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# Love Ayox' 'the Indian Man' of the Professional Yoruba Travelling Theatre: A Study in Cultural Appropriations

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## *Abstract*

*Following the controversies that have trailed intercultural experimentations in theatre and performance, this paper seeks a better way to appropriate others' cultures without provoking indignation and cultural conflict. The paper takes the controversies surrounding Peter Brooks' appropriation of Hindu epic poem, Mahabharata in producing his artistically acclaimed masterpiece of the same title, as a launch pad in the study of another form of cultural appropriation – Ejilaarin (Resemblance) by Ayox Arishekola, one less likely to raise resentments. The objective of this paper is to analyze the appropriation of Indian culture-specific elements in this popular Yoruba language play, and how it was received by both Nigerian and Indian audiences. The concluding argument of the paper is that cultural appropriation need not and should not be employed in creating culture conflict when it has equal potential to serve as a tool for cultural cohesion.*

*Keywords: Cultural appropriation, Peter Brook, intercultural performance, popular theatre, travelling theatre, Mahabharata.*

## INTRODUCTION:

Theatre reflects the society. Levels of identity construction occur in every society, and the theatre reflects all these identity formations with all its contradictions and relationships. How this cornucopia of cultural identities is reflected on stage has been an exciting focus of interculturalism in theatre. The theatre, therefore, naturally acts as a receptor and a transmitter of human activity. It acts as a mirror, reflecting the actions and interactions of man in his environment which he shares with people of different cultural leanings. Advances in technology and growing international collaborations engendered by the need for economic and political expansion have made it very imperative for cultures to come together and to share and exchange human and material resources. Forces of globalization are succeeding in aiding the disappearance of homogeneous societies at the same time as societies are increasingly turning heterogeneous. In this state of flux, intercultural studies have become imperative and indispensable. Intercultural performances are even more unavoidable because intercultural contacts have always been there as Joachim Fiebach rightly states that “the fluidity of cultural identity and thus heavy (intercultural) ‘borrowing’ from (many) other cultures to expand one’s own is not a particularly postmodern phenomenon” (137). The author observes that such borrowings have been a staple style of African theatres such as the itinerant Yoruba popular

travelling theatre of Nigeria in the 1940s, and the Concert Parties of Ghana in the 1920s. Fiebach’s study has hinted on one of the points at the core of the present writing which is to foreground the purpose of intercultural borrowings as central to its reception. This study has become necessary because of rising controversies against some cultural appropriations in theatre and performance such as Peter Brook’s *Mahabharata* based on an Indian epic writing of the same title. This great classical and timeless work has been reread and adapted by many writers from different perspectives, but none, it seems, is as contentious as Brook’s.

Peter Brook is one of the greatest Theatre Directors of our time, and most importantly, he is one of the most proactive intercultural theatre directors. However, his performance of an appropriation of Indian sacred text, *Mahabharata*, in 1985 sparked a critical outcry begging the question, should there be limits to intercultural borrowing? There are two broad responses to Brook’s work. One is positive, and the other is negative. Michael Billington’s appraisal of the work represents the positive while Rustom Bharucha’s represents the negative. Billington’s evaluation came after watching the French version of the play in 1985 and the English version in 1987 and was struck by two things first is what he describes as the play’s “evocative magic” with showers of white arrows crisscrossing in the night air, a single chariot wheel propelled across the stage, and other such effects. Second is the

appeal to the imagination. He concludes “It was that tension between political despair and affirmation of life that made the original Mahabharata emotionally moving as well as technically brilliant.” Apparently, the play emotionally moved its audiences in two different directions. Unlike the aesthetic direction in which it moved Billington and others, mostly Western, who were moved by the aesthetic mastery alone. Others, such as Bharucha, were moved in a different direction for him to exclaim “Peter Brook’s Mahabharata exemplifies one of the most blatant (and accomplished) appropriation of Indian culture in recent years” (1962). Bharucha is compelled to condemn Brook’s brilliant work because of “the scale of its operation and the magnitude of its effect.” Taking the events and stories of the Indian epic out of its original context is misleading to audiences who are learning about the Indian *Mahabharata* for the first time. For the critic, Mahabharata is more than an epic poem; it represents Indian history and worldview. Margaret Croyden agrees with Bharucha, even though she does not share his sentiments, describes it as,

Consisting of 18 volumes and 90,000 couplets, it is a compilation of the myths, legends, wars, folklore, ethics, history and theology of ancestral India, including the Hindu sacred book, the Bhagavad Gita. Revered in

India but little known in the West, “The Mahabharata” is to South Asians what the Bible along with the Iliad and the Odyssey are to us.

Indian Mahabharata, therefore, holds a profound religious value to the people of India hence the reaction to the representation of the secular rather than the spiritual aspect of the work. It seems to indicate that there is a limit to how some cultural materials could be employed.

It is not the intention of the present writer to delve into the details of Brook’s work. The controversy is revisited here merely as a launch-pad into a study of another form of appropriation of Indian culture with a different kind of reception. Neither the artist nor his level of sophistication is comparable to Brook’s, but the two are engaged in the same task of cultural appropriation using cultural materials from the same cultural group, India.

The Professional Yoruba Travelling Theatre, which was born in 1946, during the colonial rule in Nigeria, is not alien to intercultural influences; as a matter of fact, it has its roots in the intersection between traditional African performance practices and that of Europe from which it drew some of its content and form of performance, at the initial stage. Its birth is properly linked to Hubert Ogunde who has been described as the “father of modern theatre in Nigeria”

(Clark, 1982). The originators of this form of theatre were trained in traditional performance paradigms, and later, during the colonial period, they got introduced to the Western style of performance in the church and the school as pupils and teachers. When they formed their theatre troupes, consequently, they drew subject matters from the Bible (some Bible stories) and some staging techniques from their school end of year shows. The new theatre form which evolved was, therefore, a combination of the two different theatre praxis which these practitioners had grown familiar with – modern Western and traditional African. Theatre scholarship in Nigeria has been almost silent on the processes of syncretism in the popular travelling theatre, probably because there was no theoretical framework for such studies at the time. Interculturalism and Performance Studies have provided such framework for this type of intellectual inquiry. Consequently, this paper is a study of a travelling theatre practitioner in Nigeria, during the colonial period, who specialized in incorporating Indian cultural materials in his performances, and an evaluation of the success of this experimentation. His name is Ayoka Arishekola (1926 – 2016) one of the veteran travelling theatre leaders in the Professional Yoruba Travelling Theatre movement in Nigeria. He was famed for synthesizing Indian cultural and performance elements in his Yoruba performances. Influenced by Indian music and film which

were very popular in Nigeria at the time, Ayox performances replicated the sounds and sights of these Indian performance genres on stage. His captivating performances were like watching Indian films. Why did he do that? How did he do that? How successful was his experimentation? These questions will be addressed shortly, but the immediate question to address is whether this type of performance can be called intercultural or any other variant. Interculturalism, including all its variants – cultural appropriation, cross-cultural, transcultural, cultural syncretism, acculturation, cultural adaptation, and so on, poses some problem of application because of its negative connotation as a postcolonial critical tool.

This paper reviews the concepts of cultural appropriation and transculturation to argue that the problem is not in the terms, but their interpretation and application. Consequently, the cultural appropriation of Indian cultural elements into Yoruba language performances, which Arishekola did without consequences, will be examined and the reception which the performances received from both Indian and Nigerian audiences will be evaluated. The study of Cultural appropriations in theatre and performance has become increasingly important as an inevitable trend in this age of globalization. What should be the role of theatre in managing the conflicts that trail this large-scale cultural interaction?

A theatre performance is a reflection of the society in which it is set. However, when



a society is made up of people from diverse cultures and races, this is when the work of the theatre artist begins to get complicated. How would theatre reflect such a mix up of cultures and still retain its cultural identity and not create a tension between the culture of the artist and that of the other cultures represented in his performance? The popular theatre is more tasked by all these because of its nature as popular entertainment. Brooks McNamara's basic definition of popular entertainment is widely quoted by popular entertainment scholars such as Millie Taylor 2012: 8, and Victor Emeljanow, 2010: 2; Daniel Szlawieniec-Haw, 2010: 59. He defines "traditional popular entertainment as live amusements aimed at a broad, relatively "unsophisticated" audience created for profit by professional showmen" (3). Since the popular entertainment intends to entertain a general audience as a means of making money, the popular theatre artist has a duty to himself and his audiences to avoid culture conflict in his portrayal of diverse cultures. He cannot afford to present one culture as less than other rather he treats each cultural entity with respect and with a sense of comradeship. His perceived duty, therefore, is to be as broad-minded as his audiences are broadly-based. In the end, he achieves greater cultural cohesion necessary for meaningful co-existence in a heterogeneous social order. This is the task which Ayox Arishekola took head-on in his theatre career that lasted from the early 1950s through the late 1970s.

The inevitability of cultural borrowings and fusion in creative writing and performance probably led to the emergence of vocabularies that best encapsulate the exercise. Phillip Zarrilli and his co-authors refer to several terms that have been used for this performance genre when they comment about "a genre variously termed 'intercultural,' 'cross-cultural,' 'transcultural,' 'multicultural,' or 'syncretic'" (498). It is left for a writer to choose the one that best suits his purpose, hence Zarrilli et al. chose intercultural in their discussion of Brook's controversial work. The reason they chose that term is, probably because it is the term used by Peter Brook whose work they are studying. Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert chose cross-cultural. For the present paper, however, cultural appropriation is adopted to describe performances that involve intentional incorporation of images from cultures other than that of the artist.

### **CRITICAL ISSUES IN CULTURAL APPROPRIATION**

Accuracy is important. If the borrowed cultural piece is not accurately presented, it can be interpreted as offensive by the original cultural group. Ayox was able to achieve accuracy in his appropriation of Indian culture in some ways. He used Indian music in two ways. First, he played the original Indian music of his choice and danced to it for his opening glee. Second, he sang songs in the Yoruba language accompanied by

a selected Indian music. In this instance, the tone of the songs and the rhythm of the music were unmistakable Indian, but the wordings were in the Yoruba language. The aesthetic effect is better seen than imagined. To have girls that could accurately capture the sonorous singing voice of Indian singers is a test of how creatively meticulous Ayox must have been. To replicate Indian music and film in his performances was his passion. And to achieve this Indian effect, he was strict in employing actresses who had clear voices and were very beautiful. Then he completed the picture with Indian makeup, costumes, and accessories. What Ayox did in Liberia will constitute a third method of incorporating Indian cultural elements in his performance. While in Liberia, he met a large community of Indians. There, the number of Indian nationals in his troupe increased. The music was no longer supplied from records, but played live by the Indian nationals in his troupe, using appropriate instruments.

The preceding is an exploration of the various creative ways in which Ayox appropriated Indian music in his performances. Another aspect of Indian culture in his theatre was costume. As a professional tailor, he studied Indian mode of dressing, bought appropriate materials and constructed the costumes by himself. All the Indian costumes used in his theatre were designed and constructed by him. Obviously without attention to the slight differences in Indian dress code marked by religion and

ethnicity, such as Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Buddhist, Tamil, Bengal, Ayox costumes cut across these divides as can be seen from the pictures. Understandably emphasizing these divisions and differences are not necessary when the purpose is to foreground similarities and encourage commingling of cultures.

The nature of an existing relationship between two cultures is another essential factor affecting cultural appropriation. If there is already an existing tension between two cultural groups, it will affect the intercultural relationship between them. The art of appropriation will thus be drowned in political sentiments. This is usually true in a postcolonial situation where the indigenous culture is already suspicious of the dominant culture which they see as representing dominance and otherness. For a dominant group to inappropriately interpret the culture of a minority group will be viewed as a furtherance of imperialism. However, there is no such tension between Nigeria and India. Ayox work, therefore, acts to strengthen the cordial relationship between the two countries.

### **AYOX ARISHEKOLA THE 'INDIAN MAN' OF THE YORUBA POPULAR TRAVELLING THEATRE.**

Ayoka Hamed Olatomi Arishekola (1936<sup>1</sup> – 2016), known to his fans as “Love Ayox,” hails from Iwo in Osun State in the Western part of Nigeria. An only child born into a Muslim family, he attended a Koranic school though unable to complete because

he had to follow his dream of becoming a performer. He had four wives but had no idea how many children he sired because he had many women following him and he knew they had children for him, but he could care less at that time. He regrets it now and blames his career saying,

I married four wives, but that Igbo was the first. It is this our work that makes us make mistakes.

He died on Monday 28<sup>th</sup> of November, 2016 at 10.30am, at the age of 80 years, and was buried at 5.00pm in accordance with Muslim rites. He is survived by many wives, children, and grandchildren (Udengwu, 2016).

Why, then, is a Yoruba man addressed as an 'Indian man'? This is the question that will take us down memory lane to discover one man, whose love for experimentation in cross-cultural engagements put him ahead of his peers in the popular travelling theatre. No one else among the over two hundred theatre companies that flourished under this theatre form was so engaged in the cultural appropriation to the point where it became a brand name for his theatre, except Ayox Arisheloka. Perhaps it may be better to state that no other was so engrossed with a foreign culture, other than that of Europe, to the

point of absorbing it and making it a regular element in his theatrical productions. This is what the love for Indian music and film did to Arishekola, and through his Nigerian/Indian aesthetics, he transferred that love to his audiences. 'Indian' came to define his theatre.

Each of the theatre troupe leaders in the professional travelling theatre had a distinct style or characteristic feature which distinguished his performance from the rest. Hubert Ogunde is associated with his giant ritual drum; Funmilayo Ranko was known for her stunt and triple conga drums; Duro Ladipo known for his magical acts especially fire spitting. In the case of Arishekola, he was known for his appropriation of Indian culture in his theatre. To begin with, Ayox favourite subject matter was love. Love stories were rarely part of the repertory of the travelling theatre companies. But Ayox Arishekola was famous for that. It is on account of his love stories that he was nicknamed "Love Ayox," by his fans. The appellations 'Indian Man' and 'Love Ayox' are not just nicknames for this multi-talented performer. The names defined the content and form of his theatre and captured the development of a distinctly transcultural performance paradigm unlike any other in the colonial period in Nigeria.

## His life of art



Fig. 2a Ayox in performance in Liberia



Fig.2b Ayox in Performance in Liberia



Fig. 3 Ayox and his dancers



Fig. 4 Ayox group welcoming Ethiopian President to Ivory Coast (Cote D'Ivoire)

Ayox Arishekola was a composite performer who had tried his hands on any activity that caught his fancy. He was a dancer, actor, theatre director, choreographer, comedian, tailor, photographer, magician, acrobat, and a lightweight boxer. All these skills, plus his love for travelling

and socialization impacted his innovative performance style.

His creative journey manifested very early in his life when he, contrary to his Muslim faith, and in defiance of his family who forbade him to perform, he participated in cultural performances during cultural

festivals in his hometown, Iwo. It was the performances that drew him towards the festivals during which he demonstrated his natural talents to people's admiration. It was also his passion for performance that made him drop out of the Koranic school and defected to a Baptist school, a Christian school where he got involved in every extra-curricular activities of the school – drama, dance and the school band. He told this researcher in an interview that swinging the baton was his greatest challenge to becoming the band major in his school, but it also brought out the fight for excellence in him. Desperate to win the position of the band leader, he got a soldier to give him private training. He mastered the art of swinging the baton and became the band leader. Again, he did not complete school at the Baptist school because he was too busy doing what he loved doing. He was so busy dancing and doing it so well that people guessed he would not be able to complete his school. They were right. He read up to primary six, but he was not around to write his final examination. Later his family convinced him to learn dressmaking. While practicing tailoring, he found he had no time to perform. After learning dressmaking, his family expected him to open a tailoring shop, but he found he loved photography even better. He became friends with a popular photographer, the owner of 'Onward Photos' in Iwo, who expressed his desire to learn dancing. He went into an agreement with the man to trade skills so no one would need

to pay the other. That was how he learned photography. All these skills and activities he engaged in would eventually impact his career as a performer. In spite of all the skills he had acquired, and they were very popular skills at that period, he would not settle down to practice what he had learned, rather he followed musical groups around dancing for them. An only child and a Moslem, Ayox was a complete contradiction to the expectation of his family. A free-spirit, he insisted on following his passion – performance. Soon performance took him outside Iwo to Ibadan on what was to become a turning point in his career as an offshore performing artist.

He recalled following a band of musicians to Ibadan without telling his family. There in Ibadan, he was dancing for different bands because they all loved to have him perform with them his acrobatic dance moves. He also did his own dance business on the side; for instance, when the band took a break from playing he would entertain the audience with acrobatics and dance from which he made extra money. He used to carry his disc records of mostly Indian music, which they played for him to dance.

However, he soon discovered that he was not challenged enough in Ibadan, so he left for Lagos where he hoped to find his level. Lagos was then, and even now, the centre of excellence in all life's endeavour, a land of opportunities and hub for the performing arts where the big names in Nigerian music and theatre took performances to great heights.

But, apparently, it was not just to find his level that motivated him to go to Lagos. His family was alerted that he was seen performing in Ibadan and they came to fetch him. There is no hiding place for a performer because he is always in public eyes. He also met some hostility from some existing groups in Ibadan which he did not want to deal with. Understandably the groups were not happy that a village boy from Iwo could come to the city and steal the show from them. Ibadan was the centre of excellence, only second to Lagos, as far as entertainment goes. He, therefore, had more than one reason to leave Ibadan – to escape professional jealousy, escape from his family and to find a greater challenge.

In Lagos, he located a relation of his and stayed in his house. He was at social functions where he always slotted in his acrobatic displays and dances. He also saw the Igunu festival and was very curious about a masquerade he saw at the festival that grew as tall as a story building and then became as small as a dwarf in an instant. He followed them about peeping and prying to learn the secret of their display. He was caught and beaten to pulps. He could not defend himself against those people, so when his wounds healed, he went and learned boxing and became a lightweight. He also learned the art of magic from an Indian named Adbullai Kapoor. He then went back to Iwo but found out that he could no longer stay there because his family would never relent

in stopping his career. During Igunu festival in Iwo, he took ten of his mother's wrappers to sow masquerade costumes and received some beating for doing that. After that, he decided to leave home again, for good. One day he was given money to buy meat from the market. He saw the opportunity for which he had been waiting. From the market, he disappeared and went to Ibadan, again. It would take more than a decade for his family to see him again.

In Ibadan, he organized his theatre group made up of fifteen members – nine girls and six boys. The performances included dances, acrobatics, comedy and serious drama. Interference from the family forced him to disband his group and went to Lagos. He did not go back to his relation's house as he did before; rather he did his displays in the day and slept in docked ships at night. That was how he met and befriended some French sailors and knowingly or unknowingly kick-started the third phase of his artistic journey—the international phase. He rendered some essential services to the sailors and they, in turn, promised to take him out of Nigeria. He escorted them to town and acted as their interpreter; he ran errands for them including arranging girls for them. They taught him the French language, and within five months he was able to learn enough French. True to their words when the time came for them to set sail again, they took Ayox with them. Without a Passport or any other travel document, he became a stowaway on their ship. However,

he could not go as far as he wanted because when word came to the sailors that the coastguards were throwing stowaways into the sea, they hid Ayox. Soon as they docked at Ghana, he got off.

On arrival in Ghana, he located an orchestra group playing in a hotel and danced them. They loved his skills and his appearance (he dressed as a cowboy while in Ghana). He made some money and started his group. However, his parents soon found out he was in Ghana, and so he fled to Abidjan, Ivory Coast (Cote d'Ivoire) by a lorry. There, he located a group dancing Gumbe in a hotel and

after watching a few times, he discovered that the dance required strength and flexibility. He joined them and added his acrobatics without missing the beat, to the admiration of the group. He soon became popular and was often engaged in teaching new dance steps in existing dances. Though it is not clear the year this happened, Ayox informed this writer that his group was commissioned by the government of the country to organize a performance for the President of Ethiopia who was scheduled to visit Ivory Coast (see fig. 4).

### Ayox Tours



Figure 5

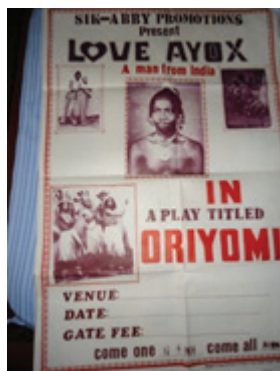


Figure 6



Figure 7

The travelling theatre is an itinerant performing troupe known for going from place to place putting up performances. In its traditional form, the group performed only during cultural festivals during which they move from compound to compound

performing for patrons who offered to them the gifts of money and food items from the abundance of their hearts, no specified amount of money or food items. When they perform in public spaces such as festival ground, market place, village square, and

other public spaces, individuals also show appreciation for the entertainment by throwing money at them. Again, the amount was not specified, and those without money to give shout praises. However, a new theatre form developed during the colonial period in Nigeria which adopted some Western performance paradigms. In the new theatre form, performances were no longer free as the performers were professionals who had to earn their sustenance through their performances. Travelling in the new theatre form became wider and more extensive. No longer limited to within the community as the traditional performers did, these professional performers, with the aid of modern means of transportation, took their business to farther places covering the entire country and outside the country as well. Ogunde, for instance, performed in the Republic of Benin, Republic of Togo, Ivory Coast, and all the regions of Ghana, as well as in London (Clark, 1980). Duro Ladipo was also popular for his European tours, in addition to his travelling all around the country.

Ayox travelled to many African countries, including Senegal, Cote D'Ivoire, Liberia, Monrovia, Sierra Leone, Mali, Ghana, Niger, Burkina Faso, Congo-Kinshasa, Togo, etc. He performed both in English and French languages in these other countries, and in Nigeria, he performed mostly in Yoruba language and pigeon English. While his contemporaries were living and touring within the country, and sometimes foreign

countries, Ayox lived and performed in foreign countries. He performed in many venues in those countries before coming back to Nigeria. This means that he did not tour Nigeria as much as his peers as his tour of the country started after he came back in 1971 after more than one decade of performing overseas.

### **INTERCULTURAL ADAPTATION AS BRAND SIGNATURE IN AYOX ARISHEKOLA THEATRE**

Ayox theatre was different, in many ways, from that of his contemporaries. While other big names in the professional travelling theatre were heavily influenced by traditional African festival performance paradigms, as well as Western theatre styles which they learned through participating in schools dramatic activities, and from church devotional songs and ceremonial entertainments; Ayox, on the other, though also influenced by all those but in addition and of greater impact was Indian Film and music. Both content and form of his theatre marked him out from the rest. It has to be also mentioned, that wherever country Ayox performed, he must incorporate an aspect of the art or culture of that country in his performances. Notwithstanding, Indian elements were constant in all his productions.

He was popular for his love stories when his contemporaries preferred mythical, historical, political and religious themes. He chose what Srinivas (380) calls the 'boy meet girl romance' which was and, perhaps, still is



the staple of Indian Film and music. It was on account of this trademark love theme that his fans nicknamed him 'Love Ayox.' His first play was about love, and it was titled *Ijinle Ife* (Deep Love), and the last titled *Taniomọpla* (Who Knows Tomorrow) was about love. Romantic love themes were scarce in the professional travelling theatre. Matrimonial problems were preferred to romantic love. This is not to suggest that love is the only subject of his theatre, but his love themes were many and more popular, and they form the focus of this discourse. The thirty-two titles available to this writer shows that other themes were visited too, for example, there were moral topics such as *onijibiti* (con man), and *Otitọ je kikorò* (Truth is Bitter); social satires such as *Bojuri, enu adake* (Not all Secrets are revealed), *Iya Adebola* (Adebola's Mother);<sup>2</sup> folklore themes include *Igbo Iberu* (Dreadful Forest).

Again, his performance was a mixture of a variety of performance genres – acting, singing, dancing, acrobatics, comedy, tragedy, to cater for all tastes. Though this performance style, which some critics of Hindi film nicknamed 'masala aesthetics' (Raminder Kaur, 286) has characterised Indian film from inception, it is also characteristic of African performances. Masala refers to a mixture of spices in India. This multi-genre benchmark is one of the features which Nigerian and Indian performances share in common. It is a carryover from traditional performance paradigms of the two countries

which explains why Ayox and his African and Indian audiences felt at home with it.

The Indian film, according to Brian Larkin (1997, 406) came to Nigeria in the 1950s courtesy of some Lebanese exhibitors and became an instant hit, especially *Mother India* to the point that they overshadowed Western films. Nigerians were not just in love with Indian films; they were addicted to them. Ayox was not left out, but unlike others, he was not just a passive admirer of Indian films, he took advantage of its popularity and replicated it in his stage performances. He was apparently, the first among his peers to appropriate a non-Western culture in his performances hence his second nickname the 'Indian Man.'

His experiment with Indian music, started when he left the watchful eyes of his parents and moved to Ibadan where he danced to Indian music of his choice in hotels and nightclubs to the admiration of all. When he formed his theatre, he danced and did acrobatics to the rhythm of Indian music played from a record player as his Opening Glee (Udengwu, 173). Opening Glee was the opening entertainment piece that usually went before the play proper in the popular travelling theatre. It was a constant part of every performance configuration though each troupe did different activities as their opening glee. In other companies, the opening glee took the form of pledges and salutes to unseen forces, rendered through singing and dancing, for example, Ogunde (Clark 99); Ogunmola

(Adedeji and Ekwuazi 23), and the rest. In Ayox Company it took the form of displaying expertise in Bollywood dance styles and acrobatics, to a selected Indian music. It was not only the familiarity of it that captivated the audience but the near perfection with which these Indian dance moves were executed, coupled with the fact that the dancers were not Indians but Africans.

Music in Ayox performances was a surprising mixture of Indian rhythm and tone on one hand, and Yoruba language songs, on the other. He composed Yoruba songs to be sung with tunes of selected Indian music within the play proper<sup>3</sup> especially in his love stories. At this time the Indian flavour was no longer limited to the Opening Glee, but had become part of the main story, in an operatic manner. The songs sounded like well known Indian songs, but the lyrics were in the Yoruba language. He declared during an interview with this writer, "I like Indian singing. I use their tune to sing in Yoruba. I turned their songs into Yoruba (*he sings...mara baba nawab kana aliyah ha,... My darling mabo...i love you...*). I was the one who brought Indian tone to Yoruba."

The driving force for Ayox experiment with Indian culture was his love and respect for other people and their culture. Hence, though Indian elements were a constant in his performances, so were other cultures at smaller scale. He lived and performed in many countries in Africa, and he made it a point of duty to incorporate aspects of those

cultures, especially their dances. He took his Indian aesthetics to a new level when he arrived in Liberia in 1965 and met a large population of Indians who joined his already international cast. With Indian boys and girls in his troupe, he took his experimentation with Indian music further. The music that was played from records initially, was now played by a live orchestra.

### **INDIANS MEDICS CURED HIM.**

Ayox discreet(ive) appropriation of Indian culture and art earned him love and respect from Indians. The major proof of this came when he fell ill and was seriously sick for seven years, four out of which he was blind. Nothing seemed to work though he spent all his money trying one treatment method after another, and he was abandoned by his relatives and friends, as no one believed he would survive. But then, when some Indian doctors heard that the Nigerian actor that acted as an Indian was sick, they traced him to his hometown, Iwo, and took him away and cured him. The sickness ended his theatre career because when he came back from India, he found that his wives had gone with their children and his relatives had shared all his belongings including his four wagons.

He could not remember the titles of the Indian songs he cloned because they were many. However, his greatest film idol was Shammi Kapoor, an award-winning lead actor and director who was also regarded

as one of the most entertaining prominent actors in the Hindi cinema industry of the 1950s to 1970s. Ayox created an alter ego of this Indian actor not only in his acting, dancing and singing, but he also took on a stage name “Hamikapoor” (from his middle name Hamed) to sound like Shammi Kapoor his screen idol. The real name of Shammi Kapoor was Shamsher Raj Kapoor (1930 – 2011). Ayox adapted his own name Hamed, to get a similar stage name ‘Hamikapoor.’

The impact of his experimentation on Nigerians, especially women, can be associated with the “Indian gown” fashion craze that developed in the early 1970s when Nigerian girls dressed in asari and wore bindi makeup on their forehead and completed the transformation with long black wigs which were parted at the centre. A performance can be designed to bridge differences between cultures through highlighting the things that unite them, or it can be designed to widen the gap between cultures through emphasizing the things that divide them.

Ayox Arishekola was one of the Indian film addicts, and being a composite artist, he could not resist appropriating these into his performances. He was so engrossed in the films that he could reproduce the dance moves and also sing the songs even when he did not fully understand what the songs were saying. One of his typical appropriations titled *Eji Laarin* (resemblance) was performed first in Liberia.

### ***Eji Laarin*(Resemblance) (1965)**

Other words that have the same meaning as resemblance are similarity and likeness, and the opposite of these is difference. Ayox has a clear message in his performances – love. In this play he demonstrates how people are drawn toward love and how love elicits positive attitude in people including strangers who, together, can solve an impending tragedy. When the play opens, a young woman, who will eventually play the Bride in the play, sits forlorn sighing repeatedly. She is met by concerned citizens who ask her what the problem is,

**Bride:** hu hu hu! Hu hu hu!

**Citizens:** Soro now, kilori i?

**Bride:** Motirin okunrin kan (spoken)

**Citizens:** Looto?

**Bride:** (*begins to sing in an Indian tone*)

Moti ri okunrin kan

E wagbo ‘hun to wi

Moti riokunrin kan,

E wagbo ‘hun to wi

**Citizens:** ki lowi?

**Bride:** O l’olufe mi i i, o l’olufe mi

Ma so fun mummy, ma so fun daddy

Ma so fun mummy, ma so fun daddy

Pe mo riokunrin kan, to lohun o fe

mi

E mi ma fe

**Citizens:** lyen ni kee!

**Bride:** Ah! Moti riokunrin kan  
E wagbo ‘hun to wi  
Moti riokunrin kan,  
E wagbo ‘hun to wi

**Citizens:** ki lo wi?

**Bride:** O l’olufe mi i i, o l’olufe mi.

Ma so fun mummy, ma so fun daddy.  
Ma so fun mummy, ma so fun daddy,  
Pe mo riokunrin kan, to lohun o fe  
mi.  
E mi ma fe!

**Citizens:** lyen ni kee!

**A male singer:** Ma so fun mummy, ma  
so fun daddy.  
Ma so fun mummy, ma so fun daddy,  
Pe mo riokunrin kan, to lohun o fe  
mi.

**Male singer and Bride:** E mi ma fe!

### **English Translation**

**Bride:** Hu hu hu! Huhu hu!

**Citizens:** Speak now, what did you see?

**Bride:** I have seen a man.

**Citizens:** Really?

**Bride:** (*The rest of the lines from this point are sung*) I have seen a man.  
Come and hear what he said.

**Citizens:** What did he say?

**Bride:** He said he is my lover  
I will tell my mother  
I will tell my father  
That I have found a man  
Who said he would marry me.  
And I will marry him too.

**Citizens:** That’s wonderful!

**A male singer:** I will tell my mother  
I will tell my father  
That I have found a man  
Who said he would marry me.

**Male Singer and Bride:** And I will  
marry him too.<sup>4</sup>

*It starts all over.*

The story is about a commercial bus driver, who set off on a trip soon after marrying the love of his life, and fails to come back home. The new bride knows right away that something bad has happened to her husband because it is not like him not to come back on time. His conductor comes home and reports the tragedy. The wife is kept in the dark about her husband’s fate because her family figures that because of the love bond between them, she may not

take the news well. As days run into weeks and weeks, it becomes obvious that the bride will soon figure things out. Then a neighbour comes home one day narrating how he saw a man who looks exactly like the groom. The decision is then made to track down the man to help them save the bride's life. When contacted, the man agrees to act as the groom. The bride is happy to get her husband back, but there are snags.

The surrogate husband has to leave his own wife at home to act groom to the driver's bride. However, there are some behavioural patterns that are inconsistent with the driver's, and which the surrogate has to explain away as consequence of the accident, including the fact that he cannot respond to the love song which the bride and groom used to sing together. When the wife intones the song, the surrogate fails to join. He claims he also lost his voice after the accident. To complicate the situation further, the surrogate's wife finds out where he has been hiding and comes to get him, but when she is told why her husband is with another woman, she decides to play along to save a life. She agrees that she is the surrogate's sister instead of his wife. It is a long story that continues to twist and turn until the melodramatic end when the groom arrives to reveal that he did not die in the crash, rather he was unconscious and was rescued and revived by citizens of the community where the accident occurred. But then, they wanted to sacrifice him, but the king's daughter fell in love with him.

Eventually, it was the princess that helped him to escape.

This was not the original script, though. In the first version of the story, the Bride commits suicide after discovering the whole scam pulled by her people to save her life. Not only did they deny her the duty to mourn her husband without whom life is worthless, but they also made her a husband snatcher. She sang her goodbye and drank poison and died. This was how the original script ended. The melodramatic ending was influenced by the audiences who were very sad with the original tragic ending. In their judgment, love shouldn't end in tragedy. Besides, the couple had not even consummated this deep love they shared. Against his better judgment, the playwright obliged his audience and changed the ending of the play from tragic to the more popular melodramatic. The new ending was received with overwhelming applause. This is a demonstration of the level of rapport that exists between a popular artist and his audience.

## CONCLUSION

Transcultural performance is inevitable in this global age, hence the emergence of terminologies to accommodate the trend. But the terminologies which include cultural appropriation, cross-cultural, intercultural, multicultural, etc. all seem to connote negative. It has been the argument of this paper that the problem is not with the terms themselves but with the practice and the

practitioners. Cultural appropriation can have either positive or negative result depending on the appropriator's goals and attitude towards the original culture. The goal of the appropriation will also determine what aspect of other's culture to adapt and the method of the appropriation. The study presents two approaches to transcultural performance represented in Peter Brook's controversial work *Mahabharata* (here in this work called "intrusive approach"), and Ayox Arishekola's popular performance, *Ejilaarin* (here in called "discreet-ive approach"); evaluating their effectiveness as agents of cultural integration rather than cultural conflict. While Brooks approach is intrusive resulting in controversy and objection, Ayox approach, on the other hand, is discreet and was well received by both African and Indian audiences. By

injecting Indian cultural and artistic images into a Nigerian drama, Ayox creates a kind of cultural dialogue which provides enabling atmosphere for cultural interaction hinged on mutual respect. The bottom line of the argument is that cultural appropriation is inevitable and in fact necessary, but it has a big potential to cause upheaval in already delicate cultural relationships. The discreetive approach here represented in *Ejilaarin* by Ayox Arishekola is more likely to strengthen the relation between cultures.

More work is needed to explore the positive potential of cultural appropriation in theatre and performance for more credible cultural integration and respect. More debate is also needed to liberate cultural appropriation from its negative connotation toward a more positive one.

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## ENDNOTES

1 This date of birth contradicts the date which appeared on his obituary poster. Ayox stated in an interview with this writer, which took place in his home in Iwo on 21 February, 2012, that he was born in 1936. His obituary poster, however, states 1926 -2016.

2 This is also a popular social matter in Indian theatre. It is about a mother who forces her-daughter to marry an old man whom she had no feelings for. Her heart-throb disguises as a girl to come visit her. The clueless mother will welcome the daughter's friend very warmly.

3 The tune for the *Eji Laarin* lyrics above was reproduced for this researcher by Ayox, his son Ismail, and his wife Abiola using only a tambourine. The tune can be used to trace the particular Indian music from which the tune was borrowed.

4 Ayox was not able to remember the particular Indian music whose tone he used for *Eji Laarin* or any of the other plays. His explanation was that he had far too many Indian records than he could remember their titles, especially as so many years had passed. He was not keeping records of his production processes, a general problem with the artists of the travelling theatre. However, with his wife Abiola and his son, Ismail, they played the song above and it was recorded in audio format in 2014.



# Pre-Colonial Inter-Group Relations and the Nigerian Unity: A Case Study of Igala-Igbo Relations c.1200 – 1900.

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## Abstract

*Prior to intergroup relations, there were inter-relationship among the people which are now identified as ethnic groups. For instance, from glotto chronology dating method, an archaeologist and historian have argued that the Igbo, Yoruba, Igala, Ebira, Idoma, Itsekiri spoke the same language before they separated over 2,000 years ago. They all belong to the 'Kwa' group of languages. Migration from one point to another is a natural phenomenon throughout the vicissitude of history; the search for fertile land that could aid agriculture has always been the reason. Thus, the various ethnic groups in what is today known as Nigeria had had robust inter-group relations in socio-political and economic spheres of life*

*prior to the coming of Europeans. This study thus tries to debunk the belief that Nigeria is an artificial creation of Britain. Rather Britain built on the existing relationship among the peoples. Such Eurocentric malaise bore erroneous evidence of disconnect and misinterpretation in African historiography. Igalaland and Igboland, just like every other part of Nigeria are replete with clans and towns that have links to one another. In addition, this work, establishes such enduring legacies of Igala-Igbo relations.*

*Keywords: Precolonial intergroup relation, Igala-Igbo relations, Colonialism, Nigerian unity.*

## INTRODUCTION

Studies reveal that about 4,000 years ago, the Ibo, Yoruba, Edo, Nupe, Igala, Ebira, Idoma and Itsekiri peoples spoke the same language<sup>1</sup>, before they separated at a point even though they still have some common words, thus retaining an enduring legacy. They all belong to the Kwa group of languages<sup>2</sup>. So if the Kwa group of languages spoke the same language about 4000 years ago, why the differences in their spoken languages today? It was as a result of migration which was natural phenomenon throughout the vicissitudes of history and the need of the environments which were hitherto different from the old ones. Coupled with this, was the differences in the environmental resources occasioned by the evolution of the new names of the resources available, the grammar composition and their usages. In addition, was the socio-political interaction with their new cultural neighbours. This brought about adulteration of their original language, especially in the aspects of borrowed and loan words. It thus brought about diversification which now marked them as different ethnic groups.

An understanding of the pre-colonial intergroup relations among the various groups in Nigeria is a panacea for the unity

of ethnic groups in Nigeria as it enhances the historical ties and sense of connection among various ethnic groups in Nigeria. This is because it debunks the view that the peoples of Nigeria had nothing in common prior to European occupation. The major flaws of this assertion is that, one, it disprove the historical ties which hitherto existed among Nigerian ethnic groups and these ties could be used to enhance unity among them for the development of Nigeria as stated above Two, it fails to take into consideration the in-depth socio-political and economic interactions among these groups which brought about acculturation, and transfer of indigenous technologies. Three, it neglected the roles played by native governments in the formulation of rules which guided the peoples in the conduct of inter-group relations. Four, such belief depict the erroneous saying that Africa had no history before the advent of Europeans. This Eurocentric malaise recorded by European anthropologists and ethnographers bore evidences of disconnect and misrepresentation in African historiography. Hence, this study examines pre-colonial Igala – Igbo relation from C.1200 – 1900 which marked the effective colonization of the Niger area by the British. The Igala people are one of the ethnic groups

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<sup>1</sup> R.E. Bradsbury (1964), cited by G.O. Chukwuemeka (1990): *Ossamari, A Kingdom of Lower Niger Valley* (1940 – 1986), Obosi: Pacific College Press p.83.

<sup>2</sup> Obayemi A. (1980), “States and peoples of Niger-Benue Confluence” in Ikime O. (Ed), *Groundwork of Nigeria History*, Ibadan: Heinemann Publisher P. 151.

that inhabit the Niger-Benue confluence, that is, the area of land to the south of the lower reaches of the Benue and East of the Niger, in the present day north central geopolitical zone of Nigeria. Others are the Idoma, Tiv, Jukun and the Nupe people. Igalaland occupies an area of approximately 8,000 square kilometres. Naturally, the Rivers Niger and Benue, form boundaries to the west and north, with Idomaland in the East of the demarcation, while the northern Igbo of Nsukka settles to the south. As a people, the Igala share a common boundary with the Yoruba and Benin empires in the past to the west, the Igbo to the east and south, and the Nupe on the northern-western axis. Studies on the origin of the Igala connect them to influences from their neighbours, viz: the Yoruba, the Benin, the Igbo, the Jukun and the Nupe. This may be as a result of the locational proximity of these other groups to the Igala. With these people, Igala developed relationships that cut across politics, economy, military, religion, linguistic and so on.

However, just like other ethnic groups, what we call Igala at present are a people consisting of several groups whose social organisations and value systems are generally similar and who recognize the one paramount king<sup>3</sup> - The Attah (father) as their political overlord or ruler. It is therefore

a composition of several peoples who are generally Igalacized. These include Yoruba, Idoma, -(Akpoto), Ibo, Ebira, Jukun, Nupe, etc. The word Igala has been traced to Yoruba language meaning a place where antelopes abound. Yoruba hunters and invaders who peopled Akpoto territory in the pre-historic period (now known as Igalaland) must have given the name "Igala". Thus the people within the territory are called Igala people, whereas their common language or verbal interaction is called Igala language. The hunters in honour of their ancestral home named their first place of settlement in Igalaland, Ife. Further afield toward south, some hunters with Ibadan Yoruba affinity founded a village and called it Ibadan, now known as Ibadan-Apacha, all in Omala Local Government Area of Kogi State<sup>4</sup>.

Whereas, the Igbo lies to the east and west of the River Niger, it is directly bounded on the north by the Igala, Idoma and Ogoja peoples, to the southeast by the Ibibio and to the South by the Ijo people. It is split into two parts by the River Niger with greater paths lying to the east of it, while the other part falls along the coastal area of River Niger and to the west of it. Until early 19th century Igboland had no common name, whereas village groups were known by the names of their ancestral founders<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> P. Okwoli, E., (1973), *A Short History of Igala*, Ilorin: Matanmi Press. P. 1

<sup>4</sup> G.S. Ameh, (2006), *The People of Akpanya*, Ajaokuta; Libean Publishers. p.23

<sup>5</sup> D. Forde and G.I. James, (1950), *The Ibo and Ibibio Speaking Peoples of South Eastern Nigeria*, London: Traditional African Institute p. 9.

The word 'Igbo' was used as a concept of contempt by the riverine Igbo inhabitants to refer to their hinterland kinsmen<sup>6</sup>. M.D. Jeffreys asserts that the word Igbo originally means people of the bush or forest<sup>7</sup>. The foregoing confirmed their location in the thick forest of eastern Niger. The word Igbo is an Edo or Yoruba loan word; *Igbo* which means forest.

### ENDURING LEGACIES OF ASPECTS OF IGALA-IGBO INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

Politically, in the case of Igala-Igbo relations, there is an oral tradition which states that, the Igala Chiefs were at a time allowed by the *Attah* to establish trading stations outside their territory<sup>8</sup>. For instance, the *Abboko* Chief under the *Attah* mandate controlled the trade at the upper Niger of Idah, while the *Onoja Oboni* Chief controlled the lower Niger trading posts. According to Igala tradition, the first king at Idah was Ebulejonu, a female King who was said to have married a handsome Igbo slave hunter. The tradition further stated that the incident marked the origin of the *Achadu* lineage in

Igalaland.

J.S. Boston has this to say:

Ebulejonu who became the first *Attah* of Idah was grinding corn one day when a handsome youth came out of the bush. She asked him to come and help her, and afterwards took him to her house, bathed and fed him, and ultimately married him... he became the first *Achadu*<sup>9</sup>.

The above statement is a unanimous oral tradition in Igalaland. It is quite plausible if one judge from linguistic evidence of the meaning of the word *Ebulejonn* which denote, a woman became king in Igala language.

In another narration on the emergence of kingship in Igalaland, J.S. Boston (1969) commented thus:

The first rulers had a daughter who went daily from the capital to collect firewood in the grove that is now called *Ojaina*. As she was visiting this grove she met a leopard there who took the form of a young man. He made advances to her and

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<sup>6</sup> D. Forde and G.I. James, (1950): *The Ibo and Ibibio Speaking Peoples of South Eastern Nigeria*, London: Traditional African Institute p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> M.D.W. Jeffreys (1992), "The Umundu Tradition of Origin" *African Studies* Vol. 15 No. 3, p. 127.

<sup>8</sup> J.S. Boston, (1969): "Oral Tradition and the History of Igala". *Journal of African History*, X Cambridge p. 29.

<sup>9</sup> J.S. Boston, (1968), *The Igala Kingdom*, Ibadan: OUP p.13

was accepted, so the young girl was going daily to meet her husband in the bush. He killed game for her and made presents of bush cow and other animals to her parents who began to be curious about the mysterious husband and asked repeatedly to see him. When the girl told him of this, the leopard promised to appear and fixed a time at which he would show himself to his in-laws. But when the leopard came out of the bush the girl's parents ran away in terror. So the leopard ran and hid himself again in the thick bush at Ojaina and went into the ground there. His wife later delivered a child, Abute Eje, who was the founder of the royal clan. The Ojaina grove is the spiritual centre of the royal clan and forms the last resting place of all dead Attah.<sup>10</sup>

A point of note here is that whether Ebulejonu saw and married an Igbo slave hunter or that she met a leopard-turned-man,

the scenario proves that the Achadu lineage is of a foreign origin and the Igbo is the most possible descent.

The two different legends are pointers to the fact that there are different stories of the origin of the *Attah Igala*. It could be argued that the genesis of this story is to be placed in the fact that the two groups have been neighbours for a long time. Being neighbours, there has always been close contact between the Igbo and the Igala. This could be seen in the socio-cultural, political and economic interactions among the two groups. In Nsukka area, many of its communities are said to have derived their origin from Idah<sup>11</sup>. Most times, these founders are said to have been members of the Igala ruling clans. For example, Onoja Oboni is claimed to be the founding ancestor of some quarters in Nsukka area<sup>12</sup>. Among this were Okutu in Nsukka Local Government Area, Amalla in Ubollo town in Udemu Local Government Area and Ette in Enugu Ezike.

The system of gerontocracy was and still practiced among Igala and Igbo peoples. This manifested in the leadership of various clans that are localized. But it should be noted that clan comprised lineages. Most Igala clans

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<sup>10</sup> J.S. Boston, (1968), *The Igala Kingdom*, Ibadan: OUP p.13-14

<sup>11</sup> A.E. Afigbo, (1987), *The Igbo and their Neighbours*, Ibadan: UPL p. 33

<sup>12</sup> A.E. Afigbo, (1987), *The Igbo and their Neighbours*, Ibadan: UPL p. 33

that are known as *Olupu* are not localized but extended over wide territory with common salutations for male and female. The oldest male member who leads the clan is called *Ogujo Olupu*, whereas, in Igbo it is called *Ndiche*, otherwise known as the *Opara* i.e the clan head. In both countries, the clan head takes charge of the clan's ancestral cult and thus mediate between the living and the dead. In situation where there are title holders in a clan in Igala setting, such title holder mediated in the relationship between the centre and clan<sup>13</sup>.

In addition, the famous Priest-king system of Nri from where many Igbo communities derived their kingship institution had certain features in its regalia that were similar to that of the Attah Igala known as *Ejubeju-ailo* (i.e the eye that frightens other eyes). Whereas the *Nri* people called it *Nwata oma* (Child of Brass). According to Igala oral tradition, the regalia or pectoral mask was captured from Benin during 1515 – 1516 Igala – Benin war<sup>14</sup>. Whereas, Benin oral account states that, it was brought to Idah by a Benin Prince who reigned at Idah at an interregnum period

of Igala history<sup>15</sup>. The issue Priest Kings is not only associated to Igbo and Igala groups alone, but also common to most Pre-Islamic Christianity and Colonial African Societies.

In the aspect of migration, J.O. Chiadikabia (2004) traced the origin of Igala in Asaba after his investigations as follows:

The son of Onoja oboni is the legendary Nnebisi. His father, Onojaoboni, came from Igala. He was a prince from the royal house of the Attah of Igala. Onoja Oboni was accused of plotting against the throne and consequently, he was banished from the royal house. He then departed the royal house and sailed towards the west bank of the River Niger until he came to an area where he met Anyanwu. This area is where Asaba is situated. Onoja Oboni's Igala name was later changed by Anyanwu to an Ibo name, Ikenga<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> NAK/SNP7/5315, Notes on Igala and J.S Boston (1967), Igala Political Organization, African

<sup>14</sup> NOTES Vol No. 2 p7

<sup>15</sup> J.U. Egharevba, (1936): A Short History of Benin, Lagos: CMS p. 39

<sup>16</sup> J.U. Egharevba, (1936): A Short History of Benin, Lagos: CMS p. 39

He further stated that from the lower Niger area, Onoja Oboni and Agai-Idoko clans migrated deep into the Niger Delta towns of Aboh and lower Niger town of Ossomari and founded them. This was earlier buttressed by J.S. Boston when he stated that, “the lower Niger towns of Aboh,

Okpaiye, Umuolu, Onya, Ndoni, and Ossomala were of Igala Origin<sup>17</sup>. Commenting on the dispersal of the Igala people, S.C. Ukpabi affirmed that:

Onitsha is made up of three groups of people. The first are the Edo, the Eze Chima’s team. The second, the Igala, who were fishermen on the Niger during the arrival of the Edo people. The third were the Igbo who moved from the hinterland for the purpose of commerce<sup>18</sup>.

Ukpabi further stated that in the past, there were some villages in Onitsha that spoke Igala. The loss of Igala language in Onitsha,

may have been as a result of acculturation and interaction between the peoples. Two out of the nine villages that make up Onitsha are of Igala descent. They are Ogbodu and Ogboru<sup>19</sup>. According to Ukpabi, inter-marriage had long existed between the Igala and the Onitsha people. He however referred to them as the Edo people. He noted that the Igala group must have followed the Niger all the way from their ancestral home, Idah to Onitsha. Ukpabi also inferred that one of the outstanding monarchs of Onitsha, *Obi Eze Aroli*, was the son of an Igala woman called Enubi. Supporting the story of Igala dispersal, Eugene *Chukwura*, an Asaba elder, affirmed that the early settlers in Asaba were the Igala and Edo<sup>20</sup>.

Igala communities in Asaba include Umukwu Ata and masquerades such as Ukpuwe, *Age and Nweze Umu* have been said to be of Igala origin<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> J.O. Chiadikabia, (2004), *Asaba: People and Tradition*, Asaba: Chiadix Ventures, p. 9

<sup>18</sup> S. C. Ukpabi quoted by Chika Abanobi, (2009), “Onitsha: World Headquarters of Business” *Sunday Sun Newspaper*, June 28, p. 30.

<sup>19</sup> S. C. Ukpabi quoted by Chika Abanobi, (2009), “Onitsha: World Headquarters of Business” *Sunday Sun Newspaper*, June 28, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> Interview held with Eugene Chukwura 60 years, a politician on the 28/06/2009 in Lagos

<sup>21</sup> Interview held with Elder Eugene Chukwura: 60 years, a politician, 28/06/2009 in Lagos.

Some notable scholars like K.O. Dike supported this view. According to Dike, “Ossomala, Oko, Odekpe and Umuolu originated from Igala”<sup>22</sup>. For instance, at Isi-Olu village in Ossomala, there is a shrine dedicated to Onoja Oboni as the progenitor of the Ossomala people<sup>23</sup>. Even till date the royal title of Ossomala known as Atamanya is evidence of this claim. R. N. Henderson supported Ossomala’s claim of Igala origin in the following words:

The migration from Igala areas in the North appears to have been more extensive than those from Aboh and its vicinity in the South. Some penetration of the lower river by Igala fishermen have occurred very early for a few of the river bank. Ibo communities claim their founders’ encountered Igala fishermen camping by desired sites and Igala themselves say that such towns as Okpzaieye, Umuolu, Onya and Ndoni were originally Igala speaking people. Much later, organised flights took place from Igala country and its peripheries,

and one of them is detailed in the oral traditions of the towns of Ossomala, Odekpe and Oko<sup>24</sup>.

Elizabeth Isichei was more emphatic about the origin of Ossomala. She expressed her views this way:

A whole chain of Niger Towns claim Igala origin or have quarters which trace their descent from Igala. Illa, a cultural melting pot of different people has Igala quarters and Igala is still spoken by its masquerades. Oko and Odekpe also claim Igala origin but the most important state founded by Igala in this way was Ossomari. The earliest version of its traditions recorded almost one hundred year ago, states that it is said to have been peopled by the Igalas originally as a trading station of markets<sup>25</sup>.

Religiously, there were certain religious cults in Igboland which were imported from Igala country. The most important of these cults was Egwu festival. This cult featured prominently in the riverine areas along the Niger such as Illah, Onitsha, Asaba, Odekpe,

<sup>22</sup> K.O. Dike, (1976), *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, p. 26

<sup>23</sup> C.G. Olisa, (1990), *Ossomari: A Kingdom of Lower Niger Valley, 1640-1986*, Obosi: Pacific College Press, p. 78

<sup>24</sup> R.N. Henderson, (1976), *The King in Every Man*. New Heaven and London, Yale University Press, p. 68

<sup>25</sup> E. Isichei, (1976);, *A History of the Ibos*Ibadan: Longman, p. 54



Osomara etc. Within these towns the cult was associated with lineages that have Igala ancestry with a special type of masquerade called *Mmuo Ogonogo* (tall ghost) believed to have come from Igalaland. In Igala kingdom, *Egwu* festival was celebrated in commemoration of the ancestors at the beginning of Yam harvest<sup>26</sup>. During the celebration, Attah offered sacrifices at the *Egwu* shrine and invoke the blessings of nine immediate predecessors on the crop and thus asked for general prosperity of his Kingdom<sup>27</sup>. The celebration lasted for seven days as one of the most important annual festivals of the kingdom.

On the other hand, the Igbo had also influenced Igala people in other aspects of the realm of Religion. An example of such is the belief in *Ofor* which is the symbol of justice powered by the ancestors. Thus, a just traditional Igala man will at any dispute say '*Uche Mo Ofor we gba or Uche na, ale we*' which means I am righteous before you. In other words, it implies that whoever must go to God for equity must go with a clean hand. Igala strongly believe in *Ofor* as the just messenger of the ancestor to vindicate

one anytime he is being wrongly accused of crime. To Igbo *Ofor*, it was and still the supreme ancestral symbol, the staff of traditional authority, symbol of truth, right living and justice. It is indeed unadulterated judgment by the spirit world known as *ambegion* in Igala language.

Linguistically, it is common to hear that a good number of villages in Anambra west local government speak Igala language till date. These include Unoma, Alla, Izam, Igbedo, Adamagwu, Igbokenyi, Odekpe, Ode and so on. Izam is the headquarters of Anambra West Local Government Area. This shows how important and strategic the Igala communities are in Anambra State. Shortly after these communities is Ononoh, a small town by Anambra River which is a mixture of Igala and Igbo peoples. However it should be noted that the Igala population in this community were a product of assimilation. According to the tradition collected by S.C. Ukpabi at Onitsha, the Igalas were the people that were fishing at the Niger by the time Onitsha people came to settle them. In fact, in the past there were some villages that spoke Igala in Onitsha. They were made up

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<sup>27</sup> Unanimous oral account collected at Idah and Odekpe 09/09/2014 And J.S. Boston (1968): *The Igala Kingdom, Ibadan*: OUP p. 207

<sup>28</sup> S.C. Ukpabi cited by Chika Abanobi, (2009), "Onitsha: World Headquarters of Business" *Sunday Sun Newspaper*, June 28, p. 30

of two villages. They are still in Onitsha till this day. These two that were purely Igala out of the nine villages that made up Onitsha are Ogbodu and Obiogboru... One of the outstanding monarchs of Onitsha, Obi Eze Aroli's mother was an Igala woman<sup>28</sup>, which confirms the inter-group marriage as aspect of pre-colonial inter-group relations among the people of Nigeria.

In Enugu state, the Igala people also abound. The whole of *Ogwurugu* town in Uzo-Uwani Local Government Area speak Igala language. Some pockets of Enugu Ezike speak Igala language, while Ete, Eka-Iyi, Unadu, Omashi, Itchi, Ogwurute and Ibegwa-Aka speak Igala and claim its descent. Ibegwa Aka, Unado, Itchi are close to Akpanya while Okwurogbo community also in Kogi State is a border town to Enugu Igala speaking communities. These villages and towns are found in both Igbo-Eze North and South Local Government areas of Enugu State<sup>29</sup>. It is therefore pertinent to note that among the Igbo people the word *Olu* is synonymous with Igala descents in Igboland. Hence, there are communities in Igboland

that bears the names Umu-Olu, Isi-Olu and so on. In addition, the *Umu-Ighala* lineage found in Awka and riverine part of Igbo land, according to one tradition are Igala people who migrated to Awka and from there to Ossomalaland, Odekpe, and Oko to join their kiths and Kins. Same could be said of Umuoga from Illah<sup>30</sup>.

Economically and militarily, on the relationship between the Igala and Igbo, A.J. Shelton (1971) further stated that:

Igala and Igbo first came together at a place called Eteh, near Nsukka, north of Enugu-Ezike. In the olden times the Igala were very strong warriors, so the Igbo sometimes still fear us, although this is now all past, because we live in peace. The Igala had bows and arrows and special spears which were very good for war, and most importantly, they had horses and medicine. Our fathers had special war uniforms made of ordinary cloth (ili) made magical with a medicine called echi, so their enemies could not see

<sup>28</sup> S.C. Ukpabi cited by Chika Abanobi, (2009), "Onitsha: *World Headquarters of Business*" Sunday Sun Newspaper, June 28, p. 30

<sup>29</sup> F. Achoba, (2014), "*Heritage: Resilience of Igala People*" *The Guardian Newspaper*, June 27, p. 24.

<sup>30</sup> C.G. Olisa, (1990), *Ossomari: A Kingdom of the Lower Niger Valley*, 1640 – 1986, Pacific College Press p.XV

<sup>31</sup> C.G. Olisa, (1990), *Ossomari: A Kingdom of the Lower Niger Valley*, 1640 – 1986, Pacific College Press p.XV

them, and thought they were spirits (ambegwu: ancestral spirits). In those olden days the Igbo had only cutlasses, which they obtained from the Ibibio who live south of them<sup>31</sup>.

There was a strong economic tie between the Igbo and the Igala. While the Igbo especially those around Nsukka were good blacksmiths who produced military weapons and quality household utensils, which the Igala needed for war and pleasure, Igala had horses acquired from the Hausa / Fulani People which the Igbo needed for sacrifices to their gods and spirits. A.J. Shelton confirmed this when he said:

At first, in the olden times, Igala would take horses down to Nsukka and sell them to the Igbo for slaves, and then our fathers would sell the slaves to river people at Idah, who would take them down the river to Beke (i.e. White Man – white slave traders at the sea coast). Horses were ridden and taken from Ankpa to Nsukka and Ibagwa. The Igbo wanted the horses for sacrifices to their spirits. During that early trading some Igala lived near Nsukka and Ibagwa, and they built

their own compounds to protect themselves and their women from the Igbo<sup>32</sup>.

Owing to the prowess of the Igbo (Nsukka) at iron-making, through which they produced military weapons such as bows, arrows, guns and spears, many forts were built in those days all over Igala as protection against enemy aggression, especially the Igbo. Similar forts were also built at Nsukka by the Igbo as a protection for their chiefs. The reason for this is simple. Having sold most of their military products to the Igala, the Igbo became suspicious of them and took measures to guard against unexpected attack or invasion. A.J. Shelton further stressed that the production of dane guns in Nsukka area started in the 1870s<sup>33</sup>. This indicates that the conquest of Nsukka communities by the Igala *Onoja Oboni* warrior should be before the 1870s. Besides, some parts of Enugu Ezike that speak Igala language till this day were economically under Igala hegemony as it appointed their chiefs. The relationship also led to the introduction of choral beads, to the people of Nsukka area by the Igala. Igala people also share some common names of Market days with the Igbo, which include *Eke, Ukwo* and *Afor*.

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<sup>31</sup> C.G. Olisa, (1990), *Ossomari: A Kingdom of the Lower Niger Valley, 1640 – 1986*, Pacific College Press p.XV

<sup>32</sup> A.J. Shelton, (1971), *The Igbo Igala Borderland*, Albany: New York State University Press, pp. 21-22

<sup>33</sup> A.J. Shelton, (1971), *The Igbo Igala Borderland*, Albany: New York State University Press, pp. 21-22

In the aspect of migration and assimilation, it is not related to one ethnic group alone. Thus, in as much as we have Igala people as indigenes of other states of Nigeria so also we have other ethnic groups which have been assimilated into Igala society. For instance, being a melting pot of commerce and culture, many ethnic groups such as Hausa, Yoruba, Nupe, Ebira, Jukun, Idoma, Igbo, Afemai and Edo, just to mention but a few, were also absorbed into other ethnic societies as a result of intergroup relations. It is therefore, pertinent to note that in order to enhance unity among various ethnic groups in Nigeria today, pockets of ethnic groups who settled among other larger ones for a period of ten years and above should be fully integrated after such a long period of settlement. This vicissitude of history is a natural phenomenon as the aborigines themselves are also product of migration. A good example of this lesson can be drawn from United States of America that has the highest number of integrated ethnic groups in the world, which was mainly informed by slave trade, colonialism and other commercial occupation.

Equally important is that we should have a sense of communal, values and respect for one another's culture, beliefs, customs, traditions, religion, occupation and so on. Thus, this will enhance the spirit of tolerance

for harmonious living. In addition, equitable justice should be the watchword of every society irrespective of position, tribe, and religion among others.

Be that as it may, it should be noted that within the period of study, the slave trade was an important factor which accounted for the transportation of people across boundaries, the south eastern Nigeria not excluded. Thus, thousands of Igbo speaking people may have been sold into the neighbouring societies such as Igala, Edo, Ijo, Ibibio and Ogoja. This is anchored on the fact that a good number of slaves were bought at slave markets at Adamagu, Abo and Ossomari in Igbo territory which shared border with Igalaland. Some other slaves were obtained during the internecine wars of the Igala state; meaning that Igala kingdom obtained some of its slaves through wars of conquest and raiding. Some were also obtained through royalty and as settlement of debts<sup>34</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this study has been able to correct the impression that there was no relationship between the various nationalities that made up the Nigerian state prior to the European occupation. The work thus, emphasise on the Igala and the Igbo groups.

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<sup>34</sup>A.E. Afigbo, (1987), *The Igbo & Their Neighbours*, Ibadan: UPL, p.33

It is therefore pertinent to know that the influence of centralised states like Igala, Jukun, Benin, Oyo, and Kanem-Bornu on the segmentary societies have been over-emphasised. On the other hand, further studies on inter group relations should thus emphasise on the influence of segmentary societies on the centralised ones as we have seen some enduring Igbo legacies on the Igala people. In addition, the manipulation of tribalism, religion and other facet of divisive policies in Nigeria should be discouraged absolutely. We are black people who had racial, customs, traditions, and economic, linguistic, political and ancestral ties for many centuries prior to the emergence of Trans-Saharan trade, European slave traders, missionaries, and colonial masters. There was no community or group of people in the past that was an island of itself. Rather, they established socio-political and economic relations with one another, so as to complement their scarce resources.

The strategic location of Igala at the base of the confluence of rivers Niger and Benue gives her an opportunity to develop political, social, economic, religious and indeed linguistic relations with all her neighbours. It was intergroup relations that existed between Igala and her neighbours that influence the migration of Igala people to other parts of present day Nigeria. The implication of this is

that the history of Igala and Igbo in pre and post-colonial periods had no dull moment. The coming together of some portions of Igalaland and Igboland especially the area around Nsukka, that is, the northern part of Igboland shows a robust relationship between these groups of people. Few of the communities speak Igala language till this day, especially Eteh and part of Enugu Ezike thus lending credence to an age long relationship. It should however, be noted that the Eteh Community in the map below has been placed into Kogi State based on 2013 supreme court judgment<sup>35</sup>. Thus, in order to enhance inter-group relation in the present day Nigeria, the subject matter should be taught as history in secondary school and higher institution as general studies. This will help create historical consciousness of pre-colonial antecedent that could serve as a basis for Nigerian Unity.

#### **GENERAL COMMENTS:**

1. There is need for the author to set out in clear terms the objective of the study
2. To problematize his research
3. This will help understand the conclusion as you set out to open new issues in that area where you are expected to bring together your argument
4. With answers to the queries above provided, the article is recommended for publication in the NJH.

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<sup>35</sup> Interview with Peter Idoko, 20/02/2015 aged 50 years at Eteh community.

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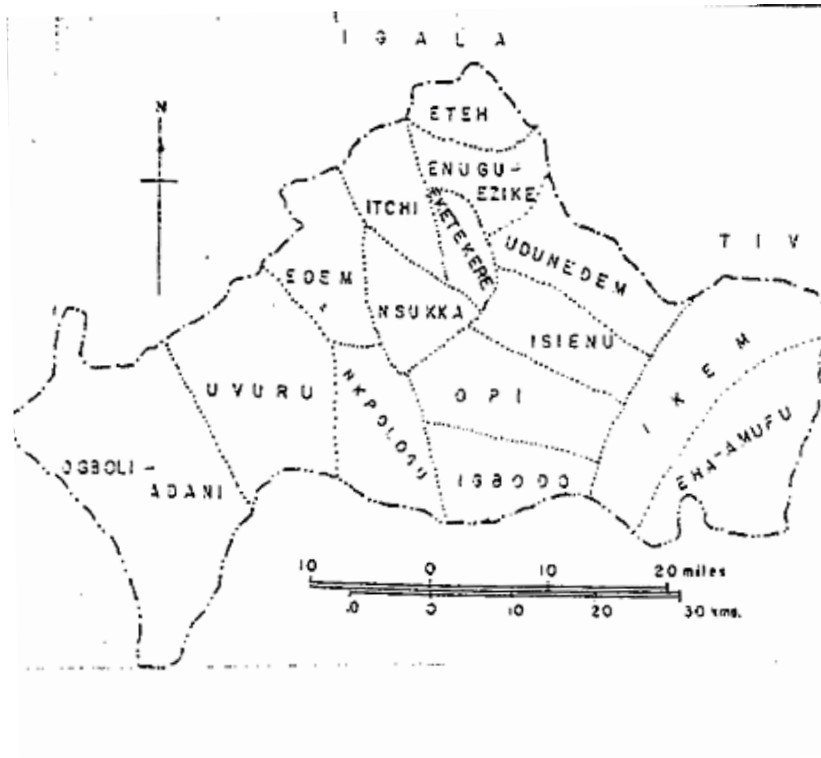
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## APPENDIX I

Map Of Old Nsukka Division Showing Local Groupings (Clans)  
This map shows how portion of Igbo Communities cut into Igalaland.

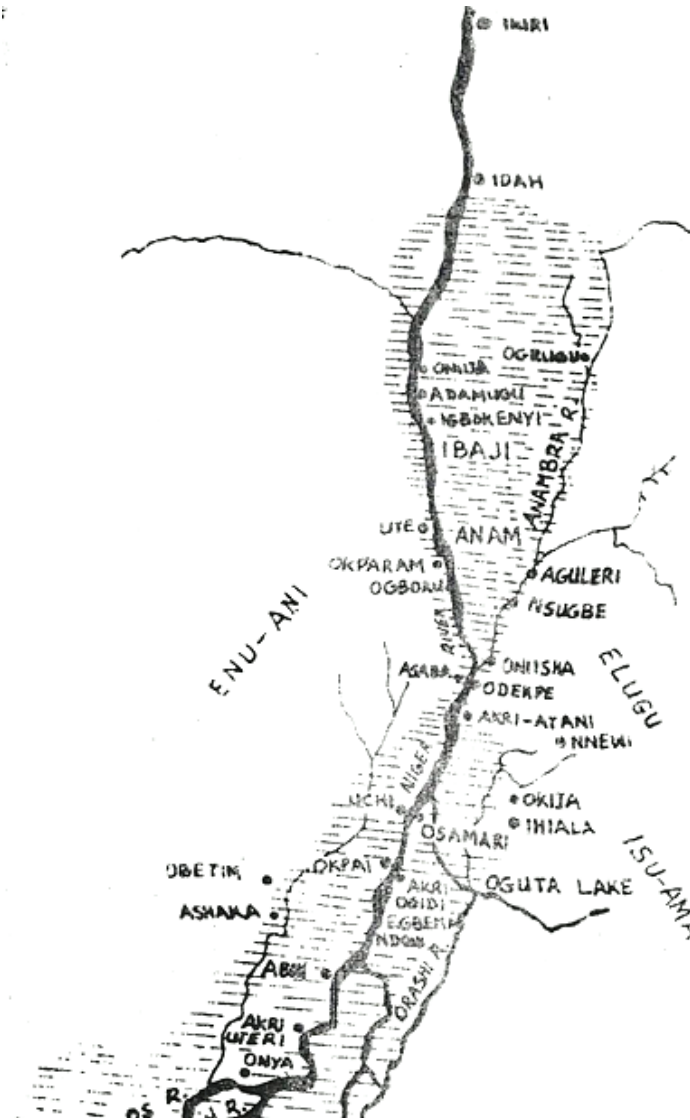


Source: A. E. Afigbo, (1981), *Ropes of Sand*, Ibadan: University Press Ltd, p. 68.

The coming together of some portions of Igalaland and Igboland especially the area around Nsukka, that is, the northern part of Igboland shows a robust relationship between these groups of people. Few of

the communities in Igbo state speak Igala language till this day, especially Eteh and part of Enugu Ezike, thus lending credence to an age long relationship.

**APPENDIX II**  
**COMMUNITIES INVOLVED IN THE IGALA-IBO/ABOH**  
**TRADE SYSTEM BEFORE 1900**



Source: C. G. Olisa, 1990: Ossomari: A Kingdom of the Lower Niger Valley, 1640-1986  
 Obosi: Pacific Correspondence College & Press Limited. p. 27



# Ekpemire Nnwogharị n'Abiigbo Mbaise dị ka Ntụ Agwa Maka Mmeppe Obodo

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## Ụmị

*Kamgbe ọchịchị ndị ọcha ruo na nyefega ọchịchị n'aka ụmụ amala mba Afrika, usoro ọchịchị n'ogo ọ bụla egosila n'eleghi anya n'azụ ọchịchị aka ike, mmegbu na mmụọ chiriagawa n'ike abanyela n'ụmị ụmụ amala anyị. Ndị Abiigbo dị ka ndị omenka huru nke a ma webata ya na ngosi ha iji nye aka site n'iji ekpemire nwogharị agwa ndị nke a metụtara. N'ihia ya, nchọcha a na-atụle Abiigbo dị ka abụ ntụ e ji atụ akparamagwa ndị ọchịchị na ndị a na-achị achị maka mmeppe obodo. Ederede a bu n'uche ichọputa isiokwu ndị ahụ na-enyere ndị Abiigbo aka iru ọrụ mkpalite mmụọ nnwogharị maka mmeppe obodo. Nke ọzọ bụ itule nka asụsụ ndị ahụ na-enyere ndị Abiigbo aka ikowaputa ọrụ mkpalite mmụọ nnwogharị maka mmeppe obodo. N'imezu mbunuche nchọcha, e tepuru egwu Abiigbo ma depụta ya maka inweta data e ji mee ka ntucha ya di ire. E ji atutu Mazizm bu nke nwere nka ntucha maka ndina na asusu ode tinyere nhazi akomako di ka nka atutu nchọcha a. Nka nchọcha toro ntọ n'usoro mmeputa, nkesa na ntinye n'oru akụ na uba n'obodo bu nke nwere usoro mmeputa akụ na uba n'aka ndi qgaranya bx ndi o-ji-ego-acho-ego na-akpalite n'eleghi anya n'azu, ndoro*

*ndoro n'etiti ha (ndi nwe usoro mmeputa) na ndi ogbenye (ndi na-arụ ka enyi ma na-eri ka ahuhu). A choputara n'Abiigbo bu abụ ngosi odinala, a na-eji egwu okuku, ogugu, ogbugba, na mmeghari ahụ di iche iche eme nkocha iji nwogharị omume ụmụ amala obodo maka mmeppe obodo. Nchoputa gosiri na Abiigbo na-eji nkocha, akwa ariri, okwu mgbaru ihu na ariri egosiputa mbunuche ya. O na-ejikwa mburu, kwumkwughaa, kwumkwukwaa na ajuju nzara onwe di ka nka asusu nkocha omume agwa. Di ka mkpebi na ntinye aro, omumu a siru na ebe o bu na abụ odinala a ji nkocha, ariri, mkpa-ochi na njije n'ime ya, bu nke o ji aru oru nkuzi na nzimozu; o putara na o nwere ikikere nke ngwa nkuzi e nwere ike itinye n'oru nkuzi maka umu aka na-eto eto. Ka ha muta ka e si ebi ezi ndu nwa amala obodo. N'ihia ya ka e tinye omumu ya na korikolum omumu obubu ezi nwa amala a kporo "Citizenship Education."*

**Okpuruokwu Okwu:** Abiigbo, Igbo Mbaise, Ekpemire Nnwogharị, Atutu Marxist, Nkocha na Mmeppe Obodo.

## MKPOLITE

Abiigbo bụ aha abụ otu ụmụ nwoke ma burukwa aha otu egwu ngosi nke Igbo Mbaise dị na mpaghara oṅwụwa anyanwụ nke ndịda ala Najirịa. O malitere dị ka *ogba-na-ngụ* ma mechara nwogharịa n'oge na ebe buru *Abụ + Igbo Abiigbo* (Ikeokwu, 1999:5). N'ebe a, e nwere olilo udaume /i/ loro udaume /u/ nke mkpuru okwu abụo ndi a *abụ* na *Igbo* bụ nke mere e ji nwee *Abiigbo*. Nke a putara na ndi meputara *Abiigbo*, ma na o bụ egwu ogugu, okuku na ogbugba nwere nkocha nke mmasiri ndi Mbaise ma zuo ha onu. Ndi otu na-anọ n'agbata iri afọ abuo na diri gawa. Ha bu ndi na-agughị akwukwo n'ogo di elu, ebe otutu n'ime ha bu ndi oru aka nkiti ma o bu ndi ozuahia nooro onwe ha tinyere ndi oru Bekee. Gbaa ala Igbo gburu gburu, o nweghi ebe egwu ma o bu abụ nke na-akpalite mmuo nkocha ma o bu otito nadighi mana nke *Abiigbo* bu oka-ibe. *Abiigbo* na-eji egwu okuku, ogugu, ogbugba; niji na mmeghari ahụ di iche iche egosiputa mbunuche ya. Ngwa egwu ha gunyere udu, osha, ogene, nne na oke nkwa (ekpete ma o bu igba). A na-eji oke nkwa agba oso nkwa o kachasi, mgbe ha na-eme nkocha ebe nne nkwa bu maka nwa ogbe nkwa (oge ana-esite n'otu nkocha banye n'ozo). Na ntule abụ nkocha ma o bu otito o bula, a ga-aghota na ebe nkocha putara ihe, otito na-ezo ezo, etu a ka nkocha na-ezokpu onwe ya n'ebe otito putara ihe (Ikeokwu, 1999). Nke a na-eme mgbe ufodu ndi mmadu echee na abụ nkocha enweghi otito ma o bu na abụ otito enweghi nkocha n'ime ya. A-gbachaa-Ekuru-Nwa bu nwunye ma o bu nne *Abiigbo*; nke putara na *Abiigbo* bu di ma o bu oke A-gbachaa-Ekuru-Nwa n'Igbo Mbaise. (Onyejekwe na Ikeokwu, 2013: 66). Mbaise Igbo bu ndi oru ugbo na ozu ahia ma nke ulo ma nke mba. Udi mmekorita ha na-enweta site n'aka oru ha

na-enyere ha aka imuta otu ihe ma o bu ozo, ma nwoke ma nwaanyi ha, nke na-egosiputa *na onye ije ka onye isi awo ihe ama*. N'ihia ya, ha nwere mmuo na-erighi mperi n'ikwu ihe ka o siri mee nakwa ka o siri masi ha. O bu ngosi na-eji oke asusu onu na asusu ahụ di iche iche akowa mbunuche ya. Ndi Igbo, tumadi mba Afrika gbaa gburu gburu, nwere uzo odinala wuru ewuru ha ji ahazi onwe ha, ma n'ochichi ma na mmeputa aku na uba ma o bu mmekorita mmadu na ibe ya tupu obibia nwa Bekee. Di ka Ohaegbu (1993) kowara, gburu gburu ma o bu mba ndi a enweghi iche idi ire ma kwuru chim n'enweghi odi-bendi na mmepe anya. Odinala ma o bu odi-bendi a na-abu ntụ maka agwa na omume ndi mmadu. Omenala nwere ihe nnabata na mgbaru ihu tinyere iwu na ewumewu di iche iche nke obodo bu nke na-enye aka n'inye ma n'ichekwa omume na mmekorita mmadu na ibe ya tinyere nhuru-awa ha ikikere iga n'ihu. Omenala na nhuru-awa ha juputara n'ime nkomiriko, nkokiriko, akuko ifo, ilu, abụ ma o bu egwu ha diiche iche maka onodu na emume ha dikwa iche iche. N'ihia nke a ka e ji nwee otutu egwu ngosi di iche iche maka umu nwoke na umu nwaanyi. Udi amamihe na echiche a kpalitere mmuo agumagu onu ha bu nke ugbo na-ebughari ya ji agbasa odinala, nhuru-awa, omenala na mmepe anya ha site na ndudu-gaa-ndu ruo na ndudu-gaa-ndu.

Udenta (1993) huru obibia ndi ocha na usoro omenala ha ka mmegbu nye mba Afrika. O bu mmegbu site n'imako na imanye usoro aku na uba na ochichi n'omenala na nhuru-awa ha na nke mba Afrika na-enweghi ka ha si yitewe onwe ha nke ka ha ga-eji buru otu ogbe. Nke ozo, iji echemeche ngogbu yiri aririo, ekpemekpe na ikuziri anyi nka ogugu, odide na som iso nyeere ha aka

imeri anyị, tinyere ngwa agha ndị ọzọ dị ka goṣmenti ha, ndị agha ha, ndị uwe ojii ha, ụlọ ikpe ha dgw nyeere ha aka nke ukwu inweta na imegbu anyị. N'ihy ya, ndị ome nka mba Afrịka zara oku akpoghị akpọ a site n'iguputa ma ọ bụ idetu akorako ndi ahụ metutara onodu mmekorita anyi na nwa Bekee, onodu akụ na uba Afrịka site n'agumagu di iche iche di ka iduuazi, ejije na abụ. Iduuazi di ka *Omenuko* (1933) nke Pita Nwana, *Ala Bingo* (1933) nke D.N. Achara ma ọ bụ *Things Fall Apart* (1956) nke Chinua Achebe na ndi yiri ha, aburula ihe ndi e were ka oziza okpukpo oku mberede nwa Bekee n'ala Afrịka.

Oziza oku a bu nke ndi ome nka di iche iche zara ma gbasaa ozi ya n'ebe niile mmadu toputara n'ala Afrịka site n'agumagu onu na nke e dere ede kpalitere mmuo nkocha na ekpemie nnwogharị. Olile anya nchocha a bu itule ka Abiigbo Mbaise bu abụ odinala si

### NTULEGHARỊ AGUMAGU

Na mpaghara a, a ga-etinye anya na nkowa okwu ufodu di mkpa di ka 'nkocha' na 'ekpemie nnwogharị' maka ighota isi okwu nchocha a. Nke ọzọ, a ga-atulegharị ihe ndi e derela maka isi okwu a.

Na mmalite 'nkocha' ma ọ bụ 'ikpe' bu isi sekpu nti ekpemie nnwogharị n'ihy ya, nkowa ya ga-enye aka na nghota isiokwu n'ebe a. Di ka Plato kowara na *Poetics*, oguu ma ọ bụ odee bu mmadu na-anọ na mkpalite nke ime mmuo; ọ na-aga ebe ukwu nkiti agaghị aga, ọ na-ahụ ihe anya nkiti agaghị ahụ, ọ na-anụ ihe nti nkiti agaghị anụ ma nwee mmetuta nke ahụ nkiti agaghị enwe. Site na ngwa ndi a, o were ekemeke uche kee agwa tinye n'emereme site n'ikikere mkpalite nke ime mmuo ma site na ya, doo ndi mmadu aka na nti. Nke a dabara n'ihy Socrates kwuru, "Nwoke mata onwegi" (Cooley, 1902: 2). N'aka *Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics*, nkocha putara n'ebe ọ

nata ozi a ma tinye ya n'oru, okachasi n'oge ugbu a. Mbunuche ya bu itule ndina isi okwu di iche iche Abiigbo ji ekpe ire nnwogharị maka mmepe obodo. Nke ọzọ bu itule nka asusu ndi Abiigbo di iche iche iji imata ka ha si daba n'ikowa nkamma na mputara Abiigbo n'oru ekpemie nnwogharị maka mmepe obodo. Echiche anyi n'ebe a bu na, e nwere nhagide n'etiti omenala mba Afrịka na nke mba Yuro-pu, tinyere nyefega ochichi n'aka umu amala Afrịka butere ochichi nchigbu. Udiri usoro ochichi a kpalitere mmuo echiche ekpemie nnwogharị n'agumagu. Ozo, kamgbe ochichi ndi ocha ruo na nyefega ochichi n'aka umu amala anyi, usoro ochichi egosiputala ochichi aka ike, mmegbu, mmuo chirigawa n'ike na ime mpu eleghi anya n'azu. Ihe ndi a bu mkpalitere oke mmuo nkocha ndi Abiigbo bukwa mkpalitere mmuo nchocha a.

bula a na-ata mmadu ahuhu maka ime omume obodo na-agbaruru ihu. Echiche nkowa a si n'echemeche Alexander Pope na John Dryden bu ndi kwuru na ufodu ebe, a na-ahu nkocha ka ihe nwere ike igbujisi onye na-eme mpu ukwu na aka site n'igbu mmuo ya ma mee ya ka ọ daa mba n'isonye ndi obodo ya n'ihy ọ bula ha na-eme. N'ogo ọzọ, a na-anapu onye ahụ ikikere o nwere n'obodo di ka isoro keta oke nrite ma ọ bụ n'ihy ndi ọzọ e nwe enwe n'obodo. Nwoga (1971) donyeere echiche *Encyclopaedia* ukwu site n'ihu nkocha di ka ngwa agumagu nke mbunuche ya bu inye ome mpu onodu kwesiri ya ma mee ka ndi choro imebi iwu obodo n'odinihu suo ngo ngo n'echiche ha. Ma Egudu (1971) ekwenyeghi n'echiche Nwaoga mgbe ọ ruru uka si, na nkocha bu naani maka ituziri mmadu aka ime ezi omume, ọ bughị maka ntarama-ahuhu.

## ECHICHE NDI

a niile ka a si na ha sitere n'echemeche di n'oge Augustine n'England. N'ebe a, nkocha di ka Alexander Pope na John Dryden kowara, e jiri ya ruo oru mgbazi ajo omume ndi mmadu site n'iji ngwa oru mkpa ochi na ikwa emu (Gordon, 1976).

N'aka nke ozo, nkocha bu agwaragwa otutu ihe di ka ikwa emu, ikato ajoo omume, mwute, ncheghari na nchighari dgw. O bu ya mere ezi nkocha nke ndi Rome ji puta otutu ihe nye ha ma na-agbakwa ezi mbo n'ijije na n'ikato ndi mmadu na omume ha, (Coofey, 1976:230). Nkocha na-eji nkato nke na-akpalite mmuo ikwa emu, mmevo ma o bu ichi omume ojoo ochi (Abrams, 1981: 167). E nwere udi nkocha abuo putara ihe; ha bu Horeshian na Juvenail. Nke Juvenail bu nke na-agba uka gburu gburu kama ikwu okwu gbowam. O bu ya mere e ji ele udi a anya di ka ihe umuaka. "Horacian" sitere n'aha Horace (65-8), ode abu nkocha gbowam n'agbanyeghi mputara ya. O na-akato n'elegi anya n'azu omume ojoo, nzuzu ma o bu iberi-be mpuru iche e ji mara ufodu ndi mmadu na gburu gburu ya n'oge nke ya. Mbunuche nkato a bu maka igbanwe onodu omume ndi mmadu maka odimma obodo ma o bu gburu gburu mmadu huru onwe ya. Nkocha Horace na-atakas anyi ma na-agbakasikwa ahụ, nke na-eme ka nti nuru ya zuo wuru wuru, o kachasi ndi o metutara site n'iji e-kwuo-ozo e-chee-ozo, nhagide okwu bu njirimara nkocha. N'uzo di etu a, e mee ka onye a na-ekwu ghota uche na o bu ya ka a na-ekwu, o bughi onye ozo. N'udi a, e nwere ike ighota nkocha ka njimara ekpemire bu ngwa nnwoghari omume mmadu na gburu gburu o bu la site n'iji nwayoo taa mmadu ahụ aru nti ma o bu nye ya ogbugbu na mmetuta nke ime mmuo nke ga-eme ka o site n'ihe ojoo chegharia.

O nwere ike buru maka echiche ekpemire nnwoghari ka Alexander Pope ji kwenye na nkocha Horace (Gordon, 1976: 108) ma kowaa odidi nkocha a di ka,

Nkocha e-kwu-ozo e-che-ozo na-eji nhaziakuko nke agwa ya na-eji aka ya akwa onwe ya emu ma kpee onwe ya ikpe site n'omume na okwu onu ya, e-kwu-ozo e-che-ozo, oke njije, mkpa-ochi, omume ndacha na njije aka-nka soro-m-chia nke bucha uzo n'udiri nkocha a.

Alexander Pope kowara nkocha n'etiti ihe ndi ozo o kporo 'usoro mpuru iche' di ka iji ndimiche ma o bu nhagide okwu na emereme ama atu (di ka ebe e mere ka mmadu buru anumanu) nakwa okwu nkwutu egosiputa ihe. Nkowa ndi a na-egosi na nkocha metutara nka asusu ode bu nke bukwu mpaghara atutu Karl Marx. Maka a na-eji asusu akowa ndoro ndoro na-adi n'etiti ogaranya na ogbenye.

O metutara usoro ekemeke uche nke nhazi akuko ya, bu nke na-enye aka ime ka agwa ndi anochitere anya ha, nwee ike were aka ha kpee onwe ha ikpe aka nkwumoto ma tinyekwa onwe ha n'omuma ikpe (Abrams, 1981: 167). Akuko David, Eze Isreal na onye amuma Nathan n'akwukwo 2 Samuel 12: 1-7 na *Baibul Nso* bu ezi ama atu ihe anyi na-ako ebe a. N'ime ya, Nathan jiri ukabuilu katoo ajo omume David mgbe o gburu Uriah kporo nwunye ya, Bathsheba. Nathan jiri nhazi akuko uka-bu-ilu tuo David mmehie ikwa iko na igbu mmadu ya n'ihu. Nkowa mburu agwa na akparamagwa abuo ndi a, *onye eze* nwere otutu igwe ewu na aturu na ehi tinyere inyinya ibu inapu *nwa ogbenye* ahụ naani otu nwa aturu nso ya maka imere onye obia ya oji, bu ochichi aka ike. Onye amuma Nathan ji uka-bu-ilu na ama atu agwa na akparamagwa

ndị ọzọ na-arụ ọrụ dī ka ekpemie nnwoghari tūchaa agwa na akparamagwa Eze David. Ụdī nka a mere ka David jiri aka ya maa onwe ya ikpe mgbe ọ si, “na ọgaranya ahụ kwesiri ogbugbu.” Ma onye amuma Nathan zaghachiri si, “gi onwegi bu ọgaranya ahụ.”

N’iga n’ihu na nkowa nkocha na ka o siri metuta ekpemie nnwoghari nakwa igosi ka ọbu ma ọ bu ode abụ si eji agumagu aruru obodo ya ọrụ, Nwoga (1981: 231) mere ka aghota na nkocha bu,

(The use of irony, ridicule, sarcasm or the like (by the artists) to denounce or deride vice, or folly, etc ... Its purpose is to expose the victim of what he really is. Everybody is brought into full knowledge of what the person did so that his spirit would fight an internal battle with him and he could spend sleepless nights worrying about himself).

Iji e-kwu-ozo e-che-ozo, okwu nk-wutu, ikwa emu na udi ya (site n’aka ndi ome nka) katoo ajo omume ma ọ bu kpo nzuzu, iberibe dgw ... Mbunuche ya bu igba ome njo n’anwu ka o gosi onye ọ bu. Onye ọ bu la enwe ohere imata n’uju ihe onye ahụ mere ka mmuo ya buso ya agha na ka ura abali chuo ya n’ebe ya na mmuo ya na-alu agha.

N’ebe a, Nwoga kwara nkocha ka ihe ndi n’oru na gburu gburu o si puru. Oru a, bu naani n’iji okwu nkiti taa omebi iwu ahụ ahụ, ọ buchaghi maka ime ka obodo di mma. O piachiri okwu ya site n’ikowa na nkocha n’Igbo nwere ihe mmetuta nke ntoaja na anwansi. Na mmuo nkocha n’ebe a bu nke iwe na onuma, ọ bughi echiche nke mmehie. Ugonna (1982) ekwenyeghi n’echiche Nwoga na nkocha n’Igbo enweghi ikike mmuo ma ọ bu anwansi kama ọ bu iji egbe onu ibuso

ome mpu agha site n’iji atumatu okwu di ka e-kwu-ozo e-che-ozo, egbe okwu, mkpesa ma ọ bu okwu nk-wutu. Mana Ugonna (1982) mere ka o doo anya na ndi okocha na-eji okwu di nro na-eme ka onuma laa azu, iji mee ka mwute nke ime mmuo puta ihe ma mee ka e chegharia, ma riu mgbahara, ma nke a na-ad-abere n’ihere ome njo. Etu ọ bu la, echiche ndi a na-arutu aka n’ekpemie nnwoghari, ebe ọ bu na mbunuche ekpemie nnwoghari dabara n’echiche nke mmuo agwa mere njo bu nke kpalitere omume nchehari na mgbahara.

Okachamara ndi ozo di ka Amuta (1989) huru nkocha di ka usoro oguu ma ọ bu ode abụ na-eji anya ntucha ele imerime omume ojo di ka n’iri aka azu ganye na e-kwuo-ozo e-mee-ozo ndi ochichi. N’uzo di etu a, abụ ma ọ bu nkenudi agumagu ozo bu ntucha nke na-akwanye oku n’ike onye ọ bu la dachara site n’omume a turu ya anya n’obodo.

Nkowa okwu ozo bu ‘ekpemie nnwoghari’ bu nke a huru site n’aka ndi okamara n’uzo di ichi ichi ndi a:

Udenta (1993) huru udi mmako na mmanyen usoro aku na uba na ochichi nwa Bekee n’etiti omenala na nhuru-uru mba Afrika ka ihe ndi na-enweghi ka ha si yitewe onwe ha nke ka ha ga-eji buru otu ogbe, ka mmegbu. Gordon (1976), Amuta (1989) na Okebalama (1977) huru nkocha ka ihe a na-akpo ‘nji agumagu aru’ na ntucha agumagu. Udiri nnwoghari a na-eji nka agumagu enwoghari obodo. Site n’uzo di etu a, nji agumagu enwoghari bu ‘nji ekpemie enwoghari’. Ntu nji agumagu aru na-akowa na agumagu ọ bu la tosi imetuta ma bara gburu gburu muru ma zuo ya uru. N’ihi ya, ome nka ọ bu la nwere mmuo odimma obodo ya, ji ya ugwo ikpalite mmuo mbuso mmebi iwu, mmebi nsuala na mmebi nhuru-uru tinyere mpu agha iji mee ka gburu gburu ma ọ bu obodo nwogharia ma mepee

n'uzo a turu anya. Ekpemire bu igbaso usoro wuru ewuru iji mepee uburu, nti na anya ndi uwa na-atu n'onu ka ha nwee ike ghotu, nu ma hu mkpagbu na mkpachapu ndi no n'ochichi na-eme ha. O bukwa usoro na-enyere umu amala obodo aka ighotu ma hu udi ikikere ha nwere ma mara ka a ga-esi tinye ya n'oru ime ka gburu gburu ha diri onye ihu na onye azu mma obibi.

Na gburu gburu ebe e nwere nkocha, o na-aru oru ka ntu nnwoghari omume mmadu. Ndi ome na ode na-eji iduuazi, ejije ma o bu abu eme nzimozu iji gbasaa nnabata ezi omume ma o bu mgaru ihu, ntamahuhu na ncheghari. Nke a mere ka Okebalama (1997: 24) ruru aka n'odidi na oru nkocha n'uzo di etu a:

(Satire is a direct opposite of heroic invocation. Whereas heroic invocation praises, satiric invocation criticises and condemns the violation of moral codes. For example, most Igbo poems are addressed to women especially young girls involved in pre-marital sexual intercourse and pre-mature pregnancy). Nkocha bu nhagide otito dike kpom kwem. Mkpoku dike naeto omume oma ebe nkocha dike na-akocha omebi iwu. Ima atu, imerime abu nkocha bu akaje maka umu nwaanyi o kachasi, umu agbogho na-alubeghi di ituru ime mkpuke.

N'udi a, Okebalama weputara oru ndiiche otito na nkocha na-aru n'iweputa njimara ndina abu ma o bu udi agumagu ozu bukwa nke dabara n'echemeche ekpemire nnwoghari.

Tupuechemeche ekpemire nnwoghari,

ewumewu di iche iche na mba Afrika o kachasi, ochichi obodo, e nweela usoro omenala nnwere onwe bu nke juputara n'agumagu anyi tupu obibia nwa Bekee. Cohen (2001) siru na site n'ikpe aka nkumoto ka ndi orio ariru nnwoghari ji amaputa otutu echiche na mbunuche maka nnyocha ihe ndi kwesiri ekwesi na ndi na-ekwesighi. Udiri gburu gburu ahụ ma o bu ochichi obodo ahụ ka Watson (2001) si na, o gunyere ndi ahụ na-akwanyere, na-edobe, ma na-echekwa ugwu na nsopuru ndi mmadu tinyere inye umu amala ohere ikwu uche ha ma sonyekwa na mmebe iwu obodo site n'inye ha ohere itucha ma o bu ikatu ajo omume ma too ezi omume. Site n'echiche Jenkwe (2005), nnwoghari ekpemire bu nka na mbu niile di iche iche ndi ome nka niile ji egosiputa iwe na onuma, mgaru ihu na mgbakasi ahụ ha n'ebe aghughu, mmegbu na ochichi aka ike ndi ochichi ji emegbu ma na-ata umu ogbenye ahuhu. O bukwa ngwa nnwoghari e ji agbanwe na mpaghara ma o bu n'uju ya usoro omume, akomako, omenala, echemeche na nhuru-uwa mba ndi ahụ megidere ma o bu na-egbochi mmepe obodo.

Na nkowa Hountondji (2007), agumagu nnwere-m-onwe bu okwu e ji akowa nju, mbuso agha na mbu niile umu amala Afrika gbara iji megide usoro nhuru-uwa ndiocha huru omenala na mmepe anya (amamihe na nka mmadu ji ebi na gburu gburu ya) ha di ka naani nke dabara adaba iji hazie mmekorita mmadu na ibe ya nakwa obodo, ebe nke ndi ozu dachara adacha. Nkowa Egudu (1971), Nwaoga (1971), Ugonna (1982) na ndi ozu mere ka a ghotu nkocha di ka inwe mmuo ime ezi omume. Nke a putara ikweta na nkocha bukwa abumonu, ebe o bu na o na-anapu ome njo ikikere inwere onwe nke ime mmuo na umu ihe oke nrite o nwere ike inweta n'obodo ya. Mgbe omebi iwu si na mmebi iwu chegharia, o putara na e nwoghariala ya maka

odimma obodo, ma site n'uzo di etu a, mmepe na oganihu adi.

N'aka nke 'mmepe obodo', a ga-akowa okwu abuo mebere ya, 'obodo' na 'mmepe'. N'ime ya, Bikoi (1989) n'ime Uzochukwu (2004) huru obodo (mba) ka ihe ga-adi ndu ma guzosie ike ma o buru na a ga-achoputa ndi mmadu ya, site n'imata ha, inye ha ezi ntuzi aka, ma jikoo ha onu n'uzo ha ga-enwe nghota na mmasi na ha bu otu n'newghi ihe akpamoke n'etiti ha, n'agbanyeghi ndiche ha. Njikoo n'uzo onye o bu la ga-aghota onwe ya di ka otu onye mebere njikoo ahụ, ebe a ga-agba mbọ mee ka eriri njikoo ahụ ruo oru n'eleghi anya n'azu maka abumnotu ya.

N'edemede ya, "Gini bu Obodo?" Ernest Renan (1990) kowara echiche a nke oma site n'iji ama atu mmadu, etu a: Obodo di ka mmadu bu nhibe ehibere mbọ niile ya kamgbe o putara uwa, achumaja ya niile ime ka ihe gaa n'ihu tinyere ikpachapu anya n'ihe o na-eme. N'ime ya, ihe ndi nnanna anyi ha nyefere anyi bukwa nke n'enweghi mgbagha mere anyi ihe anyi bu ta a. Ha nyere anyi onodu odogwu ha, bu nke nwere ike na ebube e buliri elu. Nke a wee buru nrite mmekeota toro ato na mmepe obodo. Nke a, putara na obodo/mba abughi naani maka obosara ala na umu ihe e kere eke di ya n'ime ma o bu akumaku ohia na anumanu ya niile, o gunyekwara onuogugu ndi mmadu tinyere gburu gburu ha di iche iche.

Ma n'akuku mmepe, e kwenyere na o bu maka mmeputa aku na uba na uzo di iche iche e si e tinye ya n'oru maka odimma na agamnihu obodo. Mana echemeche mmepe kariji udiri nkowa a, maka na, ihe a na-ekwu-kariji bu mmepe obodo. Mgbatikwu echemeche a, huru mmepe obodo site na mbunuche ndi a: ihe ndi ahụ e ji e nyere ndu aka, ichu ubiam na a-na-m-achororū oso ukwu eru ala tinyere

ime nwa ka e mere ibe ya (Olopoenia, 1993).

Mmepe obodo, n'agbanyeghi ka e si kowaa ya, bu mbọ niile a gbara iwube gburu gburu a na-e-omi e-omi n'uzo o bu la e si akowa n-omi. Udi a di ka Ade-Ajayi (2000) siri na Kansul Otu Mba uwa (1962) na-ahu maka aku na uba, mmekeota umu mmadu na ibe ha kowara ka uto a gbakwunyere nnwoghari ma o bu mgbanwe. Na nkowa ha, nnwoghari metutara mmekeota umu mmadu na ihe om-enala bu njimara ha tinyere aku na uba nwere ezi odidi ma zuo onuogugu ndi mmadu onu.

O buru na mmepe obodo e nwezuo ihe ndi a kowaputara n'elu ma o nweghi mmepe obodo nke metutara ezi agwa mmadu, i mara na obodo di etu ahụ emepeghi emepe. Udi mmepe a ka Egudu (2000) na Uzochukwu (2004) kowara ka ihe na-achi mmuo mmadu, ikwanyere mmadu na ihe ugwu, ntuzi ezi aka maka aku na uba, mmekeota mmadu na ibe ya na ihe ndi ozo gosiputara aka nkwooto na nkesasi ihe obodo nwe enwe. O bu udi nghota a ka e ji ruo oru na nchocha a.

Na ntuleghari atutu 'Mazizm'di ka ngwa ntucha data gosiputara nto ya n'usoro mmeputa, nkesasi na ntinye n'oru aku na uba obodo, ebe ndi ogaranya no n'isi nhazi mmeputa ma ndi ogbenye na-arū ka enyi ma na-eri ka ahuhū. Udi onodu a na-akpalite n'eleghi anya n'azu ndoro ndoro n'etiti ogo ohazi na omeputa. Nke na-ebutere ndi ogaranya (ohazi) ibugowe onwe ha n'onodu di elu ebe ha na-ebudata nke ndi ogbenye (omeputa).

Di ka Eagleton (1976) kowara, ntucha nke usoro Marx bu ngwa nke e ji akowa ndoro ndoro na-esite na mmeputa aku na uba bu nke gunyere usoro mmeputa n'izugbe, nke agumagu, ndinuche n'izugbe, ndinuche ode na nke nkamma tinyere nke ederede. Nke a

mere ka Eagleton (1976) hụ ntụcha agumagu dị ka nnyocha mmebere agumagu bụ nke na-akpalite ederede ọ bụla. Atụtụ a na-aza ajujụ ndị dị oke mkpa na nnyocha ka Lenin (1976:18) chikọtara etu a:

(What determines the motive of the mass of the people? What gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and strivings? What is the sum total of all these clashes in the whole mass of human societies? What are the objective conditions of production of material life that form the basis of all historical activity of men?)

Gini na-akpalite echemeche igwe-bu-ike n'echiche oha na eze? Gini na-akpalite mmuo nhagide n'echemeche na agbamumbo? Kedu ihe bu nchikotara n'uju nhagide n'echemeche igwe-bu-ike na gburu gburu mmadu? Gini bukwa mbunuche mmeputa ihe e ji e nyere ndu aka bu nke bu isi sekpu nti n'akomako agbamumbo ndi mmadu?

Mbah na Mbah (2017) huru echiche Lenin (1976) ka ihe lere agumagu anya di ka ihe na-aga ihu ma na-alakwa azu na ndu mmadu ma toto nto na ntuhiko. Ntuhiko a nwere ike o gaghi abu nke ogo ma buru nke agwaragwa mmekorita nke na-adu n'etiti agwa okoro na odo okoro (isi agwa). Udi a na-abu njirimara odiniigha ma o bu ejije.

Ebe ozu atutu Marx na-aju ase iji choputa ntuhiko ndi mmadu na ndinuche bu nasusu ode nke na-aju si, olee ndi ode bu n'uche ede? Amuta (1989) kwara ajuju a ka ihe na-akpalite aziza maka nsoro nzimozi odinala ma o bu odibendi n'uzo

ochichi nchigbu oheru. N'uzo a, Amuta huru agumagu nnwoghari ka ihe kwesiri iji uzoz nzi-mozi odinala niile were gbasaa ozi agumagu nnwoghari.

Mana Mbah na Mbah (2017) tuleghariri uche mgbe ha siri na agumagu e kwesighi ka e lee ya anya n'uzo abu m onye Afrika kama nkamara onye n'itapia ma kwaaa ederede o bula. Nke a mere ka nkwa agumagu mba Afrika ma o bu nke Igbo di ka nke ahu e dere n'asusu mba Afrika ma o bu n'asusu Igbo jiri gboro ogo asusu maka agumagu. Maka na ogo ma o bu ode na-agwa ndi ya okwu, o bughu ikwu maka ndi ya. Nke a mere nchocha a ga-eji atulekwa aka nka ndi Abiigbo maka uzoz di iche iche ha ji kwaputa mbunuche ha n'abu ha.

N'aka nke ozu, ntucha ma o bu nnyocha agumagu n'usoro Mazisizm kwesiri ibu ntule atulere gburu gburu ma o bu obodo no na njem nke metutara ngwa mmeputa, mmekorita mmadu na ibe ya, na ntuhiko ndinuche bu nke na-esi na ha adaputa; o kachasi n'uzo di iche iche e si eziputa ntuhiko ndi a n'agumagu. Nke a mere ka Dobie (2012) juo ajuju ndi a na-esota maka mkpa ha di n'iduzi otucha o bula n'iju ajuju maka ntucha akomako n'usoro "Marsist". Ajuju ndi a gunyere:

(Who are the powerful people in the society depicted in the text? Who are the powerless people? Are the two groups depicted with equal attention? Which group does the author encourage the reader to admire? Which character does the reader have sympathy for? Why do the powerful people have their power? Why does this powerfulness not avail others? From what is the power in the narrative derived? Is



it inherited, based on money or as a result of violence?)

Olee ndi bu ogaranya na gburu gburu agumagu ahụ ziputara? Olee ndi bu ogbenye? E nyere uzọ mmadu abuo ndi a ohere di nhatanha na nziputa ha? Kedu otu nke ode kwadoro ka oguu nwere mmasi? Kedu agwa ode choro ka oguu meere ebere? Gini mere ndi nwere ikikere ji nwee ikike? Gini mere ikike a eruteghi ndi ozọ? Olee nsiri nweta ikike di n'akomako? O bu site n'ego ka o bu n'omume tigbuo zogbuo?

N'agumagu, o bu uwa ederere na-emebe ma o bu emebi agwa. Agwa ndakpu ka mmebere gburu gburu ya na-amabido ebe agwa mputara oke ihe na-anọ n'oke mpako maka omume a ma ama na nke a maghi ama mee sitere n'enweghi ike agwa ndi ozọ n'iju ase ma o bu n'imeri mpako ndi a nwere ikike. Di ka Mbah na Mbah (2017) kowara, n'echiche Marx, o bu na nsitere ochicho nke onwe mmadu na-aku nkwa omume ya. o bughi nsitere n'ebe ozọ. Ozọ, mmuo mmeri ma o bu odida agwa na-esite n'ezi ma o bu ajo mmechorita ya na ndi ozọ no n'uwa akomako. Nke a putara na, onodu ime mmuo agwa na-abu mputara onodu ochicho ya maka ihe nke uwa.

N'agumagu kwa, e nwere mgbe ufodu agwa ndi ozọ ga-egosiputa nju maka onodu ojo o bu nke na-akuru olu agumagu nkwa o ga-agba ma buru isi sekpu nti na nhazi-akuko ya. N'ime ya, iji mee ka ntucha agumagu o bu la di ire n'usoro ndoro ndoro ogo, Dobie (2012: 92) deputara ufodu ajuju ga-enye aka, etu a:

Ogo mmechorita mmadu olee ka agwa ndi no n'ime akomako ahụ gosiputara? Olee ebe ndoro ndoro ha gbanyere mgborogwu? E nwere mk-

pagbu na mmahie ihu n'ebe ndi oru no site n'aka ndi nnyemoru ha? E nwere ihe ngosi maka mkpa-oke na nkewasi? Site n'ihe mkpachapu ma o bu akpachaghi anya, ndi ogaranya n'akomako, ha na-akpagbu ma na-amahie ndi ogbenye ihu kwa mgbe? O buru etu a, kedu ngwa oru ha, o bu site na mgbasa ozi, ekpemekpe, agumagu, nka? Agwa ndi oru (puta), ha ma adighi ike ha? Oru agumagu, o na-ekpe ire maka mgbanwe ka o bu nnwoghari n'uzo putara ihe ka o bu n'uzo zoro ezo?

Ihe niile atuleghariri maka atutu Marx, ka a ga-agbaso n'itucha Abiigbo maka aguragu ndi ogo ya dabara n'ajuju na ntuzi aka niile ndi okachamara ruru aka na ntuleghari a.

A bia na ntuleghari nchocha n'isi okwu n'ebe a, a ga-atuleghari ufodu ihe ndi okachamara dereela, nke gunyere ndi a: Ogweno (2000), mere omumu maka nkocha n'abu Okot p'Bitek. Mbunuche ihe omumu a bu ichoputa onye (ndi) a na-akocha na ihe mere e ji akocha ya (ha). Nchocha a lebara anya na nka asusu ndi na-agba ama maka nkocha di ka otu n'ime mmebere nkocha, n'abughi nkocha di ka ihe di iche na ndina nkocha. o tulere ihe bu nkocha ma kowaa mputara ya di iche iche. o choputara n'etiti ihe ndi ozọ na nkocha bu njirimara omenala mba Afrika bu nke jujutara na nkamma. Nchocha choputakwara na ndi okocha oloroohu megidere ilu kariya otu nwunye, igba akwuna na ichu nwaanyi ma o bu nwoke.

Okebalama (2005), mere nchocha maka nka ekumekwu n'abu achumunta. Mbunuche nchocha kowara ka ufodu njirimara nka okwu abu achumunta si akpu odidi isi okwu na nnyocha ha ma makota asusu nnyocha na ihe ndi a na-enyocha onu. ozọ, o tulere odidi nka

nka okwu e jiri gosiputa echiche otuto onwe, okowa aha agwa na nnyocha ha. A tuchara ma mee nkowa gbasara ka oru asusu nnyocha si metuta ederede abụ ndi nke foduru. Nchoputa gosiri na nnyocha nka okwu na-emetuta isi okwu n'abụ achumunta di ka mburu nkowa omume na agumagu. N'omumu a, a na-abu mburu omume n'ihe di ka ezi na ajo ochichi, ebe agumagu metutara asusu nkamma na nnwoghari nke ederede.

Onyejekwe na Ikeokwu (2013), tulere "A-gba-cha-e-kuru-nwa", egwu umu nwaanyi Mbase. Mbunuche nchocha ha bu itule abụ umu nwaanyi a iji kwado na agumagu o bula tumadi abụ odinala nwere oru o na-aruru mba nwe ya. Ozọ bu ichoputa uzọ di iche iche umu nwaanyi ji eziputa oru ndi abụ A-gba-cha-e-kuru-nwa na-aruru ndi nwe ya. Nke a putara na nkụ di na mba na-eghere mba nri. Ngwa nchocha e ji mee nke a gunyere itepu egwu ha ma tugharia ya n'uzo e dere ede ma tuchaa ya site n'iji atutu ndinoru. A choputara na abụ a na-eji nkocha, akwa ariri, ndumodu na ariri o ka ngwa oru ndozi obodo, o kachasi na nzulite umuaka na mputara ya. Na nzulite nwa na-esite n'ezi na ulo banye na nke oha obodo.

Nnyigide (2014), tulere ufodu abụ nkocha di n'Uche bu afa nke Onyekaonwu: "Obodo M," "Ukwu Nku oha," "Ogaranya,"

## USORO NKOWA DATA

N'ebe a, e si na mgbakwunyere "A", "B" na "CH" seputa ufodu data a tuchara iji maa atu ihe ndi a kowara na mpaghara a. Nke putara na, abụ Abiigbo nwere isi okwu di iche iche nke ngwa nkowa ha ga-adikwa iche iche. N'ime ya, ndi Abiigbo na-anwa oko ha iji atumatu okwu di iche iche di ka ngwa nkowa isi okwu. Ha gunyere ndimiche n'ok-

"Naijiria Bu Enyimba," na "Osisi Nwere Uji". Mbunuche ya bu imata aka nka ode ji weputa isi okwu abụ ndi a. Nke ozọ aburu itulekorita abụ ise ndi a, iji choputa myiri na ndiche di n'etiti ha ma tunyere ha ihe ndi e kwesiri ime maka odimma oha-na-eze. Ode ji nka nchocha nkowa na atutu ntucha nzimozitulekorita abụ ndi abụ iji choputa ndiche na myiri di n'etiti ha. O choputara na asusu ndi ndoro ndoro ochichi na-agbanwe ma ha were oche ochichi. Nke na-akpalite mmuo onuma na iwe tinyere ajuju site n'aka ndi a na-achi achi maka omume e-kwu-ozọ, e-mee-ozọ nke ndi ochichi.

E wepu nchocha nke Okebalama (2005) ruru aka na nkocha nsina abụ ichu nta nke isi okwu metutara ochichi, ndi ozọ bu maka ochichi na onodu obodo kpom kwem nke mere ha ji dabaa n'isi okwu edemede a. Nke ozọ, n'ime nchocha a, e wepu Onyejekwe na Ikeokwu (2013) ji atutu ndinoru ka ngwa ntucha weputa oru di iche abụ odinala na-arụ, ndi ozọ arutughị aka n'oru nka ogugu, okuku na ogbugba egwu n'ihi na edemede ha bu maka abụ oloroohuu, ebe ihe omumu nke a kpu n'onu bu maka abụ odinala Abiigbo nke ndi Mbase. N'ikpeazu, o nwebeghi onye jirila atutu Mazizm tulee abụ odinala Igbo, o kachasi Abiigbo. Nke a bu ndiche ozọ putara ihe n'etiti nchocha ndi nke ozọ na nke e mere n'ebe a.

wu ma o bu n'echiche, njikota okwu, kwumkwukwaa, kwumkwughaa na ajuju-nzara-onwe dgz, na-ekpe ire ma o bu na-ariri ariri ka ndi mmadu wepu aka n'ihe ojo ka obodo wee di mma obibi. Na nchocha a, e ji naani ngwa ntucha ndi a: nkocha, akwa ariri, ariri na ndumodu maka isi okwu, ebe e ji kwumkwukwaa, kwumkwughaa na ajuju-nzara- onwe

maka asụsụ, ma isi okwu ma asụsụ na-arụ aka n'ekpemire nnwogharị.

Kwumkwukwaa bụ njimara ọdịdị emume ngosi. Ọ bụ mbọ ome nka ọ bụla na-agba iji gosi nsogbu na mmechu ihu ma ọ bụ nramahụ mmadụ na-enwe n'iwepụta ohere maka ntumaka, nkowama, ma ọ bụ mgbanwe nkamara site na ndandakọ nakwa oge ngosi emume na-ewe iji meputa ya. N'onodu a, mbunuche igbo mkpa nkowa ma ọ bụ nkwaputa na-adị ka ihe tere anya site n'ogbugbo ya ruo na ngosi e ji ekwuputa ya. Onodu a mere ka Leech (1969:79) kwuo si na, n'agbanyeghi ihe mgbochi ọ bụla, mmadụ ga-enweriri ohere ikowa onodu ime mmuo ya gbasara imerime nkwenye na ebumnobi ya bụ nke na-enwe ezi nkowa site n'uzo di iche iche ngwa nka ya si aru oru.

N'aka nke ozo, Talley (2004) n'ime Agbedo (2008:74) kowara kwumkwughaa di ka ejima kwumkwukwaa nke bu nkwaputa ma o bu nkowa echiche n'uzo nkughari echiche ahụ ga-esochi ozugbo myiri ya ma o bu ndimiche ya n'azu. Na nchocha a, a ga-eji kwumkwukwaa na kwumkwughaa ruo oru di ka ejima myiri onwe n'ih na ha bu otu n'oru nkamara. N'udi echiche a, ha bu ngwa oru ekpemire nnwogharị na ngosi Abiigbo.

Otu n'ime oru kwumkwukwaa na kwumkwughaa bu ime nkowa na inye echiche nghota puru iche iji mee ka ihe a na-ekwu doo anya. Tulee abu a a kporo "Mmegbu Di L'awa A Karjala"di na mgbakwunyere "A." N'abu a, ahiri okwu nke nyere ya aha ya ka e kwughariri ugboro asaa, ebe *Mmegbu kpatara Siemesi hi adowara* (Esidiiee, Sabati, Aposoliki, Afrika, Azikiwe, Pooļu Eke bucha aha ndi putara n'abu a, e nwere ike iji nochite Siemesi n'ahiri abu a) bu ugboro iri na abuo (22) tinyere *Mmegbu aphula uka*, ugboro ato (3), n'abu nwere ahiri abu iri isii (60). Ndi obu

abu a na-akwa ariri site n'iji ahiri abu ndi a: *Mmegbu di ...*(ugboro asaa) ma o bu *Mmegbu kpatara ...* (ugboro iri na abuo) ma o bu *Mmegbu aphula/phughani ...* (ugboro ano) e kwughariri ugboro iri abuo na ato (23) n'ime ahiri abu di iri isii (60) gosiputa ogo na oru ojo di iche iche mmegbu na-aru n'ebe o bula o batara. Nkwubiri ahiri ndi a ahụ na-esota 'Mmegbu' ozugbo, n'ahiri abu ndi ahụ, bu maka ikowara na ikuziri ndi ogee tumadi oha-na-eze oru di iche iche omume mmegbu na-aru n'obodo. Ama atu, *Mmegbu di n'awa akarijala* na-ekwuputa n'uzo nzimozi yiri nke oku-ekwe n'obodo maka mmegbu, ebe *...kpatara hi dowara...* na *...aphula / phughani-ka...* na-akowa uzo di iche iche o si adi ire n'obodo o bula n'enweghi uzo wuru ewuru e si ahazi ezi mmekorita mmadu na ibe ya. N'aka nke ozo, kwumkwukwaa ndi a na-arutu aka n'omume ojo ma ndi nke a huru anya na nke a na-ahughi na-aru. Di ka igbu mmuo mmadu, oke echiche na oke gbagharja dgw bu nke na-emetuta, o kachasi, ndi na-enweghi nke ha sere.

Leenu ka ndi obu abu si kowaa udi na ebe niile di iche iche mmegbu no n'oru n'awa. Ha malitere na nke ndi uka nke butere nkerisi n'onuogugu kariri akari di ka Siemesi, Esidiiee, Sabaati, Apostoliki dgw, di ka a huru na mgbakwunyere AA: 8, 10, 12, 25, 27 ganye n'ochichi mmekorita ndi Bekee na mba isi ojii Afrika (AA: 28, 54) ma banye n'otu ndi ndoro ndoro ochichi obodo na mgbakwunyere AA: 31, 32, 46, 49 na 51.

Ndi obu abu huru mmegbu di ka ihe zuru uwa onu ma norokwa n'umi okpukpu mmadu (AA: 5, 22, 43) n'enweghi ogwugwu ma o bu ogwugwo maka uru ndi uka ma o bu ndi ochichi na-enwta na ya (AA: 33 na 41). O bu ya mere ha ji si n'ahiri abu (AA: 47 na 52), *Kamanini hi la-alula e e, hi dowara o!*, (Kama ha ga na-alu e e, ha kewaa) ka udo chia. Ndi

Abiigbo gosikwara onwe ha ka ndi mara akuko ala maka choochi na ochichi obodo nke oma. E nwere ike ikwu na o bu gumgukwaa, gumgughariaa na nroghari aka, olu na okwu di iche iche n'isi okwu na oru di iche iche mmegbu na-aru kpalitere echiche usoro mbiako onu uka di iche iche a kporo "Ecumenism" bu nke mutara otu mbiakota onu ndi uka a na-akpo "Christian Association of Nigeria"(CAN). N'uzo di etu a, ndi Abiigbo ru ru oru ibu amuma maka odinihu n'ih na otu n'ime oru ekemeke n'agumagu bu itule onodu gburu gburu nsipuru ya ma buo amuma maka odinihu ya.

N'akuku ochichi obodo, a na-aguta n'akwukwo mgbasazi ma o bu n'ozu ikuku mgbe ufodu, etu ndi konsituwensi ufodu si akpolata ndi nnochite anya ha site n'ulo nzuko omebe iwu nke etiti nakwa nke steeti. Di ka e mere na Federal konsituwensi owuwa anyanwu nke steeti Enugu, ma na-akwado ime n'owuwa anyanwu Sinetorial konsituwensi nke steeti Kwogi. Mgbe ufodu kwa, a na-aju itulighiri ndi ndoro ndoro ochichi a aka ma oli di ka e mere ndi otu PDP n'afu 2015 ma webata otu APC, maka na ha arughi oru ha ka o kwesiri. Udi onodu a ka e nwere ike itunyere mmepe anya ndi mmadu di ka ihe sitere na mkpalite ime mmuo egwu Abiigbo ru oru mmepe obodo.

Oru ozo kwumkwukwaa na kwumkwughaa na-aru putara ihe n'atumatu uda nke ekpemie maka nnwoghari echiche ndi mmadu, bu site n'ikpalite mmuo na echiche ha ka ha juwaa omume ojoo na mpu isi n'agbanyeghi ihe o ga-aputa. Udi mkpalite mmuo na echiche nnwoghari a ka Bamidele (2000) siri na Karl Marx kwara ya ka ihe na-adi ire site n'usoro ise ndi a: (i) nchoputa onwe, (ii) mkpebi nkewaputa onwe site na mmegbu, (iii) njikoonu maka nnwere onwe, (iv) njeghari iwe na (v) nnupu isi n'iwu obodo ma buso mmeg-

bu na ndi otu ya agha. Echiche anyi n'ebe a gbadoro ukwu, na nkwenye na, emereme o bu na-akpalite emereme nzaghachi nke nadi nhata nha ma o bu di iche na nke mbu. Abu a na-esotanu a kporo "Gosovumentu Chighaa Anyi" di na mgbakwunyere "B" na-egosiputa mkpalite mmuo nke e ji eme njeghari iwe nke nwere ike idubanye umu ogbenye na nju na mmebi iwu obodo ufodu, okachasi ndi ahu na-emekpa ha ahu.

N'abu a, e ji kwumkwukwaa na kwumkwughaa kwaa ariri n'ih na ndi ochichi enweghi mkpatuta ahu maka ahuhu na ihe nsimike ndi ha na-achi na-agabiga, okachasi umu ogbenye. N'oke olu ikwa emu, ndi obu abu gughariri, *Chenje rekoodu a! Achoghi mu hwe odo!* ugboro abuo (AA:1 na 5) iji gosi iwe ha n'ebe ndi ochichi no maka 'ikwe nkwa emeghi eme ha.' Na ngwucha nke o bu, *Achoghi mu hwe odo!* (AA: 2), ma o bu *Ozo abianani!* (AA: 5) na-esota, iji gbatia ogo iwe ha maka isi okwu 'e kwu ekwu, e me eme' ha choro igu. Mgbe ndi ochichi na-achu nta vootu, ha na-ekwe nkwa ihe ndi ha ga-eme ma ha chiwa, n'ih ya a tunyere ha vootu ma mgbe ha chiwara, ha achowa akpa na odimma nke naani ha. O bu ya mere ndi Abiigbo ji si ha *chenje rekoodu* nke putara 'gbanwee udi omume a' ma o bughu ya, a kwatuo unu site na ntuli aka vootu. Ozo, di ka ha si guputa di ka nsogbu umu ogbenye gunyere enweghi oru, okachasi ndi gara mahadum, nkukpo ulo ahia na nke obibi n'enweghi ego ma o bu ihe iti aka n'obi o bu maka nkukpo niile ndi a. Ndi obu a si n'iko maka mwute nkukposi ulo banye n'oke onu ahia ihe oriri na akoro ngwa ahia (AA:39-43) di iche iche n'enweghi ego ntukwasi o bu n'ugwo onwa ndi oru gosovumentu ma o bu ihe ndi ozo nwere ike inye aka n'ibelata nsogbu ndi a na-achi achi.

Ozo di ka ibe ya, n'abu "Gosovu-

menti Chigha Anyi“ na mputara ndina ma nkamma bu “Ochichi Gboo Kuru Anyi Ahia.” N’abu a, ndi Abiigbo ji oke olu mwute nke ime mmuo kwaa ariri maka atumatu mmegbu niile goovumentu na-etinye umu ogbenye n’ihe nhiahu. Igosiputa etu onodu a si jo oke njo, ndi obu abu ji mburu tulerorita oke onu ahia *ihe oriri* na *ego isi nwaanyi* (AA: 33-34) ma kwaa na onu ego ihe oriri dakara ego isi nwaanyi n’onu. Na mmalite, ndi Abiigbo kpachara anya jijee ochichi ndi ami na-eji aka ike anara ndi nkiti ochichi ma o bu ndi nkiti n’onwe ha site n’ikwe nkwa ime ihe niile n’otu ntabi anya mgbe ha siri, *Nyeeni m onwa mbu e e!* (AA:1, 2). N’ahiri abu AA: 8-11, ha kwara ma kwaghrikwaa ariri n’ahiri abu AA: 15-18 maka goovumentu ha banyeeere aka rigoro n’oche ochichi site n’ikowara ndi na-ege nti, na *ochichi gboo anyi kworo zaa ahu kuru anyi ahia* (8-9), *ochichi akuchaa anyi ahia, kuo ji la ede no n’ime ohia* (10-11).

E nweghi ezigbo atumatu maka ibelata ogo a-na-m-achoror, nkoputa ihe oriri n’uju, mmaputa ebe na ebe e kwesiri iru ulo ahia ma o bu ulo obibi tinyere nchekwa ahuike n’etiti ihe ndi ozo, bu oke na oru dijiri goovumentu o bula maka mmepe obodo. Ezi atumatu maka oru na azumahia, ihe oriri na ahuike bu usoro oma obodo ma o bu mba o bula na-eji eme ka mmeputa aku na uba ha mubaa ma gbasaa, mana ha emeghi nke a. N’ihi ya obodo anyi kwu otu ebe na-agba naani gburu gburu. N’agbanyeghi, onodu ihe isi ike, ndi Abiigbo hukwara ihe di mma n’onodu a. Nke a bu ime ka nne na nna, ma o soro onye ma o soghi onye, muo naani umu ole ha ga-azulite (AA: 45-48 na 49-52). N’ebe a, o kwesiri ka arutu aka na otu n’ime uzọ e si ebelata ihe isi ike bu mmadu imu umu ole o ga-azulite. Ndi obu abu kwara ndi na-amu otutu umu emu site na njije nke ji ajuju nzara onwe a, *E jidi giri azu umu wa e e?* (AA: 50, 52). Ha kwara onodu

onugugu mmadu na odimma ha na Najiria adabaghi na ntu e ji atu onugugu mmadu na ihe niile enwe enwe, ma aku na uba na nghota ya. Ihe niile ndi a kwesiri ime ka onye o bula muo umu ole o ga-azulite, mgbe ha guru n’ahiri abu 31 na 56, *Mu azuwa ke muru amu*.

N’agbanyeghi ndumodu ha nyere oha na eze maka imu na izu umu, ha jikwa mburu kpalite mmuo oha na eze n’ogo ugha ndi ochichi, bu emeghi ihe ha kwere na nkwa mgbe ha na-achu nta vootu. Ntulerorita *onye choochi* (ukochukwu na-eyighi uwe njirimara ya) na *onye ama ala* (na-eyi uwe nkiti) n’ahiri abu 40 na-adoro echiche anyi gaa n’ezi okwu di n’omume ndi ochichi bu ochicho nke onwe na-abughi nke oha na eze. N’ihi ya, e kwesiri igba ha mkpe di ka a na-agba ukochukwu nyuru nsi n’ulo uka nke ga-eyipu ha uwe choochi ka ha ghoo ndi ama ala.

Ndi Abiigbo ji ajuju-nzara-onwe kpalite mmuo ekwumekwu na ntughari uche di ka a na-ahukari n’ububo onu, mkparita uka, ekwumekwu, okwu Chukwu, akuko ifo na asirinilu n’abu ha. Na ntucha agumagu, e nwere ike kpaa oke n’etiti ajuju nwere aziza na nke nzara onwe. Ajuju nchoro aziza na-achor imata ihe mere maka na ojuu anaghi atu anya aziza a kwadoro akwado, ebe ajuju-nzara-onwe na-ezi oge nti ozi. Mana ozi ha na-ezi ebe a abughi nke ohuru kama ha choro ka ajuju ahui kpalite mmuo mwute na onuma ma o bu oma iko n’uzo ohuru maka ihe ahui a ma ama. Ajuju nzara onwe na-ezi ozi onwe maka onodu echiche na omume mmadu. Nke a mere ka ajuju nzara onwe ji buru naani udi ajuju e nwere na data anyi n’ebe a.

N’Abiigbo, ndi obu bu ji ajuju-nzara-onwe na-akpalite mmuo njeghari iwe n’ebe ndi na-ege ha nti ma o bu n’ebe ndi mmadu no. Nke ozo, ha jikwa ya achor nkwardo ndi nkiri/ogee maka ozi ha bu nke ha ji egwu, echiche, emereme nakwa okwu onu ha na-eziputa. Ka

anyị tūlee ọmụma atụ ndị a sitere na mgbakwūnye edemede a.

Dị ka nseputa si na data mgbakwūnyere “A”, “B” na “CH” gosiri, e nwere ajuju nzara onwe juru si, *O nwere onye si ya anughị okwu Igbo anyi e e?*, ma o buo wu unu anughị okwu *Igbo anyi muru amu e e ?* (Mgbakwūnyere “A”: AA5, 7; “B”: AA10, 11 na “CH”AA: 13/14, 15/16). Ndị Abiigbo gughariri ahiri abu a ugboro ugboro n’abu niile e jiri mere data iji choo ihu na nkwaodo ndi nkiri/ogee maka echiche, okwu onu, omume ma nyere ha aka igbasa ozi abu ndi a nke oma. Iju ndi ogee si, ma ‘ha nuru okwu Igbo ha’ bu uzọ ozo, iji juo ma ha ghotara ihe ha na-ekwu ma o bu na-agu. Nke ozo bu ‘ma ha nuru okwu Igbo ha muru amu’ bu ime ka ndi na-ege ha nti mata na ihe ha na-agu ma o bu na-ekwu were ha bu ndi Abiigbo anya. O nwere ike buru ihe ha mabu ama; ma ugbo a, a na-agba ya n’anwu site n’iji nkamara egwu ogugu, okuku na ogbugba gosiputa ya.

N’abu “Mmegbu di l’uwa akariala” nke mgbakwūnyere “A,” ndi Abiigbo mere ka a ghotara ihe bu mmegbu, uzọ na ebe di iche iche o na-arụ oru tinyere nsogbu ya niile. Ma site n’ajuju *E nwediri eriri mara onye di mma e e?* (AA: 19), ha mere ka a ghotara na o nweghi onye aka ya di ocha n’ebe ihe ojo di. N’ikpeazu, ha juru si, *I ma hwe fughani uka e e?* (AA: 36). Ajuju a na-achọ aziza n’ihi ndi na-emegasi na gburu gburu anyi ta a. Nrite ego, ikike ma o bu ihe enwe enwe no n’azu esemomokwu, nke-wa na ndoro ndoro di iche iche niile a na-ahu n’ulo uka ma o bu otu ndoro ochichi di iche iche tinyere usoro ochichi obodo n’ala anyi oge ugbo a. O bu ya mere ndi uka na ndi otu ndoro ndoro ochichi, tinyere goomenti ji agba onwe ha mgba okpuru, ekewa n’uzo di iche iche n’eleghị anya n’azu.

Na mgbakwūnyere “B” nke abu ya bu “Goomenti Chigha Anyi”, e nwere aju-

ju nzara onwe ndi a: *Anyi giino l’ohu anwu e e?* (AA: 17, 56, 58) na *O wu anyi juwa hi ugu e e?* (AA: 43, 45, 85, 87). Ndị ogugu ji ahiri abu a, *Lite phara ete nde nwe m ni!* (“B”: AA32) zaa ajuju abuo ndi ahụ bu uzọ, maka na o na-akpoku mmuo ndi mmadu ka ha bilie mee njeghari iwe iji gosi ndi goomenti na ihe ha na-eme abughi naani na o dighi mma kama na o megidere iwu mmepe obodo n’ihi ya o na-ewutekwa ha. N’ime ya, ha ji ahiri mmecha, *Ejirile m oke okpa waa aka anya!* (AA: 32) kowaa na ha ji ihe mere n’oge otu ndoro ndoro NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and Cameroun) mmuta ihe. N’ihi ya, ihe mere ha mbu agaghi emekwa ha ozo. Nke ozo bu na ndi Abiigbo na-ekwu ihe ka ha si hu ma ghotakwa. O buru na i na-arụ ha uka, juo ndi mara maka echiche abu ha na mputara ya mgbe ha guru si, *Jukwaa nde Abiigbo anyi le e!* (AA: 52).

Nke mgbakwūnyere “CH” “Ochichi gboo kuru anyi ahia” nwere: *E jigi giri azu umu wa e e?* (AA: 26, 51, 53). N’ebe a, echiche putara ihe bu atumatu goomenti nke na-ebutere umu ogbenye ahuhu na-ata ha n’isi. Ufodu ihe nsimike di ka ndi Abiigbo si guputa gunyere a gachaa mahadum e nweghi oru, a ruchaa ulo ahia na nke obibi a kukpoo, uko ihe oriri na enweghi ezigbo atumatu maka ahụ ike dgz. N’udiri onodu a, ndi Abiigbo na-emere ndi nne nwaanyi ebere site n’ikwuchitere ha onu ha si, *O wu unu amaghi hwe m hwugha l’usekwu e e?* (AA: 34, 60). N’elu, ha ji mburu ego n’isi nwaanyi tinyere onu ego akpa garị iji gosiputa ihe ndi nne nahu n’uso-ekwu bu nke mere n’agha a ga-aluso ndi ochichi bu nke oha-na-eze. N’aka nke ozo, ndi Abiigbo huru uru di n’otanisi, ka ndi choro imu umu muo naani ole ha ga-azulite karija imu ka oke mgbe ha ji oke olu juo si, *E jidi giri azu umu wa e e?* (AA: 26, 51, 53). Ha piachiri ndumodu a site n’inye ndumodu

ozo maka ndi murula amu si, *Mu azuwa ke m muru amu e e!* (AA31, 56).

N’ime ihe niile a, ndi obu abu ji agwaragwa ahiri ntimiwu, ntimkpu na ajuju nzara onwe di ka a huru na data e ji mee ama atu na nchocha a ruo oru ekpemire nnwoghari n’etiti ndi a na-achi achị nakwa ndi a na-achi achị. Nke a bu iji kowaa ikikere onye o buła nwere n’ikwu ihe ga-eme ma o bu nke agaghi eme n’ochichi onye kwuo uche ya. Ha mere

### NCHIKOTA NCHOPUTA NA

Nch[kqta nchqpxta dabere na mbunuche nchqcha nke gxyere (i) ichoputa isiokwu ndi ahụ na-enyere Abiigbo aka iru oru mkpalite mmuo nnwoghari maka mmepe obodo; (ii) itule nka asusu ndi ahụ na-enyere Abiigbo aka ikowaputa oru mkpalite mmuo nnwoghari maka mmepe obodo. N’imezu mbunuche nchocha, e tepuru egwu Abiigbo ma deputa ya maka inweta data e ji mee ka ntucha ya di ire.

Maka mbunuche nke mbu, a choputara na isiokwu ndi Abiigbo rufuru aka maka ekpemire nnwoghari gunyere ndi ochichi imegbu ndi ha na-achi iji aghughu tinyere oke ndoro ndoro na nkewa (Hu abu “Mmegbu di l’uwa akarijala” nke mgbakwunyere “A”), mmaputa atumatu na-emegide umu ogbenye, e nweghi mkpatuta ahụ n’ebe ukọ ihe oriri na akoro ngwa mmeputa ihe bu nke na-ebute oke ita ahuhu nye umu ogbenye (Mgbakwunyere “B” n’abu “Goovumentu Chigha Anyi”).

O buru na a tlee isi okwu di iche iche putara ihe n’abu ndi a: *Mmegbu akarijala, Ochichi gboo kuru anyi ahia* na *Goovumentu chigha anyi* na mputara ha n’ebe ezi mmepe obodo di, a ga-aghota nke oma na ndi Abiigbo na-ekpere (na-ari) ndi ochichi n’ala Igbo, Naijiria tumadi mba Afrika ire ka ha nwe afọ oma n’ochichi. N’aka nke ozo, ka ndi a na-achi achị ghota ikikere vootu ha, ma were ya ruo oru etu o kwesiri n’ochichi obodo site

nke a site n’iji akwa ariri ime mmuo gosiputa mwute na mkpa o di iji aka nkwooto na-achi ochichi n’ulo uka nakwa goovumentu tinyere ihe ma o bu ebe ozo o kwesiri ekwesị n’agbanyeghi ogo na oge mmadu huru onwe ya. Ha jikwa ajuju nzara onwe ndi ahụ gosi na mmegbu, nsogbu, ntamahuhu, ihe nsimike dgz zuru uwa niile onu, ma buru ihe baraala n’umi mmadu, ma ka na-adikwa ire na-aga.

### MMECHI

n’webata na iwepu onye o buła ha choro. Ufodu goovumentu n’oge gara aga gbara mbu tinye atumatu di iche iche di ka “National Employment Scheme”, “Beter Life for Rural Women”, “Skill Acquisition Programme” na “Sure-P”. Atumatu ndi a bucha maka ibelata onugugu ndi na-achoro oru mana ndi n’ochichi na-eji ha agbara mgbere ahia nke mere ka mbunuche mbu niile ndi a kuofa n’ala.

N’aka nke ozo, ndi Abiigbo ji *Mmegbu akarijala* kpee ire nnwoghari maka ndi uka. Nke a nwere ike buru ihe mitara mkpuru otu “Chriatian Association of Nigeria (CAN)”. Ugbu a, e nweela ulo uka di iche iche n’uka ndi otu Kraisti onu bu nke a kporo “Ecumenical Church of Christ”. N’ime ya, e nwere ike isi n’oru ndi Abiigbo n’ebe a yitere nke amuma ma o bu igbara anyi ama maka onodu uka n’odinihu. N’agbanyeghi, ha tukwara aro na o buru na nke agaghi e nwe isi ka e nye ndi uka o buła choro ikewa ohere ime etu a mgbe guru si, Kamanini hi la-alula hi dowara o! (AA 51 na 52). E nwere ike ikowa nke a na nchocha a di ka oru ezi mgbanwe obodo site n’iji agumagu buo amuma maka odinihu mmepe obodo.

Maka mbunuche nke abuo, a huru na kwumkwukwaa na kwumkwughaa nyere ndi Abiigbo aka n’ikowaputa echiche mwute na onuma ma o bu ogo onodu usoro ochichi nchig-

bu ndi a na-achi achi. Ebe ajuju-nzara-onwe ji nkocha, ikwa ariri, ndumodu na ariri bu nke mkpoku mmuo ndi ogee na nkiri mee ka ha bilite me nju ma o bu njehari iwe maka onodu bu abu odi-be-ndi ha di iche iche. Ihe kpatara nke a nwere ike buru na odidi gburu gburu ala Mbaise kuru nkwa onodu a, ebe o bu na nsipuru Abiigbo, bu ala Ngwa ha na ha gba agbata-obi. O malitere na Ngwa di ka Ogbana-ngu ma basaa n'ala Mbaise dum. Nke a mere ka nsipuru Abiigbo Mbaise daba n'atutu mbasa.

ya kama ihe zuru Igbo dum onu bu echiche



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## MGBAKWUNYE ABU “A”

### MMEGBU DỊ L’UWA AKARỊALA

- AA1: Ụmụ elu ụwa!  
Mmegbu dị l’ụwa akarịala a a!  
Onụ a wụ onụ zuru oke daa o!  
Mmegbu dị l’ụwa akarịala
- AA5: O nwere onye si ya anughị  
Okwu Igbo anyị e e?  
ọ wụ unu anughị okwu Igbo  
Anyị mụrụ amụ e e?  
Ị gazuo elu ụwa
- AA10: Mmegbu dị l’ụwa akarịala  
Ụmụ Abiigbo anyị lee e!  
Mmegbu kpatara Siemeesi hị dọwara  
Eze ndị Amaala anyị lee e!  
Mmegbu kpatara Esidiiee hị dọwara
- AA15: Ụmụ Abiigbo anyị lee e!  
Mmegbu kpatara Sabaatị hị dọwara  
Ekele m nde Amala anyị e e e!  
Mmegbu apụọla ụka le e!  
E e a a e e a a e e e e a a!
- AA20: Nde ala ọha nde nwe madhị e!  
Nde ụmụ okorobyia e e!  
E nwediri eriri mara onye di mma e e?  
O bibeghi o o o !  
Okwu a wụ okwu zuru ụwa Daada!
- AA25: Mmegbu dị l’ụwa akarịala  
Ị gazuo elu ụwa  
Mmegbu dị l’ụwa akarịala  
Ụmụ Abiigbo anyị lee e!

- Mmegbu kpatara Siemeesi hị dọwara
- AA30: Ekele m nde Amala anyị e e e!  
Mmegbu kpatara Aposoliki hị dọwara  
Mmegbu kpatara Afrika hị dọwara  
A goovumentị ala anyị le e e!  
Nde ụmụ Abiigbo le e!
- AA35: Mmegbu kpatara Azikiwe hị dọwara  
Mmegbu kpatara Pọlụ Eke hị dọwara  
Okwu na, ama m uru je-adị ya a a!  
ụmụ ala ọha anyị le e!  
Ị ma hwe fughani ụka e e?
- AA40: E e e a a e e e e a a e e!  
Hwe a la-aka wụ ke m vu l’onu  
Ugochukwu gbaa nkwa!  
Ukwu le-eji agba nkwa l’ala anyị o!  
E e Abiigbo e e e!
- AA45: Okwu na amaa m uru je adị ya  
Mmegbu dị l’ụwa akarịala  
Ị gazuo elu ụwa  
Mmegbu dị l’ụwa akarịala  
Ụmụ Abiigbo anyị lee e!
- AA50: Mmegbu kpatara Siemeesi hị dọwara  
Kamanini hị la-alula  
Hị dọwara o!  
Mmegbu kpatara Esidiiee hị dọwara  
Ụmụ Abiigbo anyị lee e!
- AA55: Mmegbu kpatara Aposoliki hị dọwara  
Kamanini hị la-alula  
Hị dọwara o!

Mmegbu kpatara Afrịka hị dōwara  
 Amaa hi hwe o o!  
 AA60: Amaa hi hwe o o!  
 Mmegbu phughaniuka !  
 E e a a e e e e a a e e!  
 Mmegbu aphuola uka  
 Ee aa ee aa ee aa ee!

**Mgbakwunye Abụ “B”**

**GỌVỤMENTI CHỊGHAA ANYỊ**

AA1: Chenjie rekoḡoḡu a!  
 Achoghị mụ hwe oḡoḡ!  
 E e e e e e!  
 Cheenjje rekoḡoḡu a!  
 AA5: Ọzọ abianani! (uda ogene)  
 Eze na-achị ala anyị!  
 umụ eluuwa b́jara ile anya!  
 Eze na-achị ala anyị nwe enwe e!  
 O o o o o o o!  
 AA10: O nwere onye sị ya anughị  
 Okwu Igbo anyị le e?  
 Ọ wụ unu anughị  
 Okwu Igbo anyị mụrụ amụ e e?  
 Umụ eluuwa b́jara ile anya!  
 AA15: Eze na-achị anyị le e!  
 Umụ eluuwa b́jara ile anya!  
 Eze na-achị ala anyị nwe enwe  
 Eriri ogbo anyị lee!  
 Anyị ǵjino n’ohu anwụ e e?  
 AA20: Jidena m ogbo anyị le e!  
 Anyị ajuona kweshoḡoḡu mara mma

Mana Ezhiewe juru kweshoḡoḡu mara  
 mma  
 Eriri ogbo anyị le e e!  
 Anyị agachaa sukuulu!  
 AA25: Anyị enwehi oru!  
 Umunna a e e!  
 Anyị agachaa koleji!  
 Anyị enwehi oru!  
 Onu na-ekwuru oha ogu!  
 AA30: Oru anyị mụrụ amụ!  
 A sị anyị arughị ya!  
 Lite phara ete nde nwe m nị!  
 Oru anyị mụrụ amụ!  
 A sị anyị arughị ya!  
 AA35: Kazuore ya Igbo nne le e!  
 Ohia anyị nwere raisi!  
 Anyị ereghị ya!  
 Onu na-ekwuru oha ogu wo!  
 Anyị aruchaala sheedị!  
 AA40: Ha akukpoo!  
 Umunna e e e!  
 Anyị aruchaala sheedị!  
 Ha akukaa!  
 Gooḡvumentị le e!  
 AA45: Ọ wụ anyị juwa hị ogu e e?  
 Gooḡvumentị le e!  
 Ọ wụ anyị juwa hị ogu e e?  
 Ee aa ee aa ee!  
 Onye kaara m hwe di  
 AA50: Mụ emee ya

Dee Jọọnu daa anyị le e!  
 Ejirile m oke ọkpa waa aka anya  
 Jukwaa nde Abiigbo anyị le e!  
 Eze la-achị anyị le e!  
 AA55: Ụmụ eluuwa b́jara ile anyị  
 Eze la-achị ala anyị nwe enwe!  
 Jidena nịogbo anyị le e!  
 Anyị gịino n'ohu anwụ e e?  
 Juna m kweshoọnu mara mma  
 AA60: Anyị gịino n'ohu anwụ e e?  
 Onu na-ekwuru oha ogu wo!  
 Anyị juru kweshoọnu mara mma  
 A ndi Ezihwe juru kweshoọnu mara  
 mma  
 Eriri ogbo anyị le e!  
 AA65: Anyị agachaa sukuulu!  
 Anyị enwehi oru!  
 Umunna mu e e!  
 Anyị agachaa koleji!  
 Anyị enwe hi oru!  
 AA70: Jideeni m ogbo ogu wo!  
 Oru anyị muuru amu!  
 A si anyị arughị ya!  
 Aka kpara ngaji  
 Ure egbuole onu!  
 AA75: Oru anyị muuru amu!  
 A si anyị arughị ya!  
 Onu na-ekwuru oha ogu wo!  
 Ahia anyị zuru azu  
 Asi anyị ereghi ya!  
 AA80: Kazuore ya Igbo nne le e!

Anyị aruchaala sheedi  
 Hi akukpoo!  
 Umunna e e!  
 AA85: Anyị aruchaala sheedi  
 Hi akukaa!  
 Gooovumenti le e!  
 O wu anyị juwa hi ogu e e?  
 Gooovumenti chigha anyị!  
 AA90: O wu anyị juwa hi ogu e e?  
 E e a a e e a a e e!

#### **MGBAKWUNYE CH**

##### **Ọchichị Gboo Kuru Anyị Ahya**

AA1: Nyeeni m onwa mbu e e!  
 Nyeeni m onwa mbu e e!  
 Unu chenjie rekođu!  
 Achọ m hwe odo!  
 AA5: Akala m wo!  
 umu okorobya evughi uche  
 Were obioma  
 ochichị gboo anyị kworo zaa ahụ  
 Kuru anyị ahya  
 AA10: Kujukwaa ji la ede no n'ime oha  
 O- o- o- o- o!  
 ONO: O nwere onye si ya anughị okwu Igbo  
 anyị?  
 NKW: ochichị gboo anyị kworo zaa ahụ  
 Kuru anyị ahya  
 AA 15: ochichị a kuchaa anyị ahya

- Kùkwaa ji na ede nọ n’ime ọhya
- NG: Eriri ọgbọ anyị le e!
- NKW: ọchịchị emekwee nwaanyi amụkaghi nwa  
Nwaanyi vuru afọ ime
- AA20: Ya atụwa ya egwu tūwa di ye!
- NG: Jideni m ọgbọ ogu wo!
- NKW: E jidi girị wa azụ ụmụ wa e e?  
Nwokorọbya bi l’ime hwe ye!
- NG: E jidi girị wa azụ ụmụ wa e e?
- AA25: Jùkwana m Igbo anyị le e!  
A Misisi anyị i tūwarani ime  
Ezhigbo ọriya abya m l’ahụ  
Mụ azụwa ke m mụrụ amụ e e!  
Eriri ọgbọ anyị le e!
- AA30: ọ wụ unu amaghi hwe m hwughā l’usee-  
kwu?  
Akpa garị adakala agboghọbya l’oko  
onụ  
E e e e e e!  
O we! O we! O we! O we!  
Onye chọchị le-eyighi uwe ye
- AA35: Ga-awụ onye amala e e e!
- ọchịchị gboo anyị kwere zaa ahụ  
Kuru anyị ahya  
ọchịchị a kucha anyị ahya  
Kùkwaa ji la ede nọ n’ime ọhya
- AA40: Jideni m ọgbọ oguwo!  
ọchịchị emekwala nwaanyi amụkwaghi  
nwa  
Nwaanyi vuru afọ ime ya atụwa egwu  
Egwu atụwa di ye!
- NG: Jùkwana m Igbo anyị le e!
- AA45: NKW: E jidi girị wa azụ ụmụ wa e e!  
NG: Nwokorọbya bi l’ime hwe ye!  
NKW: E jidi girị wa azụ ụmụ wa e e!  
NG: onụ l’ekwuru ọha ogu wo!  
NKW: A Misisi anyị i tūwarani ime
- AA50: Ezigbo ọrya abya m l’ahụ  
Mụ azụwa ke m mụrụ amụ ye e!  
NG: Mmegbu, ọgbọ anyị le e!  
NKW: ọ wụ unu amaghi hwe m hwughā l’usee-  
kwu?  
Akpa garị adakala agboghọbya l’oko  
onụ
- AA55: E e e e e e-e-e!





# The State and Security Challenges in Nigeria

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## **ABSTRACT**

*Insecurity is a major problem in developing and transition countries. In Nigeria for example, the activities of the Boko Haram terrorist group have resulted in the destruction of lives and properties. In April 2015, about 276 female students of Government Secondary School in the town of Chibok in Borno State, Nigeria were abducted by terrorists. In spite of the efforts of the Nigerian Government and foreign partners to rescue the victims and prevent future occurrences another group of about 100 female students in Government Girls' Secondary School, Dapchi in Yobe State were abducted by terrorists in February, 2018. This paper examines some of the security challenges in Nigeria and reasons for the persistence of the problem in spite of the efforts of the government. The article relied on secondary data from books and journal articles. The findings indicate that there are political and economic dimensions to the persistence of security challenges in Nigeria.*

**Key words:** Boko Haram, Niger Delta, Nigeria, Security, State

## INTRODUCTION

Since political independence in 1960 Nigeria has practiced both democratic and military regimes. At independence parliamentary democracy was instituted by the colonial masters. The early period of Nigeria's existence as an independent state was characterized by series of political crisis. This culminated in tensions that sparked the first military coup in 1966, believed to be led by young army officers of the Igbo ethnic group of the Eastern Region.

Following the coup, Major General Johnson Aguiyi Ironsi emerged as the head of state and subsequently abolished federalism in favor of a unitary system, which according to him would foster unity in the country. Commenting on this situation Smith (1981:357) asserted that "the response of the first military government, under General Ironsi, to the fissiparous tendencies of Nigerian federalism was to centralize". The Northerners viewed this action as an attempt by the Igbo ethnic group of defunct Eastern region to dominate the country, hence a counter-coup led by Northern officers who installed Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon as the new head of state against the established military hierarchy.

The murder of Major General Aguiyi Ironsi and the takeover of political power by Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon (a Northerner) generated serious political crisis which led to a civil war between 1967 and 1970. Military rule continued until 1999 with a short

interruption by a democratic regime between 1979 and 1983. The challenges associated with military regime have made some scholars to view military rule as the source of major development and security challenges in Nigeria. For example, Ake (1995: 34) asserted that:

The military and democracy are in dialectical oppositions. Democracy presupposes human sociability; the military presupposes its total absence, the inhuman extremity of killing the opposition. The military demands submission, democracy enjoins participation; one is a tool of violence, the other a means of consensus building for peaceful co-existence.

The reinstatement of democratic rule in 1999 was heralded by Nigerians as a new beginning in Nigeria's development efforts. For about 18 years Nigeria has enjoyed democratic stability. Consequently, this paper examines some of Nigeria's security challenges, efforts made to manage them and additional actions that should be taken.

Clarification of Concepts: National Security and Human Security

National Security has been defined in different ways. One of the earliest definitions of national security offered by Lippmann (1943:5) states: "A nation has

security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war.” On his part, Lasswell and Kaplan(1950:79) espoused the view that the distinctive meaning of national security means freedom from foreign dictation.” Additionally, a former United States Secretary of Defense (1977-1981) postulated that “national security then is the ability to preserve the nation’s physical integrity and territory; to maintain its economic relations with the rest of the world on reasonable terms; to preserve its nature, institution, and governance from disruption from outside; and to control its borders” (Brown, 1983:281).

These definitions indicate that national security is traditionally viewed as the use of the military by the state to ensure the maintenance of the territorial integrity and sovereignty. Based on this view, security establishments focus on foreign and defense policy mechanisms to avoid, prevent and, if needed, to win interstate military conflicts. After the cold war during early 1990s, it has become increasingly evident that security threats towards individuals originate more from within the states. This is particularly true about the breakdown of the civil wars in the regions of Balkans, Africa and South-East Asia. Individuals’ life is seen as severely threatened in these regions resulting thousands of casualties, forced displacement, rape, ethnic cleansing and many other fatal crimes against individuals by the perpetrating

states. As a consequence, security for non-combatant individuals has become one of the major concerns with huge import within the international community. In the view of Paleri (2008), elements of national security include: military security, economic security, resource security, border security, demographic security, disaster security, energy security, geostrategic security, informational security, food security, health security, ethnic security, environmental security, cyber security, genomic security.

In contemporary usage, the security of a state or nation encompasses what is described as human security. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.” (Commission on Human Security: 2003: 4) Basically the national and human security perspectives has been harmonized in the definition of National Security offered by Paleri (2008:52) that “national security is the measurable state of the capability of a nation to overcome the multi-dimensional threats to the apparent well-being of its people and its survival as a nation-state at any given time, by balancing all instruments of state policy

through governance... and is extendable to global security by variables external to it.” In other words, security focuses on both the protection of the territorial integrity of the state and the prevention of all forms of threats to the wellbeing and survival of the people.

## **OVERVIEW OF SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NIGERIA**

Security challenges are not new to Nigeria. It is a cumulative effect of unresolved or poorly managed situations. In March 2014, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms. Navi Pillay, asserted that Nigeria is “currently facing its most daunting set of challenges for decades.” That is why Ogunyemi (2011) making reference to Frantz Fanon’s dimensions of violence, argues that any attempt to explain the emergence of development and security problems in Nigeria must recognize the physical, structural, and psychological violence unleashed on the people over the years by a tiny class of oppressive and manipulative rulers of the Nigerian state. Over the years different segments of Nigeria’s population had expressed feelings of marginalisation, of being short-changed, dominated, oppressed, threatened, or even targeted for elimination. Additionally, most of the development and social indices in Nigeria recorded much below acceptable standards. For example, the 2016 Human Development Report for Nigeria indicates that Nigeria is one of the poorest and most unequal countries

in the world, with over 64 per cent of her population living below poverty line. Poverty and hunger have remained high in rural areas, remote communities and among female-headed households and these cut across the six geo-political zones, with prevalence ranging from approximately 46.9 per cent in the South-West to 74.3 per cent in North-West and North-East. The 2016 HDR also indicates that Nigeria’s economy is currently in a recession and it is estimated that government revenues have fallen by as much as 33 per cent, which has further resulted in the contraction of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by 0.36 per cent in the first three months of 2016. According to the report, despite Nigeria’s enormous resources, 37 per cent of children under five years old were stunted and 29 per cent underweight due to malnutrition just as only 10 per cent of children aged six to 23 months were fed appropriately based on recommended infant and young children feeding practices. The report also revealed widespread cases of violence against women and girls, including physical and sexual assault, adding that 42 per cent of the youths were unemployed, “a situation that had led to poverty, helplessness and despair, thereby exposing them to easy target for crime and terrorism,” while over 10 million children of school age were out of schools with no knowledge and skills. Nigeria faces humanitarian and emergency crises of considerable proportions fueled by a combination of factors including climate

change, inter-communal conflicts and violence, insurgency, recurring floods, heavy handed tactics of security forces in combating crime and insurgency (Umukoro, 2012). The overall consequence is the situation of systematic and chronic internal displacement that has given rise to different humanitarian crises that include the most dehumanizing human rights abuses. The Niger Delta Crisis and the Boko Haram insurgency in North-eastern Nigeria are the major sources of security challenges confronting Nigeria presently. This section of this paper examines both of them.

**Niger Delta Crisis:** Although the history of violent conflicts in the Niger Delta dates back to antiquity, events before political independence in 1960 pointed towards future challenges. The fear expressed by the minority groups led to the inauguration of the Sir Henry Willinks Commission. The Commission was expected to recommend strategies for allaying the fears of the minorities and the development of the Niger Delta. When it turned in its report in 1958, it recommended that the Niger Delta deserved special attention and should be made a special area for development. Based on the Commission's report, the Federal Government established the Niger Delta Development Board, (NDDDB) in 1960 to cater for the unique development needs of the area (Ikporukpo 1981:119-129). This Board could not respond effectively to the development needs of the Niger Delta.

In response to the development challenges in the Niger Delta, the Niger Delta Volunteer Service (NDVS) was formed few years after independence. On February 23, 1966 the NDVS declared an independent Niger Delta Peoples Republic, under the control of Isaac Adaka Boro. Isaac Adaka Boro was an Ijaw who saw injustices in the way ethnic groups in the Niger Delta were treated by the large ethnic groups that dominated the Nigerian state immediately after political independence. Adaka Boro and his supporters were captured by the Nigerian State and were charged with treason, tried in Port Harcourt and found guilty. Isaac Boro was sentenced to death by hanging but subsequently pardoned by then Nigerian Head of State General Gowon. He later died during the Nigerian Civil War on 17 May 1968 at the aged of 32.

After this event, some cases of violent conflicts were recorded in the Niger Delta before the situation became volatile in the 1990's (Ukeje, 2004). The conflict in the Niger Delta became more extensive and better publicized with the formation of the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) in 1990, particularly because of its charismatic leader Ken Saro-Wiwa. Following the public presentation of the Ogoni Bill of Rights (adopted in 1990), in which MOSOP demanded more political autonomy and a more equitable distribution of the oil rents to the government, the first large mass demonstration took place in

1993. Although the Ogoni representatives' approach was generally peaceful, the protests gave rise to a wave of state repression against the Ogoni leaders and led to the detention of several hundreds of activists (Ibeanu and Mohammed 2005: 44) and the destruction of houses and villages, with numerous deaths as a result (Danler and Brunner 1996: 35). The brutal repression of the Ogoni people and the elimination of their leaders by the Abacha military regime meant that the movement was practically annihilated and the degree of violent conflict in the Niger Delta temporarily reduced.

Another major outbreak of violence in the Niger Delta was in Warri area in March 1997, and centered on the creation, by the then military regime, of a new local government area, Warri South West, and the location of its headquarters. An Ijaw expectation based on official statements that the local government headquarters would be in Ogbe-Ijoh, an Ijaw town, was disappointed when the location published in the federal government gazette turned out to be Ogidigben, an Itsekiri area. From March to May, widespread clashes continued, in which hundreds of people died on each side. More than 200,000 barrels per day (bpd) production were closed down for some weeks (Human Rights Watch, 1999).

In late May and June 1999, at the time of the hand-over from a military to civilian government in Nigeria, serious violence once again broke out in and around Warri, when new local government officials were

due to be sworn in for the contested local government area created in 1997. Up to two hundred people were reported to have been killed in raids by ethnic Ijaw and Itsekiri militia on areas inhabited by members of the other ethnic group. There were other reports of random shooting or executions by the armed forces during efforts to quell the fighting. Estimates of the number of dead over the few days of violence ranged from twelve to two hundred. The Nigerian Red Cross reported that more than 6,000 people had been displaced (Human Rights Watch, 2003).

Between 2003 and 2004 various sources agree on death tolls of more than 500 people other cases of violent conflicts in the Niger Delta. For example International Crisis Group Report (2006:6) asserted that "estimates have ranged from the government's 23 dead to a list of 2,483 dead and missing reportedly compiled by local activist groups. Banjo (2008:57) reports that in clashes between Itsekiri and Urhobos in February 2003 alone "an estimated 400 people" were killed (Mähler, 2010).

One of the factors that contributed to the escalation of the Niger Delta conflict was the use of militants as thugs during elections. For instance, the use of leaders of militant groups as thugs during the 2003 elections in the Niger Delta, made the escalation of the crisis in the region to take a new dimension. This made the 2003 election not to deliver the anticipated peace and prosperity which was

assumed to be the hallmark of democracy.

**Boko Haram Crisis:** Boko Haram group officially calls itself *Jama'atul Alhul Sunnah Lidda'watal Jihad* which means people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's teachings and *Jihad* (Aro, 2013). The expression "Boko Haram" is derived from one Hausa word *Boko* which means book and an Arabic word *Haram* which means sin or forbidden. Generally, the expression conveys the idea that western education or anything associated with western civilization as sinful and forbidden (Isichei, 1987). It is important to note that one could argue that this is an extreme interpretation and that the real grievance of members of the Boko Haram group is the corruption associated with people who benefit the most from "western" education.

For example, a United Nations study shows that poverty in 12 northern states of Nigeria is nearly twice that of the rest of the country (Eme & Ibieta, 2012). Children in the far north are almost four times as likely to be undernourished. Child mortality is over 200 deaths per 1,000 live births, leading to lower life expectancy. Educational standards are just as bad. Literacy in the far north is 35% as opposed to 77% in the rest of the country. Seventy-seven percent of women in the far north have no formal education, compared to only 17% in the rest of the country. In northern Nigeria, primary school attendance is only 41%, while youth unemployment is extremely high (Eme & Ibieta, 2012). All of

this contributes to joblessness and a deepening cycle of poverty (Carson, 2012). In the same vein, Abdulkarim Mohammed, a researcher on Boko Haram, added that violent uprisings in Nigeria are ultimately due to "the fallout of frustration with corruption and the attendant social malaise of poverty and unemployment" (Cook, 2013). Some other scholars are of the view that the intent of Boko Haram adherents is to replace modern state formation with the traditional Islamic state, because Western values run contrary to Islamic values. They believe that evil in the society is as a result of the embrace of Western civilization, and in order to curb such evil an Islamic society must be entrenched by destroying modern state institutions. The idea goes hand in hand with the entrenchment of the Shari'a law in the society (Danjibo, 2009). Notable among the gruesome activities of this group are attacks on churches and other public places resulting in the death of many civilians. The group's April 2014 and February 2018 abduction of secondary school girls in Northern Nigeria has drawn international attention. Periodic attacks against foreign targets in the region and growing evidence of ties to Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) have also raised the concern of U.S. policymakers.

The activities of Boko Haram have affected Nigerians and foreigners in different ways. Human Rights Watch observed that over 25,000 people have been killed in the country since 1999 and events since the start of 2014 have reached unprecedented levels of

violence. Boko-Haram activities have adverse effects on the social and economic life of people in Nigeria especially those living in the North East. It has crippled educational activities in most parts of Adamawa, Bornu and Yobe states. The insurgents have invaded primary and secondary schools, killing scores of children and their teachers in savage attacks unknown in modern history. In the mix of this insecurity, parents have to withdraw their children and wards, some undergraduates of higher institutions in the states affected have also sought admissions in equivalent schools in the south. Governments have been forced to also close down some of the schools in the most notorious areas that the sect has major hold. This has worsened the literacy rate in a region where illiteracy is as high as 80 percent, with many children roaming the streets.

Additionally, the state of emergency in the North-East of Nigeria and the accompanying military operations in that part of the country have adversely affected economic activities generally, including agricultural production and food prices as well as consumer demand. The insurgency and the fight against it by the government have the potential of crippling the economy of northern Nigeria.

#### Reasons for the Persistence of Security Challenges

One of the major reasons for the persistence of security challenges in Nigeria is the nature and character of the Nigerian

state. The Nigerian state like most other African states have been described as political caricatures, which mimic the notion of a state but do not approximate it (Adejumobi, 2011). This argument agrees with the assertion of Jackson and Rosberg (1982) that African states are weak states. They further opined that African states tend to be empirically weak as a result of: political authority tends to be personal instead of institutional; apparatus of power (i.e. the administration and government itself) is underdeveloped; economic circumstances have tended to be unfavourable to African States.

According to Jackson and Rosberg (1982) “most African States cannot be considered ‘states’ if we completely rely on the empirical criteria”. The solution is to depend on instead on juridical criteria. Here the authors note that juridical statehood has persisted, even as empirical statehood has fluctuated. The persistence of juridical statehood in Africa and the weakness of the empirical criteria explain why most African states are classified as fragile states in the fragile states index (formerly failed states index) of the United States think-tank Fund for Peace. A fragile state has several attributes. Common indicators include a state whose central government is so weak or ineffective, that it has little practical control over much of its territory; non-provision of public services; widespread corruption and criminality; refugees and involuntary movement of populations and sharp economic



decline. Since 2005, the index has been Ranked 13 Out of 177 Nations in the Index. published annually by the Fund for Peace and This can be observed in the table below: the magazine Foreign Policy. In 2016 Nigeria

### 2016 FRAGILE STATES INDEX

Country	2016 score					
Somalia	114.0					
South Sudan	113.8					
Central African Republic	112.1					
Sudan	111.5					
Yemen	111.5					
Syria	110.8					
Chad	110.1					
Democratic Republic of the Congo	110.0					
Afghanistan	107.9					
Haiti	105.1					
Iraq	104.7					
Guinea	103.8					
Nigeria	103.5					
Pakistan	101.7					
Burundi	100.7					

Source: *Fund for Peace (2016)*

The second reason for the persistence of security challenges in Nigeria is ineffective Control of the Proliferation of Small arms and light weapons. The nonproliferation of weapons agenda was entirely about chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear weapons because they were seen as the most threatening to human existence and the security of the most powerful countries. Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW),

which have been instrumental to massive destruction of life and property, began to receive a serious attention from world leaders in the 1990s. In Nigeria, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons has not been given adequate attention. Isumonah (2012) argued the problem associated with controlling the proliferation of SALW in the Nigeria is related to the failure of the Nigerian state to control the supply of small

arms and light weapons. If the supply factor is controlled, it will make the acquisition of nuclear capability very difficult. Therefore, the effective control of SALW's proliferation would depend not only on controlling local demand factors but also on the presence of a supply control factor.

Thirdly, economic problems contribute to security challenges in Nigeria. The actions and inactions of economic policy makers in the country pose potential security challenges to economic growth, peace and stability. Policy timing has always been a problem in Nigeria. Often times in this country, a well-conceived plan is implemented at the wrong time thus creating distortions which speculative forces take advantage of, frustrating the original intent of the policy. The Treasury Single Account (TSA) for instance, was a laudable policy by the current administration targeted at checkmating corruption. In a bid to bring sanity, stamp out wide spread corruption and rent seeking behavior in the management of government's funds and to consolidate all Federal Government's funds, the administration of President Muhammadu Buhari instructed that all ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) of the federal government transfer their funds in all commercial banks to the Central Bank of Nigeria with immediate effect. Any contrary voice cautioning for a stepwise approach was tagged as corrupt. The banks that delayed in executing the instructions were heavily fined. The withdrawal of huge deposits from

banks resulted in reduction in the ability of banks to grant loans to their customers since government deposits constitute a major chunk of the total deposits of commercial banks. A bank lends a portion of its deposit to customers while the balance is reserved to meet withdrawal demands from the depositors. Consequently, the policy led to a reduction in production, sales, number of employees and complete bankruptcy since individuals and firms were unable to access bank loans to fund their business transactions.

Again, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) raised the *monetary policy rate (MPR)*, otherwise called interest rate, by 200 basis points to 14 percent from 12 percent in a bid to attract more investment and stem rising inflation, on Tuesday, July 26, 2016. The *MPR* is the rate at which the apex bank lends to commercial banks and usually determines the cost of funds in the economy. After abandoning the 16-month-old Dollar peg, the Naira was allowed to trade freely in a bid to lure foreign investors who fled both the equities and bond markets in the light of the plunge in crude oil prices. However, the local currency has plummeted and the Dollar supply has dried up in both foreign exchange and interbank markets. Having exhausted their options, the Central Bank of Nigeria made the decision to raise the interest rate to attract foreign investors to the potential detriment of economic growth. Faced with the choice to spur growth by cutting rates or tackle galloping inflation, five out of eight

members of the monetary policy committee opted for a rate increase.

Pervasive unemployment is another major challenge confronting the Nigerian economy and has always been a potential source of unrest in the economy. Official statistics showed that 24% of Nigerians are unemployed with the figure worse for young people. While Nigerian statistic revealed that 38% of those under 24 are unemployed, the World Bank estimates this number to be closer to 80%. This is one of the main causes of youth restiveness and the attendant social problems in the country. In March 2014, 16 people were killed in a stampede when over 500,000 desperate job-seekers applied for under 5,000 vacancies at the Nigeria Immigration Service. The poor investment climate and low industrial development are the main reasons attributed to the high unemployment rate in the country. Also, the lack of synergy between tertiary institutions of learning and labour market demands in Nigeria is another factor fuelling unemployment in the country.

The environmental and health standard in the country is in a state of disarray. In 2013, Amnesty International reported that Nigeria experiences hundreds of oil spills yearly in the Niger Delta, owing largely to pipeline erosion, sabotage, and neglect by oil companies. Oil spills weaken the micro-organisms, soil nutrients and aquatic resources upon which the communities depend for survival exacerbating poverty levels and creating tensions and restive

situations. Improperly disposed waste and garbage decorates the roads and streets in Nigeria contributing to the spread of disease.

The healthcare system in Nigeria is grossly inadequate to serve the medical needs of the populace. The average Nigerian life expectancy is 38.3, according to the World Health Report, one of the lowest life expectancy in sub-Saharan Africa. Infant mortality has been on the rise since the 1990s, and the maternal mortality rate is one of the highest in the world. The Nigerian healthcare system is poorly funded, and this has contributed greatly to “brain drain” syndrome experienced in the sector. Also, there exists huge dis-proportionate distribution in the number of qualified healthcare practitioners in the sector with the urban centres having more than a fair proportion while the rural sector is seriously under-served.

The Nigerian education sector has also been largely neglected. The quality of education provided by the public sector has been on the decline due to poor funding. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recommendation which stipulates that 26% of national budgets should be channeled to the education sector in order to impact national development has never been adopted at in Nigeria.

The controversy over the Federal government’s formula for sharing oil revenue in the country has been a source of unrest and the bane of militancy particularly in

the south-south and south-east geopolitical zones. The provision of the 1971 allocation stipulates that the federal government retains 60% while the state and local government gets 30% and 10% respectively. However, this formula has been altered based on pressures from the states that are overly reliant on revenue from the FGN over the years. Presently, the FGN takes 52% while the states and local government gets about 27% and 21% respectively. Additionally, the FGN allocates about 13% of onshore petroleum revenues to the oil producing states; a practice which has centralized too much power and resources at the centre in favour of states with large population densities and land mass, irrespective of the derivable revenues in those states to the detriment of those with low population densities and a high revenue base. This has become a contentious issue between the north, that has a large land mass and population; and the south, where oil is found.

The fourth reason borders on the issue of regional Inequality/Issue of national integration. The Nigerian federation is divided into six geo-political zones. These zones exhibit differentials in inequality reduction over the years. The problem of inequality in these zones can be traced to British colonial policies which laid the foundation for North–South regional divisions in infrastructure, religion, educational systems, gender norms, and a variety of other factors. Geographic differences have also played a role in the

divide. An arid climate and proximity to the Sahara Desert renders the North more vulnerable to the effects of climate change, while the oil industry in the Niger Delta produces environmental degradation (British Council, 2009). Although data are not directly comparable across the years owing to differences in the way they were collected, they indicate the presence of a consistent North–South divide. The proportion of people living in poverty in the North–Central region rose from 32 percent in 1980 to 67 percent in 2004 (Soludo, 2007).

The living standard survey conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics for the year 2010 shows that poverty has been on the increase while standard of living has continued to fall. In a report released last February, the agency found that absolute poverty in the country increased from 54.4 percent in 2004 to 60.9 percent in 2010 (or 99,284,512 Nigerians). The report said the North–West and North–East zones of the country recorded the highest poverty rates with 70 and 69 percent, respectively, in 2010 while the South–West recorded the lowest at 49.8 percent. By NBS’s estimation, 61.2 percent of Nigerians were living below \$1 per day, and most of these people are to be found in the North. The persistence of inequality in Nigeria has elicited different reactions from Nigerians in different zones of the country. According to Kirk- Greene (1971:5), “the Nigerian tragedy has been bedeviled by a set of oppositions: generalized, stereotyped,

not necessarily of the same order and may be imaginary, yet each widening the wound and reducing the hopes of healing it; North vs. South, Islam vs. Christianity, alleged feudalism vs. assumed socialism, federal vs. unitary preferences, traditional authority vs. achieved elitism, haves vs. have-nots, each with sinister undertones of tension, irreconcilability and threatened withdrawal.” For example, the southern part of Nigeria witnessed the struggle for resource control, militancy, and violent conflicts.

Closely associated with regional inequality is the indigene–settler Issue which affects national integration negatively. There is a deep attachment of Nigerians to their states of origin, regardless of whether or not they are residing there. Indigeneity is simply a discriminatory concept employed in the Nigerian state to distinguish between the indigenes or natives of a state or locality and those who are referred to as non-indigenes or settlers. It is also used to confer special privileges which are beyond the reach of non-natives on the natives (Femi, 2004). The practice of indigeneity is contrary to the provisions of section 42 (1), (2) and (3) of the 1999 Constitution which provides among other things that a citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion, or political opinion shall not be subjected to any disability or deprivation merely by reason of the circumstance of his birth.

In spite of the above constitutional

provisions, the Nigerian constitution also classified Nigerians into three categories namely, indigenes, non-indigenes, and those citizens who are unable to prove that they belong to a community indigenous to any state in Nigeria as well as women married to men from other states than their own.. The implication of this form of categorization has been identified by International Development Institute (2000) following a nationwide survey. It observed that “such a multiple system of citizenship inevitably engenders discrimination in jobs, land purchase, housing, admission to educational institutions, marriage, business transactions and the distribution of social welfare service,” (Ojo, 2009:168). In Nigeria, to be employed outside, one’s ethnic base at state government level means in practice that such a person is a “non-indigene.” In most cases, employment into the public service of a state or enjoying other benefits such as scholarship requires the provision of a letter of identification that the individual is from a particular ethnic group or local government. This often prevents many Nigerians from benefiting from policies that can improve their livelihood. Commenting on this anomaly, Osaghae (1990: 594) posits that “any federation which continues to operate according to the dual federal model in such a way that citizens are not treated equally is underdeveloped.” In some parts of Nigeria, the indigene–settler classification of the citizens and the concomitant inequality associated with it fuels ethnic hostilities and recurrent

bloodshed. Human Rights Watch (2006: 2) has observed, discriminatory policies have “served to aggravate inter-communal tensions that are dangerously volatile in and of them ... while high ranking federal officials including (former) President Olusegun Obasanjo have publicly denounced the growing negative impact of Nigeria’s indigene/settler divide, federal government policies have served to reinforce and legitimize its consequences.” As a growing number of Nigerians migrate to and reside in localities outside their states of origin, in pursuit of economic and educational opportunities, increasing numbers no longer live within the local government areas where they would technically be considered indigenes.

## **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Despite counterterrorism activities and other efforts made by the state to ensure security in Nigeria, terrorism and other security problems continue to occur. In Nigeria, counter terrorism activities have also resulted in human rights violations. For example, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (*OHCHR*) noted that attacks by security forces causing a high number of civilian casualties have been reported, most notably in Baga, Nigeria, in April 2013, where civilians were reportedly shot by security forces and 642 people were displaced. Investigations into the event by reliable national sources

determined that cases of extrajudicial and summary executions, torture, arbitrary detention, enforced disappearance and rape had been committed by national security forces. *OHCHR* was also informed of other allegations, including summary executions, torture, arbitrary detention and prolonged incommunicado and enforced disappearance committed by the national security forces in Baga and Bama, as well as of detainees being starved and held without water in overcrowded cells in an army barrack, leading to death.

In addition to the problem of human rights violations, corruption in the defence sector of Nigeria has been a major problem. For example, the evidence uncovered by the two *ad hoc* audit committees established by President Buhari and the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (*EFCC*), Nigeria’s main anti-corruption agency, has indicted over 300 individuals and companies for defence sector procurement theft and misappropriation. Fifty-five people, including former government ministers, military chiefs, state governors, and bankers were reported by the committees to have stolen 1.34 trillion naira (\$6.8 billion) over a seven-year period in the guise of arms equipment deals. A further \$2 billion was allegedly stolen from the National Security Budget under the watch of the National Security Advisor, Colonel Sambo Dasuki (rtd.). What is overwhelmingly clear from the results of the *ad hoc* audit committee investigations is

the extent of unmonitored, systemic control over the defence sector by senior government elites. The lack of clear separation between the executive and the military is a long running problem. Despite the formal end of military rule in 1999, the military has played a significant role in political life. With control of the armed forces and a monopoly on access to arms, military generals have the power to protect access to resource rents and ensure their place within the ruling elite (Anderson and Page, 2017).

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# Audience Engineering in Theatre for Development (Tfd): A Survey of the Lejja and Unadu Communities of Enugu State

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## ABSTRACT

*Theatre for Development, Community theatre, Theatre for Integrated Rural Development or the People's theatre as it is variously referred, is conceived as a theatre used as a weapon for mass social transformation and community development. It is a theatre that treats members of the audience not as mere consumers of a finished product, but as co-facilitators of the entire learning process. It made its debut in Africa, specifically in Botswana in 1974 with the Laedza Batanani Group – Laedza Batanani meaning “Wake up let's come together and work together.” Community theatre has been more popular in Northern Nigeria than in the South since 1975 when Michael Etherton set up the programme in Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria which*

*drew its impetus from the Chikwakwa and Laedza Batanani experience. Using Lejja and Unadu communities of Enugu State as case studies this study demonstrates that Tfd which is still unpopular in the South East of Nigeria can be popularized through audience engineering. Audience engineering is the deliberate attempt to influence the constitution of the audience, thereby, influencing them in a particular direction – to actively participate in a programme. The study also identifies some modes of communication that enhance audience engineering and recommends measures to adopt to popularize the programme.*

## INTRODUCTION

The tripod on which theatre stand are the actor, stage (space), and the audience. Without them theatre can hardly be achieved. Of all these elements, the audience is most critical to theatrical production because they are the end consumers of what may have taken days, weeks, months and even years to produce. In conventional theatre, plays are produced and taken to the audience while in Theatre for development the audience are part and parcel of the play production – from problem identification to performance stage. Against this backdrop, Ekpe Inyang notes that, “for any theatre piece to achieve its action-inspiring objective, the performance must not take the audience to its ‘final’ conclusion but should end at a junction of suggest pathways towards expected conclusion” (5). This is summed up by Augusto Boal in Theatre of the Oppressed, “that contrary to the views held by Hegel and Aristotle who advocated a quiet somnolence at the end of the spectacle ... Bertolt Brecht wants the theatrical spectacle (audience) to be the beginning of action by the spectator who should seek to transform the society to bring about the needed equilibrium (106). This is the tenet of Theatre for Development (TfD) or Community theatre (CT) which is a theatre by the people, of the people, with the people and for the people. however, for the purpose of the study, Theatre for Development, Community Theatre and the Theatre of the Oppressed

has been used interchangeably due to their ethnocentric focus on human transformation and development through conscientisation, sensitisation and mobilisation.

Theatre of the Oppressed first elaborated by Boal was aimed at involving those (the audience or people) who were oppressed by the Brazilian dictatorship in their liberation struggle. He envisioned the theatre as a way to rehearse revolutionary actions that would free the oppressed. This demonstrates that theatre is not a revolution in itself but a rehearsal for revolution. His idea that the audience can participate in the theatre as actors, culminated in the term “spect-actors.” This denotes the active involvement of the audience in any dramatic piece as against the Aristotelian poetics that gives the audience a passive role.

According to A.S. Hornsby, “the audience is a group of people who have gathered to watch or listen to something – a play, concert, speech, etc; a number of people or a particular group of people who watch, read, or listen to the same thing” (63). Above this, there is no place except theatre that, the audience and the actors are so interlocked with each other. To this end, Edwin Wilson posits that, “theatre is not electronic like movies and television; it does require the live presence of both audience and actors in a single space.” This is the theatre’s uniquely important advantage and function, its original religious function of bringing people together in a community ceremony where the actors

are in some sense priests or celebrants, and the audience is drawn to participate with the actors in a kind of Eucharist (130).

More than this is the Theatre for development or community theatre which unlike the conventional theatre, have its audience not only as the maker of the play but also as part and parcel of the whole performance. At the heart of every performance is the audience who helps form the tripod (actor-space-audience relationship) and whose absence causes the tripod to collapse. It is this special actor-audience relationship, according to Wilson, “the immediate, personal exchange whose chemistry and magic give theatre its special quality” (15).

### **THEATRE FOR DEVELOPMENT AND ITS ESSENCE**

Many definitions abound on Theatre for development or Community theatre as the case may be. However, a few will suffice here. Chuduo Obadiogwu defines community theatre as, “a participatory theatre at the service of the people for their socio-political development whose existence borders on dialogue and action that will lead to critical consciousness and emancipation of the society (xiii). To him, dialogue is the soul of community theatre and the oil that greases its wheel. Community theatre, therefore, represent a process whereby intellectuals try to awaken the consciousness of the disadvantaged society by presenting dramatic sketches in which their problems are

articulated from the dialectical perspective to help them visualize their society (Charles Utsu Ushie, 342). This shows that this development process is propelled by outside agents in collaboration with the community members themselves.

Chris Nwamuo one of the foremost advocates of community theatre in Nigeria describes it as a theatre of struggle and search for the tools of survival in the face of uneven development; it is a theatre of the oppressed and the neglected, aimed at agitating their minds, conscientizing and mobilizing them to action (1). This corroborates with Boal’s assertion of community theatre as a theatre for the downtrodden or oppressed. In fact, it is a theatre of pedagogy, didacticism, transformation and that of rejigging.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THEATRE FOR DEVELOPMENT**

The crux of theatre for development or community theatre is development. This means that community theatre drives change and change brings development. It is in fact, a tool for development. In an age when under-development stare many communities on the face due to government’s neglect, community theatre is likely to offer a sustainable alternative approach towards addressing these and other myriad issues confronting our nation. Recognizing that rural communities are proactive agents of change, theatre for development provides space for change to take form in a playful, safe, facilitated space

and the various problems of the people as they move through their lives.

Theatre for Development (TfD) aims at transforming the society, through conscientisation of the individual, making them change their frame of reference by critically reflecting on their assumption and beliefs and consciously making and implementing plans that brings about new ways of defining their world. According to Saint E. T. Gbilekaa, “community theatre aims at stimulating a process of community or group problem solving and actions, bringing the community together, building community cohesiveness, raising important issues as identified by the community, creating a forum for discussions of these and stimulating group action” (27). Theatre for development is not merely for entertainment but also to solve specific development problems aimed at alleviating the myriads of challenges in the poverty-ridden communities.

It is a form of theatre that negates the top-down development approach but encourages a down-up method. This means that the people must be involved in any development plan from conception to implementation instead of imposing an already conceived, action concluded project plan for imposition on the people. Ideally, theatre for development demands that, the people are brought together to exchange ideas, share experiences, discuss problems, and try as much as possible to figure out solutions to the problems that concern them.

According to Ahmed Yerima and Janks Okwori, “theatre for development opposes the assumption that the information flow is linear and that development information is the monopoly of ‘experts’ ... assume a paternalistic ‘I-know-what-is-best-for-you’ stance which has given rise to much opposition on the part of the intended programme beneficiaries” (38). Rather, community theatre or theatre for development removes this kind of opposition since development information is made to emanate from the people through their participation and theatre experience.

Community theatre as Tar Ahura submits, “is a theatre of the people that use the expressive medium of the people which treats the actual problems of the environment, highlighting the problems in new light for the purposes of re-opening discussion on them as a way of seeking solutions to them” (55). It is a theatre that recognizes the creative potentialities of the people and seeks to activate those potentialities for the common good. This form of theatre uses local resources of the people vis-à-vis their language, creative and material resources such that the very people for whom it is meant are placed at the centre of the theatre instead of the periphery to which conventional theatre tends to push those who are supposed to benefit from such project.

Community theatre is a democratized theatre in that, it allows everyone the opportunity to participate irrespective of age,

sex and status. It appeals to both the literate and illiterate members of the community. This agrees with Obadiegwu's view that, "community theatre does not require formal education or professionalism for one to participate." The unique thing about community theatre, according to Nwamuo, "is its ability to appeal to the rural people and mobilize them for action through the use of their own media and structure" (79). This enables communities to identify their needs, the type of change they desire, the place of change, and the means of attaining such a change.

### **METHODOLOGIES IN TFD**

There is no straight jacket approach in theatre for development. Approaches or stages are none-the-less flexible based on the animators' choices. Chris Nwamuo described four principles of research in Tfd which includes: Problem identification, play making, discussion, and follow to solve community problems. Another principle or process of Tfd as enunciated by Obadiegwu hinges on:

- Training the participants (animateurs): This entails training the resource personnel who will eventually work with the community members on the use of drama for development. The use of our third-year students for Theatre for Development project and who have been exposed to the introductory courses in this area is a good example.

- Researching communal issues: At this stage the resource personnel in collaboration with the community members identify, articulate and prioritize the problems or issue begging for attention. Involving the people in the research make them have a sense of belonging and motivation to help tackle their own problems.
- Analysis of data: Information gathered from the field is presented at an open forum, discussed extensively before deciding what should be done next. It provides the basic ideas around which the play will revolve.
- Scenario development: After the analysis, a storyline is mapped out, the show is cast and rehearsals begin. The scenario is the blue print for the action. It highlights and links the problems into dramatic form in order to provoke discussion and challenge people to take action.
- Rehearsal through improvisation: In a community theatre, rehearsal assumes greater emphasis because of the infusion of the community's appropriate cultural forms. This determines the style of the performance. It involves people trying out how to play the characters and dramatize the story. Performance: After rehearsals, follows the actual performance before a community audience in an appropriate community venue. Post performance evaluation: This entails a critical

evaluation of the performance and its import to the target community. It is also an opportunity for the benefitting community to ask questions arising from the sketch, its values or benefits to the community. The outcome will determine the next line of action – to initiate further viable action to improve their welfare.

- Follow-up or through: This is a follow-up visit (s) to evaluate the effect of the entire exercise and to further encourage, re-motivate and also examine new areas of cooperation to enable the project work. It is difficult to determine the success of the exercise without a follow-up visit.

Consequently, in order to achieve maximum success in theatre for development, Oga S. Abah suggests that the resource personnel or animateurs should “go to the people; live among the people; learn from the people; plan with the people, and work with the people” (23).

## **AUDIENCE ENGINEERING IN TFD**

In conventional theatre, plays are produced, cast and performed before an audience basically for entertainment while in community theatre, the performance is organized with the people and for the people for the purpose of development. That is why TFD is referred to as the people’s theatre. In both theatres, technological advancement and diversification such as television, radio, cinema, films, internet, etc. have adversely

affected audience attendance to play production. The implication of this is that, many would be theatre goers now leverage on these technological opportunities to stay back at the comfort of their homes to watch theatre productions, movies and/or access them through the Internet instead of being physically present to watch them live. Hence, the need for audience engineering to sensitize, motivate, and mobilize people to attend performances.

Audience engineering has been described by Gareth White as, “the deliberate attempt to influence the constitution of our audience” (4). It is the conscious and purposeful attempt at influencing and persuading people to attend to shows such as concerts, plays, festivals, films, conferences, meetings, etc. The audience occupy an enviable position in any performance, because without an audience, there is no show. To this end, Chris Nwamuo defines audience engineering as, “the scientific and skilful designing, organizing and implementing of a programme of action aimed at winning large audience to named event, and ensuring their comfort and pleasure during the event” (56).

Audience engineering can be accomplished through traditional and modern modes of communication. Traditionally, announcement through the village town criers, churches, age grades, the village griots, carnivals, etc may suffice. The modern mode may take the form of radio and television jingles and advertisements, carnivals,

internet sources, and the print medium using newspapers, magazines, posters, bill boards, hand bills, among others.

### **COMMUNITY THEATRE OR TFD AS TOOL FOR AUDIENCE ENGINEERING**

Community theatre or theatre for development is by itself a tool for audience and social engineering. According to Ekpe Inyang, “it is increasingly becoming a predominant tool for sensitisation and mobilisation of local communities for economic, political, and environmental development” (1). And to Bertolt Brecht, this type of theatre propels the spectators into action, to bring about desired change in society.... Like any good play, theatre for development main purpose is to raise awareness, influence attitude change as well as entertain in such a way as to elicit an intended response from the target audience. Describing community theatre as theatre of the community by the community, Inyang believes that, “such a theatre could be a more effective instrument for community penetration, sensitisation and mobilisation” (4). This means that community theatre can be used to appeal to the people to buy into an idea or programme. It presents community members with situations that engage them not only intellectually and aesthetically but also emotionally.

Theatre is also a powerful way of putting across messages with the aim of stimulating community action to address, identified problems and issues. For any

theatre piece to achieve its action-inspiring objective (audience engineering) Inyang maintains that, “the audience is motivated to complete the performance by doing what they feel the performance has left undone” (5). Community theatre also provides a sustainable tool for sensitising and mobilising communities to enable them embark on activities leading to their welfare. Because of its potency and capability to sensitize and mobilize the masses to bring about radical reforms, community theatre has become a ready tool for rural development.

Theatre for development plays an essential role in transforming the community. Transformation involves people of varying socio-economic status, enlightenment and awareness. It also involves change or development of various structures including social, economic and political structures. It involves a process of awareness creation and mobilization. It educates the people on variety of issues. It educates both formal and non-formal education system. Through its processes, the audiences are educated on conflicting issues in the society in the area of health, agriculture, and culture, paving the way for development.

The basic tools used in theatre for development for awareness creation are through conscientisation, sensitisation, education and mobilisation.



## CONSCIENTIZATION

Conscientization is the process of reaching a deeper awareness of the social reality that moulds people's lives and of the inner capacity and strength to transform that reality. Conscientisation comes through play creation, acting and its contents, because it involves the process of in-depth analysis and exploration of the issues within the community. Change takes place through conscientisation. Conscientisation is realised through a process that helps to identify and understand their problems within the context of a particular social order. It is a method of subverting what Freire calls a "culture of silence." Conscientisation encourages innovation or new ideas. It is a process whereby men are made to see their problems as a consequence of a particular social order. Conscientisation, according to Gbilekaa, "enrols men in the search of self-affirmation, awakens among the people, critical consciousness and leads that way to the expression of social discontents precisely because the discontents are real components of an oppressive situation" (2).

As a result of conscientisation, men attain a new sense of awareness; assume a new sense of dignity and hope. They become creators of culture. They refuse to be passive, merely observing changes happening around them. They take upon themselves the task of actually remoulding the structures that oppress them. It is in this line that August Boal submits that, "in a dramatic experience

the audience are not just mere audience but also, the actors and creators of drama; not mere recipients of a finished product but part and parcel of the creative process" (9). Moreover, to effectively conscientize or raise the people's consciousness TfD practitioners should reach and meet the people instead of waiting for the people to come to the theatre.

There is a correlation between mobilization and rural development. Rural development cannot be effective without sensitizing and mobilizing the people. To this end, Nwamuo argues that, "it is in mobilising people that community energies are identified, harnessed and effectively utilised for stability, rural development and nation-building" (76). Social mobilisation, therefore, has been described as an effort to conscientize people and brings them together for a purposeful thinking towards the solution of a social problem. It is also the ability to assist groups to move into action through a process of concrete reflection, mediation and recognition. Nwamuo believes that, "social mobilisation is also a means of bringing a community rapidly to a point of which it becomes aware of its own social problems and its capabilities in managing its own affairs (76). The ultimate aim of social mobilisation is to develop a class of people united and organized to challenge the dominant class and mobilise their energies into a transforming force with which they can recreate the society into a truly egalitarian and non-exploitative one.

Education like community theatre is problem-solving and helps in enlightenment. According to Julius Nyerere, “the purpose of education is the liberation of man from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency.” Education has the power to increase man’s physical and mental freedom – to increase their control over themselves, their own lives and the environment in which they live. Above this, community theatre can be used to educate our adults to be able to read and write; to understand the basic rules of hygiene, family planning, civic duties, road maintenance, among others. In fact, community theatre is a theatre of mass mobilisation and conscientisation which uses improvisation in its accomplishment. Education can also empower people to utilise and assimilate successfully information on any aspect of human endeavours.

Another avenue for creating awareness in TfD is through sensitization. Primarily, to sensitize is to make somebody more aware of a problem or something bad. Sensitization enables people to become aware of their problems and how to galvanize efforts to solve such problems.

### **AUDIENCE ENGINEERING IN LEJJA COMMUNITY THEATRE PROJECT**

Theatre audience constitute a dominant force in any theatrical practice. A theatrical practice without an audience, therefore, is lifeless. It was based on this premise that the 2015/2016 Third Year Students of the

Department of Theatre and Film Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka embarked on audience engineering on arrival at Lejja community. After the preliminary visits, the group eventually arrived on 30th March 2016 and camped at the Community High School.

As soon as the students and the two lecturers accompanying them settled down, they embarked on a courtesy call at the palace of His Royal Highness Igwe Anthony Ochike to pay him homage as well as announce our arrival and presence in the community. Using our local resources such as drums, gong, ishaka, flute, songs, etc. we processed in a carnival-like manner through the villages, indicating our presence, our mission and the nature of our visit which demanded that all the community members should be part and parcel of the entire exercise. At the Igwe’s palace, he welcomed us very well and wished us a successful and happy stay at Lejja.

In line with the methodology for audience engineering in Theatre for Development, the students were divided into 6 groups representing the major villages in Lejja comprising of Amagu, Oke Ekwuma, Ohanaram, Aku Egba, Ugbelenabo, and Ugone Owerre. This was to enable them move into the villages to create awareness thereby conscientising, sensitising and eventually mobilising the people for the tasks ahead. In addition to the local language and songs learnt from the people, we employed other traditional elements or art forms such as art, demonstration, drama, festivals, exhibitions,

town criers as well as announcements in the various churches. This proved very effective as the people became very excited and interested in the message being propagated. This is because for community theatre to be successful, it must be executed through the community language and idioms. In most African societies the local art forms are more efficient in information and cultural transfer than the 'dull' western dialogue drama. These local art-forms are more appropriate in audience engineering because they are performative. What is required; however, are the body resources of the people which are already present in their traditional abilities to sing, to dance and to drum (Oga S. Abah, 18). Audience engineering, according to Augusto Boal, "jolts people from their passive state to active state – transforming them from being mere audience to actors and creators of drama (30).

With the assistance of one of the Igwe's cabinet members, Ichie Romanus Ugwuoke, alias, Nwanta Kwocha, the two lecturers and their students embarked on further aggressive sensitisation exercise using the above methods. This was to appeal to the people, especially the youths to support our course as well as participate actively in the entire project geared towards the development of their community. The implication of this is that, Theatre for Development is not only people-oriented but development-oriented in which community members and the outside agents (animators) become both actors as

well as spectators. This approach proved very effective though, but for lack of interest and popularity of this kind of theatre in this part of the country. However, some youths were able to join our students during the rehearsals and eventually participated in the drama presentation. This situation compelled us to shift the venue for the final performance from the market place to the Community Health Centre and again, to the village square where we had hoped to get larger audiences.

### **AUDIENCE ENGINEERING: UNADU COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE**

At the conclusion of our preliminary visits, we arrived the community on 4th October, 2016 to depart on the 18th of April, 2016. This time we came with the 2016-2017 Third Year Students. Unlike Lejja, the Igwe of Unadu was not on the ground to receive us. He was away from the community on official government engagement at Enugu. However, he detailed his Chief Security Officer to receive and ensure we are settled at the Community Health Centre. As a result, the usual courtesy call and carnival procession could not hold that day. However, through the assistance of Igwe's Chief Security Officer and other cabinet members of Igwe's palace they were able to inform the community members of our presence.

The next day, we processed round the community using our music and dance to inform them of our presence, our mission and the need for them to be part and parcel

of our programme. Subsequently, we divided the students into thirteen groups, representing the thirteen villages of Unadu (Umuonazi, Umuatiko, Umunjiro, Umuaba, Umuokele, Umuogerewu, Umuagada, Umuonwata, Umuokpachi, Umuokenye, Umuoduma, and Umuoshowu) for ease of exploring and identifying the community's problems that eventually formed the theme of our dramatic performance. Each group was also mandated to continue the sensitization exercise as they move about identifying the problems from the people.

Prior to the performance day, the Igwe organized a farewell party for us which took place at his Filling Station near the Afor market. The two lecturers had used that opportunity to further implore the Igwe to galvanize his people to ensure that they turn out enmass for the performance the following day. He, however, expressed the fear that his people hold the Afor market day in high esteem and may not attend in their numbers as we expected.

The final performance was scheduled for the Community Primary School. Before the time, we embarked on aggressive sensitization and mobilisation in order to remind our host about the time and venue of the performance and the need to take active part. As already predicted by the Igwe, the turn out was low because it fell on Afor market day. We were forced to shift the venue to the market place. This was the only remedy as our music, dance and the gyration attracted people from

the market, including drivers waiting to pick their passengers and other passersby. On the whole, the exercise was an experience.

## **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

As already stated, the audience is the show and without them, there is no show. Theatre audience all over the world constitute the dominant force in the theatre hierarchy. According to Chris Nwamuo, "a theatrical performance becomes 'lifeless' without the breath of the audience members owing to their role of involvement" (1). It is also the nature of the theatre during its performances to jolt its audience from its anaesthesia or dormancy and prepare them for action. By its nature, content, scope and methodologies, one realizes that the audience, according to Nwamuo, "is the better half of the theatre enterprise which seeks to woo them to come to savour the performance" (1).

To achieve a more effective audience engineering especially in theatre for development or community theatre, it is pertinent to look beyond the traditional elements such as the use of town crier, age grades, traditional festivals, community meetings, traditional authorities, religious leaders, traditional songs and dances to incorporate the modern modes like radio, cell phone, and television. The reason is that, though the rural communities are predominantly illiterate, there is hardly any family that do not have a cell phone, radio,

television, and even access to the internet these days. It is, therefore, wise to use these modern media to complement the traditional modes in order to conscientise, sensitise and mobilise the people to take active part in community theatre.

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# THE IMPERATIVES AND CHALLENGES OF THE NIGERIAN youths entrepreneurial Education Among Nigerian Youths in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

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## ABSTRACT

*This study aptly examines why and how the Nigerian youth needs to focus on entrepreneurship education and development this 21<sup>st</sup> century. The paper explains the challenges faced by the Nigerian youths due to deficits of entrepreneurship education and development in the country. It also looks*

*at the benefits of youth entrepreneurship development and empowerment in the country and proffer is strategies to enhance youth entrepreneurship development and education. The paper also suggests ways to promote entrepreneurship development and education in Nigeria.*

**Keywords:** Entrepreneurship education, Development, Youth empowerment and Economic self-reliance.

## INTRODUCTION

Youths are young people who shape the growth of an economy if they are educated for entrepreneurial development. These are the youngsters who are embedded with a lot of creative business potentials and innovations. Government all over the world often provide youth opportunity programmes; for a government-sponsored schemes that are responsible for giving experience to unemployed young people, by providing youths training scheme to unemployed school leavers and younger generation to enable them to become self reliance. Today in Nigeria, the menace of poverty, unemployment, underdevelopment, and economic deprivation has made entrepreneurship development to become a national drive by every government in power. This has made entrepreneurship development and education a national priority this 21<sup>st</sup> century, especially now that Nigeria has entered into economic recession. This paper is divided into six sections, section one examines the need for the Nigerian youths to focus on entrepreneurship development, section two discusses the challenges facing youth entrepreneurship development and education in Nigeria, section three evaluates on the benefits of entrepreneurship development and education in Nigeria. Section four outlines the strategies to enhance entrepreneurship development and empowerment of the youths, section five and six are the conclusion and recommendations

of the study.

The Need for Nigerian Youth to focus on Entrepreneurship Development this 21<sup>st</sup> Century

Globally, the concept of entrepreneurship has assumed super importance for accelerating economic growth both in developed and developing countries, including Nigeria. It is through the entrepreneurship process that new products are created and new business models set up. This is largely responsible for the dynamism of industries and long-run economic growth and development the Nigerian youths need to benefit in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Entrepreneurship promotes capital formation and creates wealth in a country. Today, many Nigerian youths hope and dream of participating or getting involved in the entrepreneurship process. This is because entrepreneurship education and development reduces unemployment, poverty, and it is a pathway to genuine prosperity and honest living. Again, entrepreneurship is regarded as a process of exploring the opportunities in the market place and arranging resources required in exploiting these opportunities for a long term gain. Some scholars regard entrepreneurship also as a process of planning, organizing and managing opportunities and assuming the risks to make profits. The abilities of the entrepreneur to take risks independently, to make out most earning in the market indeed differentiate the entrepreneur from other persons (Onoh, 2017).



This paper calls for the Nigerian youths to be creative and innovative in response to their environmental needs of the immediate community. Nigerian youths should look beyond crude oil money for their sustenance as crude oil price has fallen in the world market and the Nigerian mono-cultural oil economy is dwindling and sliding into recession, especially as the Niger Delta militant are bombing oil and gas installations as protests for resource control and true federalism. Today the fallen output of crude oil production cannot sustain the 36 states of the federation. Many states cannot even pay salaries of their workers. Thus, shaping the future of Nigerian economy beyond crude oil is a critical part of the national agenda. This means that Nigeria urgently needs to diversify her source of national income to alternative sources beyond crude oil. That is the reason Nigeria youths needs to focus on entrepreneurial education and development to curb the problem of unemployment rate which is currently at 20 percent whereas the labour force of 47 million is growing (Ezinwa, 2015).

Furthermore, Nigeria has the largest domestic market in Africa with her large population of about 150,000,000 people. The potentials of Nigeria youths in entrepreneurial development are massive, tremendous, vast and enormous. Nigeria is a country with numerous business and investment potentials for the youths due to the abundant human and national resources it possess. Economically,

Nigeria youths are enterprising in the field of science, technology, academic, business and entertainment industry. More so, Nigeria is a regional power in West Africa and the “Giant of Africa” which enable her to play the “big brother role in Africa”. Furthermore, Nigeria is one of the largest producers of gas and oil in Africa. Nigeria is the pride of “Black Africa” out of every five African youths, two will be Nigerian. Nigerian youths travel far and wide, as the saying aptly points out “Travelling is part of education”. This gives the Nigerian youth added potential for entrepreneurial education and development (Ezinwa, 2015).

Nigeria youths have a wide range of potentials and natural resources and a diversely skilled labour pool to benefit and focus on entrepreneurial development. Given these economic indices and realities, entrepreneurship development and education will give Nigerian youths an edge to constantly create new jobs and diversity the industrial and commercial sector to take advantage of human and natural resources in the country. If Nigeria youths focus on entrepreneurial development it will help eradicate poverty, deprivation and under development of the country. Entrepreneurial development have been found to be capable of making impact on the economy of a nation and the quality of life of the youths through economic growth, employment generation and empowerment of the youth which include the boys and girls; and weak segment of the society. Youth entrepreneurial development

in Nigeria will enhance young entrepreneurs to create new enterprises, new commercial activities and new economic sectors. They will generate job for others; produce goods and services for society; introduce new innovative technologies and improve on lower cost output; and earn foreign exchange through export expansion or the substitution of imports (Osolor, 2016).

Youth entrepreneurial development in contemporary Nigeria will mobilize domestic savings and utilization of local resources. Youth entrepreneurial development will enhance Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) which will serve as good agent for disposal of industrial products and some services and contribute immensely to production of raw materials in the form of semi-processed goods use by bigger industries (Osolor, 2016). If properly develop, youth entrepreneurial education and development in a depressed economy like Nigeria would be a base for the development of appropriate technology which will provide a veritable ground for skill, unskilled, semi-skilled workers; it will also provide productive innovative for self-economic reliance and employment generation to a number of educated and less educated young men and women graduates. For example, the Nigerian government during the presidency of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo pursues for the youths the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

and Vision 2020. In 2005, both the presidency and the central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) were committed to the core value of NEEDS to strengthen the vibrant elements of the Medium and Small Enterprises, largely informal business sector. Nigeria's youth economic future depends on it. The goal of NEEDS was to mobilize Nigerian youths and the resources of the country to make a fundamental break with the failure of the past and bequeath a united and prosperous nation to generations to come. NEEDS was a home grown reform programme to help empower the Nigeria youths. The major thrust of NEEDS was that Nigeria needs to move forward. NEEDS ensured that more funds are spent on skill base, such as:-

- Providing courses that build vocational and entrepreneurial skills

- Building technical schools and buying equipment

- Improving training and exposure to information and communication technology at all levels.

NEEDS has focused goals and ambition to make Nigerian youths progress. With NEEDS Nigeria have immense potential waiting to be unleashed, talents to be tapped. According to Obsanjo (2005) "having lost some decades, with NEEDS, we are in a haste to cover lost ground catch up with our contemporaries, and become the largest and strongest economy in Africa" (NEEDS, 2015).

*As Charles Soludo, the former CBN*

*boss put it, As Nigeria's poverty reduction strategy, NEEDS builds on the earlier effort to produce the interim poverty reduction strategy and the wide consultative process associated with it. Needs recognizes that the fundamental challenge at this stage of Nigeria's development is to meet the basic needs of its people and reduce poverty on a sustained basis (NEEDS, 2015).*

It is important to note that NEEDS helps to enhance entrepreneurial development in Nigeria. Some of the already existing governmental policies and activities which have helped spur, propel, and stimulate youth entrepreneurship include:-s

The National Directorate of Employment (NDE)

Some positive policies of SAP (1986)

The Small and Medium Enterprise Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN). They have all contributed greatly to the entrepreneurship and enterprise development and growth in Nigeria.

It was noted that SMEDAN sponsors and supervises entrepreneurship ventures while the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) provides financial support to entrepreneurs through the Small and Medium Enterprise Equity Investment Scheme (SMEEDS) of 2001. In addition, amendments to the indigenization decree in 1988, 1989, and 1995 boosted the development of indigenous entrepreneurship (Osolor, 2016).

Youth entrepreneurial development and

education from the primary, secondary and tertiary institutions has helped in providing a safety net for some group of young Nigerian who embrace entrepreneurial development and education, even in the informal sector entrepreneurial development has help many youths earn a living. According to Peter Osolor (2016), it is noted that currently at 69% of GNP the country's informal economy is estimated to be one of the ten highest on the world, along with such countries as Georgia, Bolivia, and Tanzania, Peru and Azerbaijan and 21<sup>st</sup> in the world on GDP. It is estimated that 90% of all new jobs created in the informal sector are SMES. Oil contributes about 9% to the GDP, though Nigeria produces about 2.7% of the world oil supply (in comparison, Saudi Arabia produces 12.9%, Russia produces 12.7% and United States produces 8.6%). The Government still heavily relies on it for revenue generation. This heavily dependence on crude oil has killed our local industries, frustrated our agricultural sector and caused us economic recession; we can't continue like this, our youths need to focus on entrepreneurial development.

### **CHALLENGES FACING YOUTHS ENTREPRENEURSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA**

It is unfortunate that over the years some Nigeria youths have been sidelined as the dubious politicians use them for destructive tendency, promises made to them failed with no clear future. They can't aspire to the highest position in the land without going

through one god father or establishment. Yet the youths with over 65 percent of the population desire a better deal of political power and entrepreneurship development out of the government (Ezinwa, 2015). Today in Nigeria, the youths have the greatest population in Boko Haram, Oodua People's Congress (OPC), Niger Delta Avenger (NDA), and Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). This is because the youths are disempowered and impoverished in Nigeria; they belong to different militants and insurgent groups to make a demand, either religious or tribal sentiment.

A number of challenges negatively affect implementation of entrepreneurship education in our school system. This is because the Nigerian society emphasis on paper qualification more than practical acquisition of entrepreneurial skills. More so, the government lacks funds to equip the schools and industrial training centres to enhance skills for youth entrepreneurship development and education. This militates against youth entrepreneurship growth. Furthermore, the Nigerian schools and society, especially in the rural areas lack resource persons to teach the youths the importance of entrepreneurship education and economic self reliance. How many youths in Nigerian village schools have access to internet and information technology? These are some of the factors hindering entrepreneurship education and development in Nigeria. Many

of the youths living in the rural areas lacks clarification and access to entrepreneurship education. It is also unfortunate to note that the subvention government gives to our tertiary institutions of learning is inadequate to fund entrepreneurship education. Facilities to encourage the teaching of entrepreneurship education are lacking. More so, funds meant for entrepreneurship education is sometimes diverted to private pocket by our dubious politicians and public officers who are corrupt.

The worry about recession, population pressure, food shortage, infrastructure decline, unemployment and poverty in Nigeria is the reason why the youths need to focus on entrepreneurial development. As the mono-cultural Nigerian oil economy dwindle and companies are hit by recession, a good numbers of companies have resort to downsizing, lay-offs and desperate cost cutting measures including outright shut-downs. The danger of it all on Nigeria's entrepreneurial society is that experts are saying that by 2050, Nigeria's population would skyrocket and poverty would increase, hence Nigerian youths and authorities should be mindful to focus the youths early enough on entrepreneurship development. Oladapo Ladipo, the Chief Executive Officer, Association for Reproductive and Family Health (ARFH), on *New Telegraph* January 2, 2017, showed illustrious trepidation at the fourth Nigeria's Family Planning Conference held in Abuja, November 7, 2016, predicted

on what the survival of Nigerians would be in 24 years, given that the country is already finding it difficult to manage its about 188 million population. More so, about 55.4 percent of Nigeria's population falls between the age group of 0-19 years. The danger is that, there is a disparity between the growth rate of Nigeria's population and increase in resources development. In Nigeria, due to the problem of over-population, the country is facing the crisis of unemployment, food shortage, housing problem, lack of health facilities, high cost of living and many social service barriers.

Thus, some of the challenges of increase in population and entrepreneurial deficits include:

In Nigeria, since independence the youths had failed to grab entrepreneurship skills and development early enough to curb the menace of unemployment, over population, food shortage and high cost of living. Nigeria's increase in population has negatively led the unskilled and unemployed youths to scramble for resource control, as each ethnic group wants to secure political power to control the scarce economic resource without empowering the youths. Nigeria's increase in population with poor national orientation of ethnic politics has diminished the rate at which capital can be accumulated for entrepreneurship development. Banks finds it difficult to give the youths loans because they lack collateral security. More so, banks loans are charged with cut throat

interest rate as high as 30 percent.

Nigeria's increase in population over the years has created problems over the nation's land resources utilization through obnoxious laws like Land Use Decree, which hinder entrepreneurship development of the youths. Nigeria's increased population has resulted in overcrowded social services and lack of maintenance culture to support entrepreneurship development of youths. The danger is that Nigeria is now over populated and standard of living falls daily as more people are added to the population. More so, the state of entrepreneurial development among the youths, technical knowledge and machinery remain unchanged for a long time since independence because of the negative impact of colonial education and the mad rush for white collar jobs.

Over the years, it now became clear that fewer resources are available per head of the population as a result of population pressure. Hence, there is an increase demand for young people's goods and services. The working force is experiencing increase dependence as a result of unemployment of the young school leavers. According to Odimegwu Onwumere (2017), without a doubt, Nigeria is habitually increasing in population and there are indices that the country will outnumber the United States of America (USA) by 30 million people by 2050. Ladipo on *New Telegraph* January 2, 2017, feared and argued, "We have a population policy that currently encourages four children per couple. I think that policy

needs to be revisited by government and we all should sit down together to do what is rational. I will not support legislation; family planning should be free. It is by choice. But everybody should recognize that everyone has the right to family planning. The unchecked population has already become a big problem for Nigerian youths and people in general, with the United Nations documented estimate in March 22, 2016, saying that Nigeria is 186 million in population. Nigeria ranks number seven in the world and a population that is equivalent to 2.48 percent of the global total.”

Worried by the customary population increase in Nigeria, on July 16, 2016 Vice President Yemi Osinbajo, at an event hosted by the president of Ghana Mr. John Mahama, on “Africa and sustainable Development Goals on the tangential of the African union meeting in Kigali, Rwanda, said that about 110 million Nigerians are living in poverty. 80% of Nigerian youths are without job and unemployment remains a severe threat to Nigeria’s economy. The remedy to this problem is entrepreneurship development. According to Professor Ladipo on *New Telegraph* Jan. 2, 2017, currently, poverty is endemic in Nigeria, and there are many people in this country whose legacy for their children is poverty. Those we train in this country are looking for greener pasture in other countries because the local environment is not conducive. In order words, we are exporting our greatest resources because the environment is not conducive for them to

stay. This is a negative thing to the nation. Hence, the solution to the menace is that the youths need to focus on entrepreneurship development.

As Odimegwu Onwumere pointed out on *New Telegraph*, January 2, 2017 that “The major concern about this rapidly growing population is the fact that jobs, national infrastructures, social services, housing, health care facilities, are not also growing at an equally comparable rate or at a faster rate like her population growth rate does.” Sakellaridis on *New Telegraph*, January 2, 2017 added, saying, “Growth in population well researched statistics by experts show that by 2040, Nigeria’s population growth would have been quadrupled and without commensurate amenities and employment to sustain it; it would not auger well”.

If Nigeria’s population pressure is not adequately checked by providing social infrastructure, such as, health facilities, education, housing, water and an entrepreneurial society the teaming population of the youths will suffer. This means Nigeria should provide more vocational training schools, hospitals, houses, transport communication and adequate security network. Since Nigeria has more young people in schooling age. Government efforts should be titled to producing an entrepreneurship society and amenities needed for the youthful population. The youths should be improved with man power skills and innovation to boost economic

self-reliance; so that the rate of Nigeria's population growth and the rate of growth of the natural income should improved and crucial factors in determining the country's economic future and stability. Thus, efforts should be geared towards the youths to adequately explore the country's natural and human resources this 21<sup>st</sup> century. If Nigeria does not check its population pressure now, in the near future poverty would have increased and there would not be enough jobs and food to go round. Sakellaridis on *New Telegraph*, January 2, 2017 said, "If people lived well, there wouldn't be insurgence, because poverty which drives people to extreme would be greatly reduced".

#### **THE BENEFITS OF ENTREPRENEURSHIP DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION TO THE NIGERIAN YOUTHS.**

The benefits of entrepreneurship development and education to the Nigerian youths this 21<sup>st</sup> century will enable them to establish their own business enterprises. It will also help the youths to improve their human capital development and innovative ideas and improve their condition of living and existence. Entrepreneurship development and education of the youths is regarded as a process of improving their skills for effective participation in employment generation for economic self reliance and development of the nation. This will help to curb the menace of unemployment and poverty reduction as the country has slide into economic recession.

Entrepreneurial development and education in Nigeria will also help the youths to be self employed and employer of labour and not seekers of job.

It is important to note that entrepreneurial education for the youths will enable them to develop creative skills needed for the management of any enterprise. The National Policy on Education (2004) stated that tertiary institution should able to produce high and middle level manpower who would contribute in the overall development of the country. The benefit of entrepreneurship development and education is that it helps the young student to acquire the right skills to survive in the face of unemployment during and after graduation from school. It is aim at helping the student to acquire saleable skills which can help them to become job creators and not job seekers.

Nwangwu (2006:13) aptly explains the objective of entrepreneurship education to achieve the following aims:

Entrepreneurship education enhances functional education for the youths to enable them to be self employed and self reliant. Functional education is the training and education that will enable a learner to fit himself for a living in a society. It will help the learner to meet up with the urgent needs of the society. It will enhance a strong and self reliant nation, functional education and literacy is the basic on which a young learner can build an enduring development. Functional education gives young learners

strength for productivity and development plan. It will enable Nigerian youths to develop their creative potentials. It will help youths to develop high level and intermediate manpower available to direct a nation's labour force in productivity, and self-sufficiency. To promote self reliance in Nigeria, the government through the ministry of education has to newly introduce the 6, 3, 3, 4, system with some vocational subjects like introductory technology and their aim is geared towards making the Nigerian graduate at any level to get himself economic self reliant (Ezinwa 2017).

Entrepreneurial education is also aim to offer graduates with adequate training that will enable them to be creative and innovative in identifying novel business opportunities. It provides university/college graduates with adequate training in risk management to make uncertainty bearing feasibly and easy. It also provides graduates adequate training in the acquisition of skills that will enable them meet the manpower needs of the society. It provides the young graduate with enough training that will enable them establish a career in small and medium scale businesses. It instills the spirit of perseverance in youths which will encourage them to persist in any business ventures they embark on (Ezinwa, 2015). Entrepreneurial education helps the Nigerian youths to be economic self reliance, hard working, self generating and self sustaining. It helps to eradicate dependence,

laziness, unemployment and poverty in the society. Entrepreneurial education makes Nigeria youths to believe in themselves to take business risk and to solve their problems rather than depending on other

### **STRATEGIES TO ENHANCE YOUTH ENTREPRENEURIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT IN NIGERIA**

The government should ensure that entrepreneurial education and development in our school system should be accorded priority of place in its scale of preference both in planning and implementation (Nnadi, 2012). Practical skills for youth entrepreneurship development should be given to the Youths early in life to ensure economic self reliance for youth empowerment. Government should ensure that their policies and programmes for entrepreneurship development get to the grassroots both at the urban and rural areas to curb the menace of rural-urban migration. Government should provide the needed infrastructural development like good roads, airways, railways, easy access to sea port, energy supply, water supply, educational facilities and housing to encourage youth entrepreneurship education and development.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

This study makes the following recommendations for Nigerian youths to focus on entrepreneurship development and education

National Directorate of Employment



schemes should promote the growth of young Nigerian entrepreneurs.

The Banks of Industry, Bank of Agriculture, and other government financial institutions should increase their funding and loan facilities to young entrepreneurs in Nigeria.

The government should also promote the facilities for Small and Medium Enterprise Development Agency of Nigeria (SMEDAN) to young Nigerian entrepreneurs.

Government should increase its awareness campaign on its programmes and policies on youth's entrepreneurship education and development. The youths should be targeted and made to deserve full benefit from them.

Nigerian youths should enhance their commercial skills, initiative, responsibility and vision to explore entrepreneurship education and development in the country.

## **CONCLUSION**

Government should also partner with the private sector, non-governmental organization (NGOs) to boost youth's entrepreneurship development and education in Nigeria. Leadership role in entrepreneurship education and development should be included in our educational syllabus from primary school to the tertiary level. Thus, the present school curriculum requires a total overhaul because it does not stress more on training for youth entrepreneurial development. Since Nigerian youth harbor fresh ideas and ingenuity they should be given national opportunity to enhance their innovation and creativity in Nigeria; rather than re-curding the same old brains since, independence in the economy. The government should ensure that banks give loans to young entrepreneurs at minimal charges rather than cut throat interest rates.

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# An Assessment of the Use and Effect of Social Media During the 2015 Electioneering Campaigns in South East Nigeria

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## ABSTRACT

2015 general election in Nigeria has come and gone but the effect of the social media during the electioneering period leave much to be desired. Social media provided an enabling environment for the electorates to scrutinize the political parties vis-à-vis their antecedents, ideology and manifestoes. The aim of this paper is to assess the effect of the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in south east Nigeria. It hopes to determine the extent to which social media platforms facilitated democratic participation in the area during the political campaigns. The study adopts

the survey research method in which 500 respondents from within the five south-east states of Nigeria were purposively sampled using the structured questionnaire. The findings indicate that social media were contributory to the somewhat surprising upshot of the elections. It recommends an amplified use of social media and increased civic involvement in subsequent elections in Nigeria.

**Keywords:** Social Media, Participatory Journalism, Electioneering Campaign and Assessment.

## INTRODUCTION

An election is a political process by which a population chooses the persons to hold public office. It is the mechanism for selecting an individual or individuals for office by ballot or vote. Election has become a key element in the democratization process the world over. Election plays a significant role in the struggle or quest for democratic rule and better governance. Election has been a veritable instrument, mechanism or conduit through which representative governments are constituted. Elections are essentially indispensable in modern democracies including Nigeria. During elections, politicians, political parties and their supporters compete directly for the votes of the electorates in what is called electioneering campaigning. Electioneering campaign is a series of political activities aimed at educating, sensitising voters, and or citizens (civil society) at large to seek and win their support in election. Electioneering campaigns bring politicians and political parties closer to their potential voters and allow politicians to communicate and reach the citizens in a strategic or tactical manner.

Before now, the mainstream media especially television, radio, newspapers, magazines, posters and billboards were the principal media of electioneering and they dominated the coverage of political campaigns. However, advancements in communication technology, particularly the “rapidly expanding access to Internet,

increased availability of Internet ready smart-phones and other communication devices, as well as the evolution of web-based new media-personal websites, social networking sites, blogs, e-newsletters, have redefined the methods of political communication, leading to a significant shift towards the use of social media in the electoral process (PLAC, 2012, p. 2).

The emergence of the web-based new media especially social media brought a new concept in election campaigns known as “Internet election” or “e-electioneering” (Macnamara, 2008). It also introduced a new genre in political journalism “citizen or participatory journalism where every citizen has the opportunity to generate and report political information themselves without relying or depending on professional or mainstream journalists.

The coming of social media has nevertheless decentralised communication and has democratised the process, methods and or approaches of modern electioneering campaigns by remodeling or restructuring the patterns of interaction among political parties, politicians and the civil society at large. The new media have created an enabling platform for politicians and their prospective supporters, to connect, interact and collaborate in a more decentralised, democratic, personalised, conversational, interactive and participatory manner.

Social media particularly have grown in importance as a virile forum for

political activism in its different forms. Social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube provide new alternatives to stimulate citizen engagement in political activities where elections and electoral campaigns have a central role (Eseohe, 2015).

During the period preceding the 2015 general elections in Nigeria, social media and other web-based sites, were awash with political advertisements and jingles as political parties and their aspirants or candidates took advantage of the sites to reach the electorates, solicit their support, and to canvass for their votes. The social media have indeed widened the frontiers of political campaigns and have given the citizens more access to political information. In fact, during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in Nigeria many political stakeholders used social media in their electioneering strategy “as a tool for gathering and disseminating political messages” (PLAC, 2012).

This study is designed to assess the use and effect of the social media in the 2015 electioneering campaigns in south-east Nigeria. The intention is to determine how political parties, politicians, INEC, civil society organizations, the electorates and other key political stakeholders utilised the sites during the elections and the effects it engendered.

## **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

In the past, the mainstream media were the principal sources of election-related

information or messages. Then, these media dominated the coverage and reportage of election, political or electioneering campaigns in Nigeria. Today, the advent of social media has revolutionized the electioneering process and has changed in its wake the way election messages are generated, covered, packaged, reported and or broadcast. The new media have essentially democratized electioneering by offering unprecedented possibilities or opportunities that allow the ordinary citizens to partake in national political issues particularly issues pertaining to elections and campaigns.

Certainly, social media have brought a savoury or appetizing flavor in the modes of electioneering in Nigeria by making the process more democratic, collaborative, participatory and interactive, allowing the public (civil society) the leverage to create their own content (news, information or message), and to communicate or broadcast, same, and to even comment and express their views and opinions on critical political issues without recourse to the professional or traditional journalists.

The 2015 electioneering campaigns in Nigeria seemingly witnessed a tremendous use of social media. Political parties, politicians, electorates, election observers, civil society organisations, INEC and other key players in the electoral process all seized the opportunity to open social media accounts through which they broadcast election information, shared political views, created

political awareness, sensitised, enlightened and educated the citizens on election matters, and also connected with party loyalist, mobilised voters and solicited their support in the elections.

The problem of this study therefore is to assess the effect of the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in Nigeria particularly in the South East states of Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo. The crux of the discourse is to ascertain how the online platforms facilitated the 2015 electioneering process and also to determine the level of utilisation (whether optimally-utilised or under utilised), and to ascertain how effective or ineffective the social media platforms were during the electioneering period.

### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The major objective of this study is to assess the use and effect of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in Nigeria.

1. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:
2. To ascertain how the use of social media effected the 2015 electioneering campaigns in South-East states of Nigeria.
3. To ascertain which social media platform that was the most effective during the 2015 electioneering campaign in South-East States of Nigeria.

4. To determine the factors that undermined effective use of social media in the 2015 electioneering campaigns in South-East states of Nigeria.
5. To assess the effect of the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in south-East states of Nigeria.

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The following research questions were designed to guide the study.

1. How did the use of social media effect the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria?
2. Which social media platform was the most effective during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria?
3. What were the factors that undermined the effective use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria?
4. What is your assessment of the effect of the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria?

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Social Media and Participatory Journalism

Participatory or citizen journalism as it is most popularly known is not a new

phenomenon in communication. The practice has long been in existence.

Research reports show evidence of reader participation in journalism as far back as the eighteenth century England, when newspaper spaces were usually provided for readers' comments. Kern and Nam (2008, p.13) note that participatory journalism evolved as a reform movement (media activism) among journalists in the United States, in the late 1970s due to readership crisis among US newspapers. According to Kern and Nam, efforts were made by some leading US newspaper executives, journalists and social movement activists as well as concerned intellectuals to improve the relationship between the media and the citizens (public) by devising desirable means of hearing the public's voice. Then participatory journalism developed as a way of propagating or advocating the views of the public (citizens) and enhancing their participation or involvement in the news process.

Sawhny and Lee (2005) state that the coming of the Internet brought new communication mechanism, approaches or methods that helped in harnessing and improving the relationships between mainstream media and the public to make it more mutual and collaborative. According to Dare (2011, p.19) the introduction of Internet in the early 1990s, triggered a new revolution in mass communication. He observes that prior to the advent of the Internet, the traditional

media offered little or no opportunities for audience involvement or participation in the production and dissemination of news. Dare remarks that the undemocratic nature of the traditional media, and the resultant poor civic engagement as well as the absence of objectivity in news reportage are the major issues that necessitated the demand for modern participatory journalism otherwise called democratic journalism.

The social media revolution has in its wake modified the communication process paradigms. Research reports show that social media have not only increased the flow of information but have equally made communication democratic, integrative and interactive. According to Olley and Ekharefo (2013, p.30) "the media have been placed in the hands of anyone, who desires them". Since the coming of the new technology (social media) the citizens are no longer mere consumers of news but active participants in news production and dissemination. (Maggiani, 2012, p.1) observes that "social media have altered the basic rules of communication,... the one-way communication methods of the past have been replaced by a more robust multidimensional communication model". Generally, available literature suggests that social media are providing enabling and operational grounds for participatory journalism due principally to their, democratic potentials and capacity for civic engagement or popular participation.

## **SOCIAL MEDIA AND ELECTIONEERING CAMPAIGNS**

Social Media as a term has been explained in different ways by different authors and scholars. Social media are Internet-based platforms primarily meant to build social relations among users. They provide an opportunity for individuals to converge, interact and communicate online. Social media are Internet portals that provide users with electronically mediated social interactions. They are Internet-based web sites that enable users to generate and publish their own contents (news and information) and to express their views and or opinions on trending societal issues.

Mayfield (2008, p.12) defines social media “as online media that are characterized by participation, openness, conversation, community and connectedness”. Corroborating the views of Mayfield, Dominick (2011, p.25) explains social media as “online communications that use special techniques that involve participation, conversation, sharing, collaboration, and linkage”, According to Agbanu (2013) social media are web-based and mobile technologies that turn communication into interactive dialogue. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010) technically defined social media as a group of Internet-based applications which build on the ideological and technological foundations of web 2.0, a new approach in World Wide Web, which allows for the

creation and dissemination (exchange) of user-generated contents and which enables users to contribute, create and participate in the production and publication of contents. In the words of Sweetser and Lariscy (2008, p.179), social media are “a read-write web where the online audience moves beyond passive viewing of web content to actually contributing to the content”. Social media focus on building and reflecting of social relations among people who share interests and activities. The common denominator in most definitions of social media is the issue of user-generated content and the participatory character which makes for user-to-user interface or interaction.

Given their pervasiveness, social media allow users to share information, ideas, interests and experiences irrespective of ethnic, religious, cultural or class differences. They afford users the opportunity to interact, discuss and share information on issues of common or mutual interest. Since their emergence, social media have pulled together millions of people around the globe, many of whom have embraced the platforms as part of their daily lives and are spending huge time and resources connecting with people and sharing experiences. There are indeed several social media platforms notably, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Flickr, Instagram, WhatsApp, LinkedIn, 2go, Hi5 and others that serve different purposes and different people engage or use them for different reasons. Some use social media platforms



to connect for friendship, others need them for education and knowledge. Yet others see them as conduits for business, social or religious activities.

However, with the increasing awareness, popularity and penetration of social media in the society, new needs or applications for them are emerging. One notable area where the demand for social media is trending is in political or electioneering campaigns. This is because the new technology (social media) has been identified as a virile instrument in the electioneering process. Because of their participatory, integrative, interactive, collaborative and democratic potentials, social media have become critical considerations in electioneering as they give the ordinary people the opportunity to partake actively in political activities like campaigns unlike before.

Abubakar (2011), citing the works of Graber (1976), Blumles and Gurevitch (1995) as well as Fallows (1996) observes that prior to the emergence of social media, the citizens (voters/electorates) were often fed with political propaganda and other misleading political messages which made them “disinterested and cynical” about politics. Abubakar notes that the nature of the traditional media not only discouraged but disallowed the public from participating actively in political activities. He contends that the emergence of social media has brought significant changes in the mode of electioneering and has greatly increased

citizens’ involvement or engagement in political campaigns.

Buttressing the importance of social media in electioneering campaigns, the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC, 2012) in their assessment of the use of social media during the 2011 elections in Nigeria, submits that social media have “offered politicians and their parties the opportunity to broadcast political messages and to recruit a huge number of volunteers to support their campaign”. Attahiru Jega, a former chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) once remarked that the use of social media enhance transparency in the electoral process and make election organisers more accountable to the public. He further stated that social media provide a vehicle for the mobilisation of citizens in the electioneering process (Amuchie, 2012). It can be adduced from existing literature that social media are opening new possibilities in political communication especially in the area of electioneering campaigns. They are widening the spectrum and frontiers of electioneering and are equally transmuting the methods and mechanism for producing, delivering and publishing election-related messages particularly campaign messages.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This study is approached from three theoretical perspectives, namely, Technology Acceptance Model (TAM), Democratic Participation Media Theory and Uses and

Gratification Theory.

Technology Acceptance Model (TAM)

Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) is an information technology theory propounded by F. D. Davis in 1989. Technology Acceptance Model postulates that when a new technology (like social media as in this case), is introduced, certain factors or variables affect people's decision about how and when to use or adopt it. According to the theory, two key factors inform the decision as to whether a new technology should be adopted or not. First is its perceived usefulness (PU) which refers to the expected benefits, value, utility or advantages of the system. Second is the perceived ease-of-use (PEOU) which considers the degree to which prospective users believe that using the new technology would be free from effort (Davis, 1989).

In this study, Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) was applied to examine the perceptions of the public (social media users in South-East States of Nigeria) about the benefits and challenges associated with the use of social media in electioneering campaigns and how such perceptions encouraged or discouraged the application of the new media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in South-East states of Nigeria.

## **DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION MEDIA THEORY**

Democratic Participation Media Theory was propounded in 1987 by Denis McQuail. The theory propagates

that the media should be democratic and participatory. It notes that media ownership has been characterised by bureaucratic and imperialistic tendencies, which have greatly undermined free flow of information (communication). The theory maintains that media should be decentralised and or democratised to make for more participation of the citizens in the communication process. It calls for increased public access to media and suggests that the public should have the right to voice their views by partaking actively in the creation and dissemination of news (media contents).

The basic assumptions of Democratic Participation Media Theory include among others, "that individual citizens and minority groups should have right of access to media, that content of media should not be subject to any centralised, political or state bureaucratic control" (McQuail, 1987 p. 123). This study draws from the tenets of the theory to underscore or emphasise the need for the decentralisation and democratisation of media in Nigeria, particularly the exigency of participatory journalism with due respect to the electioneering process.

Uses and Gratification Theory

Media audiences often use the media to satisfy perceived needs and or interests. As a result, they usually look for those media that best satisfy these needs or interests. Uses and Gratification Theory stemmed from the assumption or belief that media users always look out for media channels that supply their

perceived media needs.

Proposed in 1974 by a team of scholars that includes Elihu Katz, Jay Blumler and Michael Gruevitch, Uses and Gratification Theory presupposes that media users or audience members are selective in their use of media and often select and use only those media that readily solve their perceived media problems or those that provide the best and most gratifications.

In this study, Uses and Gratification Theory provides the leverage or theoretical base to examine or analyse the kind and level of gratification, social media application afford political stakeholders (electorates, political parties, politicians, aspirants, election observers and others) in an electioneering process especially during political campaigns especially with regard to access to media and the right to voice their opinions.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The research method used in this study is survey. Survey research method “involves the use of questionnaire and interview to gather data from a group of respondents whose characteristics may be taken as being representative of the larger population” (Babbie, 1975, p.39). The survey design was adopted for this study because of its capacity to measure or investigate public opinions, attitudes, behavior and orientations on current social issues and trends as is the case in this study.

The population of the study was

made up of all the key players during the 2015 electioneering campaigns resident in South-East states of Nigeria (Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo), including the electorate, politicians, political parties, INEC officials, civil society organisations, election observers, security agencies, journalists and other members of the public that have social media account.

A sample size of five hundred (500) respondents drawn across the five South-East states was used for the study. In administering the copies of questionnaire, purposive sampling technique was used to pick the individual respondents. The reason was to ensure that only adept users (those who have social media accounts) and those with informed views and opinions or those that have good knowledge and understanding of the operations and potentials of social media as tools for electioneering were selected.

Since this is a survey study, questionnaire and structured interview were the major instruments used in gathering the research data. The questionnaire contained open-ended and close-ended questions articulated in simple and clear language to ease respondents’ understanding while the interview schedule comprised structured questions designed to elicit valid qualitative information from the interviewees. The copies of questionnaire were administered to purposively selected respondents across the five south-east states of Nigeria with the help of research assistants whereas the interview

was conducted in person and by telephone. The data gathered from the research instruments were presented in simple frequency and percentage tables while the analysis had both quantitative and qualitative dimensions to enhance interpretation and understanding of the research or study findings.

**DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

Five hundred (500) copies of the questionnaire were administered to five hundred (500) respondents selected from the five (5) South-East states of Nigeria (Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu and Imo), and all the five hundred (500) copies were returned, thus indicating a return rate of one hundred percent (100%) Out the five hundred (500)

copies of the questionnaire returned, three hundred and eighty five (385) representing seventy seven percent (77%) of the respondents were males while the remaining one hundred and fifteen (115) or 23% were females. This ratio is probably an indication of the female folks indifference to political issues.

**RESEARCH QUESTION 1:** How did the use of social media effect the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria?

**Table 1:** Respondents’ view as to whether social media effected the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	500	100
No	0	0
Total	500	100

**Table 1** indicates that all respondents were of the opinion that the use of social media effected the 2015 electioneering campaigns in south-east Nigeria.

As to how the social media effected the 2015 electioneering campaigns in south-east Nigeria the respondents’ opinions were varied. 40% said that the social media allowed the citizens (users) to post comments and tweets expressing or voicing their impressions and views about political parties

and politicians especially the aspirants vis-à-vis their manifestoes and political ideologies. 27% said that the use of social media enabled user-to-user interaction and collaboration. 62% stated that it created a unified platform for political interaction among the electorates and politicians alike. 21% of respondents

opined that the use of social media created a kind of fraternity among users and enabled them (users) to connect, interact and share political information. 58% said that the use of social media encouraged public participation by its capacity for lively and immediate coverage and reportage of electoral events or issues.

From the survey and interviews conducted, 49% of the respondents were of the opinion that social media opened channels for election campaign updates and even allowing for eye-witness reports. 65% stated that social media created an online link

for political parties and aspirants to reach the electorates to solicit their supports and loyalty and to canvass for votes.

83% of respondents observed that social media helped in political education, sensitisation and mobilisation of the citizens or public and encouraged active civic participation during the electioneering campaigns. They maintained that social media made for increased political consciousness and interest among the populace during the period which invariably led to a wider civic involvement in the electoral process.

**Table 2:** Respondents’ opinions as to the factors that encouraged the use of social media in the South-East states of Nigeria during the 2015 electioneering campaigns

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Cost-effectiveness (affordability)	95	19
Pervasiveness	390	78
Trends/Fashion (the in thing now)	102	20
Capacity for democratic participation	307	61
Increased awareness of the political potentials	204	41
Increased popularity/penetration	368	74
others	15	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>1481</b>	<b>296</b>

The data presented in table 2, shows that 19% identified cost-effectiveness of social media as the major motivation for the application during the campaign period. 78% identified social media’s pervasiveness as the key factor, while 20% opted for trend

or fashion. Again 61% identified social media’s capacity for democratic participation especially in the coverage and reportage of election related issues and events as the core factor that encouraged their use during the 2015 electioneering period.

Also, 41% attributed the use to the increased awareness of the political potentials of social media in electioneering. 74% of the samples identified increased popularity and penetration of social media as the main factor that encouraged their application during the time of election campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria. 3% identified 'other' factors. Some of which include increased interest in politics, desire for connectivity (fraternity) and interaction and the need for

political or electoral updates.

From the data presented under research question 1, it can be inferred that the use of social media effected the 2015 electioneering campaigns in South-East states of Nigeria and in numerous ways.

**RESEARCH QUESTION 2:** Which social media platform was the most effective during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria?

**Table 3:** Respondents' views as to whether they used social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns.

<b>Responses</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	500	100
No	0	0
total	500	100

From table 3 above, it is observed that all the five hundred (500) respondents used social media during the electioneering period.

**Table 4:** The social media platforms used by the respondents during the 2015 electioneering campaigns

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Facebook	405	81
Twitter	315	63
Instagram	47	9
Youtube	209	42

2go	68	14
LinkedIn	23	5
WhatsApp	76	15
Others	9	2
Total	1152	231

From table 4, it is observed that 81% of the respondents stated that they used Facebook. 63% said that they used Twitter. Those that used YouTube account for 42%. Instagram 9%, 2go 14%, while WhatsApp and LinkedIn recorded 15% and 5% respondents respectively. 2% used other social media platforms apart from the ones listed above.

Notable among these ‘other’ platforms are Flickr, Blackberry Messenger and blogs. It is pertinent to note here that some of the respondents used more than one social media platform and this accounts for the reasons why the total sum of the figures under frequency out numbers the total number of respondents.

**Table 5:** respondents’ opinion as to the most widely used social media platform during the 2015 electioneering period in the South-East states of Nigeria.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Facebook	308	62
Twitter	121	24
2go	13	3
Instagram	9	2
WhatsApp	12	2
Youtube	25	5
BBM	7	1
Others	5	1
Total	500	100

Table 5 shows 62% identified Facebook in the South-East States during the 2015 electioneering period. It also shows that 24%

ticked Twitter as the most engaged social media platform at the time of the elections. 3% went for 2go, 2% for Instagram, 2% for WhatsApp while 5%, 1%, and 1% respondents opted for Youtube, BBm and others in that order.

From the survey, the respondents identified pervasiveness, popularity, penetration, connectivity, accessibility and immediacy as the reasons why they identified certain social media platforms as the most used during the electioneering campaigns in the South-East states.

However, those who used Facebook said that it is the most popular and hence the most widely used. To them Facebook has the widest reach and has the highest number of followers. Those who used Twitter said that it is its immediacy and capacity for updates that endeared it to many. According to them, Twitter allows for second-to-second, minute-to-minute updates of political events or issues. The respondents that used Youtube

said that as a video medium the importance of Youtube cannot be neglected. They noted that Youtube provides the best option for eye-witness reports or accounts of electoral activities during the election period. Other respondents identified ‘other’ reasons for tipping a particular social media platform as the most used during the period.

From the data presented under research question 2, it can be inferred that Facebook, Twitter and Youtube in this order were the most used social media platforms during the electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria. However, it can be categorically submitted that Facebook was the most used single platform because it has the highest number of followers or users.

**RESEARCH QUESTION 3:** What were the factors that undermined the effective use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the South-East states of Nigeria?

**Table 6:** Respondents’ view as to the factors that hindered the use of social media during the 2015 election period in the South-East states of Nigeria

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Lack of interest in politics	83	16
Ignorance of the political potentials of social media	99	20
Poverty	50	10
Poor social media facilities	73	15



Frivolous/extraneous application	42	8
Illiteracy	18	4
Lack of credibility of content	135	27
Others	0	0
Total	500	100

Table 6 indicates that 16% identified lack of interest in politics among social media users as the key factors that may have discouraged the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaign in the South-East States of Nigeria. The table also shows that 20% identified ignorance of the political potentials or value of the new media in electioneering as the main problem that hindered the use of social media during the period. It can also be observed that 10% pointed at poverty as the major challenge that hampered the use of social media during the election period (poverty in the sense that most people could not open social media accounts, even some of those who already have accounts could not maintain them. Besides, many prospective or potential social media users lack the financial capacity to procure the necessary facilities or devices). Table 6 also shows that 15% identified poor social media infrastructure as the major problem that discouraged the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering. Again, 8% identified the frivolous or extraneous use of social media platforms as the main problem that adversely affected the use of social media as campaign channels during

the 2015 electioneering period in south-east Nigeria. 4% said that it is the high illiteracy level among the citizenry that hindered the use of social media during the 2015 elections. To them, many people are not literate enough as to understand the functionality, operations and applicability of social media.

Similarly, 27% identified lack of credibility of social media messages as the greatest problem that discouraged the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering period in South-East Nigeria. These respondents believe that most social media platforms are grape vines for gossip and rumour peddling. To them, social media contents are replete with bias, or prejudice and that many people use the platform to castrate, vilify and castigate political opponents. They contend that most social media messages, statements, reports or stories are inaccurate, doubtful and unverifiable. In all, none of the respondents identified 'other' factors.

From the information (data) provided in table 6, it can be inferred that lack of credibility arising from the doubtful, inaccurate and unverifiable nature of social media messages (statement, reports or stories); Ignorance of the political potentials

or value of social media as campaign tools, as well as the poor knowledge of the social media with regard to electioneering, and the lack of interest in political discourses or issues, among most social media users especially the youths, were the major factors that hindered or discouraged the effective use

of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in South-East states of Nigeria.

**RESEARCH QUESTION 4:** What is your assessment of the use and effect of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in South-East states of Nigeria?

**Table 7:** Respondents’ opinions about the extent of use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in South-East states of Nigeria.

Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Very High	145	29
High	226	46
Moderate	67	13
Low	45	9
Very low	17	3
Total	500	100

From the data presented in table 7, 29% said it was ‘very high’, 46% said the performance was ‘high’, while 13%, 9% and 3% ticked ‘moderate’, ‘Low’ and ‘Very Low’ respectively

**Table 8:** Respondent’s assessment of the effect of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaign in South – East states of Nigeria.

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Excellent	38	8
Very Good	244	48
Good	198	40
Poor	18	3.6
Very Poor	2	0.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100</b>

According to table 8 above, 8% said that the effect of social media in the 2015 electioneering campaign, was 'excellent'; while 48% assessed the application as 'very good'. 40% said it was 'good'. 3.6% ticked 'poor' whereas 0.4% went for 'very poor'.

From the survey conducted, the respondents made several observations from the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in South – East states of Nigeria. Notable among the observations are that: election in Nigeria can be more transparent, freer and fairer with increased use of the social media; that social media fostered democratic participation and integration during the election; that social media can provide the best platform for political discourse and debate especially during electioneering because of their capacity for interaction and collaboration; that the citizens especially political or public office seekers should be more responsible and ethical in the presentation of their messages and should avoid the use of vilifying statements or comments.

From the data presented under research question 4, it can be submitted that though the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in the south – east states of Nigeria was 'high, as contrasted with 'very high', the effect was very good after all.

#### Discussion of Findings

This study did an assessment of the use and effect of social media during the 2015

electioneering campaigns in the south –east states of Nigeria. The study found that social media actually fostered media plurality and democratic or public participation during the election. They increased civil engagement in political activities and gave the citizens the opportunity to express their political views and contribute meaningfully to the political discourses. The use of social media has also raised the people's political consciousness and increased their passion for, and interest in politics. Little wonder many were interested and involved in the election.

But though the utilisation of social media during the 2015 electioneering period was 'high', and the effect 'very good' as the study result suggests several factors like ignorance of the political potentials or value of social media or the possibilities offered by social media with regard to electioneering; the people's indifference and or lack of interest in political matters, the incredibility of social media contents or messages resulting from their inaccurate, subjective and unverifiable character, as well as the inability of many potential social media users to afford the necessary social media devices and charges due to the high level of poverty in the country discouraged or undermined effective use of social media as electioneering campaign tools during the period.

#### CONCLUSION

Despite the several challenges or problems that stunted the use of social media

during the 2015 electioneering campaigns in south – east states of Nigeria, the study submits that the use of social media during the 2015 electioneering process was successful and effective especially in sensitisation and mobilization and in fostering political engagement and participation among the citizens. Without doubt, social media were contributory to the somewhat surprising upshot of the elections particularly the presidential election. With the kind of awareness, passion or enthusiasm, the new technology has engendered in our political system, it is expected that social media will make more head way in subsequent elections in Nigeria particularly in the south – east states.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Social media users particularly politicians should be more ethical and responsible in their application of social media especially during electioneering campaigns and should refrain from the use of provocative, inciting

and vilifying contents. They should not use the platforms as avenues to attack political opponents.

Although the society clamours for media plurality and decentralisation as well as democratic political participation, there is every need to set up regulatory measures to guide social media application especially as it concerns electioneering to avoid wrongful or misguided applications.

Social media providers should ensure adequate social media facilities or infrastructures and affordable service charges to enable more people to join the buzz.

The public should be sensitised and enlightened more on the imperatives and or value of social media as conduits for active political mobilisation, participation and integration.

The study also recommends an amplified use of social media and increased civic involvement in subsequent elections in Nigeria.

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# Leadership And Patriotism In Africa: A cursory Examination of the Nigeria State After 54 Years of Independence

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## *ABSTRACT*

*Issues relating to governance and leadership in Nigeria are replete with tales of woes when considered within the confine of development. Many orthodox scholars hold the industrialized western nations of the North culpable. On the other hand, the nascent economic theorists of western origin see the fragile economic structures and institutions of governance and leadership responsible for Africa's and indeed Nigeria's underdevelopment problems. While the debate is on, others view Nigeria's economic woes in her leadership unpatriotic act and response to corrupt practices and other related problems. Using secondary sources of data, this paper explores the context and content of leadership and patriotism in Nigeria for the past 54 years. In its discourse, the paper explores how the nature and character of poor leadership in Nigeria has encouraged the proliferation of unpatriotic practices in Nigeria. The paper concluded by identifying how leadership deficit can be tackled in the country.*

## INTRODUCTION

Leadership question features most prominently in virtually all discourse in Nigeria. One thing that is clear is the recognition of poverty leadership deficit as an important factor in understanding Nigeria's predicament. Chinua Achebe, in the book "The Trouble with Nigeria" identified leadership failure as the bane of development in Nigeria and by implication in most states of Africa. Ake (1985) also painted a gloomy picture of the African continent saying: "Most states of Africa are not developing." This apt description of the decline in nearly all African countries underscores the depth of underdevelopment ravaging the people in the midst of abundant natural resources. While most of these countries gained independence in the 1960s, the struggle to ensure national development and political stability proved negative. Ake (1985) assert that:

*decades of efforts have yielded largely stagnation, regression or worse. The tragic consequences of this are increasingly clear: a rising tide of poverty, decaying public utilities and infrastructures, social tensions and political turmoil, and now, premonition of inevitable drive into conflict and violence.*

Several factors have been identified for this dysfunctional state of the African

states and the third world. Kesselman et al (1996) blamed this on three principal factors- scarce resources, weak legitimacy and patron-client or what is commonly known in Nigeria as godfather politics. Scarce resources engender poverty, inequality and a weak position in the international economic system. State control of the limited resources provides the leeway for officers, political and bureaucratic leadership to manipulate government spending to advance their personal fortunes. This has led to weak legitimacy as the citizens lack faith in their political leaders and by extension the political system.

Participation in government is low because the citizens perceive it as irrelevant to their lives. In the absence of the support of the civil society, the effective power of government is eroded. Patron-client relationships take the primacy over the formal aspects of politics such as the rule of law, well-functioning political parties, and a credible electoral system. Ake (1985) locates the genesis of this problem in the inclement political and social conditions in the developing countries. This manifests in poor planning and implementation, lack of entrepreneurial abilities, the stifling of market forces, falling commodity prices and unfavourable terms of trade, poverty of ideas, the dependency syndrome, corruption and indiscipline. He specifically identifies two major governance issues that proved



to be more debilitating impediments to development performance (Ake, 1985). One is the lack of participation and consensus - building, which Mayer et al. (1996) and Kesselman et al. (1996) called the lack of a sense of national community. Meaningful development and political stability requires the collective identity of the citizenry. Where this is lacking, well-meaning development projects are seen with suspicion, indifference or even hostility, and at best as exploitative resource, something to be taken advantage of rather than something to be committed to (Ake, 1985).

Secondly and closely related to the aforementioned is lack of accountability and transparency. This has a grave effect on development as corruption and inefficiency are concealed as observed with the spate of abandoned projects in Nigeria. The African State, according to Ayittey (2006), has evolved into a predatory monster or a gangster state that uses a convoluted system of regulations and controls to pillage and rob the productive class and the peasantry. It is common knowledge that heads of state, ministers, and highly placed African government officials raid the African treasury, misuse their positions in government to extort commissions on foreign ban contracts, skim foreign aid, inflate contracts to cronies for kickbacks and deposit the loot in their overseas accounts. The very people who are supposed to defend and protect

the peasants' interests are themselves engaged in institutionalized looting.

These governance issues have produced a baneful structure in an environment that engenders instability in the political system as the people yearn for the elusive dividends of good governance. The history of Nigeria is tainted with the absence of good moral and ethical values in the conduct of the ruling elites. This has adversely affected economic growth and development. As corruption impacts negatively on economic growth, it is also politically destabilizing. Corruption and the abuse of power have long been features of Nigeria's economic and political landscape. The National Planning Commission has identified systemic corruption, which engenders low levels of transparency and accountability, as the major source of development failure (National Planning Commission, 2005). As Toyo (2006) has rightly noted, the underprivileged are the victims of this failure while the ruling class hypocritically engages in the condemnation of acts that benefit its fold. An analyst attributes the prevalence of corruption in the Nigerian polity to the criminal silence of political elites (Tell, 2006). Thus, behaviours that are openly suggestive of large-scale corruption are net condemned outright, but treated with utmost cynicism.

## STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Across Africa, the search for development has been marked by a history of colossal failure of effective leadership. In certain cases, countries in the continent had experienced governance by a crop of people that lacks the basic understanding or comprehension of the requirements of leadership, thereby failing to provide the needed positive change to their societies. The continent has been busy struggling to develop strategies for social, economic and political development without first cross checking its leadership dilemma in a bid to facilitate change. Several factors have been offered to explain the apparent failure of development in the continent, more than any, the issue of leadership remains central to Africa's development crisis. This paper argues leadership problems as the greatest obstacle to development in the continent and posits that, until the enthronement of effective leadership, development will continue to be a mirage in Africa.

## CONCEPT CLARIFICATION LEADERSHIP

There have been extensive debates on leadership since the idea of organized society came into existence. Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Marx, Engel, Heidegger and others have written on the importance of leadership in nation building and development project. Though, these scholars advo-

cate various methods in their approach, they are basically concerned with who governs, and what should constitute political authority in a community as well as the role and influence of political actors. Plato and Aristotle adopt the idealist method in their analysis on leadership; Locke and Rousseau rely heavily on the prescriptive method for generalizing on the nature of man, society and authority, while the work of Marx and Engels rests squarely on historical materialist theory (Cramston, 1964). In its simplest term, leadership implies the quality of being good at leading a team, organization or a country. Okadigbo (1987:45) views leadership as the process through which one individual consistently exerts more influence than others in the pursuit of group behaviours. Whereas, political leadership is the decision on social policy and resource allocation as exerted by partisan representatives. Conger's (1988:34) assertion on leadership uncovers the selfish motives of most African leaders. He argued that "African leaders place more value on capturing political power for themselves and grow increasingly fearful about what seem to them to be the grave consequences of losing it to their rivals in the competition for control of state power". Pearse (1985:34) however, takes a cursory look at leadership from political cum moral angles and conclude that, a leader is generally expected to ensure both the moral

and functional objective of public institutions in other to ensure efficient service delivery, while Adamolekun (1985:12) explores leadership in government administration as it relates to politicians, political (technocrats) and higher civil servants.

## **PATRIOTISM**

Patriotism is one word commonly used across the world as well as across political divide. In fact it is generally assumed that anyone at the helms of affairs in his/her country is patriotic, little wonder they are usually bestowed with national honours. However form the trend of socio political events across the world of which Nigeria is no exception, it has become important to take a closer look at the term patriotism and its role in nation building. Simply put, patriotism refers to being loyal and committed to the cause of one's nation. Since no nation on earth has set out to pursue a negative cause, patriotism has to do with moving your nation forward. In order words it has to do with being prepared to give your all for the advancement of the society even if it includes paying the ultimate price of giving your life for your country. As such a patriot is an individual who contributes positively to the society.

In light of the above, it could bluntly and appropriately be said that anyone who does not contribute positively to the develop-

ment of society, but rather his/her activities serve as a setback to the advancement of the society is unpatriotic. It is therefore clear that irrespective of the position an individual occupies in the society he or she could either be patriotic or unpatriotic. It is indeed an irony, most especially in the developing world of which Nigeria features prominently that patriotism is usually associated with an individual's position in society, as such virtually anybody occupying public office is usually pointed as being patriotic, irrespective of their activities.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Locating the Dilemma of Leadership and Patriotism in Africa**

In Plato's (360 BC) *The Statesman or Politicus*, he defines the ideal ruler as someone who is endowed with a particular kind of political expertise or skill (*politiketechné*) (Anas and Waterfield, 1995: 9). In other words a leader is an ideal governor of the common wealth. Why is he ideal? Plato describes ruling as a task that needs a kind of expertise. The leader must be equipped with knowledge and be able to use his political skills to make the people have what he deems is good for himself; "the virtuous agent will rule over others, making them as well as himself virtuous" (Anas and Waterfield, 1995:12). This means that

the leader who is first morally of good will, strives for the moral good or wellbeing of the society and as a leader with political skills he knows how to attain this objective. The leader gives the society what he would give to himself. However, considering the cases of “state sponsored theft” (Nyamnjoh, 2007 and Acemoglu et al., 2004) as experienced in Africa on the contrary, one of the worse instruments of state theft, like embezzlement and corruption in high offices is particularly present in Africa.

According to a report by the BBC’s Africa Analyst, Elizabeth Blunt in September 2002, corruption in Africa was said to cost the continent nearly 150 billion Dollars. Corruption and embezzlement of state resources belong to the worst examples of immoral practices of political societies in Africa and places the continent at the fore front of the world corruption league tables. Thus, bad governance in African countries can also be considered to result from a lack of leader in the position of governors. Corruption, state robbery and unpatriotic activities are endemic in almost all countries on the continent and are serious constraints in African leadership. In addition to corruption, kleptocracy and the unjustified amassing of state resources by greedy and irresponsible leaders have stunted development and heightened the level of impoverishment. According to an African Union study of 2002,

greed and unpatriotic tendencies in the form of corruption cost the continent up to 150 billion Dollars yearly (Blunt, 2002).

Furthermore, unpatriotic action such as conniving with foreign government to exploit the economy of their home country through the embezzlement of state funds and stashing it in foreign account have all undermine and helped to impoverish states in Africa, if such funds were invested in developmental projects and not allowed to disappear in the private accounts and investments of African rulers. In 2009, Transparency International (TI) filed a case against three African presidents for embezzlement. According to Transparency International (TI), these leaders Omar Bongo of Gabon, Denis Sassou-Nguesou of Republic of Congo and Teodore Obiang Nguema embezzled millions of Euros from their respective countries. A report on Afrik.com of May 7th 2009 by Stéphane Ballong further reveals that:

*In total, the French police identified in 2007 during a preliminary investigation, 39 properties and 70 bank accounts belonging to Omar Bongo and his family, 24 properties and 112 bank accounts held by the family Sassou-Nguesou, as well as limousines bought by the Obiang family. The judicial inquiry could see all the alleged ill-gotten assets confiscated and returned to the people of*

*the countries concerned.*

It must be noted that despite the oil produced in Gabon and Equatorial Guinea and with a population of less than 2 million and less than one million respectively, a vast amount of the people in these countries live in poverty. According to a TI Global Report of 2004, late president Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire from 1965 to 1997 stole as much as US\$ 5 billion while his counterpart in Nigeria from 1993 to 1998, General Sani Abacha siphoned between US\$ 2 to US\$ 5 billion. Putting the money from state robbery and the cost of corruption together and comparing this to the money Africa receives from developed nations as aid (for example US\$ 22.5 billion in 2008), the question is, would it be better to fight state robbery/embezzlement and corruption rather than give aid and accumulate debt for innocent future African generations? Most often, corrupt leaders receiving huge aid revenues vigorously oppose democracy to prevent more equal distribution of aid resources—the aid curse effect (Easterly, 2006: 135).

Bentham (1824,1987) supported by his collaborator James Mill, proposed two basic principles on which a worthy government, that is, a government that meets its ends/purpose and respects its extent (constitutionalism) or fulfills the purpose of its existence can be founded upon. These propositions include

the principle of self-reliance which affirms the idea that all men, including the legislators, realize what brings them happiness and strive towards it. Man and therefore also the legislators would promote that which will maximize his/their own happiness (Birsch, 2001: 83); the second principle is that of utility.

The utility principle is based on the claim that, the right and proper end of a government is to promote the greatest happiness for the greatest number of citizens (Birsch and Bentham, 1824,1987). According to the principle of self-reference, voters' happiness would therefore promote a legislator's happiness, thus he would strive to achieve this. In addition, the utilitarian principles would generally ensure that, legislators and governors should endeavor to make the greatest number of people possibly happy. Still, self-reference can be viewed in the context of Plato's extension of virtue to all men in the society. A leader ignores their private interests for the service of the common good. They do this by using their expertise to correct actual practical politics and to make sure the preservation of the society is not endangered in any way by anyone.

The function of a leader therefore, is to use his knowledge and his administrative staff to direct practical policies that have been developed for the common good. A leader does not put policies into practice directly by

him but relies on an administrative staff, in the form of ministers and related/designated public servants. Even though he is human, equal to the citizens he governs, his focus remains on the common interest of the community. On analysis, it is Likely that one may not focus on the positive aspects of a leader of this caliber, especially when the state is running well and the life, liberty and property of the people are being preserved. Africa as a continent whose societies and nations are in an array of social and economic devastation desperately needs leaders with statesman qualities. Most often a leader's qualities are recognized in bad times and it is in such times that a country's leader comes to the forefront. Africa is destitute of leaders with good conscience who are equipped with knowledge, understanding of state management and affection for their country. It is destitute of men and women who understand what their country needs and must do in order to preserve the common good.

### **CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE POVERTY OF LEADERSHIP AND PATRIOTISM IN NIGERIA**

Scholars have described Nigeria, as an unfinished state, (Joseph et al., 1996), and as a truculent African tragedy (Ayittey, 2006) in the midst of abundant human and material resources, which are propelled in the vicious cycle of poverty and autocracy. Efforts at

building a democratic polity further entrapped it at the political crossroads (Kew, 2006). With enormous wealth from oil resources, economic, social and political strength, Nigeria is qualified to be called the giant of Africa. Kew (2006) has noted however that:

*the giant was brought to its knees by over 30 years of brutal and corrupt military rule, which left a legacy of executive dominance and political corruption in the hands of Nigeria 's so-called "godfathers" -powerful political bosses sitting atop vast patronage networks who view the government primarily through the lens of their own personal enrichment.*

Because of this instability, the focus of the leadership became parochial with the overriding consideration for personal survival rather than national development. Attempts at promoting democratic consolidation are hampered by the personality cult of the emerging political gladiators who exploited the instrument of state power to promote their personal agenda. Nigeria's political elites, as Sklar et al (2006) have rightly observed, vie for power and control over the vast spoils of office. The centralized political and economic structures made the military and civilian individuals who controlled key state posts fabulously wealthy, while 70% of Nigerians fell into abject poverty (Sklar et al., 2006). These leaders

have in common brazen disregard for the rule of law, lack of an independent judiciary and the legislature. Poor leadership and lack of patriotism has led to stagnation, and alienation of the citizen, causing a low level of system affect - the sense of belonging to and identifying with the political system (Mayer et al., 1996).

According to Kew (2006):

*the Nigerian government remains distant from serving the interest of its people. Politics at the federal, state, and local levels of the Nigerian federation are dominated by the powerful mandarin who built vast patronage networks during the military days and who now use political office to expand these networks and their personal fortunes. Moreover, many of these so called "godfathers" have been cultivating personal militias to secure their positions, prompting a local arm race in some regions... even though several governors are under indictment for money laundering abroad and others are being investigated at home, the bonanza continues at public coffers for these power holders, while basic infrastructure in many parts of the country remains as dilapidated as it was under military rule.*

This situation, as Ake (1985) noted, was the product of the pattern of state affairs in the developing world. According to him,

the high premium on political power and the attendant intense struggle for it, marginalized national development for the promotion of the personal interests of the political leaders. Besieged by a multitude of hostility forces, most of the leaders in Africa are politically insecure. They are so completely engrossed in the struggle for survival that they are hardly able to address the problem of development (Ake, 1985).

It is instructive to note that the leadership problem in the Nigerian polity was a manifestation of the dysfunctional pattern of the years of military interregnum (Omo-Bare, 1996; Kirk-Greene & Rimmer, 1981; Mundt & Aborisade, 2005; Mayer et al., 1996; Joseph et al., 1996). The leadership pattern in Nigeria lacks the necessary focus capable of instilling national development and promotes political stability (Sklar et al., 2006). Rather, Nigerian leaders are preoccupied with their desires for the appropriation and privatization of the Nigerian state (Sklar et al., 2006; Ake, 1985). The fall of the Second Republic for instance, was precipitated by the pervasive unpatriotic act, corruption and the attendant political violence that greeted electoral manipulations in a bid to stick to power (Ayeni, 1988).

Similarly, the military coups and counter coups were also plagued by unpatriotic, bad leadership, although their successors did not fair better. Consequently, development

performance was slowed down, and political instability continued to pervade the polity, as focus was shifted to combat the looming forces of insecurity and internal regime instability, than focusing on development.

### **POVERTY OF LEADERSHIP, PATRIOTISM AND THE NIGERIAN STATE**

Views on leadership question in Nigeria have all agreed that it is the bad behaviour of Nigeria leadership as manifested in corruption, embezzlement, lack of public service ethics and respect for due process and the rule of law that has undermine the country's progress for over 54years of her existence. The issues relating to leadership unpatriotic actions in Nigeria may not be easy to define but, according to Tanzi (1998), it is generally not difficult to recognize when observed. The most simplified and popular definition adopted by the World Bank is the abuse of public power for various purpose, but excluding accruing benefit for the greater masses (Tanzi, 1998; Gray & Kaufmann, 1998). The different perspectives through which the unpatriotic acts of Nigeria leadership are viewed notwithstanding, a common ground of opinion conceives it as the perpetration of a vice against the public well-being. Lipset & Lenz (2000), concluded by asserting that the worse kind of unpatriotic act by any leader in Nigeria and Africa in general has been in the area of corruption.

Nigeria presents a veritable case for understanding the connection between leadership flaws and corruption. Ribadu (2006) gave a graphic summary of the situation. He termed the period between 1979 and 1998 "the darkest period" in Nigeria's history of corrupt regimes. To him, the civilian administration of 1979 - 1983 was bedeviled with profligacy, wanton waste, political thuggery and coercion, disrespect for the rule of law, bare faced, free for all looting of public funds through white elephant projects. According to Obi (2004:10) it is impossible to discuss the democratic project in Nigeria without considering the role of the Nigeria political elite. For in the final analysis it is from the political elite that the recruitment of the political leadership - the operators of democratic institutions is made. What is the nature of these elite? Is it coherent and driven by a national vision? Can it truly represent the hopes and aspiration of Nigerians? What is its politics and what is it in politics for? Can this politics be democratic? These are rather difficult questions that cannot be fully addressed but some effort will be made to examine the critical issues.

The Nigerian political elite are a product of Nigeria's tumultuous politics. It has its roots in the colonial educational and socio-political system. As such it is a child of history. The elite have been described as a hybrid of sort reflecting western values against a Nige-



rian background. When it became clear that independence was imminent, these elite mobilized ethnicity to canvass for support for its ascension to power. This laid the foundation for the politicization of ethnicity and religion, and the intense rivalry and division between ethnic groups and geo-political regions (later states) in Nigeria (Kiugman, 2002:2). Politically, it became more expedient for them to have their ethnic groups as a base, and access to business and government as source of materials resources. They therefore presented themselves as the representatives of Nigerians and the future leaders. This influenced the nature of the elite and its politics. It was the elite that defined itself in and through access to state power and resources.

The opportunism of the political elite and the ways it has often manipulated political structures and processes to promote selfish and narrow ends is well known and will not be repeated here. Two issues are however fundamental, the deep division within the elite along personal, ethnic, religious and functional lines, and the lack of a clear vision or common ideology for a broad social project. The first suggest and incoherence of the elite. Leading it to engage in acrimonious internal rivalry and conflict, and the second promotes political corruption and opportunism, lack of principles and poor leadership. These explain why certain elements and forces within the

political elite colluded with the military factor to subvert the democratic ethos for selfish gain, and why the political class cannot reach a consensus on how it will define a national basis for Nigeria's democratic projects amidst other socio-economic problems plaguing the country.

The rivalries within the elite have been very costly. It can be gleaned from the numerous conflicts including a civil war that ravaged Nigeria in the 1960s. Such violence was equally present in the second republic between 1979 and 1983, and continued during military rule between 1984 and 1999 and has remained a feature of the present democratic phase (Ikelegbe, 2005:21). The implication of the nature of the dominant faction of the political elite is that it sees democracy more as a means to an end, rather than an end itself. This creates problems in relation to its capacity to truly represent the broad interest of the Nigerian people especially as it relates to development and general improvement in the standard of living of the people. Its leaders' appetite for the soul of the Nigerian state was exacerbated by government control of the resources (Joseph et al. 1996). Because of the enormous resources, government officials took advantage of the state machinery to manipulate collective wealth for their personal use. For instance, former military head of state, late General Sani Abacha paralyzed

the machinery of governance and pauperized the citizenry in five years of dictatorship and frenetic looting (Tell, 2006). He was reputed to have stolen US\$1.13 billion and 413 million British pounds sterling, apart from US\$386.2million defrauded through fictitious and inflated contracts. This, Ake (1985) insists, should ordinarily not happen to a state because when they happen, the state effectively ceases to exist as a state and compromises its ability to pursue development. The Nigerian state is a victim of high-level corruption causing the retardation of national development and a ceaseless cycle of crisis arising from people's discontent against the government.

Corruption became legitimized, especially during the Babangida and Abacha regimes (1985-1998) with huge revenues, but wasteful spending, and nothing to show in terms of physical developments. The culture of corruption through what Nigerians came to know as settlement syndrome became part of the country's political culture. All positive values for development were jettisoned. Governmental agencies that were the pilots of socioeconomic developments were decimated. The decline in the education sector today has its roots in this period (Nwaka, 2000). The "kamikaze" plunder by military bandits reduced the "giant of Africa" to a comatose midget. . As money flowed into Nigerian government coffers, military dictators went on a spending

spree. They frittered away the oil bonanza on extravagant investment projects (Ayittey, 2006). In 1988, a Dedication and Other Special Accounts were established by the Federal Government at the Central Bank to house the proceeds of the sale of crude oil dedicated to special projects and to receive the windfall of oil revenues from the Gulf War (Okigbo, 1994). The staggering revelation in this report was that, out of the 12.4 billion US dollars realized from the accounts, 12.2 billion US dollars was liquidated in less than six years; that they were spent on what could be neither adjudged genuine high priority nor truly regenerative investment that neither the President nor the Governors accounted to anyone for these massive extra budgetary expenditure; that these disbursements were clandestinely undertaken, while the country was openly reeling with a crushing eternal debt-overhang that represent a gross abuse of public trust (Okigbo, 1994).

This kind of troubling revelation in a country with decent leadership, should serve as a base for apprehending the culprits with a view to bringing them to justice. On the contrary however, the culprits are presently active 'power brokers' in Nigeria's godfather politics seeking democratic avenues to perpetuate their rule (Sklar et al., 2006). Corruption in Nigeria is systemic. As Gray and Kaufmann (1998) posited, where there is systemic cor-

ruption, the institutions values, and norms of behaviours have already been adapted to a corruption modus operandi with bureaucrats and other agents follow the predatory examples of, or even taking instruction from their principals in the political arena. In such a polity, the likelihood of detection and punishment decreases, and incentives are thereby created for corruption to increase. This is exactly what happened after the revelation. The military took corruption to its highest levels ever. Ironically, as previously stated, when they seized power from democratically elected governments, pervasive corruption was cited as the justification (Arthur, 2000). It is clear that military regimes were worse than the civilian regimes as far as corruption was concerned. This explains the reasons for the multiplicity of corruption and the further decimation of available resources and potentials for national development. Hence, political activities assumed a dangerous dimension as contestants see their victory as the ticket to loot and amass wealth.

Sad enough, the civilian government that took over in 1999 could not even take any positive step towards recovering the loot of the Gulf War windfall, in spite of its resolve to deal with corruption. Instead, corruption continues to grow and the abuse of public office for private gain, coupled with nepotism and bribery (Lawal, 2006). The problem of cor-

ruption in Nigeria is not new but high profile corruption is growing in leaps and bounds as recent events in the country show. Sadly, after years of independence, Nigerians (leaders and followers) still believe that public money belongs to the “white man” and therefore should be looted by any person who has access to it. Thus, in a notoriously corrupt society such as ours many people are ready to offer and receive bribes and compromise their official positions. This mentality is impacting negatively on public policies and the growth and development of the society.

Nigerians are suffering today because those in position of authority are mindless looters. A World Bank Report indicates that about \$170 billion stolen from the public treasury are stashed in foreign banks. Nigeria has been competing with Bangladesh and Haiti for the first position on the Corruption Perception Index. As if these are not enough reasons for concern. Recently, an official of the EFCC revealed that \$100 billion has been pilfered from public treasury by political leaders since the return of civil rule in 1999. And since independence in 1960, Nigeria has reportedly lost \$500 billion to corruption (Vanguard of September 22, 2006). However, the figures could be very conservative given the upsurge of corruption in the society.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Due to the context of the paper which is predicated upon the political anomalies arising from the leadership question, it adopted the political economy theory. The political economy theory as articulated by Karl Marx, Fredrich Engels and others have however been variously modified. Yet, the basic substances of the theory have remained unchanged. For instance, the underlying argument of the political economy theory is that a state is specific modalities of class interest. According to Karl Marx, the executive committee of the state exists but to promote and protect the interest of the ruling class in negation of the interest of the masses.

From this context, the problem of leadership in Nigeria can be located on the nature and character of the Nigerian elite and the state. The elite and indeed the Nigeria state have without doubt become a specific modality of class domination. The essential features of the state form of domination results from the fact that the state lacks autonomy. The limited autonomy means that the state is weak to perform adequately the essential functions of the state. The state is thus unable to mediate the struggle between classes and even within classes. Let us begin with the concept of the state because misunderstanding of this concept is one reason why we fail generally to grasp the political characters of the state.

Following the classical sociological theories of the Weberian tradition and the political theories of the liberal tradition, we tend to regard the state as a public forces which is objective in the sense that it uses its monopoly of coercion to police and guide the society rather impartially. Following this, we tend to dissociate the state from politics regarding it as a set of public institutions which are related to politics so far as the political process selects those who manage these institutions in the public interest, this is entirely misleading. The state is a specific modality of class domination (Osaghae, 2002). It is a modality in which the systems of institutional mechanisms of class domination are differentiated and disassociated from the ruling class. On the contrary, although the state is institutionally constituted so that it is relatively independent of the social classes including the dominant social class, it is by no means independent. State dominations remain class domination.

To see what the state really is, is to understand also why it is necessarily a living contradiction, a contradiction of interest of powers and of social forces. The dominant social forces struggle to maintain their domination. The net effect of this is that, politics essentially the struggle for control and use of state power becomes warfare. There is hardly any restraint on the means of acquiring power, might is coextensive with right. In this light,

political assassination becomes a readymade tool in the struggle for power and resources.

To sum it up, because of the aforementioned circumstances, the Nigerian state is at best barely able to function as a state. One of the paradoxes of its social formation is that despite the monopoly of power by the state and its concentration within the state, a political order does not appear to have emerged. Rather, violence is endemic, anarchy lurks just below the surface and the political system is as disarticulated as the economy and as fragmented as the culture. The net effect of this is that, politics essentially the struggle for control and use of state power becomes warfare. Power is thus overvalued and security lies only in getting more and more power. This helps to explain why the state equally lacks legitimacy. The government in power is thus necessarily based on a very narrow range of interest. Without a veneer of legitimacy, the government is delinked from the society. This makes the government including the dominant class utterly disinterested in development, but only in keeping its hegemony. The need to hold onto its hegemonic interest means that state resources are used to satisfy and promote the interest and values of those who support the ideals of the ruling class. Thus, since the people see the state as an alien force, they make no commitment to its policies, rather they seek to exploit them

to their own advantage through various means including unpatriotic activities of various dimension. It is in this crossroads that the Nigerian leadership dilemma since independence 54 years ago and its effect on development in Nigeria is located.

## CONCLUSION

The Nigerian society has never been well governed since independence from the British in 1960 because good and strong leaders have never been in charge. The Nigerian state, from the first democratic experiment in 1960 to military regimes and back to democracy as practiced today, has been managed by leaders who are selfish and corrupt. They accumulate wealth at the expense of national development without devotion to the cause of the people. Since independence in 1960, the state has produced leaders who have blighted the lives of Nigerians who now wallow in poverty, illiteracy, hunger and unemployment. The leadership of Nigeria in every government either civilian or military has criminally mismanaged the country's affairs and resources. Nigeria's political leaders during electioneering campaigns make fantastic promises in order to win elections, but as soon as they secure the people's mandate, the people are shortchanged of the dividends of democracy. An analysis of the plethora of leaders on Nigeria's political landscape revealed selfish,

mediocre, tribal leaders and opportunistic small money-minded people masquerading as leaders. From Tafawa Balewa (1960-1966) till date, the crisis of leadership remains the same.

This paper has not only contributes his quota, but in addition identified that the import of leadership is more synonymous with national development. It is a critical element that makes nation building and development realizable. As such, it was able to further strengthen the fact that productive leadership has eluded Nigeria for decades, and that its consequences have been grave for sustainable development.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

How do we solve the problem of leadership in Nigeria? Providing solution to the problem of leadership in Nigeria remains

very difficult but not impossible. Since leaders play great roles in nation building and promote socio-economic development, pragmatic solution to the problem of leadership can be offered as an antidote, this can achieved through:

- The promotion of civil patriotism over local or ethnic nationalism is important.
- The encouragement of an ethnical rebirth that lays emphasis on integrity and transparency
- The promotion of Social goods for commonwealth over selfish consideration
- The promotion of positive social values and leadership study
- The immortalization of leaders who had done creditably well.

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# The Development of Enugu-Ngwo Township, 1909 to 1991

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## **Abstract**

*Enugu-Ngwo Township is one of the urban centers that emerged as a result of colonial activities in Nigeria. Prior to the colonial period, the area was basically a vast parcel of farm land belonging majorly to Ngwo people and only exploited for the purpose of food production. The area was virtually unknown to outsiders up to the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when coal was discovered in it by a team of geological survey engineers led by Mr Kiston in 1909. This paper contends that the discovery and eventual exploitation of coal opened the vent to intense colonial activities which led to the influx of numerous government agencies, departments and private establishments that transformed Enugu –Ngwo into a flourishing urban center. The urban center attracted numerous groups of both Europeans and Africans who resided in the town to work for a living. Owing to the level of its importance, the town did not only contribute to national development, it also served as the headquarters of different levels of governments in Nigeria. Primary sources constitute data for historical reconstruction and include materials collated from National Archives, Enugu and oral tradition granted by reliable informants. Others are secondary sources, which include books, journal articles and other un-published materials. All these facts will be analysed historically using qualitative research methodology.*

**Keywords:** Colonialism, Urban development, Enugu-Ngwo township

## INTRODUCTION

Ngwo is one of the clans that made up the Agbaja Area of Old Udi Division in Enugu State of Nigeria. It is comprised of ten towns, they include, Enugu, Etiti, Amachalla, Ukaka, Amebo, Okwojo and Umuase. Others are Amankwo, Uborji and Aneke. It stands on an escarpment immediately to the west of what is today known as Enugu Township<sup>1</sup>. Greater part of Enugu township is built on the land originally owned by Ngwo people<sup>2</sup>. Ngwo is located in the midst of Udi hills, - a range of highlands which commenced from the foot of Nsukka Savannah and journeyed southwards through Udi, Nkanu and Awgu into Okigwe<sup>3</sup> in the heartland of Eastern Nigeria. It is a clan in hinterland Igbo, the land of the Wawa-a near homogenous group which occupy the whole of Northern Igboland. They (the Wawa) are a group, united more by their primitive and backward nature as regards to development and exposure than linguistic and cultural affinity<sup>4</sup>.

The territorial area of Ngwo clan is not just limited to the clearly delineated ten towns but also the following land areas

which are Ngwo farmlands. They include Ishiolobo (Heys/Okpara mines area), Ngene Idor (Ogbete/Government secretariat and reservation area), Ebeneben'abo (Idor River layout area), Agu Uwani (Uwani layout), Ofu Edata (Obwetti/Asata coal mine area), Ukwuna (Iva Valley area), Iga and Ngbune, Ugwu-afa, Ugwu-ogwu, Ugwu-akpulaku; Gbalumma, Odonwiyi and Agu-Ajali, Abali, Ezi-iyi and Ntize areas<sup>5</sup>. Ngwo is bounded in the North by Nike and Abor, in the South by Nsude, in the East by Ogui and in the West by Eke and Imezi Owa. The urban town of Enugu is primarily founded and built on Ngwo lands. This is why in February 1917 when the urban lands were declared a second class township, it assumed the name, Enugu-Ngwo Township<sup>6</sup>. This basically signifies that Ngwo town owns the valley where the urban town of Enugu is built.

The major thrust of this paper is to historicize how this clan which is located in an entirely rough environment and at the backside of civilization produced an urban center that has been contributing extensively

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<sup>2</sup> NAE, CSE 1/85/6114, Intelligence Report on Ngwo Clan.....

<sup>3</sup> NAE, CSE 1/85/432 Intelligence Report on Isiukwuato Clan, Okigwe Division of Owerri Province, compiled by V. Fox Strangeways 1933. See also, NAE, OKDIST 9/1/241A, Intelligence Report on Isiukwuato clan of Okigwe Division of Owerri Province, with correspondence compiled by V. Fox Strangeways, 1933.

<sup>4</sup> U. Anyanwu, *Treading the Rough and Tumbled Field: Oral Tradition and History in Northern Igboland*, Enugu: Magnet Business Enterprises 2005, p.19

<sup>5</sup> J. O Agu, *Ngwo: Its People and Culture*, Enugu: Obio Enterprises, 1988, p.3

<sup>6</sup> NAE, ONOIST 12/1/599, Township Ordinance: Creation of Enugu-Ngwo Township and Appointment of Members of Advisory Board, 1917.

to the development of Nigeria as a country. Udo noted that a geographical factor, especially as regards to the distribution of natural resources in different environments plays a vital role in the making of the history of societies. Unlike other literatures before it, this paper contends that if not for the discovery of coal in Enugu-Ngwo environment which led to the acquisition of crown land in Enugu-Ngwo, there couldn't have been a flourishing urban center known as Enugu. Or even if there could have been; the town could not have been an equal to Enugu in terms of magnitude and importance. This paper will consider, among other things, the Crown Land in Enugu-Ngwo, the discovery and exploitation of coal, likewise the Railway and other government departments then, the conclusion. The scope of this paper is that Enugu-Ngwo area where coal was discovered in 1909, declared as Second Class Township in February 1917, expanded overtime to become a flourishing urban center and became the headquarters of Enugu State created on the 27th of August 1991.

### **THE CROWN LAND IN ENUGU-NGWO**

A very important factor in the development of Enugu Township has been Crown ownership of the land upon which

the town is built. With the discovery of coal in Enugu-Ngwo and constant prospecting which takes the geological exploration team long hours of journey with bicycles from the colonial office at Udi, it was difficult for them to properly execute their responsibilities. The World War I which paralyzed economic activities in Europe hindered the shipment of coal to the British colonies in West Africa hence the urgency in exploitation of Enugu-Ngwo Coal. Owing to the foregoing, acquisition of land from the indigenous people became very necessary. The colonial government in this regard re-enacted the Public Land Acquisition Proclamation No 5 of 1903 which confers on the government, right to acquire any land required for public purposes by paying a small amount of money to the owners. Backed by this proclamation, the government acquired land from Ngwo people. The first deed of acquisition was executed on the 19th of November, 1915 by eleven Ngwo Chiefs and one, Chief Alum of Ogui. They put their marks on the document as follows.

We the undersigned chiefs of Udi of the Southern Province of Nigeria in full appreciation of the benefits to be derived by us and our people by opening a government colliery at Enugu-Ngwo in the said

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<sup>7</sup>I. S Ayologu, "Enugu Coal Industry and its impact on Ngwo up to 1979" BA Project Report, Department of History, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1988, p.27.

Udi Division, do hereby grant freely and voluntarily all such land as may be required by the said government for the purpose of a station, a colliery for the working on all coal and other minerals, the building of works, railway and... and for all other purpose the government may think fit to use the said land for.<sup>8</sup>

The chiefs that executed this deed were chiefs Ozoeze, Afe, Okwuani and Ogu; others were sub- chiefs, Ozugu, Oguwaka, Ozoeze, Ajowangu; Onovo and Ngu; all from Ngwo. Then one chief Alum of Ogui. The document was signed and sealed in the presence of Chief Onyeama of Eke, Mr N.C. Duncan (District Officer in-charge of Udi). J.S Heys (Colliery Manager), Reginald Mangroove (a Commissioner)<sup>9</sup>.

The persons signing this document received the sum of 73 Pounds (seventy three Pounds) which was said to be compensation for damage caused (permeably to economic crops) by government activities. In 1917, a similar document was signed by men from Ngwo, Eke, Abor and Nsude. These documents covered the cession to the British Crown, a parcel of land bounded by Ekulu

and Nyaba Rivers in the north and south respectively terminating at Emene<sup>10</sup>. In order to successfully mine coal, access road was needed from Udi station into Enugu-Ngwo coal mine, therefore on the 2nd of November, 1921, chiefs Ozoeze and Ozo Ede of Nsude; OzoNnadi and OzoOkolie of Obioma; Chiefs Onyeama, Okolo Owuzi, Chijioke, Eluke and Obiogbolu of Eke; Anekenta of Abia, Owo, Onyianta, Chimewutobo and Oyaogakwu of Udi; Okafor Agu of Obinagu; Nevo of Agbudu, Nkwuani of Ngwo, Nnadinwangwu of Uborji Ngwo; and Ngwangu of Abo on behalf of themselves and other members of their native communities of which they are heads and their heirs and successors put their mark on another deed releasing the land for the purpose of access into the land acquired from Enugu-Ngwo for the purpose of mining and other government activities<sup>11</sup>.

On the 19th September, 1924, Chiefs Uguani of Nike and Alum of Ogui put their marks on another deed releasing a parcel of land at the outskirts of that which was acquired from Ngwo people in 1915 and 1917 respectively<sup>12</sup>. It may be of interest to note that the chiefs who gave out these lands were subjected to threat of force to sign these

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<sup>8</sup>C.C. Onoh, *Whose Coal City*, Enugu: Frontline Publishers, Ltd, 1997, p.9

<sup>9</sup>C.C. Onoh, *Whose Coal City*...

<sup>10</sup>C.C. Onoh c. 81 Elder Statesman, Politician, Businessmen, Community leader and Ex- Governor, Old Anambra State October-December 1983. Interviewed at Ngwo 6/1/2008

<sup>11</sup>C.C. Onoh, Interview cited; see also, CC Onoh, *Whose Coal City*... pp12 &13

<sup>12</sup>C.C. Onoh, *Whose Coal City*... pp.15&16, see also, Pa Godwin Ude, c.83. Retired School Teacher/Banker interviewed in Ngwo, 9/6/2011.

documents against their wish. The British officers on their own part were determined to have the land and also make the transaction appear both as regular and legal as possible<sup>13</sup>. The British misunderstood the indigenous system of land ownership by believing that the chiefs could sign away communal land. It is possible too that the chiefs thought that the British acquired the land on a normal Igboland law of long term lease. It will not be out of place to say that the chiefs did not understand the extent of land involved in the transaction; but for the fact that they kept the money to themselves and did not tell the groups they represent about the transaction meant that what they did was irregular. Among the land ceded to the British, Ngwo land constitutes the largest because almost the whole site of Enugu-Ngwo was ceded to the British crown<sup>14</sup>. The same applied to large parts of Uborji, Okwojo and Ukaka Ngwo.

It was many years however after the land seizure that the full meaning of the 1915 and 1917 agreement was brought home to the local people. This is because only a small portion of the land was immediately utilized; that is the hill side where the coal mine is located as the areas around Asata, Aria

and Ogbete Rivers. Subsequent expansion, especially in the 1940s dislodged the local farmers in the un-occupied areas of the land<sup>15</sup>. The acquisition and subsequent development of Ngwo land by the British Crown affected the people in two ways. First, they lost almost all their farmlands and secondly, the more sophisticated among them started acquiring, leasing and selling the remaining portions of their land which did not fall into the crown occupied areas. The irregularities and furor that resulted from the land acquisition was attributed both to ignorance and as well craftiness of the chiefs, especially Chief Onyeama of Eke who doubled as the British sole agent in Enugu-Ngwo and the “Okwuluoha” (Speaker) of all the warrant chiefs in the whole of Agbaja area of Old Udi Division<sup>16</sup>.

The colonial government commenced the development of the crown land for the purpose it was acquired. The Crown acquisition of the land made swift the development of Enugu as successive administrations carried out their planned developmental policies un-hindered by local inhabitants<sup>17</sup>. Unlike Enugu, other townships for instance Port Harcourt, Aba, Sapele etc. emerged through the Native Court

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<sup>13</sup>West African Pilot, 23 March, 1954 p.6

<sup>14</sup>NAE, PEH Hair, “The Story of Enugu” an Unpublished Document, p.54.

<sup>15</sup>NAE, PEH Hair ... p. 60.

<sup>16</sup>NAE, PEH Hair, p. 67.

<sup>17</sup>Pa Jackson Onwuchekwa, c.88 Retired Railway Staff/Early resident in Enugu interviewed at Ngwu-ede Street, Trans Ekulu, Enugu, 3/01/2005.

system before metamorphosing into a full-fledged township<sup>18</sup>. This is because, before colonial conquest and administration in the areas, there was strong permanent presence of the local people with sustainable economic activities. Native Courts were therefore setup before the emergence of Township Boards in those places and it was overseen by members of the Native Authority who in turn were representatives of the local people. The native court system gradually gave away to the Township Boards administered by the colonial authority.

The Crown Land before its acquisition existed as Ngwo farmland and that of Ogui in the environs of the escarpment where the town was to emerge. The land especially the areas between Ekulu and Nyaba Rivers where physical development started were devoid of permanent occupants<sup>19</sup>. With the exploitation of coal which actually necessitated the acquisition of the crown land, permanent settlements were required for efficient coal production. The European and African founding fathers of the modern Enugu arrived at the site of settlement in late 1914<sup>20</sup>. The leader of the party was a British mining engineer, Mr. W. J Leek, an under manager and subsequent manager of Enugu Colliery. He lived in the town between 1914 and 1942,

except for the period of leave<sup>21</sup>. He and his colleagues made their homes at a temporary bush settlement situated at hill-top, Ngwo, a range of houses on a steep overseeing the coal mine. Some of the buildings still exist as at the time of this writing.

Mr. Leek brought with him a band of laborers from Onitsha. The Onitsha people and other riverine Igbo groups met European presence through the Niger River and its tributaries during the period of European exploration of the interior of Africa. River Niger was an instrumental water way which did not only facilitate trade with the interior of West Africa but also the acceleration of missionary activities, and western education. Schools and churches had already been established in Onitsha where the local people were instructed in English language. By the time coal was discovered in Enugu-Ngwo, a good number of the people can communicate and as well respond to the instructions of the Europeans in English language. Apart from the inability of the indigenous people of Enugu to communicate in English language, the Europeans felt they might have phobia working with them since they are coming in contact with fair skinned people for the first time. The leader of the Africa labourers that came from Onitsha was Mr. Alfred Inoma. He

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<sup>18</sup> NAE, PEH Hair...p.26.

<sup>19</sup> Ozo Nnadi Chime, c.78, Community leader, Retired staff of Nigerian Coal Corporation, Interviewed at Ngwo, 6/12/2004

<sup>20</sup> NAE, CO File No. 2, Mr. Leek: "The state of the people in Enugu District", Nov. 1914.

<sup>21</sup> NAE, ES File, Croasdale Report on early settlement in Enugu District, 1915.

was later named after their initial settlement on the spur of 200 feet up the ridge where they made their mud houses. Up to the time of this writing, the area is known as Alfred Camp<sup>22</sup>.

In 1915, the District Prison formerly at Udi was moved to Enugu. The convicts who were among the earliest inhabitants of Enugu first built their prison close to Udi mine. Inmates were subjected to labour in place of jail sentence. All these were geared towards generating sufficient labour to meet the growing demands of coal<sup>23</sup>. In the period, there were doubts as to whether the indigenous inhabitants would want to work in the mines. This was dispelled as they were already working there and a handful applying for jobs<sup>24</sup>.

In February 1917 the area that is today know as Enugu was declared a second class township with the name, Enugu-Ngwo Township<sup>25</sup>. The Township Board in Enugu did not emerge from the native court system, but was from the onset under the administrative control of the Local Authority (LA)<sup>26</sup>. The LA was advised by the Township Advisory Board (TAB) of which its members include, members of the LA, Medical Officer,

Superintendent of Prison, Colliery Manager, Land Officer, Town Engineer, Assistant Commissioner (Political), the Crown Council and the Local Railway Engineer<sup>27</sup>. Part of the duties of the TAB was the selection of sites within the township for development, preparing of layouts, and allotment of plots within the sites and enforcement of regulations. They also built, maintained and controlled certain public amenities of which the most important were the town market, slaughter house, water supplies etc<sup>28</sup>. In addition, they issued licenses, for instance bicycle license, gun, liquor and other licenses. The TAB and LA collected taxes and rents until 1934 when tax system was modified and government employees paid taxes directly to Clerks<sup>29</sup>.

From 1917 when Enugu was connected to Kano after its connection to Lagos and Port Harcourt sea port, people from different parts of Nigeria started migrating into Enugu either to do business or work for a living. By 1931, the number of Europeans living in Enugu had drastically increased and most of them lived with their wives and children<sup>30</sup>. In the period too, Enugu suffered from the effects of world economic depression amidst

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<sup>22</sup>NAE, ES FILE, Croasdale Report....

<sup>23</sup>NAE, PEH Hair... p.49

<sup>24</sup>NAE, ES File, "A Report on Udi Coal mine". 1916

<sup>25</sup>NAE, ONDIST 12/1/599, Enugu Township Ordinance

<sup>26</sup>NAE, PEH Hair... p. 26

<sup>27</sup>NAE, PEH Hair...

<sup>28</sup>HAE, PEH Hair... p. 25

<sup>29</sup>NAE PEH Hair...



a soared population which was as a result of the establishment of military barracks in 1933. Between 1940 and 1945, the picture changed entirely as the town experienced war boom in economic activities. The military establishment brought in thousands of new settlers in town<sup>31</sup>. In 1945, the administrative officer in charge of Enugu, disturbed by the population surge that led to overcrowding, took a one man census count which showed that Enugu had 35,000 people<sup>32</sup>.

In all, Enugu from the onset existed as a plural society; it is inhabited by people of diverse races, the Europeans, people from parts of Africa especially Creoles from Sierra Leone and Liberia, groups from Western Nigeria which was attracted by the western railway line, the Hausa/Fulani traders and pastoral farmers; then, the Igbo speaking people from different parts of Igboland. They constituted the highest population among the settlers in Enugu. The Igbo stock come mainly from Onitsha, Owerri and Udi areas to join the Ngwo people, the owners of the land upon which Enugu is built.

## **DISCOVERY AND EXPLOITATION OF COAL**

Enugu-Ngwo was not in the lime light of history until the discovery and eventual exploitation of coal in their land in the early years of the 20th Century. The discovery of coal and the need for exploitation was the reason for the acquisition of the Crown Land. The Crown Land was indeed, the property of Enugu collieries; that was when the relevance of coal in providing the energy needed to drive development, not only, in Nigeria but also in the West Africa sub-region that other government departments like the survey, medicals, education etc were established in the crown land<sup>33</sup>. The utilization and movement of coal resources led to the connection of Enugu-Ngwo Township to other parts of Nigeria both by rail and by road.

The genesis of coal mining in Enugu-Ngwo was the Mineral Survey Department established in 1903 under the direction of Mr. W.R Dustan, Director of the Imperial Institute of Mineral Survey, London<sup>34</sup>. The first findings of the survey were lignite near Asaba<sup>35</sup>. In 1908, large deposits of lignite were discovered in Ibusa, Okpanam, Obomkpa and Nnewi<sup>36</sup>. While the imperial institute was still testing the quality of the mineral for fuel purposes, other large deposits

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<sup>30</sup>NAE LA File. Report on Dewhurst Census, 1945.

<sup>31</sup>NAE, LA File. Report on Dewhurst Census, 1945.

<sup>32</sup>Pa Jackson Onwuchekwa... interview cited

<sup>34</sup>I.S Ayalogu "Enugu Coal Industry and its Impact on Ngwo up to 1979", BA Project Report, Department of History, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 1988, p.15

<sup>35</sup>A. Akpala, Background to Enugu Shooting Incident in 1949 in K.O. Dike. (ed), Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria Vol 3 No2, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press. 1965, p.335

of coal was discovered in Ngwo in 1909<sup>37</sup>. The discovery was carried out by a team of geographical exploration engineers led by Mr. Kiston<sup>38</sup>.

Owing to the shortage of food supply, no further prospecting was done that year, but more intensive geological exploration was carried out between 1910 and 1914 during which they discovered that coal field in Ngwo was a sub-bituminous one and good enough for steam raising purposes. As a result of the First World War which broke down economic activities in Europe, there was a serious jeopardy on European coal supplies; the colonial government therefore, quickly commenced the mining operations in Enugu-Ngwo<sup>39</sup>. Coal is one of the most important mineral resources in Nigeria. It forms one of the country's major extractive industries generating funds for the development of Nigeria. Between 1917 and 1937, the colliery made an annual average profit of 20,000 Pounds (Twenty thousand pounds) on an original capital investment of only 3,500 Pounds (Three thousand five hundred Pounds)<sup>40</sup>.

Mining operations started with the

opening of Udi mine in Enugu-Ngwo in 1915. Then the construction of railway line was progressing fast so as to reach the mines by 1916. By 1917, further prospecting was carried out resulting in the opening of a second mine at Ukwuna (Iva valley) which was to become the main source of coal for quitesome time<sup>41</sup>. Shortly after Obwetti (Ogbete) mine was opened and connected to Udi mine in 1918. Production started with the realization of 7,000 tons in 1915 and by 1917 production nearly quadrupled to 24,000 tons, it was lowered the following year owing to the short fall in the supply of labour<sup>42</sup>. In 1922, shipment of coal started in West African sub-region, owing to this, production, continued to increase. For instance production hit 34,000 tons in 1929. The highest boom was recorded during the war years between 1945 and 1946 when production reached an average of over 580,000 tons per annum<sup>43</sup>.

Apart from providing employment, Ngwo coal played a leading role in the development of other industries and as well attracted many other European firms which contributed in no small measure to the growth of not only Enugu but Nigerian economy. For

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<sup>36</sup>I. S. Ayalogy, Enugu Coal industry...p.17

<sup>37</sup>I. S. Ayalogu, Enugu Coal Industry... p. 17

<sup>38</sup>NAE, "This is Enugu in Anambra State", Published by the Ministry of Information, Anambra State, 1980, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup>I.S. Ayalogu, "Enugu Coal Industry... p.17

<sup>40</sup>NAE, CO File, From the Governor to the Colonial Secretary: A Report on Enugu Colliery, June, 1937.

<sup>41</sup>A. Akpala, "Background to Enugu Shooting incident..." p. 337.

<sup>42</sup>A. Akpala, "Background to Enugu shooting incident..."

<sup>43</sup>A. Akpala "Background to Enugu shooting incident..."

instance, apart from the railway which is the main consumer of coal, other government departments like the marine and electrical undertakings made use of the commodity. Also three European firms, Elder Dempster, United African Company (UAC), and John Holt, made use of coal<sup>44</sup>. In 1949, the above firms and government establishments used 150,000 tons of coal, while 65,000 tons went to the generation of electricity, the rest were used by river fleets and small vessels<sup>45</sup>. The Oji River Thermal Power Station which supplied electricity not only to Enugu but to most parts of Eastern Nigeria was dependent on Ngwo Coal<sup>46</sup>.

Due to the prospects of Ngwo Coal to national development, Lord Fredrick Lugard, the Governor General of Nigeria in the period, decided in 1917 to have the coal industry operate as a state industry<sup>47</sup>. Coal was, therefore, part of the sacrificial contribution Ngwo made for the development of Nigeria.

### **THE RAILWAY AND OTHER GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS**

The Railway was established in Enugu in 1916 basically to provide adequate transport

for the marketing of coal which, in the period was mined in commercial quantity<sup>48</sup>. One will therefore suggest that the Railway came into Enugu mainly because of the growing importance of the town as a result of coal which was mined in commercial quantity. Being the only coal field in the country, the commodity was needed in numerous parts of the country and beyond. In 1918, for instance, 13,000 tons of coal was moved out of Enugu through the Railway<sup>49</sup>. The Northern railway line which was linked to Enugu in 1917 converted the town into a passage for northern goods like groundnuts, sugarcane, onions etc. to the Port Harcourt sea port.

The Railway brought new indices that revolutionized the Enugu economy. For instance it provided ready market for agricultural produce harvested in Enugu and its environs. The cheap transportation it provided for goods and services opened the town to the influx of numerous entrepreneurs, artisans and businessmen from parts of the country and beyond<sup>50</sup>. The railway in Enugu moved 4,500 passengers and 7 tons of general commodities in 1918; 13,000 passengers and 2,520 tons of general commodities in

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<sup>44</sup>NAE, Quarterly Report on Colliery, April, 1930.

<sup>45</sup>NAE, Annual Report on Enugu Colliery Board, 1949, p.31.

<sup>46</sup>NAE, This is Enugu in Anambra State...p.21.

<sup>47</sup>NAE, ES File Report on Udi Coal, 1917.

<sup>48</sup>NAE, Annual Report of the Nigerian Railway Corporation, 1918, p.6

<sup>49</sup>NAE, Annual Report of Nigerian Railway...

<sup>50</sup>Mr. Osita Mbonu, c.75, Retired Railway Staff, pensioner/Landlord, interviewed at Onwudiwe Street Uwani, Enugu, 05/05/2005.

1929; 42,000 passengers and 9,500 tons of general commodities in 1949<sup>51</sup>. Imported goods in moderate quantities came from Port Harcourt as reasonable quantity of food stuff came from the North<sup>52</sup>. Between 1915 and 1920 and between 1927 and 1928, the railway employed several thousands of laborers within the vicinity of Enugu during the construction of the southern and northern lines<sup>53</sup>.

Permanent railway establishment grew steadily over the years. Enugu was made the head-quarters of the Eastern District of the Nigerian Railway Corporation (NRC) as well as a large traffic department. It had a mechanized engineering department which organized locomotive repairs and wagon construction. The workshop facilitated the training of skilled artisans who, in the passage of time, opened their own workshops and carried out numerous contracts both private and public. The railway undoubtedly gave rise to large scale human capital development, employment generation, trade, investment and diverse business opportunities in Enugu. With the railway, people were able to travel long distances over a short period. Communication became easier; multiple

businesses grew as numerous firms, both local and foreign, established themselves in Enugu. Employment opportunities were created and the prospects of large scale economic growth and development were intensified. Undoubtedly, the railway opened the doors of Enugu to other areas of development.

Since Enugu-Ngwo attained the Township status in 1917, it rapidly grew in importance that it played host to different administrative headquarters. In 1920, the headquarters of Old Udi Division which was formerly at Udi was transferred to Enugu-Ngwo Township<sup>54</sup>. In 1929, the headquarters of Southern Province of Nigeria which represented what is today known as South East, South West and South geo-political Zones of Nigeria was relocated from Calabar to Enugu. In 1939 when the Southern Province of Nigeria was delineated into Western and Eastern Provinces by Sir Bernard Bourdillon the Governor General of Nigeria in the period, Enugu assumed the headquarters of the Eastern Province of Nigeria.<sup>55</sup>

On 27th May 1967 when Nigeria became a federation of twelve states, Enugu was the headquarters of East Central State. It also assumed the position of the headquarters of

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<sup>51</sup>NAE, Annual Report of Nigerian Railway Corporation, 1950, p.10

<sup>52</sup>A.R Prest and G.I Stewart, National Income in Nigeria, London: Cambridge University Press, 1952, p.105.

<sup>53</sup>A.R Prest and G. I Stewart, National Income in Nigeria

<sup>54</sup>NAE, ONDIST 11/6/1, Enugu Township: (i) Munities of meeting for the year 1919 (ii) Transfer of Udi Divisional Headquarters to Enugu Ngwo.

<sup>55</sup>U.S. Ani, "Growth and Development of Enugu as an Urban Center" BA Project Report Department of History and International Studies, Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State, 2004, p. 53.

the defunct Republic of Biafra between 1967 and 1970 during the years of the Nigeria/Biafra war. On the 3rd February 1976 when Gen. Murtala Mohammed created Anambra and Imo State out of the East Central State, Enugu emerged as the headquarters of the newly created Anambra State<sup>56</sup>. On August 27th, 1991 when Enugu State was carved out of Anambra State under the leadership of Gen. Ibrahim B. Babangida, Enugu assumed the headquarters – a role it still plays at the time of this writing<sup>57</sup>. The administrative role Enugu played since its inception in 1917 as a township and from 1920 when it became the headquarters of Old Udi Division till the time of this writing as the headquarters of Enugu State increased government responsibilities and brought extensive development to the town.

## CONCLUSION

Ngwo is instrumental to the growth and development of Enugu Township. Owing the fact that greater part of Enugu was founded and developed on the land majorly owned by

Ngwo people, the town from its inception in February 1917 was known as Enugu-Ngwo Township. It was not until 1929 shortly after the transfer of the headquarters of Southern Province of Nigeria from Calabar to Enugu-Ngwo that the suffix ‘Ngwo’ was removed.

Ngwo is a product of its environment; its location in an environment that is richly endowed with huge deposit of coal brought it to prominence. The discovery and eventual mining of coal in their land led to chain of developments that eventually led to the growth and development of Enugu Township.

Since its inception, Enugu Township played a major role in economic development of not only Nigeria but West African Sub-region. It is also one of the major hubs of political development in Nigeria. Over the years, its role as the political and socio-cultural melting pot of the Igbo speaking peoples of southern Nigeria has not dwindled. The town has survived over the years as one of the most prominent urban centers in Nigeria.

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# The Globalization Process and the Socio-Economic Formations of the Third World Countries: Interrogating the Prevailing Trend

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## Abstract

*Globalization is a universal appeal, though criteria or capacity required for effective the degree of involvement by countries, participation in the globalization process. The vary considerably. Thus, the extent to which paper therefore examines the perceptual and countries are involved in the globalization contextual perspectives of the globalization process largely depends on which side of the process; the level of participation of Third divide a country belongs; whether on the side World countries in the globalization process; of the Western industrialized world or on the and the concomitant socio-economic side of the periphery Third World. However, implications of the globalization process for the capacity of Third World countries to Third World countries. The paper finds that effectively participate in the globalization while the intended benefits of the globalization process remains a critical issue largely process are no longer attainable, Third World because the globalization process, like countries are increasingly finding it more capitalism, appears to engender an unequal difficult to participate in the globalization economic relation between the developed and process. Above all, the globalization process the developing countries. In the light of this has also turned out to be a Frankenstein inequality, Third World countries are found to Monster both to the developed and the Third be lacking the seemingly prohibitive economic World countries.*

*Key words: Globalization, Socio-Economic formations and Third World Countries.*

## INTRODUCTION

The concept of globalization is not new, although it has in recent times intensified in its ramifications and become a very important issue of discourse in various fora. It has also acquired considerable emotive force, being associated, rightly or wrongly with most of the major issues and challenges currently engaging the world's attention (Obadan, 2003). Thus, the concept of globalization today has a universal appeal.

The concept of globalization emerged in the period between the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the initial years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1850 -1914). At that time, the concept of globalization mainly concentrated on the aspect of money, which in its turn could be seen in two dimensions: first, the multiplication of international trade and; second, the rising tide of migrant populations.

Although the historical origins of globalization remain subject of debate, in common usage it refers to the period beginning in the 1970s, some scholars regard it as having an ancient history that encompasses all international activity (Daniele 2010). However, the evolution of globalization has been categorized into various eras.

The Archaic era – championed by Andre Gunder Frank, this era espoused that globalization began with the rise of trade links between summer and the Indus valley civilization in the third millennium (Frank, 1998).

Islamic and Mongol era – this stage of

globalization witnessed establishment of trade routes by Jewish and Muslim traders and explorers.

The Maritime Europe era also known as proto-globalization, was characterized by the rise of maritime European empires, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, first the Portuguese and Spanish Empires, and later the Dutch and British Empires.

The industrialization stage was marked by the production of household items using economies of scale while rapid population growth created sustained demand. Globalization in this period was decisively determined by nineteenth century imperialism. The conquest by new parts of the globe notably Sub-Sahara Africa by Europeans yielded valuable natural resources such as rubber, diamonds and coal and helped fuel trade and investment between the European imperial powers, their colonies and the United States.

The era of institutionalization witnessed the emergence of multi-lateral institutions such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). During this era, these institutions laid the foundations of the explosive growth of the globalization process in the post-cold War era. ([www.web.archive.org](http://www.web.archive.org)).

Ali Mazrui's (1999) captures the evolutionary trend of globalization from the African perspective and in a very fascinating

fashion. According to him each step in Africa's contribution to the development of the West was itself a stage in the history of globalization. In his analogy, there was the era of the labour imperative when the labour of African's sons and daughters was what the West needed for its industrial take-off. During this era the slave ship helped to export millions to the Americas to help in the agrarian revolution in the Americas and the industrial revolution in Europe simultaneously. Thus, the enforced dispersal of Black people to serve Western capitalism was itself part of the emerging globalization.

There was also the era of the territorial imperative, when the West docked the slave ships away forever and launched the gun boats in their place. Mazrui refers to this era as that of imperialism and gun boat diplomacy. The West stopped exporting Africa's sons and daughters and colonized Africa itself. This imperialism and gun boat diplomacy were part of the ugly side of globalization. During this era raw materials for Western manufacturing industries became a major temptation.

Mazrui (1999), also identifies the era of the extractive imperative, the era when Africa's minerals became the next major contributor to Western economies and Western technology. Uranium from the Belgian Congo was part of the Manhattan project which produced the first atomic bombs. Other minerals, like cobalt, became indispensable for jet engines. This era indeed

marked the making of the space ship, the era when the slave ship syndrome was giving way for the spaceship potential; the other side of the story of how Africa developed Europe.

Africa's involvement in the cold war was another globalizing experience although Africa's global image has enhanced during this era in the United Nations, UNESCO, the Commonwealth, and a number of other international forums.

It should be noted that apart from the cold war globalization era, every stage of Africa's contribution to the globalization process has always resulted in its marginalization. Mazrui (2001) therefore predicts that Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is likely to be one of the final battle grounds of the forces of globalization for better or for worse. Against this background, the paper attempts to examine the tenets of the globalization process, the potency and level of involvement of developing countries in the globalization process, the socio-economic implications of the globalization process for developing countries, and an ex-post global perception of the globalization process.

## **THE OBJECTIVES OF STUDY**

The objectives of the paper are:

- To determine the contextual and perceptual perspectives of the globalization process;
- To examine the socio-economic structures of the Third World countries in order to assess their capacity to participate in the globalization process; and

- To investigate the contemporary trend of the globalization process and its socio-economic implications for the Third World countries

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The term globalization is itself quite new, but the actual process of globalization can be said to have started centuries ago. This has tempted scholars to believe that the phenomenon of globalization is new while others are of the view that globalization is not new. Still, globalization is a world-wide phenomenon which means different things to different people and different things to the same people across time and space, (Obadan, 2003; Mazrui, 2001).

Admittedly, Globalization is one phenomenon which to a considerable extent enjoys definitional consensus. Globalization consists of processes that lead towards global interdependence and the increasing rapidity of exchange across vast distances (Mazrui, 2001). Obadan (2003) refers to globalization as the growing interdependence of the world's people, about increasing interconnectedness and interdependencies among the world's regions, nations, governments, business, institutions, communities, families and individuals. Globalization fosters the advancement of a "global mentality and conjures the pictures of a borderless world through the use of information technology to create partnerships to foster greater financial and economic integration.

Globalization refers to the process of the intensification of economic, political, social and cultural relations across international boundaries. It is principally aimed at the transcendental homogenization of political and socio-economic theory across the globe. Globalization deals with the increasing breakdown of trade barriers and increasing integration of world market. (Akindele et al, 2002).

Although the globalization process seems to emphasize interdependence and interconnection of peoples and regions of the world in the area of culture, economy and politics, the economic aspect is perceived to be at the heart of the globalization process. Indeed, it is an aspect which has tended to receive greater attention and this has promoted the concept of economic globalization. Economic globalization refers to the process of change towards greater international economic integration through trade, financial flows, exchange, a technology and information and movement of people. Openness and markets constitute the platform of globalization while trade finance and investment and entrepreneurs are the heart (Obadan, 2003).

So when we think of globalization, it is the world economy which we think of as being globalized. We mean that the whole of the world is increasingly behaving as though it were a part of a single market, with interdependent production, consuming similar goods and responding to the same impulse.

Globalization is manifested in the growth of the world trade as a proportion of output; it is reflected in the explosion of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) (Williamson, 1998).

However, the critical aspect of globalization is that it is seen through ideological lenses being associated with Laissez faire capitalism. Indeed in the last two decades, globalization has been inextricably linked with the neo-liberal economic policies manifested in unleashing of market forces, deregulation and liberalization, privatization of state owned enterprises, minimizing the role of the state among others (Obadan, 2003). In other words globalization is a euphemism for capitalism, a synonym for colonialism.

However, it appears to be quite likely that globalization can be linked to political difficulties in a number of countries. Paul Wilkinson noted that modern terrorism has been a reaction to globalization. Globalization is a very complex process, one that has been defined in a bewildering variety of ways. There is, however, at least some general agreement on broad outlines in the economic sphere; globalization involves “the widening, deepening, and speeding up of international connectedness.” Globalization, however, goes beyond simple increases in economic interactions as it includes cultural, military, political and social dimensions; involving the movement of goods, services, people, ideas, and cultures across geographical space. There are a number of factors likely to contribute to increased levels of

globalization. For example, recent increases in overall globalization have been attributed to a favorable conjunction of technological, political, and economic circumstances.

Socio-economic Formations of Third World Countries and the Challenges of Participating in the Globalization Process

The phenomenon of globalization has elicited intense debate on its meaning, nature, origin and implications. To this end, there are diverse perceptions on the meaning, context, intention and implications of globalization for the industrialized countries on one hand and for the developing countries of the Third World, on the other hand. The contrasting notions on globalization is captured in a two pronged arguments: first, that globalization is intended to reconfigure the capitalist economic system to consolidate the hegemony of core capitalist states and second, the perception of globalization as fostering the universalization of specific values that promote global solidarity (Folabi, 2007).

The debate and contrasting notions on globalization is reinforced by the misgiving over whether Third World countries have the same capacity to participate in and the same opportunity to benefit from the globalization process as much as their counterparts in the First World. This misgiving is informed not only by the age long unequal economic relationship that exist between the developing and developed countries but also by the relatively weak economic structure of the

Third World countries.

While there may be unanimity among scholars on the impact and prospects of globalization, there are growing fears on the implications of globalization for Third World nations. Such fears have engendered the need to investigate the place of developing countries in the globalization process. And the questions to ask are: do Third World countries possess the requisite socio-economic structure to participate in the globalization process? Are Third World countries effectively participating in the globalization process? What are the socio-economic implications of the globalization process for Third World countries?

In providing answers to the above questions, there is the need to examine the tenets and various theories of globalization. Protagonists of globalization describe it as a system integrated by the market and driven by capitalist energies which would deliver growth and unprecedented prosperity. A 'global era' of free glowing capital to open up new opportunities for humanity as a whole; affecting economic structures and political, social and cultural life. Specifically, globalizers predicted rapid development of African, Asian and Latin America, even arguing that divisions between "developed" and "developing nations", "First" and "Third" Worlds, would become less significant and eventually meaningless.

Globalization theory espouses that all must benefit from recent changes, maintaining

that the world system (under globalization) now delivers "more for all and that vigorous growth in the Third World means it is the world's poor who will benefit most. (Marfleet, 1998). Globalization, it has also been argued, points to the whole effort towards making the world a global community in practical terms; the globalization process embarks on a bold programme for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under developed areas of the world. Globalization means providing greater opportunities for people to have access to more and larger markets around the world. It means that people can then experience more capital flows, more technology, cheaper imports and larger export markets (Ekwuruke, 2005).

Historically, it is only countries with successful entrepreneurs operating in a supportive and competitive environment and in different societal endeavours that have achieved faster growth rates, enjoyed more broad based improvements in peoples' standard of living and quality of life and participated more competitively in the global economy.

The critical aspects of globalization are trade and investments; integration of financial market which has resulted in high capital mobility and a large volume of gross international financial flows. Another significant aspect of the globalization is that the process is accelerated and facilitated by

the supersonic transformation in information technology (Obadan, 2003; Akindele et al, 2002).

Given the above scenario, do developing countries possess the requisite economic structure to effectively participate in the globalization process? At what level and to what extent can Third World countries participate successfully in the globalization process? What is the nature and potency of their economic structure?

The economic structures of Third World countries are evidently dependent; dependent to the extent that its position and relations to other economies in international system and the articulation of its internal structure make it incapable of auto-centric development. The dependency syndrome is as a result of the integration of Africa's economy (and the economies of other Third World countries) into Western capitalism. To this end, the contact with the forces of Western capitalism, not only underdeveloped African and Third World countries, it also ensured its structured incorporation into and peripheralization in the international division of labour, (Ihonvbere, 1989)

Against this background, it has become evident that many developing and Third World countries do not possess and have not cultivated the requisite economic culture that should guarantee their effective participation in the globalization process. Interestingly, the capitalist globalizers acknowledge this precarious economic situation. Thus, the

prevailing economic structures in most Third World countries have only enabled consistent borrowing from Bretton woods institutions and have always ensured that economic policies of Third World countries are orchestrated from the Bretton woods institutions as directed by the U.S and its allies.

Apart from the economic sphere, many Third World and African countries are believed to be victims of a growing decadent and decrepit social value system which they must contend with if they must be active participants in the globalization process. This decadence often manifests in form of corruption and ethnicity, with the later often leading to violent conflicts. To this end, many Third World countries have continued to witness episodic militancy and separatist violent agitations including the ones perpetuated by terrorist groups. This unarguably has been the consequences of the movements of ideas and materials under the globalization process; the bringing together of socially dissimilar groups into closer physical proximity, which often lead to increases in conflicts. While in the long term it is possible that increased contacts among dissimilar groups and their homogenization can reduce terrorism; that time has obviously not yet come. (*The Globalist*, 2002)

Part of the social structure evident in Third World countries include the individual's or group's position within a hierarchical social structure, the socio-economic status

which depends on a combination of variables, including occupation, education, wealth, and place of residence. Most of the world population lives in the developing world. The developing countries have over three-fourth of the total world population (China and India supports over 23% and 17.6% of the total world's population respectively). The level of technological development is relatively low in these countries which affect both agricultural efficiency and industrial development despite the availability of local resources. Rapid growth of population, unemployment poor standard of living, malnutrition, management of agricultural resources, slow growth of Industrial sector, and orthodoxy. (Selvarani, 2014).

#### Third World Countries, Globalization and the Prevailing Global Trend

The prevailing global trend indicates a tri-lateral relation where three regions of Europe, North America and East Asia dominate the global capitalist economic system. The three regions control eighty-five percent of world trade, ninety percent of core production, and accommodate the highest number of multinationals including banks. The structures of soft international regulation of the world economy like the G7, World Bank, IMF and the WTO are also dominated by the triad states (Folabi, 2007).

An aspect of the globalization process is the tendency to infiltrate the economy of Third World countries and create rapid expansion

through multinational companies of capitalism and their “blood sapping principles” of “liberalization, commercialization, privatization and undemocratic and property-based democratization. (Akindele et al, 2002). Today the frontiers of the state with increased reliance on the market economy and renewed faith in the private capital and resources, a process of structural adjustment spurred by the studies and influences of the World Bank and other international organizations have started in many of the developing countries. The impact and activities of globalization has equally become so pervasive in many Third World countries; so much so that countries like India and strong communist enclaves like China have been integrated into the global capitalist economy (Balakrishan, 2012; [www.dur.ac.uk/resources](http://www.dur.ac.uk/resources)).

However, it is instructive to note that in spite of the actual and intended benefits of economic globalization, there seems to be a global gradual but steady shift away from the tenets of economic globalization among Third World countries. The reason for this is mainly due to the fact that after three decades (1970-2000), the period of economic globalization's most rapid ascending, evidence still shows that it is bringing exactly the opposite outcome of that its advocates claimed. After three decades of heavy IMF and World Bank medicine and about two decades of WTO policies, Third World countries have come to understand that globalization is selling a false promise. Clearly, poverty and inequality are



rapidly accelerating everywhere on earth.

In areas where Third World countries have recorded some improvements, such improvements have been very short-lived. In any case, nearly all the benefits have gone to the elites in these countries. Even among the so-called “poster children” of free trade, the “Asian Tigers” like Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Malaysia, improvements have not come by assiduously following the dictates of the Bretton Woods regimes, but often by doing the opposite of what the institutions prescribe (Mander, Baker and Korten, 2001).

More importantly is the fact that, the globalization process has begun to produce critical social and political implications for Third World countries. Therefore, in spite of some general agreement on broad outlines in the economic sphere which sees globalization involves “the widening, deepening, and speeding up of international connectedness,” globalization has also recorded noticeable impact in other spheres which includes cultural, military, political and social dimensions, involving not only the movement of goods, but of services, people, ideas, and cultures across geographical space. Frequently, one of the consequences of these movements is that socially dissimilar groups are brought into closer physical proximity to one another, possibly leading to increases in violent conflicts (Lutz and Lutz, 2015).

This increase in conflict has in turn engendered what can be referred to as

globalization of armaments which can be found in the reinforcement of military scientific technology in many countries. Because the power of a nation depends largely on its military strength, Third World countries are improving their forces vigorously so as to obtain a favourable position in the military balance of power. The implication of this is that the globalization process is being diversified as attention is also shifting away from the economic globalization towards military globalization. Sino-American relations were also affected by this type of military globalization ([www.der.ac.uk/resource](http://www.der.ac.uk/resource)). The on going nuclear show down between the United States and North Korea and the formation of a global coalition against terrorism also means that we are now moving beyond the globalization of the economy to the globalization of politics. Thus, the world is experiencing a gradual but steady transcendental progression from the economic ramification of the globalization process to the obvious social and political dimensions (*theguardian*, 2017; *The Globalist*, 2002).

In addition to the movements of people and cultures, the globalization process has also led to the adoption of western cuisine and fashion by developing countries. This has resulted in major outbreak and prevalence of strange diseases among the peoples of the Third World nations. The globalization process is also believed to have exacerbated immoral social behaviour such as corruption

which has continued to increase the cost of doing business in Third World countries especially of the Sub-Sahara Africa; infrastructure failings, reflected in poor roads and rails networks, epileptic power supply, inadequate and chaotic telecommunications system, inadequate water supply etc. (Lutz and Lutz, 2015).

It is also intriguing to observe that in spite of the integrative tendencies of the globalization process, nationals especially of Africa descent have continued to experience several incidents of racial discrimination and xenophobic attacks. This no doubt, is capable of vitiating the very essence of the globalization process which originally was meant to integrate rather than discriminate against the peoples of the world. ([www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia)). Clearly, poverty and inequality are rapidly accelerating everywhere on earth. Groups that are disadvantaged by the changes that accompany globalization have naturally begun to oppose the leaders, groups, or political systems that are associated with these changes. Such opposition may take acceptable forms through existing political channels, but it can also take more violent forms when disadvantaged groups cannot gain satisfaction by peaceful means (Lutz and Lutz, 2015). This unfortunately, has caused a kind of reversal of what would have been the benefits of globalization to the Third Countries. For example, the globalization process has not only aided but also intensified the interface and collaboration among terror

groups across the world. Thus the activities of terror groups like the Al Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) have accentuated and exploited the borderless mentality of the globalization process to perpetuate violence in different parts of the world (Henwood, 2001)

Thus, the prevailing global impulse is that of resentment by Third World countries against globalization; it is of rejection of globalization, engendered by the feeling that the globalization enterprise is not only an imperial policy but an exploitative agenda to impoverish the Third World countries.

#### **CONCLUDING COMMENTS**

The crux of the preceding arguments tends to focus on the place of Third World countries in a global capitalist economy on one hand and the implications of globalization for Third World nations on the other. And based on advocated benefits that would accrue from the globalization process, Third World countries embraced the process with initial enthusiasm. This enthusiasm was also part of the initial (spurious) benefits that attended the participation of Third World countries in the globalization process. These benefits were especially in two major areas; first is in the area of improvement in Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in developing countries; and second, there was greater integration of Third World countries with the world economy through trade and capital flows which afforded developing countries

the avenue to partake in the opportunities and benefits of globalization, to develop their comparative advantages and gain access to newer, more appropriate technology... permitting them to realize much higher rate of economic growth. For example, the spectacular economic performance of the East Asia countries before the 1997/98 financial crisis reflected significant benefits from globalization. Although the same thing can not be said of African countries many of which are the world's poorest.

But as it was pointed out above, these benefits were short-lived and even the present spectacular performances of East Asian countries in the global economy is not yet attributable to the implementation of the policies orchestrated by the Bretton Woods institutions. Without doubt, the globalization trend has been reversed. What seems inconceivable is that even among the more stable countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, there might emerge states able to follow the paths of Korea and Taiwan which over a generation from the 1940s changed radically, becoming substantial industrial

capitalism (Marfleet, 1998). This argument was also canvassed by Mbabazi (2005) when she cited African countries like Botswana, Mauritius, Rwanda and arguably Uganda as development states in Africa.

Nevertheless, for developing and Third World countries to harness the benefits of globalization, they are required to operate within the framework of strong regional and sub-regional economic groupings such as ECOWAS, SADC as a credible response to the powerful forces of globalization. Regional trading blocs exist in Europe (European Union); North America (NAFTA); Asia (ASAN) (Obadan, 2003).

The globalization process can hardly be achieved without the accompanying expansion of empathy. Education world-wide plays a role in this empathy creation. The main must learn to be more sensitive to the poor; the better endowed more concerned about the less; the North must learn to be more just to the South. But for Africa, there is no alternative for self-reliance as a long term struggle (Mazrui, 2001)

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