploma." The prefix "diplo" means "folded into two" while the suffix "ma" meaning an object. The folded paper expresses a privilege for a permit to travel-on the bearer and his word came to denote which Princes did such favours¹⁴

No wonder, Sir, Ernest Satow in his celebrated Guide to Diplomatic Practice defines diplomacy as: *"the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states. Extending sometimes also to their business with vassal states or more briefly still, the conduct of business between state by peaceful means"*¹⁵

Accordingly, Palmer & Perkins asserts that:

*Diplomacy functions through a labyrinth of foreign offices, embassies, legations, consulates, and special missions all over the world. It is commonly bilateral in character. However, as a result of the growing importance of international conferences, international organizations, regional arrangements, collective security measures, its multilateral aspects have become increasingly significant.*¹⁶

This has led to the emergence of the following types of diplomacy: (a) Permanent Traditional diplomacy (b) Multi-Track diplomacy (c) permanent conference diplomacy (d) personal diplomacy (e) Ad-hoc conference diplomacy (f) economic diplomacy.¹⁷

Foreign policy and national interest

Foreign policy and national interest are inseparable concepts in international relations. Thus, the foundation of a state foreign policy is her national interest which in turns directs the course of her foreign policy. Consequently, the concept of national interest has continued to play a pivotal and significant role in the foreign policies of sovereign states. A state's foreign policy is not operated in vacuum. The main policy instrument in the conduct of foreign policy is invariably the promotion and pursuit of national interest. Therefore "National interest can be defined as the totality or the aggregate of interests of individuals and groups within a given nation State."¹⁸ It can also be defined as a country's goal and ambitions weather economic, military, security, political, social,

¹⁴ObuahEzi Emmanuel, An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy. (Port Harcourt, University of Port Press, 2006), p 5

¹⁵Gbeneye Emmanuel E., An Introduction to Diplomacy and European History in the 19th and 20th century. (Port Harcourt: Springfield Publishers Ltd., 2004), p2.

¹⁶Palmer, D.N. & Perkins, C.H., International Relations, 3rd Ed. (Delhi, India: A.I.T.B.S. Publishers, 2007), p 84.

¹⁷Ikedima H.A., International law and Diplomacy in the 20th Century. INR 212 (Lagos: National Open University), p 6

¹⁸Akinboye O. Samuel, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy," in Elements of Politics, eds. Remi Anifowose and Francis Enemuoh (Lagos: Malthouse Press Ltd., 1999), p 336.

cultural etc. towards the international environment. However, when viewed from its classical perspective, *“National interest encompasses the various strategies employed in the international interaction of states in order to ensure the preservation of the stated goals of society.”*¹⁹

In political discourse, National interest serves two primary purposes, one *as an analytical tool and secondly as an instrument of political action*. As an analytical tool, it serves as a conceptual guide by providing the objectives often considered by a state while weighing an intended foreign policy option. As an instrument of political action, it serves to justify or repudiate a state foreign policy option and action in the international system. Thus, this explains the interconnectedness of foreign policy and national interest²⁰.

Indeed, the concept of national interest is so deeply interwoven with that of foreign policy that the renowned international relations scholar Hans Morgenthau, ones stated that *“no nation can have a true guide as to what it must do and what it needs to do in foreign policy without accepting national interest as that guide.”*²¹ He further asserted that Foreign policy objectives must be defined and situated in terms of National interest. According to him National interest is the perennial standard by which political action must be judge. Therefore, national interest is broadly conceded as a guide to the formulation of a nation’s foreign policy. It is not an end but a means to an end. In other word it is a method of reaching a goal, and in formulating such goals, core values and national ethos must be considered. Such internal interest revolves around the quest for (i) national independence, (ii) national cohesion, (iii) territorial integrity, (iv) Self-preservation v) National security of the country and that of the individual Nigerian citizens, especially as regards food, shelter, health and housing, and (v) the promotion of national ethics of discipline, self -reliance and patriotism.²² Similarly, section 19 of the 1999 constitution spells out the Foreign Policy Objectives of Nigeria²³ as follows:

- a) Promotion and protection of the national interest;
- b) Promotion of African integration and support for African unity;
- c) Promotion of international co-operation for the consolidation of universal peace and mutual respect among all nations and elimination of discrimination in all its manifestations;
- d) Respect for international law and treaty obligations as well as the seeking of settlement of international dispute by negotiation, mediation, conciliation, arbitration and adjudication and
- e) Promotion of a just economic world order.

The machineries of foreign policy making in a presidential system of government.

¹⁹ Ibid., p 366.

²⁰ Ibid., p 366

²¹ Ibid., p 367

²² Akindele R.A and Bassey E. Ate, “Nigeria’s Foreign Policy, 1986-2000 AD. Background to the Reflections on the Views from Kuru,” Nigerian Journal of International Affairs 12, No. 1 & 2 (1986): p 13.

²³ The 1999 Constitution as Amended of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Section 9 (a-e).

The machinery for articulating, formulating, implementing, and conduct of foreign policy in Nigeria under the Presidential system of government, rest almost squarely with the executive arm of government. Though, the legislature (parliament), National Assembly also plays a Pivotal role in articulating and influencing the foreign policy posture of the Nation. In Nigeria's constitutional democracy, the president who wields executive power as both the Head of state and Government is the most important individual as far as foreign policy decision making and implementation is concern. Thus, attempt will be made in looking at the foreign policy machineries in both the Second Republic (1979-1983) under Alhaji Shehu Shagari and the Fourth Republic from 1999 when the country returns to presidential democratic rule.

Significantly, both the 1979 Second Republican constitution, and the 1999 constitution shared or divided the powers in foreign policy decision making among the three tiers of government namely, Executive, (President, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministers etc.), the National Assembly (Senate, House of Representatives) and the Judiciary. As rightly stated above, the quality of policy making and implementation is determined by the quality of the institutions and the manner of structural arrangement and relationship between the ministries/institutions that are statutorily recognized and responsible for policy making and policy implementation. Therefore, attempt will be made to examine the machineries that are responsible for the articulation, formulation, implementation, and conduct of the nation's foreign policy in a presidential system.

The president and foreign policy making

In Nigeria, the Presidential democracy modeled in line with the United States, places foreign policy at the exclusive legislative list meaning that it is only the Federal Government headed by the President, who act as both the head of states and government, and wield executive power, as commander In-chief of the Arm forces is preeminent in foreign and military affairs or policy. It should be noted that foreign policy and defense policy goes hand in hand as both are the exclusive preserve of the president. It is only the President that has the power, known as the "war power act" to declare a war on another sovereign nation using the armed forces. Therefore, defense or military policies are part and parcels of foreign policy, objectives of a country.

The president is the chief Implementer of the nation's foreign policy, though relies on the policy advice of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁴ The president alone is in charge of all the resources that the executive branch can apply to foreign and military policy. The President has greater access to and control over information, and the president alone can act with little fear that his actions will be countermand. In the United States, President Truman remarked that "the president makes the foreign policy."²⁵ Both in Nigeria and the U.S the constitution gives the president, diplomatic and war power; the power to appoint and receive ambassadors, to negotiate treaties and to be the

²⁴ObuahEzi Emmanuel, "An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy" P, 22-36.

²⁵Orugbani Adaye, Introduction to Foreign Policy (Port Harcourt: Paragraphics, 2004), P 42

commander In-chief of the Arm Forces, the president is the top decision maker on foreign and military issues.²⁶

In Nigeria, President Shehu Shagari (1979-1983), could not deploy the military to counter the attack against the Cameroonians gendarmes who killed five Nigerian soldiers, as a result of the border crises on May 16th, 1981. No wonder analyst says his foreign policy was weak, lack-luster and generally Pro-west. President Olusegun Obasanjo in 2005, as one of his foreign policy objectives negotiated with the Paris club on the need for the multilateral agency to grant "debt relief" to Nigeria. This led to the debt cancellation of \$18 billion dollars out of the \$31 billion owed to the club. The negotiation deal was based on the International Monetary Fund's Policy Support Instrument (PSI).²⁷ President Muhammad Buhari (2015-2019) as part of his foreign policy agenda on security, economy, and corruption signed multilateral and bilateral treaties with different countries. On his anti-corruption war President Buhari administration has been globetrotting seeking global partnership on the fight against corruption by signing multilateral and bilateral treaties, negotiating, and seeking assistance on how to repatriate looted stashed funds from foreign banks particularly from the West.

On the fight against terrorism, the president has been seeking global commitment, partnership, and assistance for military hardware, intelligence exchange in the fight against global terrorism in Nigeria from the West particularly from the U.S, UK and the neighboring west African sub-region that shares border with her, especially the Lake Chad Basin Commission countries (Cameroun, Niger and Chad). Thus, the President in exercising his power to make and implement treaties has signed bilateral and multilateral agreements on arms supplies, intelligence sharing, joint training exercise, repatriation agreement etc. with these countries. In order to win the war on terror, the President has also deployed members of the Armed forces, since her territorial integrity and right to preservation (national interest) is being threatened by insurgents (Boko-Haram) with global affiliation to other terrorist network like Al-Qaida, Al-Shabab, Islamic States of Iraq and the Levant's (ISIL).

As noted above, the president has exclusive sources of information; Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomats, consuls, military attaches working for the ministry of defense, National Intelligence Agency (NIA) agents and other technical means of gathering information such as the satellites that others do not have. Thus, private citizens, companies, interest groups, parliament, and the media cannot match the president's sources for information. In both U.S and Nigeria, the president's power in foreign and military policy is not absolute. Congress/National Assembly, media, and the public often disagree with the president and seek to alter foreign and military policy decision he has made. The Department of State and Defense Bureaucracies also sometimes disagree with presidential decisions (and with each other) and work to slow or prevent

²⁶Connor O' Karen et al., American Government Continuity and Change (Texas: Pearson Longman, 2006), 705

²⁷Obi Emeke Anthony, Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy (Onitsha: Book Point Ltd., 2006), p 225

their implementation²⁸. Former, President Donald Trump travel ban on six (6) majority Muslim countries was a case in point that even the Department of States disagreed with the policy option of the President. In Nigeria President Buhari's policy to negotiate with the Boko Haram insurgent groups was rejected by sections of the public and the media. In fact, public opinion was not on his favour to negotiate with the insurgents over the release of the kidnapped Boko Haram girls.

National assembly/parliament

According to Orugbani, "as a rule, legislatures confirm rather than initiate foreign policy, and the main legal form employed is the power of ratification of international treaties²⁹." The National Assembly in a presidential system of government plays significant role as machinery for policy articulation, formulation, and implementation. The National Assembly is constitutionally empowered to make laws, order and for the good governance of the nation. Apart from making laws the National Assembly has the constitutional responsibility of making appropriation through budgetary provision for the President and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for its smooth operations in embassies, missions, legations, consulates, and military operations etc.

The National Assembly also conducts its oversight functions on foreign policy through its relevant committee on Foreign policy by ensuring that the Minister of Foreign Affairs is invited to seek clarification when the national interest of the country is threatened or there is a diplomatic row between Nigeria and other countries or non-state actors in the international environment. The National Assembly also screen and approves ambassadorial and ministerial nominee send by the President for confirmation. In the event of war between Nigeria and another country the President has to seek congressional approval for military deployment on combat operations. Most significantly, international agreements and treaties signed by the president must be ratified by the President in order to give legal backing else the treaty becomes null and void.

Thus, on the power of the National Assembly to ratify treaties made by the President, section 12(1& 2) of the 1979 constitution states that:

No treaty between the federation and any other country shall have the force of law except to the extent to which such treaty has been enacted into law by the National Assembly. The National Assembly may make laws for the Federation or any part thereof with respect to matters not included in exclusive legislative list for the purpose of implementing treaty³⁰.

While the 1999 constitution, section 12 (1, 2, &3) states that:

²⁸ Ibid., p 706

²⁹OrugbaniAdaye, "Foreign Policy," P, 35

³⁰ The defunct 1979 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as cited in Section 12 subsection 1 & 2

12 (1) No treaty between the federation and any other country shall have the force of law to the extent to which any such treaty has been enacted in to law by the National Assembly³¹.

On the power of National Assembly to make approval for the president to declare war and mobilize members of the armed forces for combat operation, section 5 (4 a, b.) of the 1999 constitution state that:

- a. *The president shall not declare a state of war between the federation and another country except with the sanction of a resolution of both sessions, and*
- b. *Except with prior approval of the senate, no member of the armed forces of the federation shall be deployed on combat duty outside Nigeria³².*

From the U.S experience, American Presidents have often used their authority to order U.S armed forces to engage in actions without seeking approval from congress. President Roland Reagan ordered airstrikes against Libya and the invasion of Grenada; George Bush ordered the invasion of Panama; Bill Clinton ordered cruise missile attack against Afghanistan, Iraq, and Sudan; George W. Bush ordered the invasion of Libya, and Barack Obama ordered the invasion of Pakistan killing Osama Bin Ladin all on their own authority. President Donald Trump ordered the assassination of General Qasem Soleimani of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps in a drone airstrike. Although, these Presidents informed congressional leaders of their intended actions, they made the decision and undertook and action on their own. For far more extensive and serious military commitments such as the 1991 Persian Gulf war and the 2003 U.S led invasion of Iraq, the president sought and received congressional approval in advance.³³

According to Orugbani, the United States Congress employs investigations and hearing and occasionally passes resolutions which have no legal force but expresses the feelings, and position of the House. In Nigeria, the Senate also conducts public hearing when the rights of Nigerian abroad are violated like the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, extra-judicial killings of Nigerians in Indonesia, Malaysia, and elsewhere. In democratic countries, legislature plays important role when delicate issues are involved especially those that directly affect constituents and interest groups in the legislators' electoral ward. Thus, one of the factors that pushed the Nixon administration to pull out from Vietnam and the Clinton administration to withdraw from Somalia was congressional opposition.³⁴

The bureaucracy: Ministry of foreign affairs (MFA)

³¹ The 1999 Constitution as Amended of FRN.

³² Ibid., Section 5 (4 a & b)

³³ Connor O' Karen et al., "American Government" p, 708

³⁴OrugbaniAdaye, "Foreign Policy," P, 38

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the executive agency of government responsible for articulation, implementation, and conduct of the Nation's foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the government bureaucracy enacted by law; therefore, its policies and are protected by law. It should be noted that in a democratic presidential system of government where there is a true separation of powers and checks and balances, the MFA is headed by a political appointee of the President known as the Minister of Foreign Affairs who serves for a fixed term in office for four years though subject to renewal by the President if he/she performs excellently. In Nigeria, the MFA is called the Ministry of foreign Affairs; in the United States it is called the Department of States, while in Britain it is called the Foreign Office. The MFA in Nigeria, USA, and Britain are divided, along functional and geographic lines. The Functional units have Bureaus or offices in charge of such matters as: economic affairs, human rights, international organizations, issuance of passports and visas, supervise the work of missions to international organizations and intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations. Others are terrorism, narcotics, refugees, economy, social affairs, inter-cultural relations, and international law.³⁵

The Bureaucrats or officers in the Geographic divisions are Foreign Service officers acquainted with the problems of the country or countries concerned. Thus, dues to the experience of these men, the geographic divisions tend to be very powerful in the intra-departmental structure. As noted above, the MFA has two components, namely Home Ministry Know as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria while the other component is the Foreign Service with its numerous diplomatic missions abroad; the Embassies, High commissions, Legations, and Consulates. These are the physical buildings and grounds where diplomats work; included are the buildings needed to conduct the business of the mission and the residence of the ambassadors. The host states determine the areas that are to be included in the Embassy.³⁶

The MFA as a machinery for the conduct of diplomacy

According to Obuah, the MFA is hierarchically organized to ensure efficiency and accountability. The MFA is the lead governmental department responsible for the formulation, implementation, and the conduct of Nigeria's foreign policy³⁷. The MFA defines the nation's foreign policy objectives in line with her national interest, which services as a guide in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy while relating with other countries. The MFA remains the formal official channels through which all formal communications from Foreign governments have to pass to other ministries like defense, Trade and investments, education, tourism, culture etc. In Nigeria each division is headed by a director, equivalent to the status of an ambassador.³⁸

It should also be noted that the MFA do not have the Prerogative in the formulation and implementation of a country's foreign policy, but rather foreign

³⁵Gbeneye Emmanuel E., "An Introduction to Diplomacy," P, 45

³⁶ Ibid., p 42

³⁷ObuahEzi Emmanuel, "An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy" P, 22

³⁸Gbeneye Emmanuel E., "An Introduction to Diplomacy," P, 46

policy also emanates from other ministries like defense, immigration education, petroleum, trade etc. Consequently, diplomats do not confine their attention to politics and polices. The MFA is the principal adviser to the president on foreign policy issues. According to Obuah, foreign policy is a complex activity in which its articulation, implementation and conduct requires a special government department to make it happen. The president remains the chief implementer of the country's foreign policy but relies on the policy advice of the MFA. Therefore, the Minister of Foreign Affairs is statutorily required to provide policy advice and expertise to the President on Nigeria's foreign policy and its relations with other countries and non-state actors³⁹. The MFA remains the Principal Negotiator for the state. Negotiation is synonymous with diplomacy. Consequently, in order to achieve the country's foreign policy objectives, the MFA uses negotiation and collective bargaining to protect and further her national interest. Thus, the MFA engages in bilateral and multilateral negotiations in the areas of trade, investment, defense, education, arms control, and climate change immigration etc. with other actors in the international community. Therefore, the MFA provides the leadership in these negotiations.⁴⁰

The MFA coordinate the training Programme and recruitment of the potential Foreign Service officers and looked after the commission and embassies and consulates through funding in all nations where diplomatic relations is being established. The MFA also ensures that more missions abroad are been open. The MFA also exercise control and give guidance to the diplomatic missions abroad. The mission abroad constitutes the external arm of machinery for the implementation of Nigeria's foreign policy. Thus, the relationship between the home ministry and missions abroad should be seen in the context of a relationship between headquarters and out posts. The Ministry serves as the headquarters from where officers are posted abroad to the mission for duration of time before been posted back to Abuja for a period of service at home base. The MFA also act as a memory bank for gathering and storing information. A critical role of the MFA and its foreign missions is information and intelligence gathering on other countries. Thus, critical information gathered, collated and stored help the MFA in offering intelligence and strategic advice to the President in the formulation of policies on vital national interests. As noted earlier, the president's power in foreign and military policy is not absolute, as the National Assembly (parliament), Media and the Public often disagree with the President and seek to alter foreign policy decision he has made. Consequently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, bureaucracy also sometimes disagrees with presidential decisions and work to slow or prevent their implementations. Many MFAs also have departments variously known as "Intelligence and Research or Research and Analysis." They specialize in general background research by assessing the significance of information obtained by means which many states challenged the diplomatic service, so massively in this field in the second half of the twentieth century, namely secret intelligence. The MFA is chiefly a consumer of the product of the intelligence service, or of the various specialized members of the "intelligence community" where as in the larger developed states, such a community exist.⁴¹

³⁹ObuahEzi Emmanuel, "An Introduction to Elements of Modes of Diplomacy" P, 25

⁴⁰ Ibid., p 26

⁴¹Berridge, G.R.& Lorna Lloyd, "Diplomacy: Theory and Practice," P, 12

The Minister of Foreign Affairs

The Minister of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria, United States and in other presidential democracies remained one of the key machineries responsible for the formulation, implementation, and conduct of the country's foreign policy. The Minister who is the Chief Executive and political head of the ministry is appointed by the president for a fixed term though subject to review. The primary function of the Foreign Minister is to serve as the principal adviser to the president on foreign affairs and as such he is usually a significant policy maker. The Minister is responsible for the instructions that goes out in cables and dispatches to embassies. If he is powerful enough, he may dominate policy making, as Cardinal Richelieu and Talleyrand dominated the foreign policy of France in the 16th century, and late 18th and 19th centuries. One of the foremost and forceful National Security Advisor was Henry Kissinger, who served President Nixon. He understood the job as requiring him to interact frequently with the media to communicate his and the President views. He was famously dealing with reporters, especially the three television networks' correspondent and the influential Washington columnist especially in foreign affairs. He was able to disarm them with his wit, intimidate them with his brilliance, flatter them with his confidences, and charm them with his attention. His critics were likely to telephoned, cajoled, stroked, invited to dine and visited at their home⁴².

In Nigeria under the President Ibrahim Babangida regime (1985-1993) Prof. Bolaji Akinyemi owing to his dexterity, reformist, dominance, and influence was fondly referred to as the "Henry Kissinger of our time." Also, during the Yar'Adua/Jonathan government (2007-2010), Prof. Ojo Maduekwe and Olugbenga Ashiri (2011-2013) were some of the most influential Foreign Ministers that dominated the foreign policy making of that regime. In the U.S former Secretary of States, Colin Powell under the George W. Bush Administration (2003), John Kerry under the Obama administration were notable and influential in policy making decisions. According to Gbeneye, when Foreign Minister issues policy statements they are usually approved by his president or Head of state, but these are not necessarily diplomacy. Thus, for example, when U.S Secretary of States, George C. Marshall suggested in June 1947 for what later became known as the Marshall plan (economic aid) was a combination of practical and idealistic policies, but diplomacy came later when the details had to be negotiated with the representatives of other governments⁴³. Other notable functions of the Minister of foreign Affairs are:

a) Preparation of Position Papers to Advise the President

The minister of foreign Affairs who is the chief adviser to the president on foreign policy issues relies on the Bureaus such as the Deputy Undersecretary, Assistant Secretaries, and Advisers. Consequently, the primary functions of some of these bureaus and persons are to prepare "position papers" used when advising the president, consulting the legislators, or negotiating with

⁴²www.open.lib.umn.edu/american/government

⁴³Gbeneye Emmanuel E., "An Introduction to Diplomacy," P, 48

foreign powers. Position papers can only be prepared through information and intelligence gathering on daily basis which has to be analyzed, evaluated, and organized for usage when needed by the president.⁴⁴

b) The Minister as a Politician

Under presidential democracies, the president appoints the minister who is a politician and act as one. Consequently, Foreign Minister are often selected primarily because of their intellect, tactfulness, and their ability to influence parliament to be able to secure congressional approval on treaty ratification, ambassadorial nominee approval, war power and budgetary approval. President Franklin Roosevelt chooses Cordell Hull and President Harry S. Truman chose James F. Byrnes, as their Secretary of States because each of them had a hinge influence on the U.S Senate. Similarly, in the British cabinet system, the foreign minister has a seat in parliament and is one of the most influential members of diplomat corps in any major capital such that the foreign minister can only see few ambassadors, except on state occasions or when he meets them in group⁴⁵.

c) Principal Negotiator

The Foreign Minister who is the first among equals as the political head of the Foreign Affairs Ministry is the principal and chief negotiator for the state. In dispute and conflict situations the Foreign minister, representing the president engages in direct negotiation with the Foreign Ministers of the other states. The Foreign Minister also represent the state on bilateral and multilateral conference, regional and international organizations like the United Nations, African Union, ECOWAS, WTO, etc. on issues of trade, arms proliferations, nuclear proliferation, climate change, refugee, repatriation etc. The Minister at these forums represent, protect and project the country's foreign policy Objectives, using national interest as guide.

Think-tank groups as foreign policy machinery

In stable presidential democracies like the United States, and parliamentary democracies like the United Kingdom, France etc. foreign policy articulation, formulation and pursuits are carried out by government in collaboration with relevant research institutes and think-tanks. Think-tanks are relatively anonymous private organizations. They engaged in research and analysis of contemporary issues devoid of undue governmental and political party influences. They are relatively autonomous, but often in resource dependent relationship with other research organizations and international institutions. Their funding something come from the government but strives to maintain their research freedom.

Consequently, Think-tank groups attempts to influence or inform policy choices through intelligent argument and analysis rather than direct lobbying. Think-tanks are privately organized and funded research organizations. They provide

⁴⁴ Ibid., p, 48

⁴⁵ Ibid., p, 49

good sources of significant information on research such as social policy, political strategy, economy, science, economic policies, defense policy, etc. for the government and foreign policy decision makers most of these Think-tanks are sponsored by interest groups seeking to promote a general or specific foreign policy agenda. In the United States, two of the most prominent and influential Think-tanks are: the Brookings institute and the heritage foundation. In Nigeria some of the think-tanks that have made impressive contributions in foreign policy articulation, formulation, and pursuit since independence till date are: Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) (1961), National Institutes for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS) (1979), Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) (2000). These think-tanks groups will be briefly discussed and at such their functions, contributions will be highlighted.

Nigeria Institute of International Affairs (NIIA)

The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) is a think-tank group established in October, 1961 and resumed operation in 1963. The institute first came on board as a private initiative by a group of Nigerian intellectuals. The NIIA was established as a replica of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) London and the Council for Foreign Relations, New York. The NIIA was established with the aim of providing a nursery of ideas on what direction Nigeria should take on international affairs. Since inception the institute has been organizing conferees round tables, and lectures with the aim of addressing current foreign policy issues and policy anticipation⁴⁶

According to Olusanya & Akindele, while x-raying the importance of the NIIA asserted as follows: "The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs undoubtedly is the most prestigious National Centre for research in international affairs in the country; it organized a major national conference in the country in 1985 on "Twenty-Five Years of Nigeria's Foreign Policy"⁴⁷. Till date the Institute remained a specialized instrument of foreign policy formulation in Nigeria. It serves as an intellectual based upon which decision- makers rely for informed opinion and expert advices in order to make rational choices between contending policy options. On the 11th of October, 1961 Sir, Abukaka Tafawa Balewa who was the nation Prime Minister, after necessary consultation with the Regional Premiers, proposed the membership of the Governing council of the NIIA. Balewa in his inaugural address declares his support for the organization. According to him: "if Nigeria is to acquit herself honorably and to take her rightful place in resurgent Africa, she requires to be fully informed on the world today which is one of the paramount functions of the Institute."⁴⁸

Till date, the NIIA remain a major player in foreign policy articulation, and formulation as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs now continue to rely on its policy articulations, formulation and advice. It has continued to redefine our foreign policy objectives and what constitutes our national interest. The NIIA is headed by a Director-general and like every other think-tank; it provides a steady stream of experts to serve in incoming administrations. For example, Prof.

⁴⁶Obi Emeke Anthony, "Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy," P, 89-93

⁴⁷ Akindele R.A. & Bassey E. Ate, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy," P, 1

⁴⁸Obi Emeke Anthony, "Fundamentals of Nigerian Foreign Policy," P, 90

Ibrahim Gamari (1954-1985) and Bolaji Akinyeme (1985-1987) became Ministers of Foreign Affairs after their leadership as Director-general of the institute Prof. joy Ogwu (2006-2009) who served under president Olusegun Obasanjo and Yar'Ardua as a Foreign Affairs Minister also served as a Director-general of the institute. Also, Professor George Obizor who served as Nigeria Ambassador to Israel and United States between 1999-2003 and 2004-2008 respectively has also headed the institute⁴⁹.

National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS)

Another think-tank group that has continued to play a leading role in the articulation, formulation of the country's foreign policy is the National Institute for policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS). The emergence of NIPSS as a government "think-tank" was associated with the need to coordinate the ever-increasing complexity in government activities as cited by the Udoji Public Service Review commission report of 1976. A research and coordinated unit, established in the then cabinet office, which later developed into the National Policy Development Centre (CPDC) or "think-tank" in April 1976. The National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies(NIPSS) was established by degree N0 20 of 1st January, 1979. NIPSS core mandates are: Policy Research, Policy Advice, and Policy Formulation.⁵⁰

Its policy objectives are:

- i. NIPSS conduct policy research for government and train senior executive in policy making and implementation skills and strategy.
- ii. It also provides policy advice or suggests new dimensions to existing policies and conduct indebt studies of society in general.
- iii. It continuously reviews government policies and measures from time to time and draw attention to those that are in consistent with the overall government objectives. It also monitors planning and implementation.
- iv. It carries out an indebt policy research into the social, political, economic, security, scientific, cultural etc. problems facing the country, and formulates and presents in usable form the available options for their solution.
- v. From the above interactions policy inputs are developed from research findings, communiqués of conferences, workshops, and seminars; result of simulations; resolutions of retreats and interactive sessions⁵¹ etc.

Nigeria's Institutes for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR)

Another policy think-tank that has also contributed immensely to foreign policy articulation, formulation, and advice is the Nigeria Institute for Peace and Conflicts Resolution (IPCR). The IPCR was established in the Fourth Republic

⁴⁹www.niia.gov.ng

⁵⁰MakanjuolaTaiyeShaibu, Nigeria's Foreign Policy 1, INR 139 (Lagos: National Open University, 2015), p. 56-65

⁵¹www.nipsskuru.gov.ng

during the tenure of former President Olusegun Obasanjo in February, 2000. It is been run as an agency under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The primary Objective of the IPCR as a Think-tank is primarily a "Research Centre" and an agency to strengthen Nigeria's capacity for the promotion of peace, conflict prevention, management, and resolution.⁵²The establishment of the IPCR was a strategic response by the Federal government towards tackling conflict and violence in the country. The mandate of the institute requires it to conduct an indebt research into the root causes of conflicts, leading to the prevention, management, and peaceful resolution of conflicts. Thus, to meet these broad mandates the institute carries out intervention programs including field studies, desktop research, conflict awareness and sensitization campaigns, capacity building, seminars, conferences, publications and provision of library services. It collaborates and synergize with both state and non-state actors towards the realization of its institutional objectives. The institute is structured into six departments and three (3) units, supervised and supervised by the ministry of foreign Affairs, following the merger of the former Ministry of Cooperation and Integration in Africa with the MFA. The IPCR is well known for its reputation in research that in 2003, its finding led to the publication of Nigeria's first Strategic Conflict Assessment (SCA), which earned a UN Resolution 1625 of October, 2005⁵³

Summary and conclusion

The machineries for the articulation, formulation, implementation, and conduct of foreign policies in Nigeria under the presidential democracy both in the Second Republic (1979-1983) and the fourth Republic (1999-date) cannot be overemphasized. These machineries include the President who is the Commander In-chief of the armed forces and the chief implementer of the nation's foreign policy. This is followed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs who is the chief negotiator of the state and policy advisor to the President. Most significantly, is the MFA, which from my finding is the key machinery, government bureaucracy, executive agency that provides the platform for the conduct of foreign relations between Nigeria and other states, structured along geographic and functional lines.

The study also looked at relevant research institute and "Think-tank groups" like NIIA, NIPSS, IPCR as viable machineries for the policy articulation, formulation, implementation and, pursuit of the Nation's foreign policy objectives. The implication is that foreign policy articulation, formulation, and, implementation is not the prerogative of the President and the MFA alone but rather the Parliament and think-tank groups also play prominent roles. From findings foreign policies do not emanate from the MFA alone but rather from other ministries like defense, trade, and investment, education, justice, culture, tourism etc. also play key roles. Thus, the MFA coordinate policies emanating from these other ministries, agencies, and think-tank groups through synergy building, filtering, and rational decision-making process. The study therefore concludes that under the presidential system of government as practiced in Nigeria and the United States, a network of synergy exists among the various

⁵²MakanjuolaTaiyeShaibu, "Nigeria's Foreign Policy," P, 56-65.

⁵³www.ipcr.gov.ng

organs, agencies, and relevant think-tanks group. Therefore, the machinery for policy articulation, formulation, and implementation of foreign policy is a function of the President, Minister, Bureaucracy (MFA), Parliament/National Assembly, and think-tank groups.

Product, image, and text communicative connections: answering a question of coherence in Nigerian print advertisements.

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Abstract

Images-cum-texts are remarkable instruments of persuasion; that seems the reason for their romantic intimacy in many advertising communications. Thus, this paper examined some connections that exist among the product, image, and text as devices communicating a single message to readers. Ten advertisements focusing on food items and telecommunications were utilized for analysis. The concepts of coherence as well as cohesion, expressed through interpersonal interactions were prerogatives of expounding the textual interconnectivity of the clauses. This study revealed an association of meaning potential within the generic domains of poetry and prose as fascinating devices to attract consumers. Texts played a distinct role of relaying images and a collaborative function to anchor images to achieve persuasion. Contextually, socio-cultural settings of enjoyment, happiness, self-exaltation and vigor in the form of personification characterized consumers' sensitizations. Besides, the advertisements engaged metaphors of pride, unity, and children orientation to stimulate consumption. We suggested that publicists could consistently deploy coherence facilities in advertising to convey/communicate appropriate meaning to recipients.

KEYWORDS: Advertising; Coherence; Cohesion; Image; Product; Text

Introduction

Advertising is a self-motivated and self-esteeming business facility that draws attention to itself without a formal or informal negotiation with readers.¹ Its self-sufficiency is as a result of neglect that it experiences from the public. To many observers, advertising is characterized as nuisance because of some factual observations experienced from its propagations.² The manner that advertising is displayed in the media can be sometimes annoying. One, involuntarily, buys into advertisements (*henceforth* ads) even when unnecessary. When someone buys a newspaper or a film for personal satisfaction, little did the person understand that he/she has bought pieces of

¹ Tellis, G. 1998. Advertising and Sales Promotion Strategy. Reading/Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

² Cook, G. 2001. *The Discourse of Advertising*. London: Routledge.

ads not bargained for. Also, it could be inevitable to browse the Internet without encountering advertising messages. To a large extent, billboards are positioned in strategic places (e.g. airports, highways), even in hospitals. In all of these cases, the presentation accompanying ads is fascinating regarding the pictorial contexts and textual constructs. Advertising pursues consumers everywhere – including their homes, offices, market places, rest rooms, and while driving. As a result of that, we could tag this characteristic ‘persecution’ of human freedom as a strategy to stimulate recipients in order to accelerate consumption.

More significantly, ads receive reactionary attitudes from recipients owing to its intruding behaviors towards human private and personal lives. While one is gravely thinking about impressing matters, advertising knocks on the door of one’s cognition to distract one’s attention with excuses of persuading the individual to buy a product. Earnestly, operating in this ‘harassment’ discipline can be tasking. That can be the reason for advertising to employ three important elements of the image, text, and organizational tenet. We could refer to these utilitarian instruments as trio-sequential ethos of advertising successes. These are elements that influence human perceptions. The combination of the image and text creates in consumers a kind of logical reasoning that fosters fast decision making. Given the psychological manipulation, the creativity in communication constructs meanings for the product to woo consumers and to sustain their loyalty. This brings about phenomenal parasitism where the success of the product rests so much on the propagation of the image and text in the ad. In the persuasive habitation, we might suggest that the image and text are the host or victim while the product is the parasite.

Perhaps, the wide scope of advertising characterizes variegated resources available in the universe of intellectuals. Hirschman³ examines imagery as connotative entities whereas Carroll and Fahlenbrach provide arguments to illuminate memes as communication facilities.⁴ Pictures operating as multimodal and metaphorical elements are considerations of Forceville, Maalej, and Forceville and Clark.⁵ Constructive potential such as expressions of designed devices,⁶ and the employment of a variety of modes like a sonata in multifunctional scales are very vital analyses of advertising.⁷ This study focuses

³ Hirschman, E. (ed.) 1989. *Interpretive Consumer Research*. Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research

⁴ Carrol, N. 1996. A Note on Film Metaphor. *Theorizing the Moving Image*. Cambridge Mass.: Cambridge University Press.; Fahlenbrach, K. (ed.) 2016. *Embodied Metaphors in Film, Television, and Video Games*. London: Routledge.

⁵ Forceville, C. 2000: Compasses, Beauty Queens and Other PCs: Pictorial Metaphors in Computer Advertisements, *Hermes, Journal of Linguistics*, 24, 31-55. ; Forceville, C. 2010. Review of The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis, *Journal of Pragmatics* 42, 2604-2608.; Forceville, C. and Clark, B. 2014. Can Pictures Have Explicatures?, *Linguagem em (Dis)curso*, 14, 451-472.; Maalej Z. 2001. Processing Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. In *Academic Research*, 1, 19-42.

⁶ Van Rompay, T. 2005. *Expressions: Embodiment in the Experience of Design*. PhD Thesis. Technical University Delft: The Netherlands; CILA, N. 2013. *Metaphors We Design By: The Use of Metaphors in Product Design*. PhD Thesis. Technical University Delft: The Netherlands

⁷ El Repaie, E. 2009. “Metaphor in Political Cartoons: Exploring Audience Responses”, in Forceville, C. and Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds.), *Multimodal Metaphor*. Berlin: Mouton de

on coherence as a contribution to earlier intellectual faculties, in order to explore the nature of relationships occurring among the product, image, and text produced as meaning-makers. Contextual connective forces are considered as creativity in advertising to convince consumers. This novel idea is to verify some connections in product-image-text relationships in Nigeria. Consequently, the following questions emanate: What are the forms of the textual connections? Do images and texts of an ad communicate similar messages to the public? How do these communicative instruments represent what a product actually is and what it is meant for? Are these images and texts haphazardly produced just for the sake of distraction?

The concept of coherence, utilizing Halliday's mood system⁸, from the standpoint of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) operates as the textual processor⁹. By implication, this has assisted the researchers to make informed recommendations to stakeholders of the advertising industry. Coherence can help publicists to develop product advertising as well as awaken consumers to the association of the image and text. The analysis has the capacity to stir up more academic research in advertising especially from product-image-text contextual perspectives as discussed below.

literature review

Logical relations of product, image and text

Product, from a general perspective, is a concept expressed in multifaceted spheres. This study considers product as a notional abstraction that is the *raison d'être* for exemplifying it without a determiner. Its characterization covers the domains of business studies, mathematics, architecture, and chemistry with different idiosyncratic features. From a sociological score, product is a behavioral entity that signals the manner in which human beings act in a particular circumstance (e.g. theatre). Particularly, the authors recognize the engineer's, architect's, and artist's endeavors on creativity through building materials, drawing materials, clay, marble, cement, sand, and iron as products. Relevant examples of these are drawings, towers, and the statue. The world of advertising perceives product as a suitable object for satisfying human needs in terms of usage-value and exchange-worth.¹⁰ That opinion refers to goods versus cash; an association that arouses the interest of consumers to buy commodities.

The term image develops and grows from an ancient etymology as a means of referring to an imitated object. Barthes elaborates that, according to an ancient etymology, the word *image* should be linked to the root *imitari*, pinpointing an

Gruyter, 173-196. ; Schilperoord, J. and Maes, A. 2009. "Visual Metaphoric Conceptualization in Editorial Cartoons", in Forceville, C. and Urios-Aparisi, E. (eds.), *Multimodal Metaphor*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 213-240.; Machin, D. (ed.) 2014: *Visual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

⁸ Halliday's terminology for interaction

⁹ Eggins, S. 2004. *Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London: Continuum.

¹⁰ Hansen, H. 1961. *Marketing: Text, Cases and Readings*. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin

analogical depiction of a sign system in a clearly mapped way.¹¹ The analysis of an image, Barthes adds, offers a scientist three distinct messages of linguistic abstraction, coded iconicity, and non-coded iconicity; all of which are operational within a society's cultural wealth. He collapses the messages of an image into the connotative and denotative potential which function in symbolic and literal meaning making domains. However, Barthes classifies the terminologies as theoretical because of their combinatory inseparability.¹²

As product dominates several academic subjects, so also is image. Thus, image as a representation of an object for inspiring virtues has a strong tie with imagery.¹³ Image is limited in scope when compared with imagery. This is because an image is the graphical or pictorial form of an object whereas imagery is more sophisticated as a generalized form of images. Imagery can also be described as the result of product of an image creator¹⁴. Since imagery is the depiction of images en masse as well as the imitation of a work, we may apply both terms – image and imagery – interchangeably. Apart from that, the interchangeability is as a result of the image and imagery operating in the circle of rhetorical decorations in figurative discourses of sensibilities.¹⁵ However, it is worth stating that *imagen* is a unit of imagery in any non-verbal system or organization. So, among others, five types of image can be highlighted. They are literary imagery,¹⁶ body image,¹⁷ corporate image,¹⁸ brand image,¹⁹ and mathematical image²⁰.

Every linguistic communication constructs an unbroken relationship between encoding and decoding. This association has a result in its entirety and

¹¹ Barthes, R. 1977. *Music, Image, Text*. (trans. S. Heath). New York: Hill and Wang.

¹² Forceville, C. 1996. *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*. London: Routledge.1-4; Tanaka, K. 1994. *Advertising Language: A Pragmatic Approach to Advertisements in Britain and Japan*. London: Routledge. 67-75

¹³ Umberto, E. 1980. *The Name of the Rose Naturally, a Manuscript*. Retrieved from <http://www.gyxsqex.com/tushu/book/book76/2009893769005.pdf>

¹⁴ Fadaee, E. 2011. "Symbols, Metaphors and Similes in Literature: A Case Study of Animal Farm" in *Journal of English and Literature* 2(2), 19-27. Retrieved from http://www.academicjournals.org/article/article1379412793_Fadaee.pdf.

Fielding, H. 1749. *Tom Jones*. London: Andrew Millar.

¹⁵ Soyinka, W.1963. *The Lion and the Jewel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

¹⁶ Clark, H. and Van der Wege, M. 2002. "Imagination in Discourse", in Schiffrin, D., Tannen, D. and Hamilton, H. (eds), *The Handbook of Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell, 772 – 786.

¹⁷ DİNÇ, B. and ALISINANOĞLU, F. 2010. Defining the Effects of Television on the Body Image on the Basis of Adolescents' Opinions, *Turkish Online Journal of Qualitative Inquiry*, 1(2) 65-77. Retrieved from http://www.tojq.net/articles/TOJQI_1_2/TOJQI_1_2_Article_5.pdf.

¹⁸ Seleme, E. and Seleme, J. 1988. *The Company Image*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. ; Kotler, P. 1995. *Marketing Management*. Praha: Victoria Publishing; FORET, M. 1997. *Marketingová komunikace*. Brno: Masarykova universita Brno.; Ogilvy, D. 2001. *On Advertising*. London: Prion Books Limited; Bernstein, D. 1984. *Company Image and Reality*. East Sussex: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Ltd.

¹⁹ Keller, K. 1993: Conceptualizing, Measuring, and Managing Customer-Based Brand Equity, *Journal of Marketing* 57, 1-22.

²⁰ Tall, D. and Vinner, S. 1981. *Concept Image and Concept Definition in Mathematics with particular reference to Limits and Continuity*. Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/3127/8167b253201b77bb89269b2ef79f42a42047.pdf>.

rankings, which is text.²¹ In respect of that, Halliday refers to text as product.²² According to Halliday, "The text is a product in the sense that it is an output, something that can be recorded and studied, having a certain construction that can be represented in system terms." Product in language, in Halliday's sense, is communicative. It is a concretized result of the addresser and addressee that is analyzable²³. This is because textual structural connections and potential can be realized in different systemic parameters. The semantic derivatives depend largely on the grammar of the language of operation and socio-cultural intersections intertwined with it.

The discursive attempts on the product, image, and text demonstrate the concepts as bedfellows. To a considerable extent, it has become inescapable for the authors to mention an aspect of the 'trioka' without a reference to the entire triadic conceptual space. It is because their descriptions are not only interwoven but also interdisciplinary academic frameworks. In a way the study's recapitulation signals that:

Product = Image; Image = Text; and Text = Product ²⁴.

The expression explains the approach of advertising professionals regarding the applications of the product, image, and text in their communication. As much as these devices are entities of similarities, advertising practitioners deploy the resources to make meanings that inspire recipients. Yet, the deployment is done in unification. Consequently, an exploration of how the conjunctive communicative devices facilitate meaning has become a necessity. Thus, this study reveals the knowledge of advertisers' contextual techniques whether the strategies are haphazard or augmented advertising; thus, the explication of coherence below.

Theoretical latitude

Coherence exhibits the meaning potential deduction goal of this study. Somehow, coherence does not usually operate in isolation; cohesion is usually its accompaniment. The former explains the contextual properties of the text, image and product whereas the later explicates their internal properties. Coherence accommodates itself in the social limelight while cohesion prides itself in the grammatical interconnectivity of a text²⁵.

Cohesion is primarily empirical unlike coherence that might be subjective at times. Halliday and Hasan describe coherence as clausal organs of a text that

²¹ Hall, S. [1973] 1980. Encoding/Decoding. *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, 128-38.

²² HALLIDAY, M.A. K. 1985. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Great Britain: Arnold., 10

²³ FISH, S. 1980. *Is There a Text in This Class?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 10

²⁴ KRESS, G. and VAN LEEUWEN, T. 1996. *The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.

²⁵ Fulcher, G. 1989. Cohesion and Coherence in Theory and Reading Research, *Journal of Research in Reading*, 12(2), 146-163.

relate to context.²⁶ This points out the context sensitivity of language users and *modus operandi* of the communication mode and channel. The idea of context became very profound in linguistics through Malinowski in 1923²⁷. Context refers to the para-linguistic devices surrounding a text. These are sometimes termed con-text, that is, the conditions built up around a text. Contextual facilities involve things such as the addresser, addressees, and environment of the interactional event. Goffman says that, “in this special context of linguistic elaboration, an explication and discussion of sample sentences will have meaning, and this special context is to be found anywhere in the world where there are grammarians”.²⁸ Textual analysis is more meaningful, according to Goffman, if the socio-cultural atmosphere of the text is allowed a space. From a similar utilitarian domain, Cook suggests that examining a text beyond its structural stretches into its special and psychological context can be more profitable.²⁹ Perhaps, Goffman’s and Cook’s claims have persuaded Schiffrin to classify the communicative vectors into different fields of cognitive, cultural, and social contexts.³⁰ Context in Schiffrin’s categorization is an inevitable concept in discourses. Cognition, culture, and sociality are natural treasures of every human being in different capacities.³¹ Analysts must locate these elements in interactional engagements for appropriate meaning exemplifications.

Eggs glosses from bi-directional connections, that “a text has registerial coherence when we can identify one situation in which all the clauses of the text could occur.”³² The remark suggests the vital role a text plays in the event and the experience that the users demonstrate. The registerial coherence links readers to field, tenor and mode of discourse. The field points to the object of discussion; the tenor refers to the people participating in the communication; and the mode is the channel of discussion – written or spoken – in terms of language functions.³³ The generic coherence, Eggs explains, is featured when one recognizes a text as a typical example of a particular genre.³⁴ Every piece of language falls into a particular classification. When an individual observes this, there is no argument of where a text belongs (e.g. poetic verse versus political discourse, academic writing versus advertising). A poetic verse, for instance, might operate at a far distance from a political discourse. It is also incontrovertible that the distinctions of academic writings do not correlate with advertising fabrications. Figure 1 below illustrates the nature of coherence in language.

²⁶ Halliday, M.A. K. and Hansan, R. 1985. *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Socio-Semiotic Perspective*. Geelong: Deakin University Press, 23.

²⁷ Butler, C. S. 1985. *Systemic Linguistics Theory and Applications*. London: Batsford.

²⁸ Goffman, E. 1981. Replies and Responses, *Forms of talk*, 30-31.

²⁹ Cook, G. 1989. *Discourse*. London: Oxford University Press.

³⁰ Cook, G. 1989. *Discourse*. London: Oxford University Press; GOFFMAN, E. 1981. Replies and Responses, *Forms of talk*, 5-77; SCHIFFRIN, D. 1996. *Discourse Marker*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

³¹ Schiffrin, D. 1996. *Discourse Marker*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 4.

³² Eggs, S. 2004. *Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London: Continuum, 29

³³ Thomson, G. 2014. *Introducing Functional Grammar*. Great Britain: Hodder Arnold.

³⁴ Eggs, S. 2004. *Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London: Continuum, 29

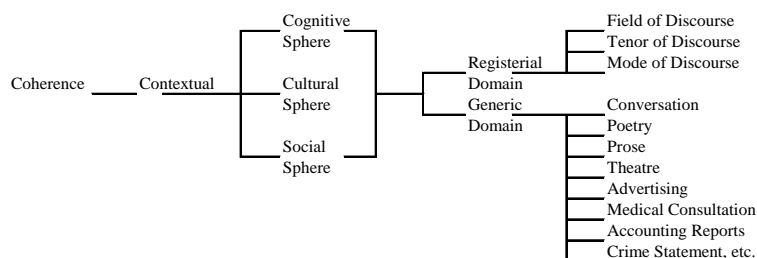


Figure 1: Coherence in language use

The common factor shown in Figure 1 is context. The system in Figure 1 consolidates the efforts of Goffman explicating that coherence is an epithet of contextual abstraction of a text.³⁵

Cohesion seems more elaborate and popular in systemic ideas than coherence because the distinction between the grammatical and the lexical is thinning. In Halliday and Hasan's term, there is no hard-and-fast demarcation between grammar and vocabulary.³⁶ This is when lexicogrammar becomes an important subject. So:

Cohesion occurs when the interpretation of some elements in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it. When this happens a relation of cohesion is set up, and the two elements, the presupposing and the presupposed are thereby at least potentially integrated into a text.³⁷

The hub of cohesion, from all ramifications, is the semantic ties that operate in a text as connectives among clause ranks' elements. The cohesive ties build up a text into a unified whole realized through the transitivity, mood, and thematic systems. To illustrate a parameter of cohesive ties in advertising constructs, this study adopts the grammatical devices of the mood system as analytical instruments because it displays ways that interactants communicate. Lemke and Thompson elucidate the mood system of English as phenomenal owing to its classification of the speech roles.³⁸ The roles are commodified as giving (goods-&-services; information), and demanding (goods-&-services; information). In functional tasks, the speech roles communicate offer, command, statement, and question. The structural pattern of the system negotiates meaning through the Mood and Residue. However, the Mood realized in Subject and Finite reveals meaning in linguistic events. The Residue, expressed through Predicator, Complement and Adjunct, plays a secondary role

³⁵ Goffman, E. 1981. Replies and Responses, *Forms of talk*, 5-77.

³⁶ Halliday, M.A. K. and Hasan, R. 1985. *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Socio-Semiotic Perspective*. Geelong: Deakin University Press.

³⁷ Halliday, M.A. K. and Hasan, R. 1985. *Language, Context, and Text: Aspects of Language in a Socio-Semiotic Perspective*. Geelong: Deakin University Press, 4

³⁸ Lemke, J. 1992. "Interpersonal Meaning in Discourse", in Davies, M. and Ravelli, L. (eds.), *Advances in Systemic Linguistics: Recent Theory and Practice*, London: Pinter Publishers, 82-104.

in the structural organs³⁹. To reiterate, however, the paper investigates the relationships operating among the product, image, and text of advertising in which coherence augmented with the mood system of English assist in realizing meaning.

Methodology

Instruments

A digital *Samsung*[®] WB50F camera and an *hp*[®] laptop equipped with an Internet modem assisted the researchers in collecting a population of ads. As the camera ensured the capturing of ads from billboards, the *Punch*[®], and the *Guardian*[®] newspapers, the laptop with the data card served as a tool for downloading ads from the Internet. The three-tier approaches of the ads' collection aimed at gathering a handful of ads relevant to this study. Altogether, a population of 44 ads was collected and ten of them investigated as samples for a case study of coherence in ads in Nigeria.

Participants

Our research assistant, Bonke assisted a great deal in collecting some ads with a camera between September, 2015 and June, 2016 in order to ensure accessibility of various ads. The relevance of Bonke in the data collection fastened on her knowledge of the Lagos metropolis, the understanding of specific places where ads can be located, and her driving dexterity in traffic-jam situations in Lagos. Lagos was chosen as the field of the data collection because the mega city is the commercial nerve center of Nigeria,⁴⁰ where most manufacturers promote goods and services.⁴¹

Procedures

With a sampling method⁴², we stratified the population of the 44 ads into two divisions of the general (20 ads) and the specific (24 ads) domains. The general domain focuses on fast moving consumer goods (FMCG)⁴³, while the specific

³⁹ Ravelli, L. 2000. "Getting started with functional analysis of texts"; in Unworth, L. and Christie, F. (eds.), *Researching language in schools and communities*. London: Cassell, 1 - 26.

⁴⁰ Nwagwu, I. and ONI, T. 2016. Lagos and Its Potentials for Economic Growth. *Heirich Böll Stiftung*. Retrieved from <https://ng.boell.org/2015/07/02/lagos-and-its-potentials-economic-growth>.; Oteri, A. and Ayeni, R. 2016. *Lagos, The Lagos Megacity. Water, Megacities and Global Challenge*. Retrieved from <http://eaumeiga.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/EN-Lagos-Monograph.pdf>; PwC. 2015. *Lagos: City of Opportunities: An Investor's Guide*. Retrieved from <https://www.lagosglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Lagos-Investors-Guide.pdf>.

⁴¹ Bardi, J. 2010. *Advertising Practice in Nigeria: Development, New Trends, Challenges and Prospects*. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/121086-333039-1-SM%20(1).pdf (accessed 18 January 2017).

⁴² Maxwell, J. 2013. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach*. London: SAGE; Patton, M. 2015. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

⁴³ FMCG are low-cost products frequently purchased as daily needs (Kunc 2005). Çelen et al (2005) categorize such products, for instance, as foods, beverages, and toiletries. They have a short shelf-life with high volume of production and consumption (Majumdar 2004).

represents advertising on festivities. The stratification permitted us to further divide the ads into sub-groups. That is, $20/5 = 4$ and $24/4 = 6$ for the general and specific domains. *Maggi*[®], *Maltina*[®], *Goldberg*[®], and *Lucozade Boost*[®] ads are products of the general field. Workers' Day, Children's Day, and Christmas ads are parts of the specific sphere, displayed through *System Specs*[®] and *Glo*[®], *MTN*[®] and *Bobo*[®], and *Coca-Cola*[®], and *Grand Oil*[®]. Through this procedure, the selection of one ad and two ads each were made, as characterized in Table 1 below.

Table1

Class	Domain	Product	Number	Sub-Total
General	FMCG	Maggi	1	
		Maltina	1	
		Goldberg	1	
		Lucozade Boost	1	4
Specific	Workers' Day	System Specs	1	
		Glo	1	2
	Children's Day	MTN	1	
		Bobo	1	2
	Christmas Day	Cocacola	1	
		Grand Oil	1	2
Total Ads				10

Table 1: Ads selection model

The application of the mood system in Figure 2 allows a table and a graph, illustrated in Table 2 and Figure 3, to reveal the frequency of textual connections. Moreover, cohesion and coherence dominate the discussion. In most of the ads, only bold texts in the ads are considered because some of the texts are illegible. Significantly, the slashes '/' indicate the clause boundary of the texts and the symbol '@' references a registered company/product. PL is an abbreviation of Plate.

Data presentation

The clauses below are the bold texts in the ads.

- PL 1: //Let the taste do the cooking; //With *Maggi*, everywoman is a star.//
- PL 2: //The new face of happiness; //sharing happiness//
- PL 3: //Your Excellency//
- PL 4: //Get everyday energy fast//
- PL 5: //You are the pride of Nigeria; //Happy Workers' Day//
- PL 6: //To you whose oil propels the ship of our state; //Today, you deserve to rest on your
oars; // *Glo Unlimited*; //Happy Workers' Day//
- PL 7: //Today we rest; //Tomorrow we lead; //Happy Children's Day//
- PL 8: //Make it fruity; //Share the fun; //Happy Children's Day//
- PL 9: //Give a little happiness; //Surprise someone; //Get a limited edition Christmas glass
bottle//
- PL 10: //I'm sweeter fried //but depends on the oil; //Merry Christmas//

Data analysis

This section elucidates the application of the mood system, in parallel with XXXX's (xxxx) approach, within the terminologies of Halliday's Mood and Residue, enabling computation of their sub-structural recurrences.

PL1	Let the taste	do	the cooking	Every woman	is	a star
	Subject	Predicator	Complement	Subject	Finite	Complmt.
	Mood	Residue		Mood	Residue	
PL2	The new face of happiness	sharing	happiness			
	Subject	Predicator	Complement			
	Mood	Residue				
PL3	Your Excellency	Get	everyday energy	fast		
	Minor Clause	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct		
		Residue				
PL5	You	are	the pride	of Nigeria	Happy Workers' Day	
	Subject	Finite	Complmt.	Adjunct	Minor Clause	
	Mood	Residue				
PL6	To you whose oil	propels	the ship	of our state		
	Subject	Finite:Present	Predicator:propel	Complmt.	Adjunct	
	Mood	Residue				
	Today	you	deserve	to rest	on your oars	
		Subject	Finite:Present	Predicator:deserve to rest	Adjunct	
		Mood	Residue			

	Glo unlimited		Happy Workers' Day					
	Complement		Minor Clause					
PL7	Today	we	rest	Happy Children's Day				
	Adjunct	Subject	Finite:Present	Predicator:rest	Minor Clause			
	Residue	Mood		Residue				
	Tomorrow		we	lead				
	Adjunct	Subject	Finite:Present	Predicator:lead				
	Residue	Mood		Residue				
PL8	Make		it fruity					
	Predicator		Complement					
	Residue							
	Share		the fun		Happy Children's Day			
	Predicator		Complement		Minor Clause			
	Residue							
PL9	Give		a little happiness		Surprise			
	Predicator		Complement		someone			
	Residue				Predicator:Complement			
	Get		a limited edition Christmas glass bottle					
	Predicator		Complement					
	Residue							
PL10	I	'm	sweeter	but	that	depends	on the oil	
	Subject	Finite	Complmt.	Conjunct.	Subject	Finite:Present	Predicator:depend	Adjunct
	Mood		Residue		Mood		Residue	
	Merry Christmas							
	Minor Clause							

Figure 2: Mood system analysis of texts

Table 2 and Figure 3 below account for the grammatical constituents of the advertising texts.

Results

Following XXXX (xxxx), Table 2 provides an analysis of the texts in Figure 2 in a digital format.

System	Structure	Data										Total
		PL1	PL2	PL3	PL4	PL5	PL6	PL7	PL8	PL9	PL10	
Mood	Subject	2	1	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	2	10
	Finite	1	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	2	8
Residue	Predicator	1	1	0	1	0	3	2	2	3	1	14
	Complement	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	3	1	12
	Adjunct	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	7
Minor	Minor Clause	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	6

Table 2: Computation of the products components

Table 2 above is translated into Figure 3 in the form of table and graph in order to calibrate the value of the grammatical structures in Figure 2.

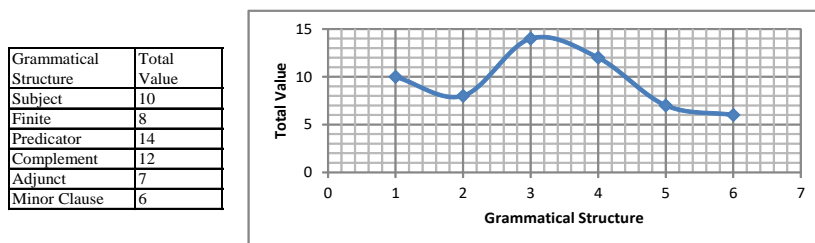


Figure 3: Mood system value calibration

Conjunctions, as more recognized in thematic and logical systems, are not accounted for in Figure 3. However, Figure 3 signals Predicator, Complement, and Subject operating at the highest grammatical altitude. These elements are followed by Finite, Adjunct, and Minor Clause. The recurrence nature of the minor clause is because of the festivities that the ads reference. People often do not apply minor clauses in daily language transactions. The appearance of Figure 3 indicates a seemingly kind of balance in the deployment of Subject, Predicator, and Complement. One should not be surprised by this result because most of the ads focus felicitations rather than persuasion, the fundamental principle of advertising.

Discussion

The similar generic domains of FMCG and festive ads utilized seem to provide cognitive and socio-cultural contexts for propagators and readers. However, advertising being a motivating device can operate within the communicative spaces of conversation, poetry, narrative, drama, and accounting labels this fascinating behavior as an interaction of elements, projecting advertising as a discourse entity where text and context engage readers in interpretative schemata.⁴⁴

PL1 contains the three contents of product, image, and text frameworks, interacting in a social context. The text is the wording system and the product is the object for sale. Outside the two advertising devices, other things playing a supportive role in the ad are considered as the image. We discuss the contents within the schema of what Martin suggests as 'schematic structure'⁴⁵ or Hasan's 'generic structure.'⁴⁶ The text precedes the image and the product. That is Text ^ Image ^ Product - (^ = followed by). The reason is that it is the text that introduces the product. It also provides social meanings to the image. Besides, observations pinpoint that the image plays a compassionate role, most times,

⁴⁴ Wicke, J. 1988. *Advertising Fiction: Literature, Advertising and Social Reading*. New York: Columbia University Press; COOK, G. 2001. *The Discourse of Advertising*. London: Routledge, 3-6

⁴⁵ Martin, J. R. 1992. *English Text: System and Structure*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 105

⁴⁶ Hassan, R.1985. The Concept of Context in Text. In Fries, Peter/Gregory, Michael (eds.), *Discourse in Society: Systemic Functional Perspectives Volume L*. Noorwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing, 121.

for the text. In sum, the text is the cornerstone that all communicative images hang on.⁴⁷



PL 1

Let the taste do the talking is personification in the literary glossary and operates as marked imperative in linguistics. The *Maggi*® ad suggests to the audience to keep mute. The silence requirement is anchored on the palatability that consumers are expected to experience while eating foods prepared with *Maggi*. The publicist positions *Taste* as a human actor. The advertiser projects *Taste* as the actor, perhaps, a lone ranger, on the theater of interaction to entice consumers. A creation of cinematology comes to the fore here where spectators mentally experience dramatic perceptibility. The idea propagated revolves around 'watch with your eyes but keep your mouth shut.' In addition, it is very unusual for imperatives to have obvious Mood. Most Subjects in imperatives are intrinsic. Nonetheless, marked command structures have Subject in the mood system.⁴⁸ The constraint rests on the order that imperatives give. One of the marked situations is the application of *Let*. The lexeme, *Let*, is not only marked but rather suggestive. It is calm and subtle because *Let* invites the recipients to a willing action/personal concession. *Let the taste* is Subject of the clause.

There is a creation of self-aggrandizement for women recipients of the *Maggi* ad with the construct of *With Maggi, every woman is a star*. In this sense, it is very rare for *Maggi* to make every woman a star. This can only occur if the *Maggi* campaigner, in a usual advertising characteristic, launches a promotion where, for instance, a woman wins a competition. Besides, *Maggi* is a condiment that has its place in the kitchen with the cook. It is hard to understand how a woman cooking with *Maggi* in her kitchen can be a star. Even if the palatability of a plate of food will eventually make someone a star it can be either a man or a woman serving food in restaurants because this individual is in contact with consumers. Deploying a statement such as *With Maggi, everywoman is a star*, is a probable formula to inspire women. Or, perhaps, the construct is an attempt to remind readers of the traditional cooking responsibility of a woman in the family setting.

⁴⁷ Giezinger, S. 2001. *The History of Advertising Language*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang GmbH

⁴⁸ THOMPSON, G. 2014. *Introducing Functional Grammar*. Great Britain: Hodder Arnold.

The thematic system of PL1 from left to right shows a kind of division. The image in the first demarcation contains plates of food, a tea towel, and other dining table necessities. The second demarcation has two cubes of *Maggi Chicken*[®] placed close to the center. Apart from the text playing a relaying function⁴⁹, the combinatory structure of the image and the product will almost be meaningless.⁵⁰ This is because the coherence expressions are questionable. The language instrumentalizes the relationships of the image and product in the campaign.⁵¹ The text constitutes a contextual performer of the message. If the ad has been viewed in a video clip, perhaps, the framework could have been more coherent. That is where the audience can see a woman adding *Maggi* cubes to the broth. After which viewers can perceive the taste that someone eating the food and appreciating the contributions of *Maggi* to the cooking process.



PL 2

PL 2 employs the two advertising parameters of texts and products to communicate to recipients. The text is in two forms of disjunctive grammar. That is, *the new face of happiness* and *sharing happiness*. *The new face of happiness* is a nominal group while *sharing happiness* is Residue demonstrated as Predicator and Complement as publicized in Figure 2. The nominal group can either function as Subject in Mood or Complement in Residue depending on the insight of the researcher. However, the study places the fragmented structure as Subject because the statement could be *The new face of happiness [is Maltina[®]]*. Furthermore, *sharing happiness* seems a remainder of *[Maltina is] sharing happiness*. In this case, *Maltina is* has been pruned from the declarative clause. The two elliptical clauses also have associative literary connotations. This

⁴⁹ Text provides appropriate meaning to the image

⁵⁰ Verstergaard, T. and Scroder, K.1985. *The Language of Advertising*. New York: Blackwell, 33-48.

⁵¹ Edell, J. and Staelin, R. 1983. The Information Processing of Pictures in Print Advertisements, *Journal of Consumer Research* 10, 45-61.

argument rests on the kernel functions that the lexemes of *new face*, *happiness*, and *happiness* play in the two clauses.

The communicator formulates *The new face*, announcing to readers that *Maltina* in its physical appearance, and perhaps, in content has changed. The thrilling nature of advertising stimulates the utilization of *happiness*. Apart from functioning as personification, the concept of interchangeability operates here.⁵² In Nigeria, *Happy* is a name. Thus, the advertiser connotes *Maltina* as a human being characterized with the quality of *happiness*. *Maltina* expresses blissful emotion with good fortune because the beverage has been portrayed as a living thing. The second representative name of *Maltina* is concealed as *Happiness*; and 'he' at the same time contains the attributes of *happiness* which 'he' shares with consumers. The choice of *happiness* may be as a result of the feelings that people express while drinking *Maltina*, a malt drink. A bottle and a can labeled *Maltina* reveal the product's brand. Both the text and product coherently report the same personified event. Conversely, the coherence abstraction demands a level of academic knowledge for its elucidation. Popularizing *Maltina* as *Happiness* may provoke a reader to consumption. An individual might request to buy *Happiness* from a store attendant. It is on the ground that a partnership with *happiness*, one might suggest, could lead to emotional joy, fortune, and prosperity. The utilization of *happiness* communicates elevated pleasantness and felicity.



PL 3

The text *Your Excellency* in PL 3 references an exceptional form of greeting to dignify highly placed officials, indicating superiority, splendor, and majesty. The publicist interchanges recipients for these qualities.⁵³ There is also an image of 'His Excellency' to promote *Goldberg*[®]. *Your Excellency* is a socio-political statement deployed as a kind of greeting to the political class adopted for sensitization. This construct serves as a sign of pride and utmost respect for consumers. The product and image have the same robust appearance and

⁵² White, R. 1988. Advertising: What It Is and How to Do It. London: McGraw-Hill.

⁵³ WILLIAMSON, J. 1995. *Decoding Advertising: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*. New York: Marion Boyars.

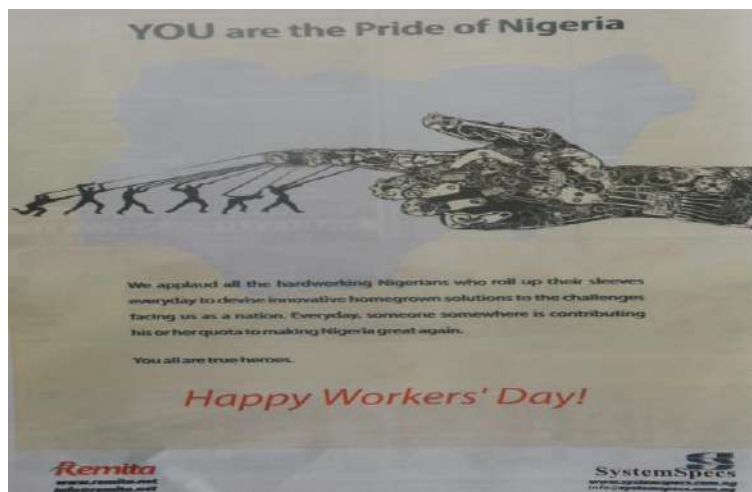
height although the image is chopped from below. The image shows a young Nigerian celebrity – Odunlade Adekola – who dresses in Yorùbá attire holding a glass. By implication, the man is prepared to drink *Goldberg* in his culturally-classic status, which the communicator intends to lure readers into. The ad cajoles recipients-cum-consumers to belong to eminent people in society. The organization of the elements and the conveyed message demonstrate the collaborative coherence of the persuasive tools.



PL 4

The text, image, and product are obvious devices of communication in PL4. The text, *Get everyday energy fast!* is an imperative expressed in the Residue of Predicator, Complement, and Adjunct. The commanding message does not provide room for any negative reasoning contrary to the directive provided. That is why *fast!* intimidates readers to hastily purchase *Lucozade Boost*[®]. *Get* is employed instead of *buy* because the advertiser loves to be pretentious and dodges the monotonous deployment of *buy* that the advertising industry often tethers around.⁵⁴ It is understandable that there is no way that someone wants to *get* energy through *Boost* without some payment terms. The image expresses a boy and girl in a youthful exuberance characterized by dancing potencies. The product contains inscriptions such as *Lucozade Boost*, *energy fast!*, and *regular*. *Get everyday energy fast!* has sustainable implications with the image and product. The young people display vigor and vitality in the ad. The bold word, *Boost*, on the container signifies a push of energy in consumers. These are domains where coherence of the ad lies cognitively, socially, and culturally. As a booster of human energy, according to the advertiser, *Lucozade Boost* places consumers in a platform of modifiable force characterized with positive elevation. Consequently, the nutritional elements increase the body's kilocalories.

⁵⁴ Forceville, C. 1996. *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*. London: Routledge.



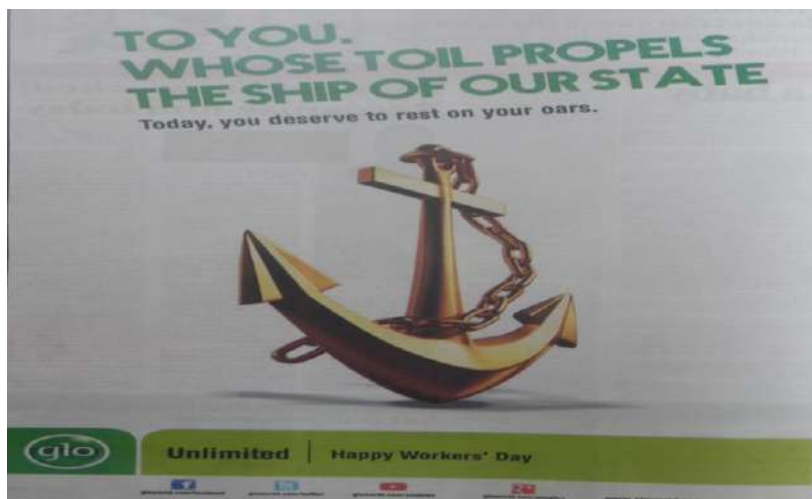
PL 5

The boldness of *You are the pride of Nigeria* and *Happy Worker's Day* provides sensitivity to the ad of PL 5. As recourse, *Happy Worker's Day* is a minor clause. *You are the pride of Nigeria* is literally metaphorical. The declarative refers to the working class individuals. The status of workers, as the engine, determines the worth of a country. Consequently, this is the reason that no country jokes with its workers. The metaphor, our *pride*, serves as an element of dignity that Nigerians operate in, as illustrated in PL 5. The image indicates a mighty hand sustaining the strengths of six hefty persons.

The hand is dramatized as containing functional mechanical devices that act together to fulfill a purpose. While three of the fingers are clawed, two of the fingers remain strong with one finger protruding more than the others. It is on the strength of the obvious finger that six strong workers have tied their ropes to achieve various activities. The interpretation seems that (i) the hand is Nigeria with Abuja as its capital city, (ii) the six workers are the six geo-political zones in Nigeria. – North East, Northwest, North Central, South East, South South, and South West, and (iii) the ropes tied on a particular finger represents a spirit that binds all Nigerian citizens together. The three metaphorical images are symbols of unity. The unification of the images further promotes *'To serve with heart and might/One nation bound in freedom/Peace and unity/.'* These are the last three lines of the Nigerian National Anthem that focus on commitment in service, freedom of purpose and unity propagated in peace.

The terms, our *pride* and *Happy Workers' Day* along with the images of six strong men drawing something captivating from the same pivot, justify the coherence of the elements. Besides, the message conveyed through the text and images regarding the focus of the six-geopolitical zones, the areas that the Nigerian workers channel their strengths and unity present the ad as a coherent trend. Although, the interpretation of the images may be a task, the ad has the capacity to confront tribalism militating against the growth of Nigeria. It reminds Nigerians in the diaspora that tribes and tongues may differ but there is a need for brotherly love. Thus, Nigerians must unite to make the country one

indivisible entity. The message is primarily for the elite, profound in communicative interpretations.



PL 6

PL 6 exhibits an anchor to moor a vessel to the bottom of a sea at the harbor, significantly, to reference workers. In the framework, the text reads, *To you whose toil propels the ship of our state; Today, you deserve to rest on your oars; Glo Unlimited®; and Happy Workers' Day*. The four clauses sound as poetic constructs with different iambic pentameters.

Apart from the splintering structure of *Glo Unlimited*, and a minor clause, *Happy Workers' Day*, all the other clauses function as declaratives. As much as the clauses are poetic, they also appear as a copy of an event signaling the structural principle of letter writing. The salutations are witnessed in the first and last textual structures – *To you* and *Glo Unlimited*. *Glo Unlimited* seems to write a letter of commendation to workers. Workers usual way of life is tedious and today is the time to break away from that workaholic precept in order to enjoy absolute *rest* which is a compensation for past contributions. Their labor is a propeller, that is, a mechanical device with blades that provides energy for national activities. However, the workers, according to *Glo Unlimited*, cannot *rest* alone; their functional implements must also *rest*. Observations indicate that the text and image are completely coherent. The utilization of *propels*, *ship*, and *oars* texts construct a link with the image of the anchor. The ad creates a socio-cultural setting of workers in the ship. The focal point of the ad signifies a microcosm of the environment where workers function.

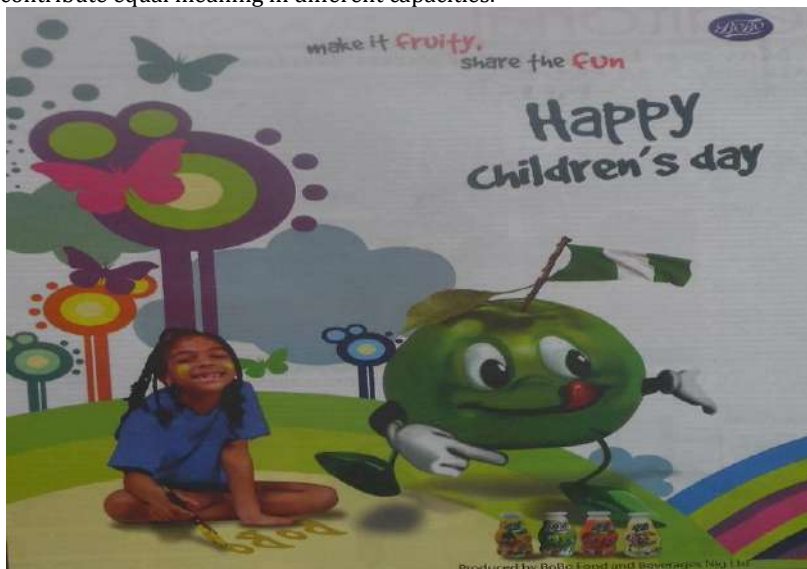


PL 7

PL 7 propagates two entities in the ad the text and image. The product is not featured except that an *MTN*[®] logo at the bottom identifies the ownership. The clauses, *Today we rest; Tomorrow we lead*, are declaratives which offer information to readers about the present and future. Talking about the future at this stage of children is a signpost of a toddler's foresightedness. The present refers to children while the future references mature people who are leaders. Everyone who leads today in a capacity was once a child. Frankly, leaders of tomorrow are children of today. Given that remark, power is ephemeral. It shifts from one generation to another.

Beyond the power exemplified, we observe the voice and presence of a narrator. The individual, utilizing the nominal pronoun, *we*, thinks himself/herself into the social structure of children. The narrator seems to be engulfed with the spirit of the image of a child sleeping in the ad. The image shows the child in a state of relaxation without any systematic attempt to 'subvert' or even participate in any current social activity. Children *rest* because they are not yet qualified to work. Given this circumstance, we may deduce that children naturally-understand their responsibilities and that working is not part of their commitments for now. This might be a reason for introducing *Tomorrow we work*. *Tomorrow* refers to the future when today's children would take the mantle of leadership to manage the entire social system. The narrator discloses that children know when to *rest* and when to work and *lead*. The coloration of the text in black and red might signal a kind of contrast to the yellow background, making the text easier to read. Moreover, the social context propagates children talking to recipients about the understanding of their right in society. The coherence of the framework is located in *Today* as the *Children's Day* and *rest* which is in parallel with the image. The lexeme *rest* and the image

of a sleeping child play a game of reciprocity in the ad.⁵⁵ These devices contribute equal meaning in different capacities.



PL 8

PL8 showcases three clauses. *Make it fruity; and share the fun* are sensitizers. *Happy Children's Day* is a minor clause. The two imperative clauses persuade the children in terms of what they should love to do while celebrating the global festivity. This reveals that the advertiser gives priority to the product rather than the children's celebration. *Bobo®* is a fruit drink, perhaps, marketed towards children in Nigeria. That could be the reason for conveying such messages during the *Children's Day*. The commanding structures function in the semantic slot of Residue. The ad realizes Predicator, Complement, and Adjunct as indicated in the first clause as well as Predicator and Complement as observed in the second clause shown in Figure 2. The advertising call is a charitable one. The generosity is not actually from *Bobo* but rather from the children celebrating the day. The call is illuminated through *share*. As the advertiser intends to make money during the *Children's Day*, the strategy relies on teaching children the spirit of love.

Among others, perhaps, a young girl, cartoons, and the Nigerian flag represent the image postures in the ad. The image represents a setting for children as the child demonstrates a perforated set of milk teeth pinpointing a quality of children. On top of the cartoon character sits the Nigerian flag indicating that the children in focus are Nigerians. To show the desperateness of the advertiser, the girl holds a pen-like object above a colorful inscription on the floor. The fact that the girl carries out this task while hysterically-laughing extends a personal invitation to other children to join in such amusement. In terms of context, the text, image, and product operate coherently as they mimic children's features.

⁵⁵ Forceville, C. 1996. *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*. London: Routledge. 71-81

First, the nature of the text and the staggered arrangement align with child textual psychology. Second, the presentation of a cartoon demonstrates materials that children play with. Third, the girl is a microcosmic representation of children. Therefore, the field of discourse and tenor of discourse capture a children setting.



PL 9

Three imperatives, expressing demands, characterize the text of PL9. They are *Give a little happiness*; *Surprise someone*; and *Get a limited edition Christmas glass bottle*. The communicator presents the structures in three different forms to achieve brevity.⁵⁶ The supposed single structure could read: *Give a little happiness to someone with a limited edition Christmas glass bottle*. To make the statement abruptly-organically pungent the introduction of *surprise* and *get* becomes mandatory. The announcement could compel the public to pay attention to the text. The structures operate in the Residue semiotic slots of Predication and Complement. *Give*, *surprise*, and *get* are contents of excitement to arouse consumers' emotions. The introduction of *give* inspires readers to give gifts of *Coca-Cola*® in Yuletide. This idea is parallel to a saying 'Giving is living.' Besides, in Nigeria, there is an aphorism that 'Givers never lack.' These economical phrases function well in the cultural setting because there is a belief that a giver progresses more than a receiver due to the positioning of the hands. A giver's hand is on top while giving, but a receiver's hand is beneath while receiving. Thus, it is assumed that a giver is always on top to achieve greater things than a receiver.

From *Coca-Cola's* standpoint, giving creates unlimited joy for a receiver because giving a bottle of *Coca-Cola* fills a lacuna in the body of a receiver. The assumption might be true because observations show that gratitude at least in the form of humility and laughter trail the behavior of a receiver of a gift from a giver. However, it is superfluous to claim that somebody will create amazement for giving another person a bottle of *Coca-Cola*. *Surprise* is adopted only as a form of sensitization. Its deployment is welcome; perhaps, someone can begin

⁵⁶ Cook, G. 2001. *The Discourse of Advertising*. London: Routledge.

to think that giving a bottle of *Coca-Cola* to an associate during Christmas can be awesome. *Get* expounds a benefit that follows the purchase of *Coca-Cola* because it is branded, and perhaps, with a rewarding Christmas edition with a customized *glass bottle*. The application of *unlimited* in the structure is to quicken the action of consumers to buy *Coca-Cola*.

In Nigeria, the image of Santa Claus known as Father Christmas is phenomenal during the Yuletide season. Arrays of stars and their galactic attributes accompany the renowned image. Santa Claus, who has been promoted for decades by *Coca-Cola*, appears in his usual attire also of *Coca-Cola's* concept. The red and white design has been fashionable since about 1931, ever since *Coca-Cola* became involved in its projection.⁵⁷ Father Christmas with the traditional fashionable design is synonymous with *Coca-Cola*, although other products do fraternize with Father Christmas' appearances in the usual red and white colors. Contextually, *Christmas* as a text, Father Christmas as an image, and the *Coca-Cola* bottle as a product position the ad as coherent. Reasons are that these elements harmonize a single thought to excite recipients.



PL 10

PL 10 contains three clauses of *I'm sweeter fried; but that depends on the oil; and Merry Christmas*. The former two clauses are declaratives; the communicative elements make statements while the later is a minor clause. The turkey as the image appears as a bird, characterized as a human being that expresses personal features. This brings about a revelation of what the turkey is, that is, *I'm sweeter fried*. This is a controversial construct because it goes along with death. It is a common saying that no one can hear about death and still be happy. Even animals run away from human beings when there is a notice of

⁵⁷ Twichell, J. 2000. *Twenty Ads that Shook the World: The Century's Most Groundbreaking Advertising and How it Changed us All*. New York: Random Inc; Simpson, J. and Roud, S. 2001. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Folklore*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

death. As a result, both the animate and inanimate categorize death as being frightening. Living things cherish life. Meanwhile, this is the juncture that the creative attitude of the advertiser materializes to influence readers. The turkey exposes recipients to how it can be best enjoyed. Surprisingly, the process has to pass through hot oil on the fire. Fire itself is scary. This demonstrates further that advertising could use any strategy to encourage consumption. In the process of calculating how to best enjoy the turkey, the ingredient of the frying activity is introduced including the oil used to do the frying. The oil, the advertiser emphasizes, is *Grand Oil*[®] without which no turkey can be enjoyed on *Christmas Day*. According to the advertiser, *Grand Oil* is solely behind the merriment of Christmas food. Otherwise all the cooks will regret their actions. In other words, *Grand Oil* presents itself as the king of oil in cooking events much like the lion is the king of the animals. The profound image in the communication is the turkey in a very elegant and perhaps, boastful manners.

Conclusion

The study considers the nature of coherence in some Nigerian ads in terms of textual connections and image propagation. As exhibited in Figure 3, Predicate, Complement, and Subject anchor most of the textual connections with Finite, Adjunct, and Minor Clause operating as minor communicative devices. The product, image, and text are inevitable contents in most advertising frameworks, compelling one of the triadic terms to function as a conveyor of meaning potential. Findings indicate that the image and text romance in persuasive constructs. This is because they act to either anchor or relay objects that produce appealing semantic implications. Apart from the ad of *Maggi* (PL 1) that is not completely coherent in its operations, all the other ads publicize coherence of the text, image, and product in several ways. The considered ads demonstrate a field of discourse in terms of the announcements of the existence of products. These occur in both daily and festival ads (PLs 2, 4, 9, and 10). We also observe tenor of discourse in the structures by using the power of creativity through texts and images (PLs 5, 6, and 7) to influence consumers. The names of those products are consistently articulated. The mode of discourse reveals that the communication channel passes through the print media. There is no feedback because the communicative events are unidirectional. The texts constitutively connect to Nigerian socio-cultural treasures (PLs 3 and 5).

On top of these, the ads adopt generic domains of letter writing principles, poetic exemplifications, political jingoism, and children 'ideology' (PLs 3, 6, 7, and 8) to promote the products and inspire readers to consumption. Every ad examined expresses its coherence based on the area of interest, indicating that the elements of advertising are not haphazard but rather prepared in an organized manner. The authors recommend that every print ad of whatever sphere of operations should articulate its contextual domain of admittance in simple terminologies and concise illustrations so that consumers can easily understand the messages. As coherence is educative by using society's amenities, government agencies could promulgate laws to further support advertisers to consistently construct coherent elements in advertising frameworks to enlarge human intellectual capacities.

**Economic development in Esanland up to 1906: Entrepreneurship and
responsiveness to change and continuity**

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Abstract

This paper examines the economic activities of Esan people from earliest times to 1906. It problematises entrepreneurship as an elastic factor of production and development in Esanland. Its elasticity made the pre-colonial economy of Esan responsive to the economic forces of change and continuity. And it contextualised the Esan people as the means and beneficiaries of development in Esanland within the period. The paper finds that economic survivalism in Esan did not take place in vacuum. It was triggered by the adaptation of Esan people to their environmental milieu and responsiveness to the forces of economic change. Hence, using historical research methodology, the paper employs primary and secondary materials to demonstrate this historical fact. From the patterns of economic development in Esan during the period, the paper finds that its economy was neither subsistent nor static. It was dynamic and viable because of the dynamism of Esan people as entrepreneurs. Consequently, the pre-colonial Esan economy was able to satisfy economic needs in Benin Kingdom and beyond through Benin agents. Therefore, after the conquest of Benin in 1897, the British were attracted to Esanland, prompting a shift in economic emphasis to Esan in 1906. This paper concludes that the continued responsiveness and adaptation of Esan people to their environmental milieu and emergent forces of demand and supply made Esan economy relevant to the British.

Keywords: Esanland, People, Responsiveness, Adaptation, Development

Introduction

Man is an economic creature and from early times, he has been actively engaged in the business of making a living from his environment. Over the years, mankind in Esan and everywhere has built a symbiotic relationship with his earthly home. And this has resulted for him undertaking a diversity of economic activities in his quest for survival; which cumulatively constitute the economy of his nation. Man's survival in pre-colonial Esan was largely dependent on the extent to which he successfully mastered and engaged in these activities, that is, the level of his adept management and exploitation of his environment and its inherent resources. Fittingly, G.A. Petch observes that the word economics is

derived from two Greek words: *oikos* (meaning 'house') and *nemo* (meaning 'to manage'), which collectively means to manage a house.¹ Implicit in this understanding is the fact that, in all societies, the cardinal responsibility of man, as an economic creature, is to effectively manage and harness all the resources found in his environment in order to fully maximize the total utility derivable from them.

Propelled by his inherent economic wiring, man in the ordinary business of life had engaged diverse in economic activities. And mankind has continued to expand the base of these economic activities in order to satisfy human wants.² These economic activities, particularly the effort to understand them, is what Alfred Marshal (1842-1926) conceived as the main purpose of economics. Thus, as an economic creature, man is perceived as a business person (entrepreneur), who is, in constant search of opportunities to minimise cost.³ This, according to Chester G. Starr, is rationale behind the domestication of plants and animals right from the Neolithic Age, when man gained mastery over his environment and stopped submitting blindly to the pressures of nature. Man's economics of survival, Anthony Okoduwa maintained is geared towards feeding his stomach. And this in his view made the study of man's economic history past or present, the history of the stomach.⁴

It is against this backdrop that this paper will examine the Esan people and their economic development (survival) up to 1906. The termination of the scope of this study in 1906 was informed by the fact, 1906 marked the start of British colonialism as a force for economic change in Esanland. The study area is located in the Northeast of Benin City the capital of Edo state. It is a forest region with a tropical climate. The fertility of the land and the seasonal rainfall Esanland enjoys tilted economic survivalism in the region towards farming than all else. The people of the thirty-five communities that make up Esanland exploited their environment and responded well to the forces of change to build a viable and dynamic economy during the period of study. But according to the observation of Onwuka Njoku the economic activities of pre-colonial Nigerian societies are largely terra incognita in economic historiography.⁵ He observed that the crux of economic history is to demonstrate how men and women, free people or slaves, elites or commoners engaged in the business of making a living by organising and exploiting the resources available to them.⁶This paper

¹G.A. Petch, *Economic Development and Modern West Africa*, (London: University of London Press Ltd., 1961), 9.

²*Ibid.*

³ A. Marshal quoted in J.U. Anyaele, *Comprehensive Economics*, Lagos: A. Johnson Publishers Ltd., 1990, p.1.; and A. Marshal, "Principle of Economics: An Introduction" cited in A. Ezeoha and A. Ituma, "An Institutional Analysis of Entrepreneurship Development in Nigeria" in Akinyinka Akinyoade, et al (eds.), *Entrepreneurship in Africa*, (Boston: Brill, 2017), 150.

⁴ C.G. Starr, *A History of the Ancient World* (2nd ed.), (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 17; and A.I. Okoduwa, *Harnessing the Origin and Economic History of Esanland: A Dialysis for Autarky in Nigeria*, (Benin City: Independent Concept, 2018), ix.

⁵ O. Njoku, *Economic History of Nigeria: 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Enugu: Magnet Business Enterprises, 2001), 1.

⁶*Ibid.*, 2.

is informed by the need to demonstrate Esanland as one of the economic theatres of life where mankind interacted with his environment to satisfy the need of the stomach.

Therefore, this paper will interrogate Esan's economic tripod of agriculture, industrialisation and trade as the critical economic activities that helped make ends to meet. More so, the paper will deepen historical appreciation of how Esan people as a factor of production served as the means and ends of development. Hence, it will highlight the people's management and utilisation of their land to build a viable economy that was globally attractive. It will demonstrate that the British conquest and colonization of Esanland in 1906 was economically determined. In 1906, British interest in the agricultural and industrialisation products produced in Esan for the benefit of its metropolis became the new force of change and continuity Esan people had to respond to. This made the people the means of development, but not the ends of development during the period. Therefore, the paper maintains that in the economic business of life development is beneficial and sustainable when the people are its means and end.

Theoretical Framework

This paper is theoretically underpinned on the Rostow structuralist model of economic development. This theory is otherwise known as the Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth. Walt W. Rostow⁷ is an American economic historian who propounded and popularised the idea that economic development in societies of the world follows a structured process as it progressed towards modernity. This implies that the economic development of nations do not take place in vacuum and is not riotous. Rostow's theorisation of economic development offers a general sweep of the path of nations must take to attain economic growth. And on this note, the theory had come under much criticism. Theoretically, Rostow compartmentalized the process of economic development into five (5) sequential stages which nations must generally pass through at one time or the other in their drive to economic development. These stages of economic growth⁸ are:

1. The traditional society.
2. The preconditions for take-off.
3. The take-off.
4. The drive to maturity.
5. The age of high mass consumption.

The contextualisation of this paper within the Rostow's stages of economic growth is not because of its perfection. Because it is a given that all economic theories and laws such as the laws of demand and supply that state that: "*The lower the price the more the quantity would be demanded; and the higher the price the more quantity would be supplied,*" are not watertight and cast in iron.

⁷Michael P. Todaro and Stephen C. Smith, *Economic Development (12th ed.)*, (Harlow: Pearson Educational Limited, 2015), 120.

⁸W.W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth, *The Economic History Review*, Second Series, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1959, 1.

This is because of the unpredictability of man. It is a given that buyers demand ostentatious commodities and *giffen* goods more when their prices are high; and that sellers tend to supply lesser quantity of goods to the market when their prices are high to prevent price from crashing. That said it is instructive to note that this study is anchored on Rostow theory of economic development because of its analytical applicability and aptness in the explanation of the changes and continuities in the economy of Esanland. Furthermore, it captures perfectly the main thrust of this paper that the pre-colonial Esan economy was neither subsistent nor static. In the period of study, the Esan economy was largely a traditional economy. And Rostow explained that economic development begins from this stage. At this stage, He wrote that traditional societies (or economies) develop within limited production functions.⁹

However, M.L. Jhingan explained that the fact that economic development takes place in traditional societies within a limited production function does not mean that they experience little or no economic change.¹⁰Rostow made this point crystal clear by asserting that traditional societies have the economic capacities to respond and adapt to the forces of economic change. He captured the point this way,

Both in more distant past and in recent times the story of traditional societies is a story of endless change reflected in the scale and patterns of trade, level of agricultural output and productivity, the scale of manufactures, fluctuation in population and rural real income... They did not lack inventiveness and innovations...¹¹

It follows logically from this contention that the pre-colonial economy of Esanland was not stagnant. During the period, entrepreneurship (inventiveness and innovation) in the region was the bastion of economic development. It enhanced the effective mobilisation of land, labour and capital for development and caused the Esan economy to be responsive to change and continuity. Therefore, agriculture, indigenous industrialisation and trade developed as the main economic activities entrepreneurship engendered in Esan traditional economy. In Europe, just as the discovery of the new world and advancement in science and technology created the preconditions for take-off¹², so also the resourcefulness of Esan traditional economy attracted Britain to Esanland and it facilitated colonial relations that launched Esanland into its precondition for take-off stage. Jhingan explains this stage as a transitional phase where the preconditions for sustainable economic growth are created.¹³Consequently, in 1906, the incorporation of Esanland into the British Nigerian colonial enterprise, introduction of indirect rule, and British colonial economic policies

⁹*Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰M.L. Jhingan, *The Economics of Development and Planning (39th ed.)*, (Delhi: Vrinda Publications Ltd., 2007), 124-125.

¹¹W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, 4.

¹²*Ibid.*, 4.

¹³M.L. Jhingan, *The Economics of Development and Planning*, 124-125.

paved the way for the Esaneconomy to enter its take-off stage of economic growth.

Responding to colonialism as a force for economic change, the Esan economy shredded part of its traditionalism to become a pseudo modern economy from 1906. Seamlessly, the Esan economy experienced structural changes that marked the start of its drive towards maturity and the age of high mass consumption. And this change can best be put into proper historical perspective through theorisation. Murray Hunter observed that all economies evolved and developed over time and that theories are the veritable frameworks developed in their wake or aftermath to give them both descriptive and predictive explanations.¹⁴ Therefore, Rostow's theory of economic development lends itself well to this study as a veritable instrument for understanding economic growth and development in Esanland. It has both descriptive and predictive analytical implications for Esan economy that transcends 1906. Stretching the narrative of Rostow's theory further, Hunter argued that economies yet to complete their transition through the five stages of economic growth would remain an underdeveloped economy. He explained it this way,

An underdeveloped economy is one that has broken out of the traditional mode and is beginning to experience some development spurred by government investment in transport, social capital and other infrastructures. Government supported roads, railways, airports, communication services and schools enhance the ability of society to develop and transform itself from a rural based society.¹⁵

This implies that an economy still in transition is a pseudo modern economy. Although it had left the traditional stage, it still remained an underdeveloped economy until it reached the stage where local production can conveniently satisfy mass consumption needs. The utility of this argument here rests on the predictive or long-range economic development inferences Rostow's theorisation enable us deduce about Esanland. To this end, Mario Coccia definition of economic development as a *process* that generates economic, social and technical *progress* in nations¹⁶ justifies this panoramic assessment of economic development. It coheres with Rostow theory in presenting economic development as a timeless continuum. Implicit in this understanding is the fact that economic development in Esanland is a continuum best appreciated through the long lens of history. Economic development in Esan cannot be confined and restricted to a specific time and space in its history. Thus, the Rostow theory demonstrates that there was economic change, continuity and development in Esanland that cut across time. And that the burden of human

¹⁴Murray Hunter, "The Stages of Economic Development from an Opportunity Perspective: Rostow Extended", *Geopolitics, History and International Relations*, Vol. 4(2), 2012, 25.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁶Mario Coccia, "Theories of Development" in Ali Farazmand (ed.), *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy and Governance*, (New York: Springer Cham, 2017), 1.

economic activities in Esan was how to satisfy wants and consumption¹⁷ which society was expected to meet on or before the age of high mass consumption.

Factors of Production in Esan: Land

Land is the part of the earth not covered by water.¹⁸ It constitutes the earth's lithosphere and a free gift of nature abundantly available in Africa, the second largest continent in the world with a total landmass of 30.37 million km². The demand for land as a factor of production in pre-colonial Esanland was a derived demand. Land was demanded not for itself; but for what it could be used for (farming) to ensure the survival, sustenance and welfare of the people. Hence, Fred Burke and Michael Kublin observed about pre-colonial African societies that, while cattle herders see cattle as life; in agrarian societies like Esan, the people viewed land as the source of life itself. It was seen as the air the people breathe and necessary for life; thus land was hardly sold from one person to another.¹⁹

Indeed, as a factor of production in pre-colonial Esan land was held in high esteem. This explains why land was communally owned in Esan during the period and held in trust for the people by their village head, '*Odionwele*'; and at the community level by their political head, the *Onojie*. Due to the centrality of land to the economy of Esan, it was shared according to individual family need for it. Joseph Osagie puts it this way: *every man had unfettered access to land for cultivation and building purposes. Such a right could however not be sold or ceded as land was regarded as sacred as well as a gift from nature.*²⁰ Further, Dawood Egbefo and Michael Ibiezugbe assert that land was the mainstay of the Esan people's existence and their basic means of production. And that all primary and tertiary economic activities such as agriculture, manufacturing and trade depended on land in Esan. No wonder, no one family in pre-colonial Esan was allowed to own land permanently. Hence, although it could be transferred from father to son, it cannot be sold to others or strangers; because land was a vital economic property communally owned and held in behalf of the community by the *Onojie* (King) or the *Odionwele* (Village head).²¹

In pre-colonial Esan, acquisition of land was consistent with the modern international law principle of land acquisition and ownership, that is, the principle underscoring the effective occupation of terra nullius.²² To this end, Osagie observes that, the acquisition of land in Esan was based on the principle

¹⁷M.L. Jhingan, M. Giriya and L. Sasikala, *History of Economic Thought (3rd ed.)*, (Delhi: Vrinda Publications Ltd., 2011), 20-21.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹F. Burke and M. Kublin, *World Regional Studies: Africa*, (Boston: Houghton Miffling Company, 1991), 31.

²⁰J.I. Osagie, *Economic Development in Esan in the Colonial Period*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Benin, December 2004, 23.

²¹D.O. Egbefo and M.I. Ibiezugbe, p. 76. and see I.S. Ehimogie, "Land Ownership and Utilization in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Esan Kingdom" cited in D.O. Egbefo and M.I. Ibiezugbe, "Contributions of Women to Sustainable Economic Development and Consolidation of Intra and Inter-Group Relations, 1850-1960," *The Nigerian Journal of Economic History*, November 15, 2016, 76.

²²B. Bazuaye and O. Enabulele, *International Law*, (Benin City: Ambik Press, 2006), 205.

of “*Ono kagbeegboyalenegbo*” meaning that, the first person to deforest and occupy a parcel of land owns the land.²³ Based on this principle, in Esanland, farmers could acquire as many plots of land as possible in different areas; as long as they do not encroach on the land of others.²⁴

In Esan, the traditional land use system encouraged the use of land in such a way that after use, the land was allowed to remain fallow for a period of time in order to help it recuperate and regain its nutrient, so that it will be relevant in another farming season. And this informed the adoption of the shifting cultivation farming technique in Esanland. More so, the native land use decree allowed foreigners in Esan to own land only on a temporary basis; and such a foreigner can only possess land on a permanent basis after performing the traditional rituals naturalizing him as a native of Esan.²⁵

Labour

Labour is the human resources and efforts used in cultivating land and harnessing other factors of production to satisfy human want.²⁶ In the period under review, Esanland was blessed with abundant able-bodied and productive young men and women, who constituted the working population or labour force of the society. During this period, large proportion of Esan’s labour force was gainfully employed in the farming sector. In the words of Joseph Osagie: “The labour needs for agriculture were provided by all and sundry with the exception of the old and invalid.”²⁷

In Esanland, the population was divided into three (3) main age grades that constitute its labour force. They were: the *Edion* (elders from 45 years and above), the *Ighene* or *Igbama* (youths from 26 years to 44 years), and the *Egbonughele* (all males from 12 years to 25 years).²⁸ However, in pre-colonial Esan, the family size was usually large, by design, in order to provide the manpower needed for farm work. In addition to this, manpower in pre-colonial Esan was also drawn from friends, relatives, in-laws, kinsmen, slaves; and from reciprocal labour known as ‘*irogan*’: a farming co-operative society, where farmer belonging to the same age grade agree to help each in turns to do farm work such as clearing, planting and weeding.²⁹

In another dimension, the rich labour resources of Esanland attracted the attention of European slave merchants to the region via their Benin agents; who during the trans-Atlantic slave trade era acquired able-bodied manpower from Esan and sold them to European slave merchants for onward transportation to Europe and America where they worked in European plantations. According to Anthony Okoduwa, *from the beginning (of Benin-European trade relations), European traders in Benin indicated their interest to trade in gold, slaves, cloth,*

²³ J.I. Osagie, 23-24.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 24-25.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 23-25.

²⁶ M.A. Iyoha et al. *An Introduction to Modern Macro-Economics*, (Rev. ed.), (Benin City: Mindex Publishing, 2003), 4.

²⁷ J.I. Osagie, 28.

²⁸ C. Okojie, 47-48.

²⁹ J.I. Osagie, 28-29.

*ivory and pepper from the native believing that gold and slaves were to be found in Benin.*³⁰ The attendant consequences of the European demand for slaves, was the exploitation of the labour resources of Esanland. And this, according to Walter Rodney, led to the depletion of Africa's labour resources; and the underdevelopment of its economy. Further, he writes that aside from the millions that were exported to Europe and America alive; most of the labour force were killed in the various wars that were fought to capture slaves.³¹

Therefore, this huge economic loss to pre-colonial Esan economy, on the other hand profited the Benin, Benin imperial economic agents (the *Ekhen*: long distance traders sent by the Oba of Benin to Esanland to procure slaves and other trade goods from the region), and to a large extent Europe.³² Despite the avowed embargo on sale of male slaves in Benin, Frank Ikponmwoosa observes that, Benin still benefitted from the slave trade era by selling female slaves and other war captives to the Europeans through the port of Ughoton.³³ Additionally, these slaves acquired from Esanland and elsewhere satisfied the ever increasing demand for slave labour for agriculture within and outside Benin; but especially in European plantations in America where slave labour from Esan and elsewhere augmented their labour shortfall before the rise of the industrial revolution in Britain that paved the way for the abolition of the slave trade in 1807.

Structure of the Pre-Colonial Esan Economy: Agriculture

The pre-colonial economy of Esan comprises the various economic activities the people of Esan engaged in, in order to make a living. And these were largely environmentally determined. Given the tropical climatic conditions and regular rainfall of the tropical region, farming emerged as the predominant economic activity in pre-colonial Esan. Providing insight into the development of agriculture in Africa, Kevin Shillington writes that the movement towards crop cultivation began with the gathering of wild grain; then farming gradually developed with the deliberate protection, weeding, saving of seeds, and re-sowing of the gathered wild grains and roots crops. Consequently, domestication of plants became a full scale economic activity, when wild grain's survival became increasingly dependent on man's intervention.³⁴

In pre-colonial Esanland, the availability and accessibility of land gave a fillip to the development of its agrarian economy. More so, the easy access to labour resources within and outside the extended family gave further boost to the consolidation of farming as the pivot of the pre-colonial Esan economy. Hence, Wale Oyemakinde observes that: "farm land was plentiful enough not to create a constraint on development in pre-colonial West Africa... Family labour was

³⁰A.I. Okoduwa, "Gold and Cloth in Esan-Benin Economic Relations during the Pre-Colonial Times" in Alexandra Esinaje et al. (eds.), *Perspectives on the Humanities*, (Benson Idahosa University, 2017), 25.

³¹ W. Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, (London: Bogle-L' Ouverture, 1972), 103-105.

³² F. Ikponmwoosa, *Colonial Rule and Economic Development in Benin*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, 2014, 75-79.

³³*Ibid.*, 80-81.

³⁴ K. Shillington, *History of Africa* (3rd ed.), (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 22.

convenient, not only because it was readily available, but also because it was easily disciplined.³⁵ Accordingly, demonstrating the centrality of farming in West Africa, G.O. Ogunremi writes that the pre-colonial economy was structured along the line of agriculture, gathering, hunting, fishing, pastoralism, mineral working, and craftsmanship.³⁶

Consequently, the pre-colonial economy of Esan like that of other neighbouring economies during the period rested heavily on agriculture as the main strand of its economic tripod. Thus, with regards to the Isoko economy, Samuel Aghalino points out that the pre-colonial economy rested squarely on farming.³⁷ Implicit in this view is the fact that, farming was the pivot on which every other economic activities revolve in Isokoland. Similarly, Joseph Osagie observed about the Esan economy that, *in spite of the existence of other economic activities such as cloth weaving, basket weaving, blacksmithing, and hunting; Esan was basically an agricultural society. Other professions and trade were regarded as secondary.*³⁸ Therefore, Okojie noted that everybody in Esanland, man or woman, were simple farmers, who produced food crops such as Yam, Maize, Cocoyam, Beans, Pepper, Melon, Banana, Plantain, and Groundnut. They also cultivated economic crops such as cotton and palm produce on the same farm land through the mixed cropping farming technique.³⁹ Farming in pre-colonial Esan was basically a family business. Resultantly, Aghalino argues that: "The household was a very important unit of labour for agriculture because it cost less... it involves no formal payment of wages and because it could be used to a point, where its marginal productivity is zero."⁴⁰

Although yam was majorly cultivated in pre-colonial Esan, because as Okoduwa explains, yam was considered the King of crops⁴¹ however; Bradbury reveals that, yam farming was complemented with hunting, and fishing: especially in Amaru, a fishing and trading village on Alagbetta creek, founded from Ugboha; and also with the rearing of animals such as: fowls, goats, sheep and dwarf cattle.⁴² Further, Okoduwa adds that, *outside farming, Esan people continued to hunt for ...snail (ure). They engaged in gathering or collecting of vegetable, edible fungi (utun) and various types of fruits... to complement their food needs.*⁴³ However, farming remained important to the Esan people and central to their economy to the extent that Elizabeth Obasuyi reports that the people of Esan had to give up cattle rearing later, during the colonial period, when they

³⁵ W. Oyemakinde, "The Structure of the West African Economy" in G.O. Ogunremi and E.K. Faluyi (eds.), *Economic History of West Africa*, (Lagos: First Academic Publishers, 1996), 1-2.

³⁶ G.O. Ogunremi, "The Structure of Pre-Colonial Economy" in G.O. Ogunremi and E.K. Faluyi (eds.), *Economic History of West Africa*, (Lagos: First Academic Publishers, 1996), 15-28.

³⁷ S.O. Aghalino, "Economic Foundations of Pre-Colonial Isoko Land," *Ilorin Journal of History*, Vol. 1, No, 2006, 27.

³⁸ J.I. Osagie, "Agriculture in Esan in the Pre-Colonial Period," *Benin Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1997, 74-75.

³⁹ C.G. Okojie, 15-16; and J.I. Osagie, 79.

⁴⁰ S.O. Aghalino, p. 29.

⁴¹ A.I. Okoduwa, *Harnessing the Origin and Economic History of Esanland*, 17.

⁴² R.E. Bradbury, 63.

⁴³ A.I. Okoduwa, 18.

became a potent threat to their farm.⁴⁴ Therefore, A.G. Hopkins⁴⁵ and J.I. Osagie⁴⁶ conclude that the Esan people of Africa, like other Africans during the pre-colonial period, were expert farm managers; who despite their heavy reliance on simple farm tools such as: digging stick, hoe, machete and hand plough; were still able to achieve food sufficiency and they exchanged their surplus with their neighbours for other needed items they do not produce.

Industrialisation in Pre-Colonial Esan

The buoyant agricultural sector and the forest resources of pre-colonial Esan provided the needed raw materials for its indigenous industries. More so, industrial activities thrived because of the high availability of labour and capital (crude implements), which sped up indigenous industrialisation in pre-colonial Esan as the second strand of its economic tripod. Capital equipment in this regard, refers to all physical objects that helped the Esan people in their industrial activities. It includes buildings that give shelter from the weather, roads, wells, reservoirs, stone tools and iron tools; which serve as machinery to help improve raw material in every stage of production.⁴⁷

Indigenous industrial production in pre-colonial Nigeria, Aghalino observes was utilitarian and appropriate to meet the needs of the people.⁴⁸ Thus, in Esanland, the locally produced and available raw materials determined the type of industrial activities the people engaged in, in order to convert these raw materials into consumable and usable forms. Therefore, the cultivation of cotton: a white seed fiber used to make fabric,⁴⁹ as one of the major crops of Esan; palm produce, and the heavily forested nature of Esan topography account for the emergence of indigenous textile industry, palm oil industry, sawmill and woodcraft industry, and the iron industry, among other industries in pre-colonial Esan.

The Textile Industry

The textile industry of pre-colonial Esan was the industry that brought the most fame to the Esan people and elevated their civilization to the international limelight. The cotton and cloth industry as Okoduwa describes it satisfied the need for clothing in Esan, promoted trade and exchange, and brought Esan women to the socio-economic front burners in pre-colonial Nigeria. Esan cotton (*G. Vitifolium*) called *Olulu* in Esan language was an indigenous species of cotton cultivated by Esan women in the farm lands of their husbands, usually in the month of May during the period. At the end of the planting season dried cotton

⁴⁴Personal Interview with Elizabeth Obasuyi, 66 Years Old, Ex-Farmer, Edokpolor Quarters, 20/07/2018.

⁴⁵A.G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa*, (New York: Longman Group Ltd., 1973), 36.

⁴⁶J.I. Osagie, 81.

⁴⁷G.A. Petch, *Economic Development and Modern West Africa*, 27.

⁴⁸S.O. Aghalino, 31.

⁴⁹Jehovah's Witnesses, *Insight on the Scriptures (Vol. 1)*, (New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1988), 515.

wool were usually harvested for production purposes in December and January.⁵⁰

Hence, the Esan textile industry in pre-colonial period was dominated by women. From the planting of cotton to its harvesting, down to its conversion into cloths; and the subsequent marketing and sales of the cloths were all handled by women. Thus, Okoduwa described the Esan textile industry as a Female (Feminine) Enterprise. The industry empowered Esan women and positioned them to contribute to the socio-economic development of Esanland. The women produced a variety of Esan cloths such as: the thick multi-coloured cloth called *Ukponododo*; the *Ukponasiso*: woven as work cloth or sewn as farmer's bag; *Ukponagbo*: woven as ordinary wrapper; and the *Ukponnogian*: a scarlet cloth woven for ceremonies.⁵¹

Aside from clothing Esan people, the cotton and cloth industry gave impetus to trade and exchange. Indeed, Esan cloth was used in barter trade with the immediate Esan neighbours and beyond; where it satisfied the demand for Esan cloths in foreign markets, and was exchanged for other needed goods produced outside Esanland. Furthermore, the industry produced cotton seeds; which were used locally for cooking soup and for manufacturing herbal medicines.⁵² Beyond Esan, the cloth industry partly supported and sustained the pre-colonial economy of Benin economy.⁵³ Consequently, to effectively satisfy the ever increasing European demand for cloth, Philip Aigbona Igbafe in his article "*The Pre-Colonial Economic Foundation of the Benin Kingdom*" writes that Benin traders ventured into the hinterlands in search of cloths; which gave the Benin-European economic relations a great boost; and fostered consistency in trade which led to the emergence of the "credit and trust system" between Benin and European traders.⁵⁴ During this period, Okoduwa further asserts that Esanland was one of the hinterlands, where Benin obtained cloths.⁵⁵

Palm Oil and Brewing Industry

In pre-colonial Esanland, cooking, eating and drinking were important activities that contributed to the happiness and social well-being of the people. Occasions and events such as marriage ceremonies, burial ceremonies, ritual and religious ceremonies, and festivals were usually incomplete without them. Hence, the palm oil and brewing industry occupied a special socio-economic place in the life of Esan people. They put food on the table and arguably sustain the entertainment and hospitality culture in pre-colonial Esan. It is relevant to add

⁵⁰A.I. Okoduwa, 41; and C.G. Okojie, 10.

⁵¹ A.I. Okoduwa, 41.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³ S.E. Orobator, "Trade of Imperial Benin with the Portuguese and the Dutch" in O.N. Njoku (ed.), *Pre-Colonial Economic History of Nigeria*, (Benin City: Ethiope Publishing Corporation, 2002), 113-117.

⁵⁴ P.A. Igbafe, "The Pre-Colonial Economic Foundations of the Benin Kingdom" in I.A. Akinjogbin and Segun Osoba (eds.), *Topic on Nigerian Economic and Social History*, (Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press Ltd., 1980), 32-33.

⁵⁵ A.I. Okoduwa, "Gold and Cloth in Esan-Benin Economic Relations during the Pre-Colonial Times", 27-34.

that in preparing the favourite staple food of Esan, pounded yam and ogbono soup, palm oil played an essential part in the process of cooking the soup; and palm wine was usually served as a complement to the meal, especially for the elders.

In most Esan homes, especially in the moon light hours, and during periods of ceremonies and festivities such as the New Yam Festival (*Ihuan*) and *Igbawasagbue*: a festival where married men carry gifts (mostly yams) to their in-laws and the Onojie; each family specially prepares and enjoys their favourite traditional meal with palm wine. For domestic cooking, the palm oil industry also provided the people with the needed raw material (palm oil) for making soaps, for bathing and washing clothes. And for the production of local cream for adorning the skin (the Kernel oil cream).

As an indigenous industrial activity, the process of producing palm oil in Esan begins with the planting and harvesting of palm fruits from the palm tree. To do this, adult males climb the palm tree with a rope (called *Ifi*), and with the aid of a cutlass fell the palm fruits. This is followed by the picking and separation of the palm fruits from its thorny bunch; which was normally done by women. When this is done, the women pour the palm fruits into a big native pot called '*Okadin*': an earthenware vessel built to the ground; subsequently, water is added into the pot, and fire made underneath it, and then the palm fruit is left to boil. When the palm fruits are fully cooked, the women extract the palm oil from it by marching it with their feet, when fully marched water is poured into the pot again to bring out the oil. The palm oil is then boiled again on fire until water completely evaporates from it leaving only the palm oil in the pot.⁵⁶

The Kernel oil (*Uden*) cream was another essential finished product of the palm oil industry in pre-colonial Esan. It was particularly used as cream for new born babies. The production of this product begins with the collecting the waste kernels seeds generated during the palm oil production process, then it is dried and broken to remove the kernel or nuts inside. After this, the nuts are put into an empty pot and heated on fire for a long time, until the nut dissolves completely and its oil emerges.⁵⁷ The finished product (kernel oil cream), in pre-colonial Esan, is the cream generally used to oil the body during the dry season. And today, it is still in use as cream and as a therapeutic concoction to treat skin infection and disease.

The brewery industry in pre-colonial Esan was basically the palm wine production industry. This industrial activity in Esan was undertaken by few industrialists called 'palm wine tappers'. These palm wine tappers find gainful employment in the business of extracting white intoxicating liquid substance from palm trees. However, unlike palm oil production, palm wine making involves the tapper drilling a hole at the top of the tree, and inserting a thin extraction pipe into it, then he placed a suspended calabash at the base of the pipe to receive the wine, when it starts dripping from the tree. Hence, the palm

⁵⁶Interview with Ezekiel Inojie; and J.I. Osagie, Economic Development in Esan in the Colonial Period, 34.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

tree itself was the raw material that the local brewing industry thrives on. Consequently, to get the best out of the palm trees, the palm wine tappers usually adopt the shifting tapping method in pre-colonial Esan. This means that, like the shifting cultivation method of farming, after tapping from a given tree, the tappers usually shift to another palm tree; thus they would leave the previous tree for a minimum of three to four years to regain its wine, before they return to tap from it again.⁵⁸

Sawmill and Wood Craft Industry

Esanland, being a tropical forest region, was blessed with abundant forest resources such as: Mahogany tree (*okha*), Iroko tree (*unoko*) and Obeche tree (*ubhebhe*) among others. They provided the raw materials that fed the Sawmill and Woodcraft industry. The industry produced finished products like Mortar (*okor*) and Pestle (*obhi-oko*): for pounding yams and other soup ingredients; wooden staff of office for the Onojie (King); Masquerade masks (*okpodu*): for traditional religious use, ceremonies and rituals; and other items like wooden doors, chairs, tables, wooden handle for farm tools and home equipment (knives), and even wooden plates, cups, and calabash.⁵⁹ This industry contributed significantly to improving the standard of living and quality of life of the Esan people.

Blacksmithing

The people of Esan being pre-dominant farmers needed iron tools such as cutlass (*opia*), hoe (*egue*), axe, watering can among others for their day-to-day farm work. More so, those who occasionally engaged in hunting needed weapons like arrow heads and spears, for their profession. And swords were also needed in pre-colonial Esan for warfare and self-defense; and for domestic use. The Esan people needed knives (*ukpoghae*), pots and pans for cooking; and plates and spoons for eating. Hence, the iron industry and blacksmiths (iron workers) of Esanland catered for all these needs.

Blacksmiths, known as *Ogiogun*, converts iron ore into domestic, farm, hunting and military tools or weaponry. Unlike other industries in pre-colonial Esanland that had the raw materials needed for their daily operations in abundant supply locally; the iron industry on the other hand does not enjoy a readily available supply of its needed raw material to feed the industry in Esan. Hence, to sustain the industry and preserve iron technology in Esanland, the *ogioguns* of Esan resorted to economic cooperation in the period of study. Joseph Osagie puts it this way, *as there were no iron deposits in Esan, the blacksmith obtained their raw materials through trade contact (cooperation) with their Igbo and Unemeneighbours*.⁶⁰ From this, it is safe to maintain that the core raw materials

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Pa the EhimenAmedu reports in an interview that the Abuya family in Ibore is the main Blacksmithing family in Esanland. Hence, farmers and hunters from Uromi and other parts of Esan usually travel to Irrua to contract the AbuyaOgiogun to make farm implements, hunting weapons, and domestic tools such as knives among others. More so, Mrs. Juliana Orukpe reports in interview that the Aigbadon family in Edenu was another dominant blacksmith family in Esan.

⁶⁰Personal Interview with Mrs. Eserkhaigbe, 60 years, Trader, Ekpoma, 01/18/2020.

(iron ore) that fed and sustained the iron industry in pre-colonial Esanland were mainly sourced from the Uneme and Igbo people. During the period, several families in Esan divested from farming into the blacksmithing business. Some of such families were the Abuya family in *Ibore*, the Inekponor family in *Irukep* and the Aigbadon family in *Edenu*.⁶¹ Consequently, blacksmithing in Esan was run as a family enterprise. The crafts, technical know-how, and other operational skills of the iron industry were closely guarded family secret that only interested *Ogiogun* children inherit from their fathers.

Therefore, no child of a blacksmith was traditionally mandated or compelled to learn his father's profession. Thus, the decision to learn the blacksmithing craft from one's father was strictly a matter of volition across Esanland. More so, the knowledge and skill of blacksmithing in Esan was generally non-transferable to non-family relatives.⁶² Hence, in pre-colonial Esan blacksmithing developed as a widespread family business among families deeply rooted in the craft. Providing insight into this economic reality in Esan, R.E. Bradbury⁶³ observes that most blacksmiths found in almost all of Esan communities traced their origin to the blacksmiths either in Benin or Uneme. Although they worked on part-time basis, like the Esanwood workers, the Esan blacksmiths still managed to master the profession to the extent that, some of the staff of office of the Benin monarchy, the ceremonial *ada* and *ebe* were said to have been made in, and supplied to Benin from Igueben.

And this demonstrates the centrality of Trade as the third strand of the pre-colonial Esan economic tripod. Both intragroup and intergroup and short and long distance trade flourished because of the buoyancy of agricultural and industrial productions and markets, as economic institutions in Esan, served as trading centres where buyers and sellers meet across territoriality. The economic buoyancy of Esanland after the fall of Benin in 1897 attracted the British to the region. From 1899-1906, Britain engaged the Esan people in a war of conquest that ended in British colonisation of the region. British colonial economic policy in Esan resulted in the transformation of Esan traditional economy into a pseudo-modern economy. But the introduction of new cash crops, currency, taxation and economic infrastructures served British metropolitan interest than that of Esan people. Consequently, the British colonial economic policies undermined the position of Esan people as the means and ends of development. Colonialism turned the Esan people into the means of production and made the British metropolis the ends of production.

Conclusion

Findings in this research suggest that the people of Esanland in the period of study were for most part the means of production and beneficiaries of development. They successfully manipulated their environment to make sustainable livelihood. And they responded and adapted well to the forces of

⁶¹ Interview with Ezekiel Inojie; and J.I. Osagie, "Agriculture in Esan in the Pre-Colonial Period," *Benin Journal of Historical Studies*, 31-32.

⁶² J.I. Osagie, 32-33.

⁶³ R.E. Bradbury, 63.

economic change and continuity. Skillful management of land and exploitation of forest resources resulted in the domestication of crops as the economic life-wire of Esanland. Farming developed as the pivot around which industrial production and trade as economic activities Esan revolved. It satisfied household food needs and the raw material need of Esan indigenous industries such as the cottage and palm oil industries. And surplus Esan agricultural and industrial products such as Esan cloth satisfied economic needs within and outside through trade. Consequently, the pre-colonial economy of Esanland the paper argued was neither subsistent nor static. Furthermore, the paper maintained that after the conquest of Benin in 1897, the resourcefulness and viability of Esan economy was the pull factor that attracted the British to the region. This resulted in the Anglo-Esan war that lasted from 1899-1906. It ended with the defeat of Esan people and their incorporation into the British colonial enterprise. The Esan people responded and adapted well to colonialism as an economic force for change and their economy continued to be relevant. But this was largely to the benefit of the British metropolis not Esan people as economic development went forward.

**Visionary leadership in Africa: The example of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania
1922 to 1999**

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Abstract

This article recaptures the philosophy of Nyerere and the idea of Ujamaa (familyhood) in modern African socialism. Nyerere's political idea for Tanzania centred on the creation of an egalitarian socialist society based on cooperative agriculture, racial and tribal harmony, as well as moralistic self-sacrifice. The study argues that contemporary challenges in Africa caused by colonialism, misrule, and corruption have called for backwards-looking and integration to prevent political and economic chaos on the continent. Presently, the Corona Virus-19 Pandemic (COVID-19) like its twin disease, the Influenza Pandemic of 1918, had triggered unemployment, food shortages, inflation, price instability, the balance of payment disequilibrium, and social vices. Drawing on primary and secondary sources to substantiate its claim, this study found that the present state of affairs in the world has introduced the new normal and new methods of doing things; hence the need for indigenous solutions to Africa's problems. This article recommends that African leaders need re-invent indigenous political philosophy such as the Nyerere's African socialism to save its citizens from poverty rather than the present dependency on colonial masters and donor countries.

Keywords: Backward-looking, politics, economy, *Ujamaa*, COVID-19 Pandemic.

Introduction

Nwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania was a man of his time and age. He was one of the few African leaders who had the interest of their people at heart and an unwavering determination to replace the colonial political system with indigenous African socialism. He recognised that the new states of Africa are faced with the task of rapid economic development and the creation of new values. Hence, the need to rediscover one's identity became important amidst conflicting image(s) of Africa and Africans in the eyes of Europeans. The negative perception of the black race began with European imperialism and the freighting away of Africans across the Atlantic Ocean as slaves for about 400 years.¹ Since then, Africa has been associated with negative perceptions such as 'a dark continent,' 'backward,' 'primitive,' and 'uncivilised,' among others. These colonially scripted images still shape the contemporary Western understanding

¹ G. Martin, *African Political Thought* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 43.

of Africa in general and of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in particular.²

Nevertheless, the reactions of African scholars in this regard have been well documented in academic journals and books. Suffice it to say that pan-Africanism was one of the earliest attempts to sensitise the consciousness of Africans on race and inequality. It was an emotional and intellectual reaction on the part of peoples of African descent against the inhuman treatment, degradation, injustice, oppression and alienation they suffered in a predominantly white society. Consequently, "it became a movement directed at restoring *dignity* to the African through the rediscovery of the *African personality*."³ Also in the period of decolonisation, African nationalists reflected on the political ideas that would be suitable for their people, so, African political philosophy emerged as a reaction to the different experiences of the African and his interpretation of such experiences.⁴ There was, therefore, the idea of Negritude propounded by Leopold Sedar Senghor with Leon Demas and Aimie Cessaire, in which they advocated a total political, social and cultural value of African civilization, and of the entire black race. Kwame Nkrumah also emphasised socialism as a way out of Africa's political quagmire. At the heart of his argument was the need to understand Western political ideas as the genesis of Africa's backwardness, corruption and poverty.

Similarly, Kofi Busia's exciting study, *African in search of Democracy* noted that: "in traditional African communities, politics and religion were closely associated...behind Africa's search for modernization and new political and social institutions lie an interpretation of the universe which is intensely and pervasively religious."⁵ He concluded that the solution to the political challenges in Africa lies in the shift from ethnic groups based on kinship to the nation-state.⁶ Sekou Toure's view equally centred on socialism, this he called '*communaucratique*', though it was similar to that of Senghor's however, at the heart of his idea was Marxism which he believed was the solution to Africa's political problems. But the twist in his thesis was that he rejected the underlying principles of Marxism. He believed in the liberation of Africans from the shackles of foreign domination, capitalism, and communism since these were the causes of inequality in African societies. As he puts it, "When people ask us if we are for capitalism or socialism, for the East or the West, we invariably answer that what we consider first and above all is the Africa we intend to liberate from Foreign domination, sickness, misery and ignorance".⁷ In his opinion, neither communism nor capitalism applies to African because European and Soviet economies are more developed than that of Africa.

²K C. Dunn, *Imagining the Congo: The International Relations of Identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 4-6; Also see Gabriel Olusanya, "African Historians and the Pan-Africanist Tradition." in Erim O. Erim and Okon E. Uya (ed.) *Perspectives and Methods of Studying African History*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publisher, 1984), 10-17.

³Olusanya, "African Historians," 10.

⁴M.Falaye, "Socio-Political Philosophy," in E.K. Ogundowole (ed.) *Philosophy and Logic, A Student Companion* (Yaba: Dmodus Publishers, 2002), 128-141.

⁵K A. Busia, *Africa in Search of Democracy* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), 9, 16.

⁶Busia, *Africa in Search of Democracy*, 20.

⁷S.Toure, *La planification economique* (Conakry: Imprimerie National, 1960), 292.

Writing in the same vein, Kenneth Kaunda advocated for African humanism, popular democracy, liberty and pursuit of happiness but rejected capitalism which he claimed was the bane of Africa's problems.⁸ From the above, it is clear that the central idea in African political thought in the 1960s was the eradication of the Western political system, poverty, misery, and backwardness. But this did not come to fruition because of the problems of identity, attachment to colonial masters, language, and western intervention in African politics. African leaders were also faced with suspicions and lack of trust considering the wave of politics of capitalism and communism in post-World War II, a phenomenon that divided the world into bipolar politics. Consequently, African nationalist decided on a gradual approach to African integration in transportation, science and technology, telecommunications and the economy. Their efforts were to see Africa participate in the world economy and be self-reliant.⁹ Can African leaders recapture these lofty ideas in contemporary times to give direction to their people since neither capitalism nor communism has worked for the continent? Therefore in concert with Nyerere's call...get the benefit of European society... and yet return to the African own structure of society in which the individual is a member of a kind of fellowship. My objective in this study is to recapture Nyerere's African socialism as well as contribute to the existing literature on African political discourse.

Several works have already discussed Nyerere's *Ujamaa*. These include Major and Mulvihill; Mosoke; Fouere; Cruz; Stoger-Eising; Martin; and Meredith, among others.¹⁰ These works are useful for the background knowledge they provide on Nyerere and his African socialism. Nevertheless, the present study is a focused study from the historical perspective since existing literature is from the domain of philosophy and political science. To give us a real insight into the study, we adopt the 'how and why tradition' of historical analysis. First, how did Nyerere become "Nwalimu" (a teacher and philosopher)? Second, what was the background to African socialism (*Ujamaa*)? Third, to what extent was *Ujamaa* an experiment in African socialism? Additionally, what were the challenges of implementation in Nyerere's Tanzania? To answer these questions, I have divided this paper into four main parts, beginning with the making of Mwalimu, (the teacher), the background to *Ujamaa*, the *Ujamaa* philosophy, an experiment in African socialism, and challenges of implementation. The conclusion of the paper brings together the various arguments, findings, and recommendations.

⁸Martin, *African Political Thought*, 53.

⁹Martin, *African Political Thought*, 54.

¹⁰ T. Major and T M. Mulvihill, "Julius Nyerere (1922-1999), an African Philosopher, Re-visions Teacher Education to Escape Colonialism," *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry*, 3, 1 (2009), 15-22; I.K.S. Musoke, "Building Socialism in Bukoba: The Establishment of Rugazi (Nyerere) Ujamaa Village," *International Journal of Politics*, 4, 4 (1974-75), 102-118; Marie-Aude, Fouere, "Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa, and Political Morality in Contemporary Tanzania," *African Studies Review*, 57, 1 (2014), 1-24; Adriana, Cruz, "Ujamaa: A Venture in Cooperative Living," *Black View* 1, 4 (1973), 13, 19-20; Viktoria. Stoger-Eising, "Ujamaa Revisited: Indigenous and European Influences in Nyerere's Social and Political Thought," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 70, 1(2000), 118-143; Guy Martin, *African Political Thought* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Martin Meredith, *The State of Africa, A History of the Continent since Independence*. London: Simon and Schuster Ltd, 2011).

The Making of Mwalimu, 'the Teacher'

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was widely regarded as a great leader whose personal contributions and modest lifestyle was in contrast to the extravagance and corrupt practices of most African leaders. A combination of factors set Nyerere apart as a visionary leader in Africa. He believed that he would have been a preacher in a church rather than the president of a republic probably because of his love for country and people and the desire to liberate them from foreign domination. He lived a stoic and epicurean life, often dressed modestly and took no interest in the spoils of leadership or possession of worldly things, but pursued his objectives with candour.¹¹ He was known to have behaved on the world stage as the spokesman for the poorest of the poor demanding a new international economic order that would give people a greater share in the world's wealth.¹² His idea seems plausible when we juxtaposed Nyerere's training in economics and his vision of equality and democratic principles.

As a philosopher per-excellence, he affirmed that "it is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through financial assistance rather than our financial resources."¹³ This suggests that Nyerere from the outset opposed African dependency on donor nations since it was the European powers that worked their nations to the top. As a historian, Nyerere contributed knowledge in books, memoirs and political treatise, some of which are widely read in modern times and others have translated to the classical treatise. He also took time to translate into Ki-Swahili William Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and *Julius Caesar* because of the wisdom contained in the works. And using the tools of history, Nyerere educated his people on the meaning and challenges of independence:

Independence means self-reliance. Independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another for its development. How can we depend upon foreign governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving to those governments and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please? The truth is we cannot.¹⁴

He further reassured his people that the only answer to the problems of national development was slower growth through self-reliance and an emphasis on the development of the peasant agricultural economy and to rely too much on foreign aid meant that Tanzania would be exposed to donor pressure and perhaps undermined its ability to take independent action. Nyerere did not deny the need for foreign aid when necessary but wanted it to be regarded as supplementary to a national development effort. It was owing to

¹¹Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 249.

¹²Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 249.

¹³Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 251.

¹⁴Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 251.

his vast knowledge that Margery Perham said, "Certainly the most poised, confident, extrovert and indeed, radiant of all the African leaders I have met"¹⁵ From the above, it should be noted that Nyerere told his people the naked truth about economics and politics, as well as, the challenges of dependency. Therefore, it is safe to argue that Nyerere was a crusader for Africa's self-reliance because of his visionary leadership and political engineering.

As a teacher, Nyerere possessed a genuine concern for egalitarianism and an intense dislike for all forms of elitism. Consequently, he argued that "capitalism fosters excessive individualism, promotes the competitive rather than the cooperative instinct in man, exploits the weak, divides the society into hostile groups and generally promotes inequality in the society"¹⁶ This implies that in Africa, wealth in whatever form was shared equally before the coming of colonial rule. The real question is what was the nature of Nyerere's community, peoples and culture before the advent of colonial rule? This would probably throw light on his distaste for the Western political system.

Nyerere's Tanganyika was present-day Tanzania in East Africa, formerly a German colony based on the 1886 and 1890 Partition Treaties.¹⁷ Its history since 1886 could be divided into four main periods. The first lasted until 1907 and was primarily dedicated to the suppression of indigenous resistance, while the second ended with the German colonisation of 1914. The third period was between 1914 and 1918, while the fourth was the period of British administration. We can only discuss briefly the German exploits in Zanaki because of the manner it distorted a vibrant indigenous society through the creation of arbitrary or warrant chiefs similar to the British colonial rule in Igboland, Nigeria. German rule in the nineteenth and early twentieth century in Zanaki was the architect of Captain Gaston Schlobach who wanted to plant western political culture. The Germans came to Zanaki looking for a king or a sultan, since "the Europeans could not get their minds around the idea of a non-centralised and non-hierarchical social structure. Consequently, they "invented traditions of chieftdom that transformed a flexible and dynamic socio-political reality into one bounded by all the rigidities of an invented tradition."¹⁸ Since Schlobach could not find a king among the people he had to appoint eight chiefs, one for each of the Zanaki provinces and made them warrant chiefs. It should be recalled that the appointment of warrant chiefs in Igboland contributed immensely to the Aba Women's Riots of 1929.¹⁹

This development marked the end of the *erisaga* institution and communal life in Zanaki Country. The *erisaga* institution had to do with cooperativeness and

¹⁵ M.Perham, quoted in Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 250.

¹⁶Nyerere, quoted in Major and Mulvihill, "Julius Nyerere (1922-1999), an African Philosopher, 16.

¹⁷Z.A. Marsh, Z. A and G. Kingsnorth, *Introduction to the History of East Africa* (London: Cambridge University Press. 1957), 221.

¹⁸ T.O. Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition Revisited: The Case of Colonial Africa," in E. Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger (eds), *Legitimacy and the State in Twentieth-century Africa: essays in honour of A.H.M. Kirk-Greene* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1993), 62-111, particularly, 62-63.

¹⁹J.S. Coleman, *Nigeria, Background to Nationalism*(California, USA: University of California Press, 1958), 174-175

communal lifestyle which promoted symbiotic relationship and collective identity of a people. The home country of Nyerere was Zanaki, a community on a hilly and fertile land for agriculture and animal husbandry. Cattle rearing appeared to be the economic livelihood of the people and cattle ownership was seen as a sign of family prosperity. Therefore, in Zanaki, as in many other East African societies, the religious and symbolic significance of cattle was enormous (cattle complex). Also at the social level, the people practised polygyny and, following their patrilocal residence regulations, married women live in their husband's compound while they engaged in domesticity and reproduction.²⁰

Nyerere was the son of Nyerere Burite, a community leader of the Wazanaki. He obtained a teacher's certificate from Makerere College, and from 1946 to 1949, taught at a Catholic School in Tabora (Tanganyika). Thereafter, he travelled abroad for further studies, graduating with an M.A in history and economics from the University of Edinburgh, Britain in 1952.²¹ By 1954, Nyerere had developed himself for politics and administration, he became a founding member and President of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and at independence in 1960, Nyerere became the Chief Minister of Tanganyika. He later took over the Presidency immediately after the country became a republic in 1962.²² Nyerere also brought his wealth of experience to bear in the merger of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 which led to the formation of the United Republic of Tanzania. He achieved this feat due to age and time because not many people had the privilege of educational training and determination to liberate their people from foreign domination. It is observed that Nyerere's involvement in politics was stimulated by his informal and formal training. He was also guided by the principles of management, which says that a leader is a servant, and must be ready to offer his service in the interest of the generality of the people.

His role in TANU was equally remarkable because it contributed to the merger of TANU and Zanzibar's Afro-Shirazi Party into a single national party known as *Chama Cha Mavinduzi* (CCM). This was a necessary move to reposition the party and probably redirect it to the vision of African socialism. In consequence, the "Arusha Declaration of 1968 became the foundations of Tanzania's socialism and self-reliance, encapsulated in the concept of *Ujamaa* meaning 'community' or familyhood" in Ki-Swahili.²³ The making of *Mwalimu*, meaning "a teacher in Ki-Swahili," transcended classroom work and politics. As Nyerere has written, "Education is the process of cultural transition and renewal, the process whereby adult members of a society carefully guide the development of infants and young children, initiating them into the culture of the society."²⁴ He observes further that the purpose of education should be to liberate a human being, therefore "people cannot be developed; they can only develop

²⁰Stoger-Eising, "Ujamaa Revisited," 120.

²¹Martin, *African Political Thought*, 98.

²²S. Gideon. Were and A. Derek. Wilson, *East Africa through A Thousand Years, A History of the Years A.D. 1000 to the Present Day*. London: Evans Brother Ltd 1975), 286-287.

²³Martin, *African Political Thought*, 99.

²⁴Nyerere, quoted in Major and Mulvihill, "Julius Nyerere (1922-1999), an African Philosopher, 17.

themselves. For while an outsider can build a man's house an outsider cannot give a man a pride of self-confidence in him as a human being."²⁵

This illustrates that foreign culture and politics cannot be the answer to African development. African development can only come from African and not from outside. Nyerere believed that Africans had acquired the attitude of the mind through socialization because African socialism was guided by equality, freedom and unity. Nyerere pointed out that "there must be equality because only on that basis will men work cooperatively, there must be freedom, because the individual is not served by society unless it is his, and there must be unity because only when the society is united can its members live and work in peace, security and well-being."²⁶ It is probably on account of these that Nyerere prepared himself for the leadership position of his country and the desire to change his society from Western political culture to African socialism. The question is, to what extent did Nyerere deployed the philosophy of African socialism into the politics of Tanzania? Perhaps the question would help us to dissect or distil the idea of *Ujamaa* from Western political thought.

Background to "Ujamaa" (Familyhood)

Nyerere's philosophy of African socialism was drawn from his traditional and communal background. The Zanaki society of his youth was in its entirety a school in the ordinary sense of it. As he put it, "I grew up in a perfectly democratic and egalitarian society"²⁷ His people were involved in subsistence agriculture primarily encouraged by the *erisaga* system, "a form of a traditional social security association." It should be recalled that in most pre-colonial African societies communalism was practised because it encouraged cooperativeness and understanding. It existed on the premise of oneness and kinship, and throughout the traditional society, it survived as an acceptable social system. In the case of Zanaki, "the inhabitants of several adjacent homesteads – not necessarily belonging to the same clan-form a distinct community or *erisaga* that works co-operatively in times of harvest and house building, they also gather for recreational activities."²⁸ The *erisaga* system also flourished as a kind of voluntary association for mutual assistance in the event of recurrent conditions of uncertainty. As one of the scholars observed, "*erisaga* appeared to be the only option in periods of endemic insecurity during planting and harvest, particularly because rainfall was never reliable in the Musoma hinterland, therefore reciprocal help constituted a form of 'life insurance' that can sometimes spell the difference between flourishing and disaster."²⁹ This was the nature of the egalitarian system in Zanaki, where everyone worked and helped one another even in time of disaster or bounty harvest. The republican system of the Zanaki people was similar to that of the Igbo and Tiv peoples of Nigeria. They live according to democratic principles where everyone (male and female) was allowed to contribute their views to the general assembly. This

²⁵J. Akinpelu, *An Introduction to Philosophy of Education* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1981), 118.

²⁶Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity* (Oxford University Press: Dar-es-Salaam, 1966), 8.

²⁷Nyerere, quoted in Stoger-Eising, "Ujamaa Revisited," 119.

²⁸O. Bischofberger, *The Generation Classes of the Zanaki (Tanzania)* (Fribourg: Studio Ethnographica Friburgensia, 1972), 14.

²⁹Stoger-Eising, "Ujamaa Revisited," 120.

political system made it difficult for Nyerere's society to have a visible king; rather they opted for local chiefs who exercised communal control, law and order.

Records have shown that private ownership of land was not allowed in Zanaki because the land was communally owned, therefore, the rights to use land (usufructuary), as well as access to resources was determined by lineage. It was, therefore, the responsibility of elders to allocate or appropriate land for agriculture and construction of buildings, while the only forms of private ownership resided in the ownership of farm implements such as hoes, cutlasses, hammer, digger, and dwelling places.³⁰ This explained the nature of the egalitarian system in Zanaki communities. The equality of man as Nyerere declared was central to the theory of *Ujamaa*: "I do not believe in land ownership as you Europeans do; land cannot be 'owned' in the same sense as you own a T-shirt, or as I own my sandals. You can only have the rights to use it."³¹

Apart from the *erisaga* system, another political culture from the Zanaki society that helped in the conception of *Ujamaa* was the *hamati* system. It was not locally based as the *erisaga* but composed of members who live in different homesteads and provinces and gave allegiance to the elders of Zanaki. This group intervened in time of crisis and offenders punished in the context of the *hamati*. The *hamati* leaders were traditionally male elders thought to be wise and distinguished in their chosen fields. They made their mark in debates and dialogue for which they were recognised as leading mediators and judges.³² These elders talk till they agree and this suggests the republican nature of the Zanaki just like the Igbo democracy where people talk and talk until a resolution was reached. Because of the efficacy of this culture, Nyerere did not hesitate to incorporate it in the *Ujamaa* philosophy because people were familiar with the system. It should be clear from our discussion that the politics and social life of the Zanaki people had developed before the coming of the Europeans. It is for this reason that *erisaga* and *hamati* cultures were essential components of Nyerere's *Ujamaa*.

Nyerere's *Ujamaa*: an Experiment.

There is no doubt that there exist other forms of economic systems such as capitalism, communism and communalism, the question is where did Nyerere derive his African socialism? Was it an original concept different from other economic systems or was it a revisionist approach? These are issues that demand our attention in this section. African socialism as advocated by Nyerere appeared to have taken its roots from communalism practised in pre-colonial Africa, particularly when we interrogate Nyerere's background in Zanaki society. Nyerere sometimes used interchangeably 'African socialism' and 'Tanzanian socialism' to refer to his political ideas, though the terms simply

³⁰Falaiye, "Socio-Political Philosophy," 134.

³¹Nyerere, quoted in Stoger-Eising, "Ujamaa Revisited," 121.

³²Bischofberger, *The Generation Classes of the Zanaki*, 18.

mean *Ujamaa*. African socialism conveys a strong sense of communal spirit, belonging together and attending to mutual responsibilities.³³

The concept in its entire ramification, deals with the joint ownership of basic property, land and cooperativeness in the social and economic spheres. Personal property did exist and was accepted, but this took second place in the order of preference. It was the family property that mattered both to the family and the individual. "But no member of the family starved so that another could accumulate personal property. And because it was family property, all had a right to share in its use."³⁴ The beauty of communalism is that it did not create classes or inequality in African societies; rather it centred on cooperation and social integration. Nyerere opined that the man who uses wealth to dominate any of his fellows is a capitalist, and so is the man who would if he could.³⁵ Therefore, Africa communalism can be summarised as the obligation to work, and the communality of basic property and mutual respect which in turn brought about African generosity and hospitality. Therefore, one can safely argue that the system was successful in Africa during the period irrespective of language, distance, and ethnicity.

On the other hand, the Marxist ideology which began in Russia encouraged collective ownership of the means of production and central planning to replace autonomous markets. It explains that capitalism is immoral, unjust and humanly degrading because it is only labour that creates value, therefore only labour should receive income. Yet, "workers get only subsistence wages and are degraded as men by the market which turns their labour into commodities, and by the factory in which they were mere appendages."³⁶ On the other hand, the socialists believe that collectivization was a way to expand agricultural production by organising farms into many larger-sized units and by mechanizing agricultural work. To collectivize agriculture was to confer control over the disposition of agricultural output to the government which could then allocate the produce to enlarge the productive capacity of the industry.³⁷

Another feature of the socialist economy was central planning which was lacking in both capitalist economy and communalism, though capitalist economies were largely determined by the forces of demand and supply. Having briefly highlighted the different kinds of economic systems, what therefore was Nyerere's African Socialism? As Tanzania approached independence, Nyerere resolved that African socialism was the answer to the socio-political problems of his country, thus *Ujamaa* was guided by the principles of "equality, freedom, and unity." Though, these three elements had been part of the African traditional system but were upturned by colonial rule, which introduced classes, capitalism, and division in Africa's socio-political space.

³³A. Mohiddin, "UjamaanaKujitegemea," in L. Cliffe and J.S. Saul (eds), *Socialism in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam and Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1972), 165-76.

³⁴Mohiddin, "UjamaanaKujitegemea," 163.

³⁵Nyerere, "Freedom and Unity, Ujamaa - the Basis of African Socialism," Inaugural Address to Parliament, 1962, 162.

³⁶ GeorgeDalton, *Economic Systems and Society, Capitalism, Communism and the Third World* (Penguin Books Ltd, 1975), 79.

³⁷Dalton, *Economic Systems and Society*, 121.

African languages do not have the vocabulary to embrace the concept of class; therefore it was the making of colonial rule and the lust for empire.³⁸

Comparatively, the French society of the eighteenth century was divided into classes not until the people came with the spirit of revolution in 1789 encapsulated in the slogan, "liberty, equality, and fraternity." Since then the French society had remained different compared to the ancien regime. Equality in the African context means that there were no rich because wealth in whatever form was shared equally according to African values. The millionaire and the beggar are both capable of being socialist or capitalist; the mere physical possession of wealth is therefore not the deciding factor.³⁹ This, Nyerere called the basic feeling of recognition and respect for one another.

Related to the above is Nyerere's conception of communal ownership, that is, ownership of land and other means of production. *Ujamaa* was conceived along African communalism because without the acceptance of equality of all men there can be no socialism. It is the principle of equality that provided the lever for political participation and social inclusiveness. It is, therefore, noted that Nyerere's socialism derived the principle of 'equality' from the indigenous African political system, and perhaps aspects of the French revolution of the eighteenth century and the Russian collectivization arrangement in the 1920s. Another fundamental principle in the *Ujamaa* philosophy was the obligation to work' summarised in the Swahili proverb "Mgenisikumbili; sikuyatatumpejembe," meaning "Treat your guest as a guest for two days; on the third day give him a hoe!" Nyerere said, "in fact, the guest was likely to ask for the hoe even before his host had to give him one – for he knew what was expected of him, and he would have been ashamed to remain idle any longer."⁴⁰ This was the African egalitarian system incorporated in the *Ujamaa* philosophy but Nyerere's idea did not completely depart from Marxists socialist principles because Nyerere, perhaps borrowed some concepts of the command economy.

It is also argued that Nyerere at a point integrated central planning and control in his African socialism, even though he did not completely subscribe to the idea of collectivization of industrial and agricultural produce. Perhaps, this was one of the reasons why some scholars contend that Nyerere's *Ujamaa* was influenced by Western political thought and this observation remained potent. Available evidence also indicates that some African scholars criticised Nyerere's socialism on many fronts because of their attachment to Western political ideals but this did not in any way affect or diminish Nyerere's African socialism.

Nyerere's opponents described his theory as 'Tanzaphiles', meaning, a promised land of communitarian peace, a 'new heaven on earth.'⁴¹ That is a utopian society that cannot be achieved while on earth but in the heavenly kingdom. Some others claim that Nyerere derived inspiration from the achievements of

³⁸Nyerere, quoted in Falaiye, "Socio-Political Philosophy," 133.

³⁹Falaiye, "Socio-Political Philosophy," 134.

⁴⁰Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity, UhurunaUmoja: a Selection from Writings and Speeches, 1952-65* (Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press.1967), 165.

⁴¹Nurse-Bray, P. F. (ed.,) *Aspects of Africa's Identity* (Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1980), 56-57.

Mao Tse-Tung of China who carried out the cultural revolution of China in 1968.⁴² However, it is observed that there was no correlation between Mao's Marxist socialism and Nyerere's African socialism (*Ujamaa*) because the Chinese Cultural Revolution did not espouse egalitarianism but socialist ideals. Thus, Nyerere's vision came from his native Zanaki society but with a blend of Western ideals. As he puts it, "When I read the book of John Stuart Mill, I was instantaneously reminded of my Zanaki society and the situation of my mother. She had to toil a lot!"⁴³

This suggests that Nyerere had a background where agriculture was the dominant economic livelihood. The egalitarian principles in *Ujamaa* philosophy was also a tradition in the African socio-political system because socialism, like democracy, is an attitude of mind because the rich shared part of their wealth with the poor, therefore the Arusha Declaration of 5 February 1967 was a turning point in the transition from Tanzania's nation-building to socialist development.⁴⁴ The question is what lessons would African leaders learn from *Ujamaa*? The *Ujamaa* experiment had shown that a little effort by African leaders could make a difference in the political and economic spheres. It also showed that nothing is impossible if we tried individually and collectively, focusing on a mission. Nyerere succeeded where others had failed because he believed in his project and the liberation of his people from western influences. He became the cynosure of international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on account that there were prospects in his political and economic ideals. The challenge for African leaders at this point is to look inwards for enduring political socialism that can drive integration and cooperation among Africans similar to African communalism.

Challenges

The impact of Nyerere's *Ujamaa* cannot be overlooked in African political thought. This is because it was a distinctive African idea that drew extensively from the principles of communalism. Since Nyerere's socialism was an attempt to liberate Tanzania from foreign domination; some observers believe that it would fraught with difficulties within and outside the continent. Some of the difficulties included: impact of colonial rule, opposition from the new elite, and the mass nationalisation of key infrastructure and combines. Others were a forceful collection of land (*Ujamaa* village), lack of external reserve or financial base, and Nyerere's personality, among others. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, colonial rule of the Germans and the British changed an already traditional and egalitarian Tanganyika society. The emergence of European colonisers brought about capitalism and exploitation; through their exploits, they recruited indigenous agents into their illicit enterprise. This group of agents turned African Merchants accumulated resources with which they had hoped to launch themselves into power after independence. However, they

⁴² G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (London, Ibadan and Nairobi: Heinemann, 1980), 100.

⁴³ Nyerere, quoted in Stoger-Eising, "Ujamaa Revisited," 129

⁴⁴ C.R. Pratt, "The Cabinet and Presidential Leadership in Tanzania 1960-66", in L. Cliff and J.S. Saul (eds.), *Socialism in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam, and Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1976), 227-64

became part of the emergent class that never wanted African leaders to break away from colonial tutelage because of their economic interests.

Another group that challenged *Ujamaa* projects was the nationalists in opposition parties. Some of them were involved in the liberation struggle for independence and believed that it was their turn to profit from their efforts but were not happy with the *Ujamaa* policies because it denied them the aspiration of projecting themselves into post-colonial politics. But since they could not venture into leadership positions with their resources, they worked against the success of *Ujamaa*. With the Arusha Declaration in 1967, there was further agitation on the part of the elite and this contributed to the slow take-off of *Ujamaa*. The opposition became stiffer in successive years when Nyerere's code stipulated that all senior government and party officials had to be either a peasant or a worker and should in no way be associated with the practice of capitalism. This arrangement subsequently excluded most nationalists from holding company shares and private directorships; they were also excluded from receiving more than one salary, and from owning houses for rent.⁴⁵ Additionally, their fringe benefits were slashed and restrictions imposed on the importation of luxury goods.

This showed that the *Ujamaa* policy on the elite and the rich could be likened to the "biblical parable of a camel passing through the eye of a needle"⁴⁶ This implies that it is difficult to tell a rich man to abandon his wealth and position to join the ranks of the poor. In defence of this policy, Nyerere opined that the wide income differences between the Tanzania elite and the masses were the major obstacle to the effective socialist strategy.⁴⁷ Consequently, the rich resisted the programme on the grounds they were the target, but their struggle was transient because *Ujamaa* had gain currency. The policy of mass nationalisation also compounded an already difficult situation in Tanzania. This was the nationalisation of private banks, insurance companies, and major food processors. Others were eight major foreign export trading companies, controlling interest in the majority of sisal plantations, and manufacturing companies producing cement, cigarettes, shoes and beer, and thereafter a mopping-up operation on all buildings except those lived in by their owners.⁴⁸ In the exercise, the most affected were the rich Asian community; the wealthy class whose buildings worth over 100,000 Tanzanian shillings (£6,000). In consequence, the implementation of *Ujamaa* became more challenging as the agricultural and industrial combines were in the hands of the government. Thus, the centralisation policy of Nyerere appeared autocratic in approach and authoritarian in implementation. It should be recalled that the implementation of communism in Russian at a time caused a lot of challenges, such as inflation, revolt, price increase, unemployment, black market operation, racketeering, and reduction in output until the policy was streamlined by Stalin.⁴⁹

⁴⁵Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 252.

⁴⁶*The Holy Bible NKJV Luke*, 18:24-25

⁴⁷Quoted in Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 252.

⁴⁸Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 252.

⁴⁹L.Kochan, *The Making of Modern Russia* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd, 1965), 266-273.

The seizure of land from chiefs and villagers to establish *Ujamaa* villages was equally a factor. At the early beginning, Nyerere assured the people that *Ujamaa* villages would be introduced voluntarily without coercion but the reverse appeared to be the case. An *Ujamaa* village was meant to be a voluntary association of people who decided on their own to live and work together for their common good but the slow pace of the project was discouraging to Nyerere, hence the offer of inducements to people which brought about significant development in 1973. It was subsequently discovered that many of the cooperatives were primarily formed for the prospects of obtaining water supply, or provision of schools or other infrastructure, and government assistance. Thus only a few were organised along cooperative lines for lack of supervision and selfish interest. The lack of supervision during the period also made some peasants living on the margins of poverty not to invest their security in the fortunes of the land but chose to keep back their existing landholdings. This affected in no small measure the *Ujamaa* policies and programmes in the 1970s.

“Another setback indeed was that the main beneficiaries in many cases were the host of party officials, agricultural officers and community development officers paid government salaries who settled on to *Ujamaa* villages like flies. This was the beginning of official corruption in the system.”⁵⁰ Therefore, as a remedy, Nyerere announced the compulsory resettlement of the entire rural population within three years which did not go down well with many people because of the nature of coercion and brutality, thus, many became disillusioned while others resorted to foot-dragging. Following the sharp decline in agricultural outputs, caused by drought between 1974 and 1977, Tanzania had no option than to call for import to make up the shortfall, for this reason, it received aids and loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank which violated the spirit of African socialism. This development marked the beginning of Tanzania’s dependency on foreign hand-outs.

In successive years, Tanzania’s economic woes escalated, it became one form of borrowing or another in the economic history of Tanzania. Nyerere resorted to a complaint, laying the blame on the indifference of the people to the *Ujamaa* programmes. Even when he reverted to state industries in 1979, the spirit of *Ujamaa* had declined, and at a Party Conference in 1982, Nyerere confessed that Tanzania had many ‘very serious’ and ‘very real’ problems, but socialism, he argued, was not one of them. “We have good policies. We have good plans. “We have good leadership.”⁵¹

The personality of Nyerere contributed to the factors that hindered the smooth implementation of *Ujamaa*. According to one of the scholars, “If one looks at the power that Nyerere gave himself, one might suggest that he was ‘hungry’ for power. It seems as if he wanted to be a dictator. A Head of State should have good advisors who will greatly assist him in the ruling of the country.”⁵² But the reverse was the case, for example, Nyerere introduced a new constitution that

⁵⁰Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 254-255.

⁵¹Quoted in Meredith, *The State of Africa*, 254-255.

⁵²Nyerere (1922-1999), an African Philosopher, 21.

gave him sweeping powers compared to some European presidents. In this case, he was both the head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces and also had full executive authority that would not even bind him to accept the cabinet's advice, and more importantly to rule for seven years.⁵³

Another illustration that portrayed the dark side of Nyerere was his uncompromising attitude to the political elite. He did not see them as partners or collaborators because of his personality which dominated *Ujamaa* policies, and this was one of the factors that hindered his successes. In a historical account entitled the *Dark Side of Nyerere* (1984), Ludovick Mwijage tells the story of his years of persecution and imprisonment, which he attributed to Nyerere's despotic rule⁵⁴ Nyerere was equally depicted as a condescending, disloyal, and self-interested man who resorted to backroom political intrigues and scheming to acquire and retain the power to get rid of popular politicians who got in his way, including faithful companions. This perhaps corroborated the thinking that Nyerere played clandestine roles in the revolution that overthrew the post-independent constitutional monarchy of Zanzibar in 1964.⁵⁵

His authoritarian posture was also captured in the Newspaper Ordinance Bill of 1968, in which the President of Tanzania could ban any material from the press that was considered subversive (Konde, 1984: 56). He also mandated that the *Standard* Newspaper published by the Tanganyika Standard Ltd, a Parastatal, be converted to a socialist paper, to support the socialist ideology which did not go down well with many people. It should be clear from our discussion that Nyerere's *Ujamaa* was affected by a combination of factors. First, it was believed that Nyerere's personality contributed extensively to the failure of African socialism. Second, was the palpable indifference and self-centredness of operators in most *Ujamaa* villages, and third was the fact that *Ujamaa* villages were affected one way or the other by natural disasters, drought, locust invasion and climate change and desertification.

In 1985, Nyerere gave up the Presidency but remained as Chair of the Party-Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). He gradually withdrew from active politics, retiring to his farm in Butiama and by 1990; he had relinquished his chairmanship of CCM but remained dynamic on the world stage as Chair of the Intergovernmental South Centre. He died in 1999 of leukaemia, but before then, *Ujamaa* villages were almost on the verge of collapse due to lack of innovation and problems of food security.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have attempted to consider the visionary leadership of Julius Nwailimu Nyerere and the conception of African socialism. Nyerere was born in 1922 in Zanaki society, one of the regions in Tanganyika, present-day Tanzania. He grew up in a community where equality, respect, and freedom reigned supreme among the people. His foray into politics began in 1949 soon after his

⁵³R. Sadleir, *Tanzania, Journey to Republic* (London: The Radcliffe Press, 1999), 257.

⁵⁴Mwijage, quoted in Marie-Aude Fouere, "Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa, and Political Morality," 15

⁵⁵Fouere, "Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa, and Political Morality," 15.

tertiary education at the University College of Makerere in Uganda and his Master's of Arts (M.A) degree from Edinburgh University. In 1952 Nyerere was employed as a teacher at St Francis College and in 1953, he was elected President of the Tanganyikan African Association (TAA) where he contributed enormously to its development until appointed temporary member of the Legislative Council(LC) following the gradual removal of traditional authorities and their replacement by elected councils.

It was the politics of Independence that brought Nyerere to the limelight and was subsequently appointed Chief Minister of Tanganyika in 1960. In 1964, he was elected the president of the United Republic of Tanzania. Nyerere was discovered in Tanzania's politics on account of his educational qualification and personal ideology. His traditional background also contributed to his endeavours and successes. Therefore the idea of African political philosophy did not come as a surprise in the 1960s following the independence of many African countries. The main agenda of African leaders of the period was how to liberate African from the colonial legacy, politics and economy of western countries. In consequence, Nyerere's vision became known as African Socialism, popularly known as *Ujamaa* or familyhood.

Three important developments shaped Nyerere's ideas of African socialism, first was the Western political thought of John Stuart Mill, the great liberal utilitarian thinker of nineteenth-century England, second, his Edinburgh years where he became interested in political philosophy and practical politics, and third was Nyerere's Zanaki society which was practically an egalitarian society. In the pre-colonial Zanaki communities, there was recognition and respect for one another. This was also reinforced in the communal ownership of important commodities such as land which was held in trust by the elders, and appropriated to individuals for use. In the same vein, there was the principle to work and African hospitality, as encapsulated in the Swahili proverb: *Mgenisikumbili; sikuyatatumpejembe* or "Treat your guests as a guest for two days; on the third day give him a hoe!" These were the building blocks of *Ujamaa* philosophy in Tanzania.

Nyerere's socialism was fraught with challenges that cannot be overlooked. Some of these included colonial legacies of capitalism and individualism, opposition from the colonial elite, nationalisation of key industries and plantations, forceful collection of land from chiefs and villager heads, lack of supervision of *Ujamaa* Village, Nyerere's personality and dictatorial tendencies, and others. These factors hindered the successful implementation of *Ujamaa* policies in Tanzania. *Ujamaa's* educational policy also contributed to the difficulties of the period. This is because many did not welcome the emphasis on practical subjects. After all, most of the teachers were educated in the colonial system in which the male teachers were dress in tie and jackets and were not ready to engage in the policy of manual labour or agricultural work. Similarly, the teachers had been indoctrinated by a functionalist approach to education where different skills are valued differently.

Despite the challenges of implementation, Nyerere's visionary leadership and African socialism are still relevant in African political thought. His determination to rid Africa of western culture and colonial domination marked him out as a patriotic African visionary leader. His political ideas also provided

direction for some African leaders to follow, particularly, his austere and stoic life which made it impossible for him to accumulate wealth or own palatial houses in Tanzania. He would be remembered for his ideas on African interdependence and cooperation which he demonstrated in *Ujamaa* and scholars continue to be encouraged by the values of Nyerere and others who held a vision for schools guided by African morals. Therefore the re-envisioning of teacher education to escape colonialism was an essential part of Nyerere's political agenda.

This study revealed that African socialism cannot be sustained because of colonial factors and the challenges of the new world order which had far overtaken African socialism. It also established that the lack of industrial foundations in most African countries will continue to cause dependency on colonial masters and international financial institutions. This was one of the challenges of African socialism in the 1980s when it began to obtain loans from the World Bank and advanced countries to support *Ujamaa* villages and food shortages. It is therefore recommended that African leaders need to re-invent African socialism to achieve self-reliance and industrial and agricultural development of their peoples. This will help alleviate the problems of unemployment, food shortages, and backwardness in the post-Corona Virus 19 (COVID -19) era.

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Abstract

'Waithood' is derived from "waiting for adulthood". It is expressed as delayed adulthood, a situation that has resulted in youth frustration across African nations. Governments fail to provide sufficient employment opportunities and the educational systems do not adequately prepare the youths for the few jobs that exist in this technologically driven job markets. Youths' prolonged dependence on parents leads to involvement in criminal activities. While waiting, they are passionately hustling for a better life, and for a family of their own. This paper examines the effects of 'waithood' on the youths and African nations as means of youthful growth and national development in contemporary African society. Alternative Femininity and Masculinity form the theoretical framework. The analysis of Mafo's Wazobia Revolution; Mwangi's Kill me Quick and Dangarembga's Nervous Conditions among others situates the position of Africa in the global restructuring and suggests the way forward out of waithood.

Keywords: Waithood, Gender-Activism, Masculinity, Alternative Femininity, Restructuring, contemporary period

Introduction

Africans must define and situate their position in the on-going global restructuring in this contemporary period. Failure to come along and fit into the revolution will definitely spell doom for Africa as a continent. Any nation that wants to make it economically, technologically and equally conquer the space must be adequately ready to lavishly invest in the development of the youths and in the industrialization of its economy. If things are done in the same old way, definitely, the results remain unchanged, and that will not take the black continent to a reasonable place in the global market. All must come together to sustain the call for global revival expected in the restructuring of African economy. There should no provision be made for idleness and excuses. Readiness to persevere, hustle and work diligently for the betterment of the society must be established. The government should be proactive in creating gainful employment, conducive environment and fair level playing ground for the teeming youths released from higher institutions on a yearly basis. In defining the position of Africa in the global restructuring in this contemporary period, literature is a vital tool in that area. Literature is used by scholars to reveal the situation of Africa as a continent and her attendant problems or challenges.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the aesthetics of waithood in African literature, establishing their effects on the African youths and nations. The paper also portrays some female activists, who are not just ordinary women, but are contributing positively to the development of Africa in the area of gender equality. Some literary texts are analyzed briefly to establish the presence of waithood and gender activism in African literature. Mafo's *Wazobia Revolution*; Mwangi's *Kill me Quick* are selected to represent West and East Africa since they have similar political and colonial histories and Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* stands for South Africa since the author is from Zimbabwe. However, some of these texts were published some years ago but the messages are still very relevant in this age and the way they treat waithood and gender activism is still relevant in contemporary African literary space. Some examples are equally drawn from other African plays and poems to explain further on these key issues under discussion.

The paper concludes by calling on the youths to make positive use of their waithood period, never to engage in criminality but in creativity that will move Africa forward in the global industrial revolution, and gender activism has a lot to contribute to the actualization of this vision. For Africa to move forward, there must be gender balance, alternative femininity and positive utilization of waithood. The female gender must realize their noble position in the revolution of African economic development. Waithood and gender activism have not received adequate attention in African Novel, a gap this paper intends to fill.

Waithood in the 21st Century

'Waithood' is derived from two separate words. 'Wait' is coined from 'waiting' while 'hood' is an offshoot of 'adulthood'. The full statement is "Waiting for Adulthood". This is a period in the life of an individual where he/she has to pause and plan on how he/she will metamorphose into adulthood and begin to accomplish what adults are expected to achieve. Waithood, in another sense, is a period of stagnation in the lives of young unemployed college graduates in various industrializing and developing nations or regions, primarily in the Middle East, Africa and India, where their expertise is still not widely needed or applicable. ¹"Waithood" is described by Inhorn as "a kind of prolonged adolescence and the bewildering time in which large proportions of youth spend their best years waiting".² It is a phase in which the difficulties youth face in each of these interrelated spheres of life result in a debilitating state of helplessness and dependency. It is a fact that waithood is understood by examining outcomes and linkages across different sectors: education, employment, housing, credit, marriage and so on.

¹Marcia Inhorn. *Waithood; Gender, Education, and Global Delays in Marriage*. A Conference Paper at Yale University, September 27-30, 2018, 3.

²Inhorn, Marcia. *Waithood; Gender, Education, and Global Delays in Marriage*. A Conference Paper at Yale University, September 27-30, 2018. Retrieved from www.marciainhorn.com/conference/waithood-gender-marriage/ (06 August, 2019)

The term “waithood” was firstly used in the work of Diane Singerman,³ who has written extensively on education and marriage in the Middle East. Singerman uses waithood to refer to a pattern of widespread delay in marriage and since marriage is culturally linked to social adulthood. Singerman argues that in countries like Iran, Syria, Morocco, and Egypt, young people are obtaining higher levels of education than ever before, but that education is not leading to employment. The focus of her research was on youth in general. However, she gives primary emphasis to the experiences of young men, so as to highlight the role of governments in failing to supply sufficient remunerative employment opportunities and the failure of educational systems to adequately prepare young men for the jobs that exist. This situation has increased the high rate of criminality among the youths.⁴ Inhorn describes the situation as a period where “high marriage and housing costs and a cultural pattern, whereby young people live at home until they marry, have equally led to a situation of prolonged dependence on parents, as young people are forced to wait – for a job, for housing, and for marriage and for a family of their own.”⁵

To dialogue on the position of the black race in the global industrial revolution ravaging the continent like a bush fire in this twenty first century without talking about the youths will be an inconclusive deliberation because the youths are instruments of societal transformation. The youths, as people say, are the leaders of tomorrow, and they are at the centre of this industrial revolution. That is why I find this notion of ‘waithood’ to be very helpful in capturing young people’s feeling of being blocked in a stage of prolonged or permanent youth. Waithood also evidences the multifaceted realities of young Africans’ difficult transition to adulthood, which goes beyond securing a job and extends to aspects of their social and political life. While Singerman’s usage of waithood suggests a sense of passivity,⁶ Honwana “indicates that young people are not merely waiting, and hoping that their situation will change of its own accord. On the contrary, they are proactively engaged in serious efforts to create new forms of being and interacting with society.”⁷ Waithood involves a long process of negotiating personal identity and financial independence; it represents the contradictions of a modernity, in which young people’s expectations are simultaneously raised by the new technologies of information and communication that connect them to global cultures, and constrained by the limited prospects and opportunities in their daily lives.”

³ Singerman, Diane. "Thirty and Single, Coping with Delayed Marriage", The Middle East Youth Initiative (13 February 2008) Retrieved from www.meyi.org/bio-diane-singerman.html, 2018.

⁴Marcia.Inhorn. *Waithood; Gender, Education, and Global Delays in Marriage*. A Conference Paper at Yale University, September 27-30, 2018, 3.

⁵Inhorn, Marcia. *Waithood; Gender, Education, and Global Delays in Marriage*. A Conference Paper at Yale University, September 27-30, 2018. Retrieved from www.marciainhorn.com/conference/waithood-gender-marriage/ (06 August, 2019)

⁶Alcinda.Honwana. "Waithood": *Youth Transitions and Social Change*. 2014, 26.

⁷ Honwana, Alcinda. "Waithood": Youth Transitions and Social Change. In D. Foeken, T. Dietz, L. de Haan, and L. Johnson (eds.) *Development and Equity: An Interdisciplinary Exploration by ten Scholars From Africa, Asia, and Latin America*. Leiden: Brill. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004269729_004 (08 October, 2019)

We can rightly submit that the severity of the impact of waithood on the lives of young Africans depends on each individual's character, abilities, and life skills. However, it is also, largely, a function of their family background, level of education and access to resources. Those from the middle class who are well connected are better placed to secure jobs and have a smoother trajectory towards adulthood as portrayed in Ola Mafo's *Wazobian Revolution and Echoes of the Waves*. From the perspective of gender or femininity, waithood looks at how men face the pressures of getting a steady job, finding a home, and covering the costs of marriage and family building. According to ⁸Calvi's et al. (2007:83)

Although women are becoming better educated and have always engaged in productive labour alongside household chores, marriage and motherhood are still the most important markers of adulthood. While giving birth may provide girls an entry into adulthood, their ability to attain full adult status often depends on men moving beyond waithood

We must realize that the security of the citizenry and the giving of human face should be the uppermost concern on any policy the government tries to promulgate. The leaders then must try to put cash and food on the pockets and tables of individuals and families. In Africa, fewer percentages of citizens are financially secured. Money and food seem to have developed unknown phobia for the ordinary fellow citizens as they suddenly grew wings and flew away, they become unreached easily to ordinary citizens. Whether a policy is proscribed or proscribed, implemented or left untouched on the office table, there are certain groups that practically bear the brunt of the pro-activeness or incompetence of government- the youths. These young minds are always at the receiving ends. Juxtaposing these interesting facts and that longing to break out of the shell of parents and guidance protection, plus the restlessness of these youths in the area of advanced technology, waithood is the term that captures this phase in the journey of life for these teeming youths. Waithood is an aspect that we must pay attention to in order for Africa to be properly placed in this contemporary industrial revolution.

The period that requires a long wait for development, maturity and global exposure between when these youths leave school and when they become acclaimed adults, that long period is best known and described as waithood. Regrettably, the realities of waithood begin to dawn on young graduates immediately they graduate from the higher institution. It becomes moments of sober reflections, annoying moments of waking up daily and not having any meaningful thing to engage with, moments to embrace the fact that millions have left school and are roaming the streets without jobs. To these upcoming youths, there is high probability they might join them in that waithood period. It turns out to be a nightmare and taunting moments where these youths are

⁸ Calvi's, Anne-Emmanuèle, Jean-François Kobiane, and Edith Martel. 2007. Change Transitions to Adulthood in Urban Burkina Faso. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 38(2): 2007, 83.

afraid to meet their fellow counterparts, family members and past friends for the fear of been asked some crucial questions. It is pathetic that most of the victims of waithood could only wish time would rewind itself and drop them at the junction of teenagers. Where they can wash plates again, clean the house, study mathematics, be under the grips of parents and guidance because, at least, they are sure of daily food and supplies, never to think of working to provide for themselves.

Examples of this waithood can be located in some African literary texts. Either from old generation of African writers or from the contemporary writers, the story is the same. The problem started many years ago but unattended to by past African leaders until the problem blossomed to bigger one where the current leaders are finding it difficult to solve because the problem has really eaten deep into our fabrics and system due to geometrical increment in African population for some decades now. Chinua Achebe's *A Man of the People* expresses this disillusionment among the youths and that is exactly the experience of Meja and Mina in Mega Mwangi's *Kill me Quick*. Meja and Mina leave the village and relocate to the city with the hope of getting better jobs and live conveniently, get money and settle down to raise families of their own. Not only that, they also wish to get enough money from the city that they can send back home to take proper care of their family members in the village. But they are disappointed as they could not get decent jobs in the city despite their diploma certificates. In a bid to survive in the city, they get involved in crimes as they are always in and out of prison. Though they obtained good grades in their School Certificate Examination, there is no job for them anywhere or, rather, nobody is willing to employ them for even the meanest kind of jobs. Meanwhile they have to live in refuse bins in the backstreets amidst the unbearable "stench of the gutters" and "the foul smell of rotten vegetables".¹⁰ To get food, they have to scavenge for discarded and decaying foodstuffs in the refuse dumps and in this regard they have to compete with the city mongrels. When they get employed in a white settler's farm, they are exploited and so have to devise means of coping with the situation. When they are sacked for a theft they had not committed, they return to the backstreets in the city. Soon, circumstances drive them into crime - a thing they have dreaded all along and tried to avoid.

Their hopes of making a fortune and helping the parents who suffered to keep them in school are completely frustrated and they would rather stay in the city and suffer than go back to their homes:

More than twelve years in school with fees to pay and then
I go back home and just hang around: no not me, Meja.
Imagine how my friends who never went to school and
always stayed at home will laugh! I believe that I have
aright to something better if only for the effort I put into
these examination weeks. And what about the fees I had to

⁹ Meja, Mwangi. *Kill me Quick*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books. 1973, 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10

pay at school? I could have become a farmer without having to pay all that highly, you know.¹¹

Being unemployed means they are without any means of processing food and shelter. As a result, they resort to living at a subhuman level. They sleep in refuse bins like city rats and have to abandon them early in the morning before the city cleaners would come and cart them away to the central refuse dump. They feed from the leftovers in the refuse dump and these are described thus:

There were various kinds of fruit in various stages of decay. There were also slices of stale, smelly bread and a few pieces of dusty chocolate. Some rock hard cakes glared stonily back at them. Meja sat looking from one type of food to the other. The oranges were no longer orange and beautiful but a deathly grey with mould. The cakes were no longer cakes but fragments of rock and the chocolate looked like discarded shoe polish. (p.1)¹²

Though initially, the two friends refuse to join others in crime. According to Mina, he says:

all my friends became thieves and robbers. I would have done the same too but ... I could never trust my speed for getting away with purse snatching. Some of my friends went into the main streets and snatched purses and they are almost of them in prison now, for one reason or another. Me, I turned into the backstreets and thrived.¹³

Despite their initial resistance, things do not turn out the way they expected, and they become victims of the ugly circumstances, they have, in effect been reduced to the level of beasts. Though we could say that the two friends fail to make proper and positive use of their waithood period because they could not hold their stand not to join crime for too long, they could not beat the society, so, they have to join the corrupt society. The author is saying that this has to be discouraged in the sense that joblessness should not drive the Africa youths into crime.

In like manner is the example of Feye in Chris Anyokwu's *Stolen Future*, where, Feye, the main character is made to wait for many years without a decent job because he has become 'overage' due to staying at home for many years after graduation and he is not ready to join the bad wagon. He posits further that:

I'm frustrated to death. The whole thing bores me. For seven years now. Nothing to show for my two-two. And now the age barrier. I have been to virtually all major and minor establishments in town. Same story. Either the lady

¹¹Meja, Mwangi. *Kill me Quick*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books. 1973, 3

¹² Ibid; 1.

¹³Meja, Mwangi. *Kill me Quick*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books. 1973, 3

¹⁴ Chris, Amyokwu, *Stolen Future*. Lagos: LearnRite Publishers Services. 2006, 4.

receptionist who is painting her nails and is on the phone talking with her boyfriend ignores me hours on end or I'm flatly told the Boss is not available. He is attending a top-level meeting and won't be through till doomsday.... Sometimes, I just don't stand a chance because I speak a different tongue. But often, it is that I'm overage. I am dead tired Uncle.¹⁵

This waithood scenario is equally captured in Oswald Mtshali's Poem *Boy on a Swing*, where the frustrated boy asks:

Mother! Where did I come from?
When will I wear long trousers?
Why was my father jailed?

This same question is asked by the unemployed youths today, 'when will they begin to wear trousers and grow up to maturity as expected in the face of the biting unemployment?' Just as the boy's question remains unanswered, the waithood period remains unending, because nobody can tell when the waiting period will actually end for African youths. Alcoho laments in Frank Ogbeche's *Harvest of Corruption* "Could you believe that since my Service I have not been able to get any job for myself? I have tried everything everywhere but no way. My dear, I am finished."¹⁶ Just like Meja and Mina, Alcoho could not stand faithful until the end, she gives her body for sexual relationship with the Minister for External Affairs in order for her to secure job. She gets the job but later lured to cocaine business and she eventually dies during childbirth after series of attempted abortions. For Alcoho, it is a failed waithood.

Africa as a whole is equally at a waithood period as Africa is at the corridor of plunging itself into the realm of technology and advancement in scholarly researches. But it is unfortunate that instead of looking for means to comply with the latest trend in the advanced world, we get involved in crimes, terrorism and fraudulent activities. Africa is currently experiencing waithood, waiting for a moment of technological advancement and positive revolution in our political, industrial and economic sectors. The African leaders who are saddled with the responsibility of making the transition to progress, they rather use the power within their disposal to oppress the masses. Soyinka (1984) calls it an abuse of power, which has limited and hampered the growth of Africa in the twenty first industrial revolution. ¹⁷Soyinka (1984: vii) posits further that:

Power, we have suggested, calls to power, and vicarious power (that is, the sort enjoyed by the politically impotent intelligentsia) responds obsequiously to the real thing. ... there is also a professed love... which is perverse, being also identical with the 'love' of the slave-girl for her master.

¹⁵ Ibid; 4-5.

¹⁶ Frank, Ogbeche, *Harvest of Corruption*. Abuja: Almaz Books Ltd. 2014, 4.

¹⁷ Wole, Soyinka. *A Play of Giants*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited. 1984, vii.

Maturity is synonymous to adulthood. And if that adulthood means cutting yourself off the chain of parents support and contributing to the welfare of the younger ones, parents and the community; if it means starting life with a furnished room apartment; if it means nursing plans on how to be a parent and building your own home, then late 'teenhood' should be the time to prepare for the herculean task and waitthood would be the transition period.

To a balanced expectation, waitthood is supposed to be transient for fresh graduates. It should be a period to learn to settle down, not a time to scramble for a living. It should be a moment to begin mulling over humble investments rather than struggling to make ends meet.

Fatefully in many African nations, there is a long and tumultuous drive on the road of waitthood; inundated with potholes, sharp corners and no U-turn. Often the road seems dark and overwhelmed by haze during daylight. Millions of Africans have been stuck on this road even before our democracy and many have been assured by the dwindling economy of the continent that they will join the bandwagon.¹⁸

The need for collective responsibility and to shun any act that could be a hindrance in the transformation of the industrial section in Africa is vividly portrayed in Mafo's *Wazobian Revolution* where the three returnees from the Gold Coast to Wazobia are faced with challenges in the country such as unjust killing, corruption, oppression, embezzlement of public funds and criminality. They do not want to become just ordinary citizens of the nation who will allow the challenges of the nation to rub on them. They want the masculinity in them to prevail over the decadence in the society. These young men, Bayo, Emeka and Mohammed, with strong determination decide not to fall for criminality but how to make the society better. With that resolution, according to the author, they;

realized that only strong determination, selfless and united leaders from various groups could work together and build the necessary bridges that would produce the required unity in diversity for the beloved nation. They resolved to dedicate themselves to this struggle and to work with other Wazobians who shared these lofty objectives.¹⁹

After that, these young men decide to expose the corrupt military officers at the border, condemn the corrupt public officers who are demanding for bribe before they attend to the files they are supposed to treat. Not only that, they decide to look away from the wealth of their parents, but decide to engage in decent jobs for their daily sustenance. They are not religiously, politically or culturally bias as they are from different cultural backgrounds. They co-habit together perfectly and that also reflect in their marriages, they all get involved in inter-tribal marriages. Unless we begin to tolerate ourselves, forget our cultural, political or religious affiliations, things cannot move forward for the

¹⁸Pascal, Egens. *Waitthood in Nigeria*. 2016, 1

¹⁹Ola, Mafo. *Wazobian Revolution*. Akure; M. O. J. Investments Limited. 2016, 29.

African citizens. Contemporary Africa needs the spirit of these 'Wazobian' young men to progress in this 21st century.

The concept of gender activism in contemporary affairs

Gender is seen as the socially constructed characteristics of women and men such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society and can be changed. While most people are born either male or female and they taught appropriate norms, ethics and behaviours which also include how to interact with other people of the same and opposite sex in their various homes, communities and other social context. The concept of gender also includes the expectations held about the characteristics, aptitudes and even the behaviours of both women and men in the society. Ogundipe-Leslie is of the opinion that "gender is the division of women and men determined by the social requirement of heterosexuality which reinforces male sexual dominance and female sexual submission".²⁰ Based on the above definition, gender deals with the various differences and projections of men and women physically, socially and culturally in the society. How the two sexes are viewed and the roles they play individually and collectively.

Sociologically, there is a distinction between sex and gender. Sex can be portrayed as biological traits that societies use to assign people into the category of either male or female, whether it be through a focus on chromosomes, genitalia or some other physical ascription. When people talk about the differences between men and women they are often drawing on sex on rigid ideas of biology rather than gender, which is an understanding of how society shapes our understanding of those biological categories. Gender is more fluid, it may or may not depend upon biological traits. More specifically, it is a concept that describes how societies determine and manage sex categories; the cultural meanings attached to men and women's roles; and how individuals understand their identities including, but not limited to, being a man, woman, transgender, intersex, gender queer and other gender positions. Gender involves social norms, attitudes and activities that society deems more appropriate for one sex over another. Gender is also determined by what an individual feels and does. The sociology of gender examines how society influences our understanding and perception of differences between masculinity (what society deems appropriate behaviour for a "man") and femininity (what society deems appropriate behaviour for a "woman"). We examine how this, in turn, influences identity and social practices in the area of waithood and activism in Africa literature and Africa society as a whole in this paper.

Activism, in the other hand, is the doctrine or practice of vigorous action or involvement as a means of achieving political, social, cultural, marital, or other goals, personal or collectively, sometimes by physical demonstration, public protest, or through social media and so on. It consists of effort to promote, impede, direct, or intervene in social, political, economic, or environmental reforms with the desire to make changes in the society. Activism is action on

²⁰ Omolara, Ogundipe-Leslie. *Recreating Ourselves: African Women and Critical Transformation*. Trenton: African World Press. 1994, 26.

behalf of a cause, action that goes beyond what is conventional or routine. The action might be door-to-door canvassing, alternative radio, public meetings, rallies, or fasting. The cause might be women's rights, opposition to a factory, or world peace. Activism has played a major role in ending slavery, challenging dictatorships, protecting workers from exploitation, protecting the environment, promoting equality for women, opposing racism, and many other important issues. It can also be used for aims such as attacking minorities or promoting war.

Activism has been present throughout history, in every sort of political system. Yet it has never received the same sort of attention from historians as conventional politics, with its attention to rulers, wars, elections, and empires. Activists are typically challengers to policies and practices, trying to achieve a social goal, not to obtain power themselves. Much activism operates behind the scenes. Activism is not necessarily a good thing or a bad thing. It all depends on the cause and the actions, and a person's judgment of what is worthwhile. One person might say that a protest is a valuable defense of freedom and another person might say that it is a dangerous attack on human rights.

Gender activism has played an important role in the society today. It is not a new phenomenon in Africa and has existed since the colonial era especially in the aspect of literature. It emerged remarkably in some of the most famous post-colonial works of writers. It has been used as a visible tool for conflict resolution, gender violence and inequality. Activism is not just in terms of ethnicity but basically in terms of socio-economic and political disadvantages against which the activists pitch their struggles and motives. Gender activism examines the fight and struggle of people as a collective work rather than individual and consequently the outcome of such acts in conflict resolution in the society.

There are numerous examples of African women who are active activists and are committed to the course of female gender in African society. Few of them are Wadi Ben-Hirki who founded the Wadi Ben-Hirki Foundation when she was 17 years old. The foundation seeks to impact marginalized and disadvantaged communities through humanitarianism and activism. The charity organization runs many campaigns, mostly in Northern Nigeria. She serves on the African Leadership Institute Youth Advisory Board and was the Special Guest from Africa at the 2018 Y20 Summit.

Paraphrasing Eagles she submits that Melene Rossouw is another figure who became an Attorney in the High Court of South Africa in 2009.²¹ In 2017, she founded the Women Lead Movement to educate, empower, and inspire women. They lead social change in their communities through human rights and leadership training. The movement also shows women how to publicly campaign and hold the government accountable for the promises they make to their citizens. Regush says that in March 2011, AWDF recognized Professor Abena Busia as one of 50 inspirational African feminists.²² She is a co-director

²¹ Jane, Eagles. *These Powerful Activists are at the Frontlines of Gender Equality*. 2019, 1.

²² Anna, Regush. *10 Powerful African Feminists Who Fight For Women Rights*. 2017, 1.

and co-editor of the groundbreaking Women Writing Africa Project, a multi-volume anthology published by the Feminist Press at the City University of New York. Abena has been widely published on black women's literature, colonial discourse, and postcolonial studies. Her bibliographical list includes two volumes of poetry "Testimonies Exile" and "Traces of life" and such edited works as "Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women", "Beyond Survival: African literature and the search for new life".²³

Other women activists are Fridah Githuku, the Executive Director of GROOTS Kenya, a national grassroots movement led by women. The movement gives grassroots women visibility and decision-making power in their communities. They have invested in nearly 3,500 women-led groups across Kenya, sparking local, human-led change. As an Equal Measures 2030 partner, Fridah is passionate about the role of land rights in achieving gender equality, AyaChebbi is an award-winning Pan-African feminist and activist. She is the founder of the Youth Programme of Holistic Empowerment Mentoring, coaching the next generation of positive change agents. She is also the founder of the Afrika Youth Movement, one of Africa's largest Pan-African youth-led movements. She is the first African Union Youth Envoy and the youngest diplomat at the African Union Commission Chairperson's Cabinet.

Lola Omolola, the founder of FIN, a private Facebook group that connects nearly 1.7 million women from across the world is another example. She began the group in 2014, searching to create a virtual support network with other Nigerians after Boko Haram kidnappings. The group quickly grew into a hub for women's issues, offering its members a safe outlet to discuss the struggles they face and connect with other women who share those experiences. Chmba Ellen Chilemba is the Founder and Executive Director at Tiwale, a youth-led organization supporting Malawian girls and women. She started Tiwale at 17 to end the vicious cycle of child marriage through economic and educational opportunities. Tiwale has supported over 250 women so far.²⁴Eagles, Jane (2019:1).In the field of literature, we have great writers and activists like Zulu Sofola, Buchi Emecheta, Oswald Mtshali, Ahdaf Soueif, Aminatta Forna, Chibundu Onuzo, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Helen Oyeyemi, Imbolo Mbue, Jennifer Nansubuga Makumbi, Kopano Matlwa etc.

Activism is of different colours and shades which may be performed on a day-to-day basis in a wide variety of ways, including through the creation of art (activism), computer hacking (hacktivism), or simply in how one chooses to spend their money (economic activism). For example, the refusal to buy clothes or other merchandise from a company as a protest against the exploitation of workers by that company could be considered an expression of activism. However, the most highly visible and impactful activism often comes in the form of collective action, in which numerous individuals coordinate an act of protest together in order to make a bigger impact. Collective action that is purposeful, organized, and sustained over a period becomes known as a social movement. Historically, activists have used literature, including pamphlets, tracts, and books to disseminate their grievances, messages and attempt to

²³ Ibid.,1

²⁴Jane, Eagles. These Powerful Activists are at the Frontlines of Gender Equality. 2019, 1.

persuade their readers of the justification of their cause. Research has now begun to explore how contemporary activist's groups use social media to facilitate civic engagement and collective action combining politics and literature with technology.

The role of activism in African is an important aspect which must not be examined parochially. The activities of the male counterpart must be investigated *vis-a-vis* the females, especially those citizens who have promoted the socio-economic and cultural way of their lives by voicing out their problems and creating a platform for conflict resolution and equal opportunity. The movements have been influenced by international feminism and external donors. Increasingly, it is African women who are shaping the global struggle for women's rights. Bringing together other authors who themselves are important part of the activist groups.

Activism is equally needed in every aspects of Africa in this 21st century. Every gender, as we can see from the foregoing, is important in the transformation, development, and revolution in the economic standard of the nations in Africa. There is no need for male counterparts to look down on their female counterparts as if they cannot contribute meaningfully in the revolution vanguard in Africa, the same applies to the females. Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* is a perfect literary example that shows and establishes the fact on how female characters are capable of transforming the society. Though, as said earlier, this book was published many years ago, but the relevance of its message cannot be thrown into the background in this 21st century. Many women activists today got their inspirations and visions from books like *Nervous Conditions*. This issue of gender activism is revealed in the behaviours of Sisi Tambu. The situation in the novel is that of male dominated, the age long tradition in Africa which cannot take us to anywhere where women are oppressed and suppressed. Dangarembga promotes alternative femininity and equally shows to us in the novel the need to challenge the existing tradition of female subjugation which should be replaced with an egalitarian society of equal opportunities for both sexes to contribute their quota to the development of Africa. Tambu expresses this oppression in a situation where females are not encouraged to go to school. She says:

The needs and sensibilities of the women in my family were not considered a priority, or even legitimate. That was why I was in Standard Three in the year that Nhamo died, instead of in Standard Five, as I should have been by that age. In those days I felt the injustice of my situation every time I thought about it, which I could not help... feeling the injustice of it, this is how I came to dislike my brother... my father, my mother- in fact everybody.²⁵

Tambu's father tells her the fact that schooling is not for females when she becomes obsessed about going to school saying²⁶"I shall go to school again" The father tells her:

²⁵ Tsitsi, Dangarembga. *Nervous Conditions*. California: The Women's Press.1988, 12.

²⁶ Ibid; 16.

Is that anything to worry about? Ha-a-a, it's nothing... Can you cook books and feed them to your husband? Stay at home with your mother. Learn to cook and clean. Grow vegetables.²⁷

Nhamo, her brother, also expresses that masculinity by looking down on his sister and towing the same lane of oppression. He mocks Tambu in this dialogue between them:

'Who says? I should know. I go to school. You go nowhere.'
'But I want to go to school.' 'Wanting won't help.' 'Why not?' He hesitated, then shrugged. 'It's the same everywhere. Because you are a girl' It was out. 'That's what Baba said, remember?'²⁸

Gender activism requires women fighting for their rights and privileges to contribute meaningfully to the development of the society. Even if other female counterparts are not supportive, just like Tambu's mother at initial stage, the author believes that such female activist must press ahead to challenge the existing norms that will not promote positive revolution in this dispensation in Africa. Tambu declares:

My mother... began to prepare me for disappointment long before I would have been forced to face up to it. ...'And do you think you are so different, so much better than the rest of us? Accept your lot and enjoy what you can of it. There is nothing else to be done.'²⁹

In gender activism, confrontations, perseverance and commitment are ingredients that will make the revolution we so much desire in Africa to become achievable. For instance, she says:

'And why should I tell her such things?' My mother asked.
The girl must have a chance to do something for herself, to fail for herself. Do you think I have not told her efforts will come to nothing? You know your daughter. She is willful and headstrong. She won't listen to me....³⁰

This is the first time Tambu's mother will summon all the courage in her to confront her husband and the confrontation finally yields results. The picture of a female activist is equally seen in the character of Ogeyi in Ogebeche's *Harvest of Corruption* when she determines to fight for justice for her friend who died prematurely during childbirth, a situation she finds herself due to the societal corruption in a male dominated society. She says:

²⁷ Ibid; 15.

²⁸ Ibid; 18.

²⁹ Tsitsi, Dangarembga. *Nervous Conditions*. California: The Women's Press. 1988, 20.

³⁰ Ibid; 24.

As if I know this was going to happen when I went to the Assistant Commissioner of Police. Justice must be done. She must be avenged. Yes! I will make sure of that, even if that is the last thing, I do so long as her soul is appeased.³¹

This is the spirit of an activist needed by everyone to confront the oppression and the corrupt people in the society who will not make African society to progress in this contemporary time. The authors reveal to us here the need for everyone to come together and confront the challenges befalling us in Africa. Revolution flows with confrontation. If we expect positive and progressive revolution in our society, the people should be ready to challenge the challenges limiting the progress of the black race.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the position of Africa in the revolution campaign of this 21st century using the yardsticks of waithood, and gender activism from the perspective of literature through the analysis of some selected African novels: Mafo's *Wazobia Revolution*; Mwangi's *Kill me Quick*; and Dangarembga's *Nervous Conditions* and other literary texts. The submission of this paper is that Africa as a continent still has a long way to go in climbing to the pinnacle of recognizable development. Most of our leaders are corrupt, selfish and lack the vision for the technological advancement in the economy, industrial, social and political segments in Africa. Women's oppression and subjugation are still rampant in our society as female gender is being discriminated against at home, in the labour market, in the school and even in religious houses. Many of the young minds are leaving the schools without adequate provision of job opportunities for them. They go into labour market without backups.

Most of the companies and industries are folding up because they are yet to be aligned with the technologically driven market. These youths are forced to stay at waithood period longer than necessary. Any nation that fails to make adequate provision for the youths is planning to fail, digging its own grave. The force in the transformation of African is not the aged but the youth. In addition, we must encourage hard work, hustling and diligence among the citizens. It is a fact that some are lazy bones, not willing to work, they believe in getting everything for free. Such people have forgotten the old saying that "there is nothing free again in Freetown." Literature has a lot to contribute to the development of Africa's revolution, for through it, the challenges and way out are revealed. For Africa to move ahead, Africans, through 'gender activism', must hustle. This will make 'the *Wazobians*', to reduce the period of 'waithood' and never allow the need for revolution to be *Out of Our Mind* in order not to create a *Nervous Condition* so that Africa position and vision for better industrialization and societal transformation will not become *Kill me Quick*.

³¹Frank, Ogbeche, *Harvest of Corruption*. Abuja: Almaz Books Ltd. 2014, 92.

The challenge of democratic governance in Nigeria: A religio-philosophical appraisal

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Abstract

The absence of good governance could be seen and explained in terms of defective constitutional arrangement, corruption, economic mismanagement, undemocratic internal party politics, fraudulent electoral system, rule of man as against rule of law and lack of accountability and transparency are the major impediments to democratic consolidation in Nigeria. In this regard, the study argues that sustained poor political leadership has seriously threatened the survival of democracy in Nigeria and that positive influences on the part of the religious bodies, through their leaders are argued to be inestimable. Meanwhile, this paper looked at the challenge of democracy in Nigeria from a religio-philosophical point of view and the manners those problems which constitute fundamental challenges could be surmounted. Findings in this research maintain that for there to be significant improvement in the democratic processes, amongst others, Nigerian political leaders should change their dispositions in the handling of state affairs. Finally, the paper made some recommendations that would assist in promoting democratic practice and culture in the country. Among other recommendations, the paper recommends that for effective and productive democratic governance in Nigeria, the political leaders need to uphold democratic values of popular participation, respect for the rule of law, free and fair elections and the independence of the judiciary.

Key words: Consolidation, Democracy, Electoral, Good, Governance, Nigeria, Religio-Philosophical

Introduction

It is argued here that constitutional, accountability, infrastructural, and electoral challenge are suggested to be among the evidences of bad democratic governance in Nigeria. To Omotuyi, the reality of post-colonial Nigeria reveals that democracy in Nigeria is in contradistinction of the other developed democracies. This is evident in the harbinger of multiple of woes because there

seems to be a visible lack of semblance of good governance.¹ In a similar pattern, Omotosho corroborates Omotuyi that the system of Nigerian democratic governance since post-colonial era has obtained less dividends of good. This argument on the less dividends of good and the occurrences of evils has empirical evidences in the manifestations of devastations, failures, backwardness, crimes, and other related cases.²

There is this general belief that the best form of organised government in the whole world today is democracy. This lends credence to the fact that democracy is now fascinating and inviting to all people and government. What is democracy? Democracy is about running a society or country in such a way that these rights and freedoms are respected and defended. To Appadorai, democracy is a system of government under which the people exercise the governing power either directly or through representatives periodically elected by them.³ Ununu (cited in Igwe) defines democracy as essentially a method of organising the society politically. He suggested five basic elements without which no community can call itself truly democratic. These elements are equality, sovereignty of the people, respect for human life, the rule of law and liberty of the individual.⁴ Giddens on his own case defines democracy as a political system that allows the citizens to participate in political decision making, or to elect representatives to government bodies.⁵

Furthermore, Huntington claims that democracy exists where the principal leaders of a political system are selected by a competitive election in which the bulk of the population has the opportunity to participate. Huntington definition's emphasis on election tends to equate election process with democracy where choice and decision making rest with the people.⁶ This view is further supported by Hermet, according to him; Democracy means first and foremost, the real possibility for those who are governed of choosing and unseating, peacefully at regular intervals those who govern them. The fact that election is indispensable to democratic governance is acceptable to both Guy & Huntington.⁷ This echoes Abraham Lincoln famous definition of democracy as the government of the people by the people and for the people (cited in Ake).⁸ But democracy is beyond election, to equate election with democracy is like undermining the expectation that democracy brings. Election guarantee

¹Sunday Omotuyi. "Electoral Process and Neo-Patrimonialism: An Appraisal of Quality of Governance in Democratic Nigeria" *Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F Political Science*, 16, no. 3. (2016), 39.

²Olabode J Omotosho. "Ethical Implications of Exodus 20:15-17 on Effective Government in Nigeria" *Journal of the Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions*, 27, no. 2. (2017), 5.

³S. Appadorai. *The substance of politics*. (11th Edition). Oxford: University Press, 1975, 12.

⁴Liga E. Igwe, Liga E. "Democracy and Development in Nigeria: Issue and Challenges" *International Journal of Economic Development Research and Investment*, 1, nos. 2 & 3. (2010), 41.

⁵A. Giddens. *Sociology* (Second Edition fully revised and updated). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, 9.

⁶Samuel Huntington. *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twenties Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991, 72.

⁷Guy Hermet. "Introduction: The Age of Democracy" *International Social Science Journal*. no. 128. (1991), 27.

⁸Claude Ake. "Devaluing Democracy" *Journal of Democracy*. 3, no. 3 (July, 1992), 41.

political process but it may not guarantee the emergence of the desire or expected dividend of democracy. Pogson captures this view in this way:

Democracy is based on the principle that public decision is the business of all citizens equally. This means that all citizens must not just be entitled to, but also enabled to participate in public decision making. The question of democracy goes beyond the holding of elections to the realization of democratic principles of governance in practice and to the balance of social forces in the political community. It is what politicians do when they are in office that counts.⁹

Democracy is the process of organising a political community through which the individual participate in chosen their own representative in a competitive medium to protect their welfare.

Democracy therefore represents the totality of ideas and ideals, institutions and the processes through which people participate in making decisions that affect them.

This work deals with the difficulties that made the building of a truly democratic society in a nation that are made up of a diversity of ethnic, tribal and cultural groups like Nigeria. Having in mind that democracy is the most welcoming forms of government throughout the world today, we want to examine those challenges that are standing as a stabling blocks toward the realization of this lofty goals in Nigeria and the way out.

Theoretical Framework

The paper is resting on the work of Adejumobi on the liberal democracy.¹⁰ It is generally understood that liberal democracy is a system of government in which people consent to their rulers, and rulers, in turn, are constitutionally constrained to respect individual rights.¹¹ In this regard, Omodia and Aliu corroborate that the state or government is expected to practice and promote constitutionalism, respect for the rule of law and human rights, popular participation, accountability and transparency, and probity in the management of people and resources. These values largely represent the core essence of democratic governance.¹² Significantly, these key attributes are critical to the capacity of democratic governance to engender and strengthen the social

⁹A. I. Pogson. "Rethinking Governance in Africa: Measuring Performance-The Ibrahim Index on African Governance" *Paper Presented at a Departmental Seminar, Department of Political Science, University Of Ibadan, Nigeria.* (10th, February, 2010), 7.

¹⁰Adejumobi, S. "Democracy, Good Governance and Constitutionalism in Africa" S. Odion-Akin (ed). *Governance: Nigeria and the World*, Lagos: Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarisation, (2004), 11-22.

¹¹ Liberal Democracy, Encyclopedia.com, accessed May 17, 2021.

¹²S. M. Omodia and M. Aliu, M. "Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on the Nigerian Fourth Republic" *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 3, no. 4 (2013), 36.

contract, popular trust, state legitimacy and enhance socioeconomic and political development in the society.¹³

Meanwhile, it would be safe to opine that the successive governments in Nigeria seem to have lacked the political will not only to initiate or sustain policy, but also incogitant to engage in structural transformation or to embark on sound economic reform to reposition the state for holistic greatness that would be evident in good governance.¹⁴ In this wise, in order to have the system of good governance that will be responsive and responsible to manage governmental agencies for the good of the people in Nigeria, the exercise of political power to promote the public good and the welfare of the people are argued to be indispensable.¹⁵ The assumption would that where there is a developed and matured democracy in Nigeria there would be possibility of good governance that is capable of surmounting the constitutional, accountability, infrastructural, and other related challenges which are the realities of bad governance.

The Challenge of Democracy in Nigeria

There are difficulties confronting Nigeria in building a truly democratic society, where the respect of constitutionality and the rule of law is the rule rather than the exception. This task is complicated by the fact that Nigeria as a nation was created by colonial powers. It can be historically sustained that the Nigerian entity did not exist in vacuum before the British conquest of 1861. Different Nationalities had existed with their respective and distinguishing values, traditions, cultures, norms, and in fact governmental system. These Nationalities had attained different levels of economic and socio-political developments before colonialism truncated such process.¹⁶ This could be attributed to the scrabbling for partition of Africa at Berlin conference of 1884 that led to the creation of political boundaries without giving attention and respect the cultures, traditions as well as the blood linkages among the African ethnic groups. Martin Meredith discovers that, in the Sahel, new territories were established across the great divide between the desert regions of the Sahara and the belt of tropical forests to the South–Sudan, Chad and Nigeria – throwing together Muslim and non-Muslim peoples in latent hostility. These heterogeneous ethnic groups were forced together by the colonialists to co-exist and remain as state.

¹³Omodia and Aliu. "Governance and Threats to National Security in Emerging Democracies: A Focus on the Nigerian Fourth Republic", 36.

¹⁴Dhikru Adewale Yagboyaju and Adeoye O Akinola. "Nigerian State and the Crisis of Governance: A Critical Exposition" *SAGE Open Journals.sagepub.com/home/sgo*, (2019), 91.

¹⁵Daniel E. Gberevbie, Adeola I. Excellence-Oluye Oyeyemi, and O. Nchekwube. "The Challenges of Good Governance, Accountability of Governmental Agencies and Development in Nigeria" *ACTA Universitatis Danubius*. 6, no. 2. (2014), 12.

¹⁶S. O. Akinboye, S.O and R. Anifowose. "Nigerian Government and politics." In *Elements of Politics*, Anifowose Remiand and Enemou Francis (eds). Lagos: Malthouse Press, 1999, 240; Walter Rodney. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. New York: Panaf Publishing, 1972, 43.

The different ethnic groups become polarize rather than unite. In addition to this was the 1914 amalgamation of Southern and Northern protectorate that brought about the existence of Nigeria which has brought in an uneasy and unresolved tension between the North and the South in all ramifications. There is the fear of domination which is usually expressed against the majority ethnic groups by the minority groups. This has remained a patent problem in the contemporary Nigeria. In fact, this problem has substantially generated concerns by the leaders with respect to how to deal with the national questions.¹⁷

Furthermore, democratic system is judged according to the degree of its commitment to the ingredients of democracy. Democracy thrives where people freely stand for election and vote during election; where there are periodic elections based on universal adult suffrage; where elections conducted are free, fair and credible; where defeated leaders accept defeat freely in an election; where succession process is smooth and not problematic; where the individual is allowed to freely make his/her choice; and where the process of election is competitive among the political parties. If all these tenets, elements, and parameters are adhered to, a government can be regarded as being democratic. All these are absent in the case of Nigeria, fraudulent electoral practices have being instituted in the body politics. Not only officials of the electoral commission are guilty of this but also law enforcement agents, members of the judiciary and even voters are exposed to these fraudulent practices that threaten the electoral process and its outcome. Many electorates have lost confidence in the process and have consequently become apathetic to the system, a situation that further promotes the preponderances and ambivalences of political actors.¹⁸

In addition, Nigeria irregular election rather than regular was, to a large extent, masterminded by the Armed Forces. Military regime is an aberration to democracy, but the violation of the tenets of democracy by politicians prompted the military intervention in the body politics of the country.¹⁹ One of the proofs of the loopholes in the electoral process in Nigeria is the number of elections that have been voided by the petition tribunals and Appeal Courts since democracy was re-introduced. Some of the issues that have characterized elections in Nigeria are: Electoral violence; Political intimidation; Manipulation of the Electoral Commission and security agencies; Multiple voting; Hijacking of ballot boxes; Vote-buying. And the inability of the National Electoral body to manage logistics as it obtained in all the election period in Nigeria. A credible and competent leadership cannot emerge through an electoral process riddled with fraudulent practices and violence.²⁰

The phenomenon of corruption makes Nigeria a fertile ground for fraudulent practices. Corrupt law enforcement agents, corruption in the judicial system,

¹⁷Meredith Martin. "The fate of Africa" *Public affairs*. (June, 2006), 88.

¹⁸W. Adebani and E. Obadare. "The Abrogation of the Electorate: An Emergent African Phenomenon." *Democratization*, 18, no. 2 (2011), 65.

¹⁹O. Obasanjo. *A Valedictory Speech of the Outgoing Chairman Advisory Council*. *Transparency International*, Otto-Suhr-Alle 97/99, Berlin, Germany, October 20, 1999.

²⁰M. Haruna. "Electoral Reforms: Politicians as Bad Workmen" *The Comet Newspaper*. no. 5. (December, 2003), 7.

and very slow process of trial, lack of good welfare for the judges that made many of them to take bribe and bypass judgment, the political policy makers and the civil servants that implement their policies are corrupt. Corruption has been instituted in Nigeria, it has reduced the society to anything goes provided you know your way. Merit is a foregone conclusion, which is reason why many Nigerian politicians are well known for causing violence because of corruption. They are ready to do anything to acquire power since they know what their society demand. One could not dispute the fact that the level of corruption of most politicians in Nigeria is very high. On the level of moral decadence, Nkeonye submits that:

Really, the rate of corruption, bribery, indiscipline, immorality, cheating, idleness, and other vices have assumed alarming proportions. As it were, it seems that everything has simply gone upside down, in order to negate and thwart the legitimate aspiration of the common...²¹

Consequently, the challenges that face Nigeria as a nation cannot be met without a credible and competent leadership. Many of Nigeria leaders are inefficient, though they seek all means to perpetrate themselves in office. Many of the rulers have used the constitution as a tool to entrench themselves in power or have totally disregarded its existence. Although, in some instances, the rulers have followed the constitution to the letter, where they are frustrated by the constitution, amendments have been engineered.²² Constitution has been readily adopted as opportunistic strategies to close democratic space, curtail popular rights and negate even traditional cultures, tolerance and popular involvement in decision-making. The rulers have perfected the art of brutal and inhuman politics with a desire to retain power and keep the citizens out of politics and constitutional development.²³

Another challenge to democracy in Nigeria is the refusal of governments to adhere to the 'Good Governance' agenda. "Good governance is understood to denote: a system of values, policies, and institution by which a society manages its economic, political, and social affairs through interaction within and among the state, civil society, and private sector."²⁴ Doorknobs rightly posits that, the concept of good governance "could be used to invite judgment about how the country...concerned is being governed: it enables the raising of evaluative question about proper procedures, the quality and process of decision making, and other such matters". Moreover, good governance has been closely linked to the extent which a government is perceived and accepted as legitimate, committed to improving the public welfare and responsive to the needs of its citizens, competent to assure law and order and deliver public services, able to

²¹O. Nkeonye. "On Nigeria Ethical Revolution and all that" *Journal of Philosophy University of Nigeria Nsukka*, 2, no. 1. (1983), 149.

²²Sam. Agere. *Promoting Good Governance*. Commonwealth secretariat, 2000, 87.

²³O. P. Dwirede. "On Common Good and Good Governance: An Alternative Approach" in D. Olowu & S. Sako (eds) *Better Governance and Public Policy: Capacity Building for Democratic Renewal in Africa*. (2004), 46.

²⁴M. Doorknobs. "Good Governance: The Rise and Decline of a Policy Metaphor" *Development Studies*, 37, no. 6 (2000), 14.

create an enabling policy environment for productive activities in its conduct.”
When the government is against this rule democracy cannot survive.

Furthermore, it is a well known fact that for democracy to succeed in a country there must necessarily be a role for the opposition. Opposition politics is an ideological stance taken by groups of politician whose party fails to win a convincing majority in an election. Opposition politics is inevitable in a democratic society. Genuine political opposition is a necessary attribute of democracy. How can a country be democratic without Opposition parties? How do you ensure a proper check and balance of a government under the democratic process without an Opposition? The existence of an opposition, without which politics ceases and administration takes over, is indispensable to the functioning of democratic political systems. In this case, we have seen Nigerian leaders failed badly as the opposition is openly hounded and denied any significant role in governance. The use of radio stations to attack opponents is allowed with the hope of making opponents unpopular; tugs openly assault opposition at home, market and social places. This is against good governance and by so doing democracy cannot flourish.

More so, there is a serious challenge of ensuring a democratic dividend for our women. Nigeria is a society ruled and dominated by men over women. This is inherent in most African families. Giving men a higher social status over women has crept into public life, which reflects in state activities. The family plays an important role in maintaining this patriarchal order across generations. In spite of the constitution specifying the role of women and the role of nongovernmental organization plus United Nations resolutions urging all countries to pay attention to their status and roles, Nigerian women still hang precariously on the lower rungs of the political ladder. The view women given the opportunity proved their mantle and the society acknowledge their contributions. Some are even arguing that probably if women were allow to be president may be the needed magic of transforming Nigeria would be delivered by them but our man would not allow that. Democracy cannot flourish in a place where half of the population is marginalised. Their participations make meaning in any democratic setting.

The biggest challenge in Nigeria is how to institutionalise democracy and how to help democracy to deliver. Democracy will not survive unless the mass of our people are introduced to significant economic prosperity. Reducing poverty and improving the quality of life. These processes may be slow and tedious, but economic development need to go hand in hand with improving democratic governance. Better governance means better conditions for the people. Hence, governments that are genuinely interested in democratic development must be more interested in economic development the people as well.

Democratic Governance Challenge: Religio-Philosophical Appraisal

‘Religio-Philosophical Appraisal’ is purposefully here used as a compound word in order to capture the the roles of religion through the critical approach to the Nigerian democratic governance challenge. It has been argued that Nigerian democratic governance experiences challenges in the various realities of

anomalies of defective constitutional arrangement, corruption and other related vices. It argued that these anomalies would be normalised through the critical approach of religion, and possible solutions for effective and productive democratic governance in Nigeria would be attained.

Meanwhile, in the context of the challenge of democratic governance in Nigeria, the roles of religion through the critical approach would build good and sustainable democratic governance. In fact, much could be done at curbing the challenge of democratic governance in Nigeria where it is assumed that the activities of the various religious groups seem to be evident in the regular meetings in order to appease God for more blessings and to appeal for more membership so as to achieve continuity. This argument considers Nigeria to be a religious country where people could enjoy workable democratic governance, but the reverse seems to always be the case. Meanwhile, if all the religious groups are critical in their activities or actions against the challenge of constitution, accountability, infrastructure, election and other related issues, it is believed that good and sustainable democratic governance is attainable.

Now, it could be opined that in achieving good and sustainable democratic governance in Nigeria everyone needs to be deliberate in its workability. That is, it is argued that intentional efforts of the leadership and deliberate supports of the followership are paramount. In this wise, in a situation where lives and properties are valued, everyone seems to enjoy constitutional right of freedom of expression without discrimination. When both leaders and followers are intentional in their responsibility, it would be resulted in a reality of good and sustainable democratic governance.

Since it is could be asserted that in one way or the other that every Nigerian seems to belong to religious body, now critically disapproving any act that militates against good and sustainable democratic governance in Nigeria could be appropriately carried out at every worship centre, especially during the regular meetings. The critical approach on the part of every religious group Nigeria is believed to be an important method if good and sustainable democratic governance would be built, attained, and sustained. It could be argued that religion has a potential to build up human value, promoting actions and thought paradigms that enhance good and sustainable democratic governance through the value of effective governance system. Religion seems to have some other human oriented teachings such as respect for life, dignity and sanctity of human life. Since religion forbids any activity that is not human oriented, doing things that are absurd in democratic governance is being spoken against through the teachings of religion. To Omotosho, the challenge of democratic governance could come through corruption which could greatly contribute to the backwardness and failure of any good and effective government. As Yahweh through Moses, the Nigerian leaders serve as crusaders

against anything that stands against good and sustainable democratic governance.²⁵

In addition, religion seems to give a perspective of non-discriminatory selfless service and care for every citizen that democratic governance can transmit in Nigeria. The model of the selfless service and care demonstrated by the leadership could serve as a motivation for promoting honesty, integrity, and accountability in a society such as Nigeria. Possibly, the consistent of selfless efforts of the leadership in democratic governance could become the model of self-sacrifice and the framework for thinking about people's welfare at all levels in Nigeria.

Religion also functions as a tool for integrating laws and orders. It is believed that religion has concern for a whole way of life; it could have the potential of being a veritable rallying point in achieving set goals. In effect, religion can become means of promoting and integrating justice in the Nigerian society. For instance, serving and instilling model of positive attitudes, good and sustainable democratic governance would be the goals of every Nigerian political power. Integrating laws and orders among the citizenry, religion has the potential to inculcate and implant humility, empathy, cooperation and equitable power sharing structure in the Nigerian democratic governance.

It is argued that religion serves as a tool of social control aiming at building responsiveness and responsibility in everyone. This could be seen in the light of the efforts of the leadership for effectiveness, efficiency, and productivity of democratic governance, as well as the supports of the followership through total obedience of laws and orders. In this wise, considering the numerous numbers of the various religious groups in Nigeria, religion, if well and critically harnessed by these various groups, has the potential to positively influence good and sustainable democratic governance which would also serve as a panacea for social vices like corruption, banditry, and other related cases. This therefore plays a very important role in giving and sustaining equity and equitability in the society. In a country like where some leaders and followers could have tendencies to be anti-social could be at the same time be influenced positively by well and critical harnessed religion.

In this order, religion plays major roles in shaping the society. It could be opined that religion seen at the for-front of attaining good and sustainable democratic governance that could be evident in educational development, health-care systems, welfare and security if well and critically harnessed. The opinion here postulates that providing some of the social amenities to the people by the good and sustainable democratic governance, well and critical harnessed religion could serve in a way of collaboration. In fact, religious communities provide emotional and social support for the people. While everyone sees his or her self as a member of a family, emotional, social, and

²⁵Olabode J. Omotosho. "Ethical Implications of Exodus 20:15-17 on Effective Government in Nigeria" *Journal of the Nigerian Association for the Study of Religions*, 27, no. 2. (2017), 4.

economic are built and sustained in the society. In this pattern, religion a tool for providing emotional, psychological, social and spiritual supports every individual, if well and critically harnessed, the influence of religion would at the high advantage for both leaders and followers. As emotional, psychological, social and spiritual well being individuals form a healthy couple so also healthy families form a better society where members find solace in the workable constitution, accountability, social justice, and infrastructural development.

Conclusion

The political leaders as well as a majority of the population are becoming more aware and conscious of the fact that genuine efforts have to be made in the building of democratic societies because Nigerian need much more than multi-party politics and elections to consolidate democracy. They need political institutions that are tailor-made to fit the particular nature of Nigeria society, and that is good governance. It demands upholding democratic values of popular participation, respect for the rule of law, free and fair elections and the independence of the judiciary. Good governance essentially promotes improved welfare of the people, transparency and accountability by public managers in the conduct of state affairs and reduces corruption to the barest minimum. These correlates of democracy are some of the daunting challenges Nigeria is yet to resolve.

Nevertheless, it has been argued that in a country like a Nigeria where there are activities of religious bodies or groups that could challenge political institutions towards achieving good governance, greater and better would be the dividend of democracy if these are deliberately carried out. In this regard, the religious institutions or bodies, through their leaders could be effective and productive on how to democratically make Nigeria great and better. In a situation where there seems to be developed democracy, there would be possibility of governance which often serves as prerequisite to good infrastructure, accountability, and protection of the rights of the citizenry. Therefore, on the part of the religious bodies, vehemently speaking against any form of corruption through their leaders at level of the political institutions seems to weaken the challenges that are evidently confronting democracy in corruption, economic mismanagement, and other related vices in Nigeria. This is because it could be safe to assume that majority of the political holders belonging to one religious group or the other.

Insecurity and the rule of law in Nigeria: A legal appraisal of government responsibility

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Abstract

This paper addresses the problem of insecurity of lives and properties due to attack by nomadic Fulani herdsmen in Nigeria. The attack on farmers and other innocent Nigerians has resulted into the destruction of innocent lives and properties, distorted law and order in the part of the country like Benue, Taraba, Adamawa, Zamfara, Nasarawa, Oyo, Ogun, Ekiti, Ondo, Abia, Enugu, Kogi and Kwara States to mention but few states. This has continued to send waves of terror to the minds of the people in the area mentioned. In order to deal with the situation some of the concerned states enacted a law called "Anti-Open Grazing Laws" to regulate the activities of these nomadic Fulani herdsmen which had clashed with farmers' in their respective states. This article has however analysed whose duty is it to make law to regulate activities of these Fulani herdsmen and to protect lives and properties in general. Notwithstanding the fundamental rights of citizens guaranteed by Sections 34-36 of 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria (As amended) in Comparison with the power of the state to make its own law in conjunction with fundamental objectives of Government as provided by Section 14 (2)(b) of 1999 Constitution. The article analyses rights of Nigerian citizens to be protected by the Government of a state in Nigeria and it concludes on the strong notion that only the State Government in line with the relevant Sections of the Constitution like Sections 4, 7, and 100 of the same Constitution and Land Use Act 1978 has the power to make law as regards the usage, control and managements of land in the state and it ends with recommendations which the authors feel will assist the nation in effectively suppressing the current wave of nomadic Fulani herdsmen invasions in some states of the Federation¹.

Key words: Insecurity, Rule of Law, Herdsmen, Grazing, Nigeria

Introduction

In its relationship with society, law is viewed as an instrument of social change or transformation by the sociological jurists. Without law and a law enforcement system, society would be in disorder. There will be no rights and duties and any purported rights and duties would not be respected nor protected. Rights and duties will be meaningless. Orderly and right living would be impossible.

As we have it today in all nooks and crannies of Nigeria, there would be chaos and anarchy, as it was reiterated in the word of Thomas Hobbes which says without law, life would be brutish, nasty and short. This is however based on the premise that society in which law operates must be of respect for the rule of law and human rights in order to have an orderly, stable and prosperous society as at was stated in section 34–36 and 42 of 1999 constitution of federal republic of Nigeria (as amended). Notwithstanding various rights which Nigerians irrespective of gender and religious affiliation have under the aforementioned 1999 constitution, such fundamental rights of any Nigerian is not expected to endanger a co-citizens. The article analyses the rights of Nigeria citizens to be protected by Government in states of Nigeria and concludes on the strong notion that it is the responsibility of Government to provide security and welfare for all citizens irrespective of ethnic nationality, tribes religious affiliation or gender.

One of the most disturbing developments in recent times in Nigeria is insecurity of lives and properties engendered by herdsmen-farmers clashes in states like Benue, Taraba, Plateau, Adamawa, Kogi, Ekiti, Ogun, Oyo, Imo, Abia, Nasarawa and Kwara States to mention but few among states that are critically affected by suspected Fulani herdsmen crises. The most affected and pathetic ones are killings by herdsmen on the eve of January 1st 2018 in Benue State where over seventy-three (73) indigenes of the states were being killed, tortured in inhuman way by herdsmen, several lives were also lost in Taraba, Adamawa, Nasarawa and Plateau states through herdsmen war on host communities.

This paper however, aims at realizing the following objectives:-

- (i) To identify the role of law in society, particularly, constitutional law in the above context
- (ii) To analyze the causes of crises between farmers and herdsmen in many states of Nigeria.
- (iii) To examine the fundamental objectives of government
- (iv) To examine whose duty is it to enact law for the development, usage and control of land in the state.
- (v) To conclude with some viable options for peace in Nigeria.

Roles of Law in Society as prescribed by Sociological Theory

As earlier stated, law is view as an instrument of social change or transformation by the sociological jurists. Law in society plays three (3) distinct roles:-proscriptive, protective and instrumental roles.

1. In its proscriptive role, law is essentially concerned with proscribing certain forms of conduct and imposing sanctions as a consequence of non-compliance or breach of societal norms and values cherished most and selected for protection by the law of crimes in society.
2. In its protective role, law seeks to protect individuals and groups from adversity consequent upon their status and vulnerability in society. Hence laws protecting against discrimination, marginalization, exclusion, disadvantage, injustices, inequalities and socio-economic and political ambiances, labor, sexual and economic exploitation, abuses and other human rights violations of one's privacy, human dignity e.t.c. are clear examples of this protective role.
3. The instrumental role of law in society is perhaps the most far reaching and proactive, for it seeks more than just to regulate the relationships between individuals in society, but also to help change the underlying values the patterns of social interaction that create vulnerability of people to practices, policies, conflicts, epidemic etc. in society. Moreover the character of the Nigerian society that is founded on unity in diversity in order to pursue divergent interests and at times both competing and conflicting interests by various interest groups needs the rule of law to always prevail in our society. This is important and necessary because without it the Nigeria society will not operate as an orderly, stable, secured, and prosperous country.

Causes of Civil unrest/crises in ravaging states of Nigeria

However, the Federal Republic of Nigeria as a country is located on a geographical map which is approximately within 923,000 square kilometers.² Around 1958, 1959 and 1960 when Nigeria was about getting independence the calculation show that the country called Nigeria is situated upon 923,000 square kilometers with about forty (40) million or less people inhabited it, in 2012 the population of Nigeria was and is estimated to be 170 million people and recently expert stated that the population of Nigeria has increased to over two hundred (200) million people³.

Climate change and degrading environmental factor has also been attributed and in fact major cause of this unrest, nearly in all states of the Federation. Maiyati Allah Cattle Rearing Association of Nigeria recently stated in most of the

² Governor Samuel Ortom, Benue State, Nigeria argued that they practiced same in American, Europe, Asia even in our Africa soil – Kenya, Tanzania are doing it, small countries like Swaziland; “I was there four years ago and their major earning is beef, but they ranch. So, why can't we ranch in Nigeria, where is the land with the upsurge of population? In the 1950, when people argued that they had cattle routes and grazing area, I asked what was the total population of Nigeria? Less than 40 million people. Today, in 2017, I can approximate it to be over 200 million because the projection in 2012 was 170 million, so by today, by calculation we should be over 200 million, but what is the landmass? What was it in 1950s? 923,000 square kilometers! Today, it is the same 923,000 square kilometers but even less because of the ceding of Bakassi to Cameroon”. Reported by Anote Ajeluorou, the Guardian, Wednesday, November 1, 2017, pg 14

³ Ibid.

national daylies⁴ that their livestock are suffering in their state of origin, they could not be fed adequately, because rivers and dams that used to provide succor for their animals when they thirst have dried suddenly and to be able to survive and feed their families, they have to explore other options like engaging their livestock to graze openly without considering the hazard which such act may have on other citizens like peasant farmers and ordinary citizens living along the coast.

Another reason suggested by some public affairs analyst as being one of the major causes of crises here and there is weak law enforcement agencies. Though it has been justifiably argued that Nigeria does not have the required number of police officers recommended by some international organizations like United Nation Amnesty International which prescribed at least three police officers to protect or guide two to two hundred people⁵. The opinion of the authors of this article is that, with due respect to the above mentioned international organization prescription, we don't have problem with number of police officers but those police officers which the country presently servicing are up to the task. It was reported by most of our daily newspaper after January 1 and 2 mass killing in Benue state that intelligence information revealed that there would be mass attack on people in the state and such information was made available to the Benue State Command of the Nigerian police force but according to the governor of the state, nothing was done to prevent the heinous act⁶.

Ethnic rivalry has been held to have contributed to loss of lives and properties. Worthy of note that an ethnic group, unlike other interest group, is normally regarded as a human community that is distinguishable from others on the basis of obvious specific characteristics such as cultural, linguistic, religious, physical, and biological characteristic⁷.

Furthermore, research has shown that ethnicity parse does not necessary create destabilizing effects for state and nation building and factors responsible for the heightening of ethnic conflicts in Nigeria are obviously socio- economic imbalance or economics which often translate into political terms. This is very much so not only in Nigeria⁸, but also in Africa, because control of the political machinery creates easy alerts to the national wealth, not only for the individuals in authority, but also for his immediate family members and ethnic group⁹.

Generally speaking, ethnicity as a source of conflict results from long and persistent period of domination and unfair treatment or unresolved socio-

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

⁷ See Rainer Tetzlaff, "Political Ethnicity – an Underestimated Reality in post colonial Africa," "Law and State, Vol. 46 1985, 24-37

⁸ O. Nnoli, ethnic politics in Nigeria (Enugu: fourth dimension Publishers, 1978), 257-259

⁹ E.K. Quashigah, "Legitimacy of governments and the Resolution of conflicts in Africa", African Journal of international and comparative law, 1991, 287

economic and political imbalances, injustices and inequities by the politically dominant ethnic groups¹⁰.

Perceptions of many Nigerians about ongoing killing by suspected Fulani herdsmen is that because the president and the commander in chief of the Armed Forces is a Fulani man and most of these killings are believed to have been perpetrated by Fulani herdsmen and that he has not taken a public stand to criticize these heinous acts; therefore has enabled the situation degenerate to its present state. essentially, where politicians are unable to mobilize their supporters on the basis of some ideological principles or other more universally unifying principles, the resort to ethnicity becomes very attractive.

In the first place, such an approach safes on organizational cost and secondly gives the political claims of a group the seal of social justice, at least among its ethnic members¹¹ Problems of everyday living and frustrations of irredeemable culture have exacerbated the rumblings of ethnic nationalism not only in Africa, but in the world at large.¹²

Presently in Nigeria, another factor attributed to ethnic conflict is that some degree of ethnicity always has existed among our people because of differences in language and custom. Historically, the various ethnic groups did not relate to one another in terms of hostility, but generally maintained friendly relations through trade and social contacts, except when some misunderstandings due to lack of communication or intolerance led to conflict¹³

Non-sensitization of the populace¹⁴. It was widely perceived that people were not widely sensitized for instance, the Miyetti Allah Kautal Hore Association of Nigeria in Benue State and other states in Nigeria kicked against law (Anti Open-Grazing Law otherwise known as Open-Grazing Prohibition Law) insisting that it was not in their interest to have the law in place. According to them they said the open grazing law was enacted for political exigencies prohibiting open grazing of a deliberate plan to frustrate their age long grazing pattern and business¹⁵. If enough sensitization had been carried out before implementation, certain group like Fulani men or certain ethnic group in the country wouldn't have negatively misconceived the implementation of the said law.

Primary duties of Government towards its Citizens

The 1999 Constitution provides that it shall be the duty and responsibility of all organs of the government, and of all authorities and persons, exercising

¹⁰ Report of the 1987 political Bureau (Lagos: Government printer, March 1987), 31, 42

¹¹ Tetzlaff, 'Political Ethnicity – an underestimated reality in post-colonial Africa,' 25

¹² Bosnia and the former soviet Union were very troubled areas of the world where ethnicity has threatened to or even escalated into armed conflicts. The situation is the same in Rwanda and Burundi, 1994 to 1996

¹³ Vanguard, December 2, 2017 pg 15, Benue Anti-Open Grazing Law; Herdsmen ready to ranch their cattle – state Government

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid

legislative, executive or judicial powers, to conform, to observe and apply the provisions of this Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria (As Amended)¹⁶.

The objectives and principles enumerated in these Sections of the Constitution are the fundamental objectives, principles, and manifesto on which Nigeria's as a nation is to be built upon. They are the objectives, principles, which are to guide and direct the actions of government, its agencies and every person in the country.

Furthermore, in compliance with the above mentioned Sections of the Constitution, the Constitution¹⁷ provides that it shall be the duty of Government at all levels to provide security and welfare to its people, failure to do that shall entitled Nigerian citizen to maintain legal action against any Government who fails to provide security and welfare as provided by the said Constitution see *Amange v. Adumeein*¹⁸.

On the other hand, where the government and the people ignore these noble objectives and principles and pursue contrary objects, ethnic and religious crises, corruption, favouritism and injustice, such a country will be bedeviled by every political, economic and social malaise.

The Government and the People

1. The Federal Republic of Nigeria shall be a State based on the principles of democracy and social justice¹⁹
2. It is hereby, accordingly, declared that:
3. Sovereignty belongs to the people of Nigeria from whom government through this constitution derives all its powers and authority
4. The security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of government²⁰
5. The participation by the people in their government shall be ensured in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.²¹

¹⁶ Chapter 7, 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria (As Amended)

¹⁷ Section 14 (2)(b) 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria (As amended)

¹⁸ (2016) 13 NWLR pt. 1530, p 349 - 518

¹⁹ The provisions of this chapter 7 are an inbuilt manifesto for the political parties and all elected officials which programmes and objects they should implement for the people of Nigeria. The provisions of this chapter 7 of the Nigerian constitution which are known as the fundamental objectives and directive principles of state policy are not justiciable. They are in the nature of social and economic rights and do not confer any legal right, and remedy except such legal action can also be based on another provision of the constitution, which gives a right so a remedy, *Adamu v. A.G Borno state* (1996) 8 NWLR pt 465. P.203 CA. *Okogie v. A.G Lagos State* (1981) 1 NCLR 218 HC, 2 NCLR 337 CA. *DELE GIWA V. IGP, UNREP SUIT NO. M/44/83 OF 30/7/84*

²⁰ *Brown v. Board of Education* 347 US 483 (1954). *FRN v. Lekwo t& Ors. Unrep suit No. KD/CCDT/5/92 of 2/2/93. FMG v. Ken Saro-Wiwa& 8 Ors, unrep Suit no. OCDT/PH/1/95. Isaac adakaBoro v. The Republic* (1966) all NLR 263, *Badejo v. Fed Ministry of Education* (199, p.6) 8 NWLR pt. 464, p.15 SC *Adamu v. A.G Borno state.Supra.Governor of Lagos State v. Ojukwu* 1986) 1 NWLR pt.SC. *FRN v. RaiphUwazuruike. The Guardian* 9/11/05.p.1

²¹ 1999 constitution, the preamble and s. I

This section provides that Nigeria shall be a nation or country based on the principles of democracy and social justice for all its constituent parts and people. Sovereignty or ultimate power in the country belongs to the people, which is exercisable by them by way of the constitution, their representatives in government and by their vote during elections, referendum, recall and so forth.

Whatever the manifesto of the party, or philosophy of the individual who make up government, the security and welfare of the people of Nigeria are the fundamental purpose and responsibility of government and its agencies at every level, whether at Federal, State and Local Government levels.

Objectives of the State Government

- (1) The motto of the Federal republic of Nigeria shall be unity and faith, peace and progress
- (2) Accordingly, national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited.
- (3) For the purpose of promoting national integration, it shall be the duty of the state to:
 - (a) Provide adequate facilities for and encourage free mobility of people. Goods and services throughout the federation
 - (b) Secure full residence rights for every citizen in all parts of the federation.
 - (c) Encourage inter-marriage among person from different places of origin, or of different religious, ethnic, or linguistic association or ties and
 - (d) Promotion or encourage the formation of association that cut across ethnic linguistic, religious or other sectional barriers.
- (4) The state shall foster a feeling of belonging and involvement among the various peoples of the Federation, to the end that loyalty to the nation shall override sectional loyalties.
- (5) The state shall abolish all corrupt practices and abuse of power

The motto of Nigeria that is, the cardinal or principles on which Nigeria is to be built and stand are: unity and faith, peace and progress. These are the cardinal principles which the government, its agencies and people of Nigeria everywhere and whether in public or in private life are to pursue. National integration shall be actively promoted whilst discrimination for whatever reasons are prohibited. Indeed, the Nigeria constitution provides for the right to freedom from discrimination under the fundamental human rights.

Government shall foster a sense of belonging among the people of Nigeria. Loyalty to the country shall be promoted and it shall override sectional loyalties, be they, ethnic and personal loyalties and so forth. The country shall among other things:

- (i) Protect and defend the liberty of the individual
- (ii) Enforce the rule of law; and
- (iii) Ensure the efficient function of government institutions and services; and

- (iv) Government is to abolish corruption at all levels of governance.

Economic Objectives

The state shall, within the context of the ideals and objectives for which provisions are made in this constitution:

- (a) Harness the resources of the nation and promote national prosperity and an efficient, a dynamic and self-reliant economy:
- (b) Control the national economy in such manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen on the basis of social justice and equality of status and opportunity²²
- (c) Without prejudice to its rights to operate or participate in areas of the economy, other than the major sectors of the economy, manage and operate the major sectors of the economy.
- (d) Without prejudice to the right of any person to participate in areas of the economy within the major sectors of the economy, protect the right of every citizen to engage in any economic activities outside the major sectors of the economy.

The above points are primary duties expected of any functional Governments to provide for its citizens so as to enable them have sense of belonging but the question is 'Whose duty is it to provide all the aforementioned responsibilities, most especially the responsibility of protecting lives and properties in the states?' For the purpose of clarity presently Nigeria has 36 States, 774 Local Governments and the Federal Capital Territory located at Abuja.

Among the aforementioned three tiers of governments, whose duty is it to make laws for the peace order and good governance of the state or any part thereof with respect to Anti-Open Grazing Law (otherwise called Open-Grazing Prohibition Law). There are sections of 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. (as amended) that empowers National Assembly to make laws for the peace order and good government of the federation or any part thereof with respect to any matter included in the exclusive legislative list set out in part 1 of the 2nd schedule to the constitution²³, also the provision of the Constitution²⁴ most especially section 7 of the 1999 Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria (As Amended) which provides that the House of Assembly of a state shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the state or any part thereof with respect to any of the following (a) including - peace, order and good government which invariably have interpreted to include a land formation and control management.

Anti-Open Grazing law enacted by Benue State Government, Taraba State Government Ekiti State Government and many other states governments in Nigeria are in order because such was made to preserve lives, order and properties. And it has not been justifiably argued that passage of that law in

²² Supra

²³ S. 4(2) of 1999 constitution of federal republic of Nigeria (s amended)

²⁴ Section 7 of 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (As amended)

various states of the federation contravene any section(s) of the constitution so far that the implementation follows the procedure laid down by the Constitution²⁵.

Power of the State to make Law under the 1999 Constitution

A state can be defined to mean a group of people occupying a definite geographical area and which has a sovereign power with no inference from external forces. It could also mean a compulsory political organization with a centralized government that maintains a monopoly of the legitimate use of force within a certain geographical territory.

State, a component of federation by virtue of provision of the Constitution²⁶ shall have State Houses of Assembly capable of making laws to protect lives and properties of those that inhabit in it once the making of that law is in accordance with provisions of the said constitution and it has not been found to be contrary to the provisions of the constitution and it shall become functional. The question, which must be answered at this juncture is "Does the State have the power to enact law to regulate usage, formation and development of land at the State level, considering also the provision of LAND USE ACT 1978 as regard the usage, development, control and management of land in Nigeria. Land Use Act²⁷ provides that "subject to the provisions of this Act, all land comprised in the territory of each State in the Federation is hereby vested in the Governor of that State, and such land shall be held in trust and administered for the use and common benefit of all Nigerians in accordance with the provisions of this Act". Also, as from the commencement of this Act – (a) all land in urban areas shall be under the control and management of the Governor of each State; and (b) all other land shall, subject to this Act, be under the control and management of the Local government within the area of jurisdiction of which the land is situated.

The legal implication of the above mentioned Sections of Land Use Act is that the usage, proper management and control of land in the state has been held to be the duties of the state government, and by virtue of provisions of Sections 7, 100(1), 4 and Section 1 of the Land Use Act 1978 the state government has exclusive power to enact law that will ensure the proper usage, control and management of land in the state most especially land in urban centre. From the foregoing, Anti-Open grazing Law enacted by the Benue State Government and other States of the Federation are in line with provisions of the 1999 Constitution and other relevant statutes like LAND USE ACT 1978.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Since it is not possible to have a society devoid of any crises but it is also bad to have continuous killing of innocent souls, burning of properties in a needless crises which its major causes have been attributed to the failure of the government. Indirectly, ethnic and religious crises in Nigeria have been linked to endemic corruption which has gulped various departments in the land. From

²⁵ Section 100 (1) of the 1999 constitution of federal republic of Nigeria (as amended)

²⁶ Section 4, 7 and 100 of the 1999 Constitution of FRN (as amended)

²⁷ Section 1 of the Land Use Act 1978

the foregoing, although, ethno-religious divers have its negative consequences, it is not without advantages. Hence, maintaining the argument that neither ethnicity nor religion parse is a source of conflict except where either one is politicized or manipulated for selfish gains or due to intolerance by the disputing parties. The law, especially constitutional law, could be used as a progressive vehicle for the prevention and management of the root causes of conflicts and for the achievement of unity in diversity by considering the under stated recommendations.

Recommendations

The lesson we have attempted to convey is that in situations of conflict, no matter the types, disputants should watch what they say or write public pronouncement on issues that may be unhelpful to peaceful co-existence of people, i.e. injurious statement must and should be avoided. Confrontational language or adjective should be avoided as much as possible; rather, each party to the dispute should use language that leaves some room for peaceful settlement of the disputes. The use of ambivalent language, could lead to the escalation of conflicts. Therefore, the parties to a dispute should select their language so that they are not misinterpreted.²⁸

However, something particular has to be said about the role of the media in peace building and peacemaking processes. The constructive role of the media in a conflict situation is to help educate people about what is going on, control dangerous rumours that could get out of hand and produce violence, and provide a trusted source of information for all sides. This objective is often difficult in situations where journalist give more attention to sensational news reporting that enables them sell more copies of their papers than to patriotic consideration. It must be noted, however, that there are situation where Nigerian journalists are denied access to news from all sides of ethnic and religious conflicts in the country. They therefore often have to report from whatever perspective is best available to them. This does not means that some of them do not deliberately suppress the truth in a selfish attempt to put one of the parties to the dispute in a disadvantage side. The latter does not help peace development and need to be avoided.²⁹

More effort needs to be made to educate the public on the need for tolerance and peaceful coexistence in a multi-religious society such as Nigeria. That we are part and parcel of a changing agenda, and that the process is a continuing one from which fresh and exacting challenge will emanate periodically, should be matter of national discourse and understanding. Accordingly, the sharp edges of ethnicity, states, and religion should be gradually curtailed or be eliminated with a view to fostering growth and development of Nigeria citizenship and nationality. Surely religious or ethnic annihilation or cleansing is one wrong alternative of operating or understanding the rich diversity of the Nigerian federation³⁰.

²⁸ See Uwazie et al, Supra note 32, opinion note, Guardian Wednesday, January 10, 2018.

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ See Ladan, M. T. supra note 32 at p. 107

The importance of youth in Nigeria's social development need not be overlooked; statistically, youths make up about 59 percent of the population and constitute more than 50 percent of the country's productivity sector. Analyses of the role and manipulation/exploitation of the youths in the three decades of ethnic and religious conflicts done by this writer elsewhere reveal serious gaps in societal responsibility toward its future generation³¹. In the context of Nigeria's history, the youths have rendered valuable positive contributions to the struggle for independence and national development. They constitute a reservoir of energy and dynamism when properly guided and fully integrated into the social fabric of society. Equally, they may also constitute a threat to the national survival and stability if allowed to drift, to become unemployed, intolerant, or without moral upbringing. Once the youths' innate potentials are fully developed and nurtured, they will serve as an immense asset to the nation, transmitting knowledge, leadership skills, ambition, and dreams that promote both conflict and productivity.³²

With appropriate training and guidance, youth can meet the manpower needs of the society and, if they are able to develop talents and are inculcated with a sense of responsibility, they can make positive contribution to national development. It is in recognition of this fact that attention is being drawn to the need for Nigerian youths to be provided with the following

1. Opportunity for self-fulfillment
2. Scope and outlet for their patriotism, commitment, and enthusiasm;
3. Employment opportunities;
4. Moral guidance discipline and selfless service
5. Opportunities so that they can be seen, heard, and listened to
6. Orientation to promote the interest and defend the unity of Nigeria;
7. Educational opportunities to enable them develop their potentialities to the fullest;
8. Opportunities to meet one other, exchange ideas, and study the country's diverse religious and cultures
9. Enough and adequate sensitization from government of the day.

This comprehensive youth development program, if provided or vigorously implemented by the government in collaboration with the private sector, should resolve the many problems of youth crime and conflict in Nigerian society, and effectively orient youth for patriotic service to the nation and make them act as agents of stability, peace and tolerance.

Prescribed Reforms³³

There is need for the political will to confront the issue of building a national citizenship in the country through a reform of the Nigerian constitution. With specific reference to the provisions on citizenship, suggested constitutional amendments are as follows:

³¹ Ibid

³² Ibid

³³ See otive and Bamidele supra note 30 at pp. 55-72

1. There is need to add a new section after Section 4 (2), Section 7, 14(2)(b) and Section 100 of 1999 constitution whereby state will have more powers to make more laws to protects lives and properties in the state.
2. There is need to state in express all the areas in which States Houses of Assembly can legislate as regard land usage, control and management.
3. As a means of promoting social citizenship, there is need to make the provisions on social and economic. Rights justiciable. The Nigerians to the basic means of livelihood is at the root of the various communal strife in Nigerian.
4. There is need to entrench independent commissions in the constitution to monitor the implementation of some of the provisions in the constitution or states laws. Such commissions include Land Usage, control and management, Grazing of livestock, cattle and other animals, national human rights commission with powers to investigate and punish. It is a requirement that such commissions be truly independent and funded from the consolidated fund.
5. State policy should be encouraged and be given legal backing.
6. Unbiased conflict resolution body other than regular court must be encouraged and be established in all states of the federation.
7. Proper orientation and restructuring of our law enforcement agencies.
8. Establishment of State Police is inevitable to combat crimes at remote areas.

Preventive Measures³⁴

The country has witnessed recurrent conflicts since the attainment of independence. Government response to these conflicts which is largely characterized by a 'fire brigade' approach, points to the absence of a systematic and institutionalized way of obtaining early warning signal. If such is in place, it would be possible to anticipate conflicts by detecting the various flashpoints of violent conflicts that have torn many communities asunder³⁵.

For the purpose therefore, of designing effective conflict prevention and peace building strategy, government needs to put in place the structure, requisite personnel and equipment for monitoring conflicts and transform existing conflict situations into enduring and sustainable peace.

However, it is a requirement for success that such conflict management schemes be inclusive to include community leaders (of both 'settlers" and natives"), religious leaders, traditional rulers, CBOs and NGOs involved in conflict management and human rights, intellectuals and researchers, and women groups and leaders³⁶.

³⁴ See generally Adebayo Adedeji (ed.) *Comprehending and Mastering African Conflicts: The search for sustainable peace and good governance 91999*), zed books, London in Association ACDESS, Ijebu Ode, Ogun State, Nigeria.

³⁵ See owazie et al supra note 32 at pp. 1-7

³⁶ Ibid at pp. 121 - 153

In recognition of the role of the media in promoting conflicts through information (mis)management. It is necessary to expose media practitioners to the importance and need for moderation, less sensationalism, integrity and professionalism. This can be done through continuing peace education workshops and seminars aimed at sensitizing media practitioners to the national political objectives of building a united, strong and prosperous society in the context of divert and pluralism.

Policy Statements³⁷

Apart from the constitutional issues identifies above, there are issues that are located in the realms of governance and policy. The imperative of governance and policy issues arise from the larger economics and political context which frames ethno-religious and communal conflicts rooted in the crisis of citizenship. It is obvious that mass poverty and lack of access to the basic means of livelihood for manipulation of ethnic and cultural differences. The absence of social citizenship therefore is a key issue that needs to be addressed by putting in place a framework of governance and public policy that can alleviate mass poverty and enhance the economic empowerment of the vast majority of the Nigerian people. Specific issues to pay attention are:

- (i) The need to strengthen democratic governance by promoting transparency and accountability. In this regard, government is called upon to strengthen the institutions for promoting accountability and transparency and ensuring that corrupt public officials are prosecuted as at when due.
- (ii) The need for government to promote vigorously economic policies that can galvanize the productive and creative energies of the Nigerian people as opposed to the pursuit of macro-economic policies imposed by the IMF and the World Bank which have the consequence of retarding growth and resulting in mass economic disempowerment of the Nigerian populace. Economic policies capable of providing the basis for sustainable human development must emphasis social welfare, poverty alleviation and popular participation.
- (iii) The need to promote equitable and balanced socio-economic development in the country by ensuring that resources are distributed in a manner that favours all the ethnic and regional homelands.
- (iv) There is need to demonstrate commitment to due process and the rule of law.
- (v) The concerned states are therefore in dare need to establish a judicial commission of inquiry which shall be empowered to locate the remote and immediate cause of the crises in the affected or ravaged communities in Benue, Taraba, Zamfara, Kaduna, Plateau, Adamawa, Nasarawa, Enugu, Edo, Kogi, Oyo, Ondo, Ekiti and other states of the Federation. Identify the key actors behind the

³⁷ See Adedeji supra note 47

crises and recommend appropriate punishments, determine the damaged properties, evaluate the loss in property and identify the owners; determine the number of persons injured and the nature and gravity of the injuries; and make recommendation to forestall future occurrences of such in the affected areas and other parts of the country, and as provided by Section 14(2)(b) of the 1999 Constitution, security and welfare of the people are the ultimate purpose of the existence of any government and being the state's responsibility which cannot be shared with any institution, body, or organ outside the frame work of the State Government.

Finally, establishment of cattle colony is not solution to recurrent nomadic herdsmen and peasant farmers' crises, encouraging such is to throw the whole country into crises that may lead to another civil war. Cattle ranching is not only livestock breeding system that we have in the country, we also have poultry farmers or owners of piggeries and other animals husbandry system in the country, cattle ranching is like other private business, it must not find its way into the constitution and it must not be over-protected by the Government at the Central.

State government must be given more powers through state houses of assembly to enact laws that will takes care of all domestic issues like cattle ranching, poultry farming, piggeries, goat rearing, dogs rearing, crops breeding and growing and its likeliness. Land use Act 1978 in its preamble section 1 and 2 (a) (b) vested ownership and management of land in the urban centres in the hand of state government therefore federal government lacks the necessary competence to enact any law or act as regard management, control, development and usage of any land in the state.

An appraisal of frontier relations between the peoples of North Africa and the Sudanese zone of pre-colonial West Africa: A historical discourse

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Abstract

The present paper examines the nature and patterns of interactions between the people of North Africa and the Sudanese zone of West Africa during the pre-colonial period. It reveals the symbiotic relations that shaped their interaction during the period and the factors that facilitated their contact despite the barrier of the Saharan desert. Similarly the paper refutes the claims of some European writers in the colonial period, and shortly, after that, the peoples of the Sudanese zone were incapable of any historical consciousness, nor able to evolve genuine institutions, without the support of the peoples of North Africa and Europeans. The work establishes that despite the impenetrable space of the Saharan desert, the peoples of North Africa and the Sudanese zone were able to mingle, exchange goods, ideas, beliefs and foster mutual relationships that impacted positively on both regions of the continent. The paper reveals that a major factor that has influenced if not, contributed to the belief held by some of these Europeans concerning the history of the Sudanese zone in particular, and Africa South of the Sahara in general is the narrow nature of their sources, which focuses more on secondary sources. The paper concludes that the biased account concerning the Sudanese zone during the period under review has been refuted successfully through broader approaches to the historical study of African history that involves interdisciplinary approach as well as expansion of the sources to include oral sources among others. It utilises the theory of transnationalism to theorise and shed light on the frontier dimension of human movement across borders. The paper also employs secondary sources.

Keywords: Africa, history, interaction, Frontiers, Islam, Trans-Saharan trade

Introduction

The writings of African history especially, Africa south of the Saharan, until the second half of the twentieth century, was at the mercy of Eurocentric scholars. They regarded the enterprise of writing African history as a burden they owed the "Blackman", or in other words, the "Whiteman's burden," because of his inability to initiate change. J.D. Fage captured succinctly the views and perceptions of these Eurocentric scholars some anthropologists, sociologists and historians. According to him, "by this time the mainstream of European scholarship was beginning to take an increasingly unfavourable view of non-

European societies, and to assert that they had no history worth studying.”¹ These Europeans denigrate Africans south of the Saharan in general, and West Africans in particular, as incapable of any historical consciousness, nor able to evolve genuine institutions, without the support of external contact across the Sahara desert, the Indian and the Atlantic Ocean –in other words through contact with the Arabs and the Europeans. This was the submission of Okon Uya when he affirmed these Europeans maintained that change came to Africa from the outside through the Berber traders or Arabs, European explorers, traders, missionaries, and later on, administrators and that African history, therefore, had to concern itself with the activities of these “agents of change.”² The distortion of the African past by European anthropologists, philosophers, travelers, adventurers, traders and historians from the colonial era gave credence to the fallacious Hamitic hypothesis and some biased Arabic account of the history of pre-colonial West Africa, particularly their contact and relations with the Berbers and Arabs from North Africa and the Middle East.

Several accounts of the history of pre-colonial West Africa written by these prejudiced writers reveal an imbalance in the nature and pattern of interaction between the peoples of North Africa (Berbers and Arabs) and that of West Africa (Soninke, Manlike, Kanem-Bornu, Hausa, etc.). They affirmed that the Arabs ushered change to that part of the continent, with little or nothing in return from the peoples of West Africa. This misconception equally, denied the ingenuity of the African people south of the Sahara, as lacking endogenous consciousness of invention culturally, politically, economically and commercially.³ However, in the work of J.C. Anene, he articulated the role of the various form of frontiers in promoting interactions between the several regions of Africa during the pre-colonial era.⁴ Anene’s work refuted the erroneous conclusion of the imbalance in the patterns of interaction between the peoples of North Africa and the peoples of West Africa. Likewise, it reveals a symbiotic relationship in the patterns of interaction between the peoples from both regions. This is not to say, there were not periods of conflict or wars.

Based on the foregoing the paper examines the frontier of interaction between the peoples of North Africa and the Sudanese zone of West Africa during the pre-colonial period. In the process, it brings to light the symbiotic relations that characterised their interaction during the period. Similarly, it interrogates the writing of African history and exposes the biased account of Eurocentric scholars that tends to denigrate the continent’s glorious past and attributes the development of Africa south of the Sahara to the peoples of North Africa and the Europeans. The paper is divided into several sections.

¹J.D.Fage, “The Development of African Historiography” in *UNESCO General History of Africa: Methodology and African Prehistory* Vol. I, edited by J.K.I. – Zerbo, (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1992), 30

²Okon E. Uya, “Trends and Perspectives in African History” in *Method and Perspective of Studying African History* edited by Erim O. Erim and Okon E. Uya (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd, 1984), 1

³J. O.Adesima, Archie Mafeje and the Pursuit of Endogeny: Against Alterity and Extroversion. *CODESRIA Africa Development*, vol.33, no.4,(2008): 135

⁴J.C. Anene, *The International Boundaries of Nigeria, 1885 – 1960: The Framework of an Emergent African Nations*. (London: Longman Group Limited, 1970), 5 - 6

Conceptual Clarification

History has revealed that human interactions in all its form remained within and sometimes beyond the defined geographical space of different societies. The geographical space, in other words, can be referred to the following namely border, boundary, frontier and borderland or border region. It is interesting to state that though pre-colonial African societies were not familiar with these concepts; this did not prevent them from demarcating or delineating the extent of their localities. For instance, in pre-colonial Yorubaland, certain features were used for boundary demarcation, which was equally common in other parts of the continent. O. Adejuyigbe shed light on these features. In his words:

Topographical features such as sea, lagoons, lakes, rivers, boulders, hills, mountains and valleys as well as man-made constructions (such as mounds) were evidently in use as markers in areas considered to be the border region between one Yoruba Kingdom and others (1978, 11).⁵

It is imperative to note that the boundary that existed in pre-colonial Africa differs from the nature and patterns of European boundaries that were erected after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648.⁶

Among these concepts, the paper focuses on the frontier. Like other concepts in border studies, frontier enriches our understanding, analysis and interpretations of the interactions of border communities and states abutting international boundaries. Some scholars sometimes use the concept of the frontier to refer to boundary and border region. Frontiers are different from both. In his Inaugural Address at the School of Art, Hackney Technical Institute, Art Training for Industry on the Continent, titled *International Boundaries* Colonel Sir A. Henry McMahon stated the difference between frontier and boundary. According to him, "frontier and boundary do not necessarily mean the same thing – frontier often has a wider and more general meaning than a boundary, and a frontier sometimes refers to a wide tract of the border country, or hinterlands or buffer states, undefined by any external boundary line."⁷

In other words, a frontier is an area between (two territories) without geographical boundaries, referred to as "empty" areas. They are places at the edge of cultural spheres and therefore embody the loci within which cultural

⁵O. Adejuyigbe, *Boundary Problems Western Nigeria* (Ife: University of Ife Press, 1978), Chapter I and 2, cited in A.I. Asiwaju, Transfrontier Regionalism: Perspectives on the European Union and Post-Colonial Africa with Reference to Borgu in *The Revival of Regional Integration in Africa* edited by Daniel C. Bach (Ibadan: Institute Français de Recherche en Afrique French Institute for Research in Africa, 1999), 11

⁶Jackson A Aluede, *Nigeria's Foreign Policy and Trans-Border Crime: A History Analysis of the Nigeria-Benin Border, 1960 – 2013*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Lagos, Nigeria, (2018). 3

⁷A. Henry McMahon, "International Boundaries" *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 84, no. 4330 (1935): 3

contact takes place.⁸ Frontiers come into being as a result of particular historical circumstances or processes and are thus unique social phenomena. In recent times, the geographical boundary of the Arab world between the Middle East and North Africa provides a vivid illustration. North Africa represents or serves as a frontier of Arab culture and civilisation in Africa, since the seventh century, following the Arab invasion starting with Egypt.⁹ In pre-colonial Africa, even though the people were unaware of the concept of the frontier, the features of the frontier were evidence in the interaction of ethnic groups and communities located in border areas.

J.C. Anene identified three types of frontier across Africa among the various ethnic groups during the pre-colonial – frontier of contact, the frontier of separation and frontier of transition. The paper focuses on the frontier of contact. Frontier of contact refers to were similar and distinct political and cultural ethnic groups occupying adjacent territories collaborated as neighbours¹⁰. These groups despite their differences in language, culture and system of government, and, also, separated by boundary demarcation maintained and sustained socio-cultural, economic and political relations. This form of contact was peculiar among ethnic groups of the same or different cultural disposition. It promoted intra and inter cross-border relations between the Berbers of North Africa, Yoruba, Hausa, Dahomey, and Jolof in West Africa, and the Maasai states of East Africa. Similarly, it fostered cross border relations in the area of trade and commerce, religion and cultural festivities between the Berbers and Arabs from North Africa with the peoples of West Africa, the Yoruba and the Dahomeans and between Buganda's and her neighbours as well as various ethnic groups in the Great Lakes region and their neighbours¹¹.

The frontier of contact between the Berbers or Arabs of North Africa and the Sudanese states of West Africa, during the pre-colonial era, witnessed cross-fertilization of ideas, knowledge and skill, religious proselytization, growth and expansion of trade and commerce among other notable feature, arising from the contact. It must be said that trade, uneven distribution of mineral resources as well as the law of demand and supply influenced greatly the contact between the Arabs and the peoples of West Africa during the pre-colonial period.

Theoretical Framework: Transnationalism

The theory of transnationalism like many others gained ascendancy in the 1990s utilised by social scientists, and recently, scholars in the humanities such as historians to enlighten, analyse and provide explanations concerning multiple-ties of individuals, group and organisations their activities and their impact on socio-cultural, economic and political phenomena that transcend

⁸Bradley J. Parker, "Toward an Understanding of Borderland Processes" *American Antiquity*, 71, no. 1 (2006): 79

⁹Encyclopaedia Britannica, *The Arabs: People and Power*.(New York: Bantam Edition, 1978), 13 – 15.

¹⁰J.C. Anene,*The International Boundaries of Nigeria, 1885 – 1960: The Framework of an Emergent African*, 20 - 24

¹¹A.I. Asiwaju, "The Concept of Frontier in the Setting of States in Pre-colonial Africa"*Présence Africaine*, Nouvelle série, (127/128), (1983): 47

states borders.¹²The theory is traced to Randolph Bourne during the First World War to shed light on the new wave of immigrants into the United States.¹³Transnationalism as a concept and phenomenon is seen from a different perspective across various disciplines. However, despite this fact; the various definitions agreed that the theory enlightens and provides explanations regarding socio-cultural, economic and political phenomena state frontier or borders. Transnationalism from a historical perspective is understood as transnational history – the study of cross-border flow.¹⁴In summary, historians conceived transnationalism as an inquiry into human movement individually or in groups, ideas, religious and ethnic activities, movement of goods and services, and more across the state's international boundaries.

As the theory of transnationalism continues to expand in scope and reach, historians, likewise have embraced the concept to broaden their analysis of events of the past, examine comparative historical phenomenon as well as enriched, historicised and expand their historical research on broader issues. This process of writing history is known as transnational history. The definition of transnational history shares similarities with the definitions of the social sciences such as political science, anthropology, economics and sociology – which have to do with activities that concern man that flows across state's borders. In the words of Akira Iriye in a reviewed work of the *Journal of Contemporary European History* defines transnationalism as “the movements and forces that cut across national borders.”¹⁵ These forces or movement covers people, ideas, words, capital, might, and institutions.

The theory of transnationalism, therefore, provides insight into the nature and pattern of frontier relations between the peoples of North Africa and the Sudanese zone of pre-colonial West Africa. It unravels their shared interests and symbiotic relations that shaped their interactions during the period, the nature of pre-colonial Africa's borders as well as their commitment to overcome the barriers of the Saharan desert.

Early Contact between the Arabs and the Peoples of West Africa

Arabic sources provide the earliest account of the contact between the Berbers or Arabs of North Africa and the peoples of the western and central Sudan of West Africa dating back to the eighth century.¹⁶ Some Arabic sources or accounts traced the contact earlier than the eighth century. Leading Arabic geographers, travellers and historians such as Masudi, Ibn Haukal, El-Bekri, El Idrisi, El Omari, Ibn Battuta and Ibn Khaldun through their writings brought to

¹²Sara De Jong, and Petra Dannecker “Connecting and Confronting Transnationalism: Bridging Concepts and Moving Critique” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, vol. 25, no. 5, (2018): 493, Patricia Clavin ‘Defining Transnationalism’ *Contemporary European History*, vol. 14, No. 4, (2005): 43

¹³Randolph S. Bourne, “U.S. Trans-national America” *The Atlantic* (1916):

¹⁴Erik van der Vleuten, “Toward a Transnational History of Technology: Meanings, Promises, Pitfalls” *Technology and Culture*, vol. 49, no. 4 (2008): 978

¹⁵Akira Iriye *Contemporary European History* vol. 13, no. 2 (2004) 68

¹⁶F.K. Buah, *West Africa since A.D. 1000: Book One, The People*. (London: Macmillan Education Limited, (1973), 36

the world, the knowledge of the early history of the peoples of the Sudanese zone, south of the Maghreb.¹⁷ These individuals traced the contact to the trans-Saharan trade linking the peoples of both regions through the exchange of mineral resources and agricultural produce lacking in their respective regions. Likewise, also, the contact was fueled by the attempt of the Berbers and Arabs to spread the religion of Islam to the western and central Sudan of West Africa.

The Berbers, the aborigines of North Africa, lost control of their territory to the invading Arabs from the Middle East in the seventh century.¹⁸ In the process of time, the Berbers were Arabised and Islamised into the Arab world, extending the frontier of Arabic culture, civilisation, learning, ideas and the spread of Islam beyond North Africa to the western and central Sudanic zone of West Africa through various medium. Having being Arabised and Islamised the Berbers are regarded as Arabs, an identity they have come to accept and identify themselves with since the Arab invasion.

The history of West Africa dating to the pre-colonial period in the words of A.L. Mabogunje is the long story of human movements, incursion, displacements, intermixtures or succession of peoples, and the impact of these on the beliefs, attitudes and social organisation of the various peoples who today inhabit this great area.¹⁹ The geographical location of West Africa, south of Sahara despite the barrier of the largest desert in the world, the Saharan desert did not hinder the movement of the peoples with their neighbours north of the desert. This development affirmed the statement of S. Diarra that "it is hard to separate African history from its geographical setting."²⁰ The peoples of western and central Sudan of West Africa comprises some of the followings namely the Soninke, Malinke, Bambara, Mossi, Songhai, Kanuri and the Hausa - they evolved the following empires, kingdoms, and states during the period examined ancient Ghana, Malian and Songhai empires, others are Taureg, Kanem-Bornu, and the Hausa states - Kano, Rano, Katsina, Gobir and Sokoto.²¹

Before the contact with the Arabs, the peoples of the western and central Sudan of West Africa had evolved an elaborate state structure that ensured law and order. Likewise, the peoples used oral tradition as part of the sources of history to preserve their history and culture passed from one generation to another.²² Some of these features attracted notable Arab geographers and travellers from

¹⁷J. .D.Fage, "The Development of African Historiography" in *UNESCO General History of Africa: Methodology and African Prehistory* Vol. I, 31

¹⁸Phillip K. Hitti, *The Arabs: A Short History*. (Chicago: A Gateway Edition, 1966), 57

¹⁹A.L. Mabogunje, "The Land and Peoples of West Africa" in *History of West Africa* Vol I edited by J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (London: Longman 1971), 1

²⁰S. Diarra "Historical Geography: Physical Aspects" in *UNESCO General History of Africa: Methodology and African Prehistory* Vol. I edited by J.K.I. - Zerbo (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1992), 316

²¹A.L. Mabogunje, "The Land and Peoples of West Africa" in *History of West Africa* Vol I, 10 - 11

²²J. Vansina, "Oral Tradition and Its Methodology" in *UNESCO General History of Africa: Methodology and African Prehistory* Vol. I *General History of Africa: Methodology and African Prehistory* Vol. I edited by J.K.I. - Zerbo (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1992), 142

the Middle East, some of them documented what they saw and heard about the western and central Sudan of West Africa. Amazingly, however, during the colonial period, some European writers failed to neither recognise nor appreciate the feat recorded by some of these African societies before their contact with the Arabs and Europeans. Instead, they argued that it was the Arabs or the Europeans, and in some cases employed the Hamitic theory to discredit the socio-cultural, economic, political achievement as well as the amazing works of arts of the Africans, south of the Sahara.

Frontier of Contact and the Patterns of Relations

Trade and commerce played a major role in shaping the patterns of relations between the Arabs or the Berbers of North Africa and the peoples of western and central Sudan of West Africa during the pre-colonial era. The uneven distribution of mineral resources by nature and the law of demand and supply in many ways made trade and commerce inevitable despite the barrier of the Sahara desert separating both regions. Following the establishment of contact between both regions around the fifth century A.D., described by Nehemia Levtzion, “as the pressure of nomads on sedentary peoples”.²³ Trade and commerce took the contact to another level in the process resulting in the contact of cultures, exchange of ideas, the mingling of peoples as well as the outbreak of wars.²⁴ Several factors fueled trade and commerce between the Arabs and the peoples of the Sudanese zone of West Africa. Among the factors was the demand and supply of certain commodities from North Africa and the Middle East and among the Sudanese states of West Africa. In the Arab or Muslim world, gold was in high demand because its monetary system depended on it.²⁵

Fortunately, for the Arabs and Berbers, Arabic scholars, traders and travellers had informed the world of the rich deposit of gold in the Sudanese states. The information propelled the traffic in the trade by barter in gold and other commodities between traders from the Arabs world, particularly from North Africa with traders from the Sudanese zone of West Africa. Likewise, also, the demand for salt produced in North Africa, by the peoples of the Sudanese zone promoted the exchange of both commodities and others through the trans-Saharan trade. The use of the beast of burden, particularly the camel introduced to North Africa by the Romans aided trade and commerce through the trans-Saharan trade. It is imperative to state that in all the levels in the patterns of relations or interactions between the Arabs of North Africa and the peoples of the western and central Sudan of West Africa during the pre-colonial era, the nature of relations was equal. There was no record of a master-servant relation as was the case, between Africa and Europe from the late eighteenth century.

²³Nehemia Levtzion, “The Early States of the Western Sudan to 1500” in *History of West Africa* Vol I edited by J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (London: Longman, 1971), 116

²⁴Kenneth O. Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta 1830 – 1885: An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 5

²⁵Nehemia Levtzion, “The Early States of the Western Sudan to 1500” 120

Following trade and commerce in the pattern of relations between the peoples of North Africa and the Sudanese zone of West Africa was the concept of 'controlled relationship' during the pre-colonial period. The concept reveals the parity in the conduct of relations between different cultures or civilisations following the establishment of contact. According to Pekka Masonen, a controlled relationship was used to explain European encounter with China in the early period of their contact, whereby foreign traders were forced to obey the rules set by the Chinese government which decided unilaterally on the location of the trade, the number of traders, as well as type and character of the goods.²⁶ The failure of the Europeans to comply with sure directives means they would not be allowed to trade in China. This was, however, before the outbreak of the First Opium War in 1839, when the Chinese empire was powerful enough to reject all military threats from some European naval powers.²⁷

Arabic scholar's account of the contact between the Arabs and the peoples of the western and central Sudan of West Africa revealed a controlled relationship in all levels of their relations and interactions. In the area of trade, the Arabs or Berber traders adhered to the term of trade between them and the indigenous peoples. They comply with the toll obligation initiated by the various rulers of the Sudanese states aimed at generating revenue for their states. Furthermore, the Arabs maintained cordial relations with the peoples of the Sudanese zone in the various cities where they settled namely Kumbi, Gao, Jenne, Timbuktu, Kano and others, by obeying the laws governing the peoples. There was no account of racial discrimination between the Arabs and the local peoples or abuse against the Arabs. What existed was mutual respect between the Arabs and the indigenous peoples of the Sudanese zone. The existence of controlled relations encouraged cultural exchange and exchange of ideas, during the pre-colonial period. This development partly resulted in the success of trade and commerce as well as the spread of Islam by the Arabs in the Sudanese zone of West Africa.

The spread of religion, particularly the Islamic religion equally shaped the pattern of relations between the Arabs and the peoples of the western and central Sudan of West Africa, during the pre-colonial period. Before the coming of the Arabs in West Africa, the peoples of the western and central Sudan maintained their traditional religion. But with the establishment of contact with North Africa, the Islamic religion gradually made an inroad into the region through the activities of the Berbers and Arabs. The introduction of Islam by the Arabs in West Africa and its acceptance by the peoples of the western and central impacted positively in their interaction culturally and socially. With Islam came Arabic literacy in the Sudanese zone - that is formal education.²⁸ The Islamic religion equally led to cultural exchange as well as the exchange of ideas among the peoples north and south of Sahara. Several Islamic cultures with respect to dressing and ways of living were imbibed by the peoples of the

²⁶Pekka Masonen, "Trans-Saharan Trade and the West African Discovery of the Mediterranean World" in *Ethnic encounter and culture change* edited by Sabour and Vikør (London: Bergen Press 1997), 116 - 142

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸M. El Fasi, and I. Hrbek, "Stages in the Development of Islam and its Dissemination in Africa" in *UNESCO General History of Africa III: Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century* M. El Fasi and I. Hrbek (London: Heinemann Publishers, 1992), 67 - 81

western and central Sudan who had accepted the new religion. Some of the Sudanese rulers who accepted Islam, such as Mansa Musa, Mansa Sulaiman, Askia Muhammed and others, and in line with the Islamic injunction embarked on the holy pilgrimage to Mecca through North Africa. On their return, these rulers came with learned Arabic scholars, clerics and architects with the knowledge to transform their major towns.²⁹

Diplomatic relations is another pattern that shaped relations between the Arabs, their rulers and the rulers and peoples of the Sudanese zone of West Africa. It is instructive to state that, if diplomatic relations had not existed between the rulers and the peoples of both sides of the Sahara desert, trade and other activities that the contact created would not have been possible. Although the state system had not evolved during the contact between the Arabs and the peoples of the western and central Sudan, during the pre-colonial period, the leaders thought it wise to establish formal diplomatic relations to promote cordial relations. There existed several accounts of diplomatic relations between the rulers of the western and central Sudan and those from North Africa, cemented during periods of pilgrimage and the delegation of representatives to their respective courts.³⁰ The diplomatic relations enabled the rulers of the Sudanese zone to acquire weapons of war. Similarly, the diplomatic relations equally enabled the rulers to seek ways to protect the commercial interest of their respective citizens involved in trade and commerce in their respective territories. This was exemplified in the thirteenth century, when the governor of Sijilmasa, which was the most important terminus of the trans-Saharan caravan routes in southern Morocco, sent a letter to the king of Ghana who was by then the most powerful ruler in the Sudanese zone of West Africa. The letter reads:

We are neighbours in benevolence even if we differ in religion; we agree on right conduct and are one in leniency towards our subjects. It goes without saying that justice is an essential quality of kings in conducting sound policy; tyranny is the preoccupation of ignorant and evil minds. We have heard about the imprisonment of poor traders and their being prevented from going freely about their business. The coming to and fro of merchants to a country is of benefit to its inhabitants and help to keep it populous. If we wished we would imprison the people of that region who happen to be in our territory but we do not think it right to do that. We ought not to "forbid immorality while practicing it ourselves". Peace be upon you.³¹

The last among the patterns of relations between the Arabs and the peoples of western and central Sudan of West was the conduct of war. War was instrumental in the rise and fall of several states in the western and central

²⁹Abdullah Smith, "The Early States of the Central Sudan" in *History of West Africa* Vol. I edited by J.F. Ade Ajayi and Michael Crowder (London: Longman 1971), 191 -193

³⁰Ibid.

³¹BaselDavidson, *The Growth of African Civilisation: A History of West Africa 1000 – 1800*(London; Longman Group Ltd, 1965), 81

Sudan in the pre-colonial era. It is interesting to state that the fall of two major empires in the Sudanese zone of West Africa was orchestrated by invasion from the Arabs of North Africa. The fall of the ancient empires of Ghana and Songhay in 1076 – 7 and 1591, respectively was owed to the Almoravid movement and the Moroccan invasion. Different reasons fueled the invasion of both Sudanese states during the pre-colonial era. The Almoravid invasion of ancient Ghana was driven by the puritanical Islamic ideology of a group led by Ibn Yâsin, to spread their Islamic faith across the Sahara.³² The Moroccan invasion of Songhay the last of the empires to emerge in the Sudanese zone of West Africa was attacked for military and commercial reasons, by Sultan Al-Mansur to gain control of the gold trade and its route under the control of Songhay as well as nibbled Songhai power in western Sudan.³³

Symbiotic Relations between the Arabs and the Peoples of Western and Central Sudan of West Africa

The analysis of the pattern of relations between the Arabs and the peoples of western and central Sudan of West Africa except for the conduct of war reveals collaborative relations aimed at mitigating the uneven distribution of mineral resources by nature as well as exploiting the benefit occasion by the contact of the peoples from both regions. The frontier of contact reveals a symbiotic interaction contrary to the views of some scholars that the relations were one-sided, and were dominated by the Arabs, with little or no contributions by the peoples of the western and central Sudan. A fact that is yet to be accepted is that the success of the ... trans-Saharan trade, for example, was not possible without the active participation of West Africans who understood perfectly well, how to utilize the new opportunities offered by the commercial contacts to the Islamic world – yet, in the authorized African historiography, this point is usually passed over with few words only.³⁴ However, from the patterns of relations discussed above, the following symbiotic relations were established by the Arabs and peoples of the western and central Sudan of West Africa during the period under review.

First, the exchange of goods by both parties across the Saharan desert was mutual or based on mutual consent. There was no account of the use of force by any parties involved in the exchange of the item of trade. Salt, cloth, beads and cowries, copper and brass vessels, and, increasingly, horses, swords, paper and Arabic books were brought to the Sudanese zone by the Arabs from North Africa and the Middle East in exchange for gold (especially on the Western routes), slaves (predominant further east), civet and ambergris, pepper, wax

³²I. Hrbek and J. Devisse, "The Almoravids" in *UNESCO General History of Africa III: Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century* edited by M. El Fasi and I. Hrbek London: Heinemann Publishers, 1992), 336 - 366

³³Basel Davidson, *The Growth of African Civilisation: A History of West Africa 1000 – 1800*, 84

³⁴Pekka Masonen, "Trans-Saharan Trade and the West African Discovery of the Mediterranean World", 127

and honey, ivory and ebony, and, increasingly again, leather goods and textiles came from the western and central Sudan of West Africa.³⁵

In the city of Gao, in the Songhay empire, traders were able to exchange Saharan salt for gourds, mat, wax, honey, iron goods and cloth produced in the south along the River Niger in the town of Kukyia, regarded by many as the cradle of the first Songhay dynasty. Given the growing presence of Islamic traders in Gao through trade, the locus of political power moved here from Kukyia in around the 10th century; separate towns were established by the late 10th century for Muslims and non-Muslims on either side of the Niger, a practice which also appears to have shaped the urban and religious architecture of Djenné and Ghāna at the same time.³⁶ The development reveals a symbiotic relation in trade and commerce in which both parties benefited from the exchange of goods, during the pre-colonial period.

The various role played by the caravan guard from both sides of the Saharan desert was a demonstration of the symbiotic relations of the Arabs and the peoples of Sudanese to ensure the success of their trading and commercial activities. The Arabs caravan guard and their counterparts from the Sudanese zone of West Africa complimented each other to ensure the free movement of goods along the various trade route of the trans-Saharan trade.³⁷ The Arab caravan guards provide services for Arabs and Sudanese traders; as well as they served as a guard to leaders of the Sudanese zone on pilgrimage to Mecca. On the other hand, the Sudanese guard served as a guard to Arabs traders, travellers and scholars that are seeking direction within the Sudanese zone of West Africa. The caravan guards from both sides of the Sahara desert wade-off bandit gang or group along the trade route that attempts to rob traders moving in their caravans.

Symbiotic relations between the Arabs and the peoples of the Sudanese zone of West Africa during the pre-colonial era were equally established through import and export trade of certain commodities. For instance, the city of Kano was renowned as the centre of a rich agricultural district that produced all the food its teeming population required and a considerable surplus for export. The city owed its prosperity chiefly to the industry and extraordinary skill of its Hausa craftsmen, especially the weaver and dyer and leather wares, which are exported in high demand in North Africa, part of Europe and the Middle East.³⁸ Similarly, the Arab traders through trade import certain items of trade from the Middle East to the Sudanese zone of West Africa, namely cloth, beads and Arabic literature.

³⁵K. P. Moseley, *Caravel and Caravan: West Africa and the World-Economies, ca. 900-1900 AD Review* vol.15, no.3, (1992): 528.

³⁶T.Green, *African Kingdoms: A Guide to the Kingdoms of Songhay, Kongo, Benin, Oyo and Dahomey c. 1400 - c. 1800* www.ocr.org.uk (accessed 23 July, 2020)

³⁷E.W. Bovill, *The Golden Trade of the Moors* (London: Oxford University Press,1953), 235.

³⁸Ibid.

The Writing of West Africa History in the Colonial and Post-colonial Era

The writing of African history, particularly, the history of West Africa has passed through different epoch, namely the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Arabic geographers and historians from the Middle East and North Africa namely Al Bakri, Al Masudi, Al Battuta Al Idrisi and Ibn Khaldun and others wrote the early history of the Sudanese zone, referred to by them as Bilad al-Sudan (land of the blacks). Some of them visited the Sudanese zone, while others did not. Muslim scholars from the Sudanese zone equally wrote on the history of the western and central Sudan, during the pre-colonial period such as Abderrahmen Al-Sadi and Muhmud Kati of Songhay.³⁹ It is instructive to note that the writing of African history, during the period particularly, the history of the western and central Sudan had some flaws dominated by the personal influence of some of the writers majorly their disposition to Islam. Islamic rulers and societies were extolled, this however, was not the case of those that embraced traditional African religion. This notwithstanding, the Arabic sources remain a veritable source in the reconstruction of the African past before the coming of the Europeans.

In the colonial period, the writing of the history of the western and central of West Africa was dominated by Eurocentric writers and in the postcolonial era, by African and Africanist historians. The writing of West Africa's history during these epochs was not without shortcomings. However, the shortcomings of the colonial and postcolonial periods of the history of the continent written by some European writers deserved attention. It was during both periods that the erroneous and unjust account of the past of West Africa, as a people without a history, and whose history is tied to the contact and activities with the Europeans and Arabs was established. The writings or comments of some renowned European scholars on the history of West Africa in particular and Africa, in general, will be examined. German philosopher George Hegel made the following statement concerning Africans in the nineteenth century.

It is manifest that the want of self-control distinguished the character of the Negroes. This condition is capable of no development or culture, and as we have seen them at this day, such have they always been. At this point, we leave Africa, not even to mention it again. For it is no historical part of the world; it has no movement or development to exhibit.⁴⁰

In the postcolonial era, Oxford renowned historian Hume Trevor-Roper made the following biased and unjust account of the history of Africa in 1963. In his words:

Perhaps, in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present, there is none; there is only the

³⁹Walter I. Ofonagoro, "Reappraisals in History: The West Africa Context" in *Method and Perspective of Studying African History* Erim O. Erim and Okon E. Uya (Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishing Co. Ltd, 1984), 23

⁴⁰Okon E. Uya, "Trends and Perspectives in African History" 1 - 2

history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness
And darkness is not a subject of history.⁴¹

The above remarks on the history of Africa, particularly that of West Africa presents a reductionist account of the people in all facet of human endeavour. This account of the history of Africa, concerning West Africa, contradicts the account of the Arabs concerning the western and central Sudan. Similarly, the various empires and kingdoms that emerged in the Sudanese zone had evolved elaborate state structure and governance, before the advent of the Arabs. This fallacious account of the African past has been debunked by some African and Africanist historians in the postcolonial era in their works or publications.⁴²In the same vein, African and Africanist historians revealed to the world the pivotal role of oral tradition as a source of African history as well as a compendium of African history passed from one generation to another. They concluded that the reconstruction of African history without oral tradition as one of the sources is incomplete. The erroneous belief that the contact between the Arabs and the peoples of the western and central Sudan was lopsided and dominated by the Arabs, denied the historical development of the peoples of the Sudanese zone of West Africa.

A major weakness in the account of these European scholars on the history of West Africa in particular and Africa, in general, is their dependence on European written sources. This was the view of the renowned British historian, A.P. Newton when he affirmed that "Africa had no history before the comings of the Europeans".⁴³Newton like many of his colleagues in the citadel of learning rejected an African history because it was not built on the altar or foundation of secondary sources, similar to the pattern of European historical development. It is equally important to state that the European scholars in their writing of the history of West Africa in particular and Africa in general, did not consult the Arab sources, which provided the sources on the early history of western and central Sudan. Some of these European scholars were ignorant of oral tradition in the reconstruction or writing of the African past.

They failed to realize that the sources used in the reconstruction of the past shaped the conclusion about the past. Their sole dependence on European written sources without any recourse to oral sources has deprived them of writing a complete and objective history of the Africa past, particularly West Africa. That is, the European written sources, believe that only the history of trade, slavery, and relations between Europeans and African kingdoms matters in pre-colonial West African history; oral tradition sources point rather to the importance of kingship, religion, dependence on powerful figures, commerce and migration. Jan Vansina in his analysis of oral tradition shed light on the importance of oral tradition as history and sources of the history of pre-colonial illiterate African societies. In his words:

⁴¹J.D.Fage, "The Development of African Historiography", 30

⁴²JamesNgozi Obiegbo, "Historiography and the Training of Historians" in *Issues in Historiography* edited by O.O Olubomehin, (Ibadan: College Press & Press Publishers Ltd, 2001),6

⁴³J.D.Fage, "The Development of African Historiography", 32

The African civilizations in the Sahara and south of the desert were to a great extent civilizations of the spoken word, even where the written word existed, as it did in West Africa from the sixteenth century onwards, because only very few people knew how to write and the role of the written word was often marginal to the essential preoccupations of a society.⁴⁴

However, by bringing both sources together, a balanced view of the West African past can emerge; but by using only one type of source, a skewed perspective on that past is more likely.⁴⁵ This explains why they failed to see the symbiotic relations in the contact between the Arabs and the peoples of the Sudanese zone.

Similarly, as part of the effort to strengthen their resolve that Africa lacked a past and that her history is that of European activities in the continent, the Hamitic theory was propounded to give bite to this erroneous belief shared by some Eurocentric scholars. C.G. Seligman in his *Race of Africa*, published in 1930, affirmed that "...the civilisations of Africa are the civilisation of the Hamites, its history the record of these peoples and of their interaction with the two other African stocks, the Negro and the Bushman."⁴⁶ The theory is a bias theory of race that fails to recognise the effort of Africans and their contributions to world civilisation. It argued that the black race was incapable of change or innovation in his environment until the arrival of the Arabs from across the Saharan desert and the European from across the Atlantic Ocean. And that the change and development witnessed in the western and central before the fifteenth century was linked to Hamites from North Africa and the Arab world. Furthermore, they affirmed that the relationship that emanated from the contact between the Arabs and the peoples of Africa was an imbalance; in the sense that little or nothing came from the peoples of the western and central Sudan, except their item of trade. As a result, there was no form of symbiotic relations or interaction emanating from the frontier of contact. The Hamitic theory or hypotheses has been rejected by African and Africanist historians as well as scholars from other disciplines through the interdisciplinary approach to the study of history and Africa's past. Some of these disciplines in the humanities, social sciences and sciences have strengthened the rigour of analysis and likewise enriched the sources in the analysis and interpretation as well as the reconstruction of the past.⁴⁷

Conclusion

Historians and scholars from other disciplines have interpreted differently the contact between Africa and the Arabs as well as the Europeans. Some of the

⁴⁴J. Vansina, "Oral Tradition and Its Methodology," 142

⁴⁵T.Green, African Kingdoms: (accessed 23 July, 2020)

⁴⁶James .Ngozi Obiegbu, "Historiography and the Training of Historians" 7

⁴⁷O.A. Adebeye, "Interdisciplinary Approach to Scholarship in History" in *Issues in Historiography* edited by O.O Olubomehin (Ibadan: College Press & Press Publishers Ltd, 2001), 14

interpretations have failed to provide an objective assessment of the contact. Instead, a biased assessment has prevailed to the detriment of Africa, depicting them as a people lacking any historical consciousness of their own until the advent of the Arabs and the Europeans. This view on Africa was established in the colonial era, by racist and biased European scholars who see African history, as the activities of Europeans in Africa. It has been proven that their arrival at such a conclusion was due to their sole dependence on written sources, with total neglect of the place of oral tradition or sources. However, thanks to the works of African and Africanist historians the erroneous conclusion of African history has been refuted. J.C. Anene frontier of contact has equally proved wrong the false claims between the Arabs and the peoples of the Sudanese zone of West Africa, during the pre-colonial era. The frontier of contact reveals a balance interaction where both parties were at an advantage in their relations. In all, there is a need for African historians in the contemporary era, to reappraise the writing of West Africa history, particularly those that concern controversial issues.

Gendering agency in spirit possession of Yoruba *eegun* and *imole*

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In Yorubaland, there exists many ethnic subgroups with different cultural identities and affiliations. In the mist of mosaic affiliations, there are shared religious practices, that are consistent, regardless of disparate cultural affinities. Spirit possession is one of these common traditional practices. Spirit possession is not new in studies on Yoruba rituality. While this has been given scholarly attention by many scholars, it has not been seriously engaged in Akoko, an eastern Yoruba sub-group. Indeed, there are many perspectives to the study of spirit possession; this study focuses on gender. In the study of ori inu (inner head), which is central to the possession, the study argues that its activation and possession are not specific to a gender, rather, it is a collaborative effort where both genders are indispensable. Also, gender category of male priest as deity's wife feminises his gender, further globalising gendering in the possession. Ori is discussed in two prominent institutions of the possession: imole (deity) and eegun (masquerade). These two are discussed as trajectories to gender studies in Akoko religious history. Gendering spirit possession in a Yoruba subgroup that has not been sufficiently researched is germane to scholarship. Historical research methodology is used with the technique of critical analysis of data. The theory of historical feminism is used to emphasize non-gender specificity of spirit possession. Inter-disciplinary approach like ethnography is used to have firm grasp of the practices. In all, gendering history is crucial to knowledge production, especially in understanding the agency and hierarchies that forged Akoko and Yoruba history.

Keywords: Spirit possession; Gender; Yoruba; Ori; Women; Akoko; Masquerade; Imole

Introduction

Spirit possession in African societies has gained attention of ethnographers and anthropologists, because of its peculiar context, content and essence. Yoruba is one of the African societies with high record of spirit possession. The belief in *Olodumare* (Supreme God) and *orisa* (lesser gods) was (and still) central to Yoruba religious practices. From a foreigner or outsider perspective, it is somewhat difficult to identify this belief system with Western ideologies of monotheism or polytheism, because, it is neither belief in one god nor believe in many gods. It is belief in one God and many other gods, with each having its indispensable role. Jacob Olupona alludes to this that a westerner visiting Yorubaland and is interested in the religious system would easily reckon that

the ethnic has a unique religious system.¹ One of the features of this religious pluralism is spirit possession; it is one of the ways gods communicate human. This is rooted in the belief that human has spirit and it can be occupied by gods to pass message to the living. Across Yorubaland, this belief is variously practiced. In an eastern Yoruba subgroup, Akoko, *eegun* (masquerade) and *imole* (deity) were some of the means humans were possessed to relay god's message to the living.

One of the central beliefs of *eegun* is that it is an ancestral cult through which the dead retains existence by possessing the living, during worship. The possessed wears mask and other cult insignia that resonates the ancestors. During performance, they communicate ancestral message to the people. In turn the people respect and honour the opinion of the ancestors. There are specific families initiated into this practice. In Akoko, only men wear mask and performed as masquerades, but the fortification of the mask and its wearer is not gender-specific. *Imole* as *orisa* worship is unique to eastern Yoruba, including Akoko. J. D. Y Peel attests to this: the word *imole* or *umole* was used to refer to *orisa* in eastern Yoruba.² In Akoko, "*Imole*" was used to refer to feminine gods or female worship in some communities, while it was used to refer to both (masculine and feminine) in others. Some religion scholars argue that it is used to refer to deities or divinities which had relations with earth. This is probably implied or embedded in the word etymology: "*IMOLE*" - it could be literarily applied to mean IMO-ILE that is knowledge of the earth. In Akoko, *Imole* was worship of the earth, including river.³The central point of connection between human and these two institutions is *ori inu* (inner head). It is the medium of intercession between the living and the deities.

In order to enhance better understanding, theory is used to foreground the discourse: it helps in untangling knotty areas, such that the study becomes lucid and unique. The theory used in this study is historical feminism. Oyeronke Oyewumi is the main proponent of this theory. She provides elaborate discourse on the theory, in one of the works she edited in 2011: *Gender Epistemologies in Africa: Gendering Traditions, Spaces, Social Institutions, and Identities*. It is defined as the ideology for eradicating female subjugation, by investigating African cultures, where gender was not historically a social category, and using it to reposition women's history in a society that perceive them as historically subservient. She used Yoruba as an example of society devoid of gender ontology:

Significantly, then, I remain open to the idea that there are many cultures like Yorùbá around the world where historically, gender was not a social category. Consequently, I propose historical feminism as the kind of feminism that is needed to address the problems, I have

¹Jacob Olupona, *City of 201 Gods: Ile Ife in Time, Space, and the Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011) 6.

²JDY Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 2000) 95.

³Interview with Aina Owolabi, the Bobatolu of Irun, 106c years. No 10. Okeubo, Irun Akoko. 20th December, 2018.

articulated...Since male dominance has become a fact of life around the world, the need to organize to overcome it cannot be gainsaid. But the type of feminism we abide by is also crucial to understanding the nature of the problem, its scope, and the resources available in local communities to challenge all the interlocking forms of dominance.⁴

It is an ideology to decolonise Yoruba history, and restore the original culture, devoid of male domination, in order to transform social relations. Thus, to Oyewumi, Yoruba women were not victims of gender socio-cultural disparity until the idea of gender inequality was imported by the British colonial rulers. In her ground-breaking publication: *The Invention of Women: Making an African sense of Western Gender Discourses*, she equally notes that gender is not a social category in many cultures.⁵ Meanwhile, like a school of thought, which blames Africa's underdevelopment on colonialism, the theory also engages in the blame game: colonial culture is responsible for the neglect of female in Yoruba history. In other words, gender was totally absent in pre-colonial history, until colonial rule. However, this work does not concur with total colonial importation of gender, it studies the extent to which gender was not ontological in the history.

The theory is important to this work because of its emphasis on investigating African culture to showcase absence of female subjugation. Similarly, this study also examines an African culture (Akoko), where the subjugation was not prominent in spirit possession of *ori-inu*. Historical feminism is therefore used to foreground non-gender specificity in the control of *ori-inu* by the deities. Since *ori-inu* is crucial to the study, it is first examined as precursor to the discourse. After this, symbolisms of gender in spirit possession are discussed in *imole* and *eegun*.

Ori in Spirit Possession

In Yoruba cultural studies, *ori*, loosely translates as head transcends physical head. It is mainly categorised as *ori-inu* (inner head) and *ori-ode* (outer head). It might be difficult to understand head as interior body part, since head is uppermost part of the body and permanently exterior. Yoruba, however, idolises or locates *ori* in a kind of spirituality, with the belief that *ori-inu* is sacred to human existence on earth. The interior controls all thoughts, actions and future deeds of an individual. Henry Drewal adds that the spiritual head houses potential and character of an individual.⁶ It may not be physical head like *ori-ode*, it is believed to superintend over all human activities. One of the common prayers of Yoruba through the inner head, "ori mi maa tako mi" (may my head not negate me), shows that it is crucial to successful human

⁴Oyeronke Oyewumi, 'Decolonizing the Intellectual and the Quotidian: Yorùbá Scholars(hip) and Male Dominance', *Gender Epistemologies in Africa: Gendering Traditions, Spaces, Social Institutions, and Identities*, Oyeronke Oyewumi (ed), (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 30-31.

⁵Oyeronke Oyewumi, *The Invention of Women: Making an African sense of Western Gender Discourses*(Minnesota: University of Minnesota, 1997).

⁶Henry John Drewal, 'Art and the Perception of Women in Yorùbá Culture', *Cahiers d'études Africaines*, Vol. 17, No. 68, 1977, 546.

endeavours. Oyeronke Oyewumi identifies its usefulness during pregnancy and delivery: “pregnancy is a period during which the *ori* is constantly invoked by family members and well-wishers alike”.⁷ Motherhood is invested with great power, partly because the mother’s *ori* is permanently attached to her offspring. At delivery, mother’s *ori* will be activated for safe delivery of her daughter in labour. She concludes: “It is important to note that appeal to *ori* is regarded as the key prayer in time of crisis, superseding entreaties to the other deities.”⁸ *Ori* as a superintendent of human actions and thoughts makes it the oasis of human spirituality and trajectory to the gods, through possession. On possession, Drewal notes:

An expression of this belief occurs in possession trance when worshipper assumes the character of deity. Informants specifically state that the spirit of deity mounts *gun* the inner head or *inun* and causes it to swell *wu* as the medium enters possession. To express the altered inner self the possessed person is led away and dressed in the regalia of the deity sometimes including instruments evocative of power and aggression swords cudgels whips or coolness and composure fans. The medium then returns to develop the character of the deity via formal dance thus harmonizing inner presence with outer performance.⁹

In Margaret Drewal’s account, *ori inu* is located on the top of the physical head: “Further evidence suggests a more direct connection between the projection on the top of the head and spirit possession”.¹⁰ In some instances, small wraps or ball of concocted rituals are placed on head top of *adosu orisa* (the one whose head is the bearer of the god’s *osu*) to invite the spirit of the god. She further gave an example in a study of Ondo cult of Anago Yoruba. For a priest of the Ondo cult, the projection creates the avenue for the spirit of the god to mount. It becomes a symbol of the place where the living and the spiritual can meet, can unite, marked in time by the act of placing the hat on the head. The headdress provides a point of contact, a crossroads, and denies the mundane function of carrying loads. She further notes that music and dance steps are crucial to connect the initiates with the gods.¹¹

Ori-inu makes possession possible, as it houses deity’s spirit that controls the physical body. The importance of *ori* in Yoruba cosmology cannot be over-emphasised, as success or failure of humans depended on it. Since *ori* is the

⁷Oyeronke Oyewumi, *What Gender is Motherhood?: Changing Yoruba Ideals of Power, Procreation and Identity in the Age of Modernity*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) 64.

⁸Oyeronke Oyewumi, *What Gender is Motherhood?* 63.

⁹Henry John Drewal, ‘Art and the Perception of Women in Yorùbá Culture’, *Cahiers d’études Africaines*, Vol. 17, No. 68, 1977, 546.

¹⁰Margaret Thompson Drewal, ‘Symbols of Possession: A Study of Movement and Regalia in an Anago-Yoruba Ceremony’, *Dance Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 2 Spring - Summer, (Congress on Research in Dance, 1975)

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/1477821> (Accessed: 22-11-2019), 18.

¹¹Margaret Thompson Drewal, ‘Symbols of Possession: A Study of Movement and Regalia in an Anago-Yoruba Ceremony,’ 18-20.

intercession point between humans and gods, it is the agent that submits the body to overall control of the spirit. In other words, without it, possession and control of the body is not possible. In eastern Yoruba, particularly Akoko, *imole* and *eegun* are major spirits that control *ori inu*. The possession of *ori* by these two shall be discussed with emphasis on gender.

Gender and Spirit Possession in *Imole* Festival

Religious festival is a period of communal or family feasting. Oyeronke Olajubu adds that festival preserves the nexus between gods and people. Festival in form of songs, dance and recitations, give meaning and connection to the social and cultural identity needs of the people.¹² Peel emphasizes that possession is “..most dramatic manifestation of a general feature of *orisa* cults which is vital to the understanding of their appeal and spread: the strong identification which existed between the *orisa* and their devotees”.¹³ Henry Drewal adds that during spirit possession, worshipper becomes possessed by the being of deity. He further explains the process of possession as thus: “the spirit of deity mounts (gun) the inner head (*ori-inu*) and causes it to swell (wu) as the medium enters possession... The medium then returns to develop the character of the deity via formal dance thus harmonizing inner presence with outer performance”.¹⁴ *Ori inu* is the trajectory of possession by deity, because it is believed that this part controls the outer body for ritual display in possession. In the case of *Egba* festival in Ikakumo (Aworonke) Akoko, spirit possession is central to connect the people to *Egba* deity.

The possession of *Egba* spirit represents initiation into *Egba* cult. However, only males (men and boys) could be initiated into the cult. The spirit does not possess women. In other words, it is an exclusively male affair in *ori* possession.¹⁵ Meanwhile, some scholars on religion and festival had described spirit possession as exclusive for female. In fact, Hackett avers that spirit possession is common to women than in men. To him, this is due to emotional weakness of crying and fear common to women. Matory concludes that in festival where spirit possession is absent, the place of woman is compromised.¹⁶ Evidently, Hackett and Matory submissions are not obtainable in the context of Akoko, especially Ikakumo.

Nonetheless, the male centeredness of spirit possession in *Egba* is balanced in worship. *Egbais* worshipped through two gendered stones: female and male. Stored in a pot filled with water, the two stones are kept in the custody of Ayindu family. Prior to the central *Egba* worship, *Egba* initiates would perform ancestral sacrifices; jubilate to the rhythm of *ogidigbo* drum beat as preliminary

¹²Oyeronke Olajubu, *Women in the Yoruba Religious Spher*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003) 105.

¹³ JDY Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, 104.

¹⁴Henry John Drewal, ‘Art and the Perception of Women in Yorùbá Culture’, 546.

¹⁵Lawrence Oyewole Arohunmolase, ‘Spirit Possession in the *Egba* Festival’, Toyin Falola and Ann Genova (eds), *Orisa: Yoruba Gods and Spirituality in Africa and the Diaspora*, 106.

¹⁶ Hackett and Matory cited in Oyeronke Olajubu, *Women in the Yoruba Religious Sphere*, 113.

to *Egba* festival. Also, the worship is regarded as a community cleansing deity in its punishment of evil doers.¹⁷

Following erection of large fire by young men, *Egba* priest also known as *Aworo* (male) would be possessed by *Egba* spirit, remove a wood from fire and dance round gathered audience for cleansing purpose. Women also dance to the *ogidigbo* drum beats at the occasion.¹⁸ Next, he would bring out female *Egba* stone that represent divinity from the shrine. This he positions close to the fire. Then, a horn of ram would be set on hollow spot of the female stone, all intending male initiates (who must be indigenes of the town) would be in a procession and touch the horn. The touch invited *Egba* spirit into their *ori inu*. Communion of *ori inu* with *Egba* was demonstrated by chanting, dancing, rolling on the fire without getting hurt and conversing in *Egba* language, which is different from Ikakumo dialect. Possession of *Egbais* permanent, it lasts through life-time of initiates. Detaching the ram's horn from the female stone signifies end of the day's performance.¹⁹ This moment could be regarded as period of trance for the initiates.

Dance in *Egba* makes it similar to *Sango* devotee initiation. In the latter, dance comes before spirit possession same as *Egba*. During dance, the spirit of *Sango* possesses the priest/priestess and he/she starts to communicate in a strange voice. This is also obtainable in *Egba*. On music and dance in the possession: Margaret Drewal notes that, music and dance are forms of expression and contact that connects human's world with that of gods.²⁰ Possession starts from the mind, all conscious control is surrendered "...and psychic forces are set free which enable the priest to identify himself so completely with the idea of *Sango*, that he actually becomes a living impersonation of that idea".²¹

In this seeming male exclusive ritual festival, gendering is apparent. While *aworo* and the initiates are male, gendering is still evident. Apart from being senior initiate, *aworois* regarded as wife of deity. Feminisation of *Aworo* as wife upends or juggles his biological gender. His role as priest of *imole* imbues femininity on his masculinity. *Aworo* is thus, male by birth but feminine by profession. Besides this gendering, one of the central items of initiation, *Egba* stone, was feminine. Although the reason for the choice of female stone for *Egba* possession is not known, the use of female stone depicts gender balance in a festival regarded as masculine. Reading gender to history reveals gendering pattern in the face of sexual exclusivity. Placing of ram's horn (male animal) in

¹⁷Lawrence Oyewole Arohunmolase, 'Spirit Possession in the *Egba* Festival', Toyin Falola and Ann Genova (eds), *Orisa: Yoruba Gods and Spirituality in Africa and the Diaspora*, 104.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ O. A Aminu, *Itan ati Asa Ilu Kakumo-Akoko* (Ikare: Olorunsola Printing Works, 1971), 28-44.

²⁰Margaret Thompson Drewal, 'Symbols of Possession: A Study of Movement and Regalia in an Anago-Yoruba Ceremony' *Dance Research Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Spring - Summer, 1975), (Congress on Research in Dance) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1477821> (Accessed: 22-11-2019) 21.

²¹H. U. Beier, 'The Egungun cult among the Yorubas', *Présence Africaine, Nouvelle série*, No. 18/19 février-mai 1958, (Présence Africaine Editions) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24345513> (Accessed: 22-11-2019) 34.

hollow female stone exemplifies gender complementality, in spite of the non-female initiation. Although *Egba* spirit possession negates Hackett and Matory submissions of female exclusivity in spirit possession, the involvement of female stone signifies inclusion of femininity in spirit possession.

Another Akoko community with gendered spirit possession is Daja Akoko. *Imole Hunmeh* is used to ward off unpleasant condition like sickness. It is a communal worship as the women involved in the ritual rites must report back to the elders and chiefs. Some of the items used in the worship are kola-nut, akara, cock and bitter-cola. The priest must cover their body with white cloth. *Hunmeh* chose its adherents and priests through spirit possession like that of *Egba*. It possesses only women, but the ritual spectacle is seen by all. Once the deity possessed their *ori inu* whilst they dance, they begin to speak in strange language. Conversing in strange language is also central to Beier's Sango possession discussed above. Language of the gods is exclusive to them, only the priest who surrenders the conscious mind for deity's possession understands the communication. Hence, possession is one of the ways priest communicates the message of *imole* to the people. The message of *Hunmeh* after the worship is central to bountiful harvest. The *onimoles* or priests are highly esteemed like the *Iyanifa* in Oyo, since they are mouthpiece of the god.²² The male domination of *Egba* and female domination of *Hunmeh* give a hint of historical fluidity in Akoko. Peel corroborates this fluidity generally, that religion of eastern Yoruba (where Akoko forms a large sub-group) is heterogeneous.²³

Spirit Possession and *Eegun*

In Akoko, masquerade could be basically divided into two strands: entertainment and ritual. In the first strand, *Ede*, *Owi Yalawu*, *Owi Esise*, *Ire* and *Arunshewa* are examples in Irun Akoko. In *Oge* and *Afa*, *edeis* also entertainment *ooku*. Others are *ako*, *agbe* and *emeho*. *Eekugan-hingan-hin* is the umbrella name for entertainment masquerades in Ikare.²⁴ However, *Ede* is discussed by Olomola in Ado Ekiti as ritual and powerful *Eegun*: "The powerful *Eegun* includes categories of *edè*, *àyoro ewà* and *egun're*; they represent the totality of Ado ancestors and guardian spirits, they are the main repositories and agency of Ado philosophy and religion".²⁵ This sharp distinction shows that Irun Akoko may be immediate neighbour of Ekiti, their *Eegun* cultures are not synonymous in function.

However, none of these entertainment or ceremonial masquerades is prohibited from female spectacle. They are heavily involved as ceremonial Yeye *Eegun/Eeku*, who accompanied the masquerade during parade. H. U Beier adds

²²Interview with Abu Obademi, farmer, 91 years, oldest person in Daja. No. 9 Daja, Ajowa Akoko. 10th December, 2018.

²³ JDY Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, 109.

²⁴Interview with Dr Stephen Aroge, 68 years Pensioner and indigene of Irun Akoko. No. 7, road 2, Oba Ile Housing Estate. 7th December, 2018; Interview with Joanna Ibiwumi Momoh; Interview with Monisola Awotimi; Interview with Alfred Omotoyinbo, 110 years, No. 1/42 Ogo, Irun Akoko 14th December 2018.

²⁵Ishola, Olomola. "Contradictions in Yoruba Folk Beliefs Concerning Post-Life Existence: The Ado Example," *Journal des Africanistes*. 113.

that women participated by dancing during *Eegun* performance.²⁶ However, this category is not included in the spirit possession dialectics, rather, the fierce and powerful *Eeku* is the focus of this research, as they are the cults that possess *ori* and controls human activities.

In the strand of ritual and powerful *Eegun*; Ikare classifies them as *Sheeru*. *Sheeru* is from the etymology of the Yoruba word – “eru”, which means “fear”. *Sheeru* thus, means “to frighten”. This partly explains the reason, they are regarded as powerful. In fact, some are doubly regarded as *Imole (Orisa)* like *Gidigbe/Gudugbe* in Ikare, Irun and Ogbagi. *Olosoru* and *Elebita* were also powerful masquerades in Irun. The fierce masquerade is called *Ooku-Igbede* or simply *Igbede* in Oge and Afa. *Ighu Fifi* is the name for powerful masquerade in Isua and Sosan.²⁷ The paper proceeds by discussing some of these powerful masquerades, with the objective of straightening out how it controls human spirit through *ori* and the gender symbolism therein.

As noted above, *gidigbe/gudugbe*s powerful *eegun* that doubled as *imolein* Ikare, Ogbagi and Irun. “*Gidigbe*” is the pronunciation unique to Ikare, while “*gudugbe*” is exclusive to Ogbagi and Irun (Ikare neighbours). Besides, the process of the ritual festival is virtually same. C. O Akomolafe notes that the period of *Gidigbe* worship is a solemn dedication season for the populace, where no drumming or public jubilation is permitted.²⁸ The history of the deity is feminine. It is traced to a stranded woman, who was shown hospitality by a man known as Okeledo. Her *oriki* (cognomen) further confirms her gender: “Yeye yokoyoko atori eni i sunwon se, oke leyin Ikare...”. “Wonderful mother that changes the fortune of ill-fated one, the rock or pillar of Ikare...”.²⁹ During annual worship, a special bean cake called *Akara epa* (made with groundnuts) was used to invite *gidigbe* into the wearer’s *ori* for nine days. Apart from the fact that the wearer of *gidigbe* costume must be a member of Okeledo family, he must have been initiated through some ritual processes to connect his *ori* with *gidigbe* spirit. The regalia or costume, which is long-breasted (feminine dress), is the spirit oasis, as it transmits the masquerade spirit to the wearer and possesses him to re-invent herself as *yeyeyokoyoko*. Thus, the wearer may be man, *gidigbe* possession of his *ori* makes him *yeye* (mother) with masculine body. Besides, the severity and density of the power makes his biological gender of less concern.

Worshipped in the night, *gidigbe* detests reflection of light, rather prefers darkness as it re-energates ritual power. The *eegun* communicates in scary voice with the power of disappearing and re-appearing concurrently.³⁰ *Gidigbe* is consulted whenever any evil befell Ikare. Also, during the night rituals, women and men could make supplications through prayers. Women stay indoor

²⁶ H. U. Beier, ‘The Egungun cult among the Yorubas,’ *Présence Africaine, Nouvelle série, No. 18/19 (février-mai 1958)* <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24345513> Accessed: 22-11-2019, 35.

²⁷ Interview with Dr Stephen Aroge.

²⁸ C. O. Akomolafe, “Akoko under British Rule, 1900-1935”, An M.Phil. Thesis submitted to the Department of History, The University of Ife, Ile-Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University), 1976, 177

²⁹ Interview with Joanna Ibiwumi Momoh.

³⁰ Interview with Joanna Ibiwumi Momoh.

to make request and must drop a gift outside prior to his arrival. The current queen (Olori) of Olukare confirms this:

I have requested something from him before. I dropped schnapp (gin) at my doorstep prior to his arrival. When he approached, I quickly told him my request and added that my pledge was dropped outside and he should take it. He granted my request.³¹

Although the masquerade must not be seen by women, women could communicate and supplicate to the deity. *Gidigbe* could be compared with the popular *gelede* masquerade in western Yoruba. In the two masquerades, performers are males, the masks are costumed as feminine to stress the physical attributes of women.³² *Ososomu*, a variant of *gelede* also forbids women spectacle. However, reasons for prohibition vary in the two. *Ososomu* dislikes menstrual blood, while *gidigbe* forbids female sighting.

At Ogbagi and Irun, *gudugbe* worship is not entirely different. In Ogbagi, apart from the regular annual worship, it is worshipped whenever there is any major crisis in the town. Also, if any principal Chief dies, the cult must perform some rituals and everyone in the Odeyole clan is entitled to be involved in the rite, except females.³³ However, the "Olori-Obinrin" (ritual female head) in Ogbagi, affirms that, all masquerades, including *gudugbe* had *yeye eegun*, which is a female attached to the masquerade.³⁴ The female is already an initiate who must have passed through many traditional rites to fortify her from the taboo. She must also be an old woman in her post-menopausal age. The Olori-Obinrin also participated in fortification of *eegun* in the grove.³⁵ It is noon and night worship and the gazing taboo against women in Ikare are same in Ogbagi.³⁶ Meanwhile, the Ikare feminine costume is not obtainable, because historical developments that metamorphosed into the masquerade festival, are not totally similar.

In Irun, *gudugbe* is worshipped at Ifinmi quarter. In the same way it is used in funeral in Ogbagi, it is also used in commencing funeral rite of any aged indigene. As part of the funeral rite, some cultural displays are also involved as a form of power exhibition. For instance, they used *apaja*, sky-like rainbow, to commence rites; thin thread would be used to suspend *Odu*, a big pot for cloth dyeing in the sky; stem of plantain bunch would be buried in the ground and it would germinate and produce bunches of plantain immediately. Also, they could bury a tiny stick in the ground, invite giant youths to uproot it, but would

³¹Interview with Joanna Ibiwumi Momoh.

³² Henry John Drewal, 'Gelede Masquerade: Imagery and Motif' *African Arts*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Summer, 1974), pp. 8- (UCLA James S. Coleman African Studies Center) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3334883> Accessed: 22-11-2019. 10.

³³Interview with Juliana Adenola Rotifa, farmer, 75 years. A/20 Ada quarter, Ogbagi Akoko. 11th December 2018.

³⁴Interview with Ariojuowatile Bolatia, head, *Olobinrin*, Ogbagi.

³⁵Interview with Ariojuowatile Bolatia, head, *Olobinrin*, Ogbagi.

³⁶Interview with Juliana Adenola Rotifa

be impossible.³⁷ All these were used to exemplify the deity's power possessed by the initiates.

In the three communities, men and women could communicate with *gidigbe/gudugbe* in requesting from the deity. Women cook the feasting meal of *gidigbe/gudugbe* initiates in the communities, although, they must not eat from it, else, they would die after few days. Therefore, compensation for cooking is shown, by giving the women food items like yam, pig, goat and others.³⁸ This cooking, demystifies the claim of female non-participation. The relationship of the possessed as deity's bride also alters the gender exclusivity in the worship. They are regarded as wives of the deity because of the power relations between them.

Some researchers on Akoko submit that women had no place in *Eegun* worship. For example, C.O Akomolafe's claim that women had no place in the worship of *Eegun* in Akoko is not sustainable because of the efforts of *yeye* at fortification of *ori*. Akomolafe attests to the revered status of *gidigbe*, but the place of woman in the possession is not included in his work.³⁹ Although, spirit possession and female agency in *eegun* are not the objectives of Akomolafe's research, the sweeping submission: "...women had no place in the worship of *egungun* or other traditional gods...",⁴⁰ is too total in the purview of Akoko history – an heterogeneous subgroup. Besides, Akomolafe did not proceed to demonstrate any understanding of the cult institution to substantiate his assertion.

Imposition of male dominance is compromising in scholarship. It is not unlikely that he advances this submission based on modern cultural leanings, but it is a historical to generalise suppositions without empirical evidence. Besides, Akoko is far too diverse and fluid to be watertight in its gender history. Also, *Ifa*, the primordial divination oracle of Yoruba, emphasizes the place of women in *Odu* (Chapter) corpus. *Osun* has conclusive power over sacrifice, as *Odu Oseetura* centred on *Osun's* importance must be recited to complete incantations (to guarantee success).⁴¹ Besides, females were deified as goddess, apart from feminised entities like water, mountain and totems.

Apart from *gidigbe*, *ijalamo* and *ajalamo* are also *eegun* in Irun and Ogbagi respectively that are rich in spirit possession. *Ijalamo* is a special masquerade that come out during communal crisis. It comes out in the night and must not be seen by women.⁴² *Yeye* is also involved in inviting the deity into mask wearer at the grove, although this is not a feat she could boast of publicly.⁴³ It is a top state

³⁷ Interview with Alfred Omotoyinbo.

³⁸ Interview with Chief Aina Owolabi, the Bobatolu of Irun; Interview with Joanna Ibiwumi Momoh.

³⁹ C. O. Akomolafe, 'Akoko under British Rule, 1900-1935', An M.Phil. Thesis submitted to the Department of History, The University of Ife, Ile-Ife now Obafemi Awolowo University 1976, 177.

⁴⁰ C. O. Akomolafe, 'Akoko under British Rule, 1900-1935', An M.Phil. Thesis submitted to the Department of History,, 179.

⁴¹ Oyeronke Oyewumi, *What Gender is Motherhood?: Changing Yoruba Ideals of Power, Procreation and Identity in the Age of Modernity*, 32.

⁴² Interview with Chief Aina Owolabi, the Bobatolu of Irun.

⁴³ Interview with Alfred Omotoyinbo.

secret as her identity must not be known, just as the identity of *eegun* is also hidden in his masking attire, which shows that keeping secret is not gender-specific, grove activities must also be kept secret by all cult initiates.

Consequently, the popular Yoruba adage noted by Jackson and Mosadomi, "B'obinrin wawo ko gbodo wi", "If a woman knows about the cult/sees the cult, she must never say",⁴⁴ is not exclusive to female. Indeed, *eegun* is *awo* (secret), because *eegun* is supposed to be the spirit of ancestors, who had come to visit offspring, hence the bearer of *eegun*'s attire must not also boast of his human identity during or after procession. Thus, female and male must not divulge *awo*'s secret. In fact, Henry Drewal adds that ability to keep secret is congenital in female than male, while "... men usually open our secret to anybody and women have many secrets they will never tell...".⁴⁵ He further gives example of a male king in *Ifa* divination of *ogbe wori* who could not keep secrets and died afterwards.⁴⁶ Further research is needed to convincingly establish this.

In Irun, it is upheld that female presence in *eegun* grove is seriously forbidden, especially in *ajalamo*'s grove. Any woman sighted is beheaded. However, *Agbajo*, a female title for most powerful *yeye eegun* could join the returning procession of *ajalamo* back to the grove. Centrally, the entire *eegun* cult in which she is allowed membership are those whose groves are in Igbo Arera Ijan.⁴⁷ Also, *Agbajo* must be in post-menopausal age, otherwise her participation in the cult would prevent her from menstruating, hence no procreation. This implies that the cult interacted or impacted on female reproduction. However, it remains to be seen, whether, the procreation sanction is punishment for coming in contact with *ajalamo*'s powers or it detested menstrual blood. Menstrual prohibition seems to provide insight to non-total involvement of women.

Will Rea in a paper titled "Making History: The Modernity of Masquerade in Ikole Ekiti", examines a history of *ajalamo* in Ekiti. Rea notes, *ajalamo* was introduced from Isinbode Ekiti to Ikole Ekiti in early twentieth century. *Ajalamo* was not known earlier in any parts of Ekiti region before Isinbode.⁴⁸ However, it is not known whether *Ajalamo* was also introduced to Ogbagi from Isinbode or Ikole at the same period, but fierce features of the masquerade discussed, match the identity of Ogbagi's *ajalamo*. In other words, Ekiti's *ajalamo* and Akoko's *ajalamo* share some characteristics, which suggest correlations in the communities' practice. This may be probably true, owing to proximity of Ogbagi to Ekiti and dialectal affinities. Nonetheless, Rea did not discuss exception of any woman seeing the *Eegun*, like the case of Ogbagi. This removes female participation of any kind in Ekiti's *ajalamo*.

⁴⁴Joyce Marie Jackson and Fehintola Mosadomi, 'Cultural Continuities: Masking Traditions of the Black Mardi Gras Indians and the Yoruba Eeguns', Toyin Falola and Ann Genova. 156.

⁴⁵Henry John Drewal, 'Art and the Perception of Women in Yorùbá Culture', *Cahiers d'études Africaines*, Vol. 17, No. 68, 1977, doi: <https://doi.org/10.3406/cea.1977.2430> 547.

⁴⁶Henry John Drewal, 'Art and the Perception of Women in Yorùbá Culture', 547.

⁴⁷Interview with Chief Aina Owolabi, the Bobatolu of Irun.

⁴⁸Will Rea, 'Making History: The Modernity of Masquerade in Ikole Ekiti', *African Arts*, Vol. 41, No. 4 Winter, 2008, (UCLA James S. Coleman African Studies Center) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20447914> (Accessed: 22-11-2019), 18-19.

Rea's reference of *ajalamo's* powers reminisce spirit performance and its overwhelming power on *ori*:

The mask is said to be so powerful that it has beyond its appearance in performance. It is said that it talks or grunts while sitting in the rafters of the house it is stored in. Its power is such that while in performance it can overwhelm wearer, forcing the performer to fall to the ground and enter the earth. For this reason, the person doing the masquerade spend an intensive time before the biannual festival preparing himself with various medicines as protection from the mask. During the appearance of Ajalamo, at the biannual Oro Egigun, strangers are prohibited from leaving their houses. moves around the town men are said to throw eggs to "lighten its load." The mask is also said to attract flies and bees as it moves around the town, which, if they sting onlookers cause a sometimes fatal red rash to develop on the body.⁴⁹

Rea's account depicts the overwhelming power of *ajalamo* on *ori*. Unlike this Ekiti version, female initiates are part of *ori* fortification in *igbale* (masquerade grove). In most cases, post-menopausal women are chosen as initiates, because it is believed that post-menstrual stage carries more power than menstrual.

Drewal discusses post-menopausal women by noting that "purity and cleanliness" are attached to post-menopausal women in *gelede eegun*.⁵⁰ As noted earlier, menstruation is regarded as contamination which *gelede* like *ososomu* hates, hence, women who have passed menstrual age are regarded as clean and useful for *eegun* rituals. *Ososomu* detests menstruation because, the blood contains *ase* (authority) that could dissolve or disturb her powers.⁵¹ Hence, the power of menstrual blood makes it unclean. He further notes a ritual praise for women without the blood, "honor the one with the vagina that turns upside down without pouring blood (*iba obo to do ri ko do ti ko se eje*)".⁵² Absence of blood (menstruation) in the vagina accrues power to post-menopausal women, which is needed for fortifying mask wearers. Thus, they are actively involved in invoking the masquerade spirit into the performer's *ori*. The fortification is called *iwe-eegun* (literarily meaning bathing of masquerade) in many parts of Akoko. Masquerade spirit may not possess women, but they are indispensable in the process that leads up to the possession. In *eegun*, the possessed mask wearer has no exclusivity to the process or activation of his *ori inu*, collaborative effort of *yeye* and other initiates make it successful.

Above shows spirit possession is not gender specific. Gender in spirits scholarship is not novel in Yoruba studies. Oyewumi notes that spirits are not

⁴⁹Will Rea, 'Making History: The Modernity of Masquerade in Ikole Ekiti', 18.

⁵⁰Henry Drewal and Margaret Drewal, *Gelede: Art and Female Power among the Yoruba*, (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1983), 79.

⁵¹Henry Drewal and Margaret Drewal, *Gelede: Art and Female Power among the Yoruba*, 79.

⁵²Henry John Drewal, 'Art and the Perception of Women in Yorùbá Culture', *Cahiers d'études Africaines*, Vol. 17, No. 68, 1977, 550.

gendered, though it is sometimes masculinised. She argues against Toyin Falola's position that spirits are not gendered:

Toyin Falola has argued unconvincingly that the Yoruba market was supremely women's space. The reduction of the most public and the most inclusive space in the society to a gender-specific, exclusive "women's space" constitutes a gross misrepresentation...it was also believed that spirits dwelled in the marketplace and that orisa (gods), like Esu and other supernatural and invisible beings, were present in this arena. Could Falola tell us the "gender identity" of these invisible beings...it was understood that by midnight, the marketplace had to be vacated by humans and turned over to the spirits. Why, then, would Falola privilege those who occupied the market during the day over those who were present from midnight on?⁵³

Thus, masculinity is not always appropriate to homogenise history. The specialty of women in the fortification of *ori* and possession of their *ori* by *imole* make it inadequate to assign gender-specificity to spirit possession.

Conclusion

Spirit possession is popular in Yoruba studies. While some scholars like Matory and Hackett affirm female prominence in the practice, others uphold male domination. Apart from the fact that this study alleviates the dearth scholarship on Akoko, it shows indispensability of both sexes to the practise. Central to spirit possession is *ori-inu*: it is the unseen body part that connects with god's spirit. Across Yorubaland, *ori inu* is central to spirit possession. Everyone is believed to have *ori inu*, because human is spirit. It is not exclusive to any gender. It makes possession possible. It is the purveyor of power that submits the body to overall control of the spirit. In other words, without it, possession and control of the body would not be possible. Its activation makes gendering evident; woman and man have roles in the process that leads up to *ori* fortification. In eastern Yoruba, particularly Akoko, *imole* and *eegun* are major spirits that control *ori-inu*.

Ethnographic approach makes it possible for the researcher to have first-hand understanding of the major practices. Although strangers are not allowed to sight major rituals, some ritual items were used to discuss spirit fortification and female's role in it. *Imole* and *eegun* offer trajectories to study spirit possession. The fact that all deity priests are regarded as bride make their gender identity fluid. *Egba* deity possessed only men, but the festival is gendered because of the social hierarchy of husband/wife relationship between the priest and the deity. Also, the feminine stone used in activating the deity's power and subsequent possession depict gendering. *Hunmeh* is opposite of *Egba*, it possesses only women, but has no gender-specific audience. Women

⁵³Oyeronke Oyewumi, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota, 2010) 67 - 68.

are not masked as masquerades, but in a process called *iwe-eegun*, they are indispensable in invoking *eegun* spirit in the *ori* of mask wearers. Some of the masquerades like *gidigbe* has feminine history. In sum, in spirit possession, agency is gendered and interesting, which shows that gendering is rewarding to scholarship, because it unmutes social hierarchies and categories that have hitherto been consigned to nothingness.



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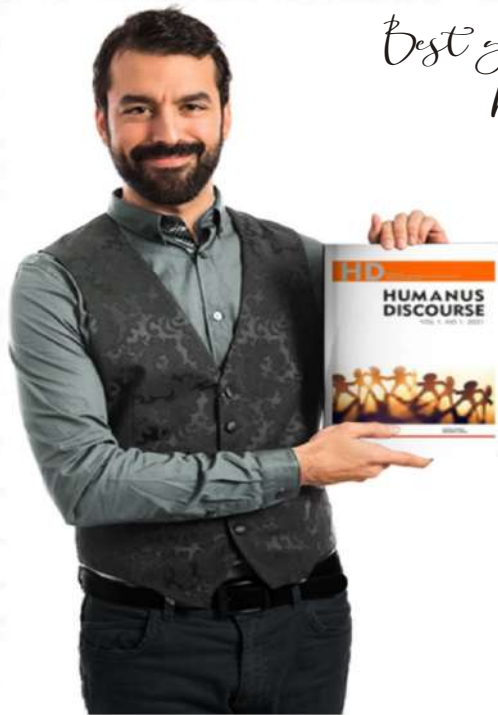
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