DIALOGUE ON SOCIETY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA:

Proceedings of the 2022 International Conference of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies (APAS)

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Dedication

In Memory of African Migrants, dead and alive

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INTRODUCTION

All that is valuable in human society depends upon the opportunity for development accorded the individual-Albert Einstein

The perspectives in this chapter focuses on issues bordering on Africa's underdevelopment as a contemporary society. Ignatius C. Uzondu's discourse centered on the *Appraisal Of The Impacts Of Migration On Development In Africa* and he succinctly captured the factors that mitigate the development of Africa as a continent and Nigeria in particular, which he also considered as a push factor for the migration of Africans. He, therefore, emphasized the need to create a conducive environment for the wellbeing of all in Africa, as a major step towards the development of the African society. Ignatius C. Uzondu avers that: "*Migration is necessarily good as migrant labour is desirable and necessary to sustain economic growth and helps the country in question to rise from economic recession towards economic prosperity. Migration is of paramount significance as far as transfer of manpower and skills are concerned and it as well provides the needed knowledge and innovation for global growth and development goals*".He observed that the leadership question, decline inthe quality of education, corruption menace that have been and is still the problem of African leaders, among other critical issues should be sources of concern for the contemporary African society.

On *The Influence of Formal Cultural Systems On employees' Performance In corporate Organizations in Kenya,*Nazarene Makena; Carolyne S. Mudeje Buya & Alice Kibui carefully analyzed the complexity and diversity of the different cultures in Africa that hinder the smooth running of corporate organizations; this they tied to the decline in ethical leadership. Ubuntu is, therefore, proposed as an African collective value which include elements of group solidarity, compassion, survival, and respect for the dignity of the human person. They argued that this could be a catalyst for the promotion of inclusive and cultural management in corporate organizations and thus, improve the quality of employees' performance.

Suleiman, Mohammed Saeed, & Ajadi, Saheed Kamaldeen on the *Assessment Of Impact Of Boko Haram Insurgency On Health Of Internally Displaced persons In North East, Nigeria* painted a picture of an agonizing and helpless citizenry in Northern Nigeria where Boko Haram and bandits have made life "nasty, brutish, and short". They provided some details and useful information on the impact of insurgency in the North-east of Nigeria and the health challenges faced by the IDPs as a

result of overcrowding, poor health provision, and unhygienic living conditions, incessant attacks on the available health facilities, restriction of health workers, among others. They argued that BHI has led to the absence of universal quality health service for IDPs and by implication, affects the universal quality health service delivery and reduces Nigeria's position in the universal socio-economic and health indexes.

Rodah Bonareri Mose, Carolyne S. Mudaje Buya & Alice Kibui in their discourse on Ethical *Leadership and Its Influence on Employee Response to Change in Faith Based-Health Organizations in Nairobi County, Kenya: An African Perspective* analyzes focused on how ethical leadership is paramount for employee adaptability and the need for an exemplary and charismatic leadership.They argued that leaders that lead by example are capable of influencing positive response from employee to improve work management, particularly health faith-based organizations in Kenya and Africa in general. They submitted that, "the success of any organization lies in the ways in which it manages change. Hence, ethical leadership is an important factor in influencing employee response to change. Leaders have a crucial role in leading change".

Zacharia Samita and Joseph Ouma Oindo on *Culture, Corruption And Commerce: African Culture Vis-a-Vis Corruption And Sustainable Development In Africa* present a remedy to cure and prevent corruption that has proven to be the greatest hindrance to development in Africa.They argued that the "African culture has values that can be effectively employed to curb persistent corruption within the continent".

Abalogu, Divine Maduka and Ekenedilichukwu Okolo on *Insecurity Challenges: Bane To National Development, The Nigerian Experience* argued that insecurity in Africa poses a great threat to the development of the continent. This chapter providedvaluable information on how to tackle insecurity in Nigeria and beyond.

Obodoegbulam Agi Otto, Stephen Egwuatu Amadi, & Iche Chidi Okpara on *An Analysis Of The Push Factor In Religio-Cultural Migration In The Central Niger Delta*focused the history of migration and the factors responsible for the migration of people from the Central Niger Delta region. In the final analysis, they posited that, "…. Any people that abandon their culture equally abandoned their existence and continuity".

Festus Chimezie Ajeh on *The 2003 General Election Violence In Nigeria: A Historical Analysis* presented a detailed understanding of electoral

violence before, during and after election in Nigeria since the fourth Republic of Democratic era. The author attributed this to weak political institutions and electoral processes. He posited that elections should not be a do or die affair but that each politician ought to eschew politics of bitterness and allow free and fair election to avoid violence.

Chinedu Emmanuel Nnatuanya, on *The Marriage Between The Academia And Electoral Fraud In Nigeria: A Histo-Religious Appraisal*pointed out clearly the roles played by some academia to perpetuate electoral fraud in Nigeria since the return of democracy in 1999 by manipulating the electoral process, doctoring results and rigging in favour of incompetent and unqualified political candidates into the corridor of power because of either monetary inducements, promise of appointments, material gains. This has resulted to many vices such as mismanagement of public resources, infrastructural collapse, high unemployment rate, insecurity and among others.

Rich N. Ekegbo, on *Linguistic Abuse of Grammar: The "m" And "n" Consonants Of The Igbo Language In View* presented the relationship between the spoken and written forms of language among the Igbo. The author noted that the aberration of the letters "m" and "n" consonants which has negative effects both in the writing of the grammar and spoken language itself and thus alters intended meanings.

Mary Linda Vivian Onuoha and Ngozi Ogbodo, on Ihuoma, *The Forbidden Fruit: An Exploratory Study Of Elechi Amadi's The Concubine*explored the four major characters portrayed in the Amadi's work. The research also focused on the culture and the worldview of the society of the Igbo as well as the beliefs in supernatural powers that control man's destiny against their own will.

Ann C. Onyekelu, on *Insecurity And Crime: A Threat To South East Of Nigeria Deeply Rooted In Unknown Gunmen*points out the paradigm shift in the youth's developmental attitudes from being respectful as it is customarily in community living to societal vices which have become inimical to the development of the African society. The paper studied the past, present and saw the need for urgent and concrete effort towards redeeming the Nigerian society.

Okoli, Hilary Chukwuduruo, on *Law As Identity: A Panacea For Africa's Regional And Continental Integration*presented the complexity of different schools of thought on law. The research placed emphasis on the importance of law, the social and political nature of man in the society

and according to the author, "law as identity is an inclusive concept of law that best addresses the myriad of social problems in Africa and thus, will abate the gap of Africa's regional and continental disintegration".

As you read through the pages of this dialogue on society and development, a dialogue that began at the 2022 International Conference of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies, may it open up greater channels for further discussions on the development of the African society.

APPRAISAL OF THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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Executive Summary

On a sober reflection on African development and the promises of globalization to the technological and economic advancements of Africa, one must have seen that the issue of migration has done more harm than good to the continent. Using the analytic method of inquiry and indeed critique, one finds out eminently that migration {emigration especially} in its international and intercontinental dimension is a negative continuation of globalization which in truth is a Trojan gift to Africa. Again, while the search for (personal, family and African) well-being (happiness, fulfillment or establishment) is the ultimate reason why migrants embark on their journey, in the course of this ultimate search, they are exposed to so many dangers like human trafficking, racial discrimination, exploitation, sexual abuses, brain drain, loss of identity, and the likes. Also, apart from urbanization and de-urbanization caused by migration, the researcher, constructively, suggested that African leaders should know that migration is now a serious existential reality of our time, find out ways to discourage incessant migration and, where inevitable, back up migrants with enabling empowerment and positive supervision. This is such that in whatever country they travel to, they would learn useful skills (skillful migration) and trade which will be useful to developing their individual countries when finally they come back home. Finally, African leaders should make good migration policies that should favour their own countries, and not leaving migration policy formation to Western and European leaders alone. The trend should be a "win-win" relationship between Africa and the host countries where these migrants go to.

Keywords: Migration, Development, Urbanization, Globalization, Africa

Introduction

Migration has been defined as "a movement of population within or between countries".[1] By implication, migration has two main dimensions. While 'migration' within a country can be seen in the influx of people from the rural and less-attractive areas to the urban centres with its variety of attraction, international migration (emigration) spells out movement from one country to another and could be "a response to other factors, such as threats against minority groups or warfare".[2]

In Africa, migrations, both within and between countries, have their specific causes. But, generally, reasons range from desires and passion to attain greener pasture by the migrant, or due to forceful ejection from homelands due to wars, conflicts and natural disasters such as flood, storms, etc.

In the context of this write up, no matter the reasons for migrations, the concern is an appraisal of the impact migration has on the host countries or places these migrants come from. This concern is basically due to the significance of migration to developmental process in Africa and to the development of Africa. Again, according to the United Nations study, "the relationship between migration and development is no longer as subject of disagreement among development practitioners".[3]

Analysis on the concept of development will expand this work to broader perceptions than was originally intended. However, in line with the context of the paper, one takes a leaf from the perspective cited by Lasbrey Ahunya. On citing Dudley, Lasbrey re-iterates that the questions to ask about a country's development are: "what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality?"[4]

Lasbrey goes further to hold that if the above-mentioned problems, poverty, unemployment and inequality have been growing worse in a country, then "it would be strange to call the result 'development' even if the per capital income had soared".[5]

If we go by the above argument, then, one would wonder the yardstick for qualifying Africa's development in the wake of the incessant migrations and emigrations that occur in great numbers annually. Yes, with the numbers of African migrants in the diaspora doing "very well"; and with the consistent drain of man power from the rural areas, with

the influx of the vibrant young people trooping into urban centres within the countries, how far have African countries contended with the problems of poverty, unemployment and inequality today?

Discussions on the causes or reasons for migration in its different dimensions revolved mainly around economic and educational reasons. However, the impact or the effect of migration especially on the home countries of the migrants indicates impacts that cut across a variety of factors. These range from social, political and cultural integrity of the home countries of migrants to economic, educational, and technological and other significant developmental objectives of these countries.

It is against this backdrop that this paper brings philosophical reflection and critical examination to bear on the nature of these claimed "impacts" in one sense, and how they affect the African continent in reasonable terms. So the thrust of this study is to seek justification for the contending claims to positive and negative insights to the trend of migration in Africa, and so make appropriate critique where necessary, and point out those issues that need to be looked into more critically.

Conceptual Clarification Of Terms
Migration/Emigration/Immigration
These terminologies are already clarified above, and we defined migration as movement of people from one place in the world to another. This is human migration. And we have types of human migration: Internal migration (movement within a state, country or continent); external migration (movement to a different state, country or continent); emigration (leaving one's country to move to another); immigration (moving into a new country); return migration (moving back to where one comes from); and seasonal migration (moving with each season or in response to labour climate conditions).[6] Migrants are people who move from one place to another in search of work or shelter. As we have dwelt more on the term "migration" in our introduction, we now briefly define Africa/African nations and development.

Africa/African Nations
Africa is the world's second largest and second most populous continent after Asia, at about 30.3 million Km2, including adjacent islands. It covers 6% of earth's total surface area and 20% of its land area. With 1.3 billion people as of 2018, it accounts for about 16% of the world's human population. Despite the wide range of natural resources, the continent is the least wealthy per capital in large part due to the legacies of European colonization in Africa. Despite this low

concentration of wealth, recent economic expansion and the large and young population make Africa an important economic market in the broader global context.

When we talk of African nations, we are talking of 54 countries in Africa: Nigeria, Ethiopia, Egypt, DR Congo, Tanzania, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Algeria, Sudan, Morocco, Angola, Mozambique, Ghana, Madagascar, Cameroon, Cote D'voire, Niger, Burkina Faso, Mali, Malawi, Zambia, Senegal, Chad, Somalia, Zimbabwe, Guinea, Rwanda, Benin, Burundi, Tunisia, South Sudan, Togo, Sierra Leone, Libya, Congo, Liberia, Central African Republic, Mauritania, Entrea, Namibia, Gambia, Botswana, Gabon, Lesotho Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius, Eswatini, Djibouti, Comoros, Cape Verde, Sao Tome & Principe, Seychelles. Included are four dependent territories: Reunion, Western Sahara, Mayotte and Saint Helena.

Development
The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines development as the process of gradually becoming bigger, stronger or more advanced.[7]

For Walter Rodney, it is "*an overall social process which is dependent upon the outcome of man's effort to deal with his natural environment*".[8] He thus sees development from an economic point of view. Development is a process that is on-going. In other words, it is dynamic rather than being static. According to Pantaleon Iroegbu, development means: "*the progressive unfolding of inner potentialities of a given reality. It is to de-envelope, that is to bring out to light existential, functional and epistemic, what was enveloped, folded or hidden*".[9]

Development is the unwrapping of potentials. In the same vein, Lebret holds that development has to do with growth and creativity of all human potentials achieved at the lowest possible cost in human suffering and in sacrificed value.[10] Human development in contrast to "envelopment" implies advancement, evolution, expansion, improvement, increase, progress, addition, boost, build up, enlargement, flowering, maturation, maturity, progression, reinforcement, ripening unfolding, elaborating, etc. Development means a progression from a simple or lower to a more advanced, matured or complex form or stage. It is also defined as a gradual advancement or growth through a series of progressive changes.

Development is a process, not a level. It is a path to achieve certain goals, a striving towards perfection.

In line with the above, Chuba Okadigbo holds that "development is a movement from bad or good to better, from better to best, from primitive to civilization, from stone age to machine age, from slavery to freedom, feudalism to capitalism, from illiteracy to literacy, from ignorance to wisdom, from abject poverty to relative richness, from colonialism to political independence, from political independence to economic development, from tribalism to nationalism, from nationalism to pan-Africanism". Truly, development is a many-sided process. It involves material, social, spiritual and moral dimensions. A genuine development is one that is accessed in terms of the welfare of human beings who at the same time serve as agents and shapers of the developmental process. This implies that the human person is indispensable, for he/she is the determinant of development.

Africa and Development
Without much emphasis on some theories of development, like modernization, globalization, dependency and world system theory, one sees immediately that African countries are under-developed and is characterized by poverty. All over towns and villages are faces of malnourished people, squalid living conditions, diseased with scanty medical facilities, roadside beggars, street children, etc. Thus, the fathers of African Synod write that:

> One common situation without any doubt is that Africa is full of problems. In all the nations, there is abject, tragic mismanagement of available scarce resources, political instability and social disorientation. The result stare us in the face: misery, wars, despair. In the world controlled by rich and powerful nations, Africa has practically become an irrelevant appendix, often forgotten and neglected. [11]

Corruption is the major factor militating African development. Gorge Ehuasani, writing on Nigeria, states that:

> Nigeria has been stripped naked by corrupt, greedy and callous elites. They have been humiliated, pauperized and reduced to a state of destitute by the combined forces of military dictatorship, political subterfuge, economic profligacy and moral degeneracy.[12]

The Nigerian state is corrupt and has been managed and even presently been managed by corrupt leaders who have made the state an instrument of capital accumulation, rather than using it for the interest or the development of the citizenry. Africans may have a good plan for

development, but as is supervised by corrupt leaders, they can hardly do a thorough job, as corruption and development are antithetical. As we proceed with migration and development, we have to see that migration reduces poverty in Africa and contributes to African developmental goals.

Sustainable Development
Sustainable development is the development that meets the need of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs. It is the idea that human societies must live and meet their needs without compromising the ability of the future generation to meet their own needs.[13] It is a way of organizing society so that it can exist in the long term, taking into account both the imperatives present and those of the future, such as the preservation of the environment and natural resources or social and economic equity.

Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
We have in the past, environmental protection, economic viability and socio-political equity, but nowadays, we talk of sustainable developmental goals which are the blue print to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all. They address the global challenges we face, including poverty, inequality, climate change, environmental degradation, peace and justice. Sustainable development goals are global goals or a collection of 17 interlinked global goals designed to be a blueprint to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all[14] (by 2030). The 17 SDGs were adapted by all United Nations member states in 2015 general assembly, with 169 targets to reach or to be achieved by 2030. The goals and targets are universal, meaning they apply to all countries around the world, not just poor countries. Here are the 17 sustainable development goals to transform our world: 1) No poverty; (2) Zero hunger (3) Good health and well-being (4) Quality education (5) Gender equality (6) Clean water and sanitation (7) Affordable and clean energy (8) Decent work and economic growth (9) Industry, innovation and infrastructure (10) Reduced inequality (11) Sustainable city and communities (12) Responsible consumption and production (13) Climate action (14) Life below water (15) Life on land (16) Peace and justice, strong institution (17) Partnership to achieve the goal.[15]

Effects of Migration on National Development (Positive and Negative)
There are obvious significant impacts of migration on the migrants, their homes, countries and the international community. Thus, Gumisai writes:

The benefits of migration go not only to developing countries, which now receive more than $165bn annually in remittances, money sent home by workers abroad."Remittances reduce poverty because they generate direct income transfers to the house holds".[16]

Going further to corroborate the claims above, David Khondour cited a recent conference on migration in Addis Ababa, in which positive contributions of migration to development is emphasized. In his reports, the positive contributions to attaining sustainable development goals (SDGs) are a fact. But there is need to announce specifically the migration- related targets. Beyond this requirement, "The SDGs recognize the need to protect the rights of immigrant workers, especially women migrants, adopt well managed migration policies and reduce remittance fees".[17]

According to the article:

Emigration can have a position impact on development. Remittances sent by migrants to developing countries - US. 436 billion dollars in 2014, represent more than three times the global flows of official development assistance. This stable source of financing can help reduce poverty, spur consumption, foster entrepreneurship, and increase households' investment in education and health. Diasporas can also send collective remittances to finance local development projects or help rebuild countries after natural disasters… When they travel home or communicate with their families in their countries of origin, migrants often transfer the values and behaviors observed in host countries.[18]

In another online-cited article on the impact of migration on mother countries, positive as well as negative effects of migration are mentioned.

The positive impacts of migration include reduction of unemployment (as people get better job opportunities); improvement on the quality of life of people; and improvement of social life of people as they learn new culture, customs and languages needed for peaceful coexistence. Migration of skilled workers also leads to a greater economic growth of the region. Migration ensures that children get better opportunities for higher education while the population density is reduced and birth rate decreases.[19]

Negative impacts of migration are reduction of persons from rural areas which has impact on the productivity and development of rural areas; the influx of workers in urban areas increases competition for jobs, homes, school facilities, etc; very large population in these urban centres put too much pressure on natural resources, amenities and services; and the uneven population distribution even among cities and places within the same country. Again, a lot of migrants are completely illiterate and uneducated and therefore are not just unfit for most jobs, but also lack basic knowledge and life skills. Migration enhances population increase in the slum areas in cities which leads to increase in problems such as unhygienic conditions and crime, etc. Sometimes these migrants are exploited, and migration tends to increase nuclear families' gap with their wider family circle.[20]

In summary, one can reasonably argue that while migration is a trend that has come to have relevance in international and local economy, its impact on the development of home countries remains an issue for debate. While some protagonists stress the positive effects more, some others see more of negative implications for home countries of the migrants. And so, while, "migrant countries are more concerned about the brain drain effect and the loss of their talented and young workforce", studies on the economic impact on sending countries "have shown that increasing emigration may be used to develop diasporas, thus giving the countries of origin *inter alia* the opportunity to foster economic development through difference channels".[21]

Africa and Migration Saga
Michael Ngila Muendane's book titled "I Am an African; Embrace Your Identity, Escape Victimization" goes a long way to emphasize the strong yearning of the African identity in our contemporary world. Despite the positive ties and promises to globalization today, the African identity and its affirmation in all aspects of development, education, culture, technological advancement, economic advancements, and political stability beg relevance in theory and in realization. The problem really does not lie in the concept of migration *per se*, but in the trend of migration in Africa within and beyond African borders, in the reason for the high rate of migration, the real causes, and the effects they have on contemporary Africa.
If we go down historical paths, the issue of migration of Africans, especially to non-African continents, had recorded more of forced ejection from the Africa soil in terms of slavery and human trafficking for the need for cheap labour on Western soil in exchange for material

gains like guns, mirrors and pieces of jewelry (what a shameful paradox). These Africans have longed stamped their identities in other worlds than Africa. You can imagine the resultant effect on the present fate of Africa.

However, there are reports on migration in pre-colonial Africa for various other reasons. Okoh Ogendo portrays that "it ranges from the search by communities for new habitats and opportunities; community response to droughts, floods, environmental degradation and similar disasters; to internecine wars, civil strife, and general hostilities."[22]

Today, the story is even more pathetic and smacks of genuine concerns as to how desperate most people are at leaving their homelands for other places for diverse reasons. These efforts at migration get desperate, as the impact on the migrants themselves in particular, and on the state of Africa's development calls for genuine but conscious questions as to what next and the journey so far. In his reports on the degree of desperateness exhibited by most migrants, Gumsai Mutume notes that;

> Sometimes, for months on end, young African men and women risk everything, including their lives, to take on the perilous trip across dozens of borders and treacherous waves of the Mediterranean sea in search of a better life in the North. Some die along the way, some are turned back and some who finish the journey realize that life may not be easier across the frontier. But with few jobs and din prospects at home, millions of youths and young adults in Africa still choose to migrate, often clandestinely.[23]

One big question one has to raise is what viable results have this spate of migrations produced for the migrants and mother Africa as well. For Gwendolyn Skinner, "whether as displaced people or labor migrants; millions of African migrants who have to work in search of livelihood often face rejection and victimization within new nations struggling with declining economies and population pressure".[24]

But beyond some individual misfortunes that befall these migrants, on a general note, the trend has not been a very nice one for Africa. And as Gwendolyn Skinner goes further to analyze:

> African migrant and immigrant workers, like European "guest workers" and illegal migrants from Latin America and the Caribbean to the United States are now part of a global movement of poor people attempting to improve their lives. These are the most recent victims in the long history of forced or

induced labor movement of millions of persons. Most of these people have been "pushed out" as a result of internal, usually ethnic, conflict exacerbated by international alliances or capitalist development. For the most part, African economies have remained underdeveloped and dependent on western capitalism.[25]

Philosophical Concern for the Trend of Migration in Contemporary Africa

The role of philosophy towards subjects of its interest has not fallen short of its 'Socratic gadfly's' duty, stinging out justification for claims held unto. Because migration, just like globalization, is a sensitive issue, migration concerns or affects individuals as human persons whose overall existence is supposed to be considered in checking its gains. This should be a crucial starting point. On the other hand, because Africa's integrity as people is at stake, issues pertaining to African development should go beyond economic concerns to check the overall aspects to evaluating true development. Beginning from the impact on the migrant himself or herself, Mondin maintains that:

> The modern and contemporary philosophers have obtained a whole new series of images of man, images which have often sparked great interest. For example: anguished man (Kierkegaard) economic man (Marx), erotic man (Freud), existence man (Heidegger), symbolic man (Cassirer), utopic man (Block), problematic man (Marcel), Cultural man (Gehlen), fallible man (Ricoear).[26]

When the migrant is viewed from this holistic vision of man, analysis of the impact of migration on the migrants would stand out. Similarly, if development is viewed as an all-round concept which takes the individual and social aspects of men in the developmental process, what seemingly looks like benefits, positive effects or even negative trends to development will be made clear. While one does not deny apparent gains that come with migration in economic terms, individually, and to the home countries and families of these migrants, an appraisal must consider other vital effects that migration carries along with it. This is in line with Ogugua's argument, that "some measures such as beauty, progress, efficiency and power, which some people have used to measure both culture and development, are weak".[27] Again, "when a holistic vision of man, capable of bringing about a total vision, is sought, such exercise "will generate a valid reality both in essence and purpose".[28]

Based on the above insights, therefore, such questions beg for justifications: How have the remittances from abroad actually helped to reduce poverty in Africa, and contribute to development? How has the teaming exit of Africa's young labour force to other countries enhanced development back home, while they are still in diaspora, and the villages are empty of energetic vibrant youths? Has migration improved the images of these migrants, giving them the desired respect as entities and placed them on par with their European and America counterparts? Can we really say of those migrants who were allowed entry only on grounds that their work skills as Labourers are needed for strictly economic reasons, that they are being treated as ends in themselves, or as a means as against the Kantian moral code? In Marxist terms, is the job employment agenda to boost the economy of developed countries and provide labour in those areas where their citizens feel too elated to work not a corroboration of Marxist accusation of alienation? Are Africans in diaspora doing what they enjoy doing if given the opportunity, or are their present jobs driven mostly by the economic benefits that accrue to them? What kind of job satisfaction are we talking about here? Why has the gap between the rich and the poor countries and the continent continued to deepen if migration essentially contributes to the development of sending countries? How honest are the international policies on migration? Are they not replicas of international advanced capitalism, false notion of globalization, and shrewd politics of the developed continents in the continued scheme to impoverish Africa, and retain the neo-colonial and imperialists dominion over Africa?

COVID 19 and Migration

The coronavirus pandemic, with the code name COVID-19, was the greatest menace encountered by man in the last days of the year 2019 and in the year 2020, and this paralyzed so many sectors in the worlds' economy. Migration was one of the sectors affected badly as not only was there total lockdown in the aviation sector, creating no room for local or international flights, there was also interstate lockdown, preventing interstate travels. And with the restriction of movement and total lockdown within the states, migration was not possible. Again, apart from the woes of the COVID-19 pandemic which are stated daily in our media, the pandemic has really prevented our youths from unnecessary migration and from dangers of human trafficking, racial discrimination, exploitation, dehumanization and the likes.

Critical Evaluation

Having dwelt much on migration, we have to note that migration, whether voluntary or forced, regular or irregular, refugees and the likes have really some advantages as well as disadvantages to both African and European countries. Migration is necessarily good as migrant labour is desirable and necessary to sustain economic growth and helps the country in question to rise from economic recession towards economic prosperity. Migration is of paramount significance as far as transfer of manpower and skills are concerned and it as well provides the needed knowledge and innovation for global growth and development goals. Migrants themselves, we know, get better places and through interactions/acculturation learn new ways of living or new and better culture as well. Indeed, we have to affirm that the most attractive part when one really x-rays the actual gain of migration to the African continent is the remittance of foreign currencies in form of Dollars, Euros, Pounds and the likes to the home countries by the migrants.

However, the pertinent question here is: How have the remittances from abroad helped to build sustainable but steady developmental projects without necessarily exporting her manpower and human resources? Bad leadership and corruption have been and is still the problem of African leaders/development. Thus, I.C Uzondu, emphasizing the need of value system re-orientation and ethical sanitization by Africans and her leaders, writes:

> Most Africans are self-centered and corrupt. Lack of self-discipline both as individuals and as a society is a major setback to the continent. Others includes corruption which is the decline in moral or ethical values, thereby getting into moral anarchy, modernization of values, much recognition and esteem to riches and intellects and conceptual debasement of leadership itself. Owing to the above evils, there is an urgent need for ethical sanitization and re-orientation of our value system.[29]

In the sphere of education, a pertinent question is, why must many youths and the likes travel abroad for studies whereas there are so many universities and tertiary institutions in Africa and Nigeria? Addressing this, one sees that African system of education, Nigeria for example, does not serve its proper objectives of promoting intellectual and personal development. Thus, Uzondu comments:

> We Africans are still hovering under the shackles of ignorance, colonialism and primitivity. We are not yet with authentic

education and political system, African leaders formulate educational policies without philosophical involvement, and our political and ideological re-orientation of the society is poor.[30]

Africans need to imbibe authentic education which in its fundamentality forms, informs and reforms both individuals and the African society at large, through change of mentality (mental education) and re-orientation and ethical sanitization. Thus, Uzondu, acknowledging education as a vehicle for change and transformation, writes that:

> Education plays an important role as far as holistic development of man is concerned. First, premium is placed on the development of human mind or cultivation of mind and this is seen to be fundamental of all development.[31]

On the side of work, Africans and her leaders should not only create job opportunities for the youths, they need to also hold in esteem the value of hardwork, and inculcate it into the youths for as Frank-Fanon said: work, over and above everything else defines the essence of man and likewise defines the existence of man.

Philosophically, other agitating questions that call for sober reflections, as far as the actual gain of migration to the African continent is concerned, are as follows: Has emigration to the Western world reduced poverty in Africa and contributed to development goal so far? What impact does migration in the sense of granting immigrants access to do those jobs (menial/medical) and otherwise, given the need to employ labour to satisfy the desire of the host countries, have on the mindset of young Africans? What image of the 'worker' does migration create on the minds of youngsters? Is migration an apologist or defeatist principle? Does it justify the dignity of the human person, or does it go against the Kantian principle of not taking human being as means to some ends? Are the Marxist and the Kantian principles and agenda of these Western countries not alienist in theory? What sort of job satisfaction are we talking about here? Is this a new form of imperialism? Why has the gap between the West and Africa continued to deepen? How honest are the interactional laws on migration? Are they meant to be wolves in sheep clothing (employed to keep Africa in a backward position)?

Basing on African/Nigerian leadership, one can ask: Are resources on ground not enough to build a sustainable but steady developmental project, without necessarily exporting her power and human resources?

Why can't the education system in Nigeria serve its proper objectives to promoting intellectual and personnel development? Why must people always travel out for further studies when there are so many tertiary institutions in Nigeria?

Conclusion

Migration has been and is still a major issue or challenge facing African nations. It has been on the increase as majority of the African youths migrate to Europe, Asia, America and the likes in search of greener pastures. This is owing to increasing rate of poverty in the African continent, which is caused by bad leadership, corruption and the likes. And this paper contends that migration (emigration, especially), in its international and intercontinental dimension, is a continuation of the globalization Trojan gift to Africa. There is, therefore, the need to look more closely into the issue of migration and specify clearly its true motives and objectives. This is because, beyond its apparent benefits are trends that are capable of destroying the African identity and integrity, but also of retarding the developmental pace in Africa.

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THE INFLUENCE OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL CULTURAL SYSTEMS ON EMPLOYEES' PERFORMANCE IN CORPORATE ORGANIZATIONS IN KENYA

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Executive Summary

Studies on organizational culture relate unethical conduct in the workplace as stemming from greed, lack of clear codes of ethics, impact of peer influence, among others. While that school of thought might be convincing, the entire concept of the root cause of either ethical or unethical behaviour among employees in corporate organizations has not been fully explored. In any organization where human beings from diverse backgrounds meet to work, there is a high chance that each of their cultural systems, together with that of their organization, determines their attitude and output within the work environment. Hence, it can be argued that employee ethical behaviour and performance are to a greater extent guided by some cultural systems. In that regard, this paper examines the extent to which formal and informal cultural systems such as adhocracy culture, clan culture, hierarchical culture, and market culture influence employees' performance in corporate organizations in Kenya. It further explores African ethics and shows how a loss in ethical leadership could also culminate into negative culture that ruins performance of employees in organizations. As a way forward, the paper argues that the adoption of African collective values of Ubuntu such as compassion, survival, group solidarity, respect and dignity could help in cultural management in corporate organizations and hence enhance employee ethical conduct,

positive energy and productivity. This paper is based on a desktop literature review of an ongoing research that is qualitative in nature and will use one higher learning institution in Langata Ward, Nairobi County for a case study.

Keywords: Formal and informal cultural systems, corporate organization, African ethics, Ubuntu, ethical leadership

Introduction
Culture is defined as "the holistic combination of learned and shared beliefs, values, and practices that create cohesion in a group and is the core concept within which anthropologists work. It is also dynamic; evolving based on the needs of the people within it and as one culture comes into contact with another"(Henson, 2021). Culture, as a way of life, generally controls every aspect of human behaviour. It is visible in social, economic and political spheres of lives. In the context of corporate organizations, culture steers the direction in which the daily undertakings of an organization proceed (Little, 2016). The result of the interface between formal or informal cultural systems and daily activities of an organization has given rise to what is in contemporary society generally referred to as corporate or organizational culture.

Culture is the foundation upon which organizations and institutions are built. The movers of culture in a corporate organization include constitutions, policies, procedures, terms of service, statutes, guidelines and strategies (Alvesson, 2002, p. 51).The author further states that culture also helps establish normative order in institutions by establishing standards in which its members operate in society. It also establishes certain rituals associated with the behaviour of its members; that is, a pattern of character or doing things associated with each group. Culture creates specific rites of passage and portrays key events in the communal life by creating an identity among its members and enables them to communicate and interact in a way they all understand and identify with (Wong, 2021).

However, there is a missing component in the culture of corporate organizations that is an African identity, which could help resolve the challenges that are evident in other common cultures in corporate organizations in Africa. If incorporated, African ethics can act as a guideline that seeks to bring together organizational cultural systems

and personal cultures by employees to enhance employee performance and ultimately the overall organization's performance. This paper seeks to identify the relationship between formal and informal cultural systems in corporate organizations and employee performance and, specifically, how African ethics can be explicitly recognized and incorporated within the cultural systems.

According to Kandula (2006), the key to good employee performance is a strong cultural system in an organization. Employee performance is "The degree of an achievement to which employees fulfil the organizational mission" (Awadh & Saad, 2013). Cultural systems in an organization may stem from different sources. The main source is mostly the founders' beliefs, as well as learning experience of group members and new beliefs and assumptions of new members (Benter & Datche, 2016).

The impact of corporate cultural systems on performance occurs when founders impose their personal experiences and culture on their employees and partners within the organization. This can affect employee's performance, both positively and negatively (Tedla, 2016). Unger et al. (2014) found the existence of a positive relationship between cultural systems and employee performance. In another empirical study, Flamholtz and Randle (2012) found 46% of corporate earnings are affected by cultural system effectiveness. However, Berg and Wilderom (2012) argued that cultural systems might affect employee performance, where the change is a longer time interval. For instance, Meyer (2019) states that in the Apple Inc Company, Steve Job imposed his assumptions and personal culture on his employees, creating a strong and a successful cultural system. However, imposing one's beliefs on employees creates conflict and a toxic work environment. Cultural system is dynamic and varies from organization to organization, depending on the industry and location. A strong positive culture can make employees perform brilliantly and achieve great success. On the other hand, a negative culture can breed unethical conduct, hence affecting employee and organizational performance (SHRM, 2017).

Formal and Informal Cultural Systems and Employee Performance
Corporate or organizational culture often determines how employees carry out their duties. According to Businessballs (2022), cultural systems bind the workforce together and provide direction for the company. Cultural systems can have varying influence on employee performance and motivation levels. For instance, studies have shown

that employees work harder to achieve organizational goals if they consider themselves as part of the cooperate environment. This is particularly viable in corporate organizations that practice informal cultural systems where employees have the freedom to be creative and have control of their own tasks, hence increasing productivity (Okore, 2020).

Identifying a cultural system enables an organization to reach its desired efficiency, depending on the mission and vision of the organization. Scholars have demonstrated that there are different types of cultural systems and they each play a role in employee performance (Akpa, Olalekan, & Nneji, 2021, p. 3). They can be classified into formal and informal cultural systems. A Formal cultural system is characterized by written policies, operating procedures and the management structure. It also includes the mission statement and values of an organization and the foundation on which the organization is built. It is purposely planned. The formal cultural system is deliberately impersonal and does not take into consideration the sentiments of organizational members (SHRM, 2017).

The most common types of formal cultural systems include: hierarchical culture whose primary focus is structure and stability. Organizations with such a culture adhere to the set organizational structure (Gaille, 2018). There is a clear chain of command and multiple management tiers that separate employees and leadership. Due to the clear direction and well-defined processes, employees tend to perform well (Schein, 2004). On the other hand, hierarchical culture could have adverse effects on employee performance. Due to its rigidity, the hierarchical culture leaves very little or no room for creativity. It also loses touch of the social aspect of the work place as the organization takes precedence over the individual which can be detrimental to employee performance, because employees perform better when they feel like they belong to a group or a family. This culture can sometimes give life to an "us-versus-them" mentality. In this, the more junior employees feel disconnected from the more senior employees (Khaire & Amabile, 2008).

Another type of a formal cultural system is the market culture whose main focus is competition and growth. Market culture puts precedence on profits and bottom line and is characterized by the separation of roles between the employees and the leadership of the organization (Şahin & Güngör, 2018). This can lead to unhealthy competition among employees, which in turn can kill the team-work spirit. It can further

contribute to employee burn-out from all the high expectations and constant demands for profits which will lead to lower performance (Businessballs, 2022).

On the other hand, an informal cultural system refers to the relationship between people in the organization based on personal attitudes, emotions, prejudices, likes, dislikes etc. The informal cultural system consists of the personal relationships and means of communication that are often necessary to accomplishing the work of the organization but are not a part of the formal organization structure (Nandini, 2021). The informal cultural system is characterized by "personal relationships, communities of shared interest, and social networks that arise as employees associate with one another in a workplace setting. How employees think, behave, and interact with one another in an informal cultural system is based on those personal relationships" (Heinz, 2022). Examples of informal cultural systems include: adhocracy culture which is flexible and not limited by bureaucratic procedures and policies. Lacatus (2013) states that this type of informal cultural system focuses more on innovation and improvements. It has an extremely fast environment and the status quo, though it may be working, could be challenged. Adhocracy culture affects employee performance in that decisions are made very fast according to the immediate needs and there is a lot of flexibility. "It gives employees a sense of pride which in turn affects employee performance positively. This leads to a very strong group identity" (Harrapa, 2021). It can, however, lead to ineffective communication due to its being low on hierarchy which could ultimately affect performance negatively (Lacatus, 2013). Another form of informal cultural system is the clan culture.

> The clan culture is people-focused and the work environment always feels family-like. It is highly collaborative and every employee feels valued and communication is top priority. It is characterized by high rates of employee engagement and has an adaptable environment (Şahin & Güngör, 2018). Clan culture encourages social interaction and collaboration which positively affects employee performance. This is because the clan organizational culture refers to "a large family-like organization based on the mutual support of its tightly connected members, who work like a team" (Şahin & Güngör, 2018). The main assets of such an organization are commitment built through mentorship and consequently personal growth and friendly workplace (Lacatus, 2013).

However, Krackhardt & Hanson (1993) state that because of its exclusivity, the informal cultural system can lead to a very closed-off environment where employees are unwilling to work with people outside their own network. Informal cultural system evolves over time and is a network of relationships that exist within an organization. The relationships arise due to common interests or friendships among employees. These relationships can be across divisions and it is where daily interactions between members of staff take place. This informal cultural system may be different from that which is set out on paper. Nandini (2021) states that informal cultural systems develop when: employees come up with new ways of working which not only save their time but are easier for them. The Informal cultural system further develops when interactions among employees in the work place are shaped by friendship groupings and other relationships. The author further states that informal cultural system could be formed when employees forget what the formal structures in the corporate organization are, since it is easier to work in an informal setting.

Informal cultural systems could also stem from employees having different goals from those of the corporate organization. When the employees have similar goals, they tend to gravitate together. Informal cultural systems could also emanate from employees that are natural leaders and hence tend to lead a group, even though they do not have official managerial positions in the corporate organization. Nandini (2021) states that the management of cultural systems can make use of the advantages that informal cultural systems present in corporate organizations. However, in order to do this, the management should first recognize the advantages of informal cultural systems. The advantages include: higher levels of motivation are realized if the management works with the informal groups within various departments which increases employee performance. Also, informal networks in a corporate setting are better through informal networks. This is because in informal networks, there is much more freedom of expression and relaxed bureaucracy in terms of channelling communication. This leads to increased innovation and motivation of the employees which ultimately helps the corporate organization to succeed. Informal cultural system further gives employees a sense of satisfaction and stability, hence increasing productivity and job performance (Nandini, 2021).

However, if not well managed, informal cultural systems could have adverse effects on employee performance in organizations. Previous studies have demonstrated that the disadvantages of informal cultural

systems include: there could be misinterpretation of communication that takes place within an informal culture. This is due to the lack of structures that control the channelling communication which happens in a formal setting (Mooney, 2021). Further, there could be resistance to change by the employees in informal cultural systems, due to the fact that there could be possible conflict between the formal and informal cultural systems in the organization. This resistance could affect employee performance which leads to the corporate organization inefficiently meeting their objectives. Another disadvantage, according to Nandini (2021), is that the informal cultural system could potentially exert strong pressures for conformity.

Despite the cited advantages of both formal and informal cultural systems, they can both be difficult to implement due to the fact that the implementers of the set cultures are employees. It can be argued that due to the fact that employees come into organizations with different cultural orientations that stem from different upbringing and social orientation, it could be difficult integrate cultural systems and employee's personal cultural beliefs in order to enhance performance.

Negative cultural systems such as lack of trust among employees or between employees and management can easily lead to lower productivity, hence affecting performance(Tedla, 2016, p. 37). Corporate leaders could take measures and integrate the formal and informal cultures in order to optimize employee performance. Tedla (2016) proposes the following measures: first, there could be adaption of the informal structure to complement the formal one. Secondly, maintaining a looser formal cultural system so that the informal structure can thrive and the organizational management could recognize the informal cultural system in decision making. As demonstrated, both formal and informal cultures have positive and adverse influences on employee performance in organizations. The culture adopted within an organization determines how well employees will perform (Tedla, 2016).

Higher Learning Institutions and Formal and Informal Cultural Systems

According to Coman & Bonciu (2016), higher learning institutions are similar to corporate organizations in many ways. They have structures and processes, missions, goals and strategies to reach those goals, and as in the case of business organizations, higher learning institutions are influenced by powerful, external forces such as demographic, economic

and political conditions; yet, they are also shaped by strong forces of individual cultural orientation of employees that emanate from within. This internal dynamic has its roots in the history of the organization and derives its force from its values, processes and goals (Hatch & Schultz, 2022). "A higher learning institution's culture is reflected in what is done by members of the organization, how it is done and who is involved in doing it" (Coman & Bonciu, 2016). They further state that, "It concerns decisions, actions and communication, both on an instrumental and a symbolic level and involves stories, special language, norms, institutional ideology and attitudes that emerge from individual and organizational behavior" (Coman & Bonciu, 2016). Previous studies have demonstrated that in most higher learning institutions, the most dominant cultural system is hierarchical cultural system. For instance, (Şahin & Güngör, 2018) state that although every higher learning institution has its own cultural systems, the most dominant cultural system is the hierarchical culture, followed by market culture which fall under the category of formal cultural systems. Although it works based on its advantages, this type of culture lacks the social aspect and consideration of employees in organizations. This leads to demotivation of employees and lack of innovation as it hinders creativity, hence lowering productivity or performance among employees (Businessballs, 2022). In order to optimize performance, employees must have a sense of belonging and connectivity within a corporate setting. It can be argued that if the leadership of higher learning institutions creates a cultural system whereby the efforts and contributions of employees to the university community are appreciated, then employee performance is eminent. This can be realized by blending both the formal and informal cultural systems in higher learning institutions.

If the management insists on maintaining one form of formal cultural system, then, there could be the risk of breeding unethical behaviour. For instance, Katundano (2021) states that within a higher learning institution, the employees could develop a habit of not performing their duties as expected, which is largely as a result of the senior leadership being rigid and valuing the interest of the organization more than that of the employees. A strong positive culture leads to happier employees which makes them more productive. This is because strong and weak organizational cultures point that productivity boost is likely due to employee motivation which increases significantly in companies where employees' basic needs are met through a strong culture (Wong, 2021). It can further be argued that the emphasis on the practice of hierarchical culture solely in higher learning institutions brings about challenges. As

discussed, the hierarchical culture detaches the employee needs in the organization which lowers employee performance. The most lacking issue in hierarchical culture is the lack of collaboration outside particular groups in the organization which hinders creativity and could lead to dormancy, both on employee personal development and performance, ultimately affecting the organization's performance(Gaille, 2018). The advantages and disadvantages of a hierarchical organizational structure involve communication, innovation and collaboration. "There must be strategies in place to deal with the potential negatives which like to occur under this structure. If no effort is made to deal with the negativity, then an organization becomes more likely to fail because its people are stuck into their specific roles, afraid of what may happen if they try to move forward"(Gaille, 2018).

The author further argues that the hierarchical cultural system has a top-down approach where those at bottom are given very little respect, while those at the top are given too much respect which creates a culture of unequal respect. This leads to employees becoming less motivated and could be less respectful. He further states that such culture of unequal treatment could lead to the leadership team being awarded perks that they may not have earned at the expense of the high-skill employee, which is unethical. Employees could either give the bare minimum, in terms of performance, or even quit employment which could lead to high turnover in the organization(Gaille, 2018).

It is, therefore, paramount for organizational leaders in higher learning institutions to deliberately come up with ways of the conveyance of the formal and informal cultures in order to harness the strengths of both cultures. In this case, the informal culture could be strengthened to complement the formal culture. This study proposes the consideration of African ethics as a link between the formal and the informal culture. Considering the importance of culture, particularly at individual level where it gives the sense of identity, organizations in Africa with employees from the African continent should recognize the importance of cultural identity to individuals. The employees should be allowed to be guided by their positive cultural identities to guide their daily routines. This is because as demonstrated in the study, the other common formula of organizational cultures, like in higher learning institutions, is a system and not people-oriented. This affects performance which necessitates the incorporation of African ethics in the corporate cultural systems. As a strategy, Ubuntu could be entrenched in the core values of higher learning institutions and has to be deliberately entrenched by organizational leaders.

African Ethics *Ubuntu* and Formal and Informal Cultural Systems

Building a strong positive cultural system in an organization is an intentional act. A positive work culture "is one that prioritizes the well-being of employees, offers support at all levels within the organization, and has policies in place that encourage respect, trust, empathy, and support"(Andreev, 2022). It is characterized by: "Treating colleagues as friends, caring for them, and being interested in their wellbeing, supporting colleagues and offering compassion and kindness in times of need, forgiving mistakes and not assigning blame, working to inspire each other, finding and emphasizing meaningful aspects of the work and Prioritizing trust, respect, gratitude, and integrity"(Andreev, 2022). Due to the unprecedented change and rapid technological advancements, employees entering the workforce come in with misleading assumptions such as the fact that millennials are distinctly different from other generations (Molefe, 2018). People are naturally different; therefore, they have different theories, opinions and experiences, which make us think differently about the business success and what the strategic drivers are, or should be used at different points.

It should, however, be recognized that building a strong positive culture takes a long time and can possibly take years to build. According to Wong (2021), the most effective way to develop a positive culture is by assessing how employees in the organization currently feel about the culture in place. As a way forward, this study recommends the adoption of African ethics, which is exemplified in *Ubuntu*, in the creation of positive cultural systems which would lead to better employee performance. *Ubuntu* in literal translation is "I am because you are which is a part of the Zulu phrase *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* which literally means that a person is a person through other people" (Ifejika, 2006).*Ubuntu* advocates for collective values such as communality, respect, dignity, acceptance, sharing, co- responsibility, humaneness, social justice, fairness, compassion, joy, love, fulfilment, among others (Heinz, 2022). Ifejika (2006) states that Ubuntu has its roots in humanist African philosophy, where the idea of community is one of the building blocks of society. *Ubuntu* does not only give strength to employees in an organization, but it is also very important for survival in general. It can be incredibly difficult for people in organizations to work together, no matter how competent and intelligent they are. This could be due to cultural differences and the difficulty in adapting the existing organizational culture. This makes the *Ubuntu* philosophy very important in corporate organizations, especially in Africa.

Ubuntu philosophy can enhance inclusivity in organizations. This incorporating its basic tenets in building cultural systems can bring more efficiency and productivity to the workplace because it allows the workload to be shared, and as a result, reduces the pressure on individuals and ensures tasks are completed within a set time frame. Mangaliso, Mangaliso, Knipes & Jean-Denis (2018) state that previous studies have shown that the African worldview of Ubuntu which emphasizes on compassion and community among actors in corporate settings benefits the organizations that incorporate its principles and practices. They further state that "Ubuntu has been discussed in a wide variety of social science disciplines, including human resource management, leadership, psychology, philosophy, theology and business ethics" (Mangaliso, Mangaliso, Knipes, & Jean-Denis, 2018).

Ubuntu values place importance on the dignity of the human person, irrespective of race, gender, or creed. Furthermore, the practice of Ubuntu in an organization provides great learning opportunities by encouraging diversity where people gain insight from different perspectives and learn new concepts from more experienced colleagues (Mangaliso, Mangaliso, Knipes, & Jean-Denis, 2018). These authors further assert that *Ubuntu* also encourages collaboration and teamwork. Mutual support, shared goals, cooperation and encouragement are so necessary in the work place. With such a culture, employees are able to feel a greater sense of accomplishment when they are collectively responsible for the organization's outcomes.

On the contrary, if cutthroat competition is encouraged in the organization, it can easily kill the spirit of oneness. From the foregoing, compassion, care, survival, group solidarity, respect and dignity are all definitive of Ubuntu. They are key values that are required in cultural management in corporate organizations to enhance employee performance. As a way forward, leaders can enhance their effectiveness and increase employee productivity in African corporate organizations by setting ethical values of the Ubuntu philosophy as a framework for developing and transmitting their culture. The consequence would be an ethical culture that emphasizes both the desire and practice to be moral, from the leader down to the employees.

Conclusion
As demonstrated, both formal and informal cultural systems have positive and adverse influences on employee performance in organizations; that the culture adopted within an organization

determines how well employees will perform and ultimately the organization's performance. This necessitates the need to integrate performance and culture in order to optimize performance in institutions. The findings of this study showed that the cultural systems adopted in an organization are associated with how well employees perform. It has further provided evidence from previous studies that have suggested that formal and informal cultural systems have implications on employee performance and ethical conduct within an organization. This paper has also highlighted the importance of harmonizing the formal and informal cultural systems in order to balance the shortcomings of each. To do this, the study proposed using the African ethics (Ubuntu philosophy) principles as a link to addressing the challenges experienced on both the formal and informal cultural systems.

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ASSESSMENT OF IMPACT OF BOKO HARAM INSURGENCY ON HEALTH OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS IN NORTH EAST, NIGERIA

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Executive Summary

Boko Haram Insurgency (BHI) constitutes one of the global most worrisome phenomenons and the number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Northern Nigeria has risen tremendously due to BHI attacks. IDPs are faced with health and socio-economic challenges and it affects their pattern of living especially for the weak among them. This study assesses the Impact of the Boko Haram Insurgency on the Health of Internally Displaced Persons in North East, Nigeria. This study was qualitative, thus it utilized in-depth interviews to pull together information from the key informants who are IDPs, health workers, social workers, traditional leaders, and members of the community as its method. This paper argues that the present situation of raising BHI has undermined the universal quality health service for IDPs and by implication weakens it and makes it unfeasible. This paper asserts that despite the efforts of the government and other stakeholders in providing support for the IDPs, however, BHI has threatened the efficiency of health services to IDPs owing to several factors such as overcrowding, poor and unhygienic living conditions of IDPs, health service provision, attacks on health facilities and personnel and restrictions of the health of health workers. The study argued that BHI has led to the absence of universal quality health service for IDPs and by implication, affects the universal quality health service delivery and reduces Nigeria's position in the universal socio-economic and health indexes.

Keywords: Boko Haram, IDPs, Impact, Insurgency, Universal Health,

Introduction

Nigeria as a country is faced with brutal internal security terrorization and Boko Haram Insurgency [BHI] currently and the emergence of BHI attacks has led to several Internally Displaced Persons [IDPs] leading to the movement of people from one area to another area for safety as observed by Umar, Suleiman, and Magaji (2018) that Nigeria as a state recently remains besieged in internal insurgencies ranging from different types of the uprising and resulted in the flow of thousands of refugees from one area to another. Insurgencies are considered one of the major barriers to social, political, and quality health services in Africa as observed that between 2000 to 2017, the number of internally displaced persons rose by over 10 million (Martin, 2018). Thus, insurgencies form part of the major challenges to societal freedom from strife and development.

In a related development, the socio-economic authenticity of Northern Nigeria is rooted in the colonial period and amplified by corruption and bad governance, and by implication, the situation has produced a favourable atmosphere for various dissident movements that make use of religious narratives to gain legitimacy such as the Maitatsine riot in the 1980s in Kano state, the recurrent Shiite-Government clashes, and so many other preaching and sermons by individual scholars that refuted the western-oriented and secular system of Nigeria while Boko Haram emerged from this discontentment and turned violent in 2009 (Oyewole, 2017).

Boko Haram as an ideology is linked directly to the global web of radical Islamists' philosophy and discourse and the doctrines of Boko Haram are derived from the mainstream radical Islamist ideological narratives inclined by Yusuf based on the principles of rejecting conventional education, condemnation of secularism and westernization, and the incompatibility of Islam with democracy (Raineri & Martini, 2017). Similarly, as a strategy, Boko Haram prefers always to be on the offensive than the defensive by implication; the group makes use of attacks tactics such as ambushes, raids, and assaults against poorly defended targets and the victims are law enforcement agents, religious and political figures, essential infrastructures, and financial institutions and other business establishments (Regens, Mould, Vernon, & Montgomery, 2016). Thus, these attacks by Boko Haram radiate misgivings in the minds of citizens of the government's failure to secure them and make them feel unprotected and vulnerable and resulting in the flow of thousands of

people to internally displaced person camps seeking shelter, protection, and other support.

It is worth noting that IDPs can be described as individuals that are forcefully ejected from their places of dwelling as noted by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre [IDMC] (2018) that globally displacement of people from their place of domicile has become a recurring problem with social, health and economic burden. It is observed that BHI continue to worsen the breakdown of health facilities infrastructure, shortage of health professional and manpower, while lack of available information on IDPs with health challenges, physical and psychological shock, and poor accessibility to medical facilities has worsened the living conditions of IDPs as noted by IDMC (2018), Norwegian Refugee Council [NRC] (2017) that lack of data has been accountable for why many IDPs lived in both official and unofficial camps, frequently with illness, physical and psychological trauma and least access to health care and essentials like food, clothing, shelter, clean water and good sanitary conditions have deteriorated the living pattern of IDPs.

In a related development, to achieve quality health service, especially among the IDPs, comprehensive health care is required as observed by World Bank [WB] (2018) report on achieving quality health service in the year 2030 that there is a rising acknowledgement that health service cannot be accomplished only by medical infrastructure, medical supplies and health care providers, there is need for a deliberate centre of attention on quality health services. Thus, the study investigates the Impact of the Boko Haram Insurgency on the Health of Internally Displaced Persons in North East, Nigeria.

Research Problem

The main drivers of forced human displacement have been attributed to global natural disasters and armed human conflicts and the developing nations are worse affected by unplanned human displacement as explained by Ngige, Badekale, and Hammanjoda (2016) that around the globe insurgency has sadly become one of the defining features of our society today.

Forced displacement has been expressed as the movements of refugees and internally displaced people or persons that are either displaced by conflicts, natural or environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects (Migration Data Portal, [MDP] 2018). Thus, there are two broad categories of factors attributable

to forced human evictions which are conflicts and natural disasters. It is pertinent to mention that sub-Saharan Africa is having the largest number and worse cases of IDPs as observed by Kevin (2018) that in Africa continent sub-Saharan region is the worst hit in terms of IDPs and the continent keep on to witness an increasing number of IDPs notwithstanding the efforts to have this occurrence mitigated. It is worth noting that Nigeria as a country is not left out of the affliction of IDPs as noted by Heerten and Moses (2017) that Nigeria like other nations in the troubled sub- Sahara Africa is not free from the woes of IDPs.

Hence, with the emergence of BHI, Nigeria has the highest number of IDPs as observed by NRC (2017) since the escalation of the Boko Haram insurgency into a deadly conflict in 2009, the phenomenon has forced many people to flee their homes and consequently, Nigeria has become the country with the highest number of IDPs in Sub-Saharan Africa. Similarly, it is observed that women and children form the highest number of IDPs as noted by Displacement Tracking Matrix [DTM] (2017) revealed that women and children formed 79 percent of the IDPs population, and children under five years account for 28 percent. Similarly, this study observed that displaced women and girls have been the worse hit as access to basic rights and health services, including gender-based violence in camps often undermined durable solutions, Thus, by implication, there is a serious concern that the quality of health service is not available for IDPs,

In addition, there are four classifications or categorizations of the stages of displacement as pointed out by the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] (2018) that displacement can be categorized into 4 Major stages such as pre-displacement, acute displacement, stable displacement, and durable solutions. It is also important to note that all these states where the IDPs seek shelter, protection, and other assistance are also affected by the BHI which led to a struggle over the inadequate resources between the IDPs and the host communities (Eweka & Olusegun, 2016). Thus, BHI has led to serious competition over the limited resources between the host communities and IDPs and by implication can lead to another form of tragedy. Similarly, IDPs are faced with challenges of poor accessibility to food, nutrition, healthcare, shelter, water, sanitation, and education among others as pointed out by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs [UNOCHA] (2018) that IDPs in north-east Nigeria are in desperate need of life-saving assistance such as food and nutrition,

healthcare, shelter, and non-food items, potable water and improved sanitation and hygiene condition.

It is observed that IDPs experience serious neglect and face many challenges ranging from poor government policies, sexual abuse, poor shelter, and food as well as the absence of quality health service and by implication undermining the reintegration of IDPs into the communities and getting long-lasting way out of the challenges facing the IDPs. Therefore, it can be deduced that BHI creates an unbearable challenge to IDPs, thus, provoking and deterioration of the health conditions of IDPs despite the effort put in place by the government to improve the poor health condition of the IDPs. Hence, the study examines the Impact of the Boko Haram Insurgency on the Health of Internally Displaced Persons in North East, Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework
This study adopts the Social Inclusion Theory as a guide for this study. However, this is not to undermine other theoretical constructs that have been utilized to elucidate the phenomenon under review. According to Robo (2014), the Social Inclusion Theory entails the provisions of the basic needs of the people in a given society and can lead to a sense of belonging among the people. Thus, IDPs required basic necessities of life due to their susceptibility to society and substantiates the needs of the IDPs in Nigeria; the theory is centred on the group of people who require support due to their current situation.

The Charity Commission [TCC] (2001) described social inclusion as the actions taken with anticipation to change the circumstances of the people for the better. Warschauer (2003) sees social inclusion as the extent to which individuals can fully participate in society. Similarly, Robo (2014) explained that some values form the basis of the social inclusion theory such as everyone needs support, can learn, can contribute, can communicate, and live together in better conditions. Therefore, everyone in society required certain values for their survival. As observed by this study, the IDPs in the North East required good health care as well as other basic values of life in their continued existence as members of society.

To this end, the Social Inclusive Theory is suitable for this study because of its focus on access to universal health care for IDPs and also supports the integration of the IDPs into the larger society. This study that if IDPs are well supported and given all the necessary care can lead to attaining the universal quality health service for IDPs and by

implication, promoting the universal quality health service delivery and increasing Nigeria's position in the universal socio-economic and health indexes.

Methodology
Study Area: The study took place in North East Nigeria. The selected areas of the study are Yobe, Borno, and Adamawa states. It is imperative to point out that many households in the study locations are into subsistence agriculture and engage in mixed farming systems. The main food crops in the study sites are rice, beans, millets, watermelon, and vegetables among other crops. Similarly, some households engage in livestock, fishing, and seasonal jobs as means of sustaining their source of revenue.

Qualitative Research Method: The qualitative research method was utilized for this study as the method of data collection. While primary data were collected from the field as the researcher carried out in-depth interviews together with the observation methods and support from the secondary data as the parameter for designing the methods and tools of the data collection.

Participants and Interview: It is vital to mention that an extensive attempt was put in place before the commencement of the data collection in the field to identify the key informants for the study. Visitations were carried out to get familiar and create trust and confidence with the key informants. The in-depth interviews were used to gather experts' information from the key informants (KIs). Participants were sourced from the broad spectrum of groups where the study took place. The objective was to capture a range of different perspectives on the effect of the Boko Haram Insurgency on universal quality health services to the internally displaced persons in Nigeria. Participants were selected from health workers, IDPs, social workers, traditional leaders, and members of the community among others as KIs. The variables used in allocating the quota include geographical areas, gender, age, and occupation/non-occupation. Participants were sourced from the broad spectrum of groups where the study took place. The objective was to capture a range of different perspectives on the effect of conflicts and insurgency on global quality health services to the internally displaced persons in Nigeria. The interview stage was the period of conducting the fieldwork with the participants from August to September 2021.

Thus, the sampling method used for the in-depth interviews was quota sampling and the importance of this method is that there is no need for call-backs and the rate of time-wasting is also reduced. The researcher took notes and recorded activities that took place for this research only. Also, participant and nonparticipant observation methods were employed, especially the nonparticipant observation method because it was not possible to take part in all the participatory observation methods.

Data Analysis

After the fieldwork, thematic structures were developed to facilitate the sorting and grouping of evidence in a manner that provides a clear structure for the interpretation and analysis of the data. Data were therefore analyzed within the context of the thematic framework. Thus, for analysis, the data collected for this research were done through content analysis.

Results of the Impact of Boko Haram Insurgency on Health of IDPs in North East, Nigeria

Thus, the study examined the Impact of the Boko Haram Insurgency on the Health of Internally Displaced Persons in North East, Nigeria, and discussed below:

Overcrowding, Poor, and Unhygienic Living Conditions of IDPs

The living conditions of the IDPs are worrisome and over-crowded IDP camps aid the spread of diseases as observed many of these camps are over crowdedness and often resulted in overstretched usage of the inadequate available facilities and infrastructural supports present in these camps and the additional influx of people into these camps makes the situations of IDPs worse as noted by African Centre for Strategies Studies [ACSS] (2019), IMDC (2018) that the continuous influx of people into these already overcrowded camps makes the living conditions of IDPs more terrible besides the psychological trauma that they experience and the poor living conditions in these IDP camps have further aggravated their vulnerability to ill health and other forms of diseases occurrence particularly the communicable type of diseases that are quite common in Nigeria.

In addition, available information indicated that endemic malaria, acute respiratory infections, and watery diarrhoea are critical health concerns affecting the IDPs; with malaria featuring in 50 percent of all the health-related cases in the camps (WHO, 2018). Besides, another health crisis is the problem of water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) as noted by

the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund [UNICEF] (2016) that the flock of IDPs in camps, the available water and sanitation facilities, and structures became insufficient to provide for the essential needs of the IDPs and increases the risk of the spread of diseases, dehydration, and other related ailments. One of the KIs reported that:

> "... Boko Haram Insurgency has led to overcrowding of IDPs with the shortage of water and breakdown diarrhoea with poor medical attention and IDPs are still at high risk of getting communicable diseases ... (Male, 59 years old, September 5, 2021)

Hence, the absence of waste management and inadequate provision of essential utilities such as potable water and good sanitary conditions has led to poor sanitation and hygiene and by implication caused the frequent outbreak of diseases like cholera and related illnesses.

Poor Health Service Provision and Facilities for IDPs

It is pertinent to mention that Nigeria is presently experiencing BHI that has destabilized the universal health services and the intensity of attacks by BHI on citizens, security agencies, and infrastructures has increased. Meanwhile, the emergence of BHI attacks and the surfacing of IDPs has made access to quality health services poorer and of great concern, as noted by WB (2018) that in the context of poor quality health services, the progress at improving universal health service is impaired by insurgency. Similarly, lack of movement, unavailability of service providers, and shortage of supply of drugs owing to BHI frequent attacks have led to global health quality services being inauspiciously affected (Borno State Health Sector Bulletin[BSHSB] 2018). Thus, repeated attacks due to BHI and fear of being killed, blockage of roads, destruction of public facilities including health facilities, and threats to public service providers affect the safe delivery of universal quality health service to conflict depressing IDPs as revealed by KIs below:

> ... Frequent attacks by Boko Haram make it difficult to get proper medical attention and it is affecting the IDPs since some of us are having a serious illness that needs medical checkup always ... (Male, 49 years old, August 25, 2021)
> ... Boko Haram assault prevents regular accessibility to quality health services, shortage of drugs and most of the medical workers are always afraid to stay in the camps to attend to IDPs ... (Female, 45 years old, August 29, 2021).

Hence, it is observed that frequent Boko Haram affects quality health services and by implication, access to universal quality health services

has become unachievable and by inference worsening health conditions of IDPs. In addition, it is pertinent to note that since the emergency of BHI many health facilities were attacked and by implication leading to the closed down of health facilities as observed by Sambo (2017) majority of the medical infrastructural facilities have been closed owing to the absence of doctors who fled for security reasons, scarcity of drugs and medical equipment.

Conclusion

This study assessed the impact of the Boko Haram Insurgency on the health of IDPs in North East, Nigeria. It is pertinent to note that the present situation of raising BHI has undermined the universal quality health service for IDPs and by implication weakens it and makes it unfeasible. This paper asserts that despite the efforts of the government and other stakeholders in providing support for the IDPs, however, BHI has threatened the efficiency of health services to IDPs owing to several factors such as overcrowding, poor and unhygienic living conditions of IDPs, health service provision, attacks on health facilities and personnel and restrictions of the health of health workers. The study argued that BHI has led to the absence of universal quality health service for IDPs and by implication, affects the universal quality health service delivery and reduces Nigeria's position in the universal socio-economic and health indexes.

Recommendations

The impact of the Boko Haram Insurgency on the health of IDPs in North East, Nigeria is enormous and led to the loss of lives, and threatens health. Therefore, to ensure universal quality health service for IDPs, it is recommended that:

1. The Nigeria government at all levels needs to facilitate a peace process that can curtail the present BHI activities in the North East, Nigeria
2. The current IDP camps need to be improved and made more habitable for dwellers
3. The government needs to ensure strong national health care policies and strategies are put in place in line with the universal practice
4. There is a need to build the confidence of health workers in Boko Haram Insurgency situations
5. The confidence building needs to ensure fundamental orientations on insurgency and strategy, mitigation and arbitration skills

6. There is a need to put in place a determining and comprehensive assessment to establish the impact of health attention on the quality of health services for IDPs

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ETHICAL LEADERSHIP AND ITS INFLUENCE ON EMPLOYEE RESPONSE TO CHANGE IN FAITH-BASED HEALTH ORGANIZATIONS IN NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA: AN AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

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Executive Summary

Ethical leadership is crucial for employee adaptability to change in organizations whose long-term survival and success depend on their agility and ability to be adaptive. Studies across countries in Africa and organizations point out that the positive or negative response of employees to change is largely dependent on leaders who initiate and follow up the change process. The values and standards that leaders use in the process are usually drawn from the organization as well as from the complexity of the lives, existence and connectivity of their culture. This study realized, however, that there is scanty literature that contextualizes leaders' ethical consciousness and its role in employee response to organizational change within the African setting. Additionally, there are distortions in organizational management in Africa, which are characterized by unethical practices such as corruption, ethnicity and favouritism. Thus, this paper examines the extent to which leaders' ethical consciousness, from an African perspective, impacts on employee response to change which is an important element in the change management processes. The paper argues that lack of ethical sensibility and proper moral judgement of leaders, who are mainly initiators of change, may cause failures of change initiatives in organizations. As a way forward, the

study uses African ethics to propose a means for enhancing formation of ethical leadership in order to improve the success of change management process, with special reference to faith-based health organizations. This paper is based on a review of existing literature that is part of an ongoing qualitative study on Ethical Factors Influencing Employee Response to Change in Faith-based Health Organizations in Nairobi County, Kenya.

Keywords: Organizational Change Management, Ethical Consciousness, Ethical Leadership, African Ethics, Ethical Distortions

Introduction
Change management is defined by Hassan (2018) as a "systematic process through which an organization conceptualizes, implements and appraises its change effort for the desired result" (p. 3). Bhatt (2017) defines change management as "an approach used to transition individuals, teams, and organizations to re-direct the use of resources, business process, budget allocations, or other modes of operation that significantly reshape a company or organization" (Bhatt, 2017, p. 34). Organizational change involves adjustment of the culture, internal processes, technology or/and any other significant component of the organization (Miller, 2020).

Recent studies have shown that in general, the success rate of organizational change management is about 30-40% (Errida & Lotfi, 2021; Gigliotti et al., 2019; Katsaros et al., 2020). This means that 60-70% of change initiatives fail to meet their objectives. Scholars claim that one of the key reasons for this low success rate is resistance to change from employees (Bringselius, 2014; Shahbaz, 2019; Wang & Kebede, 2020). Ahmad et al. (2021), as well as Kotter and Cohen (2012), also agree that the primary factor in organizational change is the human factor, that is, behaviours, attitudes and responses by the change recipients. According to Wang and Kebede (2020), employee response to change maybe positive (acceptance) or negative (resistance).

Faith-based health organizations (FBHOs) providing healthcare services, just like other organizations, continually face changing conditions both in their internal and external environments. However, the FHBOs have a particular challenge associated with their hierarchical nature (Soko, 2012). Additionally, they are known to keep a low profile and are easily

mixed with non-religious non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and therefore information about their operations is scarce (Fort, 2017).

Faith-based health organizations (FBHOs) are value-based organizations founded on the principles of faith and religion. Their culture and activities are embedded in deep faith and/or beliefs of a particular group (Nicholson, 2018). They are affiliated to religious groups and contribute to the well-being of members of the society (Clarke & Ware, 2015). There has been a growing recognition of the contribution of the FBHOs in healthcare, as well as in other sectors of development. For example, data from global health shows that FBHOs spend about 26 to 33 per cent of all NGO spending on health (Haakenstad et al., 2015). These FBHOs, that are mostly American-based, spend more in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, they contribute between 30-70% of healthcare services, depending on the country (Blevins et al., 2017; O'Brien, 2017). For instance, in Chad, the contribution of FBHOs is about 10-20 %; in the Democratic Republic of Congo, it is 50-70 %; and in countries like Kenya, Ghana, Liberia, Lesotho, Nigeria, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Rwanda, Zambia, and Tanzania, it is about 30-40% (Wodon et al., 2014). Apart from providing primary healthcare, the FHBOs also are termed as trusted promoters of health education and important health information communication for prevention of diseases and promotion of improved access to health services (Lumpkins & Onge, 2017). The FBHOs are involved in primary healthcare, prevention and relief services.

In Kenya, FBHOs have made immense contributions to the provision of healthcare services. It is estimated that FBHOs provide about 30% of health services in Kenya (Fort, 2017; Kyalo, 2014). Furthermore, studies have revealed that FBHOs offer highest quality services at 69%, compared to that of government at 68%, non-governmental health organizations at 60%, and private facilities at 51% (Fort, 2017). This implies that they are important and their long-term survival is necessary.

Literature Review

Ethics
Ethics refer to the moral codes that govern people's behaviour and the values that form the basis upon which decisions are made (Fontrodona

et al., 2018). The interest of incorporating ethics in leadership functions such as change management has been developed, in the past few decades, as a result of decisions and practices that led to immoral outcomes such as scandals (Mirdan et al., 2021). Therefore, it is necessary for organizations to develop a new mindset that includes ethics and a greater social sensitivity in managing change.

Ethics have a role in change management (Karpe & Rigamonti, 2016). It can be viewed in a two-way process, in that, on the one hand, the leader should understand the employees' values and create a safe environment for easy, honest and respectful communication; while employees, on the other hand, have a duty to shun resistance and support the leader in the change initiatives. Additionally, as asserted by Karpe and Rigamonti, ethics provide a framework through which moral dilemmas experienced in organizations can be resolved. Furthermore, ethics play an important role during decision-making processes. This, therefore, requires organizational leaders to consistently make it a priority (Grigoropoulos, 2019), by creating an ethical culture where policies and decisions are made for the welfare of all stakeholders.

Ethical leadership is a useful factor in organizational processes for it constitutes the ability of the leaders to execute personal and organizational values by demonstrating knowledge of moral principles and values in their actions and decisions for the common good (Karpe & Rigamonti, 2016). Giubilini (2021) asserts that a leader with a strong moral compass is able to set the right ethical tone in the whole organization, especially during the change process. Scholars such as Babalola et al. (2016), as well as Burnes and By (2012), argue that all approaches to change and leadership are reinforced by a set of ethical values which influence decisions and actions of leaders and strengthen or weaken the outcomes of change.

In Kenya, Gitonga (2018) argues that Kenyan organizations face challenges in instituting a culture of integrity and ethical behaviour. He notes that most institutions have a code of conduct and other policies that are rarely practiced. Other studies have been done in Kenya relating to change management and the challenges facing it in different organizational settings (Murimi, 2020; Soko, 2012; Too, 2018; Wanza & Nkuraru, 2016). These studies have identified challenges facing organizational change in Kenya to be non-supportive organizational culture, resistance to change, and poor people-management strategies. The main sources of resistance were identified as negative perceptions employees have regarding change, inertia, poor communication,

anxiety, low motivation, and insecurities relating to job losses and salary cuts. All these elements allude to a lack of deliberate regard for ethics in change management. There seems to be scarce literature of ethics at the interface of change management. In addition to this, there are ethical distortions in organizational management in Africa, which are characterized by corruption, ethnicity and racism (Mangaliso et al., 2021). The preceding gap necessitates this current study that intends to use the faith-based health organizations in Nairobi County to investigate the extent to which ethical leadership affects employee response to change, which is key to successful change management.

Thus, the aim of this paper is to examine the extent to which ethical leadership, from an African perspective, impacts on organizational change management processes. To solve this problem, the paper traces a possible solution from pre-colonial African traditional ethics as a means to solve the present predicaments facing change management in contemporary African organizations.

Ethics in the African Traditional Context
Ethics is the division of philosophy concerned with how a person should behave in a matter that is considered morally correct or good (Boone, 2017). African traditional ethics refers to the moral codes, principles, norms and precepts which govern the relational and economic conduct and actions of individuals and communities in African societies (Russell, 1992). The ethics of the African society are engrained in the cultural practices and beliefs of what is right to do or wrong to avoid, what is a good or bad character; they are also embedded in the conceptions of satisfactory social relations and attitudes held by the members of the society (Kinoti, 2010). They are embedded, furthermore, in the forms or patterns of behaviour that are well thought out by the members of the society to bring about social harmony and community living, justice and fairness (Bujo, 2003). African culture is rooted in strong moral considerations. It has a system of various beliefs and customs which every individual ought to keep in order to live long and to avoid bringing curses on themselves and others. Good character is the essence of the African moral system.

Africa has as many different moral systems as it has ethnic groups. Despite the multitude of subcultures, Sub-Saharan Africa constitutes a specific cultural context. As such, there are common denominators and cultural signifiers that "underscore shared identity and denote the deep-level assumptions and allegiances that format the different

cultural ingredients and provide larger meaning to the existence of Africans" (Russell, 1992, p. 506).

African norms and modes of ethical conduct are linked directly to how Africans understand the human person, and how the humans interact. Thus, the African communities promoted and protected life by ordaining ethics and morality. In addition, Bujo (1998) and Gyekye (1992) claim that Africans do not think in 'either/or' but rather in 'both/and'; community is the starting point of African ethics. The ethical conduct in the African setting is not only based on the individual, but is realized primarily by means of relational network that is equally anthropocentric, cosmic and theocentric. The main goal of African ethics is fundamentally life itself. In addition, it is interwoven in the religious worldview; there were religious rewards as well as sanctions to reinforce or discourage good or bad character respectively (Van der Walt, 2003). For example, for good behaviour, blessings were invoked, while bad behaviour attracted cursing through the ancestors and gods.

Ethical Formation of Leaders in Traditional African Societies
The African traditional societies raised the ethical consciousness of their members right from childhood to adulthood. Moral education, awareness and values were transmitted to younger generations through cultural practices (Nyabul, 2009) such as communal activities, ceremonies and rites of passage. Virtue and morality were taught to the younger generations orally at various stages. The methods used varied according to age and setting; for example, through storytelling, proverbs, riddles, wise sayings, fairy tales and legends, guessing games, narratives and songs, and rites of passage (Mbiti, 1977).

Religion was also a source of moral knowledge and formation for leaders in Africa. It shaped people's behaviour, in that good behaviour was rewarded by the ancestors and the Supreme Being, and bad behaviour was punished. Individuals were punished in public (Van der Walt, 2003) to discourage such behaviours in society. Ethical norms were not created by an individual; instead, the individual identified with what already existed in the community. The ethical conduct was established by the ancestors' enduring lived experience (Bujo, 2003).

Leadership ethics in traditional African society had to do with the understanding of the human person. The leaders' ethical consciousness grew and was nurtured by community and events of life as one advanced in age and wisdom. The older one became, the more of a person one became (Menkiti, 1984). It is the community that made a

person a person. It was during initiation that one became a full person in the eyes of the community. For instance, among the Agikiyu, as articulated by Kenyatta (1965), initiation gave a boy and a girl the status of manhood and womanhood. Full personhood was perceived as being attained progressively as one grew older and in wisdom and good character (Menkiti, 1984). The person rose in rank as he progressed in age, marriage, old age, elder hood, death, and entry into the community of departed ancestral spirits (ontological progression). As one grew older, he attained authority, power, privilege, and leadership in the community (Rwezaura, 1989).

In many traditional African societies, authority was held by the elders who had attained the conditions necessary for an elder. Apart from age, these conditions included wisdom, diligent observation of all the incorporation rituals of the community, learning and following all the social rules instituted by the community, acquisition of other qualities of excellence such as raising and maintaining family order, and being a person of good morals and character (Menkiti, 1984; Rwezaura, 1989). In other words, an individual would fail in attaining the full personhood of the elders and, therefore, authority. The elders had influence from the richness of their experience and wisdom.

African leaders were formed and nurtured within the cultural ethical framework for growth of a virtuous individual known as *Ubuntu* (Sibanda, 2014). The leaders were not only social or political rulers, but also religious figures who maintained peace and harmony in the community (Kirwen, 2015). The leaders were responsible for the continuity of the tradition, culture, moral and social values of their respective communities. The values characterizing the traditional community and which were to be foremost practiced by the leaders include; "respect, love, compassion, kindness, generosity, truth, rectitude, humility, self-discipline, forgiveness, mercy, pity, sufficiency, repentance, trust, giving, strength, patience, courage, hard work, unselfishness, and sharing" (Van der Walt, 2003).

Ubuntu was the core of African morality and good living. Mawere and Mubaya (2016) note that Ubuntu symbolizes the pillar of African spirituality and moral conduct. The word *Ubuntu* is derived from a Nguni (isiZulu) aphorism: *Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu*, which can be translated as "a person is a person because of or through others" (Khomba & Kangaude-Ulaya, 2013). *Ubuntu* philosophy refers to the capacity in an African culture to express compassion, reciprocity, dignity, humanity and mutuality in the interest of building and

maintaining communities with justice and mutual caring. It is expressed as: "I am because we are, and because we are, I am too" (Mbiti, 1969, p. 152). This is an Ubuntu principle that articulates the conviction that the human person acts more effectively to the extent to which he holds fast to solidarity.

Africans experienced everything as a relationship, as energy that connects to everyone and everything, to another person, to the natural world and the spiritual world. Each human being was supposed to be treated with respect and compassion. This communal system developed a deep respect for human values and the recognition of the human worth regardless of one's ethnic group. This philosophy draws Africans, their leaders, and indeed all people, to a deeper sense of self-respect, self-identity, and achievement (Mawere & Mubaya, 2016).

In traditional Africa, the philosophy of *Ubuntu* was at the centre of human existence, whether economic, religious, political or cultural. The central concept of *Ubuntu* that translates to humanness or humane does not merely refer to human nature, but is, rather, a rule of conduct and social ethic. Ubuntu core values, as articulated by Mawere and Mubaya (2016), include: humanness: warmth, tolerance, understanding, peace, humanity; caring: empathy, sympathy, helpfulness, charitable, friendliness; sharing: giving (unconditionally), redistribution, open-handedness; respect: commitment, dignity, obedience, order; compassion: love, cohesion, informality, forgiving and spontaneity (p 97-98). The spirit of Ubuntu was maintained and inculcated in the communities through the leaders.

Leadership was structured according to the traditions and customs of the community, where authority was derived from the chief, genealogical lineage, or religious leaders. As a result, the leaders were deemed to be imbued with wisdom, authority and strength (Bulley et al., 2017). The communities in general accorded leaders and elders of the community great respect and reverence. This reverence had to do with socialization effect. While growing up, for example, a child was socialized to respect elderly people and community leaders. Leaders, espousing the Ubuntu philosophy, treated all people with compassion and respect, in the spirit of universal brotherhood and seeking the well-being of all people.

During the colonial period, traditional African communities were disintegrated and the values and ethics were vastly eroded, leaving long-term traces of slavery, colonial systems, and confusion of new religion. The colonial masters introduced strange cultures and religion

that have taken the centre stage of the African life (Wariboko & Falola, eds, 2020). However, there were also positive effects of Western culture on Africa (Sibani, 2018); for example, introduction of formal education, use of modern technology, among others. The effects of globalization have quickly changed the face of Africa.

The Influence of Ethical Leadership on Employee Response to Change in Organizations

Ethical leadership refers to the ability of the leaders to demonstrate moral principles and values in their actions and decisions for the common good (Giubilini, 2021). The aforementioned author argues that ethical leaders should have the awareness of their inner moral principles and values which guide them in making decisions and solving problems. A leader with a strong moral compass is able to set the right ethical tone in the whole organization, especially during the change process (Waheed et al., 2019). Ethical leaders become role models for all change recipients.

Studies across the world reveal that leaders play a key role in planning, initiating and implementing change in an organization (Sharif & Scandura, 2014). The leaders' guidance is required to direct the employees concerning critical issues associated with change processes. Since the period of change is characterized by instability, uncertainty, confusion, and even traumatic experiences (Kotter, 1996), leaders have the duty of reassuring and supporting the employees through the change. The leader continually communicates the change vision and receives feedback to consolidate and adapt the initiatives accordingly.

In the UK, studies have linked ethical leadership with change outcomes (Burnes & By, 2012). Ethical leaders are able to bring about better change outcomes, while unethical leaders curtail the change processes. These studies have, however, also revealed "a damaging lack of clarity regarding the ethical values which underpin leadership and change" (Burnes & By, 2012, p. 248). The leader's ethical values are likely to bring about positive employee responses to change. The success of the change initiatives depends largely on the employees' responses to the change, and is reinforced by the moral consciousness and ethical values that influence the decisions the leaders make for good or bad (By et al., 2012). Employee response to change initiatives depends on the integrity of the leader. This means that positive responses are elicited by ethical leaders. Although theories of leadership such as transformational, adaptive, servant, and spiritual leadership (Northouse, 2019) hint at the importance of the ethicality of the leader, they have not explicitly

examined the role of ethics in the behaviours and actions of the leader, when organizations are undergoing change.

In Germany, a study done by Bormann and Rowold (2016) highlighted the influence of ethical leadership and values on employee readiness and commitment to change. The study revealed that ethical leadership is an important driver for successful change. The reason for this conclusion is that ethical leaders highly influence the employee readiness and commitment to change. This is done through reduction of employee acquiescence, silence, and feelings of resignation (Bormann & Rowold, 2016). In this way, the employees are able to actively participate in the change.

In Japan, a study revealed that ethical leadership has not been given enough attention in literature (Kimura & Nishikawa, 2018, P. 714). The above study showed that ethical leaders exhibit deep values from which they make decisions. The aforementioned authors noted that values for leaders include accountability, character, respect, fairness, openness, flexibility, collective orientation, visionary, and cool judgement and logicality. On the contrary, the attributes of unethical leaders, according to the study, include misuse of power, self-interest, lack of accountability and transparency, narrow or short-term focus, deception and dishonesty, lack of objectivity, and lack of personal values and moral code.

In Spain, a study revealed that low level of leaders' ethical awareness and practice affects change management in a negative way (Karpe & Rigamonti, 2016). These authors argue that when a leader is perceived to be self-focused and opportunistic, seeking loopholes and acting for self-interest, negative perceptions by the employees towards the change initiatives are triggered. Furthermore, lack of ethical leadership may lead to a toxic work environment characterized by coercion instead of motivation. This may lead to breakdown of the change processes.

Studies done across countries in Africa and organizations pointed out that leaders draw their ethical understanding and experience from the environment they operate in (Mathooko, 2013). The leaders in Africa, consciously or unconsciously, tend to draw their ethics from the complexity of the lives, existence, and connectivity of the African people. Leaders in organizations draw their ethicality from the ethical systems, values, principles, rules and standards of African people, revolving around protection of life, maintaining the integrity of life, and maintaining harmonious coexistence with and protection of nature

(Bansikiza, 2001; Bujo, 1998; Kinoti, 2010; Sibanda, 2014). However, there is scanty literature contextualizing ethics in African setting, understanding it in an organizational setting, and unravelling the international ethical leadership methods to the context of African organizations, especially during change management. Despite the African societal, ethical, values and practices, there exist ethical distortions characterized by corruption, ethnicity and racism (Gichure, 2008; Mathooko, 2013). The lack of ethics and moral judgement of leaders, in the context of change management, as nuanced above, may influence negatively the employee response to change in organizations.

In Egypt, trust in leaders was identified by Metwally et al. (2019) as critical for effective change management. This means that trus,t which is intimately related to ethical leadership, influences employee response during change management (Babalola et al., 2016). Ethical leaders always strive to act in the best interest of the employees and avoid harmful consequences. This in turn creates a conducive environment for the employees to support change initiatives in organizations.

Ethical leaders demonstrate certain features and values (Metwally et al., 2019) which are critical in the reduction of stress and chaos experienced by employees in uncertain and changing times. During times of change, turbulence and stress put tension on leaders and this may cause them to compromise their moral principles (Sharif & Scandura, 2014) affecting the employees' perception of the leaders' ethical commitment. Consequently, employees may develop negative attitudes (Vakola, 2014), thereby affecting their readiness to change. Similarly, the leaders who are ethical in uncertain and anxious period of change may trigger positive responses to the change.

In Africa, literature on ethics at the interface of change management is still very scarce. However, Sub-Saharan Africa is not spared from the failures of change processes experienced globally. In addition to the predicaments surrounding change management, African organizations and economies are experiencing slower development and greater failures due to adoption of leadership models, including change management models, that are foreign and do not fit the social context of developing countries (Jones & Blunt, 1993; Mangaliso et al., 2021). These preceding articles are 28 years apart, but still allude to the same challenge in Africa; failure to contextualize the Western models in the social-cultural setting of Africawould lead to the results previously found. It therefore seems that there are deeper issues that affect

effective change management in African organizations than what appears on the surface.

Application of African Ethical Values in Leading Organizational Change Management

The leaders in Africa, consciously or unconsciously, tend to draw their ethics from the complexity of the lives, existence, and connectivity of their culture and the one they encounter within their organizations. Therefore, the leaders' ethical consciousness or lack of it comes about from the contemporary ethical climate of the African continent and from the specific countries in particular. The contemporary African societies are said to be in limbo, after losing their cultural values during colonial period, but have not yet adopted fully the 'new culture' and its values (Van der Walt, 2003). To overcome this challenge, we propose the following remedies:

- Enhance moral formation for leaders through the inclusion of African morality and values (Mawere & Mubaya, 2016; Rwezaura, 1989) in the training curriculum for leaders. Again, encourage the adoption of African *Ubuntu* (Khomba & Kangaude-Ulaya 2013) as a leadership principle guiding all leaders to initiate and oversee change in a humane, just, respectful and compassionate manner.
- Design an African sensitive code of ethics as a mandatory policy for leaders to use during change management in faith-based health facilities, given the crucial role that such institutions play in society.
- Borrow from African traditional ethics and morality to develop a lifelong moral education (Sibanda, 2014) for formation and initiation of employees into the work environment of organizations.

These, in the opinion of this research, will grow leaders' ethical sensitivity in growing an ethical environment, which in turn leads to the success of change management in faith-based health organizations.

Conclusion

The success of any organization lies in the ways in which it manages change. Ethical leadership is an important factor in influencing employee response to change. Leaders have a crucial role in leading change. Again, studies have linked success of change initiatives with ethics; therefore, leaders have the responsibility of setting an ethical tone in the whole organization to ensure successful change processes.

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CULTURE, CORRUPTION AND COMMERCE: AFRICAN CULTURE VIS-À-VIS CORRUPTION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

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Executive Summary

Discourses on sustainable development in Africa decry deeply entrenched corruption as a leading obstacle. Sustainable development refers to a system of production, consumption and service delivery that positively contributes to the welfare of both the present as well as the future generations. Corruption refers to a system that distorts and even decimates means of production, consumption and service delivery. Corruption, therefore, distorts and decimates sustainable development initiatives. Coming to the realization of the effects of corruption on sustainable development, a number of international, regional and local governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have condemned, proposed and put into place various legal and institutional anti-corruption measures. Despite these anti-corruption efforts, corruption remains pervasive and continues to threaten to decimate sustainable development efforts in Africa. A reading of available literature shows that majority of the legal and institutional anti-corruption measures, as well as scholarly empirical studies, have hardly delved into how African culture can be utilized in the fight against corruption within the continent. This, therefore, leaves a lacuna that this present paper seeks to fill. This paper, therefore, argues that there are elements in the African culture that can be effectively used to curb corruption for sustainable development in Africa.

Keywords: Culture, Corruption, Africa, Sustainable Development, NGO

Introduction

While Africa has various endemic development challenges that have increased in magnitude and dimension in the recent years with devastating effects on sustainable development within the continent, there has been an apparent surge in the number and magnitude of corruption cases. And yet there has been a dearth of literature evaluating the link between corruption and value systems. The central argument of this paper is not just that corruption undermines sustainable development in Africa, but that African culture has values that can be effectively employed to curb persistent corruption within the continent.

Corruption and Commerce

The environments where various businesses operate in Africa, and beyond, have a direct impact on their economic development and progress. In corruption-rife environments, business growth is often jeopardized. For example, areas where most businesses need legal permits for them to operate become centres of bribery. Government officials, who are in charge, would at times ask for money for any service they give. Because business firms generally depend on government officials to obtain operating permits for their businesses, they will therefore be forced into paying bribes to acquire the permits or face long delays in obtaining the permits. In certain instances, failure to pay a bribe may lead to a prospective business firm not acquiring an operating permit at all. This implies that as more money is being diverted into bribes, business growth is hampered. In this case, corruption has a corrosive effect on business growth. Similarly, corruption also has an effect on a country's economic performance by affecting many factors, fueling economic growth such as investment opportunities, taxation, and effective distribution of public resources. With the foregoing discussion, it can be concluded that corruption interferes with the sustainable development of a nation.

African Culture and Corruption

For Kirwen (2008), culture is the matrix through which people interpret reality, create artifacts, promote behaviour and organize space. Kirwen (2008) further opines that culture is divided into two main categories: material culture and non-material culture. Material culture consists of the community's artifacts, while non-material culture consists of a people's underlying cultural knowledge that enables them to interpret reality and promote behaviour.

It has to be emphasized that the material culture and the non-material culture both cannot be separated when one is referring to the culture of a people. They are fundamental in the explanation of a people's "cultural pattern", that is, the general code of conduct, the systematic and the integrated conduct of behaviour which is characteristic of any society.

Within the purview of this paper, corruption is an act or behaviour that distorts and even decimates means of production, consumption and service delivery. But, this behaviour must be informed by an underlying knowledge or value system. In order to succinctly understand the connection between corruption and African culture, we here turn to Kwame Gyekye's ethno-cultural and multi-cultural communities.

An ethno-cultural community, on the one hand, is a community of people who are bound by some intrinsic ties within a spatial-temporal context. They find affiliation through an array of attributes comprising a common set of traditions, ancestry, language, history, society, culture, nation, religion, or social treatment within their residing area. It is here that ethnic affiliations mostly thrive. And public servants may tend to be more loyal to their ethnic affiliations than to the state, as far as the distribution of public resources is concerned. A multicultural community, on the other hand, is formed when various ethno-cultural communities merge. It denotes various ethnic groups collaborating and entering into a dialogue with one another without necessarily having to sacrifice their particular identities. It may also imply a mixed ethnic community area where multiple cultural traditions exist or a single country within which they do. In Kenya, urban centres and settlement schemes are cases in point.

According to Gyekye (1997), social values which are manifested in ethno-cultural communities are absent in a multicultural community. It is within such a setting that corruption and its links to culture are conceptualized. For example, an individual who has been accused of corruption will not see himself/herself as the accused, but will see his/her community as the accused. That is, the individual displays allegiance to the ethno-cultural community than to the multi-cultural community.

Then, why is corruption persistent in Africa? The allegiance to ethno-cultural community is passed on from one generation to the next. This is because culture is learnt and transmissible (Kirwen, 2008) through a

process of socialization. This means that subsequent generations of young Africans get socialized into a system that is predominantly ethno-cultural and sustains social network values that are operative in ethno-cultural settings. Such social networks are functional pragmatic networks that become effective mechanisms to pool scarce resources and provide access to goods, services, resources and even career opportunities.

Social networks then become constructed on the basis of specific criteria of group affiliation such as gender, ethnicity, professional acquaintances and religion. Some networks may consist of 'friends of friends' and encompass increasingly distant acquaintances such as the 'referral system' of seeking new employees among certain human resource officers. This means that the ethno-cultural social network value chain has become so large that it is indistinguishable from a multi-cultural setting. Within this system, individuals act on the basis of the obligation to share with the next of kin, for networks that are generally familial. They also act with the urge to reciprocate – in networks that are larger than familial, that is, among acquaintances.

Research data suggest that the boundaries are extremely blurred, if not nonexistent, in the conceptualization and the practice of the separation of private and public realms. This allows the influence of the social networks to override the obligations associated with public duty; it confers a skewed logic on the exercise of public office (Ouma, Oyugi & Samita, 2021).

However, this paper envisions a dialectic movement from an ethno-cultural setting to a multi-cultural setting for the realization of sustainable development in Africa. But, in order to change people's behaviour, you have to first of all change what people think, that is, the underlying cultural knowledge (Kirwen, 2008). Once we have realized that the old moral order encompasses values and beliefs that serve to sustain corruption, then, the said old moral order or scheme of reference should be broken to pave way for a new order that sustains the common good of the multi-cultural nation-states. The *elephant in the house is,* "How do we do this?" What are some of the African values that can inform this new moral order?

Mental Models about National Identity
The main goal of this paper is to discuss relative effectiveness of behavioural interventions on corruption in Africa. For the sake of clarity, there are three types of interventions that can be used to address

corruption: top-down interventions, social accountability interventions and behavioural interventions.

Top-down interventions refer to those that aim to reduce the opportunity space for engaging in corrupt actions by promoting better controls at the workplace. This type of intervention aims to support the ability of management to hold the public sector workers accountable. Social accountability interventions are those involving direct citizen engagements. The World Bank defines social accountability as "the broad range of actions and mechanisms beyond voting that citizens can use to hold the state to account, as well as actions on the part of government, civil society, media and other societal actors that promote or facilitate these efforts" (World Bank, 2006, p.5). This type of intervention typically seeks to strengthen formal accountability channels by means of mobilizing citizens and civil society organisations (CSOs) to provide oversight roles in public service.

However, a closer analysis shows that both the top-down intervention approach and social accountability approach capitalize on monitoring and oversight. However, these approaches could be limited in efficacy, taking into consideration that there could be power asymmetry between the public officials and the citizens. Moreover, the environment in which this kind of monitoring takes place could be inherently corrupt to an extent that there could be no viable party to undertake oversight roles.

In contrast, behavioural interventions, which this present paper advocates for, are grounded in the acknowledgement that behaviour is often shaped by non-rational and quasi-rational factors such as in-built mental models, and social and cultural expectations. Individuals may be enculturated as a direct result of past experiences and the long-term exposure to a given and context-specific social environment and culture. Therefore, behavioural interventions, rather than directly targeting individuals, aim at making changes in the wider environment in which people make decisions and respond to cues. Examples of behavioural interventions include approaches such as education campaigns aimed at changing mental models, and social norms that dictate how individuals act.

Why does this paper prefer behavioural interventions to other types of interventions? Our approach is supported by the "power of mental frames". Mental frames easily result into automatic thinking. This is the scenario whereby our behaviours are affected by the perceptions of the

generalized patterns of action adopted by others around us. For example, when people assume that everybody else around them is paying bribes to traffic police officers and accepting that as a normal state of affairs, then bribery will indeed become normalized. Normalized bribery then becomes the mental frame shaping the reactions of individuals who, when faced with a traffic police officer, will immediately assume the person in front of them is expecting a bribe.

The reverse is also projected to have a similar outcome. That is, in a society where individuals are exposed to information about integrity, transparency and accountability, people are likely to develop mental frames that are oriented to such values. The underlying point in the success of behavioural interventions in corruption studies is that information about concepts of national identity, common good, integrity, transparency and accountability is a necessary prerequisite in anti-corruption initiatives.

One of the relevant mental models that can be associated with "national identity and the images it conjures in the collective imagination, in Kenya, for example, is "being a Kenyan". "Being a Kenyan" connotes social justice, accountability, responsibility and integrity as values that ought to guide the relationship between the citizens and the government and also the relationship among the citizens. But, in the Kenyan case, are the values associated with "being a Kenyan", that is social justice, accountability, responsibility and integrity, linked to indigenous worldviews?

A case in point is the Pokomo term "*ngao*" which finds its common usage across most of the cultures in Kenya. *Ngao* means "shield". Itis a symbol of strength and connotes ability to defend the common cause of a community. The usage of the term "*ngao*" can also be found in the Kenyan national anthem which states that "*Haki iwe ngao*", that is, "Truth/Justice be the shield and defender." This term communicates a strong message of the Kenyan national identity. Therefore, official policies ought to explicitly articulate and reinforce the development of the "*ngao*" culture – or shared mental model – that dictates roles, behaviours and expectations that align with the promotion of common good that is reminiscent of "being a Kenyan". This should be seen in the wider sense of *ubuntu*, being human. All communities meet at the cultural altar of recognizing that to be *human* requires concrete efforts along the communitarian spirit of *ubuntu* to defend the course of the community. This frontier could be employed in nurturing shared

mental frames through the African storytelling mechanisms in the cycle of the rites of passage which stand as monumental pillars at critical moments of transition in human life as explained in the following paragraphs.

First, in many parts of Africa, after dinner, villagers would congregate around a central fire and settle down to hear and listen to stories (Achebe, 1958). The calm nights and sitting around the fire set the tone for storytelling. Cagney (2012) documents the power of this cultural tool, *wang'oo*, fire place stories among the Acholi of Northern Uganda, underlining their therapeutic role. This is by addressing trauma of those who experienced conflict and empowering communities in their pursuit for better welfare. The narration of the stories is accompanied with singing, drumming, playing percussion instruments, clapping, and dancing. The proverbial songs are utilized to highlight the expression of the characters (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1982).

In this theatrical mix, the function of storytelling is to transmit knowledge and information across generations, conveying information to the younger generations about culture, worldviews, morals and expectations, norms and values (Cagney, 2012; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1982). To demonstrate its pedagogical ambience, the storyteller in Africa creates and generates a series of mental metaphors and images associated with words. This means storytelling can be packaged in forms such as songs, music, dances, plays, dramas and poetry (Utley, 2008).

African stories reflect relations among humans, man and woman, and humans and the animal world. This is enshrined in the African concept of "Ubuntu" (Mandela, 1994). Ubuntu means "to be human". Ubuntu entails harmony and common good. These are virtues that are critical to the well-being and longevity of the African person. In this regard, the stories offer explanations of natural phenomena; they teach morality, and provide African people with a sense of identity.

Moreover, African stories have a powerful way of creating mental models in individuals as far as morality is concerned. This is because of the use of repetitive language. Storytellers repeat words, phrases, gestures and verses. The utilisation of repetition techniques makes it easy to understand and recall the stories from memory. The moral lesson behind the story, in this regard, becomes à lived experience in the community, thanks to the art of repetitive language technique. Moreover, at the end of each story, moral lessons would be drawn.

Apart from repetitive language, African storytelling uses proverbs and parables to challenge the audience into resolving important moral dilemmas. This goal of using proverbs and parables is to achieve harmony and wisdom in the community by predisposing the audience to reflect on the hidden meaning of the proverbs and parables which eventually leads the audience to detest anti-social behaviours (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1964). Proverbs and parables stimulate the mind of the audience to seek answers to the prevailing moral dilemmas.

In this context, the symbolism of *ngao* and *ubuntu*, as an anti-corruption intervention, could be embedded in the school curriculum through set-books and other storytelling mechanisms. If successfully embedded in the school curriculum, the teaching of moral education in schools becomes an African theatrical experience, an experience that uses the classroom as its theatre. The teacher becomes the African storyteller, while the students become the audience. The teacher first digests and understands the topic under study, carefully crafts indigenous methods of content delivery such as drama, songs, riddles, proverbs, tricksters, and parables and engages the students in search for the moral of the story. Stories related to Ubuntu morality would challenge narrow ethno-cultural mental models when synchronized into the day-to-day school learning activities at different levels of education. The school today represents a multicultural hub, bringing learners and facilitators whose mental frames have interacted with worldviews that transcend the limited ethnocentric frames.

Second, *ubuntu* morality could as well be enforced by means of the cycle of the rites of passage. Other than delving into the specifics of each rite of passage, in this section we delve into the process of the rites of passage particularly for the adolescent initiates. The process of initiation begins with *identification*. This is the stage whereby parents/families identify adolescents whom they deem to be ready for initiation. Majority of the times, this takes place at the teenage period. After the identification process, the would-be initiates enter into *seclusion*. The *seclusion* period is a period of instruction. The would-be initiates retreat into secluded areas where they are under the care of trusted community elders. It is at this stage of seclusion that they are instructed on the moral values of the community (Sandula 2022). This are epicentres of indigenous knowledge as the initiates go through the community's educative and lived socio-cultural modules.

The moral values inculcated into the candidates revolve around *obedience/loyalty* where they are taught to obey parents and the elderly. Through this, the would-be initiates are made to believe they would receive blessings if they remain obedient and loyal to community members. They are also taught *respect*. Young people are trained to have respect for others as well as self-respect. They are taught *honesty*. Young men and women are taught to be honest in all their undertakings. Similarly, the young men and women are taught to be *courageous* and *hardworking*. They are taught to be *courageous*, *responsible* and *hardworking* in order to be able to face challenges in life. Moreover, they are taught *patriotism*. Young men and women are taught to develop love for the community in which they gain a sense of belonging. Linked to *patriotism* is the *spirit of sharing*. The young men and women learn the importance of *integrity*, *generosity* and *sharing* what they have with others. These moral values, taught during the *seclusion* period, constitute the hallmark of *ubuntu* morality.

Within the *seclusion* period, the candidates go through the stage of *incision*. This is the point at which a physical mark is made on the initiates as per each community's customs. Some communities do circumcision, some clitoridectomy, some removal of lower six teeth, some make incisions on the forehead. These are transition marks that allow the initiates to transit from childhood into adulthood. The initiates are then given specified time for healing under the care of experienced and knowledgeable members of the community. These are usually people of impeccable moral standing, role models, mentors who accompany them in their journey of learning to become responsible adults. By the time they will be exiting the seclusion period, it is expected that transition will have been achieved, through mental shifts. They should have re-focused on being responsible adults, ready to bring forth their energies to save and serve their families and communities at large. This is through their value-based beliefs and practices embraced in the seclusion period: embracing *ubuntu* and being productive members of their communities.

Upon the completion of the specified healing period, the initiates enter into the stage of *re-integration*. *Re-integration* marks the stage whereby the newly initiated adults are allowed, through ritual ceremonies, to join the larger community as responsible adults who are ready to advance the common good of the community.

It is worth reckoning that rites of passage, especially of young people, are monumental pillars at critical transition moments of their lives. The

youth are an important segment of the population. Society deems it top priority to transmit its value-based and age-long indigenous knowledge, wisdom and skills in the transitory human life of these youth.

As an overview, the content transmitted, as discussed, is integral; it revolves around pertinent aspects of the learners' life: socio-economic, religio-cultural and political contextual realities. It is intentional that the places and spaces designated for this noble task are sacred environments, secluded, to allow bonding and memorable appeals to the psyche of the learners. The methodologies applied in the educative process comprise *cognitive* aspects where the initiates embrace content or concepts in learners' indigenous languages. There are also *psycho-motor* aspects where initiates get involved making cultural artefacts relevant to the next stage, responsible adult life. Further, are the *affective*: aspects consisting of song, dance, ritual and oaths that have a profound psycho-emotional and spiritual impact on them. Corporately these aspects leave an indelible mark on the learners. This cultural model has a lot to inform contemporary approaches to dealing with corruption and sustainable development.

However, in the contemporary African communities, there has been a shift in the design and execution of the indigenous rites of passage. Clitoridectomy has particularly become contentious, with majority of the African governments and rights groups terming it female genital mutilation (FGM). Although a concise discussion of clitoridectomy goes beyond the scope of this paper, we however argue that an alternative viable option to clitoridectomy is long overdue. Indeed, every society's educative module must go through regular revision and updating to remain relevant.

With respect to other forms of initiation, particularly male circumcision, majority of families today tend to prefer hospital setup or, in other instances, group initiation in churches and other places of worship. It remains to be ascertained whether such contemporary models of initiation utilize similar instructional methodologies as the indigenous models. A situation in which the contemporary initiation models, particularly within urban setups, do not match the indigenous models would – in theory and practice - account for a mismatch in moral value formation in Africa. It is, therefore, important that the new models of initiation be structured in a manner that they incorporate the indigenous moral instruction for the preservation of the common good.

Conclusion

Since research evidence indicates that ethno-cultural mental models play a substantial role in fueling and perpetuating practices linked to corruption (Ouma, Oyugi & Samita, 2021), harnessing multicultural mental models in shaping anti-corruption interventions is long overdue in Africa. Thus, awareness-raising campaigns that spread the message of *ubuntu* could be a feasible solution to the endeavour of nurturing a multi-cultural mental model in Kenya, and elsewhere in Africa. Moreover, we have argued that through the African storytelling and rites of passage model, the education curriculum ought to be structured in such a way that it incorporates the indigenous storytelling mechanisms in moral education embedded in rites of passage. Lastly, we have also argued that the indigenous initiation rites of passage are focal points of moral formation and ought to be infused into the contemporary moral and ethical education methodologies. This is what will inform the culture of *ubuntu* (anti-corruption) and sustainable development.

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INSECURITY CHALLENGES: BANE TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, THE NIGERIA EXPERIENCE

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Executive Summary

Presently, the Nigeria society is suffocating from series of societal challenges of which insecurity is obviously inclusive and occupies a prime spot in the nation's structural process. The heightened rate of insecurity challenges in the history of the country is considerably alarming, with myriad effects visible in all ramifications and dimensions of the society. The Nigeria nation is grappling with the endemic realities of underdevelopment which is intricately linked to the issues of insecurity in the country. Urban and infrastructural development is among the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the United Nations Member States with an actualization target in the year 2030. Despite the concerted effort in achieving this goal, insecurity has continued to pose a big threat by frustrating all the available avenues employed for the development of the country. Developmental blueprint employed by the government seems to be unattainable due to the indices of insecurity challenges evident in terrorism, kidnapping, arm robbery, banditry, vandalization and massive destruction of lives and properties which have subjected the populace to live in abject fear, tension and apprehension. Against this backdrop, it will be worthwhile to posit that for development to be achieved in Nigeria, the trend of insecurity must be arrested. This study adopts the sociological method of research and will be framed with Structural functionalism theory. The paper therefore observes that insecurity challenges are rife in Nigeria which is the rationales for underdevelopment of the

country. It further observes that the reason behind insecurity challenges is based on poverty, unemployment, agitations and unsatisfactory ends among the ethnicities in Nigeria. It finally observes that if the challenges of insecurity are tackled, the development of the country will take an unprecedented acceleration. The paper concludes that Nigeria government should be alive and active in her war against insecurity in Nigeria which will give way to national development. The study therefore recommends that the government and all well-meaning Nigerians should take the insecurity situation of the country seriously. Also, the government should create a forum for dialogue among the aggrieved ethnic groups for the resolution of protest and agitations. Finally, Nigerians should endeavor to build legacies of peace for an environment devoid of hostility, tension, apprehension and fear towards achieving the sustainable development goals.

Keywords: Insecurity, Challenges, Bane, National Development, Nigeria, Experience.

Introduction

From the world on go, the development of any nation has been a general responsibility of every sector in the society which the role of security sector cannot be overemphasized. The presupposition is that the nation's development can be measured by the level of the security that is recorded in such a nation. When a nation is ripple of issues of insecurity, it adversary affects the development of that nation. This is not different from what is presently obtained in Nigeria. The level of insecurity as witnessed in Nigeria today has reached its crescendo which has contributed to the state of things in the nation. In the Northern part of the nation, the incessant killing of people by Boko Haram, the herdsmen attack, the bandits and the likes. In the East, the herdsmen attack, kidnapping and other life threatening issues have always been witnessed. All these have made the attention of the government to be shifted to fighting them and thereby using resources meant for development to spend on fighting insecurity in the land. The Nigeria project as the quest for a prosperous and unified state of Nigeria is often termed "work in progress". With over 200 million people, Nigeria is one of the largest countries in the world.

In this globalized age, it is also possible to find thousands or even hundreds of thousands of Nigerians in many of the major urban centers of the world. It is right to say that most Nigerians living in other parts of the world left Nigeria to find greener pastures. However, you cannot talk about greener pastures without talking about the value of life and properties. Greener pastures include security; hence, insecurity has exported most of Nigerians out of the shore of the nation. Security is everybody's business and it is one of the fundamental human rights of the people, that is why it is stated in section 14 (2)(b) of the Nigerian 1999 constitution as amended that "the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of the government". At a time like this when the right of a common man is violated, it becomes a challenge and a problem. In Nigeria, Insecurity took a different shape within the past twelve years. This is because for this space of time, no day goes by without a report of one insecurity challenge or the other. Unfortunately, everyone is at the receiving end. It is no longer the ordinary citizens who are only the victims but also those who may be referred to as first class citizens.

It is important to note that the level of insecurity in Nigeria has become a major issue for the government since 1990 when the activities of the Niger Delta Militants started and in recent time when Boko Haram insurgency arose. National Development has witnessed unprecedented security challenge and drop down in its road to success. For Ewetan and Urhie (2014), these challenges range from kidnapping, suicide attacks, bombing, ritual killings, assassinations, armed robbery and the likes and have led to the destruction of lives and properties, hindered business activities, discouraged local and foreign investors and increases government expenditure on security. All of these stifle and retard Nigeria's socio-economic development. This study therefore aims at reviewing the insecurity challenges which kills the national development in Nigeria and as well, seeks practical ways of handling these challenges in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework
The theoretical framework for this work will be limited to structural functionalism which is one of the traditional theories in sociology. Its fountainhead could be traced to August Comte (1798 – 1857) while the likes of Herbert Spencer and Robert Maton pitched to its development. The theory was said to be later ameliorated by the French sociologist; Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) and the American sociologist; Talcott Pason (1902-1979).

Structural functionalism sees society as a complex system whose parts work together to advance solidarity and firmness or peace. This approach looks at both social structure and social function. The former includes family, religion, law, economy, and class which significantly influence larger systems such as economy, legal, political and cultural system. It could also be said to be the framework upon which a society is established. It determines the norms and patterns of relations between the various institutions of the society. The later addresses society as a whole in terms of the functions of its constituent elements namely norms, customs, traditions and institutions. For this theory, all parts work together to keep the society functioning and any subsystem that is affected will affect the general system. In other words, any flux in one part of the society causes flux in another part. Historically, functionalist compares society with a living organism and as well, draws analogy between them. That is why Omonijo, Anyaegbunam, Obiorah, Uche, Shaibu and Ogunwa (2017) view it like a living organism whose parts work together for its survival, society in the same manner has various parts which enable it to meet its needs towards survival (p.63). These systems or parts are being regarded as institutions and they perform specific roles towards maintaining the whole. The parts that work together include political, economy, technology, industry, education, religion, social control or social order. On the specific roles, it could be manifest and latent and they have continued to hold the society together (Merton, 1938).

Relating the theoretical framework to insecurity sees insecurity as a subsystem of social control of institution of human society that affects a section of the society, "functional prerequisite" for the survival of its members to prevent them from extinction. There are two ways to view the role of discrepancy and obligation of agencies created to checkmate insecurity. Firstly, violent conflicts that generate insecurity such as armed robbery, assassination, kidnapping, terrorism etc. provide unofficial or illegal employment for those who indulge in them (Global Terrorism Index, 2015; Haralambos et al., 2008; Ngwama, 2014; Oputeh, 2015). These activities enable them to adjust or design an immoral means of survival (Merton, 1938). This is because the unemployment rate just like poverty rate is skyrocketing in the contemporary Nigeria. Secondly, it provides a means of occupation and career development for security personnel in their various agencies in the society. Their roles of maintaining law and order are essential for cohesion and smoothly running society (Andersen and Taylor, 2006). Therefore for Omonijo et al (2017), "the manifest roles of these agencies are evident in the system maintenance within the threshold of employment opportunity for

individual members and the safety of the general society while the latent role is the implication of insecurity to the wellbeing of Nigerians and National development" (p.63). This theory was silent about the consequences and the disastrous nature of insecurity which is costly. Money meant for human capital development and natural development is being diverted to reintegrate the bereaved families and victims of insecurity, renovation of properties destroyed and ransom being demanded in most cases. This has to play with the psychological state of mind of intending investors thereby driving them away.

Conceptual understanding of Insecurity

Scholars have made some efforts in contributing to the concept of insecurity. Among these scholars is Beland (2005), who posits that insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. Achumba, Ighomereho and Akpan (2013), see insecurity from two perspectives. For them, insecurity is first, the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. The second perspective happens to be the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipating of some misfortunes. Achumba et al (2013) in another way envisaged insecurity as the embracing of lack of stability and continuity of livelihood, lack of predictability of daily life, absence of protection from crime and exposure to psychological harm.

Ewetan and Urhie (2014) on their view see insecurity as a breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethno-regional, civil, social, economic and political that contributes to recurring conflicts and leads to wanton destruction of lives and properties (p. 44). Insecurity which is the direct opposite of security is seen by Hornby (1995) as lack of security, state of uncertainty or the state of being subject to danger, vulnerability etc. For Ota (2012), insecurity means threat to life and property, threat to peace, security and effective social living. Otto and Ukpere (2012) view insecurity as lack of protection from hidden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life in homes, office or communities. Udeh, Okoroafor and Ihezie (2013) visualize insecurity as the fear of unknown. For them, it is a feeling of trepidation and unsafe (p.96). In other words, it is a case of a person being vulnerable to damage, injury or loss from both internal and external cause.

A Review and Background of Insecurity challenges in Nigeria

Nigeria has gotten to the stage whereby no day passes without reports of one insecurity challenge or the other. Nigerians wake up to news about kidnapping, armed robbery, bombings, banditry, ritual killings and in general, wanton killings. More to worry about is the fact that in spite of the huge resources being pumped into the security and defense sector, there has not been a corresponding outcome. For the last few years, the Federal government earmarked not less than N10 trillion for the defense of the territorial integrity and internal security of the nation (Falana, 2010). Yet, it still becomes a trend making Nigerians question those resources being pumped to the sector. The insecurity challenges in Nigeria have gotten to the level whereby no one wishes to be identified with it. This is a state whereby everyone is clueless on what to do. Those residing in the North-East, North Central, North-West, South-South and South-East regions hardly sleep with both eyes closed because the government that is entrusted with the security of life and properties are helpless. It is indeed a grave concern to all and sundry which makes well-meaning citizens of the nation to question how things arrived at such stage where no one is safe and everyone is a suspect.

The Northern Nigeria is being subjected to the Boko haram which has stayed for years. The North Eastern experience with Boko Haram insurgency has left the nation with pathetic thoughts. The North Western geo-political zone is trapped in banditry, ethno religious wars and killings, illegal mining and kidnapping. In the Southern part of Nigeria, it is the same. In the South West of Nigeria, cybercrime, extra - judicial killings, ritual killings, kidnapping, armed robbery and wanton killings are being featured in their zone. South East is now a paradise for unknown gunmen, secessionist agitation, herder-farmer clash, domestic violence and commercial crimes, while South South is plagued and threatened by militancy, kidnapping and environmental agitation as well as ritual killings and cyber crimes. Surprisingly, Nigeria perceived to be the giant of Africa has been witnessing unprecedented insecurity challenges. The dilemma in which insecurity has kept Nigeria as a sovereign state is unquantifiable and unimaginable. The struggle of Nigeria being a developing state is real and yet, the nation is no place to be found among other nations. This is definitely due to the prevalent insecurity that is hindering the nation's development. Nigeria endowed with both human and natural resources has kept its citizens with the option of leaving the country. Best brains out of human development exports themselves abroad so as not to be a victim of Nations present predicament..

Since Nigeria's independence, the demand for true federalism and political restructuring by various ethnic nationalists in Nigeria has not waned. However, the 1966 coup is unbeatably the ugly startup for the insecurity experienced today in Nigeria. The coup was staged and led by Igbo Christian officers, while Northern soldiers, primarily Muslims, led the counter coup. This was done with the excuse of curbing corruption which led to the loss of lives of high-ranking personalities. With the counter coup, there was an immediate consequence which was mutual distrust between different ethnic groups; Igbo ethnic group and Hausa/Fulani ethnic group precisely. That distrust provides strong underground currents in which insecurity survives in Nigeria today. The demand for Biafra also paved way for the secessionist agitations and the militias of different tribes in Nigeria. Also, the results of the unjust killing of Niger Delta activists like Ken Saro Wiwa was the rise of the Niger Delta militia which immediately secured the consciousness of most Niger Deltans.

Insecurity challenges can also be traced to the military rule when large quantities of arms were brought into the country for the use of the military during the Nigerian civil war. Soon after the civil war, the arms were used by some civilians and ex-military men for dirty purposes such as armed robbery. The level of insecurity assumed dangerous dimensions when some of these weapons got into the hands of some unemployed youths who used it for deviant purposes. While some researchers attribute youth violence to peer group influence and other psychological factors associated with growing up. Others emphasized the impact of political and economic factors such as ethnic agitation, political agitation, unemployment, Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) as triggers of violent reactions among the youth (Ubong, 2014). However, since the homecoming of democracy in 1999, the insecurity in the nation has been disturbing too and in the past twenty three years, things have sincerely worsened. Though one can understand that conventional crimes exist in a human society especially after civil wars, in Nigeria, it is much. This is because the more recent experience in violent extremeness, insurgency and other forms of militancy have made the situation much more complex (Adagba, Ugwu and Eme, 2012).

Examples of Insecurity challenges in Nigeria
Nigeria is a nation where insecurity survives and grows. It gets worse as days go by and this has exposed the nation to the world on a negative reason. Some of the examples of the common day insecurity in Nigeria are Clashes between herders and farmers, Boko Haram,

Banditry and Kidnapping, Niger Delta militancy, Unknown Gunmen, Police brutality, Rituals and wanton killings.

a. Clashes between herders and farmers: Nigeria's farmer and herder conflicts have brought about material losses, injury and death and are likely to increase food insecurities and poverty. The farmer and herder insecurity are series of disputes over land resources across Nigeria between the Fulani herders and the non-Fulani farmers. This has been prominent especially around the middle belt since the return of democracy in 1999. More so recently, the south east region is experiencing it. From 2010 to 2022, Nigeria lost over 15,000 citizens and about 110,000 displaced from their homelands in over 1000 recorded violent clashes between herdsmen and farmers in the nation. The driving force of the clashes is the competition for available resources especially grazing land. It seems that the government has abandoned the grazing reserve system created by the Northern region in 1965. Under the grazing reserve system, government provided space, water and vaccinations for the livestock while the herdsmen paid taxes to the government in return. Swiftly, gently and subsequently, the grazing reserve system was abandoned due to the neglect of the agricultural sector as the mainstay of the country's economy. Consequently, grazing resources which were under a neglected agricultural sector could not be sustained. It received less or no attention from succeeding administrations. As a fall back, herdsmen began to resort back to their traditional and sectional grazing routes which had been interrupted with industrialization, urbanization, demographic and other natural factors. This however, led to clashes and conflict with farmers and host communities. This conflict has been on the increase in recent times and now, numbered as one of the major threats to Nigeria national security.
So far so good, lives have been lost. In June 2012, at Chakaruma village in Jos, two people were killed. In July of that same year in Maseh, Tse and Shong villages in Jos, one hundred and ninety two people were killed and the communities razed down. In August 2012, Ojankele and Ijegwu communities in Benue state were attacked leaving twelve people dead amidst properties. Same happened in September of that same year at Ubiaja, Edo state. In October 2012, Dallyam, Rargho and Lotton villages in Jos and Yogbo in Benue state were attacked with thirty four people killed. 1n 2013 January, five hundred and seventy people were killed with twenty houses razed down at Wadaton Gerba village in Jos, Amla village in Benue and more deaths occurrences.

b. Boko Haram: The emergence of Boko Haram insurgency has introduced a terrorist dimension into the criminal space in Nigeria.

Series of bombing have been carried out by the sect as well as taking hostage of innocent citizens. Unfortunately, the United Nations building in Abuja was not spared in the spree. Over the years, this example of insecurity has created widespread insecurity across Northern Nigeria, increased tensions between various ethnic communities, interrupted development activities, frightened off investors and generated concerns among Nigeria's Northern neighbours (Adebayo, 2014). They have been responsible for the bombings in Borno and Yobe states and also are behind the January 20th attack in Kano that led to the death of over two hundred people and three major attacks in Abuja including the UN Headquarter bombing in August 2012. It is important to note that Boko Haram's attack is also targeted at Churches and Mosques. Attacks on Churches and Mosques are particularly disturbing because they are intended to inflame religious tensions and upset the nation's social cohesion (Eme et al, 2012).

The sect was founded in 2002 in Maiduguri with the aim of establishing a Shari'a government in Borno State under Governor Ah Modu Sheriff. The recruitment into the sect were unemployed youths, whose situation has made them dissatisfied with the irresponsible leadership of all levels of government, unemployment , poverty, corruption and insecurity. Various scholars have seen this as a major concern to know the origin and ideology of this sect. For Eme and Ibietan (2012), Jama'atu Ahlia Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad better known as Boko Haram is an Islamic terrorist group that has a strong operational base in the Northeast of Nigeria. According to Lister (2012), the foot soldiers of the sect are disgruntled youths who have been paid by unscrupulous Northern politician to cause mayhem in the country because of their selfish reasons and ambition. Cook (2011); Awojobi (2014); Onuoha (2014) were of the opinion that they (youths) are enlisted into the Boko Haram because of the prevalence of poverty in the North. Aside the killings, kidnapping and bombing of the sect, their activities impede national development of not only North East region but Nigeria at large.

c. Banditry and Kidnapping: Banditry according to Dami (2021) refers to armed violence driven principally by the criminal intent to steal and plunder (p. 301). For him, it is motivated by the quest for economic accumulation. The victims of banditry are individuals who they seem valuable and necessary to breed out funds or any valuable item. It can come in form of raids. Banditry has reached some alarming heights in recent years. Continued insecurity, desertification and possible jihadist influence have allowed for such alarming height. The origin of this

banditry can be traced back to herder-farmer conflicts that plagued Nigeria. There are the likes of Ali Kchalla, Dogo Gide, Kachalla Halilu Sububu Seno, Kachalla Turji, Dan Karami, Adamu Aliero Yankuzo, Ansaru, Bello Turji and many others leading one bandit gang or the other. The violence unleashed typically involves scores of gunmen on motorbikes sweeping into villages, shooting sporadically and carting away valuable things. Zamfara and Kaduna are some of the States affected majorly in this banditry saga. In March 2022, a train heading for Kaduna from Abuja was attacked by bandits and dozens of people were abducted by suspected bandits who bombed the rail tracks. This incident happened couple of days after unidentified gunmen had stormed the Kaduna airport.

Kidnapping on its own works hand in globe with banditry and is also a security concern which spreads like wildfire. Uzorma and Nwanegbo-Ben (2014), see kidnapping as the act of seizing and detaining or carrying away a person by unlawful force or by fraud, and often with a demand for a ransom. It involves taking a person from their family forcefully without their consent with the motive of holding the person as a hostage and earning a profit from their family or the Nation (p.14). Kidnapping has so far become a lucrative business for many jobless youths. Recently, old men patronize the business too after seeing how the jobless youths do cash out. Aside the banditry and kidnapping experienced in the North, South East and South West have patronized it too and it is worse in these later regions. Hardly a day passes by in Nigeria without a report of a case of kidnap. It is therefore no longer news that kidnapping is a heinous but lucrative business which has hampered National Development.

d. Niger Delta Militants: Following years of neglect and marginalization by the federal government, corruption at all levels of the Nigeria State and ecological devastation by oil companies, the Niger Delta is extremely poor despite oil wealth. This neglect reality has provided a very much fertile ground for conflicts to erupt which has resulted to the Niger Delta militancy. In that way, they assume protests and agitations as well as demand for adequate share of oil wealth and environmental protection. This militancy is also as a result of the petroleum industry's pollution of the environment, which has affected the way the indigenes earned their living (farming and fishing). Generally, there is a great resentment that the region does not benefit enough from the oil wealth. Under the principle of federal character, oil revenue is shared out by the federal government to the States and local government. The federal government retains for its use, about half of the revenue. There is a

bonus paid to the oil producing states that is contentious; the recipients see it as too small, while most of the rest of the country see it as too large. Under these circumstances, discontent is endemic among people in the Delta and periodically erupts into insurrection. Presently, the Nigeria government made the insurrection to run a relatively low level by paying off or settling the militants and their leaders: with that, Niger Delta militancy reduced to its minimal level.

e. Unknown Gunmen: Unknown gunmen saga has been prevalent in the South Eastern part of the Country. This issue of unknown gunmen started in the early months of 2021 and has actually kept the region in cold shivers running down everyone's spine. It is assumed that it all started due to the agitation for the republic of Biafra. It is also assumed that the trend got worst when the leader of the Indigenous People of Biafra was arrested. The first occurrence was a compulsory sit at home every Mondays. Those stepping out of their houses for work or business were doing that at their own risk. Subsequently, due to the fact that these gunmen were unknown, people started to hide under the mask of unknown gunmen to commit crimes. Finding shows that the unknown gunmen saga has more hold in Anambra followed by Imo state then Enugu state. It is not much heard in Abia and Ebonyi state in the South East region.

Governments' Response to Insecurity Challenges in Nigeria
No government survives in a challenged society especially when it is the issue of insecurity. Most administrations have been contributing their quota in the fight against insecurity. The government seems determined and robust in ensuring that they enhance security of lives and properties. The government believes that in spite of all the insecurity challenges, the nation is unshaken and unbuttered. For them, the nation's resolve and will to take the nation to a secured height remains strong. Nigeria enacted the anti-terrorism legislation after the United States blacklisted her and her citizens for terrorism in January, 2010. This terrorism prevention act was signed into law in June 2011. To help the fight against terrorism and insecurity, the government pin pointed that insecurity cannot survive without sponsoring its stands which brought about the money laundering probation act in 2011 which is aimed at cutting off financial support for insecurity. The federal government also established the joint task force in Maiduguri in 2011 when the issue of Boko Haram activities was at its peak.

This joint task force included the army, navy, air force, Nigeria police force and the DSS. It allowed for co-ordinate intelligence gathering and

sharing among the security formations. The country as well, closed the borders between Northern Nigeria and the neighbouring states of Chad, Niger and Cameroon after it was established that the insurgents causing insecurity were using porous borders. This particular move was meant to curtail the activities of Boko Haram, preventing them from escaping into neighbouring States and cutting off their supplies from foreign terrorist networks. Lovers of the Nation outside Africa had to provide training, technical and intelligence support so as to assist in the fight against insecurity. These have been some of the responses when it comes to Boko Haram and banditry. In the Southern region of Nigeria, the government responses or ways of curtailing insecurities has always been deploying of joint task forces and enforcing curfews so as to curb the rate at which crime happens.

During the Yar'Adua's administration in July 2009, it marked the first response of Nigeria government to combating insecurity menace following the arrest and extrajudicial killings of the then Boko Haram leader; Muhammed Yusuf. In order to improve Nigeria's international security profile, the Yar'Adua's government and administration established a strong hard military power which Solomon (2013) refers to as kinetic operations. This response was considered by many Nigerians as a total end to insecurity especially Boko Haram without knowing that there is more to it. Late Yar'Adua's death hindered the government effort in improving her security profile. During the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan, the administration established the Terrorism Preventive Act (TPA) and an office of national counter terrorism co-coordinator. His administration also declared six month state of emergency in Borno, Yobe and Plateau state on the 1st of January, 2012 as these areas were considered as the transit roads for movement. On 13th May, 2012, another state of emergency was imposed but this time, Adamawa was included. There was also an establishment of National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST) which was also an effort or response to improve Nigeria's security system. It was considered for implementation in April 2014 as a policy framework for counter terrorism (Eji, 2016). As a security measure, it was systematized into five roles. The first is forestall; that is to prevent people from becoming terrorists, the second is secure which aims at increasing safeguard against terrorist groups; the third is identifying aims at preemption through discovery, the forth was aimed at reducing the impact of attacks from terrorism and lastly is implement which serves as a framework for mobilizing a coordinated cross-governmental counter terrorism effort (Eji, 2016).

During President Muhammed Buhari's administration, he replaced the heads of Nigeria's security institutions and as well, purchased military and security technologies. One of the key statements Muhammad Buhari made during his campaign towards the 2015 presidential election was to strengthen Nigeria security system thereby putting an end to insecurity especially Boko Haram and banditry which had been a major threat. As a result of that, he replaced the heads of security. This was few weeks after he was sworn in. More so, in the first year of his administration, PMB spent a lot on military and security technologies which includes drone, closed circuit television (CCTV) among others in the North East Nigeria (Moss, 2018). Furthermore, in a bid to fight insecurity, his government response to the challenge was seen with the approval and establishments of regional security outfits such as Amotekun and Ebube Agu.

Kidnapping on its own has received response from the government. This is due to the fact that it poses serious security threat and the aftermath of the crime which is ransom is very outrageous. In most cases when the ransom is not met, murder becomes the available option. Also, most kidnappers are targeted at getting ransoms and still murder the victim. Kidnapping by bandits and insurgents is among the biggest organized or gang crime in Nigeria and a serious security challenge. On the government response, the Nigeria Senate has passed a bill imposing jail terms of at least fifteen years for paying a ransom to free someone who has been kidnapped and made the crime of abduction punishable by death in cases where victims die. On the kidnapping that comes with banditry which has put the nation's security in the frontiers of terrorism, the government has not been sleeping about it. Government has responded with a dialogue, settlement and peace missions. This response was at the early stage of banditry in 2016 when some State governments leaned heavily on negotiation and settlement to end it. The State governments paid away as compensation to identified leaders of bandits in return for peace. States like Sokoto, Zamfara and Kastina further offered an amnesty hinged on renouncing banditry and kidnapping and the surrender of weapons. In the same stem, a famous Islamic cleric; Sherik Ahmad Gumi initiated a peace mission aimed at reaching a consensus between the government and the bandits leaders.

In 2018, Government efforts turned to military aerial bombardment of occupied forest used by bandit strongholds. The effort was strengthened by the seizure of telecommunication services in path of the region for several weeks in the last quarter of 2021. This was to undermine the ability of the groups to communicate and receive

information about military activities. There is also another government response in regards to insecurity which could be seen with a federal high court proscribing bandits as terrorist organizations. This was intended to ensure that the appropriate level of force, tactical and operational assets and resources were deployed and used against the bandit groups; in other words, tougher sanctions for the bandits.

Furthermore, in the Niger Delta, government has granted amnesty to the erstwhile militants as well as setting up rehabilitation program for them. Government has also setup several extra ministerial bodies such as the Oil Mineral Producing Area Development Commission (OMPADEC), Niger Delta Development Commission (NDDC), technical committees, Ministry of the Niger Delta and the National Council of Niger Delta (Adegbami, 2013).

Insecurity Challenges: Bane to National Development
Insecurity challenges have proven to be bane to national development over time. No country can survive or flow with insecurities roaming everywhere. The atrocities of insecurities hamper on the successful thriving of the nation's progress. By so, a country cannot achieve development unless it seeks first ways to achieve security and as well, control her territory. Here in, security of human lives and properties are ultimate because human deposit resources and therefore, human resources are necessary and integral for growth, progress and development. In other words, the beauty of development in a nation lies in the contribution of diverse human resources. However, the increasing state of insecurity in the nation as a result of Boko Haram, banditry, kidnappers, herdsmen, unknown gunmen, Niger Delta militancy and several other wanton killing going on have made the nation's development to be hindered. Nigeria as a matter of fact is still referred to as a developing country. Some nations that got their independence after Nigeria have place in the world when it comes to development but a country which is known as the giant of Africa seems to be stricken and crippled with insecurity.

Firstly, Nigeria has been blacklisted among the top terrorized nations in the world. This blacklisting has deprived the Sovereign State from many good tidings and as well, affects the nation's GDP. There is a great decline in foreign investments and partnership, a decline in the nation's forex. National development is simply facing a serious backdrop. While several factors could have contributed to insecurity and low level of national development in the nation; in the case of Nigeria, there is no doubt that bad governance and leaders in power are

the major causes because bad governance and leadership breed poverty and unemployment which causes the insecurities trending in Nigeria. Conventional wisdom subscribes that insecurity rises with poverty and unemployment. The common line that holds both Boko Haram, herdsmen-farmers clash, banditry and kidnapping, unknown gunmen and Niger Delta militancy is poverty and unemployment. This trend of insecurities has affected the economic, social, and psychology of the citizens. The economic, social and psychological costs of the insurgency cannot be quantified. Commercial activities in the North East and Southeast have been reduced because of the unprecedented attacks of the Boko Haram, unknown gunmen and bandits. Banks, markets, schools and shops do not open regularly due to the fear of the coordinated attacks from Boko Haram. This, on a general note hinders growth in a society because everywhere is in chaos and the run for life is the utmost. Africans believe in the sacredness of life that is why there is an Igbo mantra "Onye oku na agba beya anaghi achu oke" supports the importance and sacredness of life.

Also, insecurity impinges on the political stability of the nation. This is so when there is an unstable political system due to crisis. The government in power however, becomes distracted and carried away from pursuing the goal of transforming the country so as to be a developed nation. In this situation, instead of funding the different sectors comfortably, the government channels all her energy and resources to security either by buying more weapons or by settling the insurgents. For example, the 2012 security budget took N921.91 billion when compared to other sectors like health, agriculture, information and education. In the last five years, about 12 trillion naira has been budgeted for security and defense to tackle the myriads of security challenges.

Thirdly, the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Nigeria has dropped to the minimal. This is not new to any nation that suffers insecurity. When there are insecurity challenges in the country, foreign investors are scared away from coming to invest their capital and contribute towards the nation's development; in other words, jeopardize foreign investment in the country. There is no investor whether local or foreign that will be motivated to invest in an insecure and unsafe environment. In civilized world, investors are not only looking for high returns on their investments but also safe paradise for their investments. Thus, the alarming level of insecurity in Nigeria has made the economy unattractive to the economic thereby, tampering with national development. The conscious awareness of the Igbo philosophy of Aku-

ruo-ulo becomes weak because insecurity is not good for investment. There are cases of some businessmen and manufacturing companies having to relocate particularly from the North in recent times to peaceful parts of the Country (Nwagboso, 2012). Many of the Igbos and Yorubas from Southern Nigeria who were engaged in various business in Northern Nigeria had to return to their home States to avoid the violence orchestrated by the terrorist group; Boko Haram (Suleiman, 2012).

There is also a heavy negative impact that affects the development of the Nation which happens to be absence of the dividend of Democracy. For Udekigbo (2022), there are benefits enjoyed by the masses who vote in the government in power. These benefits are referred to as the dividend of democracy. Insecurities rob the masses of these benefits. The government will find it difficult to take up any project in a community or state that is being ravaged by insecurity. Oil prediction has also drastically been on a decline as a result of the Niger Delta militancy and kidnapping of oil workers in the South South region. In 2011, Nigeria was estimated to have lost about 600,000 barrels of crude oil on the daily basis to illegal bunkers which amount to about 3.7 trillion naira yearly (The Punch, 2011). Between January 2021 and February 2022, Nigeria lost about 3.2 billion dollars. Beside, the wave of kidnapping in some parts of Nigeria has forced investors, businessmen and companies to relocate to peaceful environments. Thus the decline in foreign investment in Nigeria as a result of insecurity when combined with effects of global economic showdown has caused the closing down of thousands of factories in Nigeria (Omoyibo and Akpomera, 2012).

Other ways that insecurity has retarded the nation's development according to Ewetan and Ubah (2014) include

  i.   Social dislocation and population displacement.
 ii.   Social tensions and new pattern of settlement which encourages Muslims/Christians or members of an ethnic group moving to Muslim/Christian dominated enclaves.
iii.   Heightens citizenship question which encourages hostility between indigenes and settlers.
 iv.   Dislocation and disruption of family and communal life.
  v.   General atmosphere of mistrust, fear, anxiety and frenzy.
 vi.   Dehumanization of women, children and men especially in areas where rape, child abuse and neglect are used as instruments of war.
vii.   Deepening of hunger and poverty in the polity.
viii. Discourages local and foreign investment as it makes investments unattractive to business people.

ix. Halts business operations during period of violence and outright closure of many enterprises in the areas or zones where incidence of insecurity is rife and are on daily occurrences.

x. Increases security spending by business organizations and government.

xi. Migration of people from area or region where there is prevalence of insecurity.

However, the ability of government to provide a secure and safe environment for a successful growth in the development of the nation has led to resentment and stagnation of the National development hence, for Ewetan and Urhie (2014), the bane of Nigeria's development is insecurity (p.59).

Practical ways of handling Insecurity Challenges in Nigeria
According to Sanusi (2014), there is need for more proactive measures to curb insurgency in the country and the government owes it as a duty to provide means of livelihood for the citizens. Sanusi further maintains that, no matter how much the government spend on security forces, there will not be security until these people have food on their table. Poverty and hunger need to be dealt with as the first measure to handling insecurity. Poverty, hunger and unemployment make people vulnerable to radicalization and drive conflict. What is required is sincere policy implementation to lift Nigerians out of these circumstances. One cannot separate poverty from insecurity and terrorism. Nigeria being among the top countries terrorized, also ranks top among the poverty stricken country. Efforts should be made towards reducing poverty and generating employment for the unemployed. This will not only reduce the rate of insecurities but will also increase the productivity of the nation hence, the development become progressive. This can be achieved by ensuring that policies are tailored towards the poor and unemployed. By so doing, the government will restructure and redesign approaches that will permanently reduce insecurity.

The government should come out clear too when dealing with insurgents. One cannot be sponsoring evil and fight the same evil he or she is sponsoring. In government, due to political crises, some top officials have been mentioned to be great sponsors of these insurgents. Nigeria and the citizens become a playground for their play. These government officials and authorities in some cases command the security men to go and fight the insurgents they are sponsoring which if the insurgents are caught, a means of safety for them will be made.

Those that suffer to this cause are the security men who risk their lives in fighting insecurity. They are the ones at the frontline of insecurity engaging the insurgents. Also, the rule of law guaranteed with quality leadership should not be farfetched from practically tackling insecurity. The rule of law holds supreme the laws of the land which everyone must abide with irrespective of position or office. A society that does not uphold the law is baptized with chaos. This is why Ozigbo (2019) sees rule of law in Nigeria as a mirage (p.278). There is actually, no respect for the law because everyone wants to show how much power he/she wields and all these create a state of disorderliness coupled with anarchy and lawlessness.

A democratic sovereign state like Nigeria must be law abiding and as well, be under the law. All these come with a quality leadership which also guarantees security in any given society. Plato in his right understanding considered quality leaders as those who must have the capacity for abstract thinking and altruistic consideration of events and issues especially in performance. Hence, quality leadership has nothing to do with religion, ethnicity, region or social status and strata. It is a leadership that "would not be limited to championing the cause to their home state, tribe or religious groups, but rather focused on deeds and pronouncements which convincingly and positively impact on the entire citizenry of the federal republic" (Kufor, 2012).

Nigerians have seen what bad leadership which brings about the nonchalance attitudes towards security has kept Nigeria and its development. Over the years, it has been obvious that the bane to national development is in the failure of leadership because with good leadership, it could resolve its inherent problems such as tribalism, lack of patriotism, social injustice and cult of mediocrity, indiscipline and corruption (Achebe, 1983). It is truly the time for Nigerians to start yearning for good leaders so that the locust may not rise another time. Yearning for good leaders is only possible by voting wisely. Having the rule of law and quality leadership will definitely ensure stability, serenity, development and security.

Government should fund the security group well enough to the extent that they have every resource in their finger tips. Securing weapons and funding their trainings is highly recommended so that they can withstand and engage the insurgents causing insecurity in the nation. By so doing, security issues and threats through modern method of intelligence and advanced technology will help reduce the issues which the nation is facing. Ewetan and Urhie (2014) suggest that the real

panacea for solving insecurity challenge in Nigeria is for government to accelerate the pace of development (p.60). With development, Ewetan and Urhie were referring to creating an economy with relevant social, economic and physical infrastructure for business operation and industrial growth to provide gainful employment, high level of educational facilities and medical care for the people.

Conclusion

The presence of security in any Nation boosts the morale of the citizens and attracts investors around the world. It gives an assurance and guarantee that the Nation is ready to partner with other Nations in doing business. This is because there is an absence of threat to lives and properties. The presence of security also removes the Nation from being one of the top terrorized countries in the world. In Nigeria, there is an uprising in insecurity which has as much, attracted attentions of scholars. The insecurity alone is a threat to the existence of the Nation. The security of everyone should at this time be the number one goal and determination of the government. The elimination of insecurity is however not an easy task but the government should wake up from their slumbers and get things right. A time will come in Nigeria when nothing can be done and the nation will keep borrowing to sustain her Nation. However, if insecurity keeps trending and keeps skyrocketing, then the dream of a sustainable continuous growth of the Nation and national stability will only be a fairy tale and mirage. Meanwhile, security is every ones business and the development of the nation is everyone's business too, so curbing insecurity is in everyone's hands. More so, the government should try and listen up to public opinions on ways of curbing insecurity. Most citizens have vital information that may help as well as security strategy to get rid of the criminals. It is only when the security issues in Nigeria is arrested that she can attend to her expectation and be regarded as a serious Nation in the commit of Nations.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE PUSH FACTOR IN RELIGIO-CULTURAL MIGRATION IN THE CENTRAL NIGER DELTA

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Executive Summary

The controversy generated by cultural migration in human history has challenged the curiosity of scholars of religion, culture, and history. This is owing to the prominent place the desire for improved human welfare occupies in the life of man. Thus, humans are constantly on the move in search of greener pasture. This study concerned itself with the critical investigation of the various push factor which over the years influenced human migration in the central Niger Delta and elsewhere. It identified internal crises, struggle for survival and the desire to create a kind of self-identity, as probable factors. The study applied Haas (2021) social migration theory as the lens of the work. It adopted the ethnographic and phenomenological approach in the discussion. The study observed that human history is dotted with instances of humans moving from one place to another. It concluded that this experience would continue so long as man remains insatiable.

Keywords: Insurgence, Displacement, Niger Delta, Migration and Destination.

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Introduction

Migration is a human phenomenon and essential for human survival. Human migration or movement dates back to the cradle of civilization. It suffices to say then that throughout human history, humans have always been on the move from one geographical and cultural location to another. Human migration may be predicated on two counts; first, because his wants are insatiable and second, because no one community or individual has reached the state of autarky. However, the reason for migration varies depending on the prevailing circumstance of the individual or group whether as an emigrant or immigrant or a journey man on transit, the dignity of the individual is incontrovertible. It is in recognition of this fundamental nature of man that it was enshrined as one of the basic rights in the international codes and domesticated in the laws of sovereign states (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13; 2017). The foundation of every other human right is, arguably, the rights to freedom of movement. It is recognised as the fundamental in Nigerian constitution and other state laws and instruments Throughout history, migration remains a dominant feature or driving force towards achieving this desire. Thus, the right to freedom of movement or migration are inalienable and fundamental. In corroboration, the United Nations notes that more and more people and groups are now on the move than ever and for various reasons. As it were, this may be owing to cultural, political, economic, ecological, or religious factors. In any case, as people migrate, they take along with them their culture (Obodoegbulam, Kpe, Amadi and Ngbara. 2019).

In the views of the United Nations migration agency a migrant "…is any person who is moving or has moved across international boarder or within a state away from his habitual residence". Accordingly, this is regardless of (i) a person's legal status, (ii) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary, (iii) what the causes for the migration are and (iv) what the duration might be".

It is not in doubt that humans are embodiments of their society as expressed in their economic socio-cultural and religious worldview. Hence, migrants take along with them their culture in which will account for the cases for the resilience and resurgence of the cultural elements even in the new society.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the different histories of migrations of some people in the Central Niger Delta. The study equally attempted to appreciate some factors that gave rise to the movement and explain how the various people coped in their new environment. The research

observed that both internal and external factors were responsible or accounted for the incident of migration which took place in the region. Accordingly, the study applied Haas (2021) social migration theory as the lens of the work. To facilitate this study, the research combined the historical and ethnological methods in the discussion. It concluded that human migration is a continuous process in the history of man.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical frame of this study derives from Haas (2021) social migration theory. Haas (2021) opines that Functionalist migration theories generally see migration as a positive phenomenon which as it were, contributes to productivity, prosperity and greater equality in origin and destination. According to him, functionalist migration theorists explained migration as an optimisation strategy, in which individuals (and sometimes families or households) explore in order to access higher and more-secure sources of income and other livelihood opportunities.

He submits that Neo-classical migration theory, as pioneered by Todaro (1969) and Harris and Todaro (1970), appears to be the strongest argument in favour of functionalist migration theories. Be this as it may, there are more theoretical currents that come under the functionalist migration paradigm. In this regard, the Push-pull models readily call to mind, as they present migration as a function of income and other opportunity gaps between origin and destination areas. These functionalist models hinge on the overt or covert suppositions that humans make rational decisions in order to brighten or secure their opportunity. The only major exception on this rule seems to be the new economics of labour migration (NELM) pioneered by Stark (1978, 1991), which conceptualises migration as the direct product of poverty and constraints as a household or family affair, (instead of an individual's) co-insurance strategy aimed at diversifying (instead of maximising) income through risk-spreading. Although it acknowledges the role of structural constraints in shaping migration decisions, NELM is also ultimately based his argument on the assumption that households are rational actors engaging in a long-term economic optimisation strategy. However, such accounts typically ignore how poverty, inequality, immigration restrictions, government repression and violence can prevent people from migrating, cause their forced displacement or compel them to exploitative work condition. This explains why the social and economic benefits of migration often accrue disproportionally to the already better-off in origin and destination societies.

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Haas (2021) noted that one of the criticisms against the functionalist migration theory is its reductionist character. The 'push-pull' reasoning on which its explanations are based strongly resonates with intuition but has proved to be inadequate and often misleading in understanding real-world migration processes. In the view of Haas (2021) the Push-pull models could not convincingly explain migration as a social process because they listed a number of static factors that openly play some role in migration without specifying their role and interactions or providing a structural account of the social processes which very often induce population movements. Skeldon (1990, cited by Haas (2021), contended that push-pull models leave us with a list of factors, all of which can clearly contribute to migration, but which lack a framework to bring them together in an explanatory system, leading Skeldon to conclude that "the push-pull theory is at best, a mere platitude".

Considering the arguments conversed above, it appears that at first sight, functionalist and historical-structural accounts of migration seem diametrically opposed in their understanding of migration, in terms both of its social causes and of its consequences for destination and origin areas. However, what both paradigms have in common is a general inability to provide a meaningful understanding of human agency through their portrayal of migrants either as rather soulless individual utility-optimisers or as rather passive victims of global capitalist forces. This shows that neither functionalist nor historical-structural theories provide realistic accounts of migratory hubs. In view of the above contentions, Haas (2021) seems to be of the opinion that the central challenge in advancing migration theory is the elaboration of conceptual tools that improve humans' ability to simultaneously account for structure and agency in understanding processes and experiences of migration, without abandoning the insights which both functionalist and historical structural paradigms offer. Premised on the above, this paper opines that some micro structural and historical factors accounted for the large migration issues in the central Niger Delta, as shall be discussed.

The Land and People of Central Niger Delta
The Niger Delta is situated at the southern end of the River Niger. It stretches from the Mahin Creek to the Bight of Benin and from Apoi to Bakkassi. It covers about 75% of the entire coastline of Nigeria with half of the region's topography crisscrossed with rivulets, creeks rivers and parchment of islands with others as uplands (Wangbu 2018). The

average monthly temperature of the region is 27°C with an annual rainfall ranging from 300 to 4500 ml.

The natural habitat of Niger delta people is made up of mangrove, lowland rainforest, freshwater forest and aquatic ecosystem which mangrove is the most productive and complex ecosystem and of high socio-economic value to the local dwellers (Izah 2018). The region is rich in both aquatic and terrestrial biodiversity and serves as the main source of their survival as well as stabilizing the ecosystem against storms and even water level rise. It therefore serves as a natural means for mitigating adverse climatic change for the inhabitants (Okonkwo 2015; Wangbu 2018). Be that as it may, there has been an increasing and seemingly unchecked attacks on this natural environment as a result of human related activities. The ecosystem is steadily depicted unrestraint owing to the mindless explorative and exploitative misfortunes that has ravaged the land because of the multi nationals and some indigenous entrepreneurs who have no concern for bio-diversity.

Premised on the above, it is held that Nigeria has one of the worst environmental records in the world (Butler, 2008) owing to "unconscionable profiteering at the detriment of human and nonhuman elements in the region" (Mbonu, 2014). The impacts are manifested widespread social and environmental problems ranging from oil spills, depletion of biodiversity, pollutions, urbanization, deforestation and so on. The combined effects of these and many other non-environmental features have resulted in a visible and alarming rate of degradation in the physical and bio-social environment, bringing sorrow and poverty to majority of the population. The direct consequence is that the inhabitance continues to struggle for survival by any means possible leading to migration.

The central Niger delta which this research covers, stretches between the Forcados and the Imo Rivers. In this regard, the states of Edo and Delta lie to the West while Cross River and Akwa Ibom are in the East. Hence, the area covered by this study is the central section made up of Rivers and Bayelsa States by the original definition before the recent political creations (Obodoegbulam et al. 2019). The Central Niger Delta has the following indigenous groups, the Ogba, Egbema, Ndoni, Ikwerre, Kalagbari, Abua, Engenni, Andoni, Ogoni, Etche, Ekpeye and Ndoki in Rivers State. In Bayelsa some of the ethnic groups are: Brass, Nembe, Gbarain, Kolokuma, Opokuma, Ekpetiama, Apoi, Adodiama, Epie, Atisei, Zarama, Ekeremo, Bomo, Mein, Otiogidi and biseni among

others. All these either collectively or in parts, trace their ancestry to the ancient Benin kingdom.

Issues of religio-cultural migration in the central Niger Delta revolves around certain factors, these are social inequality, economic deprivation, political marginalization, cultural annihilation, religious intimidation, internal strife and external aggression. All these either singly or collectively, contributed to incidence of religio-cultural migration, not only in the central Niger Delta but in many parts of the world.

The movement of people from one place to another, otherwise known as migration is as old as the history of humans. these movement are necessitated by one factor or the other. People usually leave one community, region or country to their present abode for one reason or the other. Haralambos and Horlborn (2013) noted that "globalization", differentiation, acceleration, feminization, politization and proliferation as trends to the phenomenology of migration. Referring the above assertion to the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, it is obvious that the different ethnic groups and nationalities that inhabit the region migrated from different countries or regions to their present location. In the Central Niger Delta, i.e., Rivers State for example, ethnic groups like Ekpeye, Abua, Ogba, and Engenni; claimed to have migrated from the Ancient Benin Kingdom. The Okirika and the Degema groups traced their origin to Ogbia/Engenni people.

In an analysis of the causal factors of migration, Haralambos and Horlborn (2013) maintained that migration of any mode will not take place without a cause. This section of the paper however is aimed at analysing the factors, otherwise known as push factors that necessitated this migration.

Religio-cultural subjugation: The origin of the Egbesu deity in Oporomor clan of Bayelsa State could be traced to the fear of cultural subjugation. Solomon (2021) holds that There are variations in the oral traditions and stories, surrounding the origin of Egbesu deity and the Oporomor Clan, however, the different narratives agree that Ekere the founder of Amabolou, the spiritual and political headquarters of the Oporomor Clan migrated from Oporoma which is the headquarters of the Southern Ijaw Local Government Area of Bayelsa State. Alagoa (2005) Opined that Ekeremor came from the central Delta town of Oporoma. He contends that, there was a fight between the section in which Ekeremor was the leader and another section name Angiama. Ekeremor's people lost and fled the town. They settled at Oru-Ekeremor and eventually moved to Amabolou.

According to Amabiri (2022) Pasman Ebikeme documented by Madu Weky, asserted that Ekere migrated from Oporoma town in Southern Ijaw Local Government Area. Ekere was a beloved son of his father, who join his father in the worship of the family Egbesu deity. Following the death of Ekene's father, the priesthood of the Egbesu family deity was given to Ekere to take care but his half-brothers were displeased and threatened to kill him. Ekere escaped and migrated first to Esabakiri and later moved to Tobufou (Egbemo-angalabiri market), from this place in the course of his fishing and hunting expedition he found the forest which is between Norgbene and Tamogbene. He later settled opposite the shrine of the deity for fear of wild animals and later founded the present settlement of Amabolou because of the large expanse of cultivable land. From Amabolou other communities sprang up that today make up the Oporomor Clan. The implication of the above is that as humans migrate, deities equally do so.

It is factual that lack of tolerance of some cultural practices which create fear and threat of conflict can engineer migration. Enigheni (2018) affirmed that the forbearers of Abua Kingdom, Ogbia, Emeni and Obenya were uncomfortable with the ancestral veneration of the custodians of the Benin tradition who demanded human heads for their annual sacrifice. According to her, these traditional religious activities coupled with geographical handicap and the search for a better means of sustenance and related factors made the Abua's progenitors migrate to the central Niger Delta.

According to a mythic narrative by the people of Soku, the mysterious disappearance of members of some communities in the locality, was a common event without a solution. The bodies of the missing members suspected to have drowned during fishing or killed by animals are not usually found. However, the escape of a kidnapped pregnant woman from *Opie-ama* community located within the area but married to an indigen of *Boko-ama* who stayed with these cannibals for over five months led to the invasion and conquest of the cave dwellers in about 11th century AD by the combined warriors of *Boko-ama* and *Opie-ama* people.

The *Opie-ama* and *Boko-ama* communities later relocated to the place owing to its security advantage. They were later joined by people from *Iriame* community, *Doki* community and *Amanana-ama* community to form the Soku Kingdom. In all, there were five waves of migration from the old shipping to Soku to form a federation of some sort.

The seven outlets of the cave later became the seven compounds of Soku. They are; *Bilaba Polo or Opupolo, Okurusibobroa polo, Abakala polo, Agame polo, Opudaba polo, Burunumgbo polo* and *Duminaya polo.*

Alasia, (2016) holds that, "the Soku people were very vast in indigenous warfare. The people were mainly of southern Ijaw stock but were later joined by others from the Northern/Central Ijaw speaking people of Biseni, Akinima and Abua extraction". The kingdom flourished in warfare, Traditional science and technology. As a result, fleeing family members from neighbouring communities came to the kingdom for refuge. Such people and communities were usually settled under oath and paid allegiance to the kingdom.

This is a state of conflict between different ethnic nationalities or groups within a country or region. War or strife as a physical push factor is a critical and front-line factor for the migration of various ethnic groups and nationality in the central Niger Delta. The Ogoni ethnic group for instance, is said to have migrated from the ancient Ghana (Ngbara, 2018). Lending credence to the above, an encyclopaedia source records that, it was as a result of civil war in Ghana at about 15 B.C.E. that caused the migration. The report maintained that the Ogonis are the first emigrant to the Central Niger Delta. The forbearers were led by a woman named Gbenekwaanwaa in the company of other warriors, spirit media, and medicine men via a canoe to their first settlement in Nama, the ancestral home of the Ogonis' in the present day Gokana local Government Area. Baribiina (2018), citing Anokari affirmed that Gberepkeewe was among the first emigrant from the old Ghana who later migrated to Giopko and settled there. In a nutshell, it was war and crises that occasioned the migration of the Ogoni ethnic nationality to the Niger Delta.

The Okirika people are another set of migrants who claimed that it was internal strife that pushed them to the eastern part of the central Niger Delta. In their history of migration, a Progenitor called Oko was said to be the first emigrant who paddled his canoe through a lone creek. (Opuoyuloya, 1975). According to Adox-Okujagu (2019), Oko did not leave his tribe, i.e., where he migrated from because of the thirst for fame, a discovery, but owing to incessant wars and crises in the neighbourhood clan of Kologuma, Tombo, Ipiakasa and Adeke now in Bayelsa State. The unabated crises led to further migration of two other people namely, Opoutibeya and Opuogoloya who later settled in the Island of Okirika.

The Orashi sub-region inhabitants of the Central Niger Delta Region are yet another group that were "pushed" by war and other related factors to their present abode in the central Niger Delta. This sub-region comprises of the Ekpeye, Ogba and Abua people. Solomon (2014) maintained that it was in a bit to escape the looming war and crises in the Ancient Benin Empire that led to the migration of a man called Akalaka who happens to be the father of Ekpeye, Ogba and Ihuroha at about 1442 A. D.

Solomon continued during the reign of Oba Awuarre, the then Oba of Benin, his atrocities were so severe that his subjects could no longer bear, hence, they planned to assassinate him. The plot was revealed to the Oba who instantly became very hostile to the people. According to him, this hostility resulted to a great exodus of people from Benin Empire for fear of being killed. Enyia, (2017) has it that it is during the crises that many tribes such as the Itsekiri, the Urhobo and others (including Akalaka the great warrior) left Benin for their new settlement. Akalaka who was one of the courageous palace chiefs who planned the insurrection fled to Agbo now in Delta State. While there in Agbo, Solomon continued, the Obi of Agbo planned to conscript the able men of the kingdom which include the children of Akalaka, and when he sensed it, he then migrated southwards through the River Niger and branched off the Orashi. The team finally settled at Olube, now Ula-Ubie. Kalaka, his three children and their progenitors, thereafter spread through the length and breadth of the forest between Orashi and Sombriero Rivers.

Obodoegbulam (2019) agrees to an extent with Enyia but differed in the fact that it was an intended transformation of the insignificant territory by the Oba Ewure (1449 -1473) that led to his increase of the amount of money paid as tax in the kingdom, and upon a courageous demand by Akalaka for the ruling Oba to explain the reason for the increased taxation that led to the hostility and eventual departure.

Obodoegbulam (2019) while discussing the effect of the internal strife which led to the disintegration of the original settlement of the progenitors of Akalaka the forebear of Ekpeya, Ogba and Ihruoha, holds that it was the crisis at Ahiahu not Ula-Ubiye between the sons of Ekpeye and Ogba which resulted to the death of one of the sons of Ekpeye that led to the separation of the three sons. Ekpeye migrated and settled at the South (Ula-Ubie), Ochichi moved to the East (Elele) and Ogbo moved to Umuogba and later to Obigwe.

Economic Opportunity: Economic opportunity is another push factor that necessitated movements to the Central Niger Delta. A clear case in point happened in the Bonny Kingdom. According to Wikipedia report, (2022), the Bonny Kingdom, otherwise known as Grand Bonny was founded by Okpara Ndoli, a man from the Igbo hinterland at about 1000 A.D. the then 17th and 18th century slave trade was the major attraction of the founder Okpara Ndoli. After the abolition of the slave trade by the British Government in 1807, and the introduction of the legitimate trade palm produce became the major stock in trade. Bonny was a major trading coastal city from the 16th century. Inhabitants of this coastal city, were originally known as the Ibani people and spoke Igbani language. However, owing to the heavy influence of the slave trade and the plan to hide their indigenous language, gradually adopted the Ndoki dialect of Igbo language. While discussing the development of Port Harcourt as a commercial city, Tasie (2020) contended that commercialisation and industrialisation of the city largely accounted for the large population influx. In his submission, the development of Port Harcourt in 1912, as a port city, and the subsequent construction of the railway line from Enugu, attracted emigrants from different parts of the country, to work in the immerging city. This scenario was further encouraged following the coming of shell B. P. who established their industrial and residential area in Evo.

The same economic consideration influenced the founding of Rumuolumeni in Akpo district of Obio/Akpo Local Government Area of Rivers State. Evuzie (2018) held that Olumeni, the founder of the community came to the area in search of gallnuts to harvest. Rumuolumeni people till the present, revere their progenitor as a strong man who carved a niche for himself by abandoning his comfort to explore his environment. At the road junction close to Rumuolumeni town hall, his stature is visibly display with his climbing rope.

Tracing the ancestry of Udekama people of the present-day Degema in Rivers State, Kpe (2018, 2021), citing Solomon (2003) avows that Udekaama people originated from Benin kingdom, the forebears of the Udekaama left Benin and in their journey in the 11th century and temporarily settled at a place called ovreni in Ethiope Local Government Area of Delta state. From this location, they later moved to Agbassa-Ogbolomini Epie and from there to Tutubele in Akininia Engenne in the present Ahoada-West Local Government of Rivers State, before they finally settled on the Udekaama soil. Solomon (2003) noted that the movement of the people from Akanima, was as a result of sharing formula of the fish harvested from a common fishing lake.

While the section of the people who migrated to the present Degema argued for equity, their relatives who stayed in Akanima insisted they must take a bigger share. In Degema language, the name Udekama means "tomorrow we share" This perhaps may have been the occurring term when the people argued on the sharing formula.

Poor living conditions, lack of economic opportunity, search for food and water security characterized the migration of Etche Ethnic Nationality into the Central Niger Delta. To this end, researchers on Etche history gave two accounts concerning their origin. Achonwa (1980 cited by Onyekwere (2016) opined that while a source has it that they migrated from amongst the earliest Igbos that moved to the different areas, another maintained that Etche people migrated from Benin Kingdom. He argued that, the people of Etche left Benin Kingdom about the 7th century to Aboh to the Orashi Rivers through Ndoni creek, settled briefly at present day Omoku, moved Eastward to Abua area, crossed to Abua to Ndele and finally settled at Igbido which is the first Etche settlement. These movement and migration from one place to another was occasioned by perceived poor living condition, lack of economic opportunities, crop failure, and search for food and good source of water.

Recommendation
In view of the discussion in this paper, the following recommendations will suffice.
1. The negative factors which force people to migrate from their traditional environment should be discouraged.
2. Migration issues in the developing countries should be given a closer attention, by development agencies.
3. Destination areas, regions or countries should develop a more friendly policies that will give the migrants a sense of belonging.
4. Development agencies should encourage migrants to return to their homeland after some period away.
5. Migration studies should be introduced in the school curriculum from primary to university levels.
6. The cultural attraction which influenced migration should be replicated in the migrants' original settlements.

Conclusion
From all indication, it is crystal clear that movement into Niger Delta were occasioned by many factors. Ethnic wars, intolerance towards, certain cultural practices, available and lack of economic opportunities and their impacts are key factor that drive migration in the Niger Delta.

All these, no doubt brought about different cultures and customs that dominated the pattern of migration character among the people. As people move, they moved along with their cultural norms, values and precepts. This submission shows that every instance of migration is usually accompanied with not only the movement of the people but inclusive of the religious and cultural lifestyle

Relating the arguments above to the theoretical frame of this research, it is incontrovertible that there are areas of agreement and disagreement. Haas (2021) and his associates in the theory mainly concerned themselves with the migration which occurs between the developed and the developing world. This is against the position espoused in this study which focused on the push factors in the religio-cultural migration in the central Niger Delta, rather than the trend of migration. when there is the challenge for any people to leave their natural environment, the first consideration is usually what to do with their culture. This is because it is the totality of their existence. This perhaps explains why it is very difficult to annihilate the culture of any people no matter the excruciating condition at any given time in history. It is the position of this current study that any people that abandon their culture, equally abandoned their existence and continuity.

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THE 2003 GENERAL ELECTION VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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Executive Summary
Over the years, the Nigeria electoral process had been characterized by massive violence. The 2019 general elections was the sixth multi-party and the third hand over of Civilian administration since the beginning of the Fourth Republic democratic dispensation in Nigeria. The account of electoral process in Nigeria cannot be complete without making reference to electoral violence. This violence has become a permanent feature of electoral processes in Nigeria. From independence till date, there has never been any election adjudged absolutely free and fair as far as Nigeria is concerned save the one purportedly won by chief MKO Abiola in 1993. This paper examined electoral violence and its general implications on the democratization process in the country, with special emphasis on the 2003 general elections. Methodologically, the paper adopts the historical analysis method while data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The paper argues that the high incidence of pre and post electoral violence in the country in the period under study has to do with the way Nigerian politicians regard politics, the weak political institutions and weak electoral umpire as well as the compromising nature of the security agencies. The paper therefore recommends that to reduce the high rate of violence associated with elections, politicians must eschew the politics of do or die.

Keywords: Election, Violence, Nigeria, Electoral Umpire, Democracy.

Introduction
Election has been variously defined by different authors and scholars alike. But each definition points to the fact that election is the process of selecting people for a leadership position. Thus, Ojo defines election as "formal expression of preferences by the governed, which are then aggregated and transformed into a collective decision about who will

govern, who should stay in office, who should be thrown out, and who should replace those who have been thrown out[1].

To Awopeju, the term election connotes the procedure through which qualified adult voters elect their politically preferred representatives to parliament of a country or any other public positions for the purpose of running the government of the country or the public office[2]. Nwachukwu and Uzodi sees election as a set of activities leading to the selection of one or more persons out of many to serve in positions of authority in a society. Consequently, **election,** is the formal process of selecting a person for public office or of accepting or rejecting a political proposition by voting.[3]

On the other hand election violence is any random or organized act that seeks to determine, delay or otherwise influence electoral process through threat, verbal intimidation, hate speech, discrimination, physical assault, forced protection or blackmail, destruction of property or assassination.[4] According to Nwolise, electoral violence is a form of organized acts or threats, physical, psychological and structural aimed at intimidating, harming or blackmailing a political stakeholder before, during and after an election with a view of determining, delaying or otherwise influencing a n electoral process[5].

Electoral violence in Nigerian electoral process has been a source of concern to Nigerians and the international community who expects an improvement in the electoral process each time a general election is to take place. This high expectations of Nigerians and the international community always hit the rock after each election with the rate of electoral violence in the current election being higher than the preceding ones which is expected to be improved on. Between 1999 and 2019, Nigeria had had six general elections with the rate of violence increasing in each electoral year. Many incidents of violence were recorded during the April 12 and 19 elections in 2003. By the time the state Houses of Assembly elections began around May 3, much of the electoral violence had run its course especially in states that made up the South-South and the South-East, like Anambra, Imo, Enugu, Bayelsa, Rivers and Delta. This was at least partly because opposition parties started boycotting the polls, complaining of rigging and fraud in the earlier elections and urging their voters not to cast useless votes.

Conceptually, the term election according Ojo is a "formal expression of preferences by the governed, which are then aggregated and transformed into a collective decision about who will govern, who

should stay in office, who should be thrown out, and who should replace those who have been thrown out[6]." In concurring, Awopeju defines election as a procedure that allows members of a given society to choose representatives who will hold positions such as leaders of local, state and national government[7]. According to R.T Dye, election is an important mechanism for the employment of administrative governance in democratic social order, a major involvement in a democracy and the way of giving approval to a regime[8].

On the other hand, violence was conceptualized by Johan Galtung in terms of influence (to mean harm), and explains the relations between the influencer, influenced and a mode of influencing; categorized in terms of a subject, an object and action[9]. He accepted though within the limited assumption, that the end of state of violence is its somatic incapacitation or deprivation of health of the individual by means of killing which is an extreme form of violence in the hands of actors who intend it to be the consequence of their action[10]. He sees violence as "present when human beings are being influenced (harm) so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realization". It is therefore clear that violence can start or occur, covertly with a built-up emotion and in the process manifest gradually from hate approach in terms of negative /hate speeches and comments made with aggressive attitudes/behaviour, manifesting in the form of hostility and confrontation through furious behaviour that involves assault, intimidation, fighting and attacks among other methods.

The concept of electoral violence is therefore made up of two distinct concepts in one, which includes electoral and violence. In this review, the two concepts are defined and then reviewed in the context of the subject matter of the current study. The word electoral in the opinion of Bamgbose is the process involved in the conduct of elections either at the public or private level[11]. In the same vein, Laakso defines electoral violence as an activity motivated by an attempt to affect the results of elections either by manipulating the electoral procedure and participation or by contesting the legitimacy of the results. It might involve voters and candidate's intimidation, killing, attacks against their property, forceful displacement, unlawful attentions and rioting.[12]

Ojo conceptualized electoral violence to mean any act of violence perpetrated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post-election periods and may include any of the following acts; thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations or use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other

electoral process or cause bodily harm to any person connected with the electoral processs[13]. Electoral violence therefore means any act of violence perpetrated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post-election periods, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process, or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral processes.

Theoretically, this paper adopts two theories namely, the frustration aggression theory and the Marxian theory of conflict. The frustration aggression theory was developed in 1939 by Dollard and colleagues. They published a monograph on aggression, which later was known as the Frustration-Aggression theory, anchored on the assumption that "aggression is always the consequence of frustration." This theory primarily focuses on aggression, as Dollard has it that "the occurrence of aggressive actions always presumes the existence of frustration and contra wise, and that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression"[14]

Frustration-aggression reflects one of the reasons for electoral violence because men who want to live above their social means do not accept their limitation in defeat. This results into violence as the last resort in order to achieve their aims of living beyond their social means. Frustration-aggression theory addresses the pre-election and post-election violence. Thus according to in situations of pre-election violence, frustration and aggression comes into play when a certain aspirant is power-hungry and possibly realizes the indications that he/she may possibly lose to the rival, thereby adopting vehemence for their own personal gains.[15]

Therefore, the frustration aggression theory provides an explanation for electoral violence that has been occurring in Nigeria. The relevance of this theory to our study is that events surrounding electoral violence in Nigeria are as a result of fear of defeat exhibited by electoral candidates, which triggers frustration and then transfer of aggression, through the employment of human mercenaries in perpetrating violence in pre, during and after elections. To achieve peace, fairness and transparency of elections in Nigeria, the theory specifies the need for enlightenment on the importance of citizens coming out to vote in their masses in support of a free and fair election, making their votes count and as well make provisions for well-equipped security personnel that would safeguard life and property of voters during elections.

On the other hand, the Marxian Theory of Conflict maintains that social classes arises from the relations of production under capitalist mode. Marx observed that the social relations of production under capitalism generates two major and distinct classes in the society based on access to the means of production[16].The structure is such that those who possess the means of production (bourgeoisie) control, dominate, subjugate and exploit those who do not possess capital but depend only on their labour as a means of living (proletariats/have-nots).

Conflict theory holds that social order is maintained by domination and power, rather than consensus and conformity. That is to say that those who controls wealth and power try to hold on to it by any means possible, chiefly by suppressing the poor and powerless.

This theory is therefore very apt for this study because it juxtaposes electoral violence and political stability. It reveals that electoral violence in Nigeria is as a result of quest for political offices, which is anchored on primitive accumulation. It is important to note that the failure of the Nigerian leaders to establish good governance, forge national integration and promote real economic progress, through deliberate and articulated policies, have led to mass poverty and unemployment. This has resulted into communal, ethnic, religious, electoral and class conflicts that have now characterized the nation in recent time.

The review of related literature revealed the thoughts of authors on electoral violence. Thus, Robert states that electoral violence depicts acts of aggression, thuggery, and other similar acts that are displayed in the course of the electoral process[17]. Balogun sees electoral violence as any form of violence that arises at any stage (pre, during and post-election) from differences in opinions, feelings and engagements of electoral processes[18]. Igbuzor, also wrote on electoral violence; to him, electoral violence is 'any act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post-election periods, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral processes[19]. Although there exists many literatures on this subject matter, the fact that none was on 2003 general election electoral violence has left a gap in the literature. Thus this work will fill this gap.

Electoral violence is one major problem that has affected Nigeria's democratic sustainability and achievement of good governance. Absence of proper, dedicated and committed democratic institutions militates against the sustainability of democracy in Nigeria. Thus democratic institution such as the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) should put in place structures and election ethos with a view to conducting smooth and credible elections, built on the notion of "one man, one vote" for the purpose of achieving a violence free election.

Historical Overview of Electoral Violence in Nigeria
The electoral history of Nigeria from independence is replete with massive irregularities. The British colonial administration left behind several contradictory policies that affected not only the nature of governance but some strange political relationship between and among the ethnic groups. Thus, the ethnic groups relate with each other on grounds of suspicion and conspiracy. Therefore, virtually all elections that were conducted in Nigeria were definitively violent often making the state unproductive.

The only periods when there was minimum or no violence at all were elections conducted by the military in 1979 and 1999. This was obvious as the military would not tolerate any act of violence neither could the politicians allow it, in order to avoid a situation where the military might renege in returning power to civilians, although, the military could may impose their preferred candidate on the people. The collapse of the Nigerian first republic in 1966 was precipitated by electoral violence of 1964 and 1965 in Western Nigeria[20] but aggravated by coincidental and reactive crisis taking place in the North, particularly the Tiv crisis of 1963 and 1964; as well as the controversial 1963 population census. The official death toll in the 1965 election was put at 153 people, out of which police killed 64 in direct confrontation. However the unofficial figure speculated up to a total of 2,000 deaths.[21]

Second republic which lasted from 1979 to 1983 before another coup took place was pregnant with serious political violence especially with the 1983 election which gave Shagari what the ruling party, National Party of Nigeria (NPN) called a "landslide victory" but was dubbed by General Danjuma as "a gunslide victory"[22], and was later to be replaced by military slide coup in 1983 revealed the extent to which violence was displayed to win the election. In Ondo state for instance, the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) declared Chief Akin Omoboriowo of NPN as the elected Governor. However, a counter announcement was

made over the state radio by the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) pronouncing Adekunle Ajasin as the true winner. The later allegedly went round Akure, the state capital in an open van "calling on his supporters to come out and defend their votes"[23]

In Oyo and Imo states Chief Bola Ige and Sam Mbakwe's press conferences and radio broadcast threatened that "if NPN went ahead to rig that election as planned the wives of those who helped them will become widows and their children orphans". Indeed both Oyo and Ondo states experienced monumental violence that eventually led to the collapse of the second republic. The weight of rigging in the 1983 election was so massive that there were not only calls for its cancelation but there was also moves towards confederation.[24]

The most feasible election which was adjudged the most free, fair and credible was the 1993 elections which were fundamental to the quest of Nigerians for liberal democracy, but the military leadership under General Ibrahim Babangida however annulled the elections. The presumed winner of the election Chief Moshood Abiola, popularly known as (MKO) and his running mate Ambassador Babagana Kingibe were both Muslims. Nigerians voted for him because he was accepted across the country irrespective of his religious background. The election was conducted peacefully but the reason for the annulment which Nigerians are yet to be told precipitated the post-election violence[25.] For the second time in 1993 Nigerians began to move back to their home state of origin for fear of impending war. The first experience was in 1967 during the civil war. And for the second time in 1993 the western part of Nigeria was held up as the theatre of violence. Given the impending doom, General Babaginda abdicated and handed over power to an Interim Government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan, Abiola's kinsman from Abeokuta, Ogun state.

This arrangement however did not avert the doom as the Interim government was declared illegal by the court, the outcome which made General Sani Abacha surreptitiously upturn the Interim regime and took over power in military styled coup. In the process, Nigeria experienced for the first time serial bombings, killings and threats to life and property. Nevertheless, General Sani Abacha began a series of transition programmes that would have led to his transmutation to a Civilian president but for his death in 1998. At the time General Abdulsalami took over power after the death of General Sani Abacha, it was not possible for the military to hang on to political power in spite of options given to him including extension of tenure to cushion the

turbulent environment before election. Therefore Abubakar began a quick-fixed transition programme which led to the election of Chief (General) Olusegun Obasanjo that opened up Nigeria's Third Republic on the 29th of May 1999.

The 2003 Election Violence in Nigeria

The 2003 general election was presided over by President Obasanjo's regime which came into power in the previous 1999 election organized by General Abdusalami Abubakar, and again President Obasanjo was returned to power. That election was described as the "most fraudulent" in the history of Nigeria. In fact, the election results proved and confirmed that proper National Assembly, Gubernatorial and Presidential elections were not conducted in accordance with the INEC guidelines and the Electoral Act. Rather, figures were literally manufactured in Government Houses or collation centres as results for the return of President Obasanjo and the PDP to power. The alleged electoral malpractices of the ruling PDP were regarded as the most sophisticated in the electoral history of Nigeria.

Further to the massive rigging were pockets of violence in different parts of Nigeria. A number of people have argued that there were no elections in 2003, but merely the intimidation of voters and the selection of already decided winners by elites and caucuses. They were making reference to Anambra state where Dr. Chris Ngige was selected by Chris Uba to be the governor, despite the fact that Mr Peter Obi won the election, his victory did not see the light of the day until a court of appeal in Enugu sacked Dr. Chris Ngige and installed Mr. Peter Obi. Both internal and external observers were unanimous on the unfairness of the competition in the electoral process which was said to have been manipulated by the ruling party, the Peoples' Democratic Party.[26]

According to the Human Rights Watch report, between April and May 2003, about one hundred people were said to have been killed and many more injured during Federal and State elections in Nigeria and that most of the violence was perpetrated by the ruling PDP and its supporters.[27] Also, the Transition   Monitoring   Group (TMG), a coalition of over ninety Civil Society Groups, in its report on the 2003 general elections, passed a vote of no confidence on the elections[28].

Some political parties and their candidates decided to challenge some of the results before the various Election Petition Tribunals and have gone ahead to do so while others declared "mass action"

to pressure a government without popular mandate to abdicate power. Most of them were however denied justice by a corrupt judicial system. In Delta state, office of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was burnt down and electoral materials destroyed. Also in Delta state houses were burnt and a couple visiting one of the parliamentarians were burnt to death[29]. In Edo state, a staff of INEC and members of the ANPP were killed and in Rivers, some state assembly candidates were beaten by armed thugs.[30]

Human Right Watch recorded that on March 5, 2003, Marshall Harry, the National Vice Chairman for the South-South Zone of the largest opposition party, the ANPP, became the most senior national figure to have been killed since Justice Minister and Attorney General Bola Ige was killed in December 2001,while many more Nigerians have lost their lives in small-scale political clashes than in targeted assassinations, these high-profile deaths have provoked perhaps greater turmoil in Nigeria, and in some cases a slightly more focused response by government and police. In many of these cases it is difficult to confirm the exact motive for the crime.

In Imo state, an ANPP senatorial candidate and former commissioner Ogbonnaya Uche, was shot in his home in Owerri on February 8, 2003, and he died two days later. Speaking to journalists before his death in the hospital, Uche reportedly said he believed the attack was political, and explained that two days before the shooting, he had been trailed to the party secretariat by a group of armed men, who had asked his driver his whereabout.[38] Another death in Imo shortly followed; Theodore Agwatu[31], a principal secretary to the Imo State governor, was shot and killed in his home on February 22, 2003. From all indications, these killings was not unconnected with the 2003 elections in the state. This is because, politicians view the election as a war that must be won by all means. Thus making politics a do or die affair.

Furthermore, one common element in almost all the states in Nigeria in the 2003 election has been the snatching and stuffing of ballot boxes. This was reported in 2003 in Benue, Kogi and Nassarawa in North-Central; in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Taraba and Yobe in North-East and in Jigawa and Zamfara in North-West. It was also recorded in Akwa Ibom, Cross River, Delta, Edo, and Rivers in the South-South and Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo in the South-East[32]. In Imo this included the destruction of ballot boxes from non-cooperative areas. Non- cooperative areas are those voting areas who were discovered to be massively voting for the opposition party.

Again, ballot snatching and stuffing was reported in Ekiti, Ogun, Ondo, Osun and Oyo in South-West. It was assumed that if security was adequately provided such actions could have been prevented. But it was quite unfortunate that even in some cases where the security forces were on ground-the police and the army, they were at times involved or bribed to look the other way as nothing is going wrong.[33] In fact, it was evident that security personnel perpetrated electoral malpractices and fraud in collaboration with political parties[34].

Also worrying has been the provision of results even for areas where voting did not actually take place, which has been the case in many states. In the 2003 elections, doubtful results were declared in Kogi, Kwara, Nassarawa and Plateau in the North-Central; in Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe in North-East; Kaduna, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara in North-West; and in Abia, Anambra and Enugu in South-East. Also fake results were provided in Benue, Kogi and Kwara in North-Central; Delta, Edo and Rivers in the South-South; and Osun in South-West.[35] Other irregularities recorded included under age voting especially in the northern states of Nigeria, kidnapping before elections, shooting at distribution and collation centres as well as snatching of electoral materials particularly result sheets as recorded in almost states in Nigeria, and the announcement of suspicious figures as authentic results[36]. Election violence in Nigeria is so conspicuous that the citizens always await two results after elections; the number of ballot papers cast and the number of victims of election violence.

Causes of Election Violence in Nigeria

Election violence has in recent times become a part and parcel of the Nigerian political norm. Thus, it has generated a dozen of questions and posers about the causes of electoral violence, and a review of the problem suggests a numerous reasons. The answer can be found in the array of causes of electoral violence that have been identified in the literature. Some scholars were of the view that the causes of electoral violence includes: greed, electoral abuses and rigging of elections, abuse of political power, desire to perpetuate oneself in office, alienation, marginalization and exclusion and the political economy of oil.[37]

Others ascribe poverty/unemployment[39], ineffectiveness of security forces and culture of impunity, weak penalties, weak governance, corruption and proliferation of arms and ammunitions[38]. Still others argue that the causal factors are: lack of security, partisanship of traditional rulers who were supposed to be the custodians of our

cultural heritage, abuse of office by elected officials, zero-sum politics or winner takes it all syndrome, lucrative nature of political office, poor handling of election petition, lack of faith in the judiciary and lack of compliance with the extant electoral law and enforcement of the enabling laws, the partisan disposition of the police, and other security agencies detailed to monitor the election, and secure lives and property, corrupt INEC staff and ad-hoc officials who collect bribe from politicians, conflict of interests between and among politicians and greed and selfish interests of politicians coupled with ideological bankruptcy.[39]

However, the most prevalent forms of political violence in Nigeria exude in political assassinations, arsons, violent campaigns, thuggery, election-related ethno-religious crisis, snatching of ballot boxes and so on. Analysts believe that this has been possible because election in Nigeria is seen as a "do or die affair". This violence is most often carried out by gangs whose members are openly recruited and paid by politicians and party leaders to attack their sponsors' rivals, intimidate members of the public, rig elections, and protect their patrons from similar attacks.

The architects, sponsors, and perpetrators of this violence generally enjoy complete impunity because of both the powers of intimidation they wield and the tacit acceptance of their conduct by police and government officials at all levels who has a share in their lawless practice[40].

It is against this backdrop that the Nigeria's governing elite have been widely implicated in acts of electoral violence, corruption and fraud so pervasive as to resemble criminal activity more than democratic governance[41]. It is surprising that members of the political class who are responsible for instigating this plethora of violence as well as their foot-soldiers who undermine the electoral process by perpetrating these violent acts are never brought to book.

Political behaviourists have argued that violent electoral behaviour which is either intended to hurt or kill political opponents or their supporters has a devastating human rights impact on ordinary Nigerians. In the same vein, they contend that the scenario is prevalent because of the nature of the political system, the prevailing political culture and the level of political socialization. In the Nigerian case, electoral violence is more entrenched because our political system is supportive of zero-sum game politics. (The winner takes it all). This

explains why Otoghile[42], described electoral violence as the radioactive by-product of some structural and attitudinal dislocations in the society which affects the level of political participation of the citizenry.

Pre-election campaigns, election-time, and post elections periods are usually violent, with campaigning in many areas beset by political killings, bombings and armed clashes between supporters of rival political factions[43]. As a matter of fact, examples too close to our subject matter abound in Nigeria's system of politics which has actively and continuously rewarded corruption and violence with control over governorships, parliamentary seats and other positions of public trust despite existing law[44]. This in itself encourages election violence.

Effects of Electoral Violence on Democratic Stability in Nigeria
Electoral violence has had tremendous negative effects on the democratic stability of Nigeria. A persistent and uncontrolled electoral violence has the potentials of truncating democratic stability in a country. More so, given the nature of our politics, electoral violence has become a norm. A major consequence to this is sabotaging the will of the electorates at the elections. It may lead to a situation where leaders that emerge are elected by the minority because the majority that has fears for their lives will not go near the electoral process[44].

Again, large scale electoral violence has adverse effect on democratic stability because it negates the essential purpose of elections as a popular basis for change of government. For instance; a government which by electoral violence sustains itself in power against the wishes of the majority of the electorate lacks the legitimacy or the moral authority that popular mandate bestows[45]. Nigerian politics has always been marred by violent conflicts even in the colonial period where state repression was common. The women's riots (Aba women's riot) of 1929, the Egba uprising of 1931, the General Strike of 1945, the Enugu Colliery Strike of 1949 and the Kano Riots of 1953 are cases of violence in Colonial Nigeria[46]. In the early years of independence the prospects of violence reared its head in the Western Region and the Middle Belt. The violence that ensued ultimately led to the collapse of the first Republic.

Pre, during and post-election violence is capable of truncating democracy and ushering military intervention in politics which generates another violence. The intervention of the military in politics in 1966 also generated more violence in the scale that was unprecedented. Not only were political assassinations the order of the day but the

pogrom against Easterners in the North and the Civil War in which over 2 million Nigerians lost their lives showed the desperation of the political elite for power and the extent they could go to maintain it. Electoral violence has created room for the emergence of incompetent persons who occupy vital electoral positions made possible by some political demagogues. The fact that such people are mediocre, they cannot deliver the dividends as expected by the masses. It is also important to note that due to political violence, some of the best brains in political and economic management are not in governance as a result of victimization, while others have been brutally eliminated. The assassination of Funso Williams, Chief Bola Ige and Chief MKO Abiola are still fresh in our memory.

Election violence breeds political apathy among the electorates. Once an election records violence such as shooting, snatching of ballot boxes, kidnapping and other physical injuries, it becomes certain that the electorates turns cold feet in coming to carry out their civic responsibility. This in turn gives the political opportunist free hands to perpetrate their planned evil act.

Conclusion and Recommendation

From the foregoing, it appears electoral violence has been an integral part of the electoral process in Nigeria. This is because virtually all elections conducted in Nigeria since independence has a mark of violence on it. Every facet of the electoral process engages in electoral violence directly or indirectly. Political parties tips their members to commit electoral violence, politicians encourage their supporters to perpetrate violence in order to retain or achieve their politicalmandates, electoral bodies at all levels collect bribe to short-change submitted names or cause omission of names of candidates which in turn ignite violence.

With every part of the process been fingered as an accomplice to electoral violence, what should be done to achieve a free and fair electoral process devoid of electoral fraud and violence and ensure that votes cast during election count, and violence reduced to the barest minimum? We therefore recommend the following as panacea to election violence.

i.   Public enlightenment/awareness on the part of the electorates would ensure the enthronement of free and fair election. This is because when the electorates especially the youths who are often used as thugs are properly educated about the consequences of their actions, most of them will definitely drop the idea of working as

thugs to politicians who send their children to good schools abroad and place them in better jobs that will make them useful members of the society while endangering their own lives as a result of peanuts that will be given to them.

ii. Delisting and deregistering of political parties involved in election violence and outright disqualification of those elected under that platform. This will send strong signal to other political parties who would want to use violence to achieve their political victory.

iii. Prosecuting and banning of politicians involved in electoral violence. Politicians who are involved in electoral fraud should be banned for life. They should also be prosecuted and made to face the full wrath of the law so that others should be called to order by learning to play the game by the rule.

iv. Every electoral petition should be dispensed with before the swearing of elected officials. The current situation where someone alleged to have stolen the vote enjoys the fruits of office, and even spends public funds on his petition defense before eventually losing at the court, should be discouraged.

v. Again, there should also be formation of an Electoral Offences Commission to strengthen the state's capacity to punish electoral offenders. Such a commission should be made to dispense justice faster than the conventional courts, without necessarily sacrificing the principles of justice and fair play. If one must reform and redeem Nigerian democracy, then electoral cheats and those who aid and abate them in INEC must be made to face the full wrath of the law.

vi. Furthermore, recognition and acceptance of independent candidature will enrich the Nigerian democratic process and curb cases of imposition in the parties and lack of internal democracy, knowing that an alternative platform is open to aggrieved but popular candidates.

vii. Any elected office holder found guilty should not only be barred from future elections, but should be jailed for the offence. A national database should be created as every rigged elections starts with a padded voter register. There is an urgent need to ensure the electoral roll is genuine and not fake. The existing of the Permanent Voters Card (PVC) will go a long way to address the issue of electoral violence. The PVC captures the biometrics of the voters on the roll.

viii. Lastly, there should be a war against poverty to discourage vote buying/selling. This is because poverty is the major reason people sell their PVC.

When these measures are put to action, it will go a long way to bring

sanity to the electoral   process and make the country have self-worth when it comes to election matters.

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THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN THE ACADEMIA AND ELECTORAL FRAUD IN NIGERIA: A HISTO – RELIGIOUS APPRAISAL

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Executive Summary

The Nigeria electoral process since the return to democratic rule in 1999 has been characterized with various fraud which has made it difficult for people to experience dividends of democracy. What is obviously seen are litanies of mismanagement of public resource, infrastructural collapse, insecurity and increase in unemployment rate among the people. In the midst of these numerous challenges, it is observed that the academia is one of the catalysts responsible for the perpetration of these vices that rendered Nigeria impotent. This is because in many cases, the academia are usually the returning officers, supervisors and many other electoral officers who due to financial inducement manipulate the process thereby derailing the development of the nation. The resultant effect is the leadership failures that are being experience in Nigeria today. This is because most beneficiary of electoral fraud are mostly incompetent people that are not prepared for leadership but are aspiring the leadership post for the sake of wealth, fame and social status among others Regardless of all the challenges, it is obvious that the involvement of academia in the electoral process has brought integrity to the election; however, much improvement need so as to redeem our society for good.

Keywords: Election, Fraud, Academia, Religion, Politics

Introduction

When the military handed over to the democratic elected leaders on May 29th 1999, Nigerians had great hope, with expectations for dividends of democracy. It brought sign of relief to many who were maltreated and humiliated under year's military dictatorship. In this way, the electoral umpire - Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) became the object of attention and focus; yet, the task before them was herculean due to certain circumstances which may not be limited to – financial autonomy, appointment of the INEC chairman by the

Presidency, and insecurity among others. In battling with these and many other enormous challenges, the electoral umpire was able to continue delivering the task before them though not without challenges. From 1999 till date, the Independent Electoral Commission has been headed by five different men of which only Professor Athahiru Jega has been the only one to conduct two general elections though these elections had encountered a lot of criticism for lack of credibility as well as not meeting acceptable global standard.

Of all these INEC chairmen, it was Prof Attahiru Jega as the chief electoral umpire that increased high participation of the academia in the electoral process. For Prof. Jega, his aim is to restore and protect the integrity of our elections. This is because without electoral integrity, the confidence and purpose for democracy will be defeated. He argues that achieving electoral integrity needs the collective effort of people. He went further to call for continuous legal and administrative reforms, as well as sensitization and public enlightenment. According to Prof Jega, there is need for all stakeholders to strengthen their constructive engagement with the electoral process, with a view to improving, protecting and defending its integrity. In other words, all critical stakeholders engaged with the electoral process have to work together to eliminate or reduce to the barest minimum the range of all malpractices, which have bedeviled the electoral process.

And since Prof Athahiru Jega is a product of the Ivory tower - the University Community, he has the philosophy that Universities, as pinnacles of education, research, training and advocacy, need to constructively engage with the national quest for democratic development generally, and in particular with the desirability and necessity of entrenching electoral integrity in our political systems and processes. The concept of "Ivory Tower" generally represents elitism, detachment, eccentricity, self-preoccupation, if not self-centeredness. Universities in the classical sense generate and impart knowledge through teaching and research, literally pursuing knowledge and the truth as an end in itself. Although universities in the contemporary era have assumed the additional role of training needed critical human skill that is necessary for survival, reproduction and sustainability, as well as for progress and socioeconomic development; without being detached from their host communities. This is why the use of Vice- Chancellors as returning officers, lecturers, and graduates were introduced. The question is, what impact has this in our electoral process? Did it actually helped to curtail electoral fraud? Do the participation of the academia

helped to improved dividends of democracy to the people? These are the issues this research will unravel.

Understanding keywords:
Academia:
The part of society, especially universities,   that is connected with studying and thinking,   or the activity or job of studying. Describing the role of the academia in university community, Dunleavy(n.d) states that the task of a university is the creation of the future, so far as rational thought and civilized modes of appreciation can affect the issue'. He went further to state that a university is engaged in caring for and attending to the whole intellectual capital which composes a civilization. It is concerned not merely to keep an intellectual inheritance intact, but to be continuously recovering what has been lost, restoring what has been neglected, collecting together what has been dissipated, repairing what has been corrupted, reconsidering, reshaping, reorganizing, making more intelligible, reissuing and reinvesting.

Electoral fraud:
Electoral fraud, sometimes referred to as election manipulation, voter fraud or vote rigging**,** involves illegal interference with the process of an **e**lection**,** either by increasing the vote share of a favored candidate, depressing the vote share of rival candidates, or both. Although technically the term "electoral fraud" according to Myagkov, Mikhail (2009) covers only those acts which are illegal, the term is sometimes used to describe acts which are legal, but considered morally unacceptable, outside the spirit of an election or in violation of the principles of democracy

Electoral fraud in Nigeria: Issues arising
Ani , Omeh and Ike (2013) see electoral fraud as an illegal interference with the process of election that interferes with the mandate of the people. They went further to state that it manifest but not limited to the following: using vote counts to change an election result, Increasing the number of votes for the favored candidate, Reducing the vote share of the opposing candidates or parties, under age voting, mass voting by unregistered citizens (neither qualified to register nor even registered to vote),   snatching of ballot boxes to be stuffed with thumb printed votes for party candidates, and switching of results before or after collation to favor ruling party candidates. Others include intimidation at the polls using private militant gangs or even state security, scaring away of genuine registered voters from exercising their votes in polling booths

located in an opposition favored constituency, deliberate one-sided and improper counting of votes, media manipulation to announce or publish the wrong results and the wrong candidates as winners before the proper collation of results by the Electoral Commission. In recent elections in 2019 vote buying is the mostly used techniques by political actors. Onuoha and Ojo (2018) explains that though money and other valuables can be used to effectuate vote buying, political actors have adopted two main approaches to buying votes for election day.

The first is the Cash for Vote approach - This involves giving or promising the prospective voter some agreed amount of money well before the individual casts his or her vote at the polling station. The payment is done before the actual voting, and could be within the vicinity of the polling station or farther away. The settlement is made secretly or in the open. Often, the vote buyers demand evidence of ownership of a voter's card and assurance that the voter will vote for their party before offering the money. In this approach, trust is key to the contract. It is also known as the pre-paid method of vote buying.

The second approach is the Vote for Cash - This involves giving or rewarding the voter with the agreed amount of money or material compensation after the individual has shown evidence that he or she voted for the party. There are several ways the voter can prove to the vote buyer that he or she voted for the agreed candidate. One method is where the voter shrewdly displays the ballot paper showing his or her thumb print in favour of a particular party, so that the party agent standing strategically nearby can confirm compliance with the unholy contract as he or she emerges from the cubicle at the polling station. Another method is for the voter to photograph the thumb printed ballot paper to show as evidence. Thereafter, compensation in cash or kind can occur either immediately or at the close of balloting, and may take place within the precinct of the polling station or at an agreed place. In this approach, evidence is key to the consummation of the contract. This approach is also known as the "see and buy" or the post-paid method.

The report written on 2011 elections by the International Foundations for Election Systems (IFES) according to Aniekwe and Kushie (2011) showed that since the 1999 to the 2007 elections, the Nigeria electoral and political landscape has fallen from par to below par and has moved from violence to greater violence. The level and magnitude of electoral and political violence has risen and the political elites have often converted poverty ridden unemployed Nigerian youths into readymade machinery for the perpetration of electoral violence. This is

linked to the political system and institution that in theory has failed to political participation and in practice has seen the political elites forming bulk of the sponsors and perpetrators of electoral violence.

There were repeated scales of violence and political or religious rift between the Christian and Muslim on the one side and North and South on the other side. The pattern of violence in the former is such that cut across political, sectarian and electoral, while in the latter, the activities of the militant transcends just the struggle for the control of the resources to include both covert and overt participation in perpetrating electoral violence.

On his part Igbuzor (2010) sees electoral violence it as: "any act of violence perpetuated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post election periods, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral processes". Okolie (2004) stated that electoral fraud encompasses all forms of electoral malpractices, irregularities and rigging which have normal underlying animal intent and purpose . To him, it is electoral acts, which unduly sway electoral victory to be designed particular usually unpopular direction. He noted that electoral fraud connotes all forms of illegal activities perpetuated by desperate interest driven actors within the entire environment of electoral process. On the other hand, he averred that it could take the form of stuffing of ballot boxes with ballot papers or hoarding of electoral materials, manipulation and fabrication of electoral results, use of law enforcement agencies to intimate, mime and disenfranchise eligible voters and candidates, or murder of political opponent.

Given the above, Okolie (2004) is of the conviction that electoral rigging and irregularities do not qualify to be classified as electoral fraud if such practice is devoid of criminal acts or embedded in criminalities. He stated that even though electoral fraud is in all-encompassing phenomenon, it could be differentiated from irregularities occasioned by unconscious short coming emanating from electoral system. Hence, the underlying ingredient of electoral fraud is that the actions are deliberate, illegal criminal and design to truncate democratic principle and popular will. He summed up Nigeria's general elections as being characterized by violence, intimidation and use of coercive suppression and disenfranchisement of eligible voters.

The academia and electoral process in Nigeria:
There is no doubt that the participation of the academia in the electoral process bring about a dramatic transformation and restored sanity with integrity to the electoral system. Looking at it from a historical perspective, it is obvious that the choice of universities academics and national youth service corps members became inevitable because of several irregularities that characterized the 2007 general elections which spate of rigging was aggravated to an appalling magnitude that even the late President, Musa Yar'adua who was the product of the election openly acknowledged that the elections was mired with electoral irregularities (Kowale & Ikedinma 2021). In view of these glaring evidences of illegalities and loss of electoral integrity, it becomes pertinent that a change is inevitable. What then is electoral integrity? Electoral integrity is any election that is based on the democratic principles of universal suffrage and political equality as reflected in international standards and agreements, and is processional, impartial, and transparent in its preparation and administration throughout the electoral cycle.

It was this that prompted Prof. Athahiru Jega to involve the university community in the electoral process. He drew up a roadmap and one of the highlights was appointing serving Vice-Chancellors as collation and returning officers. ProfessorJega also convinced the Commission to recruit new university graduates as polling agents.
Prior to this, Kowale and Ikedinma (2021) observe that:

> Before the appointment of Professor Attahiru Jega in 2010, the practice was to recruit temporary staff of INEC from members of the public whose 'identity' is hidden. Such ad-hoc staffs are difficult to be held accountable for irregularities perpetrated by them then. Incumbent political office holders equally influence the selection of ad-hoc staff that sometimes compromised the integrity of the electoral process. However, INEC shifted the recruitment of its ad-hoc staff to national youth service corps members (returning officers) and academic staff from federal universities (presiding officers and poll clerks). With the new option, there is a growing improvement capable of deepening the electoral process, although not without its challenges.

This is to rescue the deteriorating integrity in electoral administration. These fresh graduates are members of the National Youth Service Corps. For instance, the 2019 general election witness the involvement of 35 Vice-Chancellors as returning officers. This academia presided over the counting of votes taken to collation centers.

The above position tallies with Verje, Kwaja and Onubogu (2018) that posited that young corps members will not want their future to be jeopardized on the account of compromising electoral integrity, while, the lecturers know that their employment can be terminated if found guilty of committing electoral infractions. Mr. Sayuti Adeniyi equally noted that Nigeria electoral process has been better compared to previous ones where people that cannot be tracked were used as ad-hoc staff. The lecturers engaged in this noble cause can easily be traced to their respective place of work. They are, therefore, unlikely to compromise the process of election when in charge, so as not to tarnish their image. The universities academics and national youth service corps members appeared more neutral in the electoral process.

However, there involvement is without controversy and allegation of corruptions with electoral fraud. According to Guardian Editorial on 24th April, 2019 in Guardian Newspaper, some University teachers who served as returning officers were fingered as being used by some politicians to rig the election. A case of a Mr Ogban, a professor of soil science, University of Calabar, and a returning officer in the 2019 general elections in Akwa Ibom North-West District, was charged for manipulating the election results of two local government areas – Oruk Anam and Etim Ekpo. Imukudo (2021) stated that the court, found Mr Ogban guilty of fraudulent manipulation of election results, publishing and announcing of false results, also asked the professor to pay N100,000 fine. He went further to say that Mr Ogban had told the court how the results of the election were falsified to give the All Progressives Congress (APC) an unfair advantage over its main rival, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). For instance, some 5,000 fake votes were added to the APC's score in Oruk Anam, in the election. Godswill Akpabio, the Minister of Niger Delta Affairs, was the APC candidate in the election. He was seeking a return to the Senate, after he defected from the PDP. The PDP candidate, Chris Ekpenyong, a former deputy governor in Akwa Ibom State, defeated Mr Akpabio in the election, which was gripped by pockets of violence. Mr Ogban was prosecuted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) in the landmark case. In such a matter, where lies the future and the integrity of the Ivory Tower.

This is not the only case as Onuegbu (2020) stated that the Independent National Electoral Commission, INEC, in Akwa Ibom State has arraigned a lecturer, Professor Ignatius Uduk, for alleged involvement in electoral fraud during the 2019 polls. Uduk, who was a Collation and Returning Officer for the state House of Assembly election in Essien Udim state constituency during the last general election, is the second

lecturer to be arranged by INEC for electoral fraud in the same election. He was arraigned, yesterday, before a state High Court, Uyo on a three-count charge of abandoning his assigned duties as the Collation and Returning officer of the state House of Assembly election and unlawfully generating scores and entering same in form EC 8E(II), thereby committing an offence punishable under section 122 subsection 1 of the electoral act of 2010 as amended.

Okon (2020) quoted the AkwaIbom State Resident Electoral Commissioner (REC), Mr. Mike Igini, as decrying the attitude of these lectures and said that these academics were engaged because they were presumed to be individuals of high integrity who would not indulge in illegal act of deliberate electoral manipulation or falsification of election results during the process of collation. According to him, the commission was unequivocal that there would be severe consequences against any and all, no matter their status, who engage in acts capable of undermining the commission's efforts to give meaning and purpose to the ballot as the best means of expression of the will of the people in a democracy.

The questions remains why did these academia descend so low to void the trust the nation put on them? One may ask if university dons and administrators cannot be relied upon to deliver free and fair elections, who else can be trusted, in the circumstances? Sadly, to some degree, that faith appears to be misplaced due to the act that ubiquitous Nigerian politicians were said to have penetrated some academics and severely compromised them in some states in elections. Why and how did some academics descend to such depths of ignominy?

The answer may not be unconnected to the fact that many people who stick their neck to the Nigeria project have died without proper compensation to the family and justice being done. For instance, after the 2015 elections, the Resident Electoral Officer in Kano died with his entire family in a mysterious fire outbreak in his house. Till date no one has been brought to book for arson. Also, in Rivers State, a don, Dr. Ferry Gberegbe, an electoral officer in the elections was allegedly shot dead by soldiers. Nobody has been prosecuted for that dastardly act. These experiences make it difficult for operatives to stick out their necks on points of principle. As a result we are not surprised that academics in some states allegedly danced to the tune of politicians. Politicians are the real problem with elections. As long as politicians have access to idle cash running into billions, officials will be highly susceptible to being compromised. Some academics who served as umpires vowed

never to participate next time. The threat of violence was palpable. What can one say about the case of Mr Ibeabuchi, a professor, who was "forced" to declare the results at the Imo West election collation centre in Orlu INEC office. According to Onyeji (2019) Mr Ibeabuchi, a professor, stopped the collation after announcing nine out of the 12 local governments in the district, saying he had been directed to "return to Owerri, the state capital. He was however held up at the centre by supporters of Mr Okorocha who insisted he must complete the announcement and under duress he announced the winner. It is obvious that when citizens feel vulnerable in times of desperation they are more likely to toe the path of safety – by compromising. Considering these ugly scenario, Jega (2015) maintains that it is a huge challenge to get best of hands in term of human workforce to handle general elections in Nigeria and this may be the reason James (2014) concludes that in this nation electoral integrity is often undermined by human error.

Histo – Religious appraisal
Historically ever before the advent of the colonial rule, religion has been a part and parcel of every human activities in Africa which the tribes that formed the present Nigeria is part of. For instance, in pre-colonial Yoruba time, the source of political activities was religion and the king *(oba),* the Ooni of Ife, and the Alaafin of Oyo respectively possessed both the political and religious authority (Afe 1999; Afe and Ibitayo Oluwasola 2009; Johnson 1960). They were the chief executive and the religious authority thereby combining spiritual and temporal functions. While in the pre-colonial Igbo people religion is important but it does not dominate all the affairs of politics. Religion may dominate at the family level, but not the political level as it has been with the Yoruba or Hausa-Fulani. Priests of the divinities are highly respected but they do not enjoy any superiority in the communal decision making because they are just part of the political complex (Sampson 2014, 311-339).

Religion as a potent force in Nigerian society has affected every sphere of Nigeria development since independence. In view of this, Adamo (2018) admitted that elections in a multi-ethnic and multi-religious people like Nigeria can be a serious practice with many risks. They can also be marked by violence, corruption, intimidation and deceit and without doubt the history of Nigerian elections appears to reflect the above characteristics. On this note, Familusi (2012) said that incontrovertible religion must have been a serious factor in every stage of Nigerian elections because at every stage in Nigerian elections

religion has had some input-whether covertly or overtly p.23-32). The role of religion in elections manifested from the early days of elections, especially in the northern part of Nigeria as early as the 1950s where it reflected in the ideology and membership of the parties. No wonder the three northern political parties, the Northern People's Congress (NPC), the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU), and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) displayed religious character with their leaders being Muslims and the parties seen as representing consensus Muslim communities (IJMA). While the NPC represented the upper-class Muslims, the NEPU represented the lower class down-trodden Muslims. While the UMBC, created by the non-Muslim societies, was opposed to the dominance of the NPC; but Christians and missionaries embraced it to counter the perceived Fulani-Hausa Islamic hegemony in the North (Onapajo 2016). In the midst of these one wonders how the electoral process of such elections would not be affected considering the fact that human personnel's with different religious inclinations will be used to conduct the election.

Furthermore, Onapajo (2016) maintains that the influence of religion in party formation and voting was not limited to northern Nigeria, but also to southern Nigeria. The National Muslim Party was formed in Lagos in 1953 to oppose the Action Group (AG). However, they did not win any elections in the 1954, 1956 and 1959 elections. In 1957 another Muslim party was formed, namely the National Muslim League (NML). In the second republic, religion did not disappear from politics. It was preceded by an intense debate between Christians and Muslims concerning the establishment and the inclusion of a Federal Saharia Court of Appeal. This led to a serious rivalry between Muslims and Christians. The majority of the popular parties (NPN, UPN, PRP, and NPP) were either associated with Christians or Muslims.

Religion is also an issue when it comes to campaigning and trying to persuade voters for support or dissuade the electorate from voting for a particular candidate. Johnstone (2001) was of the view that widely recognized point of religious influence over politics is that of people's voting preference and behavior. Such interest gives very explicit recognition to the correlation that exists between religious affiliation and commitment, on the one hand, and voting behavior, on the other. That there should be a correlation is exactly what would be expected, of course, if religious affiliation and commitment mean anything at all. While for Clarke (1991) "the annulled 1993 election was a political contest between Islam and Christianity, ending possibly in the breakup of the federation. He went further to quote Abubakar Ahmed Gumi as

saying that the reason is that no Muslim-on grounds of faith-will join a Christian-led party; or if the Christians refused to join a party led by a Muslim, then there would appear to be a two-party system and the two-party system would not be South against North, but Islam against Christianity. The academia as being part of this religious community, will be influenced to work towards the inclination of his religious faith. By so doing the electoral integrity will be greatly affected.

On the other hand, there are many reasons to suggest that religion in the electoral process is a threat to political instability given the level manipulation of religion. As earlier noted, choosing candidate on religious grounds is nothing but an expression of religious sentiment as there is no means of determining how committed those people are. This is because such people may not act according to the precepts of their religion as we have seen various leaders Nigeria has produced.

In other words, electoral fraud and violence is a variant of Machiavellianism, and evidence that morality has been removed from politics in Nigeria. Machiavelli believes that the essential thing in politics is to try to grab power by all means, fair or foul and having grabbed it, all means must be used to retain it. Those who belong to this school of thought will not think of the imperative of morality in politics. Moreover, electoral violence is a negation of religious moral values. No religion preaches violence; involvement of practitioners notwithstanding; as Familusi (2010) is of the position that the three religions advocate credibility, decency and transparency at all stages of elections. Hence, it is expected that the academia would follow the dictates of religious inclination or decency, credibility, transparency and manifest great virtues that will ensure electoral integrity.

Religion, being an agent of social control, helps to keep people with the norm of the society, which is the real basis of politics. In Adeleye's view:

> Religion breeds an ideal heart in man to be able to be conscious of the need to have a clean heart. By this, he will grow to have a philanthropic or patriotic thought before venturing to lead or represent his people in government of the state. In another words, religion will prepare the mind of man to be a good politician who will constantly fall back upon his religion to guide him. The teachings or threats of religion are expected to guide him to be able to lead his people aright as a politician with fear of God in him. He will never consider himself first, rather he knows that he is the servant of the electorates (sic)-his people. Religion in an idealistic set up, therefore, serves as oil to lubricate politics. This

is to say that religion bears peace and love, both of which are vital ingredients that can sum the interests of societies together for an ideal and a very healthy and purposeful politics.

Therefore, one should expect a violence-free electoral process given the religious inclination of many stakeholders on the electoral process which the religious ethics of the three major religions in Nigeria: Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion abhors. The fact has been established that electoral violence is an offshoot of electoral malpractices

Electoral violence is a variant of Machiavellianism, and an indication that morality has been removed from politics in Nigeria. Machiavelli believes that the essential thing in politics is to try to grab power by all means, fair or foul and having grabbed it, all means must be used to retain it (Omoregbe, 1998:128). Those who belong to this school of thought will not think of the imperative of morality in politics. Our submission is that morality is an essential ingredient in politics if any meaningful development is expected in Nigeria. Moreover, electoral violence is a negation of religious moral values. No religion preaches violence; involvement of practitioners notwithstanding. Therefore, one should expect a violence-free electoral process given the religious inclination of many stakeholders on the electoral process. The ethics of the three major religions in Nigeria: Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion will be used as our guide in analyzing electoral violence in Nigeria. The fact has been established that electoral violence is an offshoot of electoral malpractices. The position of Familusi (2010) is that the three religions advocate credibility, decency and transparency at all stages of elections.

Electoral violence is a variant of Machiavellianism, and an indication that morality has been removed from politics in Nigeria. Machiavelli believes that the essential thing in politics is to try to grab power by all means, fair or foul and having grabbed it, all means must be used to retain it (Omoregbe, 1998). Those who belong to this school of thought will not think of the imperative of morality in politics. Our submission is that morality is an essential ingredient in politics if any meaningful development is expected in Nigeria. Moreover, electoral violence is a negation of religious moral values. No religion preaches violence; involvement of practitioners notwithstanding. Therefore, one should expect a violence-free electoral process given the religious inclination of many stakeholders on the electoral process. The ethics of the three major religions in Nigeria: Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion will be used as our guide in analyzing

electoral violence in Nigeria. The fact has been established that electoral violence is an offshoot of electoral malpractices. The position of Familusi (2010) is that the three religions advocate credibility, decency and transparency at all stages of elections.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that about the changes that have taken place in Nigeria electoral process ever since the involvement of the academia. It has brought some level of sanity, decency and improvement; notwithstanding some bad elements among the academia who were easily coerced with material gifts, to distort the integrity of the election. The recent introduction of electronic voting will go a long way to make it more efficient and reliable. In the same vein, there is need for sufficient security, enough compensation in case of accidents and death, and also ensuring that justice done on those who default the process for personal gains. These will help the academia to ensure that the right thing is done and by so doing right leaders that will transform the society will emerge.

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LINGUISTIC ABUSE OF GRAMMAR: THE "M" AND "N" CONSONANTS OF THE IGBO LANGUAGE IN VIEW

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Executive Summary

The grammar of a language, written, spoken, or both, goes a long way to shape the culture and communication of the people, and to a great extent enhance their productivity and projects the people beyond their immediate locus. A language spoken is sometimes different from the language written. Sometimes also a language written is the same with the language spoken. Though this is largely so in interlanguage, it is sometimes observed in intra-language. The Igbo language is one of the three Nigerian major languages. And it is being spoken by the Igbo people. The Igbo people live in the South Eastern part of Nigeria. The grammar of the Igbo language has the alphabet that contains thirty-six letters, comprising twenty eight consonants and eight vowels. The "m" letter is the nineteenth letter while the "n" letter is the twentieth in the alphabet; just as they are the fifteenth and the sixteenth numbers of the consonants of the alphabet respectively. However, there is an observable aberration of the use of the letters "m" and "n" consonants in the writing of the Igbo grammar and the speaking of the language, just as such could be observed in some other languages. This aberration which seems not noticeable by partial observers, has huge effects on both the the writing of the grammar of the language and the speaking of the language itself, to the understanding of keen observers. These two letters, "m" and "n" are unique in Igbo grammar because, though they are regarded as part of the consonants of the Igbo alphabet, but quite unlike other consonants, they can be permitted to be seen in clusters (double), in some Igbo words. In such a case, the first of the doubled "m" or "n" acts as a vowel. Ignorance of the associated rules that guide the right application of "m" and "n" in the writing of the Igbo grammar, therefore, necessitates that the problem be addressed in this write up. And finally, it is advised that,

such linguistic issues associated with "m" and "n" in the grammar of the Igbo language, be traced and discovered in the grammar of other languages and addressed appropriately.

Keywords: Language, Grammar, Africa, Igbo, Linguistics, Consonants

Linguistic Abuse Of Grammar: The "m" And "n" Consonants Of The Igbo Language In View.

Just as there is much abuse of morality in human life, is the abuse of different aspects of grammar in linguistic world. This is due to the ignorance, or rather the neglect of the rules of grammar in most cases. This calls for the definition of language within the framework of the laws guiding the use of "m" and "n" in the grammar of Igbo language.

1. **An overview of the word Language**

Language is as old as man. And it is always in form of gestures, words and symbols; language is being used in different ways by different living beings. Consequently, scholars and linquists have made different types of definition of language based on their different scientific fields and findings. Robins (1985) explains that language is a symbol system based on pure or arbitrary conventions; infinitely expendable and modifiable according to the changing needs and conditions of the speakers. Most importantly, it is the main organ of interraction and communication across culture, race, environment, irrespective of geographical areas in man's immediate environment, region and continent, and by extension, those of others beyond. This is to say that without language, human interaction may be limited and unexciting. Thus language plays a significant role in human interaction. This implies that every language, as it seems, extends beyond the shores of its owners. The involvement of the words interaction and communication in this definition, brings in the need for laws. These laws are not just like the laws guiding human conducts; that yes, but more importantly the law governing the rudiments of language.

Ndianefoo (2011:171) understands that "language may be articulate or inarticulate expression of thought and may assume the form of system of symbols or gestures aimed at conveying meaning. Language therefore, does the primary function of externalizing and objectifying thought processes." Thus, such laws and governing expressions of symbols and gestures when objectified and extenalized with the right application of laws enhances communication and human

understanding in every context. In as much as the primary object of language is conveying meaning, one should not overlook the two key words, "system" and "symbols" and their outcome when systematized. It is therefore necessary to understand that the outcome of the two mentioned key words can either enhance the status of the grammar of a language or mitigate same. Languages are considered unclassified either because, for one reason or another, little effort has been made to compare them with other languages, or, more commonly, because they are too poorly documented to permit reliable classification. Most of such languages are extinct and most likely will never be known well enough to classify.

The above are few of the definitions and explanations of what language is generally. In the African context, however, Eme and Mbagwu (2011:123) note that, "illiteracy in the African languages is a major factor that affects the commercial value of the literary works written in the languages." Commercial value in the context of this definition should not be understood as buying and selling of goods and services. Rather, that illiteracy and poor use of some African languages and standardization of same, has continued to make African languages to fall short of expectations of grammatical standards when placed side by side other non-African languages. Uchechukwu (2011:102) notes thus that:

> If we move away from the international scene and return to Nigeria, we should see that the grammaticalization is not only not well known to the point of being offered as a course of study in Nigerian linguistic departments, it is in fact also to be expected that the supervisor of a BA or Ma project within the grammaticalization framework would be rare to find.

Thus in the view of Uchechukwu, lack of grammaticalization harmony makes the grammar of Nigerian languages to have worrisome share of grammatical sub-standards.

And among the numerous languages and dialects in Nigeria in general, and the three major languages of Nigeria, (Housa, Igbo and Yoruba) in particular, the case of the Igbo language seems more pathetic. Ejiọfọ (2015:18) notes that before the Nigerian independent in 1960, the outcome of the census of the colonial masters is thus: the Hausas are 5, 488, 542; the Igbos are 5, 483, 660; and the Yorubas are 5, 046, 861"Nkamigbo (2011: 189) understands that "Igbo is a West-Benue Congo language spoken predominantly in the South eastern part of Nigeria. It is spoken in Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu, Imo and some

parts of Bayelsa, Delta and Rivers States." Oraka (1983:31) observes that, the origin of the word 'Igbo' is not certain. The word is used in three senses, to refer to the Igbo territory, to the domestic speakers of the language, and to the language itself. The language is predominantly spoken in the South-East area of Nigeria comprising Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo states. A greater number of the inhabitants of Rivers and Delta states in the South-South and the lower Benue confluence areas of Nigeria also speak the language. Ikeanyibe (1997:11) explains that the Igbo people have boundaries with the peoples of Ibibio on the east, Ijaw on the Southwest, and the people of Idoma in the direction of Northern Nigeria. Across the River Niger the Igbo boundary extends to the confines of Benin having Agbo as the outpost." The understanding that the Igbo language is dynamic and active to the extent that it is influenced by other languages is a well known fact. But despite the fact of this influence, the poor use of the language by the owners of the language themselves have impacted negatively on the language in every aspect even in the writing and pronunciation of Igbo names and surnames.

Ejiofor (2002:99) notes that apart from surnames of persons which are typically Igbo, thereby providing a welcome exception to help to provide the rule, Igboland is English through and through in terms of the means of communication. Where English has gained, Igbo has lost. The net effect is that the Igbo language is gradually but very perceptibly getting obsolete. Already, complete Igbo sentences are rarely spoken. Already some words are not just going but gone.

For a language to be in poor usage, just like practically every other human activity, it is for it to continue to be in misuse, abused and degraded and the grammatical rules neglected.

Therefore one can reason with Aniche (2008: 9) who believes that "Among the three major Nigerian languages, Igbo has been documented as most endangered and is currently under severe threat of extinction."

It is obvious, therefore, that whatever that is not constantly put in use will never get to perfection and whenever it is called up for use, it becomes mismanaged. In fact, the Igbo language, because it is poorly put into use; it is indeed hard hit in this context. This is readily seen in the scarcity of Igbo literature, grammar books and other written materials. Further, it is observed in the misuse of Igbo expressions, and in the context of reading and writing by the few who still see the need

to make do with the language in their writing and reading activities. In the context of writing of Igbo names, and nouns, this problem being written about here is embarrassingly very clear.

One of the three senses which Oraka observes, in which the word "Igbo" is used, which is the Igbo language itself, is what will be treated in a little aspect here. And that is precisely about the "m" and "n" letters in the grammar of the Igbo language.

The Igbo language and grammar has an alphabet has thirty six letters thus:

Capital letters   Small letters
(A) B CH D (E) F G GB GH GW H   (a) b ch d (e) f g gb gh gw h (i) (ị)
j k
(I) (Ị) J K KP KW L M N Ṅ NW NY   kp kw l m n ṅ nw ny (o) (ọ) p r s
sh
(O) (Ọ) P R S SH T (U) (Ụ) V W Y Z   t (u) (ụ) v w y z

While the letters in bracket are the vowels, the consonants are not in brackets. The "m" letter is the nineteeth letter while the "n" letter is the twenthieth in the alphabet; just as they are the fifteenth and the sixteenth of the consonants respectively.

The concern here is not just the linguistic abuse of the generality of Igbo nouns, especially names, but the abuse of the "m" and "n" letters especially when these appear together as double consonants, or what linguists call consonant clusters in nouns.

Consonant clusters occur in a word when two same consonants are made to be together within the same word. The nature of the Igbo language does not permit this, except in words that have double "m" or double "n" only.And when this happens, the first of the clustered "m" or "n" consonant, (in the word that has the double "m" or "n"), takes the position of a vowel in such words and thus regarded as half vowel [myiri ụdaume]). Some examples are mma (knife or beauty), mmemme (feasting), nnu (salt), nnapụta (bail out). Therefore it is *unIgbo* grammar to prefix any vowel to such words as above, even when such will clearly show the clustered nature of the consonant in the word.

Syal P. and Jindal D. V. (2012: 91) have it that, "in some words of two syllables, change of accent from the first to the second syllable, changes a noun/syllable to a verb."

Eruchalu (2012:64) classifies consonants on the basis of i. The state of the glottis (voicing), ii. Place or point of articulation, iii. Manner of articulation. This definition, therefore, explains the condition of the clustered nature of the "m" and "n" consonants in the Igbo words as explained above. Eruchalu (2012:56) maintains that "speech sounds are classified into two major classes known as vowels and consonants. A vowel is a voiced sound produced without any form of obstruction." Therefore when Igbo consonants "m" and "n" are clustered in an Igbo word, the idea that these two letters that the Igbo grammar permits to be doubled is understood. Though the nature of the two letters in question do not seem to give a voiced sound like other Igbo vowels, because "a consonant is a speech sound produced with some measure of obstruction," (Eruchalu 2012:57), they maintain the other qualities of the Igbo consonants.

Where, however, the issue of the misrepresentation of the "m" and "n" consonants is seen clearly is in the context of analysis of Igbo words with clustered consonant into syllables. Collins.dictionary.com (2022) has it that, "A syllable is a part of a word that contains a single vowel sound and that is pronounced as a unit." In line with this, quora.com (2022) notes that "A syllable can have one or more than one sound. If a syllable has one sound, it has to be a vowel sound. Since a vowel is a nucleus of a syllable, we cannot have more than one vowel in a syllable."

In this context, therefore, just as the syllable of every normal Igbo word has either only a vowel initial in its prefix and a consonant and a vowel in both the infix and suffix [eg. oke: o/ke; Okeke: O/ke/ke], "m" and "n" are also treated as vowels when each appear in clusters (as "mm" or "nn"), eg. mma (knife or beauty depending or tonality), when divided into syllable it becomes m/ ma. What applies in the morphology of the above Igbo letters in clustered form also applies to them phonemically. In other words, the same way that the above letters behave morphologically is the same way that they behave in pronunciation. Below are some of the words, especially names where some Igbo people showcase their ignorance of the rules governing "m" and "n", especially when they occur in consonant clusters in the words of Igbo grammar.

S/n.	Wrongly formatted words	Rightly formatted words	The words in syllables	Meaning
1.	Mna	Mma	M□/ mà	knife
2.	Mna	M□ma	M□/ ma	beauty,

				beautiful
3.	Ńma	Nna	Ń/ nà	father
4.	Mnu	Nnu	Ń/ nú	salt
5.	Mne	Nne	Ń/ né (Ń/ne)	mother
6.	Mnamna	Nnanna	Ń/ nà/ n/ nà	father father
7.	Mnemne	Nnenne	Ń/ né /ń /né	grand mother
8.	Mnemne	mmemme	M☐/mè/ m☐/me	feasting
9.	Mnewi	Nnewi	M☐/ né/ wi	Nnewi (a town)
10.	CHịdịnma	CHịdịmma	CH☐ị/ dị̀/ m☐/ ma	chi (god) is good
11.	Ụzọdịnma	Ụzọdịmma	Ú/ zọ̀/ dị̀/ m☐/ ma	the way is good
12.	Mnadi	Nnadi	Ń/ na/ di	father in law
13.	Mnamanị	Nnamanị	Ń/ nà/ ma/ nị̀	An Igbo name

Mgbemena (2011: 5) attributes the wrong combination of Igbo alphabets to ignorance of the Igbo language orthography, and notes that a good orthography should have standard rules that harmonize all the structures of a language. Mgbemena (2011:5) thus advises that language orthography should:

i.   enhance the learning of language,
ii.   make the reading of the language easy,
iii.   encourage writers to write books in a language, and
iv.   help a language to grow

Kay Williamson (1984) lists the principles of a good orthography thus:
i.   accuracy ((Accurate number of symbols (letters) (simbọl usòròedide izù okè))
ii.   consistencey, (simbọl usòròedide ịbụ otù mgbe niile))
iii.   convenience, [simbọl ịdị m☐fe]
iv.   familiarity, [usòròedide inwe sịmbọl a na-ahụba], and
v.   harmonization [usòròedide inwe nhàzi]

The problems associated with the practical application of Igbo grammar, generally has long lasting negative consequences on the language in particular, and on the users of the language in general. And unless a

good body like the moribund *Society for the Promotion of Igbo Language and Culture (SPILC)* emerges and begins to maintain and uphold linguistic standards, especially in the areas of Igbo grammar, there will definitely continue to be major Igbo grammatical deviations that will eventually lead to the death of the grammar of the Igbo language, whose standard has continued to wear off as chaff from the grains. It should be noted that two things are involved. While the first is the teaching and learning of the language in every available teaching school and platforms, the second is the maintenance of the required standard. These two aspects have their varied degree of problems. The maintenance of suggestive standards of Igbo grammar, from word formation to complex sentences, should be seen as serious linguistic commitment by the committed Igbo linguists and researchers. Already, there has been some infringements in some standard words due to the ignorance of the users (refer to the table above), and which also phonetically impact on the words in question when speaking.

Evaluation
The idea of making advanced researches in Igbo linguistics cannot be over-emphasized. And the impact of the neglect to do this will continue to be felt knowingly or unknowingly. As this research work has succeeded in showing, many aspects of the grammar of the Igbo people are lacking the required basic attention. The reason for this is either that the Igbo linguists and scholars look too down on the need to invest on Igbo linguistic researches that will enhance the status of the language, and be extension the Igbo literature, culture and people, or the problem of non-committal to the issues of the Igbo people, language and culture. The neglect to do this has led to many people, even the Igbo people being too ignorant of the paraphernalia of the Igbo language to the extent that many Igbo people cannot even speak the Igbo language convincingly, mention some items in Igbo language, or even being able to spell or write their Igbo names correctly. This has even led to the fact that while some are too ignorant to know why it is wrong to write their names the way they write or pronounced them, others do not know that how they write them are un-Igbo grammar. And this status quo will never change until the right application of the right attitude by the relevant stake-holders are made.

Recommendations
Based on the sorry state of the Igbo language that has shown that most Igbo people are too poor in using the Igbo language in speaking and writing, it is recommended that:

i.   Every level of all the academic institutions in Igbo land, should accommodate the research on Igbo language in their budget.

ii.   Every Igbo state should have a standard Igbo library in both the state and local government secretariat levels.

iii.   There should be quizzes and debates that have awards and rewards attached to them especially in primary and secondary school levels in Igbo land.

iv.   Government and schools should sponsor Igbo linguists to do more researches on Igbo language to enhance the status of the language.

v.   Such bodies like OTU SỤWAKWA IGBO INITIATIVE should be empowered to pilot, monitor and promote the application and use of writing and speaking of the Igbo language in every establishment especially in Igbo land.

Conclusion

There is no way that studies can completely eliminate the problems associated with the wrong use of any human language or even an aspect of it. However, what this work made effort to look at is the issue of non-committal to the issues of the promotion of languages. In this case, the Igbo language. This neglect and wrong approach to the use of the grammar of the Igbo language has continued to impact negatively on the language. And this is often seen in the morphological and phonemical application of the Igbo words to the different structural areas of the language. The issues of the wrong approach to consonant clusters of "m" and "n" is just a dot out of the numerous problems facing the Igbo language. Therefore, it should still be worrisome to every linguist as to how to salvage this mortgage development that faces most of the African languages, especially the Igbo language.

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IHUOMA, THE FORBIDDEN FRUIT:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF ELECHI AMADI'S *THE CONCUBINE*

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Executive Summary

Literature whether oral or written has, since its' origin, served as a vehicle for the diffusion of language, world-view, culture and belief of any given community. It evolves alongside these phenomena in order to fulfill its' function among the populace. The Nigerian society, thanks to her distinguished authors, has had her cultures and traditional beliefs projected to the lime light. Elechi Amadi is one of such authors who, through his works, has effortlessly disseminated the Igbo beliefs with regards to human activities and future as they are controlled by the gods. In his novel The Concubine, he postulates that human destiny is not subject to change; thereby, subtly re-enacting the doctrine of determinism. An ideology which suggests that man's destiny, actions and indeed all events of life have been predestined by powers from beyond. Without laying undue emphasis on the aforementioned ideology, the principal focus of this paper is to explore the destiny of four major characters as they are portrayed in this epic novel. The paper also casts a cursory glance on the culture, worldview of the Igbo society, the extramundane powers and the control which they exercise on human beings even against their will. Since the Igbo society is of a very high interest to this work, using destiny as our theoretical frame work, an expository and analytical method are applied in the study of the society and characters as they are presented in the novel.

Key words: Igbo, Society, Determinism, Extramundane, Culture, Destiny

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Introduction

Through his works, Elechi Amadi, just like many of his counterparts, has contributed immensely to the growth of Nigerian literature. The people's culture, belief and mentality have caught the interest of researchers, thanks to their works. His debut novel *The Concubine* happens to be at the heart of this studies. This work drew attention to itself because of the styles employed in it to put across the writer's message. Noteworthy are his manners of using transliteration to add local colors so as produce the desired effect on the readers, an element identified by Omenogor as Popular Nigerian English (PNE) or Nigerianized English. She explains that :

> The adjective 'Nigerianized' is a coinage from 'Nigeria'. In the course of using the expressions, Nigerians try to maintain or comply with the principles and norms of the English language but give local colour or some features of Nigerian local languages in the English expressions used. It is the type of expressions explained above that we have termed 'Nigerianized English'. (145)

His reason for employing this technique is obviously to put life in this fictive work and bring it home to his Nigerian readers. Describing Madume as 'big eyed' (Amadi 4-5)(Anya ukwu in Igbo) instead greed is one example of such local colors. This is one of the styles that made his work a popular one.

Amadi also has a unique way of telling stories about Nigerian villages in order to show-case their world-view and culture. More interesting is his masterful way of commingling the physical and the spiritual, seen and unseen powers in order to bring out the unique cum ineradicable co-existence between them and how they interplay to give the Igbo culture and world-view a wholeness without which its ontology would not be recognized.

The principal focus of this paper is to explore the destiny of four major characters as they are portrayed in this epic novel. The paper also casts a cursory glance on the culture, worldview of the Igbo society, the extramundane powers and the control which they exercise on human beings even against their will. Since the Igbo society is of a very high interest to this work, using destiny as our theoretical frame work, an expository and analytical method are applied in the study of the society and characters as they are presented in the novel.

Culture

An elementary definition of culture presents it as the people's way of life. Izunwa avers that:"culture is sociologically used to denote that body of historically developed, shared, learned behavior of the members of the society. As a concept, it encapsulates such common group behaviors as dressing, eating, dancing …" quotingMooney, Knox and Schacht (1997) he agrees that "culture refers to the meaning and ways of life that characterizes a society. Simply put, culture is about the way of life of a people." (124)

Imbedded in culture, are some elements like beliefs, customs, values and norms. Many beliefs of the Igbo society are clearly elucidated in the novel. The Igbo society believes in solidarity and communality: in marriage, village ceremonies, burials, sickness and religious worships, the extent of communality demonstrated by the villagers is noteworthy. The communality in this novel is what Onuoha (2019) identified as Igwebuike. The society also believes in the intercession of the personal 'chi' of an individual especially to avert danger. This explains why many people consoled Emenike by telling him that his personal god must have been away on a journey during the fight he had with his opponent. (Amadi 5). Apart from this, there is also a constant recourse to a Dibia who has a tripartite function of making sacrifices to appease the gods and ward off bad omen, foretelling the future and communicating with the gods/ancestors in other to provide solutions and explanations to existential puzzles. The issue of destiny, determinism and freedom is also of knee interest to this paper. This is because these three elements form an intrinsic part of the societal world-view presented in the novel. There are incidents of broken marriages, sicknesses and series of untimely deaths in the novel. Where all these meant to happen the way they did or were they as a result of some misuse of human freedom?

Destiny and determinism

Life itself is a mystery and it is submerged in mysteries. The fact that human beings try to apply logical explanations to the irrational things happening in this world is what Albert Camus captures in his philosophy as *Absurd*. For Camus, life is uncertain, the only certainty in life is death that makes life useless and absurd. (Karavournioti 4) As soon as a child is born, it starts to move towards its destiny which is death. All men are destined to die. The questions are: when, how and where and what happens after death? These are age long questions which have found no generally accepted answer. Destiny is one word which attempted to answer this existential question and in so doing

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Destiny as a word has acquired different meanings which may not be completely far in meaning from each other. Many see it as fate.

According to Ogbujah, as fate, destiny is seen as an absolute inscrutable power which all living beings are subject, and which may be either personified or delineated as impersonal. It is a unity or agency seen as an inevitable necessity controlling all things." Man's experience shows the limited extent to which he is able to mould events to his purposes. His origin and verymany experiences of his life are impressed upon him, first facts beyond his control; and secondly as data upon which he is to exercise his intelligence. These uncontrollable facts constitute human facticity or fate or destiny. (413)

The above succinctly recapitulates what Alfred de Vigny portrays in his poem *Les Destinees.* He writes:

Brief recap of the Poem
"Depuis le premier jour de la création, les pieds lourds et puissants de chaque Destinée pesaient sur chaque tête et sur toute action." Strophe 1. (Vigny 1) (From the first day of creation, the heavy and powerful feet of each destiny weighs on each head and upon each action. -Our translation) This already shows the ineffaceability of man's fate. From the creation of the world, destiny has constituted a heavy burden and suffering for man. A prophet who came to save mankind from destiny was killed despite the hope he gave. These daughters of destiny flew back to God and asked him what they should do. God told them to go back to the world and continue their work among men while He (God) will maintain a balance from on high. Destiny came back and continued dealing with men. And so man has little or no power over his destiny. "Retournez en mon nom, Reine, je suis la Grace. L'homme sera un toujours un nageur incertain Dans les ondes du temps qui se mesure et passe". "Notre mot eternal est-il: C'ETAIT ECRIT? - SUR LE LIVRE DE DIEU"… (Vigny 1-6). (Return in my name, Queen, I am Grace. Man will remain un uncertain swimmer in the waves of time that measures and passes. " " Our eternal word is it: WAS IT WRITTEN? - ON THE BOOK OF GOD"… -Our translation).

Ogbujah quoting Gbulie writes: "Fate to my mind, curtails every persons liberty to act or do as he pleases. It cuts every human being down to size, peasant and patrician alike; … there is therefore no shaking off any situation or even changing the course of any event once fate has ordained it." (413) Many believe that destiny is unchangeable. Ultimately death is the fate of every living thing. The means of

attending this death is also understood by many as destiny. Ogbujah opines that: as finality, destiny is used to designate a future, a vocation or a movement towards a generally 'unknown'. As a future or a vocation, it can be applied to a visible end set for a moral personality". (413) He thereby reechoes what Vigny said in his poem above that man remains an uncertain swimmer in the waves of time…

Our interest centers then on destiny of the following characters: Emenike, Madume and Ekwueme concerning the choice they made individually with regards to the pretty Ihuoma. Ihuoma's situation was clear. Her destiny though unknown to her was revealed to the reader. "She is a little unusual". [195] She has supernatural origin and a specific destination. These facts were made clear about the protagonist. But the death of these three young men, who unintentionally dared the jealous Sea-god, arouses some sort of curiosity as regards their destiny. Would Ekwueme have died when, where and how he died if he did not begin the preparations to marry Ihuoma? Would Emenike and Madume have met their untimely death if Ihuoma (who ironical to her name, brought Ill luck to her husband, suitors or intending suitors.) were married into another village.

A hypothetical answer to these questions would be no! Whether we call it predestination, determinism or destiny, there are certain conditions which need to be present for them to be actualized. The death treat which the beautiful Ihuoma carries was targeted at any man who dares to marry her. To propose this marriage was like challenging the Sea-King to a wrestling context and since the spirit is more powerful than the physical, the victory usually goes to them.

We shall in the next few pages, confirm or disprove our hypotheses through an exploratory analysis of the novel using destiny as our theoretical frame work.

Synopsis of the Novel
The novel was set in the rural community of Omokachi, A typical Nigerian village. The plot was centered around Ihuoma a beautiful young lady, "who was so right in everything, almost perfect." [196] As described by the dibia - Anyika. She was the beloved of everyone. Every young woman wanted to be her friend and every young man secretly or openly admired her. But whoever married or tried to marry her met their death each in a mysterious way. Emenike her husband for whom she had three children, died of locked - chest after a fight with Madume. Even though he offered a thanksgiving sacrifice after

recovering from the injuries sustained from the fight. Nobody is sure of what killed him exactly. Madume the big-eye, committed suicide, after he was temporarily deserted by his wife because he was blind and of difficult character. His blindness was as a result of a spittle from a cobra which attacked him in Ihuoma's farm. Finally Ekwueme died from the wound sustained from a barbed arrow which was shot by Nwona as he hunted for lizard to be used for a sacrifice to appease a Sea-King.

Unknown to everyone was an astonishing truth: Ihuoma was a Sea-goddess who escaped to find a dwelling among humans. Her jealous Sea-king-husband determined to eliminate any man who married or thought of marrying her. "She was to die untouched by men". [196] But after a huge sacrifice, the Sea-king could be appeased and the most she could be to a man was a concubine.

Ihuoma's destiny vis-à-vis Emenike, Mmadume and Ekweme
In his diction, a writer consciously chooses words or phrases which would aptly convey his message. Amadi did not ignore this important aspect in his writing. Right from the first chapter, the two main characters were presented in such a way that one was liked and the other despised immediately. "His arms were folded across his chest and his biceps formed two thick knots. He was biting his lips and his eyebrows met in an angry grimace". (Amadi 1) Juxtaposing the two characters he wrote: Emenike was slight of build but well proportioned, and he was ranked as an average wrestler. Of Madume he said: "Madume had a narrow square head (axe-headed according to the villagers) and an iron trunk. Worse still he had a temper as bad as that of a man with whitlow on his ten fingers" (1)The above description already shaped the readers' minds as it concerns the destiny of these two men. Although both died - a fate which awaits all. One died honorably and was accorded a befitting burial while the other died abominably. In creating these fictive characters, Amadi created an Emenike who should fit into a mould of a loving husband to pretty Ihuoma. He was (an average wrestler) not as perfect as his wife because he was mere mortal but he was good enough to stand beside Ihuoma. He was also loved by everyone. This could be seen as people trooped in to visit him when he was sick. Even the jealous and powerful Sea-king was lenient with him and kept him long enough to have up to three children with Ihuoma.

Madume on the other hand was created with some qualities that made him despicable in the eyes of the reader. He was axe-headed, he was big eyed, and had a terrible bad temper. He was lazy, he flogged his wife

who bore him only girls. He did not enjoy a lot of popularity neither from the villagers nor the readers, yet he was not a complete write-off. He stature lent some strength to his village during inter-village negotiations. (Amadi 4) Even the Sea-king was ruthless to him by nipping his desire and admiration for Ihuoma in the bud. The first time Madume went to Ihuoma's compound he hurt himself, it was a big wound. "the gods were behind it. It was certainly a premonition….you were lucky to have come out alive from Emenike's compound'. Several spirit swore to kill you there and then. … They don't want you to have anything to do with Ihuoma." (Amadi 58) It was not a surprise that unknown spirits, some from the sea, wanted to do away with Madume. Madume would not give up, he went to cut Ihuoma's plantain and to woo her, a cobra spat into his eyes. Ayinka confirmed that it was an act of a powerful god. That made Madume blind, he also became of a difficult character, his wife left him and he committed suicide. So Madume to a large extent was a flawed character. He did not enjoy any popularity neither from the villagers nor from the readers.

Ekwueme on another note, was a promising young man who enjoyed some favor from the villagers. Amadi deliberately created a character whose death would bring tears not only to the villagers but also to the readers. The love affaire between Ihuoma and Ekwueme was so hopeful and consoling. It was going to dry up Ihuoma's tears and satisfy the deep desires of Ekwueme. At first, Ekwueme was to marry Ahurole who was betrothed to him when they were little children. That marriage failed despite the efforts on both sides to save it. His marriage with Ihuoma was approved by men but unfortunately forbidden by the gods. Ekwueme was the most daring character of all the suitors. Emenike and Madume did not have a fore knowledge of Ihuoma's true nature, so the unknowingly challenged the Sea-king. Ekwueme, on the other hand, knew all that and yet dared the Sea-king. His otherwise promising life was brought to an abrupt end. They made their choices.

Anyika, after his divination reveals who Ihuoma is. She was to die untouched by men. Ekwueme was desperate to have her and walks straight into his death trap. He declares: "Dede, I do not know whether you believe this or not. It does not matter. One thing is clear, I shall marry Ihuoma. She is a human being and if marrying a woman like her is a fatal mistake I am prepared to make it." (197) He went ahead to find his way around this marriage. He says: "If I am her husband for a day before my death my soul will go singing happily to the spirit world" (197) even in the spirit world, Ekwueme would readily confront that Sea-king for Ihuoma's sake. The pretty Ihuoma reciprocated this love,

their parents gave them their support, and the angry gods were to be appeased. Here Akwanya captures what he describes as a forbidden love in the following words:

> The love relationship which is effortless on both sides and totally satisfying, or rather intoxicating (202), is the one that develops between him and Ihuoma, Emenike's widow. This is a love that proves inevitable in a tragic sense. Whatever is done to nip it in the bud, head it off, or dampen it only renders the couple dearer and closer to each other and justifies them in the eyes of the peoples. What they are to discover, however as they approached marriage is that this is a forbidden love. (Akwanya and Anohu 39)

And so Ekwueme's life was cut short while he was making the necessary preparations to marry Ihuoma. That was how he met his own destiny.

Ihuoma was the most perfect of all characters. Simply faultless. It is important to keep in mind that Ihuoma was not just an ordinary young lady. She was a little unusual, almost perfect in everything. A Sea-Goddess reincarnated in her. By reincarnation, this paper subscribes to what Ogbujah proposes when he wrote: "But to those who believe in monism, of the unity of body and soul even after death, reincarnation would mean the coming back of one undivided personality from its state of "corporal immortality" into bodily forms again" (422). The above refers to humans who, after death come back as mortals. The case of Ihuoma is a little more peculiar. She was a Sea-goddess who escaped from her abode to live among mere mortals. A goddess is a female deity, a supernatural being. A perfect metaphorical image of what womankind should be. Muthukumar quoting Carol Christ opines that three major views about a goddess have been distinguished: Firstly, the Goddess is seen as a personification - a divine female - who can be invoked in prayer and believed to really exist. Secondly, the Goddess is primarily a symbol rather than a metaphysical reality; "she symbolises above all life, death and rebirth energy in nature and culture, in personal and cultural life". Thirdly, the Goddess is a symbol, "but reads it differently as affirming above all the legitimacy and beauty of female power, made possible by the new becoming of women in the women's liberation movement". (4) This is an insight into what is encapsulated in the human body which Ihuoma represents. "The women adored her, Men were awestruck before her. She was becoming something of a phenomenon." (Amadi 153). The diviner Anyika extrays the true nature of Ihuoma. And reveals the death treat which she carries. She can be a concubine to someone but can never be a wife because he Sea-king-

husband who is so powerful cannot withstand it. "There are few women like that in the world, … it is death to marry them and they have left behind a harrowing string of dead husbands. They are usually beautiful, very beautiful, but dogged by their invisible husbands of the spirit world." With the Sea-king husband, marriage with his Sea-goddess wife is impossible. "And when he is on the offensive, he is absolutely relentless. He unleashes all the powers at his command and they are fatal. (Amadi 196) In creating Ihuoma, Amadi creates a divine being. She has no power over her own life. She cannot even make choices. She chose to marry Emenike and Ekwueme they died. She refused to marry Madume, yet he died because he made advances towards her. Ihuoma's hands are tied by destiny because she is a divine being. It is not the same with Emenike, Madume and Ekwueme.

The time between birth and death is life. Death is the fate of all mortals. Therefore during his lifetime, the human person is free to make choices and take responsibility for the choices he made. "The African human person is free. For instance when God or divinities punish or reward a man for performing an action. They are reaction to an action that was performed freely and conscientiously, and that is why there is a reward for punishment. (Kanu 49) So if man were not free, he should be blamed or rewarded for his actions.

It is arguably true that destiny limits, moderates and channels these choices. In making these choices, the human person realizes his vocation, lives it out and fulfills the conditions which will lead him to his death which is the gateway to the great beyond. Emenike, Madume and Ekwueme hastened their death by the choices they made: The dared the Sea-king by eating his forbidden fruit.

Conclusion

Every human society has it's dos and donts. The Igbo is not exempted. They have their omenala - Tradition, aru - abomination, Ibeene - nsoala nke n'abughi aru. There are also other rules which are neither aru nor nsola but which must be kept in order to avert the wrought of the gods. For example: going into the forbidden forest, women touching or eating certain foods, etc. It is to this category that marriage with Ihuoma belongs. There was a bane on her. Ihuoma, unknown to her, stands out as a metaphor of the forbidden fruit. Anyone who dares to eat it dies. She is presented as beautiful, well mannered, the beloved of every one, an exemplar wife and mother. The dibia Anyika said of her:

> You see, Ihuoma is a little unusual. … Look at her, Anyika went on, have you seen anyone quite so right, in everything, almost perfect?… She was to die untouched by men? (Amadi 196.)

She was so good that her jealous spirit husband placed a bane on her and destroyed any man who came close to her.

Therefore Emenike had to die not because he fought with Madume nor because he starred at the Dibia during the sacrifice, but because he ate the forbidden fruit. He married the wife of a powerful and jealous Sea-king. He made a wrong choice and death was the consequence of his action. Madume who was created to be hated, also died not because he is big eyed after all he always manifested his greed each time they shared anything in the village. He did not die because his wife left him, he never regarded his wife who he flogged at will. He died because he desired Ihuoma and reached out to woo her. That too was his choice. The gods killed him using him as a weapon of his own destruction, he committed suicide. Ekwueme died from the wound he got from the barbed arrow. The Sea-king killed him because he ventured into what Akwanya and Anohu referred to as the forbidden love. He dared the Sea-king. Again he made a costly choice. Therefore Emenike, Mmadume and Ekweme died young and in the manner they did, not because they were destined to die when, how and where they did, but because they fulfill the condition to reach their destiny which death. They either married Ihuoma or were intending to marry her. They had their freedom but made the wrong choices which led to their untimely death. If these three men flirted with any other lady, they probably would not have died. Madume was married. Ekweme married the lady he was engaged to since childhood. If these two stuck to their marriages they would not have died. Emenike despite being a nice fellow still had to die. If he had not fought with Madume, or sustained the injury, he still would have died because he was married to Ihuoma.

The big-eyed Mmadume desired Ihuoma as a second wife which was not out of place in the igbo society. If another male character in the book desired this forbidden fruit, he also would have died. So Emenike, Mmadume and Ekweme died because they fulfilled the condition laid down for termination of one's life that is: eating or desiring the forbidden fruit.

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INSECURITY AND CRIME: A THREAT TO SOUTH-EAST OF NIGERIA DEEPLY ROOTED IN UNKNOWN GUNMEN

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Executive Summary

Youths have developed from respectful and developmental force to agents of societal vices and this has given rise to questions bothering on society stability, safety and welfare. To this effect, this paper explores the past, present and future impact of youth in a community life using South-East of Nigeria as a focus. Nigeria as a country has suffered an unimaginable and shocking acts of terrorism which has ripped it off of many democratic gains. Many economic activities are grounded partly because of this unrest as national and state budgetary allocations meant for other developmental projects are diverted to counter this deadly menace. Secondly, because of the reckless negligence, lip service paying, sabotageous and pretentious temperaments of Nigerian leaders in the direction of combating this dreadful demon called Unknown Gunmen to a halt. The welfare of its citizenry has continued to dwindle. Therefore, there is the need as a country to carefully and urgently mainstream into its governance certain democratic legislative tenets to save Nigerians from this inhumane assault which has held the country underdeveloped over six decades of its governance. It is with this in view that this study will attempt a review and find ways to salvaging this menace, so as to reduce the pangs of this dishonorable and monstrous act on the people. The fight against terrorism should not be treated subjectively, so as to bring culprits to book to serve as deterrent to others.

Keywords: Insecurity, Crime, Terrorism, Youth And Unknown Gunmen

Introduction

Regular killings, beheading, shooting, kidnapping which exit in the South-East of Nigeria today is because of the existence of the so called Unknown Gunmen. The practice or habit of committing crimes by the

Unknown Gunmen in the South-East of Nigeria leads to the condition of being threatening, especially physically, psychologically, emotionally or financially. Security and Crime has a great relationship in the sense that authoritative and multidisciplinary analysis between security and crime, addresses much of the confusion about its nature and meaning, clarifying its relevance to criminological analysis, and giving due attention to the interdisciplinary nature of the situation.

The Unknown Gunmen operating in the South-East are terrorists. They are also human beings which we see every day. The Unknown Gunmen started causing havoc in the South-East since the leader of the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra, IPOB, had been arrested. They are terrorists and they are dealing with people seriously. "Unknown Gunmen (UGM) are now addressed as ỤMỤỌMA (nice people) in the South-East.

Several communities are beginning to witness the invasion of Unknown Gunmen, who go from house to house, even vigilante groups are disarm and attack seriously. To identify the invaders, some residents, who do not want to be seen as leaking information on the identity and operations of the UGM, prefer to discuss their activities in hushed tones, describing them as Ụmụọma (the nice People).

The obstacles and the high rate of death happening in the South-East Nigeria now are caused by the UGM. Everyone in the South-East of Nigeria is living in fear and in pain. To stop all these, the Igbo people should stop fighting for Biafra and focus on how to promote their economy and resources and also how to create more job opportunities for the youths. I believe by achieving this, Nigerian youths will be engaged in so many works which I believe that it will help them forget the practices of Unknown Gunmen.

History Of The Unknown Gunmen In South-East Of Nigeria
The issue of the Unknown Gunmen in the South-East region of Nigeria started in the year 2021. There are two developments which took place simultaneously in Enugu capital of Enugu State and political headquarters of the South-East,the Nigerian Army launched a new military operation in the South-East. Tunde (2021) says; the operation, according to the Chief of Army StaffLt. General Faruk Yahaya, will curb rising cases of insecurity in the zone. It hopes to tackle insurgency, kidnapping and rising banditry in the South-East, and check wanton killings and incineration of public facilities in the zone.

The second event was a meeting convened by governors of the South-East states, to explore political and operational solutions to the skyrocketing wave of insecurity and uncertainty in the region. Attended by four of the five governors in the zone with the abstention of Willie Obiano of Anambra State, the meeting also featured major political stakeholders and traditional rulers. They agreed to rejuvenate *Ebubeagu* a security initiative reminiscent of the *Amotekun* creation in the South-West, among others. The security outfit will draw its membership from all the states in the South-East, to complement the efforts of regular intelligence and security services, operating in the zone.

The meeting also resolved to put an end to the frequent "sit at home" orders regularly imposed on the South-East people, by the self-styled Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), led by Nnamdi Kanu, who is being held by Nigerian's security. The sitting decried the humongous socioeconomic losses incurred by workers and business owners in the South-East, on each day the obnoxious sit at home order is enforced. The meeting equally reaffirmed the commitment of "Ndigbo" to the Saturday November 6, 2021 governorship election in Anambra and pledged to support the conduct of an incident free poll.

Few days after, a gun Smoke from the South-East was graciously spread all over the world on violence and bloodletting across the South-East of the country. This including Anambra, Imo and Enugu States, where people were being hunted like game on the streets of popular state capitals.

The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), founded by Nnamdi Kanu , is a currently active separatist movement. According to the Council on Foreign Relations, "The Federal Government, recalling the civil war, is bitterly opposed to Igbo separatism, as is most of the Igbo establishment. The government has long sought to defang the IPOB and silence Kanu, sometimes through illegal or quasi-legal methods". Since 2017, the IPOB is designated by the Nigerian government as a terrorist organization. Since August 2020, violence has been escalating between the IPOB and the Nigerian government. In August 2020, Nigerian police forces executed 21 IPOB members at a meeting, with two police officers dead and both siding accused each other of firing the first shot. Violence escalated during the following months, leading to a region- wide insurgency.
Advertisement invested with the unpleasant responsibility of doing a regularly updated headcount of casualties from faceless murderers and

assassin led to sudden death of innocent souls. This ambush and calamity was done by the Unknown Gunmen across the states, in separate incidents. And that is how they are still attacking people till today.

The Unknown Gunmen equally take the life of Dr Chike Akunyili, husband of the late Professor Dora Akunyili, who was reportedly gunned down around Nkpor, the killing of Somadina Oforma, a member of the All Progressives Congress (APC), who was shot dead Tuesday September 28, 2021, while attending a meeting of the party at Uruagu, Nnewi North local government area (LGA), of the state. APC flag   bearer for the forthcoming election. The notoriety of the Indigenous Peoples of Biafra (IPOB) over the years, and more recently the involvement of the nebulous Eastern Security Network (ESN), has had fingers of accusation being pointed in their direction, after each attack. This is in spite of the routine denials of both groups, of complicity, after each criminal incident. Radicalized and brainwashed by its leader, Nnamdi Kanu and his adherents, IPOB has, in recent weeks and months, functioned as an alternate, albeit self-styled leadership for the South-East states.

In the run-up to the recent commemoration of Nigeria's 61st Independence Day anniversary, IPOB legislated against the hoisting of the national flag on public buildings, in the entire South-East. Banks, Educational Institutions, Security facilities and so on, were placed under the order. For added effect, a sit-at-home was also proclaimed for then October 1, 2021 event. All this ugly situation continue till today.

The South-East Nigeria Security Network
The Eastern Security Network is the paramilitary organization of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), a pro- Biafra separatist movement. According to Cable (2021) reviews that; the Nigerian government saw the ESN as a threat to its authority and deployed the army to locate and destroy the South-East Nigeria Security Network bases. In January 2021, intense fighting broke out in the town of Orlu, in Imo State. The military confrontation lasted for seven days, until South-East Security Network declared a unilateral ceasefire and both sides withdrew from the city. Shortly after the Orlu Crisis, IPOB gave all the governors of South-East Nigeria 14 days to ban open grazing, threatening to deploy the South-East Security Network to enforce a ban if the authorities did not do so. However, Uzodinma (2021) state that; the South-East Security Network did not wait for 14 days; a few days later, South-East Security Network operatives attacked a Fulani camp in Isuikwuato, Abia State, killing

their livestock and burning down their houses. Following the raid, some governors responded by heeding the South-East Security Networks call and banning. The Nigerian government saw the South-East Security Network as a threat to its members suspected of attacking security personnel. The Ector ate asserting that they have finally brought the war upon the Biafran people. In response to the deaths of 20 security personnel in the region in early 2021 by Unknown Gunmen, including the destruction of three police stations, Nigerian forces raided an South-East Security Network camp in Aba, Abia State on the night of 23rd March, 2021. The Nigerian force, numbering hundreds, captured the camp and claimed to have killed 16 South-East Security Network fighters. On 29th March, the Nigerian police reported arresting 16 South-East Security Network members suspected of attacking security personnel (Official 2021).

On April 5, 2021, at around 2am, a prison in Owerri , Imo State , was attacked by gunmen who used explosives to open the administrative buildings, and then opened the inmates' cells. The prison security fled, and 1844 inmates escaped. The Nigerian police blamed the attack on the Eastern Security Network (Guardian 2021).

Causes Of Insecurity And Crime In South-East Of Nigeria
There is a dramatic increase in violence, terrorism and kidnapping in South-East of Nigeria today. Lawless sects are raising the tempo of their campaign in various parts of the country. We hear of series of bombings, shooting and killings, kidnappings, armed robbery, and so on. These take place from north to south, east to west and almost on daily basis. The phenomenon 'insecurity' has been extended to cover other spheres like economic, and political insecurity. In this paper, our concentration will treat the topic holistically - as it affects the life and property of the citizenry. Let us now examine the cause of this problem.

1. **Unemployment:** – The rise in Crime wave in Nigeria since the mid-1990s was as a result of unemployment, economic decline, and social inequality, which are abetted by inefficient and corrupt police and customs forces. The idle minds became devil's workshop. These people are mostly youth, they are easily recruited into militant groups and trained in to rob, kill, kidnap, smuggle, highjack to mention but a few. Accurate unemployment rates are difficult to obtain and generally mean little in a society where many who work are marginally employed and where begging is a socially accepted occupation. According to statistics, a tenth of the country's young citizens are officially unemployed. Young people are overwhelmed by the high unemployment rate

in Nigeria. Every year, universities make many graduates who were unfortunately thrown onto the job market with no prospect of job opportunities.

And this has lead a lot into criminal acts. Unfortunately, due to bad government decisions, our factories are still not reactivating. Due to the unemployment among Nigerians, young people are now negatively attracted to violent crimes.

2. **Wrong Political Ambition** – The desire for a political office not evil but to nurse negative reasons for that ambition can result to one doing anything to attain it. South Africa observed that "the current crisis which started in Bauchi and has engulfed other states in the north has elements of theocratic ambitions in it". The perpetrators of the violent activities in parts of the country are operating with a hidden agenda. They have the intention of enthroning their own type of government which is selfish, criminal and unpatriotic as Nigerians. With such ambition they can try to make the country ungovernable or insecure. Electioneering - Election periods in the country seem to be the moment of serious security challenge. "While the major political characters intensify their efforts at winning the support of the Nigerian public, ordinary Nigerians are daily becoming more and more apprehensive about the security implications to the country before, during and after the elections. The general anxiety over the nation's security is germane and should be a source of concern to the government

3. **Poverty:** The failure of Nigerian governments to fix the challenges of poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities is a major contributor to the country's insecurity and crime. When you have a poor population, you have a serious insecurity problem.

4. **Kidnapping:** This is another visible sign of insecurity in the country. The perpetrators of this crime do not spare anyone in this new wave of crime that seems to have supplanted armed robbery and other non-contact crimes. Since this act began in Nigeria, aged, children, male and female have been kidnapped for ransom. This has made life unbearable to the citizens. People now live in fear of falling victims to these criminals. Kidnapping is a kind of terrorism which is the use of violent acts to achieve political goals or to force a government to act.

5. **Bad Governance**: The increasing incidents of violent attacks are symptoms of weak, marginal or exploitative government systems in Nigeria. The government's inability to provide public services

and meet the basic needs of the masses has created a group of frustrated people who are easily classified as violent by any event.

6. **Weak Judiciary System:** The weakness of the Nigerian judiciary system creates uncertainty in Nigeria. People feel insecure when criminals are released. Many criminals have bought their freedom with money in the country, the legal system has abandoned its people and released all kinds of atrocities.

7. **Corruption**: Corruption is already a part of life in the country and, unfortunately, is now part of Nigeria's economic problems, and public appropriation. It has gained popularity in our system of government.This creates financial insecurity which has exacerbated poverty, there is corruption in public office at all levels and this has created a lot of instability in our country.

8. **Poor Security System:** This is due to inadequate government security equipment in both weapons and training. It contributes to the poor disposition of the security personnel. In many cases, security officers tasked with certain security situations lack the experience and equipment to handle situations so that they will not arise.

9. **Porous Border**: Nigeria shares borders with Niger, Burkina Faso, and Mali. These borders are poorly secured by the Nigerian immigration and customs authorities. The porous nature of these borders has exacerbated the possible spread of terrorist activity in Nigeria. With terrorism in the country there will be no room for adequate development in our country especially, the South-East of Nigeria. The free flow of migrants from other countries to Nigeria through our unguarded borders allows criminals to enter the country without check.

Solution to insecurity in South-East of Nigeria

1. **Good Governance:** Good governance is the solution to Nigeria's insecurity challenge. Good governance is required, in which the government is accountable to the people. Good governance is a function of effectiveness, foresight, transparency, reliability and credible political leadership, the driving force of which is the improvement of the collective well-being of citizens through well-designed and effectively implemented economic policies and human development programs. The focus on people as the primary goal of governance. It is time to give up negative behavior and bad political tactics so that the country can have peace. We need to capitalize on demographic dividends by

investing in health, education and livelihoods, especially for our young people. There is urgent need to draw a national development plan that require the three levels of government. There should be development projects in important sectors of national life all at the same time.

The authorities must additionally increase people's dwelling requirements with the aid of setting up greater facilities of entrepreneurship throughout the nation.

2. **Employment and Leadership development**: Nigeria must develop visionary leadership. Leadership positions should be for people who can convey to their people the idea of a common citizenship as a transcendent factor among all Nigerians, regardless of tribe, gender, religion, economic and social status that focuses on facts and pronouncements that will convincingly and positively affect all citizens of our nation.

   The process of developing such leadership can be challenging, but our country desperately needs leaders with a national perspective and an eagerness to change the nation.
3. **Appropriate Education**: Education is a prerequisite for any form of development. Adequate education is the process of teaching, training and learning, especially in schools and universities, to improve knowledge and develop skills.

   This is very important for national development. It is time we know that education without skills is a disservice at the highest level. It is necessary to change our curriculum and reorganize our learning institutions even from elementary to tertiary education, the government needs to include skills acquisition as a central part of the academic curriculum. It must also provide students with the necessary opportunities to learn these skills.
4. **Elimination of Corruption:** It is the cause of inequality and the unequal distribution of the wealth of nations among their citizens. Corruption at all levels must be eliminated in such a way that equal rights apply to all and rights and privileges of people are not agreed upon based on bribery and tribe but on merit, defined in relation to theirs Character content, their mental efficiency where there will be no discrimination.

5. **Economic Development**: The country's economic productivity and opportunities for its citizens need to be improved. The

challenge of insecurity in South-East of Nigeria can be solved by accelerating development in our country.

Development in this context is about creating an economy with societal relevance, an economic and physical infrastructure for business activity and industrial growth like in INNOSON GROUP, in order to create gainful employment, we need high-quality educational facilities and health care for the people.

6. **Solidified border security:** The federal government must face the immediate challenge of boundary porosity. The government should make concerted efforts to recruit, train and deploy adequately equipped customs and immigration personnel across borders. The government needs to invest in more effective security technologies, which will benefit border security. These technologies can include body cameras, smart license plate readers, smart vehicle underbody scanners, and more. Border guards, serving to secure the border, must have adequate access to these types of resources that enable them to do their jobs effectively.

7. **Improvement of the criminal justice system**: The judiciary should have developed time scales for cases at this stage in our development. There should have been a time to determine a cause; Time to close this case; and time to pass judgment. Hence, the government must ensure that criminal proceedings are successfully completed. Criminals will serve their full sentences, when convicted. Suspects are brought to justice earlier. Procedural documents must be available to lawyers and the public in digital form. Likewise, the procedure for filing a criminal complaint is to be simplified with greater consideration for the victims. There is a need to collect and monitor information so that law enforcement officers can be proactive and predict potential crimes with near perfect accuracy and not reactively. Government at all levels cannot compromise in enforcing the law. Law enforcement agencies must prevent and control behavior Unknown Gunmen that threatens life and property, protect constitutional guarantees such as freedom of expression and assembly, resolve conflicts between individuals or between citizens and their government, and identify problems that may become more serious to individuals or authorities.

Recommendations
The researcher recommends that:

1. The government should provide employment to the youths and engaged them with skills. I believe if the youths are employed there won't be any problem of Unknown Gunmen.
2. If the government provide enough security and enough arm guards to the society, it will help in securing both lives and properties and also help in maintaining peace and order. The Unknown Gunmen won't attack anyone or destroy things.
3. Calling off strike will help to resolve the attack of the Unknown Gunmen because the students are very angry about this ongoing strike. Because the students are now angry they can GANG up to attack the government and even ASUU and there members.
4. There is no strong security in the South-East of Nigeria, a lot of blood are been shield all over South-East. Therefore, the researcher advice the government to provide enough security to the society.
5. When all these is done the researcher believe that the issue of Unknown Gunmen will disappear in the South-East of Nigeria.

Conclusion
The practice or habit of committing crimes by the Unknown Gunmen in the South-East of Nigeria leads to the condition of being threatening, especially physically, psychologically, emotionally or financially. Security and Crime has a great relationship in the sense that authoritative and multidisciplinary analysis between security and crime, addresses much of the confusion about its nature and meaning, clarifying its relevance to criminological analysis, and giving due attention to the interdisciplinary nature of the situation. In order to stop crime in Nigeria, it is very necessary that, a very strong and save security is provided in the South-East of Nigeria.

Security is everybody's business. You can always help the security agents to help you. Report all criminal activities of Unknown Gunmen to the security agents, so that insecurity will be a thing of the past in Nigeria.
Effective formulation and implementation of guidelines and programs that can address the basic causes of uncertainties in Nigeria is essential, particularly with regard to poverty; Unemployment, injustice, corruption, porous borders and the proliferation of small arms.

Therefore, efforts to combat insecurity can only be effective if there is a solid combination of legislative and judicial interference with government reforms that address some serious human security

challenges facing a large majority of the population in the South-East of Nigeria.

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LAW AS IDENTITY: A PANACEA FOR AFRICA'S REGIONAL AND CONTINENTAL INTEGRATION

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Executive Summary

The positivists' conception of law in its multifaceted presentations such as Raz's idea of law as an authority or the imperatives as the command, Hart's notion of law as the social control of behavior, and Dworkinian's thesis of law as integrity, have remained dominant in jurisprudence and admittedly has influenced several legal systems. However, as noted in the extant literature, such a conception of law takes a top-down legalistic approach; making law somewhat sterile, rather than a phenomenon that is viable and generates interesting outcomes. The positivists' conception of law limits the function of law to commanding obedience and ensuring social control, reducing as it were the agency of the individual for whom the law is enacted. This paper takes off from this limitation of the positivists' conception of law, to advance the concept of law as identity; a panacea for Africa's regional and continental integration. Law as identity highlights the status of the law as a phenomenon that is enlivened through performativity and belongingness. Law as identity is the performative expression of belongingness an agent demonstrates through their cognitive and affective domains of the shared belief in the legitimacy of a legal system; the recognition of acceptance of one's true inner self and the outer world of social rules and norms; the dialectical legal consciousness of the various shades of meaning in the community legal consciousness that is reasonably requiring the attention of performativity as a result of the agent's belongingness. The hermeneutic method is used and was significant for the interpretative dimensions of the dialectics associated with the concept of law. The paper argues that legal concepts such as statutes, judicial precedent, and legal propositions are categories to be understood and roles to be performed by the agent in other to accentuate the concept of law as identity. Such

conceptualization of law would help abate the challenges associated with social justice, and enhance regional and continental integration insofar as the requirement that makes for social justice is already part of the agent's lived experience.

Introduction

Law has been a significant topic for philosophical discussion since its beginnings. The attempts to discover the principles of cosmic order, and to discover or secure the principles of order in human communities, have been the wellspring of inquiry into law. Such inquiry has probed the nature and being of law, and its virtues, whether those that it is considered as intrinsically possessing or those that ought to be cultivated by lawgivers, judges, or engaged citizens. Law is fundamental to the social and political nature of man; it is one of the civilizing institutional capacities evolving human society through the internal dialectics of its span. The progression of civilization is largely linked with the continuous improvement of a system of legal rules and particularly an understanding of law as identity.

Law as identity is the performative expression of belongingness of an agent in a said legal system, this belongingness, the agent assimilates and expressed through the agent's cognitive and affective domain in the shared belief in the legitimacy of a legal system. It is the recognition of the union of one's true inner self and the outer world of social rules and norms, and also the dialectical legal consciousness of the various shades of meaning and influence of the community legal consciousness. Thus, legal concepts such as the statutes, judicial precedent, and legal propositions are categories to be understood and roles to be performed in other to activate the concept of law as identity, for the agent, is reflexive by making itself an object that can categorize, classify or name itself in particular ways concerning the legal phenomena, concepts, and classifications.

The dialectics of reason is considered in the philosophical speculation about the underpinning principles of law. On the one side, there is the idea that the cosmos itself, and human society too, contain immanent principles of rational or reasonable order, and this order must be capable of discovery or apprehension by the society and expressed in individual conduct, on the other hand, rationality inherent in man has

enabled the creation of guiding principles of conduct and regulation. However, there are many theories considered in the conception of the term law, such as the Natural law theory, the Marxist law theory, and the Realist Law Theory but consideration is here given to the Positive law theory which is the subject of our study. The positive law theory is also known as imperative or analyst law theory. It referred to laid down law. It has the belief that law is the rule made and enforced by the sovereign body of the state and there is no need to use reason, morality, or justice to determine the validity of the law. According to this theory, the rule made by the sovereign are laws irrespective of any other considerations. These laws, therefore, vary from place to place and from time to time. The problems associated with earlier research work on the theme of the positive conception of law vary from reductionistic approaches to the concept of law as authority or command and control or enforcement which portrays a top-down static approach. A living expression and engagement with the law that is dynamic, whole, and participatory will build more holistic compliance to the retinue of the concept of law made manifest in the shared understanding of the Acts and status, precedent, and constitutional requirement.

In this article, I present law as identity, a panacea for African regional and continental integration as the regularities in attitude resulting from the performative actions exercised by the belongingness of an agent in a legal system and peculiarly the *belongingness as Igwebuike.*

Igwebuike means the *number is power* or *strength is power.* Kanu, the proponent of *Igwebuike*, defines it as "the expressive modality of being in Igbo Ontology[1]." For him, *Igwebuike*, which, according to Asouzu, is *strength in togetherness,* is the locus of the meeting of beings in Igbo communalist metaphysic, with special reference to existentialism and leadership[2]. Kanu, however, opines strongly on the concept of *Igwebuike* thus:

> Igwebuike provides an ontological horizon that presents being as that which possesses a relational character of mutual relations. As an ideology, Igwebuike rests on the African principles of solidarity and complementarity. It argues that 'to be' is to live in solidarity and complementarity and to live outside the parameters of solidarity and complementarity is to suffer alienation. 'To be' is 'to be with the other', in a community of

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[1] Kanu, I. A. Igwebuike and Being in Igbo ontology: *Igwebuike: An African Journal of Arts and Humanities.*(2017) Vol. 4 No 5. [12-21].

[2] Asouzu, I.I Ibuanyidanda: New Complementary Ontology, Zurich: lit, Verlag GmbH & Co; Wien (2007)p 11

beings. This is based on the African philosophy of community, which is the underlying principle and unity of African Traditional Religious and philosophical experience.[3]

It is a living document of the *concept* of law, seeking its expression in an actual legal system. An actual legal system is that which has gained legitimacy, which incorporates the static and dynamic principles' meaning and expectation into the populace and the associated role and performativity. This incorporation is reached because of the understanding of the categorization of the individual as a result of his belongingness within the jurisdiction of the actual legal system. Thus, the expectation and meaning thereof form sets of standards that guide performative behaviors.

Law as command
John Austin's work *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined* seeks to define positive law, by distinguishing "laws properly so-called" from other law-like utterances and other things called laws. Laws properly so-called turn out to be "commands" requiring conduct; issues from a sovereign to members of an independent political society over which sovereignty is exercised.

Law as identity is not opposed to Austin's concept of law as a command but rather articulates Law as a participatory enterprise and more an inclusive action of agents within the legal system. It shows that, for a man to achieve his aims or objectives in this world, he has to be in relational character with the other people around him, Kanu argues that 'to be' is to live in solidarity and complementarity and to live outside the parameters of solidarity and complementarity is to suffer alienation[4]. Thus, the performativity and belongingness that characterized Law as identity present this conception of law as overarching for Africa's regional and continental integration.

The concept of command and compelling obedience is reductionist and do not represent all there is in the conception of law, for the penal code is not all there is in law. However, commands entail a purpose and a power to impose sanctions on those who disobey; a sovereign is a determinate human superior (that is, one who can successfully compel others to obey) who is not in a habit of obedience to such a superior and who also receives habitual obedience.

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[3] Kanu, I. A. Igwebuike and Being in Igbo ontology (2017) p 34
[4] Kanu, I. A Igwebuike Philosohy and complementray relations, (Igwebuike Research Institute, 2020). P. 121

Law as identity portrays a democratic coexistence of all the agents within a legal system, at least in principle, for every agent shares in the belongingness and performativity of expectation and requirements of every one of the agents, unlike the sovereign who is a determinate human superior not in obedience to the command. Hence, Law as a command can't address the problems associated with social injustice and inequality when this breach is emanating from the positons of who or those who appear to be the sovereign. Law as identity is requiring that the constitution is interpreted and addressed from the viewpoint of belonging and performativity than from the viewpoint of command, as Austin's "legal positivism" sees the issue of "the law" as reduced to the issue of who sets the rule (i.e. "command") and how the command is enforced (i.e. by force or threat of force). Thus, Austin sees the operative principle in the determination of "the law" as something like, (successfully and effectively exercised)" *might makes* (properly "legal") *right*."

Law as a union of Rule
The work now generally regarded as the most important twentieth-century statement of the positivist position in the Anglo-American tradition is H.L.A. Hart's book, *The Concept of Law*. In it, Hart does not seek to defend a narrow, partisan tradition, but rather departs from Austin's version of positivism by undertaking a broad reexamination of the fundamental questions of jurisprudence, clarifying them and securing their importance.[5] Hart's analysis of the concept of law is because of several interrelated ideas: "Law as the union of Primary and Secondary Rules."[6]

Reliance on the concept of a rule allows Hart to pursue several tasks simultaneously. First, the concept explains the operation of law in ordinary social life: basic legal standards tend to be well known, and departures from them are regarded as occasions for criticism or self-criticism, if not official coercion.[7] Second, Hart hopes to account for the phenomenon of legal change: "power-conferring" rules authorize the

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[5] H.L.A. Hart, *The Concept of Law*. Second Edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). p. 17.

[6] Ibid; p. 77.

[7] Ibid; p. 30.

creation of new rules by designated officials.[8] Third, he aims to explain the nature of adjudication: judges typically apply the law but are authorized by power-conferring rules to fill gaps and possibly to effect otherchanges. [9] Fourth, and most generally, by beginning with theconcept of a social rule, Hart emphasizes that law is a phenomenongrounded in shared standards of appropriate conduct andsocially enforced pressure to conform.[10]

This union of rules captures the performativity tenet represented in law as identity. Hart's concept of law is more inclusive than that of John Austin's command. Hart maintains that a legal system—in contrast to a set of unrelated laws—consists of a union of primary rules of obligation and secondary rules. Hart's primary rules of obligation are the performativity principle in the concept of law as identity. Hart insists that the point of view of people who follow and apply the law must be considered.[11] In particular, he emphasizes the importance of an internal point of view of the law, that is, the point of view of those who operate within the law rather than of external observers of the law. Therefore, according to Hart, a legal theorist who wishes to understand a legal system must view the legal system from the point of view of an actor *in* the system.[12] Thus, from the concept of law as identity.

Furthermore, in distinguishing primary rules of obligation from secondary rules, Hart takes the position that there is at least one type of law that imposes an obligation.[13] This type tells citizens that they must not do this or must do that. But raising the crucial question of what an obligation concerning legal rules means, Hart rejects the idea that to say that law imposes an obligation is merely to assert a prediction (about the likely behavior of citizens). Nor does he accept the view that laws imposing an obligation are simply coercive orders. Hart attempts to provide a general analysis of obligation in terms of social pressure.[14]

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[8] Ibid; p.93-94.

[9] Ibid; p.121.

[10] Ibid; p.113.

[11] Ibid; p. 86- 87.

[12] Ibid; p. 88.

[13] Ibid; p. 80.

[14] Ibid; p. 84.

This social pressure is the vibe of direction in the concept of law as identity, which emanates from the shared belongingness of the agents, life is shared in the African worldview which makes life meaningful. So, it is in the relationship or coming together that each completes as a whole, force or any sort of command in a loose sense is not applicable where the law as identity is properly understood.

Law as Authority

According to Joseph Raz, an essential feature of the law is that it claims legitimate authority.[15] A legal system is in force only where it is widely obeyed, and accepted as authoritative by some. The concept of law as identity underscores that, for the law to be accepted as authoritative without being performative is dead, its performativity is the sole action of an agent who through belongingness in the legal system demonstrates the acceptance of the authoritative attributes of law as conceptualized by Raz. Authoritativeness of the law in itself is a tool of fear and force, the encompassing attribute of a legitimate legal system that conceives law is the concept of law as identity, - the union of the belonging of an agent and the resultant actions of duty, role, privileges and right share by the agent.

Raz conceives authority as a power to create exclusionary reasons for action that efface competing considerations, including moral reasons.[16] Indeed, he sees the very efficacy and fairness of law as requiring this sort of normative opacity. Yet he argues that a moral agent may permissibly create such a duty by committing herself to obey a particular legal system,[17] and he denies that to accept the authority of a legal system requires abdicating moral autonomy.[18] Irrespective of moral autonomy, the share belongingness is the fundamental reason for action that represents a worldview of those within the legal system.

However, an authority as a power to create exclusionary reasons for action will in some instances impede social justice and create inequality

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[15.] Joseph Raz, *The Authority of Law: Essays on Law and Morality*, (Yale University Press, 2009), p. 30.

[16] Ibid; p. 3.

[17] Ibid; p.234.

[18] Ibid; p. 25.

or be silent in both situations. Law as identity becomes the process of the dialectics that mirrors social justice and inequality, for it recognizes the belonging of all agents and the corresponding performativity of action required of each and all within the legal system by either requiring the demand of social justice or the execution of social justice.

Law as integrity

Ronald Dworkin holds that the best "interpretation" of legal practice is a conception of law that he calls "law as integrity."[19]The concept of law as integrity requires a judge to test his interpretation of any part of the great network of political structures and decisions of his community byasking whether it could form part of a coherent theory justifying the network as a whole. Law as integrity "makes the law depend on more refined and concrete interpretations of the same legal practice it has begun to interpret.[20]

A meta-analysis of Law as integrity is here considered as an administrative activity of Law as identity, as some specialized agents in the legal system, and to the level of their degree of performativity as a result of their belongingness, and in this instance, as custodian created out of the concept of Law as an identity to demonstrates specialized performativity in the subset of a legal system by upholding and propagating the Law as identity.

Law as integrity asks judges to make the law coherent, so far as possible and the interpreter "cannot claim in good faith to be interpreting his practice at all.[21] Flowing from the above discussion of constructive interpretation, it is apparent that the judge is the central figure of Dworkin's interpretive methodology. Not only is a judge immersed in the interpretation of his legal practice, but also he is equally committed to furthering its aims and purposes. It is for this reason that a judge, on Dworkin's characterization, is both a critic and an artist. Not only must he observe, but he must also perform.[22]

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[19] R Dworkin, *Law's Empire*; p.94.

[20] Ibid; p.410.

[21] Ibid; p.257.

[22] Ibid; p.229.

The Concept of Identity

The meaning of identity is certainly a herculean task to achieve. Identity has been analyzed in time and in many different research areas, and its meaning shifts according to what the specific research area focuses on. The concept of identity corresponds to the combination of social awareness (self) and social identity (persona), whose meaning changes according to the disciplinary context in which it is studied[23]. When we talk about the concept of identity, therefore, we must take into consideration the fact that it is the product of individuals within particular social and historical conditions, and not assume that they are the result of impersonal historical or social forces[24]; identity, therefore, cannot be simply described as a concept but must be defined as a construct.

The word identity derives from the Latin idem (the same) and reflects exactly this meaning; Western philosophy and logic have broadly contributed to the creation of its sense and an example of this process could be the clause of identity in Aristotelian logic. Identity, therefore, corresponds to sameness with a set of characteristics, and sameness "in terms of a shared difference from others"[25]. Moreover, the reason for people's unceasing demands for the recognition of their communal identity is not based on their shared communal features, but on the power and specific rights comprised in the concept of identity itself[26]; the negation of any kind of identity, therefore, implies the denial of any right and the recognition of individuals as political and juridical subjects.

The first step toward a definition of identity is the acknowledgment of the difference existing between the philosophical study of the concept, and the idea of it that is provided by social science. Whereas philosophy deals with identity as the study of the "self," in an attempt to grasp the intrinsic nature of personality, social science studies identity as "social identity," i.e. underlining the importance of interrelations in its process; personality is constructed socially and daily. If on one hand, according to Locke, memory, although fallible and imperfect, is the vital key concept in the definition of identity ("you are what you know") since knowledge and experience are preserved in our memory, on the other hand, sociologists or psychologists insist on considering interaction with other human beings a fundamental step in the process of the

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[23] Francesca Vitali "In Search of a Legal Identity: Christopher Marlowe's The Jew of Malta" https://www.degruyter.com/ Accessed on20/05/22

[24] Ibid; p.149

[25] Ibid; p. 150

[26] Ibid;

construction of the self. As Riley perfectly summarizes in his work Language, Culture and Identity, "philosophers can discuss 'identity' as a quality which entities 'have' without reference to other entities, since it is intrinsic. [. . .] Socially speaking, though, 'identity' is a quality which is ascribed or attributed to an individual human being by other human beings."[27]

Research on identity is inclined to the differences among people and peoples that come to appear self-evident. Identity seems to be constituted through difference, yet it also implies sameness in two senses: those sharing an identity are the same, and all humans are similar in having identities. Sameness and difference are, of course, central concepts in Western legal thought[28]. Although identities have many sources and the historical roots of any particular identity are complex, Western law provides an increasingly transnational forum for eliciting and negotiating expressions of identity.[29]

Therefore, not forgetting the importance of the "self" studied by philosophy, we can define identity as Sarup does in his *Identity, Culture, and the Postmodern World*: "a construction, a consequence of a process of interaction between people, institutions, and practices,"[30] i.e. a structure which evolves continuously, which is fluid and perennially subject to change and movement and is never equal to itself. However, since human behavior has so many possibilities of expression, boundaries are necessary to contain and regulate it; as Sarup suggests, boundaries may coincide with geographical areas, political or religious viewpoints, occupational categories, linguistic and cultural traditions, or, as we will see, with law.

Law as Identity
Law as identity is the philosophical concept of law, against the background of an internalized model of existence, cultivated through the legal system. It articulates the milieu and dialectical legal consciousness of the agent and its unfolding legal system from the performative actions exercised by the belongingness of an agent in a legal system. It is the expressive concept designed to demonstrate an internal, participant's view of a community's legal practice through the

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[27] P. Riley, Language, Culture and Identity (London: Continuum, 2007), 87

[28] J .F. Collier."Sanctioned identities: Legal constructions of modern personhood" https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.1997.9962524 Accessed on 20/05/22

[29] Ibid;

[30] M. Sarup, Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World (Athens, GE: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 11.

principles of performativity and belongingness of the agent in that legal system.

➤ The Principle of Belongingness

The social contract theories allude to the fact that belongingness was a part of its component as people lived together in society following an agreement that establishes moral and political rules of behavior. It shows that all humans have a profound need to belong and that a sense of "belonging together" is a prerequisite for creating political communities. It is more encompassing to drive a legal system from a profound need of the agent of that system. Hence, the law as identity and its principle of belonging is more attuned to a pragmatic realization of the concept of law, as the agents within this system have a commonly held sense of legitimately belonging together towards some form of common future, and this future is advanced and guided where the law as identity is understood and practiced. It is often the anchored understandings of the limits and boundaries of "belongingness" that then inform the possibility of a shared future in the community.

In developing this fundamental character of being as belongingness, Iroegbu initially defines belongingness as *a definitive principle in African communalism[31]*. He uses belongingness in a technical sense. It is, thus, for him, a principle of membership applied to a given community. This membership is not mere identification but a kind of belonging that is security-assured. This belongingness implies the basic commonness that makes a community a community, in our context, what makes a given African community such. Iroegbu shows that communalism makes belongingness an indispensable conceptual starting point for communal existence. Accordingly, Iroegbu explains thus: one native expression of belongingness is the term, *Umunna*. In this sense, *Umunna*, a basic community, transcends the nuclear family to mean, by extension, people of common lineage as well as the commonness of origin. Belonging, however, is the human need to be an accepted member of a group. Abraham Maslow suggested that the need to belong was a major source of human motivation. And since *no man is an island,* the need to belong to and with one another becomes a basic demand for man's existence and co-existence. In belonging, people form a community of togetherness, and strengthened by such togetherness, many activities are possible. Some theories in life have also focused on the need to belong as a fundamental psychological motivation. We belong to a

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[31] Iroegbu, P Kpim of politics: Communalism, Owerri International Press. (1996b) p.45

group with which we have commonalities. This feeling of belonging is a basic need and a unique term in the dynamics of living and existence.

Thus, as observed by Mary Healy this sense of 'belonging together' can be a prerequisite for citizens without which a sense of political community committed to some form of social justice becomes less likely. [32] Belongingness bridges the diverse cultural and national differences existing over the geographical location as an overlapping or interaction; negotiated over time through the law as identity as a panacea for Africa's regional and continental integration. Law, more than any other institution, because of its ability to shape normative values and beliefs are often charged with transmitting these principles to successive generations. In being so designated, they are expected to contribute to the development of identity-forming bonds needed by individuals and underscore the political belonging needed by the state, often created through a better understanding of law as identity, because of its power to form 'connectedness' in society. In other words, connecting ourselves in this way to the fabric of our surroundings is to see ourselves as an integral part of a system or community that shared the rootedness and support offered therein.

Hence, Iroegbu asserts that "belongingness makes sure that all belong and none is marginalized, both contributively (duties and responsibilities) and distributively (sharing of communal cake)[33]." One is ever conscious of where one is putting oneself or belonging. The importance of communal existence is a rational provision aimed at a better understanding and appreciation of man, not as a discrete individual but as a being - properly expressed in belongingness as *Igwebuike* This understanding has provided an enduring manner of attending to man as being with inalienable interconnectivity with the rest of men. And so, the idea of coexistence as the bedrock of caring and concern (sympathy) is highly significant in Africa as a whole. Hence, the Igbo people normally talk of power as belonging to the multitude (*Igwe-bu-Ike*), especially when they cohabit or live together as in an extended family system, a form of *onyeaghana nwanneya*!. The very concept of the multitude is in itself understood as a source of power and authority.

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[32] Mary Healy, The other side of belonging: Studies in Philosophy and Education (2020) 39:119–133 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11217-020-09701-4. Accessed on 20/05/22

[33] Iroegbu, P., Metaphysics: Kpim of philosophy. Owerri: International University Press. (1995). P 19

➢ **The Principles of performativity**

J.L. Austin's introduction of the notion of a 'performative utterance' into the philosophy of language was aimed at undermining precisely this representational and assertoric understanding of language. 'Performative utterances' – such as naming ships, saying 'yes' in a wedding ceremony, leaving a will, declaring war, pronouncing a sentence in court, and so forth – have the power of doing and executing what they say as they say it[34]. For Austin, this 'power' is precisely not rooted in the linguistic and grammatical form of an utterance, but in its institutional embeddedness in the practices of a society. In other words, we don't speak about the world, but act, by speaking, within the world. Therefore, performativity involves realizing that the cultural and national identities that are worthy of respect often require some form of acknowledgment or recognition in the public life and legal institutions of a society to secure a sense of law as identity. The actual forms of acknowledgment or recognition are various and mutable, and they must be worked out by citizens and their representatives through the understanding of law as identity through democratic discussions, agreements, and periodic reviews, and are held accountable in principle. The term 'performativity' is the tool to describe this accountability scenario against measurable outcomes and the propensity of the legal institutions to comply with areas of practice that maximize outcomes as defined by these criteria.

Owning to Austin's (1962) notion of performative utterances I wish to consider the performative nature of statements made in legal institutions when in characterizing people in various ways we categorized them as people of a certain kind. Does Austin's work aid us to understand the self or the individual as being constituted in certain ways? Yes, for we were offered conceptual tools from him for understanding how selves might be constituted as subjects of performativity.

Furthermore, within the performative category, Austin draws distinctions between the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary aspects of language. Briefly, these three correspond respectively to the utterance of a 'statement' which is to do something in the very utterance (provide a description, make a report, etc.), to do something else in making that utterance ('I do'), and to bring about something different by making the utterance ('I convinced him that . . . ')

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[34] Austin, John (1962a): How to Do Things with Words, Oxford: Taylor and Francis.

Law as Identity and Social Justice
The theme of social justice can be expressed, concerning the regulatory problems it poses, in the question: what regulatory forms are available, feasible, and appropriate for economic and other planning, and organizations generally, to serve the interest of sharing the benefits of life among all citizens? The theme of law as identity can be expressed, concerning the regulatory problems it poses, in the question: what forms of regulation and institutional forms are available, feasible, and appropriate to secure as fully as possible the capacity of each citizen to act autonomously to the same extent as - and together with - all other citizens in determining the conditions which shape her or his life? What links these themes of social justice and law as identity is the value of equality, which is expressed in an assertion of the right of all citizens to share in society's benefits and to participate in collective life. Law as identity and social justice in these senses can be considered, for example, concerning political institutions, economic enterprises, domestic relationships, and community organization.

To discuss whether or not public institutions in a society are just, Susan R. Wysor Nguema opined that one should understand the historical context of justice theory, which is rooted in social contract theory[35].

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) first introduced social contract theory in the mid-17th century. Hobbes asserted that for men to truly practice their free will they had to give some freedom away to governing power, or public institutions, that would ensure that laws and regulations were put in place to keep individuals safe in society.[36] Button as cited in Wysor Nguema SR furthered the discussion on Hobbes' theory by arguing that most texts leave Hobbes in a state-versus-individual tension. He, however, saw Hobbes' work as an ongoing search for civil accord through a deeper understanding of justice and a desire by people to compromise and see the greater good to build and transform institutions that reflect the diversity of society[37].

John Locke saw individuals as having moral guidance even before there was governing guidance through public institutions. This moral guidance kept individuals from interfering with the freedom of others

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[35] Wysor Nguema S.R. (2017) Confidence in public institutions: a difference-in-differences Analysis of the attitudes of blacks and whites in south Africa and the united states 1981-2006. Center for Social Work Education.

[36] Hobbes, T. (1968). Leviathan [1651]. Classics of Moral and Political Theory, Ed. M. Morgan, 581-735.

[37] Button, M. E. (2008). Contract, culture, and citizenship: Transformative liberalism from Hobbes to Rawls. University Park, PA: Penn State Press.

and allowed each person to have equal access to the property, a key component of Locke's theory.[38] However, unlike in Hobbes' version of social contracts, Locke allowed for the disintegration and reformulation of government and leaders; should an immoral leader attempt to take property from the people.

According to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), the turning point was the development of the private property. As individuals began to gain property, inequality became more prevalent as did greed and competition. Rousseau saw political society and public institutions as overtly organizing individuals into civil society, but covertly maintaining inequality and power imbalances[39].

John Rawls (1971), following in the traditions of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, among other social contract theorists, also assessed justice from a symbolic position that he called the veil of ignorance. This was akin to the State of Nature discussed by previous theorists. Rawls argued that, behind the veil of ignorance, individuals who are making decisions about the society they want to create would be unaware of their status in society and the attributes that they hold, for example, gender, race, and ability. Rawls argued that only from this position of ignorance could humans make decisions about a truly just society.

Rawls also set forth an order for principles of justice, arguing that in a just society (1) everyone must have equal access to basic liberties and (2) social and economic inequalities must both benefit everyone and be attached to positions in society available to everyone. In doing so, Rawls posited that a society must be first concerned with civil liberties and justice before concerning itself with social or economic advantages. Without this prioritization of values, equal citizenship and equal opportunity would be diminished[40].

A common theme across the work of all four theorists was the balance between equity and opportunity in society and individual power and privilege. Thus, Law as identity as the legal coherentism of truth and justification of equity and opportunity, individual power and privilege in the legal system advanced Social justice and inclusivity. For social justice to prevail in a society, all members of that society must have equal access to participation at a variety of levels. They must be recognized as citizens from civil, political, and social perspectives and

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[38] Ibid.,
[39] Wysor Nguema S.R. (2017) Confidence in public institutions.
[40] Ibid.,

this, Law as identity has achieved, a panacea for Africa's regional and continental integration.

Conclusion

There are various conceptual analysis of the concept of law in the positivist tradition. These analysis has over the years influenced the tenets of many legal systems and views of various theme in jurisprudence. Over and above all, Law as identity is an inclusive concept of law that best addresses the myriad of social problems in Africa and thus, will abate the gap of Africa's regional and continental disintegration. It is a legal phenomenon that speaks in an inclusive manner as it portals a two fold dimensions of active participations (belongingness and performativity.) in the formation of the concept of law, as law as identity.

Law as identity, a panacea for Africa's regional and continental integration, presents us as members of a system or the community, our lives have to be joined together in a profound habit: by participating in this system or community, we share the formation and shaping of the collection of laws and principles we agree to live by and see ourselves as part of a larger imagined community in this way allows one to transcend the limitations of one's own body to give the potential for meaning to one's life, to create a shared legal identity and to give access to collective goods. But it is also to accept, have sympathy, or agree with a network of mutual obligations and values.

HOW CAN WE USE PHILOSOPHIES OF UNITY SUCH AS "UBUNTU" TO PROMOTE REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGIES FOR AFRICA?

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Abstract

Philosophies of Unity are behind time to promote regional Integration and Continental Unity in Africa. Despite the candid philosophical principles of the African Union and the firmness of its resolutions, it is regrettable to note that none of these initiatives has managed to establish the desired uninterrupted peace between states or citizens and neither in regional or continental integration. Instead of promoting the spirit of unity and peace, African leaders are victims of tribal inclinations and imperialist ambitions who continue to sow division and terror. Plans to redraw the geographic map of Africa are no longer taboo and are used to justify certain civil wars. This problem has negatively impacted African populations and their socio-economic development. Hundreds of thousands of people have been slaughtered in several conflicts and civil wars. Millions are displaced, economic infrastructure has been destroyed, and regional integration processes interrupted. A possible cause of this problem is the forgetfulness of the spirit of Bandung and the non-consideration of Ubuntu as a source of political inspiration. This paper aims at revisiting the Spirit of Bandung in the light of the African political philosophy of Ubuntu. We are convinced that the solution to the problem of unity and peace in Africa cannot do without the universal principles of cosmopolitanism advocated by the Kantian criticism.

Key words: Ubuntu, spirit of Bandung, Regional integration, Perpetual peace, cosmopolitanism

Objectives of the study

The main objective of this paper is to evaluate the effectiveness of traditional African ethics (Ubuntu) strategy to influence and support the political integration of the Africa Union. This objective seeks to determine the expected opportunities from the new regional integration

process of EAC at the dawn of the reception of the DRC as a new member. We shall therefore, analyse the conditions of the possibility of the effectiveness of the new EAC through the influence of traditional African ethics (Ubuntu) to promote peace, freedom, human dignity and the development of the people of the Region.

Significance of the study

This paper is significant and relevant as a means of developing a warning system in the political integration of the people in Africa, which could assist African countries, and particularly the EAC, incorporating African traditional ethics (Ubuntu) in the promotion of peace, freedom, unity, human dignity and development. Regional integration per *se* is very important to the African continent, and particularly the Eastern Region of Africa, to ensure and promote a better life.

Theoretical Framework
The Spirit of Bandung and the Regional Integration of the EAC

By the spirit of Bandung, we mean the "insight which guided leaders of the 29 newly independent countries of Asia and Africa under the chairmanship of Indonesian leader Sukarno, to affirm their desire for independence and their non-alignment with world powers. Opposing colonialism, they encouraged peoples that were still colonized to fight for their independence and claim: a) The decolonization and emancipation of the peoples of Africa and Asia, b) Peaceful coexistence and economic development; and c) - Non-interference in internal affairs"[1].

The fragility of the peace agreements between countries in East Africa and the impossibility of updating the potential development of the region explain the persistence of ethnic conflicts and the cohort of miseries experienced by our populations. Elbadawi (2001) indicates that cultural diversity makes it possible to have a "bargaining equilibrium" that is more than capable of helping and not hindering the creation of "stable development-promoting coalition"; and that "formalization of ethnic affiliation into the political process might enhance the efficiency and credibility of political governance institutions in Africa" (Elbadawi 2001: 54-55).[2]

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[1] Heloise Weber & Poppy Winanti (2016) The 'Bandung spirit' and solidarist internationalism, Australian Journal of International Affairs, 70:4, 391-406. Abdulgani, R (1981). The Asia-Africa conference in Bandung in 1955. Gunung Aguna: Singapore.

[2] Elbadawi, Ibrahim A. (2001), "Social Cohesion, Conflict Management and Economic Growth in Africa," Chapter 2 in T. Assefa, . S.M. Rugumamu and A.G.M. Ahmed, eds. *Globalization, Democracy and Development in Africa: Challenges and Prospects*, Addis Ababa: OSSREA.

The imperialist tendencies of some local political leaders and the global geopolitical alliances of others fueled by xenophobia and ethnic-racial complexes continue to pollute the spirit of Bandung. Being part of an eethnic group or as a citizen has its own consequences, and its own strength in conflict or otherwise that goes into the formation of a nation. As such, there is a need for different levels of analysis to try and understand ethnicity; its origins, magnitudes, and the patterns of particular ethnic conflicts.[3]

Indeed, the fathers of African independence gathered with their Asian peers wanted to promote an integration of African unity according to a spirit of promoting the equality of all in rights and dignity, a spirit of promoting the self-determination of peoples while respecting their sovereignty, a spirit of adoption of legal pacifism as a sacrosant principle of conflict resolution and a spirit of mutualization of projects of common interest as a principle of regional socio-economic development. To understand ethnic conflict in Africa, we must situate it in the broader context of the democracy and development project on the continent, connected with or state-formation process, involving hegemonic-directed competition, cooperation and conflict, under conditions of scarcity, about who should control the state and direct its core functions of authoritative regulation, allocation, and distribution through its presumed monopoly of physical force and policy directives.[4]

It is therefore urgent at the advent of this new phase of regional integration of the EAC to assess the state of the Bandung Spirit in the current regional integration policies and to verify whether Ubuntu would be the new African ethical principle capable of bringing renewal into our socio-political integration initiatives.

What is UBUNTU?
Ubuntu is a Nguni Bantu term which means "humanity". It is based on the African anthropological assumption that every individual has the potential of interacting with others and ensure that human dignity is at

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[3] L. Adele Jinadu, 2007, *Explaining & Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy,* DPCR, NAI. P.6.
[4] 4 L. Adele Jinadu, 2007, *Explaining & Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy,* DPCR, NAI. P.3.

the core of their actions, thought and deeds[5]. It is however, not enough to be born human to live according to the principles of Ubuntu. It is not an innate value. It is a value that has to be actualized; to be conquered through education and merit. Thus, at the first glance Ubuntu is a possibility of humanity that is lived instinctively as part of our animality. It is harmony and compassion that is observed in many Africa societies based on family, clan, tribal, ethnic ties etc. These kinds of natural virtues do not make us more noble than the animals in the herd or the bees in the hive. The nobility of Ubuntu is gained when the individual goes beyond the intuitive motivations raised by similarities based on biological sameness, and recognizes the ontological sameness of his humanity in others. Such an epistemological qualitative jump can only be achieved through rationality. Thus, the authenticity of Ubuntu is verified outside of natural communities such as family, tribe, ethnicity, race etc. Ubuntu can only take shape in the political community. It is a public responsibility. Not all men or women are worthy and those who are worthy do not have the same intuitive level of Ubuntu.

For Aristotle, "the political community is a community of citizens. It is not only constituted by the present interest of stakeholders or by their historical past, but by their future common project since it is it that decides on the common law that makes community lives by constantly discussing that project". Thus, as a socio-political principle, Ubuntu is a commitment to make humanity together. Citizens must therefore harmonize their conduct to this dignity otherwise they can lose it. It is a question of engaging with others to constitute a collectivity based on intersubjectivity and national solidarity that reduces unintentional inequalities.

Ubuntu and Identity Crisis

The crisis of national identity
The notion of citizenship rethought in the light of the ethical concept of Ubuntu requires us to believe that the bond that unites citizens within the State transcends tribal or ethnical empiricism. The State is not a family but an association of citizens committed to "making humanity together" despite the plurality of their instinctual affiliations. On one hand, the family, clan, ethnicity or tribe presuppose inevitable and unbreakable natural ties. They do not require any choice and do not allow any freedom on the part of the members. On the other hand,

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[5] Enslin, P & Horsthemke, K 2004, 'Can Ubuntu provide a model for citizenship education in African Democracies?', Comparative Education, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 545-558.

citizenship or national identity presupposes belonging to an intersubjectivity that transcends the law of nature and is maintained by the will of individuals. Unlike a tribal identity that is closed and unwavering, the citizen identity is open and suspended by the will of the subject[6].

The crisis is raised when "some ethnic groups are excluded from enjoying the benefits of common citizenship on an equal basis with more favored ethnic groups"[7]. For example, Chad, Ethiopia and Sudan, Niger, and Nigeria, are examples of the demand of oppressed ethnic minorities for greater socioeconomic and infrastructural development, self-government in their ethnic heartlands, short of secession from the state. For Chad, the ethno-political conflict has, as in the case of the Sudan, been on an ethno-racialized north/south division.[8] Felt as an attempt against human rights, these victims assume the force of micro-nationalist ideology and choose to wage ethno-political conflicts.

This is a plausible explanation for the many identity claims observed in the conflicts of "Rwandophones" in Great Lakes Africa. Adele Jijadu puts it so well: "The indigenous peoples were further sub-divided or differentiated by the colonial administration into 'advantaged' or 'disadvantaged,' 'favored' or 'unfavored' ethnic groups, based on the differential diffusion of westernization, on "colonial evaluations of imputed group character" among them (Horowitz 1985: 160). These ethnic groups were, moreover, and as a matter of administrative convenience or arbitrariness, sometimes invented— constructed or deconstructed—by colonial administrators, under the influence of colonial stereotypes of African ethnic group"[9].

The crisis of regional integration
The extremist demands of nationalist and identity movements have undermined regional integration efforts in Africa, and especially the East African Community (EAC). This is as a result of these movements strong appeal to the natural response of people to want to belong to an

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6 Metz, T. 2007(c), 'Ubuntu as a Moral Theory: Reply to Four Critics', South African Journal of Philosophy, Vol. 26(4), pp. 370-387

7 L. Adele Jinadu, 2007, Explaining & Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy, DPCR, NAI. P.14.

8 8 L. Adele Jinadu, 2007, Explaining & Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy, DPCR, NAI. P.14.

9 L. Adele Jinadu, 2007, Explaining & Managing Ethnic Conflict in Africa: Towards a Cultural Theory of Democracy, DPCR, NAI. P.15." This much is clear from the post-colonial histories of Angola, Burundi, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda".

intuitive group that forms a People, or a Nation. This has consequently led to each state asserting itself as an unwavering natural unit where the duty of every patriot ensures its impermeability to diverse pollution of other persons. Because of this, the East African Region is divided into homelands of peoples that are naturally divided by their varied history. The purpose of any attempt to foster any alliance or cooperation between these peoples is automatically suspected of imperialist goals in the tribal sense of the term. Unfortunately, in such a scenario, the Ubuntu that brings humanity together across from their diverse natural ethnic or tribal boundaries becomes a taboo or even a betrayal.

The crisis of Cosmopolitical integration
Cosmopolitical integration presupposes a political organization of the world that allows every person to move and feel at home on any point of the globe. This global integration is only possible if the borders between States allow the free movement of peoples and goods.

Today we observe the fact that Cosmopolitical laws applicable to only people in whom their Ubuntu is recognized[10]. The criteria for that recognition remains arbitrary and discriminatory. Some people gain or lose their Ubuntu because of their competence or because of their natural skills. Some have Ubuntu dignity by inheritance or social conditions of their birth, while others do not. Nonetheless, each state establishes a hierarchy of degrees of Ubuntu according to assets or social appreciation of behavior.

Ubuntu as a Political Ethic in Times of Crisis
Ethics of a Citizen Identity

Within the philosophy of Ubuntu, it is not only ethical to be the one who is committed to expressing humanity to others. A good citizen is the one who makes it his duty to extend this Ubuntu to all the dimensions of all humans. There is no place for discrimination in his belonging to a State because the more one is in harmony with others the more, he fulfils his identity as a person. This means that to be a person is to be with others[11]. This means that in Ubuntu ethics, citizenship is the commitment to a shared process of freeing oneself from the

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[10] Metz, T. 2007(c), 'Ubuntu as a Moral Theory: Reply to Four Critics', South African Journal of Philosophy, Vol. 26(4), pp. 370-387

[11] Gyekye, K 1998, 'Person and Community in African Thought', The African Philosophy Reader, Coetzee, PH and Roux, APJ (eds)., pp. 317-335. Enslin, P & Horsthemke, K 2004, 'Can Ubuntu provide a model for citizenship education in African Democracies?', Comparative Education, vol. 40, no. 4, pp. 545-558.

contingencies of nature that are linked to the mutual origins and ideologies of humans borne by history[12]. It is a permanent becoming that takes place in solidarity with one's fellow human beings. Consequently, as a sociopolitical component, Ubuntu can be lost by a citizen depending on his behavior or his social conditions[13].

Ethics of Regional Integration

A State corresponds to the ethical ideal of Ubuntu insofar as its citizens are engaged in the trans-natural and rational project of making humanity together. In that condition, they renounce to the use of their instinctual belonging to the family, clan, tribe or ethnicity to promote the common good. Promoting States whose constitutions are inspired by Ubuntu ethics then becomes a condition for the possibility of the ethical and sustainable political regional integration.[14] As a result, Ubuntu as a moral concept endorses an open conception of the state. In that sense a State is worthy Ubuntu dignity only if it is able to remain open to all humanity present at its borders. It goes without saying that once adopted by all the constituent States, regional integration should logically follow.

There is no place for discrimination in belonging to a Regional Alliance of States, because the more one is in alliance with others the more, he fulfils his identity as a State. Otherwise, to be a State is to be with other similar States. It is not a question of extending the adoption of ethnic values beyond the borders of states, but rather of recognizing the fraternal dignity and equality of others in order to promote each other[15].

Ethics of a humanist cosmopolitanism

As a universalist ethical concept, Ubuntu is an ideal theory that can transform the world in
a politically organized space that peacefully shelters the diversity of

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[12] Cornell, D 2009, 'Is There a Difference That Makes a Difference Between Ubuntu and Dignity?', Is This Seat Taken? Conversations at the Bar, The Bench & The Academy, 5 November 2009.

[13] Cornell, D 2010, 'A Call for a Nuanced Jurisprudence: Ubuntu, Dignity and Reconciliation' in Ubuntu and the Law in South Africa, Cornell, D & Muvangua, N, eds., Forthcoming (2010), Fordham University Press.

[14] Iroanya, RO 2005, 'Citizenship-Indigeneship Contradictions and Resource Control in Africa: A Case for the African Tradition of Ubuntu', 7 th Annual Africa Day Conference University of South Africa, Pretoria, pp. 1-11

[15] Le Roux, J 2000, 'The concept of 'ubuntu': Africa's most important contribution to multicultural education?', Multicultural Teaching, 18(2), 43–46. Thaddeus Metz, *Ubuntu* as a moral theory and human rights in South Africa, Afr. hum. rights law j. vol.11 n.2 Pretoria 2011

instinctual groups of peoples and nations[16]. Individuals identify the world as their homeland that transcends local commitments. Their belonging to humanity explains their openness and tolerance towards the diversity of values in the public space.

The EAC will be a cosmopolitan community when citizens from different states enter into relationships of mutual respect despite their divergent ethnical and cultural belongings. The purpose of the EAC is to build a political and economic community where all citizen form one cohesive and united community. This citizenship supposes an education which shapes peoples as individuals who "freely cross the borders of different countries, cultures and political communities considering the highest values to be freedom and equality of all the people inhabiting the planet"[17].

The conditions for the possibility of the process of continuous humanization of the world are numerous. They include but are not limited to:
  o The will of States to build their constitution on the values of Ubuntu and to keep open the notion of their citizenship[18]. The EAC should therefore promote "cultural exchange and provide people of one culture with the opportunity to learn from others".
  o Flexibility in border management to allow Ubuntu, the humanity lived together, to deploy unhindered. The EAC should therefore encourage each member state to approve a political system which explores the application of norms and values of democracy at the transnational level.
      ▪ International Governmental Organizations (IGOs), which can provide member states with a forum for conflict resolution.
      ▪ Financial market regulation which aims at simplifying the process of trading across the borders of the East African Community's partner states.
      ▪ Public–Private Partnerships (PPPs) [19] without borders which can provide higher efficiency and increased

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[16] van Binsbergen, W 2001, 'Ubuntu and the Globalisation of Southern African Thought and Society', Quest: An African Journal of Philosophy, vol. XV, no. 1-2, African Renaissance and Ubuntu Philosophy Special Issue, pp. 53-90.

[17] A. Chishugi, *La paix par le droit*, Paris, L'Harmathan, 2009, p.169.

[18] Kleingeld, Pauline. 2012. *Kant and Cosmopolitanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[19] Lukamba Muhiya Tshombe , Thekiso Molokwane , Alex Nduhura, Innocent Nuwagaba3, An Analysis of Public-Private Partnerships in East Africa, Research in World Economy Vol. 11, No. 5; Special Issue, 2020

transparency in the use of funds. "A Public Private Partnership is an agreement between the public sector and the private sector for the purpose of designing, planning, financing, constructing, and/or operating projects that would traditionally be regarded as falling within the remit of the public sector"[20].

- Socio-Cultural Alliances Without Borders[21]: This refers to organizations that coordinate the performance of transnational EAC citizens, facilitate cooperation, resolve disputes, and alleviate collective action problems.

Research Methodology

This will be desktop research which will involve examining materials that can help illuminate the issue of the philosophies Ubuntu and integration. This will be juxtaposed with Conflict Resolution Strategies. The results will be generally applied to the African continent and specifically to the nations that form the EAC in their pursuit to promote peace, freedom, human dignity and the development of the people of the Region. We shall investigate the effectiveness of African Union ideals within its real-life context, using the EAC as a qualitative case study. The findings will then follow in descriptive narrative. We expect that the results will also answer the thorny issue of how the African conflict can lead to transformation, political integration and sustainable development, and provide the basis for the application of our findings

Conclusion

The proposed cosmopolitanism emphasizes the direct linkages across international boundaries of the EAC member states and rationalize the relationship between ethnicity, the crisis of citizenship or civil war in the region. It is the opportunity given to member states to fulfil the dream of Kant in which nationalism and the crisis of regional integration, xenophobia and under-development are taken in charge by a cosmopolitan world where armies are abolished and citizen are governed under a representative EAC institution[22].

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[20] Ibidem

[21] Lee Boon-Thong, Tengk Shamsul Bahrin, 2019, *Vanishing Borders: The New International Order of the 21st Century*, Routledge, NY. Kant, Immanuel. 1996a. *The Metaphysics of Morals. The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ———. 1996b. *Toward Perpetual Peace. The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ———. 1996c. *Religion Within the Boundaries of Mere Reason. The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[22] Kant, Immanuel. 1996a. *The Metaphysics of Morals. The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ———. 1996b. *Toward Perpetual Peace. The*

The results are expected to address the following questions and indicate suggestions as to what need to be done:

- To build a transnational identity[23] as mean of solving the crisis of national identity; "Activities of political transnationalism can range from immigrants remaining active in the politics of their native country, including voting, to actually running for office. A modern example is the growing number of native-born American citizens who choose to live in Mexico for family, business, or economic reasons". "In terms of the categories of social and individual forms of belonging, transnational citizens are marked by multiple identities and allegiances, and often travel between two or more countries, all in which they have created sizeable networks of differing functions".

- To reinforce the transnational trade and corporation as mean of inter-state pacification[24]; "Transnational corporations (TNCs) or multinational corporations (MNCs) are companies that operate in more than one country. Unilever, McDonalds and Apple are all examples of TNCs. TNCs tend to have offices and headquarters located in the developed world".

- To establish cosmopolitanism as the political model of regional integration [25] . "Transnationalism creates a greater degree of connection between individuals, communities and societies across borders, bringing about changes in the social, cultural, economic and political landscapes of societies of origin and destination". "Transnationalism has been defined in anthropology as "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement".

Cambridge Edition of the Works of Immanuel Kant. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Today, international politics rely on transnationalism to make transnational trade grow smoothly.

[23] In this sense, transnational identity means recognizing the multi-geographical nature of immigrants who are from one particular country but live out their lives in another (Esteban-Guitart et al., 2013, Portes, 1997). Ong, A. (1999). Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

[24] "Transnationalism refers to the diffusion and extension of social, political, economic processes in between and beyond the sovereign jurisdictional boundaries of nation-states. International processes are increasingly governed by non-state actors and international organizations".

[25] Kleingeld, Pauline. 2012. *Kant and Cosmopolitanism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Levitt, P. (2001). The transnational villagers. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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ABOUT THE BOOK

This book of chapters on *Dialogue on Society and development in Africa: Proceedings of the 2022 International Conference of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies,* is a unique collection of papers delivered at the 2022 International Conference of the Association for the Promotion of African Studies on issues bordering on society and development in Africa. This work constitutes a contemporary dialogue on society and development in Africa. It is a monumental, learned, lucid, patient and comprehensive piece with contributions from scholars from different academic and cultural backgrounds that aims at unraveling the elements around the underdevelopment of Africa societies .It is a collection of papers by productive scholars. These are academics whose productivity is marked by happy versatility, rich variety, unfailing originality, consistent incisiveness, high voltage reasoning, limpidity of style and unwavering logic. This constitutes one of the most powerful reflections on society and development in Africa.