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Rethinking the Nigerian financial system in a cycle of financial crisis

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Abstract
This paper is expository in nature, and its focus is on the vexed issue of the sub-optimal and epileptic existence of the Nigerian Financial System and its wider consequences for the Nigerian economy as a whole. This brings to question in its wider ramification the efficiency and effectiveness of the Nigerian Financial System as a vehicle for rapid and optimal economic development of the Nigerian State in the face of globalization of National Financial Systems? The introductory section is essentially an overview of the Nigerian Financial System vis-à-vis the monetary and economic system. Following the introductory section the paper examine a broad spectrum of problems that have inhibited the optimal performance of the Nigerian Financial System; and in addition prescribed a wide range of solutions and methodological approaches for implementing the solutions – zeroing in on legal and regulatory framework of the financial system, banking sector supervision, the securities/capital market performance, exchange rate regime choices and accounting standards and financial reporting in the financial system. The paper also took an in-depth look at key issues that must be taken into serious consideration as the Nigerian Financial System increasingly become a part of the International Financial System – titling it as “the politics of International Financial System and its challenges to the Nigerian Financial System” – judging by Nigeria Leadership role in both West Africa sub-region and Africa (the Financial System inclusive). The paper concluded that the Nigerian Financial System is a mix grill of failures and below sub-optima success masked in unethical bank practices, infidelity of economic policies and real crisis of global capitalism to which lies the inherent vulnerability of the Nigerian Financial System that constitute real/core problems towards the achievement of optimal performance of the financial system and as vehicle for economic development of the Nigerian State; no matter how good the regulatory regime (government or market) that is in place in the financial system may be, no matter how articulate/dynamic the economic policy in place in the Financial System may be. In the face of these threatening financial/economic virus, the paper is of the opinion that if the crisis facing the Nigerian Financial System is to be abated, the question we must answer is, "which way forward for the Nigerian Financial System?". Do we embark on a rethink with the aim of massive all-embracing overhaul/reform of the financial System or do we redesign our financial System to the present non-performing and epileptic financial system? The debate is open.

1. Introduction (An Overview)
The core issue that is addressed in this paper is the proposal for change in the context of financial cycles/crisis and the role of the financial system in the optimal performance of the Nigerian economy and its re-alignment into global financial architecture.

Over the past two to three decades, proposals to enhance the safety and soundness of the Nigerian Monetary System has been cosmetic-been in the direction of re-enforcing political power-play of regulatory agencies in their hierarchical build up within the Presidency and the Nigerian Financial System. This is in addition to the now common function of building up the capital base of banks and non-banking financial institutions (community banks and insurance corporations inclusive), rather than on the broader implications for the financial system and its role in the development of the Nigerian economy and how to
whether the politics of global financial markets in response to the changing economic circumstances (financial cycle/crisis inclusive).

A major characteristics of Nigerian Financial Crisis, is that in the wake-heat of a crisis, analysis of what went wrong is made, prompting a number of reform proposal aimed at reducing the risk of future or crisis. However, sooner have the crisis been reduced to manageable level, the issue of reform will appear to have been discarded and low on the political agenda and is really the topic of media report or academic discuss.

However, in a host of professional and academic discuss (workshops, seminars and conferences, inclusive), a host of factors have been advanced for the financial crisis, amongst which are: 1. Imbalances in international financial markets; 2. Imbalances in macro-economy of the Nigerian State; 3. Imbalances between fiscal and monetary policies; 4. Infidelity in government polices; 5. Ineffective and defective legal and regulatory system; 6. Inadequate and ill-suited accounting system; 7. A collapsing banking sector now transformed into too-big-to fail banks and whose future appears on the decline; 8. A moribund capital market whose existence is the domination of the market by the stocks of a few global corporation, re-capitalized bank stocks (that were involved in round tripping whose development outcome appears to be in shambles, government stocks and privatized government enterprises – thanks to the IMF sponsored privatization conditionality; 9. and regulatory conflicts. Taking the above into consideration historical evidence both in Asia and Latin America has proved that countries with the greatest deficiencies in the above listed areas or financial architecture experience the most severe hardship during times of crisis. Hence, the Nigerian nation cannot be an exception to the accompanying economic downturn and hardship that has been experienced by the Nigerian State since the 1980s.

Specifically, the late 1970s through the 1980/1990s into the 2000s saw the cycle of continues financial crisis in Nigeria which had a damaging impact on the Nigerian monetary system vis-à-vis the economy of the Nigerian State. These disastrous economic consequences; include: 1. increasing incidence of domestic inflation; 2. Collapsing bank institutions vis-à-vis the near absolute collapse of the Nigerian Financial System; 3. High level of unemployment and poverty; 4. Increasing incidence of hyper-depreciation of Naira exchange rate; 5. Persistent increase in domestic inflation; 6. Upsurge of national debt that has now been liquidated; and 7. Continuous decrease in per capital growth rate and a host of other economic ailments culminating in the structural adjustment programme. All of which call to question the whole issue of the effectives and efficiency of, and a rethink in positioning the Nigerian Financial System in the international committee of financial systems as dynamic vehicle for economic development delivery of the Nigerian State – putting to focus its relevance.

Supporting this assertion Sunday A. Idehai (1996) is of the view that the development in the Nigerian Economic System since independence and the recent but persistent depression of the world economy led to reviews of economic policy from time to time: and these reviews continue to introduce several economic stabilization measures (this in the view of the paper aggravated Nigeria’s economic woes) the motives which is the conservation and allocation of financial and other economic resources to the country, thus heaping more responsibilities on the financial system.

Furthermore he is of the view that the financial system of a country he may succeed or fail depending on whether or not it has been able to achieve the objectives of the society or the goals for which it was designed. Such goals include, amongst others, low level of unemployment; inadequate rate of economic growth and development and reasonable price stability.

Specifically, the problems and constraints which Nigeria should endeavour to solve in order to achieve the general objectives mentioned above include among others, the heavy and dangerous dependent on a single product or sector of the economy for the generation of foreign exchange and revenue for the government-the crude oil sector. This has provided the premise for low productivity in the agricultural sector of the economy which happens to be the highest employer of labour. In addition the low level of industrialization and capital utilization in the manufacturing sector resulting in Nigeria’s dependence on almost entirely on imported manufactured goods; heavy debt burden and foreign reserve problems; distortions in consumption and production; over stretched economic and social infrastructure, and low export and very heavy import bills (i.e balance of payments problems).

To be able to perform creditably in the above mentioned areas, the enabling environment (policy inclusive) must be created for all sectors that are directly charged with the responsibility of effecting the various variables or indicators to move in the desired direction in order to achieve the set goals-a responsibility that weighs heavily on the Nigerian Financial System. It is therefore in the interest of policy
makers/administrators in the financial system in particular and the economy at large to be aware of the positive and negative effects of the policy (ies)/environment in the financial system and/or economy so that economic cum political policies and environment are fashioned to minimize the negative effects. Consequently, Idehai (1996) in his contribution to the issue of financial reforms contend that within the past twenty years, a number of institutions have been formerly established by individuals. In fact, during the era of the structural adjustment programme, the financial system has been deregulated. A number of banks and non-bank financial institutions sprang up to formerly offer services of financial intermediation, mobilization of funds through deposit generation and offering credit to the deficit sector of the economy. Thus, in the context of the examination of financial institutions and their developmental role in the economy is it of obvious necessity for a well designed and articulate financial system that is free of ethnic, sectional, personal interest, greed and political power-play coloration?

The rest of the paper is structured as follows:

3) Conclusion (section 4)


The section is an attempt to focus on the will of the paper-“rethinking the Nigerian Financial System in Financial Cycle/Crisis” – examining numerous subset of the likely issues and proposals for change in the financial system in the context of financial cycle/crisis and the role of the financial system in the Nigerian economy as a whole. Issues examined here include:

- Legal and regulatory framework
- Financial reporting and accounting standards.
- Bank Sector supervision.
- Securities/capital market performance.
- Exchange rate regime choices

Which are critical factors in the financial stability or instability of the Nigerian Financial System vis-à-vis the economy as a whole.

2.1 Legal and Regulatory Framework:

The awesome complexity and dynamism of a transiting market economy like Nigeria requires laws, rules and norms based on transparency and openness that encourage/facilitate economic interchange, though some form of government intervention may be necessary. Because market participants are human and thus not perfect. While a poor legal and regulatory framework might not be the proximate cause of financial crisis, once the crisis began the weakness of the legal and regulatory framework becomes obvious as important tools for abating the crisis, and/or restore stability and confidence that might be missing or grossly inadequate and highly deficient in operation.

The Nigerian legal system has in place some bankruptcy and secured transaction laws. However, the bankruptcy law is more effective in protecting rather than doing away with inefficient corporations. Besides, the secured transactions laws and its implementation appears outdated in modern times with little or no relevance to the practical realities of commercial transactions in a fraud prone commercial Nigerian environment. In addition to compound the Nigerian judiciary which is charge with the enforcement and interpretation of commercial agreements, according to the Nigerian press can be at best be described as “auctioneers” who hand down verdict to highest bidders. Besides, the courts are so corrupt that they can hardly be relied on for the just and equitable resolution of commercial disputes.

In addition to the weak and corrupt judicial system, the Nigerian Financial System is bedeviled by a host of regulatory agencies which not only work at cross purpose, but also suffers from functions overload, regulatory conflicts cumulating in unhealthy rivalry, compounded by the visible lack of empowerment to implement relevant provisions of their enabling acts or decrees to discipline powerful participants and the activities of the regulatory agencies –a situation which has encourage the institutional weakness of the financial system (the banking system inclusive).
In the character of the system is unstable banking system which is the bane of the system, is a mix-grill of regulated and deregulated system backed with a weak legal enforcement framework to adequately supervise, impose and implant prudential requirements on the activities of the banks which have been engaged in unwholesome banking activities since the 1980s – including largely unrestricted and under reported lending practices, money laundering, and foreign exchange malpractice (round tripping inclusive) amongst others.

2.1.1 Legal and Regulatory Rebirth:
The first step towards salvaging the financial system from crisis is to recognize that macro-policies though absolutely necessary, but are not sufficient condition for sustained growth, efficient to a responsive financial system. Therefore, it requires effort to put in place and developed inaddition and reliable legal and regulatory framework capable of supervising and regulating the financial system for sustained growth and overall economic development of the Nigerian State.

Thus the weaknesses in the legal and judicial system which have tended to crate vulnerability of the Nigerian system must be removed, though it is sometimes easier to amend laws in Nigeria, the manner in which the courts enforce them is most problematic. Consequently the paper is tempted to suggest that a reliable and transparent legal framework or judicial environment that is equitable, reasonably, affordable, competent and efficient in commercial dispute resolution should be put in place. This is what the financial system must demand for and sustain – leaving this to the political class to do on behalf of the financial system will amount to suicide. Based on this, set out below are guiding principles for a legal system in a market economy followed b core requirements for such legal system-adopting John L. Walker (2000).

2.1.2 Guarding Principles for a Legal System in a Market Economy:

1) The legal system should be based on the premise that the public good results from individuals decisions in the market, which allocate limited economic resources under constraint of supply and demand.

2) The rule of law should recognize and protect well-desired private property rights (with respect to real, personal, and intellectual property) and basic human rights.

3) The rule of law and norms based on transparency and openness should encourage and facilitate economic interchange.

4) The rule of law should balance the fundamental human desires for both freedom and order.

5) The rule of law which should take into account some degree of governmental intervention in the ‘free’ market is required. Too heavy hands of law and government regulation will strife innovation, too light a hand will allow infringement of private rights. Governmental intervention in the market requires checks and balances for necessary accountability and to prevent arbitrary and unfair actions. The government should be law-abiding and fully accountable under the rule of law.

6) The culture of law that supports the rule of law should be enforced in a manner that inspires public confidence in the law and respect for the intentions of the law.

7) The rule of law should reflect the unique culture, history and demographics of a society. The will of the rule of law should come form within the society.

8) The rule of law should foster meritocracy and support economic decision making based on market prices derived in arm’s-length interchanges and not based on cronyism and corruption. The market mechanism through which value judgments of market participants are converted into process of goods and services and accurate information to the public to allow market prices adjustments.

9) The financial system should be supported by a comprehensive legal and regulatory framework that provides for a stable medium payments, clearance and settlement systems.

10) The rule of law should support the shifting of property rights among market participants that results from the “creative destruction” inherent in market economies. The rule of law should support and encourage innovation, risk taking and competition and lead to co-operation and confidence.

2.1.3 Core Requirements for a Legal System in a Market Economy:
1) Laws that clearly define and protect private property rights (with respect to real, personal, and intellectual property) are required.

2) Laws that clearly define and protect basic human rights is required.

3) Administrative laws are required that prevent arbitrary and unfair actions by government authorities.

4) Corporate laws that set corporate governance and standards and protect shareholders rights are required. The roles, rights and responsibilities of directors, managers and shareholders must be legally defined.

5) Contract laws are required that protects the rights and enforce the obligations of counter parties, including lenders and borrowers. A collateral law that protects the rights of lenders through obtaining a pledge of assets, including real property (mortgages) is required.

6) Laws that provide protection against fraud and unfair and deceptive trade practices are required.

7) A competent ethical, politically independent judiciary is required. Such a judiciary must be supported by a sufficient number of lawyers with appropriate legal training and by credible and honest law enforcement authorities.

8) A bankruptcy statute is required to address defaults and restructuring.

9) Government regulation and supervision, which from part of the rule of law must support an environment in which counter parties can effectively assess the risk of transactions.

10) The burden of managing risk in the financial system should not lie with private institutions alone. A central banking law is required that establishes a politically independent but accountable central bank that is mandated with the responsibility to maintain price stability and to act as a “lender of last resort”

11) Laws and regulations are required that create a comprehensive legal framework for financial institutions, the law should address the powers or such institutions, the minimum safety and soundness standards that they must meet, and their regulation and supervision on consolidate basis. Such laws must allow supervisors to set prudential rules and regulations to control risks (including those covering capital adequacy, loan, loss reserves, asset concentrations, liquidity, risk management and internal controls, provide for the enforcement of such laws, rules, and regulations, and address the resolution of problems in financial institutions, including insolvency.

12) Laws that provide for transparent, fair and effective legal and regulatory environment for capital markets are required, including laws to protect investors and regulate the issuance of securities, brokers-dealers, and stock exchanges, and law that provide for financial transparency through adequate disclosure, accounting, and auditing laws and regulations governing collective investment vehicles (for example investment companies) are an important component of capital market regulation.

13) Laws and regulations that govern the non cash payments system and the clearance and settlements systems for securities transactions, including depository custodian facilities for securities.

14) Anti-trust laws are required to prevent concentration of power and collusive price setting. Such laws and their enforcement must seek to foster competition and innovation.

15) Tax laws are required that are clear, fair, and predictable and that provide the government with sufficient financial resources to meet its obligations and to provide a minimum social safety net. In addition the inadequacy of our bankruptcy laws must be addressed. Specifically there is the need for reform in the laws regarding re-organization of insolvent enterprises, and the need to establish specialized business and bankruptcy courts that has an appeal court status. So that business and related issues/matters can be taken out of the regular courts in order to ensure speedy and specialist dispensation of commercial disputes in the financial system. Besides, specialist judges should be trained to handle cases of commercial nature. Pay of judges should be enhanced and corrupt judges should be shown the way out of the judicial system and banned from judicial practice for at least 15 years as a deterrent to corrupt practices in the judicial system.

Regulatory agencies supervision and regulation of the banking system must be strengthened, a tighter regime of reporting requirements must be put in place, prohibit banks from investing in equity securities, institute legal lending limits in order to control exposure to single group of lenders, increase
provisions for non performing loans, involve stricter loans classification, install and implement a new asset equality assessment framework and a prompt banking crisis correction action framework and debar banks from making unsecured loans to state and local governments.

Regulatory conflicts is healthy for the financial system, what is wrong is symptomatic unhealthy rivalry imbedded in the conflict which tend to be a persistent character of the Nigerian Financial System; culminating sometimes in Presidential intervention such as it happened in the case between Security and Exchange Commission (SEC) and the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE) in the 1990s, which culminated in undermining of he powers of SE, resulting in the active death of Abuja Stock Exchange, creating a monster (absolute monopoly) in the Nigerian Stock Exchange, and portraying securities firms chiefs preference for the preservation of their interest to objective national interest. In the paper’s opinion regulatory agencies should have the power to enforce relevant provisions of their Act that erring participants should have recourse to law courts and not presidential fiats that connotes dangerous power play within the system. Besides, the department of justice should be empowered to seal up the premises of organizations that refuse to comply with regulatory agencies directives if request is made. However, this power should be exercised with utmost caution/restraint. Besides, policy formulation should involve wide consultation and education with objectivity in mind. This because contrary actions will result in waste or resources and corruption in lobbying the national assembly and the presidency to take side in the matter.

2.1.4 Foreign Exchange Regime Choices

For a country like Nigeria, based on the thinness of her financial markets, the single most important macro economy policy decision is the choice of exchange rate policy because it strongly impact on the nation freedom of action, effectiveness of other macroeconomic policies, the evolution of the financial systems and the evolution of the economy.

In examining the exchange rate choices available to Nigerian Financial System, three models readily come to mind; 1. The fixed exchange rate; 2. The floating exchange rate and; 3. The rate which is a mixed blend of fixed and float exchange rate. There is no gainsaying it that over the years in making a choice Nigeria’ choice has been confronted/compounded by the issue of the “incompatible triangle of fixed and floating exchange rate; independent monetary policy; and freedom of capital movement – having to choose which of the objective to drop. Although most time Nigeria have resisted the choice and attempted to forge ahead in various ways, but often the result have been financial crisis in the process.

What is obvious is that floating exchange rates, independent monetary policy and freedom of capital movements have been incompatible in the Nigerian financial system considering Nigeria’s poorly developed capital market which have over the decade left the monetary autonomy, or fixed rates free of capital restrictions but with loss of monetary autonomy. In the face of this incompatibility two prescriptions have always been extended to Nigeria by the duo of the IMF and the U.S Treasury – adopt grater exchange rate flexibility and liberalize international capital movement – a twin solution which has not only been in deep tension but in deep contradiction considering the thin Nigerian financial markets.

The dominant posture in the 1980’s and 1990’s have been for the financial system to adopt fixed exchange rates in the hope to generate a situation of implicit guarantee on capital flow but these implicit guarantees have resulted in excessive and poorly allocated capital flow which have been crisis prone. This has led to increase call for replacement with float exchange rate regime – an idea Nigeria has toyed with, which to its astonishment have found out that free movement of capital and floating exchange rates are incompatible, especially in a politically unstable polity and in thin and undiversified economy like Nigeria with an undeveloped and unsophisticated financial market and a high level of lateral disequilibrium of her economy.

In the 2000’s the IMF mid wife floating exchange rate (Dutch option) has been adopted with disastrous consequences. Given this scenario, what should the financial system do? It depends very much on the details of Nigeria Economic Structure and circumstance – fiscal and monetary policy administrative capacity to enforce restrictions on capital movements and host of other factors. The choice is not easy. In addition given the costs and limitations of unalterable fixed and free floating exchange choices, the practice and policy issue for Nigeria is how to operate a managed float. But a move to greater exchange rate flexibility obviously leaves open a host of important and interesting questions, (adopting Fred Bergsten with modifications, 1999); viz.:

- what range of fluctuation is consistent with underlying economic fundamentals and hence acceptable?
- What policy tools can be deployed to keep rates within these limits?
• should the limits be decided in advance or implemented adhoc?
• if decided in advance, should they be announced or implemented quietly?
• Should Nigeria pursue its regime unilaterally or in tandem with other countries

Agreeing Bergsten (1999), the paper suggest that no Exchange rate regime is perfect or without costs and limitations, nor will work out perfectly in every occasion, but adoption of target zones (probably crawling bands), certainly will be advantageous – since it will have the attributes of both fixed and floating exchange rates regime-avoiding the worst features of both. The target zone in the view of the paper should be strongly considered over the future of Nigerian Financial architecture.

2.1.5 Securities/Capital Market Performance

The Nigerian security/capital market represents an important segment of the financial system. However, it suffers from some gross inadequacies amongst which are:

1) Thinness of the market
2) It is dominated by stock of few multinational institutions and government stocks, a situation that is not healthy for the market and the nation as a whole.
3) A reactive market rather than a pro-active market. Whose present active nature is a product of
   i. Banking crisis and non-bank sector reform which triggered of re-capitalization policy in banks and insurance organizations, and
   ii. IMF inspired/influenced privatization policy of the federal Government Corporation/Enterprises.

However, in the past decade there has been some improvement in transparency rules and automation of the market especially computerization and implementation of some disclosure standards, but this is not what constitute a vibrant capital market. Besides the shoddy manner in which stock of privatized national corporation/enterprise and banks have been sold remains an issue of serious concern with regards to transparency.

Overtime vital questions have been raised about the vibrancy of the Nigerian capital market to which answers have remain elusive; amongst which are:

1) Why should a build up of activities in the Nigerian stock exchange be as a result of IMF inspired privatization of government owned companies instead of a pro-active initiative of the stock Exchange-after privatization what happens to the stock exchange?
2) Why should the adult population that owns ordinary shares in the capital market be so low, a laughable population of 4-7%
3) Why should the ratio of market capitalization of the stock market to Gross Domestic product be so low-a relevant barometer for Nigeria’s overall economic performance/survival?
4) Why should the Nigerian Stock Exchange insist and lobby to be the only stock exchange in Nigeria? The paper find this unhealthy for the development of the Nigeria Financial system considering that the Abuja Stock Exchange can be a veritable vehicle for the healthy competition between the two exchanges. It is the candid opinion of the paper that it is unfair to make Abuja Stock Exchange redundant by making it a commodity Exchange.
5) Why have policies of capitalization or re–capitalization of banks and insurance firms been the fate of private sector (indigenous) participation in the capital market? This is because to a large extent indigenous private participation is to a large extent dominated by recapitalization banks and insurance organizations?
6) What is the level of market education of what the capital market and its activities represent?
7) To what extent has the capital market succeeded in attracting international capital flow to the Nigerian capital market as a result of actions of institutional actors in the market such as SEC and NSE?
8) When we talk of capital market, the bond and equity market what we are referring to, they are certainly two distinct markets within the capital markets within the capital market. How does the NSE AND SEC intend to assure their maximum performance? How active is our bond market? Is it relevant? Or is it not important to the capital market vis-à-vis the economy as a whole.
The issues that these and other questions raises are pertinent to the survival to the whole financial system vis-à-vis the financial/economy system. This demand an urgent rethink if the capital market vis-à-vis the financial architecture if it is to be relevant to the Nigerian State.

2.1.6 Banking Sector Supervision

The importance of bank supervision need not be over emphasized in the Nigerian financial system. Especially as statistics released by the Nigeria Deposit Insurance shows that of the outstanding debt of N31.64 billion have been recovered as at 31st January, 2002.

Besides, between 1980’s and 2000 a total of thirty four (34) banks were shut down and one (1) was shut down in 2002. In addition evidence indicates that some of the present too-big to fail banks might shut down in the future. It is pertinent to note that the inadequacies or weakness in bank supervision was not only due to lack of understanding of what makeup sound banking policy but also due to the political will and resources (financial, personnel etc) to ensure that bank supervision was pro-active. Many of the supervisory agencies/supervisors lack sufficient independence form special interest and the political process thus rendering them ineffective. Secondly, the supervisors lack the ability but not the authority to intervene early when there is banking crisis which is largely due to the non-existence of analysis of timely information, the laziness of the system and the unpreparedness of the supervisors for such timely intervention, in addition to window dressing of information when such information s available.

The issue of liquidity of the banking sector must be taken into consideration; as this has been a very serious militating factor to banking sub-sector stability in the financial system. The nature of bank lending should be taken into account in accessing bank liquidity. Bank loans are usually booked as short term operations. But this is deceptive as vital absence of long term funding means that short term loan are frequently used to fund medium term and long term investments. Under these circumstances it is misleading to assume that the maturities of the loan portfolio are truly shout-term in nature. Even if the loans are current.

Globalization and competition have also worsened banks liquidity positions. Besides liquidity problems are usually heightened in times of transition. Economic reforms put pressure on banks and also re-shape the business of banking. Devaluation led to the deterioration in liquidity etc lack of capital has equally been a source of crisis, resulting from low capital requirements and low quality capital. All these conditions put together call for ongoing/vigilant bank supervision.

The Nigerian financial legislation(s) does not imposes restrictions on its banking and non banking institutions allowing banks to engage in all types of business (universal banking) and preventing them from others. It thus allows universal banking arrangement to put in place involving insurance, securities banking and activities etc. the downward result been that it lead to artificial product, differentiation that confuses banks customers, Reduce efficiency and transparency of financial intermediation and makes supervision more difficult.

Lastly, there is need to mention that moral hazards of which exit rules, deposit insurance and crisis management are the usual source has become a core issue in the Nigerian banking crisis, in which the critical challenge is how to turn them into incentives for prudent risk taking and minimize the risk that arises.

Drawing extensively from the work of Ruth de Krivoy (2000), the paper is of the opinion that he Nigerian Financial System need to adopt regulations (prudential inclusive) consistent with more effective supervision and implementation with appropriate incentives so that banks and the supervisory agencies act responsibly. As a step in the right direction, the suggestion is that supervisors should be protected from removal at the whims and caprices of the political process. One must stress that for supervision to be effective, the banking sector needs financial support, legal protection and independence, which only the politicians can provide but also abuse.

It is also necessary that regulators and supervisors possess clear grips of banks and banking institution in other to be able to engage in significant discussions with financial institution and be able to craft relevant prudential regulations – regulations that effectively address and enforce risk factors. In addition supervisory agency should be well funded to be able to attract and retain trained professionals with adequate incentives to shield them from corruption. The funding of bank supervision should not be left to government alone, financial institutions must also be called upon to fund the supervisor agency(ies) either wholly or at least in significant proportion thus reducing the influence of politics in the supervisory agency budget and thus balance the stakeholding in the supervisory process.
As a way of tackling bank liquidity problems, banks should be forced to put in place a structure for managing liquidity. Taking into account the pictures of bank assets and liabilities, measuring and monitoring net funds requirements under alternatives scenario, reviewing the liquid assets and short term liabilities in order to properly reflect the impact of price volatility, and enhancing contingency planning. Liquidity planning should take into account the cash flow impact of off-balance sheet liabilities, an area that is of significant interest to banks safety and soundness.

Regulatory agencies must ensure that banks are properly capitalized, with shareholders having real capital at stake. Adequate measures must be put in place to prevent banks from round tripping practices of their shares at the stock exchange as it appears to be the case as at today in the Nigerian Stock Exchange. In addition, consolidated supervision and specific regulation on bank holding companies should be required in order to avert the risk of conglomerates been used to channel low quality assets into banks. Effects to increase capital requirement should only be made when the overall investment climate in the economy is favourable. If such a policy is not undertaken when investor’s confidence is high, it will become impossible mission once the economy enters a crisis for recessions-timing is crucial.

While adequate capital is vital for the health of banks, it must be stressed that asset quality can equally affect the health of banks. Poor-quality capital can virtually wipe out the banks capital; even as formal financial indicators indicate full compliance with capital adequacy requirements. The core issues hovers around connected lending practices and asset valuation and provisioning rules. To effectively contain the monster ‘connected lending’ the following steps, according to Krivoy (2000) are required:

1. Regulations must have the power to implement consolidated supervision and be tough on it.
2. Loans must be clearly defined. It is too easy to by-pass poorly crafted rules.
3. Supervisors must push for the continuous strength of corporate governance by making controlling shareholders and management liable for bank failures.
4. Management incentives should reward compliance and prudent banking at least as handsomely as aggressive business development.

With respect to asset valuation and provisioning, accounting rules must be clear and applied uniformly to all banks, and the rules should be those that encourage prudent valuations and proper coverage of unforeseen losses; especially when macro-economic environment is unstable and financial markets undeveloped.

The challenges of supervising financial conglomerates is indeed a difficult one because as boundaries between regulated conglomerates get blurred, closer co-operation between national regulatory agencies is needed to assure the solvency of all the components of financial conglomerates, which is a key to prudent banking and financial stability; as it gives supervisors the ability to monitor a conglomerate entire business including its domestic financial and non-financial affiliates and its international operations.

In order to effectively manage moral hazard in the Nigerian banking crisis the following steps are essential Krivoy (2000):

1. Supervisors should be given the authority and obligations to impose sanctions on a bank if it fails to comply with regulatory requirements or engages in criminal activities-sanctions must be meaningful and consistent within the banking system.
2. Regulatory intervention should come in as early come in as early as possible-before it reaches the point of technical insolvency-to make the banking system healthier and reduce the potential cost of bank failure.
3. Preventive measures and sanctions should be graduated beginning with cease and desist orders, fines, termination or suspension of deposit insurance, then moving on to holding measures and civil or criminal penalties, and finally allowing government take over and revocation of banks license. The power to promote early mergers should also be part of the regulators arsenal of resolution instruments.
4. Rules for bank closure, resale, or government takeover in the event of bankruptcy should be clear and rigorous. If ‘exit rules’ are late and ambiguous the capital may be gone by the time the exit rules are invoked.
5. Moral hazards thrive when information is in short supply. Supervisors must the fore ensure meaningful reliable and timely information on state of the banking system, especially on banks...
problems, are available—it is crucial to have useful information to avert disaster both normal times and during crisis.

5) Contingency should be provided for as it is a powerful tool for managing crisis—a crisis plan can help strike a balance between short-term and long-term goals: to helping minimize the cost of restoring confidence in the banking system.

6) There should be timely injection of private sector funds into distressed banks.

7) The depth of a banking crisis is a time to build alliances not a time to foment conflicts—all key institutions and the government must be mobilized to rescue the financial system and rebuild national and international confidence in the banking system.

8) In a crisis, it is critical to avoid suspending bank operations, especially if the public could lose confidence in other banks. Shutting the doors of a bank to its depositors can be extremely disruptive, especially if the banking system is weak and no plan is available for dealing with the financial and social consequence of closure—it is much better to implant solutions that do not interfere with banks/customers’ relationship.

9) If a bank must close, the government or regulatory agency responsible for the closure should immediately inform the depositors what to expect. Leaving them in suspense will cause unnecessary suffering and inflame the inevitable social conflicts. This also weakens other banks, because depositors at other institutions may fear their own banks may suffer the same fate, which might spell disaster for the entire system.

10) Burden sharing must not be improvised. It should be clearly determined at the onset who will bear the expense of bank failure—bank shareholders, unsecured depositors, or tax payers.

11) Centralized decision-making should be the key to managing a bank crisis in the financial system. The central bank should establish an emergency body to avoid the confusion of having several overlapping regulatory agencies pursuing independent crisis management strategy.

12) Shareholders should never be protected by deposit insurance. Where possible, regulators should make controlling owners liable for double or even triple the amount of capital that they have invested in the banks, then an incentive for prudent management of the banks are much stronger.

13) Deposit insurance system should be geared to the small and unsophisticated depositor earning a market or below a market interest rate. Sophisticated players out to profit from bank distress should not be subsidized. Deposit insurance must be safely invested. Otherwise the credibility of the credit insurance will be at stake. Lastly, depositors must be educated and made aware of the exact insurance coverage they expect in the event that their banks should fail.

2.1.7 Accounting Standards And Financial Reporting

In this sub-section attempt is made to examine issues bothering on Accounting Standards and the quality of financial reports—including their enforcement and disclosure.

The globalization of financial and product market has raised the interest of market participants and regulators in the quality of financial reporting worldwide and the rise of stock returns across the globe in the past couple of years has been a concern (S.P.Kothari 2000). Arising from this is could grater transparency in financial statement information reduce volatility and produce more accurate stock valuations? Could more transparent financial statements of financial service firms (e.g. banks) improving lending and credit evaluation decisions and contain the risks of banking crisis? These are issues of special interest to all financial system participants in particular the securities and exchange commission and the Central Bank of Nigeria.

Market participants seek high quality financial information because it mitigates information asymmetry between the management of firms and outside investors with the benefit of having desirable effect on cost of capital and volatility of security prices. It is pertinent to note that he quality of reported financial information however, is influenced not simply by institutional factors that affect the demand for and the supply of financial information. The salient institutional factors are the nature of corporate governance (diffuse share ownership versus concentrated ownership, stakeholder model), the legal system, and the existence and enforcement of laws governing protection and disclosure standards. A persistent weakness in these factors that is in the character of the Nigerian Financial System.
There is no doubt that high quality financial reporting is important for an efficient financial system (capital markets inclusive). Besides it goes far beyond the mere issue of solely one of technical accounting standards to an efficient financial system-a multidimensional issue.

Within the Nigerian Financial System there seems to be a consensus for the need for a high quality financial report which for over four decades have eluded the financial system. According to Walker (2000) while the quality of accounting standards are commonly and interchangeably used terms a precise definition of quality or transparency that everyone agrees on is elusive. Citing Pownall and Shipper (1959) they defined transparency as standards that reveal the events, transactions, judgments, and estimates underlying the financial statements and their implication. While citing Levitt, they define food accounting standards as those that ‘produce financial statements that report events in the period in which they occur, not before and not after’. In addition, citing Ball, Kothari and Robin (2000) and Ball, Robin and Wu (1999) they interpret transparency as a combination of the properties of timeliness and conservatism. Timeliness they said is the event to which current period financials incorporate current economic bad news than good news. From these definitions it is clear that serious overlap exist between these definitions.

The above definitions obviously raise a lot of questions in connection with accounting standards and financial reporting in Nigerian Financial System. Amongst which are:

1) To what extent can financial reports produced by the financial system reflect quality and transparency Nigerian Financial System?
2) To what extent do financial information provided in the Nigerian Financial System reflect quality accounting standard?
3) To what extent is regulatory enforcement or corporate application of standards in the system as a whole?
4) To what extent does voluntary and mandated disclosures in financial repsots reduce information asymmetries among participants of the financial system (informed and uninformed inclusive).
5) To what extent have quality financial reports and accounting standards is able to obviate or reveal criminal collusion between auditors and management of corporations?

There is no doubt that Nigeria as a country is stocked with a large number of British and America trained accounting graduates and professionals who occupy sensitive policy positions. Thus influencing to a very large extent the almost whole sale adoption of British and American Standards (which largely adopt international accounting standards) in financial reporting in Nigeria. In addition the Nigerian Financial System can boast of an Accounting Standards Board (NASB) whose representations and consultation can at best describe as grossly inadequate for setting standards. However, despite these tools the Nigerian Financial System lacks good standards that should take care of the inadequacies or financial reporting in the system largely due to:

a) Criminal collusion to doctor or window dressing reports between the auditors and the management of corporations reported on. The bank collapse/crisis and Lever Brothers Plc amongst others are sad reminders of this collusion.

b) The importance of sound financial reporting in the Nigerian Financial System cannot be overstressed. Especially as the financial system remains the nerve center of e Nigerian monetary/economic system. If the system is to grow, develop and be accepted both nationally and internationally, there is the need for:

1) Accounting standards that reflect the need of the Nigerian Financial System.
2) The accounting profession must sort out themselves for the interest of the financial system and the economy as a whole- and come out with reasonable proposals that will see the whole financial system to an enviable height-as it is in the U.K., USA etc.
3) Accounting standards and financial reporting that meets international standards must be the goal of he financial system, taking into consideration Nigeria’s political ad political peculiarities.
4) Extensive consultation of all stake holders and participants in the financial system (professional accounting, banking, and taxation bodies inclusive) before standards are set. As to act contrary is not in the interest of the financial system.
5) There should be wide publicity and constant review of accounting standards after they have been set.
6) Criminal persecution of auditors who collude with management to window dress financial reports with the intention of helping to maintain the quality of financial reports and ensuring the financial reports emanating from the Nigerian financial system are held in high esteem.

7) Put in place mechanism for ensuring that financial reports comply with legal regulatory and disclosure requirements.

3. The Politics of International Financial System and its Challenges to the Nigerian Financial System

The importance of the subject matter of this section—“the politics of international financial system and its challenges to the Nigerian Financial System”—hardly needs over emphasizing, and its timing could not have been more appropriate.

It is necessary to mention that financial policy decision is the consequence of a complex technical economic considerations, domestic socio-political forces ad influence resulting from international political and economic relation which the Nigerian Financial system is not an exception; especially considering the democratic reforms taking place in Nigeria and the African continent, and the increasing leadership role of Nigeria in the monetary policy in the West African sub-region in particular and the African Continent in general.

In the paper’s view both modeling and international monetary policies making often don’t take cognizance of explicit political variables that affect the results of particular economies. Quiet often countries (Nigeria inclusive) choose/make particular monetary policies under some conditions were not systematically specified, which if specified some of them certainly would be political. As a result it is useful and/or realistic that domestic monetary policies should be formulated, taking into cognizance the changing political environment in which they will spill over or which will affect their optimal implementation/performance.

Drawing heavily from the works of Robert O. Keohane (1999), he is of the opinion that the effectiveness of economic policy and financial institutions, particularly domestic financial institutions, depends on a good understanding of operative political pressures. He contends that it is misleading to view international monetary system as a unitary self-interested actors defined entirely by size, location and factor endowments. Also of importance are the attitudes and institutions within societies, and the character of the international institutions—characteristics which the architects and administrators of the Nigerian Financial System must take cognizance of. The Nigerian Financial System it must be noted does not exist in isolation but in a committee of international monetary system.

In an attempt to understand the triangular system of relationship between monetary policies, globalization of financial systems, and the changing international political gallery in which policies operates. Keohane is suggest that if the system is to be modified, attempts must first be made to understand the institutional constraints. The he states include: (1) self-interest of politicians; (2) linkage; (3) credibility; (4) multinational institutions; and (5) exit and value (these the paper does not intend to discuss further.

In addition he argued that politics involves social purpose as wall as imperatives, he thus proposed that three important values – autonomy, equity and accountability be added to the efficient/political feasibility trade-off, suggesting that the value of local control depends on the quality of domestic decision making (the Nigerian financial Market not an exception); autonomy he says is valuable in democracies less so in autocracies and kleptocrasis. Because al political systems including democracy, giving little weight to equity. He suggests that the designers and managers of international monetary system should seek to promote that value at the margin. Thus if the Nigeri State must in all ramifications embed in its financial polices and architecture this complex international political and economic relations in the existence and operation of the financial system on a continuous basis.

In the same vein Masaru Yoshitomi (2000) in his policy prescriptions, sees national financial systems as subsystems of global financial systems both of which are essentially networks: banking market networks, insurance market networks trading and commercial networks; all linked through hub of exchanges or clearing houses or through electronic communication network (ECN) “crossing of trades”.

Furthermore, this architecture has evolved through loose alliances and mergers, and no one actually sat down to design the global network. Besides network have both positive and negative externalities. Network creates leverage whereby one participant can exchange and use another participant’s resources. Wide networks allow multi – modal relationship to be entered into, in which can be many tied. The unfortunate part is that if one component of that leverage chain fails, the whole network may fail, in
other words, leverages actually accentuated or multiplies the interdependency of markets through global market network.

Masaru assertion is that global financial markets has evolved through patch work of various local networks linking various local area (i.e. nation systems) networks together – banking, securities, insurance asset management and real trades. That the flaw of any patchwork of network is that it is only as robust as the weakest link. And the trouble is that in the global area network, local networks were into traditionally designed to take global shocks, besides multinational institutions and industrial countries conspiracy to deliberately collapse certain national/local network for imperialistic reasons is becoming rampant, particularly that of Nigeria and Sub Saharan Africa. In addition, most domestic/national financial systems have been designed on the basis that the central banks takes care of the spike which typically originates domestically – a situation that is no longer realistic, considering the globalization of financial systems – once domestic system get integrated to the global economy through trade and liberalization, domestic system becomes vulnerable to external shocks sometimes outright vicious manipulation along imperialist tendencies-how prepared is the Nigerian Financial System for this kind of re-alignment?

Henry Kanfman (1999) in the contribution to a lender of last resort has this to say:

“... The other matter I want to mention is the failure of major industrial countries to take into consideration in their own policies, the implications of those policies for the developing countries. After all, there was a massive creation of liquidity by us in the United States and Japan and some of the Europeans. And we in the financial market know how to arbitrage that liquidity but push it out to wherever there is a reasonable return.

Now this situation has an imperialistic aspect. All but that seek high rates of returns, but developing counties don’t have the finesse, the will power. The skill and the various financial problems. When that occurs, industrial countries often come into say we will help you out, we will buy your banks, we will buy your corporations, but the price is going to be different than it was four year ago.

Now that is a process that form political viewpoint I believe is not that palatable. That is why the important issue, to a large extent is what is in place in industrial countries and what these counties will do to behave accordingly to reasonable code of financial conduct. After listening to last night’s presentation I came away with the conclusion that because there are so many vested interest that will not be pushed away quickly towards reasonable behavioral standards the industrialized nation will make only incremental change in the supervision and regulation of financial markets...”

The power – play and criminal conspiracy in international monetary system is as vicious as what Kaufman said in a few words – the interest are numerous, changes are only incremental, and design imperialistic. If the Nigerian Financial system is to be relevant to the Nigerian State and African to which she must provide an inspiring leadership in the face of this criminal conspiracy and networks of global financial systems; it must take the politics of international financial system into serious cognizance.

4. Conclusion

The task ahead of the Nigerian Financial System is superlatively great but not daunting provided there is will to have a re-think, re-design, implement and enforce sound financial policies/discipline/practices- not a novel idea. This it can achieve with core strength revolving round building a reliable legal a judicial environment, strengthening our banking system, encouraging/enforcing better accounting standard and financial reporting, discouraging regulatory conflict, encouraging a pro-active foreign exchange choice, encouraging good corporate governance and fostering a diverse financial sector among others.

Financial crisis is inevitable in a politically unstable state like Nigeria with a thin financial market. Therefore the issue is not in not having crisis but should there be crisis, how do we mitigate the crisis. The first step should be to identify and understand the nature of crisis in order to enable us build policy prescriptions and how to implant and enforce such policy prescriptions. Essentially financial crisis over the last 3 decades may only have been of two types, all others been subset of the two. Viz: (1) Capital account crisis which is dominated massive capital inflows and then sudden reversals – dominated by short term foreign currency dominated loans as source of financing which resulted in maturity mismatch and currency mismatch- with its consequent large balance sheet effect, and (2) The conventional “Current Account
Crisis” which is often characterized by poor macroeconomic fundamentals, according to conventional measures: inflation, budget deficit and low domestic savings rates.

The Nigerian financial system is a part of the global system and in a rethink of it and the global implication must be taken into cognizance. Finally the financial system time has come for building the most fundamental brick and the real foundation of an efficient financial system, which is high quality information a pro-active legal and regulatory framework, a pro-active financial system-the absence which will amount to the collapse of the financial system and persistent crisis. The question that this pose is which way forward for the Nigerian Monetary System? Does it need to on a rethink with the aim of massive all embracing overhaul/reform of the monetary system? Or should it resign itself to the present non-performing and epileptic financial architecture? The debate is open.

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Africa and the new renaissance movement: A critique of the new partnership for Africa’s development (NEPAD)

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Abstract
Africa entered the 21st century as a dependent, foreign-dominated, technologically backward, politically unstable, vulnerable, and marginal actor in the global system. The realization of the fact that the current situation is not sustainable, with a growing sense of urgency to overcome the marginal location of Africa in the global division of labour, served as a catalyst for the formation of the New Partnership for Africa’s development (NEPAD). At the core of the new African renaissance – NEPAD is the concept of accountable governments and the entrenchment of democracy and human rights throughout the continent. However, this study argued that the nature of African states as neo-colonies would not allow the vision of NEPAD to be realized. It therefore proposed the restructuring of the state, political openness, genuine regionalizing and a revised understanding of the importance of sovereignty as the panacea to the current African development crisis.

Key Terms: Africa, New Renaissance, Imperialism, Neo-colonial State, Africa’s Crisis, Underdevelopment, Dependence, NEPAD

1. Introduction
Without doubt, Africa entered the 21st century as a dependent, foreign-dominated, technologically backward, politically unstable, vulnerable, and marginal actor in the global system. Decades of foreign aid—albeit informed by cold war considerations and calculations, political support ideological client states, and investments, even if in enclave sectors, produced no appreciable change in the region’s unprecedented deterioration, dislocation, and decay (Ihourbere, 1996). The reasons for this unenviable situation are not lost to observers and scholars of Africa. In the view of Yaker (1993), “Africa, potentially the richest continent, with the poorest people, having been exploited for a long time, can and must become a dynamic developing region if there is to be a common future for mankind”.

Yet, decades of mismanagement, coups and counter coups, environmental degradation, the exploitation and marginalization of women, misplaced priorities, and the neglect of basic human needs have precipitated distortions and disarticulations in Africa’s political economy. In addition, unbridled corruption, the privatization of the state and its resources, the suffocation of civil society, the manipulation of primordial loyalties and criminal abuse of power have also eroded opportunities for creativity, innovation, growth and development. Furthermore, the reproduction and rationalization of neocolonial economic relations and unequal exchange relations with powerful profit and hegemony-seeking transnational corporations, limited or no investments in science and technology, the neglect and exploitation of the rural areas and rural producers, an urban-based investment pattern and extroverted consumption patterns – have precipitated a huge foreign debt profile and discouraged investment and external support (Ihonrbere, 1994).

The net result has been that: Economic growth proved to be elusive, managing an average rate of only 2.1 percent per annum (in the 1980s, less in the 1990s and much less in the 2000s). This translated into a fall in per capita incomes at the average rate of about 1 percent per annum. The human and social conditions of the majority of the African people worsened considerably. Poverty increased in both the rural and urban areas; real earnings fall drastically; unemployment and underemployment rose sharply; hunger and famine became endemic; dependence on food aid and food imports intensified; diseases, including the
dreaded HIV/AIDS, decimated populations and became a real threat to the very process of growth and development; and the attendant social evils – crime, delinquency, family disintegration intensified with a vengeance (Rasheed, 1993).

It has to be underscored, as well, that the contradictions, negative coalitions, and weaknesses of state and society have been compounded by ethnic, religious, regional, and other primordial contradictions and conflicts which scare away investors and force regimes to divert scarce resources to security, survival, and conflict containment. No serious investor, new globalization or not, would seriously think of investing new capital in Somalia, Sudan, DR Congo, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and several other locations of crisis and conflict in the region. As the IMF has warned: Many others, especially in Africa, are still mired in poverty. What is more, while globalization is a monumental force of economic integration that can benefit the poor countries by speeding their development, it may also lead to the marginalization of those countries that refuse to undertake, or are prevented from undertaking, the necessary restructuring of development institutions.

Indeed, the “marginalization of Africa” is not just speculation. All well, the plight of the Africa continent remains the most serious challenge for the emerging world order (Ihonrbere, 1996). Even the World Bank is of the view that Africa’s future, in the increasing complex and competitive global order is at best, bleak and uncertain:

Sub-Saharan Africa will be falling further behind the rest of the world, based on realist projections of current policies and Africa’s current depressed per capita income level, while other development countries and high-income countries will see their average income levels triple by the year 2030. Sub-Saharan Africa’s per capita income will probably be only US $400 by the year 2030, that of the developing countries as a whole will probably reach US $2,500. (Chinery – Hesse, 1993).

Attempts by African leaders under the aegis of the Moribund Onu to address the socio-economic conditions responsible for the continent’s crisis and underdevelopment, using the defunct Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) was however not successful. What is more, the Berge Report prepared by the Bretton Wood Institutions aided to frustrate this plan. According to Anikpo (1987), the release of the Berge Report came into existence, was to serve as a counter-discourse to counteract the revolutionary consciousness, which the document would have reinforced in Africa. He further noted that the LPA represented a historical movement … when all the economic indicators in the continent were pointing downwards, and when the forces of imperialism mostly in the form of neo-colonialism had descended on the continent in all their vehemence, for him and other scholars, the LPA represented on intellectual affront against imperialist exploitation.

But what exactly is wrong with Africa leaders and their people? Are the behaviours of African people and leaders explainable within the forces of imperialism? Will it be more appropriate to see and understand African leaders’ behaviour within the context of imperialist manipulations?

2. Imperialism, Africa’s Crisis and the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD)

Anikpo had emphatically stated somewhere that it may be difficult, for some people, especially intellectual ordinary men, to understand how the African underdevelopment dilemma is a consequence of global imperialist manipulations (Anikpo, 1987).

The concept of imperialism has been elaborately treated by several scholars elsewhere. However, at the alter of redundancy, it may well be necessary for our purpose here to consider the concept as it is both a necessary and a sufficient conditions for us to fully appreciate why Africa is so badly batard socially, politically, economically and culturally.

The present crisis in Africa may well be said to be rooted in imperialism which is Leninist thesis is the highest stage of capitalism (Lenin, 1963), and neo-colonialism which Nkrumah (1963) referred to as the last stage of imperialism. Lenin’s theory of imperialism provides the starting point for theorists of dependency whose basic thrust is on the potentiality of external determination of internal economic, social and political processes of a dependent country.

Theotonia Dos Santos has provided what remains the standard definition of dependency: the concept according to him refers to a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjected. The relation of interdependence between two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and be self-starting, while other countries
Four basic points of relevance are raised in Santos’ definition. The first is that a country can become linked to the with one or more dominant entities. Thus, the channels of dependency are both bilateral as well as multilateral (including non-governmental international financial organizations). The second point is that there exists a kind of foreign-domestic “inter-dependence”. But this can be viewed less unambiguously in relational terms, i.e, for a dependency relationship to occur, two countries must have a cause (indeed, a need) to associate with each other. Thirdly, such interdependence is capable of producing conditioning effects on development (and other) policies of decision makers in a dependent society. Fourth, the emergent relationship is inherently unequal; it is one of dominance and dependence.

As said earlier, and particularly relevant is Lenin’s conception of imperialism as the historical consequence of capitalist development and expansion. According to Lenin, the essential nature of monopoly capital was the need to export its surplus (capital), to seek new external markets, and expand profit-making opportunities. From this, he noted two types of nations! The imperialist and dominated nations. Lenin refers specifically to the concept of dependency and indicated the significance of the inter-relationship between external and internal forces in defining the essential situation of the dependent nations. “Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the period of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its corresponding foreign policy, which reduces itself to the struggle of the Great Powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of transitional forms of national dependence. The division of the world into two main groups of colony-owning countries on the one hand and colonies on the other hand is not the only typical feature of this period; there is also a variety of forms of dependent countries; countries which, officially, are politically independent, but which are, in fact, enmeshed in the set of financial and diplomatic dependence” (Lenin, 1963).

For our immediate purpose, the importance of Lenin’s conception of imperialism rests on:

1. his recognition of the historical dynamics related to the expansion of world capitalism in affecting the internal economic and political processes of the underdeveloped regions and countries.
2. his analysis of Great Power competition for economic and political influence (advantages) in underdeveloped regions and countries, and of the link between imperialism and dependence.
3. his perception of the connection between economic and political dependence and the resulting effects on the domestic and foreign policies of dependent countries.

To be sure, Africa’s contact with the forces of Western imperialism, it must be noted not only brought about total distortion, disarticulation and underdevelopment of the respective social formations, it also ensured its structured incorporation into and peripheralisation in the international division of labour (Rodney, 1972); Fanon, 1978, Brett, 1973; Toyn, 1986; Ake, 1981). This process of underdevelopment and incorporation was achieved through the process of slave trade and the legitimate trade (Nnoli, 1981), monetization, imperialism of trade (unequal exchange), metropolitan directed investment and the creation of indigenous institutions and structures to facilitate the attainment of imperialist objectives (Ake, 1981).

The existence of centuries of unequal exchange and a programmed process of underdevelopment have continued to determine the content and direction of politics and society as well as ensured:

1. the creation of a weak and unhegemonic state.
2. the creation of an unproductive, decadent and dependent dominant class.
3. the preservation of the commanding heights of the respective economies for profit and hegemony – seeking transnational corporations.
4. Cultural alienation and the imposition of values, institutions, norms, etc with little relevance to the objective conditions, of system reproduction,
5. Dependence of African states on the production and exportation of a narrow range of cash crops for foreign exchange earnings.
6. Scientific and technological backwardness,
7. Dependence on foreign aid to sponsor development projects and reliance on foreign “exports”,
8. A deepening process of rural/urban migration, rural decay and urban dislocation.
It is the combination of these factors continent’s predicament. For the conditions of poverty, domination, exploitation and marginalization not only impedes meaningful development or accumulation within the system but also prevents the ruling classes from winning concessions from countries in metropole or in mediating the impacts of crisis in the metropole on development patterns in the periphery: “Economic stagnation and desperate poverty deprive the ruling classes of Africa by the chance of maintaining even a veneer of legitimacy. They reveal capitalism in all its grotesqueness and wickedness and compel attention to the necessity of equitable distribution... “They cannot overcome the stagnation and poverty as long as the global production system remains and as long as they maintain the existing property relations in Africa (Ake, 1981).

The subservience of Africa’s ruling classes to the agents and forces of Western Capitalism as well as excessive reliance on repression and manipulation of religion, region, ethnicity, allocation of resources and projects, etc, contribute to the ruling classes inability to respond effectively to contradictions arising from dependent accumulative patterns and the deepening crisis of world capitalism (Ihonvbere, 1987). To this, Ake (1981) added: “Quite simply the promise of development cannot be realized in the context of the present global production system and in the context of the existing system of property relations in Africa. Performance will lag far behind the expectation of development revealing ever more clearly how the maintenance of the present global production system offers nothing but bondage and wretchedness to Africa”.

Furthermore, Africa has been afflicted with deteriorating terms of trade, declining gross domestic investment at a time when public consumption, and foreign debts are increasing and negative shifts in the international economy are directly affecting the respective economies. The contradictions of trying to manage neo-colonial socio-economic arrangements have only culminated in furthering the peripheralization of the continents in the world capitalist system. The internal reproduction of these global contradictions is evidenced in mass poverty, unemployment, alienation and deepening class contradictions and struggles in Africa. This situation, promotes panic within the ranks of the bourgeoisie.

Since the general conditions of poverty do not allow for a “peaceful” or “democratic” reproduction of the system, more often than not the fraction of the bourgeoisie which control the means of coercion frequently resolve the crisis by intervening in politics (Ihonrbere, 1989), as well as elongating their tenure of office through unconstitutional means. Adebayo Adedeji captures very well the nature of the dialectics of dependence, underdevelopment and mass poverty in Africa.

A casual walk through some of our urban centres reveals the existence and worsening situation of the very things which governments have indicated in their statements of development policies and in their development plans as objects of correction and socio-economic change; shanty towns, congested traffic, beggars, the unemployed, both old and young, in desperate search of the means of living, side by side with the manifestations of wealth and high income and conspicuous consumption ... Our urban distribution networks continue to be an extension of the marketing system of advanced industrialized countries (Adedeji, 1979).

Africa with her huge population is in total disarray, bedeviled by tyranny of civilian rule and military rule, corruption, infrastructural decay, violence, and political uncertainty. As well, by every international measure, be it per capita income, life expectancy, or the United Nation’s index of Human Development, Africa is the poorest region in the world. The region’s sovereignty is under greater pressure and as the state loses the capacity to perform, it also loses credibility abroad and legitimacy internally. According to Ihonrbere, (1996), the rapid growth which is accompanying the new globalization is generating severe environmental pressures and problems; the weak and non-hegemonic state remains incapable of constituting law and order; Africa remains so far behind in the development, absorption, and integration of technology; and it is still inattractive to investors and donors in spite of all the rhetoric about integrating the global economy.

It is precisely these conditions of desperation and weakness that have compelled Africa leaders to focus their minds on the need to act. There is an increasing realization of the fact that the current situation is not sustainable, hence the growing sense of urgency on the part of leaders in the continent. It is against the above background that NEPAD emerged. It emerged in the context of a world order that is radically different from that of the early 1990s, as well as the 1960s and 1970s when the majority of African countries attained independence. It is anchored on a number of principles that are shared by progressive leaders and organizations throughout the world (Nkuhlu, 2003). At the core of these principles is, “the centrality of the concept of a people-centred society, the affirmation of entrenchment in our politics of the
view that the purpose of politics and policy is the promotion of the genuine all-round interests of the people rather than the acquisition of power by a social elite” (Mbeki in Nkuhlu, 2003).

In short, at the core of NEPAD is the concept of accountable governments and the entrenchment of democracy and human rights throughout the continent. Accountable government also means a commitment to sound economic governance and the eradication of corruption. The other very important principle that underpins NEPAD is the ownership and leadership by Africans. The champions of the new Africa are saying that the time has come for Africans to take ownership and responsibility for their own development. The continent is rich in natural resources, but, above all, it has the resourcefulness of its people. The focus, therefore, must be on crating conditions that will release the creativity and productivity of the African people and includes the negotiation of just and fair trade and investment relations with the rest of the world, especially the industrialized countries.

Critical in this process is the establishment of a new partnership between Africa and her international co-operation partners. This must be a partnership that is based on fairness, justice and equitable relationship—not a donor/recipient relationship, but rather a partnership with clearly defined responsibilities and obligations on both sides. A partnership that respects the right of Africans to determine their own agenda and development programme. A partnership that accepts that some of the obligations that the African countries are carrying today are a direct result of the inequitable relations of the past. Finally, a partnership that seeks to integrate Africa and the African people into the global system on an equitable basis (NEPAD) Documents and Speeches, 2003).

Indeed the most important or key elements of NEPAD that would bring the foregoing to realization are its specialized organs and institutions, which serve as mechanisms for effective consultation and to enforce substantial conformity. Prominent among these mechanisms is the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). This is an arm or specialized organ of NEPAD established as a tool for evaluating and for ensuring that member states conform and maintain coherent commitment to the values, codes, etc, in the context of nascent African renaissance (Wordu, 2004).

As stipulated in the framework document the goal of APRM is to get African leaders to subject their governments and activities to thorough scrutiny by other Africans in such priority areas as peace and security. Democracy, good governance, economic and corporate management. Highlighting the importance of APRM to the entire Africa union/NEPAD strategy, former president Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, has this to say:

Africans can no longer remain silent about political abuses... We (African Heads of States) must be prepared to be criticized constructively by follow African leaders (Speech cited in African Recovery Vol. 15, No. 4 December, 2001).

Within the brief period AU has existed and the immediate compelling need to initiate NEPAD as a springboard for tackling the deepening crisis of underdevelopment in Africa, so much criticisms have trailed the new African renaissance. Of a great challenge to NEPAD is the African Growth and Opportunity, Act (AGOA), a major Euro-American initiative to assist in the development of African States (Irikana, 2006). This came at a time AU had floated an indigenous or homegrown strategy to address its nagging development problems. Within the framework of this study, I argue that AGOA like others before it, as well as other critical variables located in Africa set a limit to NEPAD as a potent regional response to the crisis and underdevelopment in Africa.

3. The Limits of NEPAD to the Crisis and Underdevelopment in Africa

It is to be acknowledged that though not the first time Africa leaders are coming to terms with the deep seated development crisis confronting the continent, the formation of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) as a strategy for sustainable development and poverty reduction, is believed, will succeed. There is a renewed hope that the new strategy has the capacity of effecting positive change in the people, who are conscious of the hopeless situation that they face. However, if NEPAD is a strategy conceived by African leaders to address the distorted, disarticulated and underdeveloped social and economic structures of their countries without consideration of the specific historical conditions of their underdevelopment and crisis with a deliberate attempt to, first, articulating their position backed by an ideological framework that can promote self-reliance by elevating national culture through teaching the masses their history, oral traditions, indigenous technology and artistic styles; and second, embarking on restructuring of their economy to give to the people who labour to create social wealth have control over the disposition of that wealth, it is idealistic.
The ideological underpinnings of the new strategy reveals significant ignorance on the part of its protagonists on the importance of structural arrangements in generating development. The petty-bourgeois African leaders envision to use the oppressive and exploitative structures inherited from colonialism to build economic independence, self-reliance and democratic governance. Almost all the factors that marred the realization of the Moribund Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) (OAU, 1981; Adediji, 1984), are still present in the various countries that are signatories to NEPAD. The different countries must have to carry out independent restructuring of their economy without the application of a continental or sub-regional organization’s approach; otherwise, the strategy would only create “agglomerations of neo-colonial branch plant economies… and reproduction of crisis and contradictions that could threaten progress and stability inevitably while consolidating underdevelopment” (Ihornbere, 1989).

One important feature of NEPAD is its African initiative and ownership. According to Nwosu (2006), its key contribution is seen to be the political and policy leadership it offers, and the determination to create the conditions under which African can move towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It recognizes Africa’s responsibility to create the conditions for development by ending conflict, improving economic and political governance and strengthening regional integration. Unfortunately, however, against this fundamental principle, African leaders are looking for support from the international community to achieve the above goals. They are seeking help to end Africa’s acute economic marginalization with measures including increased resource flows, improved trade access, debt relief, support for infrastructure, agricultural diversification and human development (DFID, 2002). In the words of Nwosu (2006):

“There is a widely held view that Africa will require a broad response, ranging from support to some programmatic elements of NEPAD to action in the G8, the European Union, the organization for Economic Co-operation for Development (OECD), the United Nations and other international forums”.

To the extent that NEPAD depends in full measure on foreign support to achieve its goals, it is faulty and contrary to the principle of African initiative and ownership. This attempt would impose unnecessary duplicatory and constraining requirements from these international fora.

Again, a certain body, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM), is expected to drive the needed development by monitoring and assessing the performance of African countries one by one against the background that they are conforming to pre-agreed norms of, for example, good political and economic governance. The APRM is an assemblage of Heads of state and government of different countries. In fact, against the background of most of these leaders who are signatories to AU and NEPAD, their performance in office and how they came into office as well as the sit-tight syndrome that characterize African political leaderships, it is doubtful if these leaders have the moral competence to confront the issues of good economic and political governance. They have amazingly terrible records of violation of human rights and failure to provide what constitute “political goods” for the people. Cases of rebellion by the opposition groups, arrest, detention and brutality/killing of these groups and perceived political opponents, and the weakening of civil society are all features of the present day Africa. The Mugabe’s Zimbabwe’s example is a case in point. The APRM watched helplessly the atrocities going on in that country and other countries like Nigeria under the traditional notions of “autonomy” or “independence” of nation-states. They have failed to recognize that the region’s sovereignty is under greater pressure and as the state loses the capacity to perform, it also loses credibility abroad and legitimacy internally.

African leaders have also failed to be in terms with the challenges of contemporary globalization. Old notions of sovereignty and nationalistic economic policies will only serve, in the context of the changing global order, to consolidate the region’s peripheralization in the global division of labour. Regionalism, requires that some degree of sovereignty be ceded to larger organizations or institutions of collective action aimed at growth, development, peace and stability (Ihornbere, 1996). For poor and underdeveloped nations in Africa, which have failed to attract sufficient foreign investments and are clearly hundreds of years behind in the new technologies, the essence of regionalism, and the voluntary surrender of substantial degrees of sovereignty cannot be overstated. So far APRM had demonstrated lack of political will to enforce the opening up of the political landscape internally, and the establishment of new national orders based on genuine democracy, accountability, and the mobilization of the people for increased productivity.

For almost a decade now that NEPAD had existed questions have not been asked about oil projects which provided so much revenue for some countries. Nigeria, for example, which is one of the largest producers and exporter of oil in Africa, exports millions of dollars in oil per year. Over $300 billion worth
has been pumped from the Niger Delta region in the last four decades, yet the population lives in terrible poverty; the social conditions of humanity in the region is indeed appalling. According to the United Nations “70 percent of Nigeria’s population lives on less than $1 a day, and the poorest fifth of the population received only 4 percent of the nation’s wealth”. The percentage of people living in poverty has more than doubled since 1980, despite the government collecting an estimated $14 billion a year in oil revenue (Dadoo, 2003). The impoverished oil-rich countries in Africa are a stark reminder to authors of NEPAD that oil money does not end up where it is needed most. It is no coincidence that in country after country, oil windfalls have been embezzled or mismanaged, public spending has spiraled to unsustainable levels, industries have died off, education has collapsed, civil strife has grown and poverty has worsened. No single example of oil leading to long term positive outcomes in Africa, except Libya. One of the architects of Africa home-grown plan for economic development, Senegal’s President Abdoulaye Wade, corroborated the failure of NEPAD to deliver when he said,

“I am disappointed. I have great difficulties explaining what we have achieved when people at home and elsewhere ask me that question ... NEPAD had become “confused and a little unfocused” ... we’re spending a lot of money and, above all, losing time with repetition and conferences that end and you’re not quite sure what they’ve achieved” (Sunday Vanguard, October 24, 2004).

What this development portends is a strategy that is a strategy that is already doomed to fail. So far, NEPAD as a strategy for development is not known to people it is meant to serve. Even among the officials of government, the private sector and public sector, people still do not know much about NEPAD, some have not even heard of NEPAD. This is because people were not consulted, neither have they been sensitized Jebbin and Anaele, 2008). On the streets of South Africa’s largest city Johannesburg, for example, few people asked by the BBC’s Alastair Leithead knew what NEPAD was. In fact one of those asked about NEPAD said, “NEPAD? I’ve heard about it but I can’t remember what it is” Sunday Vanguard, October 24, 2004). As well, there has been no attempt to also sell NEPAD to people at the grassroots, probably because most governments in Africa have no credibility and legitimacy to do so in view of how they came to power. NEPAD thus exists in name and on the lips of those who may benefit from its projects.

Further, NEPAD has failed to guarantee security – a critical component part of good governance – to African citizens, given the central cause of the African crisis as the failure of the state structures.
Genetics, stem cell therapies, convergence of biology and other sciences and their impact on Africa

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1. Introduction

In the later parts of 20th century breakthroughs in medical sciences fundamentally changed the science of medicine by the discovery of the human genome and the convergence of biology and other sciences.

The Human Genome Project was lead by Dr. James D. Watson at the U.S. National Institute of Health who lead an international effort to discover the constitution of the human genome. The project started in 1990, the first findings were published in 2000, and the complete sequence of the human genome was published in 2003 (ScienceDaily, June 26, 2000).

The solution to the human genome riddle promises to manipulate the genetic make up of humans to eliminate wide range of genetic deceases. For an example research has been done on the treatment of diabetes, asthma, migraine, schizophrenia and many other deceases. The range of deceases treated and prevented by genetic manipulation will increase rapidly in the 21st century. Furthermore the understanding of genetics may make it possible to manipulate the generic make up of the decease itself and make it less threatening or harmless to people. One such promising development is in the manipulation of the genes of the malaria parasites Plasmodium vivax, the leading cause of malaria in people outside Africa and the more difficult malaria parasite Plasmodium falciparum together these parasites kill and afflict nearly 500 million people annually (Economist, October, 9, 2008).

The Human Genome Project opened up the plausible creation of super-humans through manipulation of their genes and this development may adversely impact developing nations that do not have the technology to do this. However for every threat there is a corresponding opportunity so Uganda and its higher education institutions can leapfrog the historical development of medical sciences by instituting beneficial legal environment for genetic research and focusing educational efforts and investment in the exciting and promising medical field of genetics.

Stem cell technology’s impact on longevity and health is likely to transcend our conception of medicine and the treatment of degenerative deceases. Stem cell research is one of the most promising areas of biology and promises to lead to a whole new approach in dealing with and treating diseases. Stem cell research opens up the option of treading diseases with regenerative stem cells that have the ability to take on the make up of damaged cells in the body and replace them. The process is continuous throughout the life of the patient.

Stem cells are a unique form of cells that are unspecialized and are able to take on the characteristics of other cells such as kidney cells or bone cells. Thus stem cells have the ability to be the basic repair blocks of the body and they have opened up a whole new are in medicine called regenerative- or reparative medicine.

Stem cells come of two types, embryonic stem cells, and adult stem cells. In 1998, Thomson (1998) and his colleagues at the University of Wisconsin-Madison discovered how to isolate human embryo stem cells and how to grow them in the laboratory and since the main focus of the research has been on learning how stem cells are able to renew them selves and be undifferentiated for many year and what causes the stem cells to transfer into specialized cells such as heart cells. A critical element in the use of stem cell based therapies in treatment of diseases such as Parkinson’s and Alzheimer’s diseases, spinal cord injury, stroke, burns, heart disease, diabetes, osteoarthritis, and rheumatoid arthritis is the discovery of the ‘signal’ that encourages stem cells to transfer from being undifferentiated to become the targeted cure cell. Palona et. al (2006) and her team of researchers at the University of Nagasaki discovered an effective process to manipulate the signaling in thyroid cancer cells and opened up the plausibility of treading thyroid cancer by turning off the signals which encouraged the thyroid cancer cells to multiply and do harm to the patient.
As in the case of the genetics, the ethical issues relating to human stem cell research, particularly on human embryonic stem cells, has trigged heated debates in the United States and in Europe. Pro-life advocates have reasoned that the human embryo is a living human being and should not be used in research. On 19th of July, 2006, President George W. Bush vetoes the Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act. Hence upholding previous legislation prohibiting the use of federal money for stem cell research on non-existing lines of embryonic stem cells. In practice the net effect of the restrictions on funding for stem cell research and the related research activities has been the transfer of the stem cell research to counties offering more hospitable climate for the research firms. Breakthrough discoveries in stem cell research are being made in research centers in Japan, Israel, France, Russia, Peoples Republic of China and other countries, which have friendly climate towards this kind of research.

Stem cell companies have not gone unnoticed by the financial community and investors are exploring and investing in promising stem cell firms. According to Russ Urban of SpeculatingStocks.com, "Stem cells are extremely powerful and can dramatically change how we treat various diseases," and in October 2008 SpeculatingStocks began in its analysis and information sharing on stem cell stocks (PRWeb, October, 15, 2008).

Leading scientist are leaving countries like the United Kingdom to work in countries with more favorable working environment for the stem cell research as indicated by the headline new that one of UK’s leading stem cell scientist Professor Colin mcGuickin, professor of medicine at Newcastle University, was leaving the UK for a favorable working conditions in France where he can focus on his patients’ and staffs’ welfare (Waggoner, 2008). According to Don Margolis of the Repair Stem Cell Institute, stem cell therapies were available for 119 diseases in 2008.

The opportunity for Africa and its higher education institutions is to enact legislation encouraging stem cell research in the country, this has the potential to attract international stem cell research organizations to set up research centres in Africa resulting in the development of a state of the art medical industry on the forefront of medical science.

Another development of the 20th century was the convergence of biology with other sciences such as mechanical and electronic sciences. Mechanical components, effectively ball bearings, were inserted into humans after removing their biological joints, which had been damaged through trauma or wear. The first hip replacement was done in 1960. Since hip and knee replacements are common occurrence and have high success rates.

The convergence of biology and electric/digital sciences has taken form of installing electronic components into humans. The first cardiac pacemaker was installed in a human in 1957. Cardiac pacemakers are so effective and reliable that even Richard Cheney the Vice President of the United States has one. The convergence of electronics with the biology of humans continues and promises improvements in the treatment of people with spinal cord injuries and blindness among other problems. Soon electric devises may carry nerve impulses over damaged areas of spinal cords and electronic cameras may replace lenses and retinas in people with damaged eyes but healthy optic nerves (NovaNewsnow, 2008).

2. Conclusion:

African nations have the opportunity to leapfrog the development of medicine in their countries and significantly improve the health of their population by promoting the research into emerging regenerative medicine technologies.

3. References


Changing attitudes to polygamy in Nigeria and women’s struggle for equality

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Abstract
This paper examines the practice of polygamy in the social and legal contexts of Nigeria. The paper, inter alia, hypothesises that due to changing societal attitudes the practice of polygamy is steadily, even if slowly, fading in Nigeria. This hypothesis flows from the writer’s observation of the decreasing or outright vanishing of polygamy among some persons and families, including the author’s, over some generations.

Building on the theory that polygamy is a fading practice in Nigeria, the writer suggests that the best approach to eradicating polygamy in Nigeria is to build on the changing societal attitudes to the practice. Ultimately, ‘nature’ will take its course in the journey of polygamy to extinction. This suggestion is made in the context of the efforts of human rights activists and others to eradicate polygamy because of its negative social impacts, especially the violation of the human rights of women.

1. Introduction: an overview of polygamy
Polygamy is as old as humanity. Historically, it would appear that the practice was the normal order of matrimonial union in human society, and only came to suffer disapproval at later stages of human development in different societies.1

The terms ‘monogamy’, ‘bigamy’, ‘polygamy’, in the sense in which we use them, were unknown, and there existed no words to indicate what they denote. The ‘prohibition’ of polygyny [is not a natural, innate inclination of humanity, but] was promulgated for the first time in any part of the world in the code of Justinian in the sixth century of our era...No authenticated instance is known outside Christian nations of a people among whom polygyny is an object of moral reprobation or is condemned or forbidden by tribal custom.2

As in other parts of the world, polygamy, manifestly, has been an accepted indigenous practice in Nigeria from time immemorial. It was well entrenched prior to incursion of European Christian missionaries into Nigeria.3 Efforts of the missionaries to discourage or eradicate the practice constituted a major point of disagreement between them and their indigenous converts. 4

The Blacks Law Dictionary defines polygamy as, “[t]he state or practice of having more than one spouse simultaneously,” and a polygamist as, “[a] person who has several spouses simultaneously.”5 With the plurality or multiplicity of marriages, polygamy encompasses a situation where a man concurrently or

References
1 J. Cairncross, After Polygamy was made a sin. The Social History of Christian Polygamy, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1974) 1: “In fact, if ‘polygamy was made a sin’, this was the Church’s doing...before the coming of Christ, polygamy was universally established and practiced”
2 R.Briffault, The Mothers, vol. 2 (New York, 1927), 267, [adapted from J. Cairncross, ibid , at p.2].
4 Ibid.
simultaneously has more than one wife (polygyny) and where a woman concurrently or simultaneously has more than one husband (polyandry). However, in the Nigerian context, polygamy is largely restricted to the practice of a man having more than one wife. A woman simultaneously having more than one husband, apart from being a social aberration, is illegal in Nigeria.6 Therefore, in the context of this paper, polygamy is used as synonym for polygyny.

To reiterate, as polygamy entails more than one legal marriage, it would exist only where the parties to the union are married according to the laws regulating polygamy in the society. Legalisation of the marital union manifestly distinguishes polygamy from other man-woman relationships. A married man who has concubines, mistresses, girl friends, ‘woman friends’7 or any other form of extra-marital affairs, in the strict sense, is not a polygamist, however permanent such relationship may be.

However, the issue of legal marriage in the context of Nigerian socio-cultural practices deserves some comments. In Nigeria, cohabitation or giving birth to a child can summarily transform a woman to a ‘wife’, notwithstanding that the stipulated legal conditions for a valid marriage are not satisfied. Thus, where an extra-marital lover moves in with a married man or gives birth to his child, or the man and woman, in any other manner, mutually represent that they are ‘husband and wife’,8 a ‘marriage’ can ensue. Apparently, to underscore this phenomenon, the Yorubas, one of the three main tribes in Nigeria, have a long-standing proverb, “Eni bi’mo fun ni, o kuro ni ale eni.”9

Therefore, a discourse of polygamy from the human rights perspective should encompass such quasi ‘marriages’. An underlying reason for this proposition is that, in the context of such discourse the important issue is the violations suffered by women qua women, under matrimonial guise. Therefore, where a woman is in an arrangement that has all the trappings of a bona fide marriage, the issue of rights violations should not be obscured by technicality over whether she is de jure, a wife or not. A woman who is in a quasi-polygamous marriage would be affected by violations to the same extent as the woman who has the technical cover of legal marriage.

1.1 Legal basis of polygamy in Nigeria

The following are the four sources of Nigerian law:10

- English law
- Legislation, sometime referred to as Nigerian legislation11
- Customary law
- Judicial precedent or Case law

Primarily, legislation and customary law govern matrimonial matters in Nigeria, with statutory marriage and customary law marriage being the two types of legally recognized marriage in Nigeria.

The Marriage Act12 and the Matrimonial Causes Act13 govern statutory marriage, which is also commonly referred to as ‘Christian marriage’, or ‘marriage under the Act’. Statutory marriage is inherently

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7 This term is largely used in Nigeria to refer to female lovers who, because of their ages, cannot be referred to as ‘girl friends’ since they are not girls or young ladies.
8 The representation can be in different forms. Examples are the man maintaining the woman, or both introducing each other to their respective families, friends and neighbors as ‘husbands and wives’.
9 Literally, the interpretation is, “A person who gives birth to a child for us, has gone beyond the level of our concubine.” The purport, however, is that once a woman has given birth to a child for a man, she is no longer a mere concubine but a wife and member of the man’s family. Marriage among the Yorubas, is regarded as inter family affair, not just between the man and woman as individuals- see E.I Nwogugu, *Family Law in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria) Ltd, 1974 ), 229-239.
11 This is to distinguish it from English legislation that forms part of the Received English law.
12 Cap. M6 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN) 2004
13 Cap. M7 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN) 2004
monogamous in nature. When a man and a woman undergo a statutory marriage, none of the parties can contract another marriage while the statutory marriage subsists. A marriage contracted in violation of this rule would be void. Apart from that, such an act amounts to a crime of bigamy.

Quite remarkably, while the criminal law provisions relating to bigamy are grand and ambitious in intent, they have not been of any significant practical effect. Occurrences of bigamy are common in Nigeria. Yet, Nigerian jurisprudence has only one instance of a formal trial for bigamy. According to the presiding judge in the case, “[I] have not been referred to, and I have been unable to find, a reported case on section 370 of the Criminal Code. In my experience on the Bench, first as a magistrate and then as a Judge, since 1946 I have not seen a prosecution under this section.”

1.2 Polygamy: The cultural perspective

Polygamy is inherent in the customary practices of the indigenous people of Nigeria. As a Nigerian sociologist puts it, “[w]e were born into polygyny. It is part and parcel of our society.” The inherently polygamous nature of the Nigerian society may be accountable for the dormancy of the Nigerian Criminal Code provision on bigamy as earlier noted. With many people, including those in positions of authority, being prima facie culpable, there may not be much incentive for the prosecution of bigamy. After all, there could be the dilemma of moral qualification to cast the proverbial first stone.

Nigerian customary law authorizes and governs polygamous marriages. Customary law is unwritten and varies from place to place, according to the ways of life of each community. In that light, customary law has been described as “a mirror of accepted usage.” Islamic law constitutes part of customary law in Nigeria. Enforcement and sustainability of customary law is subject to the following conditions:

a. it must not be repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience.
b. it must not be incompatible with any legislation for the time being in force,
c. it must not be contrary to public policy.

The practice of polygamy and, by same token, the customary law and practice backing it have not been held invalid under any of the three tests of validity set out above. Therefore, inasmuch as the customary laws regulating polygamous marriages remain valid, there is a legal basis for polygamy in Nigeria. Imply too, the Nigerian constitution confers legitimacy on the practice.

1.3 Human rights of women in Nigeria

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14 See generally, E.I.Nwogugu, supra note 9, 23-40.
15 See sections 47 and 48, Marriage Act
17 R v Princewill [1963] 2 All N.L.R 54.
18 R v Princewill supra. Per Reed J. at p. 55.
19 S. F. Petsalis, supra note 3 at 47
20 This is a technical reference denoting that the legislature does not formally promulgate customary, and enshrine it in a definite document, like legislation.
21 Owonyin v Omotosho [1961] 1All N.L.R. 304 at 309
22 See A. O. Obilade supra note 10, 83.
23 See generally G. Ezejiofor, supra note 10, 43-46; Akintunde Olusegun Obilade supra note 10, 100-110.
24 For discussion of the practice and procedure for celebration of customary marriage, see E.I.Nwogugu supra note 9, 19-22 and 41-60. See also S.N. Chinwuba Obi, supra note 6, 155-187.
25 Though a secular state, Nigeria’s constitution permits freedom of worship; (see section 38of the Nigerian Constitution 1999) the dominant religions in the country are Christianity, Islam and traditional worship. While the position under Christianity remains debatable, there is no doubt that Islam and Traditional worship permit polygamy. Therefore, polygamy arguably can qualify as a manifestation of religious belief, and by same token an exercise of constitutional religious rights.
The status and rights of women, over time, have been of concern across the world. Therefore, the rights of women have found expression in domestic laws, constitutions and international treaties. The hope of liberation, contained in these various human rights provisions, is particularly crucial for Nigerian women, just like their counterparts across the world.

The Nigerian Constitution is the centre-point of domestic human rights guarantee in Nigeria. Chapter 4, consisting of sections 33 to 46, guarantees human rights in various forms. Because they are contained in the constitution, human rights in Nigeria are also referred to as constitutional rights. In addition to the Constitution, Nigeria has domesticated the African Charter on Human and Peoples rights. Nigerian courts have consistently held the African Charter to be superior to other domestic legislations. In the case of Abacha v Fawehinmi, the Supreme Court, Nigeria’s highest court held,

No doubt Cap. 10 [the African charter] is a statute with international flavour. Being so, therefore, I would think that if there is a conflict between it and another statute, its provisions will prevail over those of that other statute for the reason that it is presumed that the legislature does not intend to breach an international obligation…the Charter possesses “a greater vigour and strength” than any other domestic statute.

In similar vein, the Nigerian Court of Appeal, in the case of Abaribe v Abia state House of Assembly, emphasised, “[t]his court and lately the Supreme Court held that the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights is superior to our municipal laws.”

In addressing how polygamy affects the rights of Nigerian women, this paper examines relevant human rights provisions vis-à-vis the nature and features of polygamy. Though human rights applicable to women are replicated in various international treaties, this discourse in this paper will revolve round the provisions of the Nigerian Constitution and the African Charter.

Polygamy and Women’s Rights: Some Relevant human rights provisions

Article 18(3) of the African Charter demands the elimination of every form of discrimination against women. In similar vein, Section 42(1) of the 1999 constitution provides that a Nigerian citizen shall not be discriminated against based on sex, among others. Put simply, Nigerian women are entitled to equal treatment with their male counterparts. Polygamy violates the right of Nigerian women to equality and fair treatment. In the first instance, women do not have equal opportunity as men under Nigerian customary law to have multiple spouses if they so wish.33

Unequal treatment of women in terms of polygamy manifests on other fronts too. Women in polygamous marriages do not enjoy some privileges available to women in monogamous marriages. For example, section 36 of the Criminal Code gives immunity to wife or husband in respect of criminal conducts relating to their respective properties. Such defence is not available to a wife of a polygamous marriage as the section limits the application of the provision to husband or wife of a Christian marriage.34 Because the foregoing situation affects women as well as men in polygamous marriages, it is arguable that

28 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (the 1999 Constitution)
30 2 SCQR 489 at 514
31 [2000] 9 W.R.N 1 at 13
33 See S.N. Chinwuba Obi, supra note 6, 167.
34 Christian marriage is another term for ‘marriage under the Act’; see section 1 of the Criminal Code. See C. O. Okonkwo, supra note 16, 123. See also section 161(3) together with section 2(1) Evidence Act Cap. E14 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN), 2004.
it is not discriminatory against women. However, it is necessary to appreciate that, generally, women are not responsible for making marriages polygamous. The scenario thus appears more like sanctioning women along with men for an act basically attributable to men.

Polygamy affects the mental health of women. Article 16 (1) of the African Charter guarantees the right of every one to attain the attainable state of physical and mental health. According to the World Health Organization, health is ‘a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.”35 The typical Nigerian polygamous family is one of rivalry, intrigues, clandestine machinations and scheming. Each of the wives wants the attention of the husband. Resort to ‘juju’ or other means to achieve their goals is commonplace. With such scenario as everyday occurrence, the woman in polygamous union cannot be regarded as being in a state of mental and social well being.36

Polygamy further impinges on the reproductive health rights of women. Reproductive and sexual health right denotes that “people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so.”37 In the conventional polygamous arrangement, the husband has the final say on which of his wives he has sexual intercourse with at any time. The following reported account of a woman in a polygamous marriage in Nigeria illustrates the issue: “It may seem strange to you the way we live, but to us it is a way of life…He buys the same cloth for us to make our clothes. At night, he will choose whomever he fancies to come to him.”38 Thus, whatever the disposition of the woman, she has to obey the husband’s call to sexual duty. In some cases, the sexual intercourse with the husband is on roster basis, also known as “turn-by-turn”. Thus, even if there were no pressure from the husband, because of the rivalry and intrigue between the competing wives, no wife would want to miss her ‘turn’. Hence, she is still indirectly compelled to engage in sexual intercourse willy-nilly.

Childbearing is a measure of successful marriage in Nigeria. The average Nigerian woman aims to have as many children as “God gives her.”39 This particularly affects the reproductive health of women in polygamy; the rivals generally strive to outdo one another in the race to produce more children or beget the desired gender in some circumstances. In a way, the compulsive childbearing phenomenon prevalent in polygamy has a spill-over effect on women in monogamous marriages. The woman in a monogamous marriage, who has not satisfied her husband, or the extended family, as to the desired number of children or gender of child, is under constant threat of having to share the husband with other wives. To avoid such a situation many Nigerian women would rather stretch their bodies to breaking point in order to satisfy the husband’s whims; many, sadly, die trying.40 In another vein, where a new woman comes into the household to redress the reproductive limitations of another woman, the new woman has a mandate to live up to the reproductive expectations of the husband and the extended family in some situations. She is not in control of her body; she becomes, essentially, a breeding machine.

The practice of sending young girls into early polygamous marriages is rife in the predominantly Islamic and largely polygamous northern part of Nigeria. In other parts of the country, there is also the practice of marrying off young girls to ‘take care’ of older men, or ‘assist’ ‘old wives’ who can no longer meet the sexual needs of the husband. Generally, there is no prescribed age of marriage under customary law; the benchmark is “puberty”.41 Stampeded into premature sexual intercourse and, usually, inevitable

35 See R. J. Cook, B. M. Dickens and M. F. Fathala supra note 27, 12.
37 UN, Department of Public Information, Platform for Action and Beijing Declaration Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4-15 September 1995 (New York: UN, 1995), para. 94.
38 S. F. Petsalis supra note 3, at 53, [emphasis added].
40 A few years back, at a clinic in Abeokuta, Nigeria, the author witnessed the case of a woman who died after giving birth to her 7th female child. From accounts of the nurses, her husband had asked her not return home if she did not beget a male child. After delivery, she suffered depression from which she never recovered until she died.
41 See E.I.Nwogugu supra note 9, 41.
child bearing, many of the young wives end up dying or suffering vesico-vagina fistula (VVF) or vesico-rectal fistula (VRF) with the attendant anguish and dehumanization. 42

Polygamy is now recognized as one of the means through which HIV/AIDS spread.43 The multiplicity of partners is the main reason for the high rate of exposure to HIV in polygamy. Where any of the spouses is infected, he or she invariably infects the others. The likelihood of extra-marital affairs by women in polygamous unions can also contribute to the high rate of exposure to HIV. In some situations, the husband may not be able to satisfy the sexual needs of his wives in cases of large numbered wives. There is tendency for any of the women to seek additional sexual gratification from other men, thereby increasing the risk of infection.

Polygamy exposes women to economic deprivation and concomitant suffering. Polygamy largely appears to be the pastime of wealthy men who engage in the practice under the cover of religion or culture; but this is not always the case. In Nigeria, there are cases of ‘circumstantial polygamy’ or ‘accidental polygamy’. These can occur where pregnancy results in the course of an extra marital affair. The typical consequence of such accidental pregnancy is that compulsive marriage or co-habitation ensues. Similarly, a married man may take another wife for the purposes of having more children or a particular gender of child as earlier noted. In either of these circumstances, the man may not be a man of means. Even where the man engages in polygamy because he is wealthy, misfortune may set in at any time, or the man’s family may have expanded beyond his financial capacity. Through economic deprivations, the women and their children in a polygamous union would have to face the agoniies of poverty. As fallout, the wives or children, particularly the mature girls, are exposed to temptations from unscrupulous men or ‘sugar daddies’, who capitalize on the women’s poverty stricken situations. 44

In traditional societies, and even in the modern era in parts of Africa, one of the means of building political, business, military and other alliances is inter-marriages. Naturally, many would want to align with the influential and the powerful through giving out their children in marriage.45 In these circumstances, there is the probability of forced marriages and the inevitable objectifying of women. With regard to the foregoing, the woman stands as a voiceless object, designed for the social elevation of the man. The image of the woman is that of a person without autonomy; every other person, apart from herself, seems to know what is best or appropriate for her. The account of a Nigerian university professor, based on his family experience, offers an illustration of the violation of women’s autonomy in the practice of polygamy. The professor stated, “Even as a small boy, I had asked my mother why she had to marry somebody who already had five wives and she said during their time women were not given any choice. The father just woke up, held her hand and handed her over to her husband and she had no moral justification to say ‘No’ to him.”46

1.4 Nigeria, polygamy and international human rights law: State accountability and responsibility


43 See E. M. Kisaakye, supra note 36 at 279: “With the coming of HIV/AIDS on the scene, polygamy also puts the women’s right to health in jeopardy…polygamy also affects the women’s right to life, particularly in light of increasing their vulnerability to infection with HIV/AIDS.”

44 See Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, Contributions of the Committee to International Conferences. Report of the Committee on Progress Achieved in the Implementation of the Convention, Note by the Secretariat. CEDAW/C/1995/7,109: “14. State Parties’ reports also disclose that polygamy is practiced in a number of countries. Polygamy contravenes a woman’s right to equality with men, and can have such serious emotional and financial consequences for her and her dependants that such marriages ought to be discouraged and prohibited.” [Emphasis added].

45 See Sophia Florakas Petslalis supra note 3, 45-47.

46 ‘Female students don’t harass me sexually, but they sexually embarrass me- Dr. Awoyinfa, Unilag Lecturer’, Sunday Punch [Newspaper] June 14, 2009 p 28 (emphasis added). See also D. Greschner “Pregnant with Meaning: Discourse, Democracy, and the Daigle Decision” in Antony and Samuelson Power and Resistance (2nd ed) (Halifax: Fernwood, 1998), 160-165. See also ‘Female students don’t harass me sexually, but they sexually embarrass me- Dr. Awoyinfa, Unilag Lecturer’, Sunday Punch [Newspaper] June 14, 2009 p 28. In the news interview report, a Nigerian university professor from his family experience highlighted the fact of
Article 2 of the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* charges state parties to ensure that all forms of customs and practices discriminatory against women are abolished. As earlier noted in this paper, polygamy falls within the scope of customs and practices that are discriminatory against women, and hence required to be abolished in tune with the spirit of article 2 of the *Women’s Convention*. Varieties of means have been adopted to confront polygamy in different parts of the world. Some countries have sought to abolish polygamy by means of legislation. Some countries have devised measures to discourage harmful polygamy by seeking to ensure that the interests of women protected in polygamous unions. For example, in Iraq marriage to more than one wife is only possible after obtaining the permission of a judge. The judge, before issuing, the order has to be satisfied on some issues, which include proof and that the wives would be treated fairly and equitably. If the judge is not satisfied on such issues he may bar an applicant from taking additional wives. Violating a judge’s order against taking additional wife is punishable by one-year imprisonment, a fine, or both.

Polygamy in Nigeria is also grounded in discriminatory customs and religious practices that indisputably fall within the scope of article 2(f) of the Women’s Convention. Nigeria as signatory to the Women’s Convention thereby has a responsibility to abolish the customary, social, religious and other norms that sustain polygamy, and by same token the practice of polygamy. The situation of polygamy in the Nigeria can be examined in the context of pertinent constitutional and statutory provisions.

Like many other countries, Nigeria has a supreme constitution that disapproves of discrimination based on sex among other grounds. Yet, discriminatory practices of polygamy still find legal cover under the country’s customary law systems. In light of the supremacy of the Nigerian constitution, one may wonder why or how customary law and practices that support polygamy still have legitimacy in Nigeria. One may also wonder why the government has not adopted statutory measures to expressly outlaw polygamy in order to put the issue of unconstitutionality of the practice beyond doubt.


48 The relevant portion of the article states: “State Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake:

(a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle…

(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices, which discriminate against women. States owe a duty and are responsible for making their domestic law and practice conform to their international human rights law obligations.”


50 Ibid.


52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.


55 Section 1. By virtue of its supremacy, any other law that is inconsistent with the constitution will be null to the extent of the inconsistency.

56 Section 41 of the Nigerian Constitution
Whatever the situation is, it has been observed that Nigeria’s effort at abrogating discriminatory practices vis-à-vis polygamy is not sufficient. Notwithstanding the inadequacies, however, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) has had cause to applaud Nigeria’s anti-discrimination effort. It is open to debate what may have influenced CEDAW to award pass mark to Nigeria in light of the practice of polygamy and the violations of women’s rights, which it engenders.

Without prejudice to the above analysis, the abolition of polygamy in Nigeria goes beyond the mere promulgating or existence of anti-discrimination constitutional or other legal provisions. Similarly, international treaties, however well formulated or packaged would not be sufficient to abolish polygamy. As a commentator noted,

developing international human rights through treaties such as the Women’s Convention, and recognizing international customary law on human rights are necessary but in themselves not sufficient steps to the achievement of women’s human rights through international law. The legal foundation of rights serves only as a basis on which to build structures that will protect the security and integrity of women and provide them an equitable opportunity for individual and collective development.

It has been argued that effective monitoring and policing of state parties’ compliance with treaty obligations and enforcement of state responsibility for treaty violations can bring out the desired visions embedded in international treaties. Translated to the Nigerian context, the inference would be that an effective monitoring and enforcement of relevant international treaties like the Women’s Convention can bring about the abolition of polygamy in Nigeria.

While effective monitoring and enforcement are quite desirable, some factors affect their feasibility. One, there is a limit to which other states, organizations or bodies can intervene in the internal affairs of another state. Therefore, if the state concerned is not willing to cooperate, monitoring and policing may not be feasible. Two, other state parties may not find it worthwhile to raise issues that are not of any value to them.

Going by the analysis above, polygamy may appear to be an indestructible institution in Nigeria. However, there is an indication that the practice of polygamy in Nigeria has started a gradual journey into
extinction. As this paper will seek to show below, there is increasing disinterestedness in polygamy among many Nigerians. If this trend continues, and there are indications it will, in some generations to come, polygamy will certainly become a relic of social history in Nigeria. For the essence of clarity, the basis of the assertion that polygamy is declining in Nigeria is set out below.

1.5 Declining polygamy: Family history as starting point of hypothesis

The author of this work makes his family setting the starting point of his statistical hypothesis on the decline of polygamy in Nigeria. For the essence of clarity it is considered pertinent to present writer’s account in his words on first-person account basis:

“Born in Nigeria in the early 1960’s I grew up with my paternal grandparents in a polygamous family setting. We lived in a densely populated but close knitted community in the mainland of Lagos. In our neighbourhood, literally, everyone knew what went on in the life of every other person. Relatives, neighbours, schoolmates, and other families I knew existed in polygamous settings. To me, polygamy was the normal order of things.

At some stage, I met and spent some time with my maternal grandparents in Abeokuta, in the western part of Nigeria. In my young mind, I found it strange that my maternal grandparents were living in a monogamous setting, with my grandmother as the only wife. Through discussions in my adult years with maternal grandmother, who is still alive, and some faint childhood memories, I recalled that with the innocent minds with which children usually act, I vigorously “debated” and “queried” the monogamous setting of my maternal grandparents.

Essentially, that encounter gave me the first indication that polygamy may not really be the normal order of matrimonial relationship, as I had earlier believed. Furthermore, I discovered that polygamy was not a matter of religious or customary obligation, but a matter of individual choices, which may be influenced by extraneous factors like social pressure. I consider it necessary to mention in this respect that my maternal grandparents were Muslims. My grandfather was a leader of an Islamic group in his community while my grandmother was also an influential leader in the women’s wing of the Islamic group. In contrast, my paternal grandparents, who were in polygamous setting, were Christians and equally prominent members of their local Christian community.

Somehow, polygamy literally became extinct in my paternal family after the generation of my grandfather. No person in my father’s generation and my generation has ever engaged in polygamy since.

The extinction of polygamy in my paternal family forms the starting point of a statistical configuration that has lead to my theory that polygamy is declining in Nigeria. This family situation has been a catalyst for further ‘comparative studies’ on the incidence of polygamy.”

1.6 Declining polygamy: Beyond the family

Beyond his family setting, the writer over the years has observed and reflected on the matrimonial situations of friends, neighbours, associates, colleagues and so on to determine the incidence of polygamy. Findings from the observation have shown that there is similar decline in polygamy just as has been the case in the writer’s family. On another front, the writer has held random discussions with different men,

64 Up till his death my maternal grandfather never took any other wife in addition to my grandmother. Furthermore, as far as I know, though there have been cases of divorce and remarriage, no one in my maternal family has ever undertaken a polygamous marriage. My mother and grandmother informed me that there is an underlying family disapproval of the practice. They also constantly advised (and still advise) my siblings and I, as well as other relatives against polygamy.

65 I have been married for about nineteen years with no intention whatsoever of engaging in polygamy. Generally, the belief in my extended family fold is that polygamy is an unattractive venture that would ultimately bring unhappiness to the parties involved.

66 For example, in the observation, the writer assessed the nature of the matrimonial unions of a large section of a Nigerian university and employees of a company with branches across Nigeria with which the writer has been associated. In the case of the company, out of about 750 persons observed, only one was found to be in a polygamous union. In the case of the university, on the basis of faculty to faculty assessment, it was incontrovertibly established by the writer that about 95% of the teaching staff were not in polygamous unions and disapprove of polygamy; the writer could not incontrovertibly confirm the situation of the remaining 5%. For some reasons the identities of the persons, university and company constituting the subjects of the discrete investigation cannot be disclosed in this medium.
especially in the age bracket of 35-60 years, to assess their views on polygamy. Most of the discussants do not regard polygamy as a worthwhile venture and they generally would not want to be involved in the practice.

Furthermore, in the course of about twelve years of teaching Matrimonial Causes in the university, the writer has endeavoured to expand the scope of his investigation and observation beyond his immediate field of friends, neighbours and associates. Random interviews and discussions have been undertaken at different times in different parts of Nigeria. Particularly, through his students, especially those in the Family Law classes, the writer has been able to indirectly reach persons and places he could not reach directly. Over the years, by way of practical studies, especially at the stages discussing types of marriages, students have been made to give presentations on the incidence of polygamy in their various environments and among people they have come in contact with beyond their environments.

Findings from the above noted ‘field works’ strongly suggest that the coast of polygamy is steadily receding on the Nigerian landscape. To elucidate, the findings are to the effect that a number of people who by their socio-economic or other standings would have engaged in polygamy in the past now tend to avoid the practice. In addition, the findings show that many people, female and male alike, tend to frown at or renounce polygamy as an unacceptable social practice unlike in the past when it gained wide social attention and acceptance.

1.7 Declining polygamy: Scrutiny and verification of hypothesis

The writer’s ‘statistical’ route to the conclusion that polygamy is reducing in Nigeria may not be insulated from criticisms. Perhaps, one criticism is that the writer’s observation has not been in accord with the typical research approach of demographers, sociologists, anthropologists or any other operator in the social sciences field. Characteristically, the social scientist researcher might have drawn up questionnaires or use some other measures to “gather and analyse data” in formulating a proposition on the prevailing incidence of or social attitude to polygamy in Nigeria. With the writer admittedly not adopting this social scientist’s approach, his conclusion on the situation of polygamy in Nigeria may be criticized by some as not being empirical or scientific in the strict sense.

While appreciating the soundness of the above noted criticism of methodology, it needs to be reiterated that the paper is undertaken from the perspective of law. In that light, the validity of the position taken as to the decline of polygamy by the writer has to be considered with reference to the standard legal mechanism for determining whether a position is evidence based or mere speculation. In Nigeria the pivot of determining whether an issue has been legally proved or established is with reference to relevant rules of law of evidence; the cornerstone of the Nigerian law of evidence is the Evidence Act. A learned writer alludes to this point in the following words:

The entire law of evidence is dependent, in the main, on the rules governing admissibility and inadmissibility of evidence, and whether a piece of evidence is admissible or not is dependent upon whether the fact to be established by the evidence is relevant to the facts in issue, relevancy to be judged by the provisions of the Act and not by any rules of logic. The Evidence Act defines a “fact” to include “any thing, state of things, or relation of things, capable of being perceived by the senses”. Furthermore, the Evidence Act deems a fact to have been proved, “when, after considering the matters before it, the court either believes it to exist or considers its existence so probable that a prudent man ought, in the circumstances of the particular case, to act upon a supposition that it does exist.”

67 The writer is a Senior Lecturer at Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria. He has engaged in the teaching of Family Law since 1997; Marriage and Matrimonial Causes constitute major components of Family Law in the university syllabus- see

68 It is necessary to mention that the studies encompass subjects across Nigeria, including the largely Islamic northern part of the country, which is more prone to religious-based polygamy.

The students in some respect constituted subjects, vis-à-vis the situations in their respective families, and in turn, the students assess the situations in other families of their friends, relatives, neighbours and so on.

69 Evidence Act Cap E14. Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 2004


71 Evidence Act, Section 2 (1)
From a legal perspective, the main fact in question, and which needs to be proved in the context under discussion is whether there is a decline in polygamy. Flowing from this is whether the writer has shown some facts which, at least, can stimulate a prudent person to act upon a supposition that decline in polygamy does exist.

A fact can be proved by any of the admissible evidence provided for in the Evidence Act; these include oral, documentary and circumstantial evidence. The crucial point with respect to any adduced evidence is that the evidence must be direct evidence. An evidence is said to be direct when it flows from the personal knowledge of the witness; thus if an evidence is one that can be heard, the direct evidence of it must be the evidence of a witness who says he heard that fact. The assertion as to the decline of polygamy postulated in this paper flows from the direct findings and also personal experiences (as in the case of extended family) of the writer. Thus, evidence on the decline of polygamy is a direct and admissible evidence of the writer. In another vein, the picture painted of declining polygamy in his family and some quarters offer a strong basis for making inference as to the standing of polygamy in Nigeria, thereby constituting admissible circumstantial evidence too.

Whatever the case is, the situation of polygamy in Nigeria as set out in this paper is a fact of common knowledge and can be verified easily. Moreover, random discussions would support the position in this paper as to the state of polygamy in Nigeria. It is hoped, however, that there will be empirical investigation of the issue in order to affirm in more concrete statistical terms, the declining situation of polygamy in Nigeria.

1.8 Factors accounting for the declining polygamy

The decline in the prevalence of polygamy in Nigeria can be attributed to certain factors. One, many men and women of the present generation are direct products of polygamous unions or they experienced the effects of polygamy in some other ways. Based on discussions, unpleasant experiences in polygamous settings constitute key factors that have discouraged many people from venturing into polygamy. Furthermore, in many circles, polygamy is now perhaps regarded as the practice of “illiterates” and uninformed people of bygone eras. Therefore, a growing class of elites would not want to engage in the practice so as not to lose the esteem of associates.

The views of a Nigerian university professor in a newspaper interview allude to the foregoing points. In response to the question, “What would you want to marry a second wife?” the professor who grew up in a polygamous family replied: “I abhor the practice. From my experience I would not advise anybody to marry a second wife…It will be an aberration for any right thinking individual to go and marry two wives because it is one wife one trouble.”

One may equally mention the impact of widespread Pentecostal Christianity in Nigeria over the past four or five decades as a factor that has contributed to the growing decline of polygamy. Through strong conversion drives, adherents of other faiths are regularly propelled to convert to Pentecostal Christianity. The centre-point of Pentecostalism is being ‘born-again’ and engagement in holy living. By and large, polygamy is deemed incompatible with holy Christian living. In that regard as the adherents of Pentecostal Christianity increase so also is the fold of people that are apt to shun polygamy as sinful act.

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72 Ibid.
73 For explanation of “admissibility” see T. A. Aguda supra note 70 at pp. 23-24.
74 See ibid. at 14 and 123-124
75 Ibid at 124
76 For explanation of circumstantial evidence see T. A. Aguda supra note 70 at p. 14. With reference to court proceedings, the writer explains circumstantial evidence as “evidence offered to the court for the purpose of the court inferring therefrom the existence of a fact in issue…It is usually contrasted with “direct evidence”…”
77 Largely, the term is used to denote unenlightened people in Nigeria. It is in that context that it is used here.
78 ‘Female students don’t harass me sexually, but they sexually embarrass me- Dr. Awoyinfa, Unilag Lecturer’, Sunday Punch [Newspaper] June 14, 2009 p 28
79 Ibid.
80 It should be noted that the impact of Pentecostal Christianity on many Nigerians is far stronger than the
Furthermore, improvement in education and economic conditions of Nigerian women have given them a voice in choosing who they marry, unlike in the past when they were summarily packaged off to men because women were deemed incapable of taking care of themselves. And through globalization many Nigerians have come to realize that single status of women is not an anathema. Therefore, the desperate quest for the social status of marriage, which drove many women into polygamous unions, in the absence of a better option, is no longer a strong motivating factor. There are now a number of unmarried and single female parents in Nigeria who are frank and open about their single or unmarried status, unlike in the past when they were expected to ‘bury their heads in shame.’

1.9 Activists and eradication of polygamy: question of appropriate methodology

In light of its negative impact on the rights of women, the drive of activists and other stakeholders to eradicate the practice can hardly be questioned. However, it is essential that proper approach be adopted in the drive to eradicate polygamy. An aspect of taking proper approach is to appreciate the social, political and other factors that influence the action of government. This appreciation would enable activists to decide which methodology would be the best approach in pursuing the ‘reform’ of polygamy. A learned writer summed up the issue as follows:

> It is important to understand the nature and dynamics of the behavior of governments entities, acting within the context of specific political, economic, and social conditions, and also the nature and dynamics of power relations prevailing in a particular country. No government can afford to disregard the politically articulated wishes or positions of powerful groups or segments of its population who might want to maintain religious and customary laws.

In determining the best approach, it is pertinent to evaluate some conventional advocacy methodologies in the context of polygamy. One conventional advocacy methodology is legislative reform. Simply, this methodology involves advocating or canvassing legislative intervention as a means of addressing a situation. The process can entail making new legislation, repealing or amending an existing one. This writer thinks that advocating for legislative intervention to expressly outlaw the practice of polygamy would not achieve any meaningful goal. As noted earlier, polygamy in Nigeria touches upon religion and culture. The Nigerian Constitution and international human rights law protect the rights of persons to manifest their beliefs and partake in the culture of their community. With the practice of polygamy falling within the scope of cultural and religious rights, seeking to outlaw polygamy may create a paradoxical scenario where the government encroaches on these rights in the quest of safeguarding, for instance, women’s right to equality the transgression of which polygamy occasions. Put differently, if the government attempts to outlaw polygamy expressly, it could face a dilemma of infringing on some rights in the quest of safeguarding another.

Religion is a very sensitive issue, particularly in northern part of Nigeria. With the practice of polygamy in that part of the country largely regarded as a component of the Islamic religion, some groups may interpret any attempt to outlaw polygamy by means of any legislation as an affront on their religion. The following comment, relating to early marriage, points at the possibility of such a scenario:

> But the campaign against early marriage is not going down well with many Muslim Clerics in the north. It’s seen more as Western propaganda against Islam...

‘conventional’ orthodox Christianity introduced into Africa by European missionaries. Labouring under heavy yoke of poverty and other problems, many Nigerians see the miracles that, perceptibly, exist in the Pentecostal fold as the way out of their problems. Hence, many strive to cling to the condition of holy living. Moreover, many influential and powerful Nigerians now profess or associate with the Pentecostal ministries. Therefore, holy living, at least in some respects, appear fashionable and easily acceptable too.


82 A.A. An-Naim supra note 54, 169.

83 See articles 8 and 17 African charter; sections 21, 38, and 42 the Constitution.
Dr Sani said the campaign against early marriage in the Muslim North is ill advised. "It is misguided and it is going to be seen as a challenge to the cultural and religious beliefs of the people."

Another conventional advocacy methodology is **collating and reporting**. Collating and reporting can be explained as the processes whereby activists obtain and collate incidents of human rights violation or non-compliance with some treaty obligations; reporting is the aspect where the incidents collated are brought to the attention of the public or bodies having oversight roles in respect of the matter. The underlying function of collating and reporting is that appropriate persons or organs are made aware of the actual state of things so that corrective actions can be taken as necessary. The likely impact of collating and reporting as a methodology of tackling polygamy is debatable. Polygamy and its impacts in Nigeria and beyond are issues of common knowledge. Therefore, collating and reporting would seem superfluous, as the question would appear to be 'what is new or strange?'

Another standard advocacy tool that perhaps would seem more potent than the others in the context of the fight against polygamy is litigation. Litigation simply is the process of using judicial processes to address a human rights or any other pertinent issue. Judicial pronouncement on such issues can bring about the situation canvassed and desired by activists. An example is the South African case of National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian and another v Minister of Justice and Others in which gay activists instituted action that lead to the official recognition of homosexual rights in South Africa. In the context of polygamy, activists for instance, can institute action for a judicial declaration of polygamy as unconstitutional or unlawful practice.

While appreciating its potency, the use of litigation to secure a judicial eradication of polygamy would be prone to some challenges in Nigeria. Principally, support may not come from the camp of Nigerian women as the affected and interested group as they may not see the need for a revolution over polygamy. Many women, including educated, enlightened and highly placed ones, voluntarily go into, or stay in polygamy for various reasons. Voluntarily opting for polygamy, indisputably, is an exercise of their autonomy to decide whom they marry. With that mentality, it would be difficult to carry along people falling within such fold. Litigation, to some extent may even make the 'house of women' to be divided against itself.

It is inferable from the analysis above that an aggressive or confrontational approach by any means may not be feasible in the drive to eradicate polygamy in Nigeria. Appreciations of this fact, perhaps explains why the Nigerian government has refrained from the confrontational approach of seeking to outlaw polygamy by means of legislation. With the steady decline in the practice of polygamy in Nigeria as discussed in this paper, it can safely be projected that if the trend continues, the practice of polygamy will eventually “burn out” in Nigeria. In view of this, the best approach to eradicating polygamy is for activists and stakeholders to harness energy to the improvement of the economic and social situations of women. With economic empowerment and independence, it would be easy for women to ameliorate the storms of marriage, whether polygamous or monogamous. Also, if it becomes necessary for them to quit such an arrangement, it would be easy to stand on their own. They would not remain in servitude because of fear of the unknown.

In addition, activists and stakeholders should sustain and intensify awareness and educational campaigns on the problems of polygamy. In this respect, female activists need to work in concert with likeminded men who abhor polygamy. And as posited in this paper, the fold of anti-polygamy men is on the increase in Nigeria. Essentially, the drive to eradicate polygamy should be seen as collective ‘human issue’, not ‘women issue’

2. Conclusion

Discussion of polygamy in Nigeria, just as in other places, inevitably dovetails into the question of its negative social impacts. Consequently, there is a global yearning and drive for the eradication of polygamy.

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84 The News Vol.21 No.14 06 October 2003, 46
85 Constitutional Court, Case No. CCT 11/98; [1999] SA 6-70
86 See note 19.
Activists and governments have pursued the drive to eradicate polygamy in various ways and by various measures. Among others, legal measures in form of international treaties and domestic enactments touching on polygamy have evolved. However, the extent to which the measures have been successful in reducing polygamy remains debatable.

In view of the declining popularity of polygamy, this paper has suggested some approaches by which polygamy can be ‘nursed’ to its grave. These approaches can be summed up as education, women empowerment and pragmatic bridge building. The suggested measures though may seem rudimentary and perhaps more of overused clichés. Nonetheless, it is the writer’s view that the approach represents a more realistic way of confronting polygamy in the prevailing Nigerian context, compared with the conventional human rights advocacy methodologies.

David’s approach in the biblical clash with Goliath may not qualify as a realistic recommendation in battle strategy. As rudimentary as it was, it fell an intimidating giant that hitherto appeared indestructible and immovable. The story of David and Goliath, at least, illustrates that a seemingly simplistic and inconsequential weapon can neutralize a formidable foe. In the realm of confronting polygamy, the story strikes a cord. This is that the suggested rudimentary measures, backed up by a “wait and see” attitude hold very promising chance of banishing polygamy into oblivion in Nigeria over and above conventional advocacy methodologies.

88 For an account of the clash see, e.g. 1 Samuel, Chapter 17, verses 1-50, The Topical Bible (2nd ed.), (Chicago, Illinois: The Bible League, 2006) 303-305
Housing accommodation- a critical pathology in port-Harcourt, a Nigerian urban area

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Abstract
Accessibility to comfortable housing accommodation in Port Harcourt-Nigeria is so difficult that this paper attempted to provide insight into it. The study perceives the pro-urban development strategy as in dispensable index in the urbanization of Port Harcourt, which gave fillips to rural-urban migration that complicated the accommodation problem. The paper underscores forms of improvised housing units that subsist as panacea to housing needs of Port Harcourt city dwellers. It pointed at high rent in the area, activities of estate agents and haphazard erection of buildings at unauthorized places.

1. Introduction
Accommodation has been a topical issue in Nigeria as it is a sine-qua-non for man’s social well-being. The problem of inadequate housing in Nigeria is recurrent and derives greatly from overwhelming rural-urban migration and rapid urbanization. It has increased at an alarming rate since the late 1980s. The most affected urban areas include Port Harcourt, Lagos and Abuja, which have high concentration of industries, government establishments and financial institutions that attract individuals for job opportunities.

According to Okpala (1985), people who lacked opportunities in the rural areas migrated to Lagos, but most of them did not have access to suitable houses and other basic facilities. Okpara (1990) showed that current evidence in the rapidly urbanized third world countries point to the ill-preparedness of the burgeoning towns and cities to decently accommodate their rising populations. In most of the urban centers, basic utilities and infrastructure facilities such as potable water, electricity, sewerage, drainage, refuse collection and disposal equipments are either non-existent or grossly inadequate. Consequent upon the need to provide insight into urban housing problem, this paper focuses on Port Harcourt –a Nigerian urban area.

2. Todaro’s Model on Discounted Advantage in Migration
Todaro (1968) propounded a theory on ‘discounted advantage’ on migration, which is also styled ‘cost-benefit analysis’ on migration. This theory has been revised (Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro and Johnson, 1970). The ideological basis of the theory is that migration has an economic undertone. The potential migrant compares the income he gets at the place he currently resides with the expected income from urban job. When the later exceeds the former, he migrates and if otherwise, he refuses, at least in the interim, to migrate.

Several theories abound on reasons for most of the urban migrations, ranging from the bright lights that have sympathy for the physical attractiveness of the urban area, psychological theories with basis on the psychic costs and benefits of migration, religion reasons, political reasons (seeking asylum, avoiding oppression or victimization from political leaders) and economic reasons that derive from discounted economic advantage. In spite of the foregoing, both economists (Frank, 1971; Harris and Todaro, 1970 and Stiglitz, 1969) and non-economists (Gugler, 1968) agree that rural-urban migration can be explained primarily by economic factors the “push” from agriculture and the “pull” of relatively high urban wages. The “bright lights of the city” and other cultural explanations are given relatively hue weight in the literature (Fields, 1971). There is also agreement that such migration is quite rational, despite the existence of urban unemployment and under-employment.

The concern that rural-urban migration is motivated by economic gains is shared by Rath (1993), and Toure and Fadayomi (1992). Explicitly, Ekpenyong (1993) had explained that the boom in Nigeria contributed to the widening of income gap between rural and urban areas in the country as oil exploration,
drilling and pipeline construction dispossessed peasants of their valuable agricultural land and fishing ports and thereby making cities to act as vast magnets to the rural population.

3. Rural-Urban Migration & Urbanization in Port Harcourt

Urbanization in Nigeria seemed accentuated by the British colonial administrator’s construction of railways (the first in 1898) and later roads for the evacuation of exportable agricultural products. In effect, Port Harcourt (the new town founded by the British) was linked with the mining towns of Enugu, Jos and Kaduna (the capital of Northern Nigeria, created by the British).

Paradoxically, development stratagem in Nigeria had been pro-urban since 1960 when political independence was obtained. Consequently, the urban areas in Nigeria are distinctive from their rural counterparts as they experience development to the neglect of the rural areas. The logic, therefore, is that individuals in economically deprived areas out-migrate into areas they perceive as better endowed with the opportunities and facilities they need. Okereke (2003) had identified in-migration as one of the two major factors that had in the absence of nucleated settlements at the village level and with relatively intermediary towns resulted to an unprecedented high concentration of urban population in Port Harcourt and other major Nigerian towns since 1990s.

It is cautionary to point that in-migration does not connote rural-urban migration and, thus, mask recognition that urban growth is strongly influenced by indigenous labour supply (rural-urban migration) and the population potential of the city to be in contact with another city. In as much as rural-urban migration in Africa could be related to availability of modern facilities in the urban area at the expense of the rural areas, the issue of centralization of functional units (seat of government, financial institutions, industries, non-governmental organizations, hotels, recreational facilities etc) in the city attracts both rural dwellers and persons from other cities and countries. Typically, several government parastatals/agencies in Port Harcourt include the following:

3.1 Niger Delta Development Commission, Aba Road (By GRA Junction).
1) Federal Inland Revenue Service, Aba Road (Rumukrushi Junction)
2) Nigerian National Petroleum Company, Mosco Road, Port Harcourt.
5) Nigerian Maritime Administrative & Safety Agency (formerly National Maritime Authority), Easter N Zone, Port Harcourt.
6) Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC), Aba Road, Port-Harcourt.
7) National Directorate of Employment (NDE), Finima Street, Old GRA, Port-Harcourt.
8) Nigerian Customs Service, Port Harcourt NPA Wharf, Port-Harcourt.
9) Nigerian Ports Authority (NPA), Easter N Zone, Port-Harcourt.
10) National Poverty Eradication Programme (NAPEP), Port-Harcourt.
12) Rivers State Sustainable Development Agency, Governors Office, Point Block. Secretariat Complex, Port-Harcourt
13) RIVBANK Insurance Company, Aba Road Close to Boro Park, Port-Harcourt.

Similarly, the oil companies and oil servicing companies in Port-Harcourt includes the following:
1) Shell Petroleum Development Company (SPDC) at Rumumasi, Port-Harcourt.
2) Agip Oil Company at Nkpolu Oroworoko, Mile 4 Port-Harcourt.
3) TOTAL FINA ELF at Trans Amadi Industrial Layout, Port-Harcour.t
4) Chevron Oil Company at Choba, Port-Harcourt.
5) Halliburton Oil Company at Trans Amadi Industrial Layout, Port-Harcourt.
6) SLUMBERGER Oil Company at Trans Amadi Industrial Layout, Port-Harcourt.
7) WAOS Oil Company at Trans Amadi Industrial Layout, Port-Harcourt,
8) SAIPEM Oil Company at Rumulumnie, Port-Harcourt.
9) Noble Drilling, KM 10 Aba- Port-Harcourt Express Road, Rumuokwisi.
10) Sea Truck Oil Nigeria Ltd. –Trans Amadi, Port-Harcourt.
11) Santa Sede Oil Drilling –Rumuomasi, Port-Harcourt.
13) Geo-Services Drilling-Trans Amadi, Port-Harcourt.
14) Oil Server- World Town, Port-Harcourt
15) DATA Oil-Trans Amadi, Port-Harcourt.
16) Nigerian National Petroleum corporation (NNPC) Zonal Office Okirika Road, Port-Harcourt.

Most Banks in Nigeria have at least two branches in Port-Harcourt. These include Union Bank of Nigeria Plc, United Bank of Africa Ltd, First Bank of Nigeria Plc, Eko Bank Plc, Zenith Bank Plc, Diamond Bank Plc and Inter-continental Bank Plc. Other notable organizations in Port-Harcourt include PABOD Brewery, INTEL, West African Glass Industry, Coscharis, Rivers State Broadcasting Corporation, Government House, University of Port-Harcourt, Rivers State University of Science and Technology, University of Port-Harcourt Teaching Hospital (UPTH), the Judiciary, Lawyers Chambers, Construction Companies, Estate Consulting Firms and Clinics.

Most of the foregoing public and private organizations located in Port Harcourt together with the Port Harcourt International Airport and the Ports provide employment opportunities with high remuneration to their employees. For this, they attract into Port Harcourt not only rural dwellers but also persons from other parts of Nigeria, Africa and the world. The African urban population has been growing at about 6% annually (Wheeler, 1986) and had been between 4.7 and 4.9% in Nigeria since 1960s (Adegbola, 1987) until recently when the later astronomically rose to 11% per year (Orubuloye, 1991). In Port Harcourt, the urban growth visibly tasks available housing accommodation units.

The African urban population has been growing at about 6% annually (Wheeler, 1986) but it has been between 4.7 and 4.9% in Nigeria since 1960s (Adegbola, 1987). In the absence of any current statistics on urban growth in Nigeria, contemporary events suggest that the rate has increased in Nigeria. In any case, the urban growth in Port-Harcourt visibly tasks available housing accommodation units.

4. Housing Accommodation in Port-Harcourt

The population of individuals in Port-Harcourt was 703,416 in 1991 (National Population Commission, 1994) and is estimated by the author to be 1,179,149 in 2009 at 2.87% growth rate. Due to the concentration of people in Port-Harcourt, the available houses have been occupied leaving a large population without adequate shelter. It is common to see two or more individuals in Port Harcourt occupying a flat, owing greatly to financial incapability to secure personal living accommodation and in few instances due to ecological problems and political reasons.

It has been observed that rents for 1 bedroom Flat vary between N150,000 and N170,000 per year (for at least 1 year 6 months initial payment) at Mgbuoba, Rumuigbo, Rumuokoro and Rumuokwuta to N200,000 - N250,000 per year (for at least 1 year 6 months initial payment) at Iwoji, Trans-Amadi Industrial Estate and Ada George Road. The rent for a 3 bedroom Flat varies between N300,000 and N350,000 per year (for at least 1 year 6 months initial payment) at Mgbuoba, Rumuigbo, Rumuokoro and Rumuokwuta to N400,000 - N450,000 per year (for at least 1 year 6 months) at Ada George, Trans Amadi Industrial Layout and Agip Estate excluding Estate Agency Fee and sometimes Legal Fee.

The high rent appears to derive from the swampy nature of the land, which as in other Niger Delta areas, has a difficult terrain. Huge amount of money is expended to reclaim and hold the land before an adequate erection of building is made. The social correlate of this is increasing dependence on rent as major source of livelihood by many persons in Port Harcourt. The difficulty intrinsic in getting a good accommodation in Port-Harcourt has invariably created opportunity for a seeming unemployed or under-employed persons in the area to eké a living by meticulously searching for vacant houses for rent and identifying the landlords or caretakers for the purpose of getting prospective tenants. It is a common sight in Port-Harcourt observing Estate Agents identification boards hung on electricity poles; displayed at Barbers’ Salon, at Wooden Kiosks and in more elegant form in good office buildings. The Agents desperately scout for tenants and persuade them to secure accommodation, with little or no advise on the social and environmental problems about the housing units. These problems relate to the issue of security, flood, and government directive on location of housing units, distance to a clinic, and distance to a market among

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They relentlessly teleguide the payment of rent, after which they demand for their fees (usually 10% of the rent paid) from the tenant.

Okpara (1990) has explained that the problems associated with rapid expanding urban populations are nowhere as serious as they are in third world countries where more than half of the world urban population lives. Also, the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1988) in Nigerian National Policy on Population acknowledges that a great percentage of families in our urban centers’ are large and live in squalid environment. In severe cases of housing problem, individuals in Port Harcourt reside in makeshift wooden kiosks, in uncompleted buildings with open windows and doors and in substandard buildings built with wood. Often times, undeveloped plots of land are used for sub-standard housing units made with wood, which provide shelter mostly for unmarried persons and for some households. These are conspicuously seen at Bundu (popularly known as Town), Mile 4 and Rumuigbo. Specifically in Bundu, most roads are narrow and full of pot-holes that indicate apparent neglect. The buildings are old-fashioned and have a repellant appeal. A common sight at Bundu is several rows of houses of single room apartments that provide shelter for an individual/s and households with toilet facilities collectively shared by a group of individuals living in a given house. Generally, rents in the aforementioned sub-standard housing units have been observed to be at least N1000 per month. The problems associated with this uncomfortable housing arrangement include the existence of insanitary environmental poor water facility, poor ventilation and poor sewerage, which have implications for spread of infections and contagious diseases. The diseases include tuberculosis, small pox, cough, conjunctivitis and malaria. The foregoing does not mask housing problems arising from ecological factor. Some residential areas with comparatively plain topography are susceptible to flood especially during heavy rainfalls. Accessibility to the housing unit is difficult and the housing units are sometimes flooded with household property destroyed. This compels the residents to seek shelter elsewhere until when the flood abates. In few other instances, residential areas could be demolished by government based on certain obvious considerations that include economic expansion involving a systematic succession of an original land use pattern with a functional unit that has attractive appeal.

It is worrisome, however, that there does not seem to exist adequate planning for the erection of buildings, owing perhaps to the inability of Ministry of Lands & Urban Development or Ministry of Works & Housing to control and supervised erection of buildings in Port Harcourt. As a result, a considerable number of buildings are cited haphazardly with no hindsight of necessity for drainage facilities. In certain instances and, perhaps, to provide shelter or shops for economic activities of the teeming urban populations, some individuals consciously flouted government’s directives not to build close to electricity poles and close to major roads for safety, health and environmental protection of the occupiers. In reaction, there is a nascent demolition of such buildings described as ‘illegal structures’ by the Executive Governor of Rivers State – Hon. Dr. Chibuike Rotibi Amaechi, in several parts of Port Harcourt that include Rumuokoro, Rumuola, Rumuo kwuta, Mgbuoba, Ozuoba and Choba.

Some in-migrants to Port-Harcourt who could not afford rent in the inner-city and who are not comfortable with the inconveniences of sharing room or living in a sub-standard housing accommodation in the city usually re-locate to the suburbs. The most favored suburbs are those located along transportation routes to their place of work or training such as Oyigbo (Obigbo), Aluu, and sometimes Yenagoa. The individuals often contend with environmental elements (especially rainfall and excessive sun) as they commute to and fro their place of work or training. They are comparatively exposed to traffic congestions and often spend considerable man-hours to arrive at their place of work or home.

5. Conclusion

Housing accommodation in Port-Harcourt has assumed a critical dimension, owing greatly to in-migration that is traceable to rural-urban stream. The explainable reason for the migration is the pro-urban development strategy in Nigeria that neglects rural areas. The concentration of government agencies/parastatals, oil companies/oil servicing companies among others in Port-Harcourt have made Port-Harcourt to act as vast magnet to individuals in economically deprived areas. Eventually, this enormous population inundated the few available adequate housing units, making in effect a proliferation of inadequate housing units some of which are substandard in quality. Also there exist a legion of ecological problems that beset some of the housing unit.

6. References


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The dynamics of gender and behaviour in Nigerian society

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Abstract

One of the most dynamic concepts in contemporary Nigerian society today is that of Gender Inequality. On almost a daily basis, one women liberation movement or the other spring out from our urban and rural areas with the sole-objective of championing the course of liberating the women from “perceived injustices and marginalization by men”. And although there are hundreds of these organizations, in the mist of industrialization, globalization, modernization and the era of enlightenment the problem of gender inequality seems unabated. Governments have also evolved different policies and programmes to better the lots of women, yet, men tend to, by far, outweigh the women in almost all spheres of human endeavour. This paper tried to look at the possible impediments to gender dissolution in Nigeria to see if such setbacks still hold sway in this present society. Having reviewed certain related literature on the issue, the biological theory was used as the theoretical framework.

Herein, I discovered that some major problems militate against women liberation which includes biological/physiological factors, cultural variables, poverty, illiteracy, religious beliefs. But in all these, the biological/physiological factors tend to undermine womanhood and encourage male domination than other factors. This is so because, as the saying goes, “blood is thicker than water”, and humans in many situations respond to instincts. So, instincts direct actions, hence they can not behave exactly as the men, and if they dare think, behave and work like men, they would lose their reproductive capacity”. Little wonder “gender dissolution has been a hard nut to crack”.

Nonetheless, the world is a very dynamic one. Under conducive environment (proper education, financial/moral support), women can perform like their male counterparts. And many of them today have been tried, tested and found to be very useful in the development of the society; hence they are there at the corridors of power, compare to what obtained in the pre-colonial and colonial periods. But, as they fight to liberate themselves, they should be wary of their peculiar biological impediments to avoid clashing with nature and counter productivity.

1. Introduction

Psychologists for years have been trying to see the differences between the males and the females above their mere physical appearances. Of recent, they have developed deeper interest in exploring and relating the anatomical/physiological and psychological dimensions of human males and females to their social and behavioural dimensions. Some scholars hold tenaciously, the belief that men and women behave relatively different and take to different social roles as a result of chromosomal anatomical variations.

Of a truism, in most of the human recorded history the relationship between men and women has been one of accepted inequality. As recently as the twentieth century scientists generally hold that women were intellectually inferior to men and some suggested that if women even attempted to think, behave and work like men they would lose their reproductive capacity, since their reproductive organs are allergic to pressure. By law, women were chattel-property of men. This was so to the extent that they (women) could not vote, sit on juries, getting exposed to rig works or manage their own financial affairs. They could not even demand legal custody of their children, and their works were often less valued than those of the men. This different occupational pursuit of women and men have two important social consequences; for one, they reinforce people’s perception that women and men are different; and two, they often confer lower status, lower wages and fewer opportunities for advancement to women workers.

Until the end of the last century, employment discrimination in organizations and companies based on sex was conspicuously palpable. Women were unable to secure good jobs in certain relatively sensitive, high-ranking positions. Jobs offered them, if at all, were of less social importance. And despite the changing attitude towards sex roles in recent years (as a result of several factors such as, women liberation movements, education, globalization, industrialization, Christianity, etc) men generally have not substantially improved upon their personality stereotypes about women or increased their contributions to
house work (Olumati, 2006). Still (perhaps surprisingly) most women are relatively content with their roles as home makers and child keepers.

Amazingly, gender still has a profound effect on social organizations, interactions and on individual’s behaviour especially in the domains of work, family, and other social relationship in recent times, why? What key factors impinge upon women clamour for equality? Why do males behave in the ways they do, and what factors predispose women to behave in their own peculiar ways? What personality stereotypes do men hold towards women and vice-versa? How do such stereotypes affect the social relations/interactions between both sexes in different social settings? What is the possibility of Gender Dissolution in Nigeria? These and other questions shall be tackled in this chapter, but first, let’s look at the concepts of sex and gender.

2. Psychological research on sex and gender

The term sex is an important terminology in biology and psychology. The term refers to both identify and activity. As identify it refers to the anatomical structure of the sexual organs associated with certain physiological operations that make an individual to be identified as a male or female. It is therefore biologically oriented. It relates to basic biological differences between males and females and thus involves fundamental biological mechanism that differentiates organisms as males, females and intermediate sex forms (Taylor, 1994 cited in Nnachi, 2008: 5). This connotes that for most of us sex is defined primarily by the genitalia—women have vaginas, and men penises. Sex, as an identity, therefore refers to the acquisition of biologically oriented structures and functions that make an organism get recognized as male or female which then determines the role the organism is expected to play among its kind.

On the other hand, sex as activity relates to biological behaviour associated with sex identity. In other words, the activities involving caressing, romancing, copulation, ejaculation resolution, and reception of sperm in appropriate zone of the genital system are seen as sexual activities. Sex as an activity may involve body contact, kissing, caressing and the entry of a copulatory organ.

For the male, the copulatory organ is principally the penis. However, tongues, artificial penis, fingers and related structures are abnormally used as penis for the female to receive orgasm. Females sometimes use the two thighs to create an opening for the males to push in their penises to achieve orgasm. All these activities constitute sex. It is on this ground that sex refers to an activity (Sandler, et al, 1980).

Biologically, a male is an individual that is efficiently equipped for the production of functional sperm, in normal circumstances, and helps in the transfer of the sperm by means of ejaculation to the site or near the site of fertilization. The functional aspects of the mammalian sperm are spermatozoa. The spermatozoa are the motile, living structures that penetrate the ova and cause fertilization. Naturally, the male tends to exhibit agility in order to facilitate the deposition of the sperm at a suitable site. The condition associated with the sexual characteristics of the male is referred to as maleness.

On the other hand, the female is the individual associated with the production of functional ova. The female receives the sperm and has the endowment for the prenatal care of the young. The condition associated with the sexual characteristics of the female is referred to as femaleness.

Sex, as identity, determines human classification. It determines whether a human organism should be regarded as a male or a female. It also determines how a person should be expected to behave in a social set up. This leads to gender consideration (Olumati, 2008; Nnachi, 2008).

Gender is a social connotation built on the assumption based on the biological nature of males and females. It is culturally rooted. Human perceptions vary from culture to culture. The way man or woman is perceived in one culture may vary from the perception in another culture. Gender is therefore based on the cultural consideration of male or female. Therefore, while sex is purely biological in consideration, gender is socially based taking into account the biological inclination of the human sex forms. It is displayed and defined by a host of cues and behaviours, including styles of dress, nonverbal mannerism, hobbies, occupations, interests, personality traits and family life.

It is the zeal to study and understand maleness and femaleness with a proper view to solving the problems associated with the conditions that lead to sex education. By means of sex education, the biological as well as social nature of the males and the females are explored and understood. It is a means of helping the individual realize his or her sexual identity, make relationships and love harmoniously with the opposite sex group. This is important in the present age when gender politics has ravaged the world, sexually transmitted diseases escalating, marriage failures preponderant and immorality over whelming.

3. Theories of gender and sex-typing
How do people come to behave like men and women? How does biological sex influence personality traits, aggressiveness, conformity, nonverbal behaviours, cognitive abilities, hobbies and occupational interests? A number of theories have addressed these challenging questions. We'll focus on six approaches: biological theories, Freudian theory, social learning theories, cognitive theories, and self-presentation theory. These theories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, however each may shed a bit of light on the complex topic of gender. Different theories of gender emphasize kinds of explanations. Let’s discuss each theoretical approach in more details.

4. Biological theories

Biological theories, simply argue that there are innate differences between women and men. This is obviously true for certain physiological processes. Women produce ova and men produce sperm. Not vise versa.

Women menstruate and experience cyclical patterns of hormonal activity that men do not. Women give birth and lactate; men do not. Women’s bodies produce relatively more Estrogen (female hormones) and men’s bodies produce relatively more Androgens (male hormones) although both women and men produce both kinds of hormones.

Wilson (1978), the father of modern sociobiology, argues that because women were responsible throughout the evolutionary history of species for bearing, nursing, and caring for children, they evolved to be more nurturing; and because men were responsible for hunting and fighting, they evolved more aggressiveness and better visual-spatial ability.

Again, Wilson argues that women must guarantee that the relatively few offspring they bear will survive, whereas men, who produce millions of sperms, can father an indefinite number of offspring. As a result, women have evolved to be more sexually coy and desirous of committed relationships, and men have evolved to be more sexually aggressive and promiscuous. Perhaps the strongest case for biological origins of sex differences can be made with respect to aggression. Males are more aggressive than females as early as age2 or 3, and decreases as the child grows. This difference is reflected in virtually all social indices of aggression, including participation in warfare, violent crimes, homicides, and suicide. Sex hormones in particular, testosterone is responsible for the male’s aggressiveness.

5. Freudian theory

Until the twentieth century most scholars and laypeople simply assumed that biological differences between women and men explained their behavioural differences. This assumption was radically challenged by Sigmund Freud (1961b, 191c), the father of psychoanalytic theory.

Freud argued that children’s early sexual feelings and their emotional ties to their parents lead them to develop masculine or feminine identities. Other boys and girls begin life with their mother as their primary love object. But after age 3, boys’ and girls’ development sharply diverges. According to Freudian theory, a particularly critical period occurs for the typical boy between the ages of 3 and 6 when he first experiences genital pleasure. At this point, the boy’s love for his mother takes on a sexual tinge and he becomes aware that his father is a major competitor for his mother’s affection.

At about this same time, the theory continues, the boy notices the genital differences between men and women and learns that women lack penises. Frightened, the boy assumes that women once possessed penises but somehow lost them, which intensifies the boy’s fear of his father and of his own sexual desires, for he reasons that his vengeful father may remove his own penis as punishment for his incestuous desires for his mother. This intense castration anxiety leads the boy ultimately to give up his sexual wishes for his mother and to identify with his father. It is as if the boy unconsciously reasons; if I act like Daddy, then someday I will have someone like Mummy.

Freud invented the term Oedipus complex to refer to the boy’s unconscious feelings of sexual attraction to his mother and his rivalry with his father. This terminology was based on the Greek myth of Oedipus, who unwittingly married his mother and killed his father. According to Freud’s theory, the proper resolution of the Oedipus complex occurs when boys identify with their fathers and thus become masculine.

Freud proposed a fundamentally different scenario for girls. They too presumably notice the genital differences between males and females between ages 3 and 6; however, rather than fearing the loss of their genitals, girls unconsciously assume that their penises have already been removed.
Freud (1961c) believed that girls naturally value penises more than vaginas because penises are “strikingly” visible and of large proportions; at once they recognized the male organ as the superior counterpart to their own small and inconspicuous organ.

According to classical Freudian theory, girls are unconsciously forlorn because of their genital “inferiority” and penis envy is the prime motivation of the feminine personality. Throughout life, women strive to regain their missing penis by having love relations with men and by having children, particularly male children. When any of these is done then they have succeeded in having a taste of what originally belonged to them.

Because of their genital “inferiority” women often feel contempt for other women, specifically for their own mothers. For this reasons, girls give up their mothers as primary love objects, and instead court their fathers, taking on an “appropriate” male love object. This makes women to be masochistic in their love relationships.

Although this Freudian theory has been criticized severally it still stands plausible. According to him genital a difference lead to different experiences early in life and that these early experiences lead people to develop “male or “female” patterns of behaviours.

Again, even though castration anxiety and penis envy may seem far fetched, the more general Freudian assumptions—that young people, children form strong emotional attachments to their parents and that these attachments can influence the development of children’s gender-related identities and behaviours seem almost unquestionable.

6. Social learning theories

Whereas biological theories and some aspects of Freudian theory emphasize “innate” difference between men and women, social learning theories strongly emphasize the learned ones.

Walter Mischel (1966, 1970), for example, has argued that differences in women’s and men’s behaviours can be explained by well-understood principles of classical, operant conditioning, and modeling (See Olumati; 2003a, 2006). For example, classical conditioning can help explain why “labels like ‘sissy’ ‘pansy’, ‘darling’ ‘tough’, ‘honey’ or ‘sweety’ acquire differential value for the sexes”. Operant conditioning, which occurs when girls’ and boys’ behaviours are rewarded and punished in systematically different ways, can also lead to sex differences. “Boys and girls discover that the consequences for performing so and so behaviors are affected by their sex, and therefore soon perform them with different frequency.”

Children may acquire sex-typed behaviors through observational learning. Children often learn about “female” and “male” behaviours without being directly rewarded or punished, but rather simply by observing their friends, parents, relatives and the portrayal of various characters in the mass media. Such models are particularly influential when they have nurturing relationships with the children, are powerful, and control rewards. Parents, of course, meet all three of these criteria.

Thus social learning theory argues that women and men are capable of performing the same behaviors, but they don’t because of past conditioning, rewards, punishment, observational learning, and all the situational contingencies that exist in a society that treats women and men differently.

A great deal of research supports social learning theory’s basic contention that environmental factors help create and sustain sex differences. For example, a number of studies suggest that parents treat girls and boys differently from birth (Block, 1978; cited in Olumati 2006, 2007). Parents provide different toys and other gifts both and decorate their rooms differently. Parents, in essence treat girls as “women-in-training” to be married out and boys as “men in training”, the pillar of the home. Both peers and parents encourage sex-typed behaviours that are not sex-typed.

In modern industrial society the mass media are also quite important in socializing gender. Television, radio, and the print media often portray women and men in stereotyped ways, and children view media character as models for behaviour.

7. Cognitive approaches to gender

Social learning theories tend to portray the development of sex-typed behaviours as a rather passive process whereby the child develops in such a manner as conditioning and modeling dictate. Clearly, however, this involves a cognitive process of self-labeling and self-definition. We are not just male or female through what we are conditioned to do; we are also male or female through what we think about ourselves. For example, there are boys who love being in the mist of girls, dress and behave as girls; same for girls.
In his cognitive – developmental account of sex-typing, Lawrence Kohlberg (1966) proposed that children progress through a number of discrete cognitive stages in becoming psychologically “male” or “female”. Drawing upon the work of the Swiss development psychologist, Jean Piaget, Kohlberg argued that children’s conceptions of gender development are in step with their more general levels of cognitive development. For example, most children can correctly identify their gender by age 2 or 3, this accomplishment requires that they develop stable gender categories and kinds of “object consistency” (the knowledge that objects have stable, enduring qualities). Once children develop a stable gender identity (“I’m a girl”) and stable gender qualities (“all people are either female or male”), they begin to identify with other of their own sex (“I’m a girl and girls are good”).

By age 6 or 7, children consistently realize that sex and gender are constant and likened to male and female genital differences. Thus, Kohlberg argued that Freudian differences between sages 3 and 6 are simply wrong. Children older than age 7 continue to develop their concepts of gender; for example, they learn diffused gender stereotypes (“women are gender than men”) and cultural symbols associated with gender.

Kohlberg proposed that the act of gender self-categorization (“I am a girl” or “I’m a boy”) leads the child to develop stereotypically female or male behaviours.

8. Social role theory

In most cultures, women and men occupy quite different roles. Women are more responsible for child-rearing and domestic duties; men are responsible for hunting, fighting, and, in modern role analysis of gender, this sex-based division of labour, which occurs in virtually all societies leads necessarily to sex differences. In behaviour and to the stereotypical perceptions that by their social roles to rear children and take care of homes, women show nurturing behaviours, and people in turn perceive women to be more nurturing. Constrained and guided by their social roles in the competitive world of work, men display more competitive, assertive behaviours, and as a result people perceive men to be more competitive and assertive. Eagly contends that these behaviour differences are more a function of role than of gender.

Eagly’s theory does not focus on innate differences between women and men. Although it does not deny that such differences may exist. Rather, it stresses the power of social settings to govern social behaviours and affect their perception. Thus, in Eagly’s theory, setting that make gender roles particularly salient and that assign different status to women and men should create marked differences in behaviour.

Do men and women actually behave differently because of their social roles? Many sex differences (difference in nonverbal behaviour, aggression, helping behavior, sand conformity) can be interpreted in terms of women’s and men’s roles. For example, women who play the nurturing roles in most families are more sensitive nonverbally. Behaviour such as smiling are more expressive, and they can participate more in the socioeconomic dynamics of group interactions.

9. Self-presentation theory of gender

All of the theories we have reviewed so far give gender a kind of phenomenal reality; gender is dictated by biology, by early relations with parents, by conditioning and modeling, by cognitive labeling and schemas, and by social roles. Whatever theory you accept, gender is a real “thing” that people end up with, one way or another, in a fairly fixed form.

More radical views hold that gender is cultural invention and a social construction (Kessler & Mckenna, 1978) an a self presentation that we enact in certain settings and with certain people (Deaux & Major, 1978). Kay Deaux and Benda Major (1987) argue that self presentation research can help us understand gender-related behaviours. We “play” our roles as men and women depending on our own concepts of gender, others expectations, and the setting in which we happen to be. For example, the same women may be no-nonsense, assertive executive at work but quite “feminine” when with a date. Similarly, women may describe themselves in more stereotypically feminine terms when they anticipate meeting a very attractive man who prefers “traditional” women.

Researcher from Mori Chakiken, and Pliner (1987) show that when men participated in a discussion with an “attractive” man (a man with interesting hobbies and high academic ambitions) they tended to eat significantly less of the snack on the table. Female students eat less when they are with their lovers, and they change the tone of their voices to stylistics. The work by Montepare and Vage (1988) shows that during conversations, the voices of college women phone conversations with intimate or casual male friends are modified. Clearly, women display different vocal cues depending on the social settings, their intensions and the image they want to project.
9.1 Theoretical framework

The biological determinism shall be our theoretical guide. This theory posits that gender inequality is natural; nature has made the difference between men and women, therefore, nothing much could be done to change it. Tiger and Fox (1999), using their “biogrammer” model postulate that biogrammer predisposes mankind to behave in certain ways. Male programmer causes males to be aggressive and dominant. On the other hand, women programmer programmes them to produce and care for children. Tiger and Fox (1999) maintained that sexual division of labor and the attendant inequality are adapted to the human biography and therefore “any attempt to abolish gender roles, however desirable, will go against nature and might be counter productive”.

Parker and Parker (cited in Anozie et al, 1994) have put together a good deal of evidence suggesting that human sex roles have biological foundations. They equally noted that aggression is a behavioural difference between the sexes that is wide spread in the animal world, so, aggressive behaviour is linked to the male sex hormone (testosterone). They concluded that males’ domination over females is a consequence of their biological composition.

In all, there is a general consensus among the biological theorists regarding the universality of male dominance. There is a fundamental biological difference between both sexes: Anatomically, the hard and muscular nature of the body of man tends to be the first contrast. Structurally the body of man contains more compact cells, harder bones, lesser fat and tougher skin. This is why men go to war and hunting. But the woman has soft and robust body as well as light skin.

Another area of anatomical difference of great significance, according to the biologists, is the arrangement of male and female genital systems. In male, there is a long external tube-like copulatory organ called penis. Below this organ is a sac-like organ called scrotum, inside which are two pouches containing two egg-shaped structures called testicles. The testicles bear seminiferous tubules which manufacture spermatozoaa used in the fertilization of eggs.

If a female is stripped off, it would be found that she has no penis or scrotum. Instead, she has an unexpended genitalia called vulva. The vulva consists of labia majora. Labia minora, clitoris, hymen and vestibule. The hymen is a partial fold of membrane that occurs at the entrance to the vagina. The hymen is torn during the first sexual engagement of the female resulting in brief oozing of blood. The vestibule is in form of entrance. The labia majora are the fatty parts of the vulva which are referred to as the large lips of the vagina, usually consisting of sweat glands and hair follicles. The clitoris is a very short tube-like structure, which occurs at the upper part of the labia minora (Nnachi opcit).

The differences in the reproductive structures, body shape and breasts create great deal of consciousness in the males and females that they are different. According to Anozie et al (2001), there is the assumption that:

Regardless of any degree of social elaboration of sexual inequality, sex-role differences are erected in accordance with certain basic features of human biology.

They therefore strongly argue that attempts to correct the imbalance between males and females in society will be anti-nature. And so, they predict a future where the natural inclination of men to perform strenuous labour and dominate politics and the inclination of women towards service-related and child keeping roles will persist” (bid).

10. Psychological research on sex and gender

Social psychological research on sex and gender has traditionally focused on two main topics; the social perception of men and women, and the existence or nonexistence of sex differences. The first kind of research often investigates the stereotypes people hold about men and women, and how people evaluate men and differently (for example, are women perceived to be more “emotional” and less “logical” than men? Do managers judge equivalent work performed by women and men differently?. Sex difference research attempts to document the ways in which men and women actually are alike and different in their behaviours (for example, are men on average more aggressive than women? Do men engage more in task-oriented behaviour in groups, and women more in emotional, friendly behaviours?). We shall consider both of these topics in this discourse. The topic on behavioural sex differences will lead us naturally to theories of how sex (genes and genitalia) develops into gender (different behaviours and roles for women and men).

11. Personality stereotypes about women and men
Stereotypes exist about the personality traits possessed by men and women. In one well-known study, Rosenkrantz, Vogal, Bee, Brovermen, and Broverman (1968, cited in Olumanti 2008), asked 80 college women and 74 college men to rate how much “an adult women” or “an adult man” possessed each of 122 different personality characteristics. These resultant data showed that subjects believed many traits to be more characteristics of one sex or the other (see table below). These traits are also found in people of varying ages, marital statuses, and education levels. They are relatively consistent across cultures.

Do gender stereotypes portray men and women’s personalities “different or equal”? Subjects often perceive the “male” pole of various trait dimensions to be more desirable. Widiger and Settle (1987) have recently argued that the Rosenkrantz study exaggerated the value people attach to “male” traits simply because their list includes more positively valued “male” traits than “female” traits. However, “male” traits were also judged to be more “active” and “strong” than “female” traits, and strength and activity often have positive connotations.

To study the possibility that “female” and “male” traits are evaluated differently, Broverman and her colleagues (1992) asked groups of clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, and psychiatric social workers to identify those gender-stereotypical traits that were true of a mature, mentally healthy adult man; those that were true of a mature, mentally, healthy adult woman and those that were true of mature, mentally healthy adult (sex not specified).

The results showed that in general “male” traits were judged to be mentally healthy than were “female” traits. Furthermore, the traits used to describe a healthy man” were like those used to describe a “healthy person” but the traits used to describe a “healthy woman” were not very much so.

Broverman and her colleagues (1992) drew the following disturbing conclusions from their data: “healthy women differ from healthy men by being more submissive, less independent, less adventurous, less objective, more easily influenced, less aggressive, less competitive, more conceited about their appearance, and having their feeling more easily hurt”.

To assess people of gender, Myer and Gonda (1992, cited in Olumati, op.cit) asked over 200 Canadian college students to define masculinity and feminity and they coded these responses into different content categories. In order of frequency, students most often defined masculinity and feminity in terms of physical appearance and characteristics (for example, “muscular”, “soft”, “brave”, “wears on make-up”, “hardworking”, “productive”, “gossips”, “has a deep voice” (“bears children,” “sexually attractive to men (or women”, “gay” or “not gay”). Here in Nigeria, several researches have also been carried out on factors responsible for the persistence of gender inequality, why men are valued more than women. The findings were not in any way different from the ones done elsewhere. In all, men possess certain biological and social characteristics that endear them to themselves and even to their female counterparts.

12. Conclusions: Attaining gender dissolution in Nigeria

Various societies in the world have assigned different roles to males and females – men and women, boys and girls. Thus the man has been expected to behave differently from the woman; the boy has been expected to behave differently from the girl. Perhaps, the father has been expected to behave differently from the mother and the brother differently from the sister.

The differential expectations for the man and woman have been based on the biological status of the two opposite sex. But extensions have been made to other dimensions of life. From the time immemorial, the man has been considered as a stronger sex based on his physical prowess and social achievements. In relation to scientific achievements, males have done wonders. Starting from Thales of Miletus (624 – 550BC) to the scientists of the present era, men have significantly done wonders.

The study of various branches of Arts, Science and Technology has significantly depended on the efforts of men. In the same vein, the discovery of various events, materials and things as well as the inventions of different materials and scientific equipment have significantly relied on the activities of the men folk. Men, no doubt, have explored the universe. All the major religions of the world – Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, Islam and so on were founded and led by men. Leadership all over the world is in the control of men. From the time immemorial, men have defined the shape and structure of the world. Men seem to be next to God, and women next to men while the children next to women. All male children have been culturally considered as future men and treated as such. In the same vein, female children have been culturally considered as future women and have been treated as such.

Based on differential levels of achievement between human males and females, the issue of gender emerged. From time immemorial, the society expects the male and female to behave differently. There is
no society in the world that traditionally expects its males and females to behave the same way. A child is trained from the earliest time to demonstrate to the people that he or she is a male or a female. This training creates some awareness in the child that he/she is a male or female. This is referred to as gender identity. In actual sense, gender identity is the person’s awareness that he or she is a male or a female. Gender identity makes the child to accept his or her sex and does things that project the sex. No doubt, the individual that has gender identity is less sexually confused and the person is appreciative of his/her gender roles.

Gender role refers to one’s behaviors or activities that indicate that the person is a male or a female. If someone has been properly aware of his or her sex and is appreciative of that, the person exhibits activities that justify the sex. The person acts based on the societal expectation on him or her. Thus in the case of gender role, the male is expected to act as a male and the female as a female.

Gender dissolution is a pro-western event that neither considers the emotional cultural social nor biological backgrounds of human entities and assumes that the human organisms are the same irrespective of sex and should be assigned the same roles and expectations and should be treated as such. By means of gender dissolution, the same expectations are made for boys and girls, men and women. Such event dissolves or dismantles gender identities in such a manner that despite the fact that an individual sees his/her sex organs different from those of the opposite sex, the awareness that the individual is different from the opposite sex is not made. In the case of gender dissolution, campaigns and propaganda are mounted to ensure that the same cultural expectations are made for males and females and the two opposite sex treated as the same irrespective of sex differences.

Despite nagging and visible societal differential treatment for males and females in the western culture, there have been campaigns for gender dissolution in western culture. In that case, the males and females should be given the same expectation, role and respect. The boy and girl at birth could be given the same training and orientation with which they could grow into adults such pro-western orientation has led to various conferences and campaigns on gender equality and equity.

13. References

## 14. Appendix:

### Stereotypical Sex-role terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMININE</th>
<th>MASCULINE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not at all aggressive</td>
<td>Very aggressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all independent</td>
<td>Very independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very emotional</td>
<td>Not at all emotional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very subjective</td>
<td>Very objective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very easily influenced</td>
<td>Not at all easily influenced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very submissive and unassertive</td>
<td>Very dominant and assertive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dislikes math and other hard science</td>
<td>Likes math and science very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very excitable in minor cases</td>
<td>Not easily excitable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very passive</td>
<td>Very active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all competitive</td>
<td>Very competitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very illogical</td>
<td>Very logical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very home-oriented</td>
<td>Very worldly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all skilled in business</td>
<td>Very skilled in business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all adventurous</td>
<td>Very adventurous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has difficulty making decisions</td>
<td>Has no difficulty in making decisions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cries very easily</td>
<td>Never cries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost never acts as leader</td>
<td>Almost always act as leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all confident</td>
<td>Very self-confident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all ambitious</td>
<td>Very ambitious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very much concerned on appearance</td>
<td>Not very much concerned about appearance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn’t use harsh language</td>
<td>Uses very harsh language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very talk active</td>
<td>Not at all talk active</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very tactful</td>
<td>Very blunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very gentle</td>
<td>Very rough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very religious</td>
<td>Not at all religious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very strong need for security</td>
<td>Very little need for security</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Traditional African value and modern Africa in the play the broken calabash

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Abstract

The Broken Calabash, is a play that, explores, the themes of modernity against the decadent traditional African value system (of the caste order, where the individual conviction of genuine love for another person reign supreme), in spite of, traditional attitude of discrimination against the out caste. Ona, a female undergraduate and an only daughter and child of her parents, is an Idegbe. Idegbe is the name given to an only daughter and child of a marriage. She is expected not to be married out, but, to remain at home to propagate their lineage. However, she has the choice of marrying another female; into the family, to take up her role of child bearing. Her modern concept of freedom of will, independence and individualism render this alternative unsavory. To Ona, marrying Diaku an “Osu”, (an Osu is an outcast, a person, not recognized as a bonafide member of a community he claims to come from, he has no freedom to participate or associate with other members of his claimed community. He is dedicated to serve the gods) would help her succeed in breaking this ossified and decadent tradition. This paper highlights these issues and argues for the freedom of choice for the female, in support of Onwueme’s views. It is hoped that, readers, especially the traditionally minded ones will come to terms with this innovation. The paper suggests that, it is time to do away with those unprogressive traditional norms that deny the individual the right to choice and association as a person. Therefore, women must have a right to choice in the society, for the purpose of collective and sustainable societal development.

1. Introduction

Tess Onwueme creates a social awareness of the shortcomings of some African tradition and the patriarchal order through the play, The Broken Calabash. The play dwells on old, traditional African values. The play openly calls for an empowerment of the womenfolk against oppressive norms and customs in African society. In trying to convince Ona to accept “Idegbe”, Oliaku, Ona’s mother recalls: “My parents gave me to your father, as wife. I didn’t have to choose him.  But you have choice…”

Oliaku: No, not between your father and anybody. But, a choice, to bear children for your father alone or marry a wife who can help bear children to multiply the stock (pp.108 – 109).

Ona: Between my father and who?

Oliaku: Anybody you have choice.

Ona: Between my father and who?

Oliaku: No, not between your father and anybody. But, a choice, to bear children for your father alone or marry a wife who can help bear children to multiply the stock (pp.108 – 109).

This confirms Christie Achebe’s assertion that the African woman’s traditionally prescribed role is procreation, the making of babies; she is a machine for producing children. This view also lends credence to the views of Marie Rosa Cutrifelli in Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression, that Women’s domestic role and the so called feminine personality are combined to encourage cultural definitions of the female that tend to be degrading “…she is subordinated controlled and manipulated in the services of culture’s ends” (8 – 9). But, Ona counters this because, she realizes that she has a self which is separated from tradition, she states; “Anything that cannot stand the force of change must be uprooted”(The Broken Calabash, p.112). Aso a male character in Elechi Amadi’s novel, The Slave confirms Ona’s statement when he alludes; “It is true that marriage is an affair between families, but that time has past, when the man and the woman involved were not expected to have a say”(95). The play reveals that, the individual must forcefully seek after change, and any obstruction to that effect must be uprooted. Ona’s father’s overbearing love clashes violently with her quest for independence from the shackles of inflexible traditional norms. At the end of the play, Ona fakes pregnancy and names her father as responsible for it. Courtuma, Ona’s father commits suicide to end the embarrassment. This action puts to death the old African values in the play.
This is unlike Ahurole and Enaa in Elechi Amadi’s *The Concubine* and *The Slave*, Ada in Emecheta’s *The Second Class Citizen*, Ebla in Nurrudin Farah’s *From a Crooked Rib* these women were compromised to marriage in order to satisfy the traditional laws. This is an issue that the African traditional woman is saddled with -procreation and the making of babies, for the continuity of her lineage. As the scene above reveals, the resistance and protest by Ona is centered on marriage and procreation. Childbearing is regarded as a woman’s primary and noblest function and in fact, the reason for having women in African traditional context. A woman who is not able to fulfill this role is seen as not having the moral justification to exist, even in marriage.

In view of this, the importance attached to child bearing, an African feminist, Tola Adeniyi asserts “…it is unfortunate that procreation is seen as the reason for our existence” (p.4). This explains Anowa’s grief in *Anowa* by Ama Ataidoo and the worries of Esikom in *The Dilemma of a Ghost* over Eulalie’s barrenness. This same fear is expressed by Ona’s mother in *The Broken Calabash* “…marry a wife who can help bear children and multiply the stock” (p. 109) is her advice to Ona against the bondage from obsolete tradition which her mother accepts. Oliaku believes and supports Courtuma’s (Ona’s father) view over Ona. Ona insists that the knots tied in her life must be untied as she is not ready to be in perpetual bondage. She questions the rationale upon which she cannot marry the man she loves “…if your sole aim is to make me remain at home and breed children for you, why did you chase Diaku away? Or must I not also love whoever must give me children”? (p.109). She rebels against the tradition that inhibits her from actualizing her dreams. All this she did, while rejecting the choice of marrying a wife to help propagate the lineage or stay at home to bear children by her father.

Onwueme’s vision in this matter is that a tradition that propagates prostitution or dehumanizes, or subjugates the woman because of her gender should be regarded as an obsolete tradition and therefore expunged from the society. Ona’s revolt is to be free from the patriarchal attitude which transcends personal pursuit to collective freedom for the womenfolk, this brings to mind Chikwenye Oguanyemi’s assertion that womanism seeks after the freedom of the woman like feminism.

Ona reasons that the choice to marry a wife to propagate the lineage is another form of enslavement for the woman. She explains to her parents, “you people have a very ambitious murder plan. You will not only slaughter me on the altar of your decadent tradition, but would also want another female head. I say to hell with your traditional, homestead! Norm!…” (p.109). Ona is bold and defiant. She rejects and resists both options open to her. This is a feminist stance which Judith Bardwick affirms is “an implicit rejection of the life style created by strongly coercive norms…”(5). By so doing, Ona rejects subjugation and slavery to the traditional institution, norms and patriarchal attitudes that mitigate against self-fulfillment of the womenfolk. Self fulfillment is one of the tenets of feminism/ womanism, and this idea runs through the play. She explains to her parents that what they ask of her is “… obsolete!! …What we need is to disentangle some of the areas that make things too rigid and unmanageable…”(p.85), Onwueme’s vision is that those aspects of the tradition that stagnate and are unprogressive to the society should be discarded and replaced with modern values that make for progress.

To ensure a perpetual continuation of homestead, Courtuma uses various means to placate Ona to accept the traditional norms of the land. He was all over her at all times especially when she is with her friends. Ona revolts thus; “but must all my life revolve around him …? So circumscribed by him? Must I never live my life independent of him? Must he always leave his mark on me? At school, it is father. At home, father! … why can’t I be independent?…” (pp.88-91), this human propensity to dominate another gives credence to Kate Millet’s assertion that “human relationships are power structured with male symbol of power dominating female symbol of powerless” (“Independent Woman…”3-4).

Courtuma overprotects Ona and holds Ona dear to his heart, little wonder the pain he passes through when Ona names him as responsible for her pregnancy. He laments, “Ona! Ona! Oh, my love has choked me. The stick I chew in my mouth has choked me Ona, Ona, Ona…”(p.115). Courtuma’s affection for both Ona and the tradition have deprived Ona of her freedom and of her desire to live a self fulfilled life. She questions. “… Is that why you must tear me apart …?” (p.109). Ona in regard sees that her sex as a woman is undermined, and her right to her own life annihilated. Defiant against the choices offered to her by tradition, she informs her parents “…The fact that you gave me life does not mean that you must control it…” (p.109). Ona in this regard is presented as a girl child who knows what she wants in life. This also shows that, for one to succeed in gaining freedom one must know what he or she wants in life.

2. Analysis of the play – The broken calabash
Onwueme depicts the old African tradition where a female child is deprived a self-fulfilled life because she is an Idegbe and therefore has to see to the propagation of her father’s lineage. Also the issue of ‘Osu’ an Igbo out-cast system as an obsolete and decadent tradition needs re-examination for social change. Speaking through the protagonist Onwueme argues that such practices are mere superstitious beliefs, and that a change should be effected. Ona argues thus:

…if I’m kept at home to bear children for my father or marry a wife, either way, it won’t be pure blood. Which child is born from pure blood of his family anyway? Even if you had a son and he had an exogamous marriage the blood will even be less pure. Tell me father and mother, if you graft an orange seedling into a grapefruit seedling; is the offspring still the same pure orange or grapefruit? (p.110).

This is a question Onwueme leaves for her audience, readers and society to answer. However, Courtuma himself is aware that the tradition has become stringent, and as such its practical implementation could be harmful:

Times are changing and we must not pretend as if the harmattan wind cannot char our skin too. Ona has acquired the Whiteman’s knowledge and wisdom which is good for us in many respects. But at times our customs are too entrenched, for old to bend or be married to the new ways (p. 83).

Because of Courtuma’s loyalty to the patriarchal order, he insists on using the tradition as a rope with which to tie his daughter. But Ona is schooled and knows her rights as a person entitled to her own life style in spite of the norms set against her by the patriarchal order. Hence her resolve to assert herself, “Leave me alone! Do I not see my mates? Am I to live my life unfulfilled just because I am your only daughter and you have some obsolete tradition”? (p.108). She becomes more aware of the deprivation and damage the tradition is to cause her. This she reasons arises from her sex as a woman. In other words, it is the sex that determines the right and obligations which a society assigns to an individual. Through Courtuma’s explanation, we see that any African patriarchal society sees an only female child under the tradition of Idegbe as sustainer of the homestead, “… your children or your wife must answer your father’s name. If you are kept at home, any man coming to you knows… already and can never claim paternity of the children” (p.110). Ona’s resistance to tradition may well represent Imoh Emenyi’s points that “the self conscious woman in literature is often regarded by male elites as an individual who is corrupted by Western civilization…” (49).

Ona is to become a sex slave in order to procreate and protect the homestead, thus satisfying the patriarchal order. She is to accept the domination of her father and at the same time, the domination of other male partners, whom she must welcome at her own expense. She questions the morale behind this patriarchal attitude. “…The system indirectly encourages prostitution,… so, the order is prostitution simply because society does not sanction it,… even though, it is the same process that is involved” (p.110). Onwueme’s vision here is to expose those traditional norms and values which encourage the injustices done to women. Such practices breed moral decadence in women and the society in general. Through Ona, Onwueme calls for a total rejection of these norms and values especially in this time of AIDS.

Ona rebels against patriarchal authority. She refused to be subjugated by tradition. She insists on her enlistment from an Idegbe to a self willed woman. Onwueme succeeds in building in Ona: “self worth, independence, boldness…inner strength and resilience” (Emelia Oko, 88). The question is, should Ona yield to the persistent pleas of her father? Should she sacrifice her happiness to the propagation of decadent tradition? Should she lose Diaku and at the same time be deprived of self fulfillment? Or should she just submit to the patriarchal order as her mother did? Ona’s response to the above questions gives birth to the theme of the play The Broken Calabash - a resistance to old traditional values and the acceptance of new (modern) values for the growth of the society.

At the climax of Ona’s resistance, she becomes very bold and assertive. And this is when she realizes that she has lost Diaku, a man she loves and cherishes, to her own friend, Ugo. She is embittered hence the decision to revenge on her father with the following statement, “my father has at last succeeded in ruining my life…I will show him…” (p.112).

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, Courtuma’s quest to protect his homestead ends in a tragedy. He pleads with Ona, but Ona is determined and resolute in her reply “… you’re the father of my child, you asked for it and you got it” (p.115). To end the embarrassment the tradition challenges her with, she lies against her father, thereby causing him to commit suicide, to gain her own freedom. Courtuma walks back into the room and begins to
exit into the bush part in the village... He pulls off her beads, drops them on the floor at Ona’s feet looking very pensive... Ona picks up the beads, p.115, a symbol of the tradition which Courtuma drops at Ona’s feet before committing suicide. By this gesture, he submits the tradition to Ona to do what she deems fit with the tradition. Courtuma’s death marks the death of the old order. Onwueme empowers the women to shake off (since the men have failed on their part to embrace modernity) those aspects of the patriarchal order that hinder self fulfillment.

Finally, Ona is however, equipped with the instrument for social change that is prevalent in contemporary Africa. Personal power and satisfaction mean a lot to the modern woman for as Judith Bardwick reports it is; “The sense of confidence that resides in oneself, that comes from one’s maturity and self-respect. Personal power and satisfaction are, strong because their sense of self is based on their acceptance of themselves” (79). The paper calls for a change and a resistance against obsolete tradition. The tradition itself is weak and not strictly adhered to by those who claim to propagate it. The patriarchal attitude is replete to change (resistance to change). The paper calls for outright rejection of the old order of stringent patriarchal attitudes, which subjugate and annihilate the individual, especially the women. This is why Wole Soyinka asserts that change is a must for any growing society. The rigidity of our norms and values in the face of modern ideas and the culture needs to be replenished with changing society as Otu Agada a character in the play observes “…The rhythm of a dance changes, the steps change too... we cannot pretend that, we don’t know when darkness overtakes light” (p.102). In other words, there is a great need for the society to accept progressive change. As the society is growing, so also is change taking place, no society is static. The outdated patriarchal order must give way to the modern progressive order for the purpose of growth.

4. Works cited


Changing social environment and nation building: The role of the youth

Dr. C. A. Omaka

1. Introduction

In many countries, a person is considered a youth from the age at which the person is given equal treatment under the law – often referred to as the ‘age of majority’. This age is often 18 in many countries, and once a person passes this age, he is considered to be an adult. However, the operational definition and nuances of the term ‘youth’ often vary from country to country, depending on the specific socio-cultural, institutional, economic and political factors (UNDP 2000). In Nigeria, for example, it is taken to include the age bracket of 18-30 which is the benchmark of the National Youth Service Corps. In this paper, there is a temptation not to align to any age boundary in the definition of the youth. The raison de tat is simple, as it is generally known, youthfulness is a question of the mind. Nevertheless as a working tool, I have considered the people between the ages of 18 LL.B Hons (Nig.), B.L, LL.M (Lagos), PhD (Enugu), Dip. (Microsoft), PGD (Theology), MIA, MNIM, FNISM, Senior Lecturer and former Head, Department of Public and Private Law and Sub Dean Faculty of Law Ebonyi State University Abakaliki. He is currently the Director, Clinical Legal Education EBSU to 39 as forming core part of our subject matter - the youth. Going by these definitions, one thing is common- the youth constitutes the most energetic, dynamic, resourceful, active (Aja 2008) and yet the most volatile segment of any society.

According to the Lexicon, to change is to pass or make something pass from one state to another (Oxford Dictionary 2004); to become different and behave in a different way, either propelled by circumstances or by obedience to natural laws and circumstances. On the other hand, the environment, in our context, comprises the sum total of the external factors that affect or modify the relationship between, man and nature. The social environment therefore, is the place and condition that affects the behaviour and development of man and how he responds to phenomenon within and outside his control. Hence, the social environment is essentially where we live, develop, interact and respond to societal evolutions and changes.

The term nation building is used here to refers to a constructive process of engaging all citizens in building social engineering, social cohesion, economic prosperity and political stability in an inclusive and democratic way (The Point 2007). It is a process through which all people have access to, and control of, structures and mechanisms that govern their lives. According to The Point (2007), the vision sounds unattainable and lofty for two reasons. Firstly, few societies have found adequate ways to ensure that all adults fully participate in the political process; and secondly, even fewer have found adequate ways to ensure that the youth share in the burdens and benefits of citizenship.

2. Growing societal complexity and need for youth empowerment

While some accept change in good faith, many are averse to change. However, whether one is averse to change or not, we cannot help but to accept change because change is the only phenomenon we cannot change. Change is one thing that is permanent in nature. Frederick Engels a renowned exponent of social laws noted that ‘nothing remains what, where and as it was, but everything moves, comes into being and passes out of existence’ (Wiley 1990). The ‘real world’ noted John Wiley ‘consists of transition and flux’. The philosopher Alfred North Whitehead pointed out that, change is inherent in the very nature of things, every phenomenon of which we are aware – from galaxies to electrons, from humans to amoeba, from societies to families- all exists in a state of continual becoming (Wiley 1990). There are therefore no fixed entities or code of behaviour. Even if they were, no code of behaviour can universally be enforceable for all citizens or groups at all times.

From the biblical times, most of the dramatis personae who acted in the theatre of building and rebuilding their nations were the youth, people like Moses, Joseph, David, Sampson, Gideon, Japhtath, Paul, Timothy and Our Lord Jesus Christ were youths. Similarly, in ancient history, Alexander the Great, Odysseus, Achilles and the like were youths that wrote the names of not only their nations, but also their dynasties and empires in Gold. In contemporary history, Martin Luther King, the black pimperel (Nelson Mandela), Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkuruma, Dialo Theli, Amilca Cabra and others almost single-handedly changed the destiny of their nations in the days of their youth (Omaka 2008).

To the contrary, there appeared to be general liturgy and apathy on the part of the youths, or is it, lack of empowerment for today’s youth. Gerontocracy has taken over most societies, especially in Africa. That is why people like Paul Biya Robert Mugabe are still leaders of their counties even above their 70th
and 80th birthdays. It is probably at the sordid picture of this state of affairs that the youth in Cameroon and Kenya are asking questions concerning the life leadership of their countries by these Gerontocrats. It is also due to the abject neglect of the voice of the youth that young men in the Niger Delta have risen up in arms to ask questions over the resources taken from their land. Militancy has taken over the entire South South region and other parts of the country where resource are being exploited without considering the relevance and future of the youths. The youth today are no longer completely docile, helpless and hapless. Youths of today are no longer the completely illiterate stock. The seeming apathy of the youth of the immediate past has changed. Today’s youth, just like their predecessors in the historical past are asking questions. Their voices are crying for audience. This is the voice of change. It is time they are heard for the youth are joint partners with elders for nation building in a changed socio-political environment.

3. Rights of young persons under the law

Most countries of the world are populated mainly by children and young persons (the youth). In Nigeria, reputed to be the most populous black nation in the world with a population of about 150 million, for example, 64 percent are the youth (Omaka 2007). The Geneva Declaration (1924) on the Rights of the Child, and the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Rights of a Child (1959) were precursors to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, (1989). The Declaration set out lofty standards on the treatment of children and young persons. Similarly, the African Charter (1990) provided copiously on the rights, treatment, privileges and roles of young persons in all states (Ayua and Okagbue 1996). In Nigeria, the Constitution of the Federal Republic (1999) and the Child Rights Act (2003) jointly defined what and what are due to the Nigerian Youth and children.

The welfare of the youth was first statutorily recognised in 1943, through the Children and Young Persons Ordinance (1943). This later became chapter 31 of Laws of Nigeria as revised in 1948. This provision was retained as chapter 32 of Laws of the Federation of Nigeria as revised in 1958. On the adoption of a state structure in 1967, many states enacted their own Young Peoples Laws, which were almost identical to the original federal legislation. The Children and Young Person Laws (1986) of Anambra State for example, provides that young person have a right to education, social welfare, freedom of thought and conscience, right to a voice and to be heard, and right not to be maligned or ill-treated among others. In like manner Articles 19, 32, 34 and 35 of the UN Convention States provides that states are obliged to take legislative, social and educative measures to protect the youth or young persons from:

- Physical or mental violence
- Hazardous employment or one that can interfere with their education
- Sexual exploitation

Nwazuoke (2006) captured this provision this way;

"Work that is essentially exploitative and injurious to the physical, social, cognitive and moral development of the young person...occurs when they are exposed to long hours of work in dangerous or unhealthy environment, with too much responsibility for their age and at the expense of their school and other welfare"

It is worthy of addition that any youth recruited for political thuggery, or used as Alaye, Agboro, Egbesu, Area-boy or the like offends the provision of this Law, since there are all inimical to youth development as major stakeholders to nation building.

4. Youths and nation building

According to Okpara (2004), in the Farm House Dialogue, Obasanjo and Mabogunje characterised youths as people likely to show the following traits: a strong desire to move the social ladder, a tendency to be idealistic as a result of values passed into them at earlier ages by role models in society; an eagerness to live up to these models; frequent frustrations and anxieties as this idealism confronts the cold reality of daily existence that do not conform to these utopian standards. The youth are full of energy and don’t easily give up even in the face of daunting challenges. the youth are those whose rebellious attitude to enthrone their own authority is common; who are disturbed by what the future holds in stock for them; whose behaviour is full of exuberance and are mostly extroverts. They have the best dreams and visions for the nation. While pursuing such visions, the best form of youthful exertion is that which is moderated with humility, honesty of purpose, fairness, vision, patriotism, integrity and conviviality (Okpara 2004). from the foregoing it is clear that youthful period is a period of laying strong foundation, not only for old age, but also for the future of the a would-be virile nation.
In line with these important roles for nation building, youths are assiduously asserting their authority (most times militantly) as main stakeholders of the every nation. In our country, we can see the major numbers of youths are participating in politics, social developments, economic developments and all the sectors as well. Youths are involving in social service, politics, media, civil societies and business communities etc. But, in all the fields they have been used only as the form of employee who has to work as according to the direction of others and have no rights to participate in the decision making. The most noteworthy fact is that today’s youth are the upcoming future of the nation and the youth should be empowered for the future of the country. So, this is the time for the youths to make their future secure and happy and this is the very critical time to prove themselves as one of the major stakeholders of the country. Now, they have to initiate from the every sectors of the society to remove all the misunderstandings and to transform all kinds of the conflicts (Yahoo Articles 2007). The time has come to stand united for making the country stable and the secure future. In a nutshell, the under listed is a brief chronicle of the current changing trends negatively affecting youth development in Nigeria.

1) In most decision making process today, youths ideas are frequently not valued because of their assumed lack of experiences and junior in age, education and etc.
2) Youths are taken advantage of as unpaid volunteers and interns.
3) Youth problems are often treated by short-term solutions.
4) Lack of practical educational programmes in peace-building, politics, economics and development issues to the youths.
5) Youths are often not able to attend such seminars and activities in various issues because of their conflicting schedules.
6) Youths aren’t involved in any policy making, decision making, fund raising and the decisions related to their future.
7) They are shadowed in all types of development issues (Omaka 2008).

5. Youths as major stakeholder of the nation

The major power and the main wealth of every nation are youths. They are the strong pillars and the sweet future of every nation. But, in Nigeria, as highlighted above, it seems that the youths are only being played for the fulfilment of ones’ need. They have not been given any major responsibilities regarding their future for the development of the nation. It can be seen clearly while looking back to our history that all struggles which have succeeded either it was against the military or fight to have one politician or the other in power, the large numbers of participants were youths. Even in the latest political development, it is evident that most of participants were youths either in Government security personnel, or a protective political militia or in the protest programmes of political parties. Later, when the need of them is finished, there are no better opportunities and programmes for them to build-up their strength, personalities and their career. If the only use of youth is in protest programmes or in conflict and politics, the future of the nation may worsen because the creativity and the talent which is most necessary for the development of the nation is being destroyed and there is no further programmes to secure their position (Yahoo Articles 2007).

In addition to the earlier adumbrated facts, and even at the risk of being repetitive, there are three frequently cited reasons for why the youth are excluded from political participation.

1) The youth are perceived as lacking the skills and qualities
2) The youth are not afforded the opportunities to share power with adults, and
3) The youth are portrayed as lacking the motivation

The youth are often viewed as lacking the skills needed to become part of the political process. These perceptions are often backed by popular theories on childhood development and adolescence, many of which define youth as social group that is in the stage of becoming adults, and hence think like children. Consequently, there is “justifiable” reason for them to be systematically excluded from the scheme of things (Omaka 2008).

Similarly, the youth are not afforded the opportunities to share power with adults in part because they are viewed as lacking the requisite skills. An average adult look at youth sharing discussion table as a threat to adult power, hence the popularly slogan, wait for your turn. Rather than work with the youth to build the skills, adults either abdicate power or work to control it. This tendency to exclude the youth has been well-substantiated in internationally.
Therefore youthfulness has become a major justification for excluding the youth from decision making. It is also important to emphasize that these ideas are also present all major social institutions; from the family, the school, the community; religious institutions etc. It is not a surprise that there are not expectations and processes that facilitate the political participation of the youth within their communities as well as at the national level (Yahoo Articles 2007).

One of the more frequently used justifications excluding the youth is the entrenched myth of youth apathy - the youth are frequently portrayed as lacking motivation to become involved. This myth is captured most aptly in the media hype about Generation X syndrome which describes the youth as a socially inert, self-absorbed group with little or no interest in the political process.

However, recent research reveals that the youth are far from apathetic. It is true, for instance, that many young Americans over 18 do not vote or show interest in the conventional modes of political expression via political parties. Yet in that society, the youth shows great interest in political issues and are constantly searching for different ways of expressing themselves. In Nigeria, the youth is the hub of political activity.

In any society at all, I make bold to say that it is a grave mistake to assume that the youth are politically apathetic. To properly harness youth resource for nation building, there are innumerable activities that could be initiated, not only to mobilize the youth politically, but also to empower them in neighbourhoods and cities across the nation. Examples include: organizing the youth in their communities; educating the youth to use the democratic process; advocating for and training the youth to be part of governance structures of civil society organizations and through local government; monitoring and advocating for changes in political participation age, and many other such areas. The youth should be encouraged to play a central role in the determination and execution of policies for nation building.

Many agree that this rich tapestry of localized youth action holds the promise of expanding the possibility for the youth as equal and active stakeholders in the process of nation building. Even when in place, such initiatives tend to be limited to the micro level and rarely transcend the neighbourhood and city level. The idea of tackling this subject arose at the International Development Conference: Global Meeting of Generations held in Washington DC in January 1999. At this forum, the youth from across the world grappled with the role the youth should play in the governance process of their societies as well as international bodies such as the United Nations (Yahoo Articles 2007).

The youth are a crucial segment of a nation’s development. Their contribution therefore is highly needed. The youth are social actors of change and as the saying goes "youth are not only the leaders of tomorrow, but also the partners of today. Similarly, have stated, "time is not evaluated by what has been harvested, but what has been planted". The government and society at large have equal responsibility to provide the youth with suitable grounds and thereby bringing about a matured and responsible population for the coming generation to lead a better life.

The establishment of the a Ministry of Women Affairs and Youth Development, or Ministry of Youths and Sports and the establishment of National Youth Service Scheme are changes in the right direction. However, there is need for a separate and independent Ministry of Youth Affairs, constitution of a National Youth Council and also the development of a comprehensive National Youth Policy for effective youth mobilization for nation building. Meanwhile, it is good to make these changes and have the structures in place but if the youths do not make the best use of them no beneficial result will be realized.

6. Dangers of not involving the youth in nation building

Unarguably, the political and social landscape of yesterday and today are not the same, there is a changing trend in the scheme of things vis-à-vis the role of the youth. There is political and ideological thuggery and gangsterism involving the youth. In a nation where the young people are not empowered with positive and virtuous skills and attitudes, the rich will not be able to sleep, cultism and gangsterism will be the order of the day, the Police will likely go on strike - not for salary reasons, but to campaign against crime rate - and the ministry of justice will spend more on overtime.

7. Strategising for youth participation in nation building

1) The youths, themselves have to recognize their responsibilities towards the nation.
2) They have to sincerely study and properly analyze the situation of the country for there to be meaningful participation in nation building.
3) They should organize and sensitize others for this unavoidable task.
4) They must study about the role which the youth had played or have been playing in other nations such as South Africa, Northern Ireland, US etc for nation building and political transition.
5) They have to analyze the root cause of all the conflicts going on in the country and its present status.
6) They have to find out the common problems and the possible solutions and such solution should be in favour of the whole nation.
7) They should act responsibly for developing good environment for dialogue among all conflicting parties, especially in the Niger Delta, and develop a long term plan for political stability and sustainable peace.
8) They should prove themselves as a responsible group and a major stakeholder of the country by involving in versatile activities related to the development of the country.
9) Youths should have to watch all the political developments sincerely and should stand strongly to question in the mistakes of those in governance.

8. Changing international efforts at repositioning the youth

In 1998, Portugal (in cooperation with the United Nations) hosted some of the world’s youths in Braga, Portugal. It was the third session of the World Youth Forum of the United Nations System (Sesan 2002).

In January 1999 the youth from across the globe gathered in Washington DC to consider and define the role the youth should play in the governance process of their societies as well as international bodies such as the United Nations, under an international conference tagged International Development Conference: Global Meeting of Generations.

The fourth session of the World Youth Forum of the United Nations System held in Dakar, Senegal between August 6 and 10 2001. According to Sesan (2002), in these meetings, they discussed Youth Empowerment under such topics as Education & ICT; Employment; Health & Population; Capacity building; Hunger, Poverty & Debt; Youth Policy, Participation & Rights; etc.

Some few weeks after the Dakar meeting, young people from 49 countries in Africa gathered in Johannesburg, South Africa (through a Fellowship programme sponsored by the International Telecommunications Union – a United Nations agency) to discuss the development of Africa’s Information and Communications Technologies industry (Africatommorrow 2008). In 2007, 25 young people met in Lagos, to discuss the role of the youth in an IT age for national development.

On March 11 2002, the youth in Zambia marked the Youth Day celebrations and their “untapped potential and subsequent empowerment” was on the agenda for Government and other concerned authorities. The celebration’s theme, Youth Empowerment through Participation, was declared as another trumpet sound, a wake-up call for the youth to be a part of the solutions to their woes. Allafrica.com (2007) had this to say about the meeting:

“Like a hot knife searing through butter, the Zambian youth are expected to cut through the various stumbling blocks affecting them in one way or another and steer past the setbacks. Among these challenges are unemployment, poverty, sexually transmitted diseases and the HIV/AIDS pandemic which has taken a grim toll on their lives.”

Similar meetings held in Hong Kong in December 2002, Argentina in February 2003 and Geneva in October 2003 to accommodate the changing role of the youth in nation building.

All these meetings point to four important points that we must not miss:
The whole world is beginning to (better) appreciate the place of Youth Empowerment in the development of nations, regions and people-groups
Young people are beginning to understand that we must begin to take action now if we want to experience a stable and enjoyable tomorrow
Again, from the proceedings of these meetings and obvious trends in the society, each young person is beginning to appreciate the age-long saying, “The young shall grow … young people are the leaders of tomorrow.” A sense of responsibility, for the individual, his/her immediate environment, his/her family and his/her nation begins to rest on his/her shoulder.
If you’re still one of those youth who only want to mind their own businesses without much concern about what happens to their nation, you need to have a change of attitude (Omaka 2008).
Education as youth tool for nation building

The youth are undoubtedly the custodians of the future of any nation, and therefore have a responsibility to ensure that they are comprehensively prepared for future leadership roles. This preparation can be effected through increasing the intellectual backbone of the youth and orientating them to be progressive, forward-looking, creative, humble, patriotic and hard-working. This can only be attained through an intellectual revolution, where the consciousness of the youth is scientifically advanced to the highest form of mental maturity (Marwala 2008).

Education is one of the tools that can assist the vibrant youth sector to transcend the gross inequalities inherited from the past. It is through education that the youth can develop a mature theoretical technical training that is the backbone of our economic growth. Many writers in the past have professed the importance of the most advanced theory as guidance to the practice for achievement of the desired outcomes of any developmental undertaking. According to Marwala (2008), Antonio Gramsci put it very well in his prison notebooks when he said:

*In the modern world, technical education, closely bound to industrial labour even at the most primitive and unqualified level, must form the basis of the new type of intellectual.*

Access to education for the youth of this country is critical to develop the most advanced level of intellectualism in our society.

Need for youth entrepreneurship

There need to emphasize here that emigrating to US, Canada, and Europe, especially by illegal mean, does not serve as a solution for youths. Nigeria has lost a lot of able-bodied men over the past few years for this reason. The rural urban migration and the seeking for pasture to the Western countries through fatal means has had a serious implication on the agricultural sector and the country’s economy. No foreign aid would develop this country for us; we must therefore work to develop our nation.

As the youth we must be ready and willing to take advantage of any opportunity that comes our way. The youth should embrace and adhere to the call made by the President Yar Adua for youths to go back to the land to restore agriculture as the mainstay of Nigeria’s country’s economy. The bitter truth that must be told is that we can’t all work in offices; therefore some would have to train to be welders, plumbers, electricians, carpenters, craftsmen, farmers and so on.

Who will empower the youth for nation building?

The place of Youth Empowerment in a nation’s development is not subject to any debate and so the more necessary question is, *who empowers the youth?* The most common answer to give is obviously the government. But if you ask devoid of sentiments; based on the realities on the ground, particularly in Nigeria, the obvious answer will be an unpopular one - *you are the best person to empower you.* In fact those who eventually help in nation building are those who have built a successful life, or at least have discovered what exactly they want to carve out of their lives and existence? Really, everything comes back to *you.* To build the nation, *you* must be empowered. In view of the present realities *you* will do the job of empowering *you*.

There’s so much truth in the statement, “the whole world stands aside for a man who knows where he’s going”. And that brings me to the question I’ve asked myself so often: What exactly do you want to do in life? Put another way, *what is your Career Objective: Cultism or intellectualism?* There is no gain reiterating here that cultism is the greatest bane to youth contribution to national development.

So, the ball is in your court. We need to build the nation, but in what area do you need empowerment for so doing? A man who will empower himself will identify the information that is potent enough to empower him. And there is so much information flying around – on websites, in old journals, in newspapers, on the notice boards, in books, in current journals, etc. Such will give you an edge and help you with Personal Development, Career Growth, and of course, help you take a stand as a Global Citizen and not one coloured guy from a Third World country! (Sesan 2002)

Today, people attach so much *luck* to those who know what they really want to do with their lives. The harder they work at that discovery, the luckier they get! Maybe that explains why Thomas Jefferson said that, “*I find that the harder I work, the more luck I seem to have*”.

William Shakespeare helped capture the essence of what we are talking about in one of his writings, “*This life is like a stage, we all come to play our part and we depart...*” Some come on stage and are forgotten.
even before they bow out but some seem to be present on the stage long after their lines have been delivered. Why? The former came just like that but the latter came on to the stage only after deciding what exactly he will do when he gets to the stage. And then, after much rehearsal, he enters and captures the whole audience – because he came prepared (Sesan 2002). How prepared is today’s youth in today’s changing environment?

12. Recommendations for positive change

1) Establish separate youth ministry and development bodies in various levels.
2) Youth participation at various conferences and consultations is very important, because it gives voice to the youth.
3) Feedback on youth impact as volunteers would encourage further participation.
4) Youth should be asked their opinion as major section of the society and future of the nation, in every policy making, decision making, fund raising and so on issues, since they themselves are involved in such activities.
5) Youth problems should be taken sincerely and seriously and it should be solved because they are the future of the nation.
6) Peace building and various development academic programs should receive more funding and support and more youths should be benefited form it.
7) Every stakeholder: Political Parties, Media, Civil Society, Government, Business Circle have to provide more opportunities to build up and show talents and creativity to the youths.
8) Age shouldn’t be included in the definition of youth because one will become old from his feelings not from his age.

13. Conclusion

To prepare the youth for future leadership roles, they need to be orientated to be progressive, forward-looking, creative, humble, patriotic and hard-working, writes Lufuno Marwala. It is generally said that youths are the future of the nation. For that future to be meaningful, they must be responsible and sincere towards their future as well as the future of the nation. They have to put their acts together, first. Secondly, if the enabling environment is not conducive for their contribution to nation building, they should fight in peaceful manner and make their voice loud to be heard. And all stakeholders should listen and accept them as one of the important part of the nation which can’t be shadowed. Again, in today’s changing socio-political environment, all the political, economic and social development decisions should be made in consultation with the youth. Consider these words:

A place where adults and young people are together at the table; debating, grappling with problems, crafting solutions and jointly deciding on how resources should be allocated. A robust democracy where all people, including youth, exercise their right to select those who should speak and act on their behalf and hold them accountable; where young people have an equal opportunity to have a sustainable livelihood. Imagine adults and young people working together to build a thriving society from the ground up contributing to nation building from the community level up to the national level. Herein lies the power behind the potential role of youth as nation builders...

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Trans-national threats and national security concerns: A study of Nigerian-Benin Republic border

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Abstract
This work is a research paper that tried to examine the trans-national threats posed by crimes across the Nigeria-Benin Republic border and the impacts on the national security of both countries. The study found out that such crimes as; smuggling, child and women trafficking, small and light weapon trafficking and trafficking of narcotics across the border. These crimes, the study notes pose serious threat to national security. The study which relied on primary and secondary data tested four hypotheses which gave useful guides to policy implications and recommendations that will help improve security at the Nigeria-Benin Republic border if adopted.

KEY WORDS: Trans-national Threats, Security, Nigeria, Benin Republic, Globalisation, Crime.

1. Introduction
While the international order among states is quite strong, the world is not peaceful. In the wake of globalization and the explosion in communication technologies, new security related threats have emerged that are to a great extent independent of national boundaries. As a result, a new kind of war is being waged in every country all over the world; this is because the primary threats to national security have changed fundamentally. They no longer spring from territorial and ideological disputes among nation states but from how far globalization, technological threats and criminal networks have grown to challenge nation states (Zalur & Zeckhauser 2002).

In Nigeria today, conflict seem persistent and intractable, moreover after a decade of complacency, we seem to be finally grasping the fact that we are fighting for survival under the shadow of catastrophic dangers. Hence discussions on our National Security concept has evolved rapidly because the security environment in which we live is dynamic and uncertain, replete with a host of threats and challenges which are trans-national in nature that have potential to grow more deadly (Pandya & Laipon, 2008:39).

Emerging scenario of these trans-national threats which are irrespective of national border and which comprises of a list of different risk factors thatseem unending spanning from different trans-national crimes like terrorism, human and drug trafficking, money laundering etc, to widespread environmental degradation, diseases, climate change and even political policies which might threaten our nation’s sovereignty (Brainard & Halon, 2004), has further challenged the concept of national security which now pertains to people rather than territories on one hand and development rather than military on the other hand. Now, the notion of national security captures the traditional security and human security. National security is now perceived as total security – security of life and property, security of the economy and the economic resource areas of the country, security of food and raw materials resources, of general health of the people, of environment and national integrity, and preservation of all that society considers to be important and valuable (Imobighe, 2000). Globalization and increased technology has led to the decline of our borders which has led to the increased vulnerability of Nigeria to there threats and endanger our national security. The Nigeria – Benin border, which is located in the west of our country, is particularly notorious for all sorts of illegal trans-border activities. For this reason, this research work will attempt to discuss Human and drug trafficking, smuggling of goods and arms proliferation and the dangers they pose to our national security because these activities are the most common across the Nigeria – Benin border.

The dilemmas that Nigeria faces with insecurities call for critical investigation of border entry points whether they are performing their strategic functions (Willie, 2008). Today, there are thousands of
Nigerians living in Benin and some number of Beninese living in Nigeria. However, Nigeria has over the years engaged in the deportation of some Beninese “illegal Aliens” back to their country and even engaged in the closure and reopening of her border with Benin on the ground of trying to protect her national security. The National Security of both countries have been constantly threatened by activities of some Nigerians, Beninese, and even citizens of other nationalities across the Seme Border involving the smuggling of petroleum products and other essential commodities like drugs, beverages etc, which constitute economic threat to Nigerian economy. Similarly, the dominance of substandard goods, fake drugs and prohibited items in our local markets call to question the very essence and effectiveness of government fiscal policies and the implementation process involving chains of security agencies at our national border. Nigeria, despite avalanches of insecurities must remain open to movement of people, goods and services if they are to prosper. At the same time, openness without credible controls makes it possible for emerging threats of transnational crimes including terrorism to strive (Willie, 2008).

Presently, Nigeria is awash with sophisticated arms and ammunitions and other weapons of mass destruction which can be used to fuel internal conflicts and armed robbery within our nation. Majority of illicit arms in circulation in Nigeria found their way into the country through borders, be it land, sea or air. Transnational organized crime syndicates that deal in the trafficking and proliferation of these arms, deal in drugs, smuggle commodities and human trafficking keep operation with impurity across the Nigeria – Benin republic boundary (Willie, 2008).

There are major factors responsible for the preponderance of transnational crime namely:

i. The development of global markets

ii. Advancement in technology, efficient communication and transport which have accelerated the movement of people, product, money and of course criminals

iii. The increased volume complexities of international transaction which help disguise criminal activities.

iv. The depressed economy of most developing countries like Benin and Nigeria which creates the conducive fertile ground for the gestation of crime networks and operation (Ngor Ngor: ND)

iv. Poor Governance leading to absence of border controls and corruption. The porosity of the Nigeria – Benin border has exposed our country to different transnational threats, which has devastating consequence for our national security. Transnational threats is a highly, destabilizing factor because it crates roots for the development of regional and global tension (Shelley, 1995). Transnational crimes can weaken or destabilize state, damaging their good governance and slowing their economic development. They also compete with legal economic system and promote corruption and undermine the authority of the state, therefore paving way for radicalization process that can lead to violent extremism and terrorism. The complexity and extent of transnational organized crime and the negative influence these criminals exert through the stupendous wealth that they acquire make it imperative for the cooperation Nigeria and Benin Republic to effectively combat these crimes across their border.

2. Objectives of the Study

The specific or the main objectives of carrying out this research work includes:

1. To examine the nature and dynamics of transnational threats.

2. To examine the peculiar transnational threats pronging the Nigeria – Benin border.

3. To explore the impacts of transnational threat to Nigeria’s national security

4. To inform policy that will isolate Nigeria from transnational threats.

3. Research Hypothesis

A Hypothesis is a tentative generation, the validity of which remains to be tested. In its most elementary stage the hypothesis may be any hunch, guess, imaginative idea, which becomes basis for action or investigation.

To achieve the desired objective, the research has the following declarative hypothesis to validate or invalidate at the end of the research.

1. Globalization trends increases incidence of transnational threats

2. The weakness of the state tends to engender transnational threats

3. Nigeria – Benin border security tends to be hampered by transnational threats

4. The higher the level of transnational threat the poorer the state of national security.

4. Scope and Limitations of the Study
This research will be limited to the major transnational crimes along the Nigeria – Benin border. They include smuggling and trafficking in arms and weapons, drugs, humans and goods such as cars and petroleum products. The study will analyze and examine these transnational threats and how they affect our national security. However in the course of this research, the researcher may exceed the boundary of his study as an instrument of explanation.

A study like this will have limitations such as time constraints, finances, mobility to acquire adequate materials and literature on the subject matter under study.

5. Review of the Literature

While the integrative imperativeness of globalization calls for borders to be increasingly porous without little or no barriers, the dark side of globalization has brought to the fore the need to fend off contrabands, criminals, illegal immigrants and terrorists. As the threat level increases, so also is the pressure and attention on border management. Borders must necessarily stop, interdict and examine people, conveyances and cargoes at points of entry or exit. Our border performs the dual role of a line that links as well as a line that separates (Willie, 2008). The two border towns which are Seme border in Lagos State and Idiroko border in Ogun State that connect Nigeria to Benin republic are of crucial concern due to the large state of trans-border activities between the two countries.

Border security has become a very crucial concern for Nigerians and Beninese alike. Good border management from the smuggling of weapons, drugs, goods and other contrabands across the Nigeria-Benin border has made one way or another threaten our national security and vice versa. Crimes such as Human trafficking, smuggling of weapons, drugs, goods and other contrabands across the Nigeria-Benin border has made border security a very crucial concern for Nigerians and Beninese alike. Good border management from the foregoing is an attempt to seek to balance the competing and not conflicting goals of collective security of facilitating access for people, goods and services that are desirable and needed with interdicting or stopping criminals that can cause insecurity in Nigeria and globally. The joint management of Seme border in South West Nigeria between Benin and Nigeria in terms of collective security arrangement under bilateral and ECOWAS initiatives is an attempt to efficiently manage the borders. Good border management as identified must systematically act as fitness, being able to accurately and efficiently identify high-risk people and cargoes, target them for inspection and reject same without hindrance to legitimate cross-border traffic. This to a large extent holds great potentials for policy makers and may form the solution to the elusive problem of insecurities in Nigeria (Willie, 2008).

5.1 Transnational Organised Crime across The Nigeria – Benin Border

Transnational organized crime suggests in simple terms the movement of persons, goods and services across sovereign national jurisdiction in a manner devoid of acceptable norms and standards. At the local level, the sophistication of organized groups can be described as rudimentary. However, with international linkages, the operational base of organized crime in Nigeria has widened beyond immediate frontiers which is a source of great concern to government. Most of these organized crime are made possible in Nigeria because of the porous and notorious Nigeria – Benin border (Ngor Ngor :ND).

The Nigerian government has mapped out policies and strategies to deal decisively with transnational crimes across the Nigeria-Benin border but the solution has constantly eluded us due to a number of reasons among which is the level of corruption at the border and within the country. These threats have been perhaps most noticeable in regard to drug-trafficking, humans, arms and other goods which are mostly cars and petroleum. (UNDOC, 2005).

While these operations might appear quite different there are frequently relationships and interdependence between most of them. Although terrorist and insurgent groups are politically motivated, they often provide armed protection to drug trafficking in exchange for money or arms. Conversely organized crime group and drug trafficking commit terrorist acts that target government agencies and personnel who attempt to bring...
them to justice, drug trafficking and related transnational organized crime encourage money laundering and makes possible the financing of non-governmental armed troops (Sheller 1995). These organized crime groups consist of complex clandestine, hierarchically organized networks and operate internationally with little regard for our borders. The gravity of the problem lies not only in the increasing complexity and number of their organization, but more importantly, with the serious challenge they pose in their ability to penetrate and operate with relative impunity in several states simultaneously. In the same vein, these illegal enterprises not only threaten aspects of state our country’s sovereignty and security that have traditionally been taken for granted, but they also prove the permeability of our national borders and vulnerability of state institutions.

5.2 Human Trafficking

The trafficking of children for the purpose of domestic service, prostitution and other forms of exploitative labour is a widespread phenomenon in Nigeria. In the view of the clandestine nature of trafficking, accurate and reliable figures are hard to get (UNICEF, 2007). It was the case beginning from the mid 1980’s that Nigeria experienced increased incidence of human trafficking especially women and children (Agbu, 2008). These trafficked persons are at risk of involving in domestic and forced labour, prostitution, entertainment, pornography, armed conflict and sometimes ritual killing (UNICEF, 2007).

For Nigeria, the situation was so bad that the then first lady, Titi Abubakar through her non-governmental organization – Women Trafficking and Child Education Foundation (WOTCLEF) took it upon herself to spearhead that would eventually become a serious fight against human trafficking in Nigeria. Utilizing all advantages desirable from the position, political legal and social, she was able to kick-stout a serious challenge to human trafficking and its corruption support case in the country (Agbu, 2003). In July 2003, the trafficking in persons prohibited and Administration Act was passed in Nigeria, a legislative framework that prohibits all forms of trafficking in person and protects children and adults against criminal networks (UNICEF, 2007). There are diverse reasons why many Nigerian Children are vulnerable to trafficking, including poverty, large family size, rapid urbanization with deteriorating public service, low literacy levels, high school drop out rates (UNICEF, 2007), and to top it all up is the porous borders of Nigeria – Benin republic. The poor economic situation in Nigeria has led to unemployment and high rates of school drop outs.

These circumstances which are also present in Benin have created a large pool of inactive and unengaged children and adolescents who are much more vulnerable to trafficking than their peers who go to school. Nigeria is a centre of trafficking in human beings, especially women and children. It is an origin, transit and destination country for trafficking children and server predominantly as an origin country for trafficked women. These women and children are trafficked to different parts of West Africa, North America, Europe and Middle East from Nigeria mainly through the Seme Border. Benin also serves as a destination country for children trafficked for labour exploitation from Nigeria. Trafficked women trafficked from Nigeria are also forced into prostitution in Benin (Chinkwanha, 2007).

Foreign children trafficked to Nigeria come mainly from Benin and Togo (an estimated 96%, with 90% of that figure coming from Benin alone), Cote d’ Ivoire and Niger. Children as young as five and six years trafficked from Benin have been found working in exploitive conditions in Nigeria mines in the Western part of the country. Trafficked girls are used for domestic services or street trading as well as commercial sexual exploitation while boys are generally forced to work on plantations or in commercial farming, construction, quarries and mines or engaged in petty crimes and drug trade (UNDOC, 2006). With respect to women trafficked to Europe for the purpose of sexual exploitation, an estimated 94% are from Edo State while the remaining are from Delta, Kano and Borno State.

5.3 Victimization by Traffickers

a. Trafficked people suffer physical assault and threats of violence of self and family and also psychological issues.

b. Illness and death. Many trafficked persons die en route as a result of dangerous track condition and become ill as a result of dangerous working condition

c. There is constant rape and harassment by police so that the officers could

d. There is threat of human to the trafficked person, friends and family if “debts owed are not paid or report will be made to authorities if the trafficked escaped or refused to work.
All the above violate the right to freedom, liberty, human dignity, adequate rest and leisure, nutrition, right to freedom of expression, movement nationality and identity, right to parental care and protection affecting children and development.

There is also Re-victimization by government through the following:


b. The officials treat trafficked persons as criminals e.g. there is public disclosure of person’s situation in passport, identity printed in newspaper and highlights in news.

c. They return to countries of origin quickly without regard to safety, access to justice on need for prosecution witness

d. Detained by police, not fed, and held in jails longer than necessary.

e. The government fails to ensure compensation for wages and suffering. Fails to take adequate actions to protect family members from threats of harm or actual harm by traffickers (Olujwon, 2008).

The activities of women victims of trafficking especially those who go into prostitution either on their own or are forced to do so, has implications for their reproductive health and general health of Nigerians. Young Nigerians are alleged to be active participants in officially sanctioned prostitution in Benin, Italy and some other parts of the world. In other words, trafficking has consequence not only for the victim alone, but also for their families and the nations as whole, especially as women and little girls are involved in risk of pregnancy, maternal immortality, sexually transmitted disease and HIV/AIDS. Child prostitution and child labour deprive the children of the opportunity to pursue and achieve their full potentials, thereby depriving the nation of vital human resources for development. It also detracts our self esteem as a nation and devalues our pride and moral values (Olujwon, 2008). Notwithstanding the socio-economic consequences of prostitution, to our country, the HIV/AID prevalence rate for Benin and some other destination countries which young Nigerian girls are trafficked to expose them to higher risk of contacting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted disease that has serious repercussions on their reproductive health. It is estimated that, to date, about two-third of the reported AIDS cases have been females usually between the ages of 15 and 49 years who incidentally forms part of the segment of the women population who often migrate or are trafficked. It will be right to now say that the increase in the trafficking of women from Nigeria to other countries and also the trafficking to young girls from other countries to Nigeria via the Nigeria – Benin border has to a large extent contributed to increase in the HIV prevalence due to the mobility of infected women victims of trafficking (Taylor, 2002).

Trafficking of humans, particularly women has negative cost implications on the economy of home country of the trafficked. Victims of trafficking are normally of low employable skills on account of their relatively lower education levels. Most of them are also trafficked on fake travel documents and hence occasionally get apprehended by the law enforcement agencies of the destination countries leading to their forced repatriation, the cost of which is bore by their home government. Most often, the evacuated migrants are not well oriented and rehabilitated to properly integrate them into the society. As a result, some returned migrants see their perceived new environment as an opportunity to put into practice some of the negative socio-cultural practices learnt abroad that are diametrically opposed to the socio-cultural settings of the Nigeria society. Victims of trafficking sometimes resort to desperate behaviours when they fail to reach their destination. Victims of trafficking in those situations become stranded and despondent and resort to all sorts of socio-economic activities including prostitution, illegal drug peddling and burglary. In some instances traffickers use their victims as carriers of illegal drug across our borders. Trafficking in women and children has also negative socio-political implication for both origin and host continues especially where many of the women and children are let lose to practice prostitution in the open in the host country. Apart from putting a derogatory tag on the Nigeria womanhood, it also increases pressure of the host government to take appropriate action to remove the offensive behaviour.

5.4 Trafficking and Smuggling in Drugs

The problem with drug trafficking is probably among the most alarming problems in transnational crime (Muna, 2002). Nigeria is neither a producer nor consumer nation in the illicit drug trade but serves as a major transit route. Of all transnational criminal activities prevalent in Nigeria, the drug trade has brought the country much more woes and international pariah status than any other has. Drug trafficking came to official prominence from 1983-1984 in Nigeria, following public execution of some convicted drug traffickers (Ngor Ngor: ND).
Nigerian Traffickers operate with impunity in Benin so also Beninese in Nigeria through the Nigeria–Benin border. Traffickers use legitimate business to camouflage drug operation. Proceeds are often invested in property (Real Estate) and this enables them to launder illicit profits (Barbara, 2007). In Nigeria, which is the most populous country in Africa and one of its dominant economic players and where there is significant problem of organized crime, the police and other agencies appear to have only limited capacity to analyze the structures of organized crime, tending to regard all those whom they apprehend as individuals, the problem with drugs shows that actors both supplier and users are internationally linked (Muna, 2002).

According to almost all accounts drug trafficking was pioneered in the region of West Africa by Nigerians. Soon joined by others, and police force in Ghana and Sierra Leone both allege that drug trafficking was introduced into their countries largely by Nigerians criminals seeking new operating locations. But although international drug trading in West Africa appears to have been pioneered by Nigerians and by all accounts Nigerian entrepreneurs now play a major role in the international drug trade, every country in West Africa has the capacity to become a transit zone used by criminals of any nationality (UNDOC, 2008). For example, most persons with Nigerian International passports that are arrested, prosecuted and convicted in connection with drug trafficking are couriers working for drug barons in other countries (Ngor Ngor: ND), and although it is pointed out that Nigeria is by far the most populous country in West Africa, and indeed the whole of Africa, and that it is therefore to be expected that the country will produce greater number of criminals than its neighbours, it is still important to point out that criminals of other nationalities including Beninese may sometimes find it convenient to pass themselves off as Nigerians. But even if one were to make allowance for doubts over the true nationality of some couriers bearing Nigerian passport, there is overwhelming evidence to support the view that drug trade remains one of the specialties of Nigerian criminal group – of couriers intercepted with drug transmitting through West Africa, according to statistics compiled since 2000-2005, 92 percent were West Africans and no less than 56% were Nigerians (UNDOC, 2005). A striking tendency in Nigeria is its continuous emerging role as a zone of transit. Just within West Africa Drugs are trafficked from Ghana through Togo, Benin cutting across the Nigeria-Benin border into Nigeria to Southern Africa.

The couriers are mostly youths within the age bracket of 18-40 years. The methods of peddling in drugs varied from simple concealment in personal effects, lining of clothing, animals, concealment in women’s reproductive organ (Vagina), designed as talcum powder, packaged in small moulded balls and swallowed, engraved in cultural artifacts to so many ingenious unimaginable methods. The drugs are transported across the Nigeria – Benin Border by land, air or sea. The Nigerian government established the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDIEA) to fight the upsurge in drug trafficking. Added to this, is the promulgation of National Drug Law Enforcement Agency Act. The act seeks to enforce laws against the cultivation, processing, sale, trafficking and use of hard drugs and to empower the Agency to investigate persons suspected to have dealings in drugs and other related matters. The NDLEA with the cooperation of other international agencies has relatively fought the war against drug trafficking but the porous border of Nigeria – Benin has limited the effects which the Agency must have made (Agbu, 2008).

Drug trafficking has both social and economic cost for Nigeria. In Nigeria, drug trafficking helps in worsening off or raiding helpless skewed income distribution. The traffickers are rich people whereas the non traffickers are not. Also the manner in which the drug traffickers in Nigeria spend their money also has social implications. They spend their money recklessly before the poor masses; a consequent manifestation is that those without such access will express their anger and ill feelings in the act of crime of delinquency (Jaja, 1990). Drugs also constitute a big damage to health. The transiting of drugs through any given country means that some of it inevitably stays there, either as payment of services renders or as a source of profit for the traffickers, these drugs are thus consumed locally with the dire effects on consumers that we all know. Addiction sets in and the afflicted persons become a huge burden in all respects. They will steal to feed their habit, resell drugs at extremely low prices to earn their fix, thus contaminating their surroundings. They will use violence if necessary to obtain cash, or simply because they become frustrated and angry. A cycle of dependency, distress, poverty and crime sets. It becomes a major internal security and National Security Issue (Shehu, 2009). The influx of drug and other dirty or unsafe money has also put the economy and the banking system under great pressure because although it might build its net worth, it puts the bank at risk of prosecution or worse if monies are withdrawn too fast. Legal system becomes over burdened, prisons fill up, resource offering help and rehab are insufficient or not up to par, and the whole attitude of fear in society seeks retribution and punishment rather than rehabilitation and reintegration. Government officials are corrupted at the same time and can cause serious violence to those who pose threat to their lucrative business, police forces become unable to cope and the list goes on and on. At the
end if this threat is not properly handled could cripple every institution of our economy and leading to grave national insecurity (IBID).

5.5 Trafficking and Proliferation of Arms and Weapons

It is now accepted that sustainable development is seriously threatened by recurrent violent armed conflict. The constant supply of smuggled arms into the country especially through the porous Nigeria – Benin border is a major cause for concern because of its disastrous effect on our national security. Most arms trafficked into the country are used in internal conflicts, armed robbery and drug trafficking and therefore creating a continuous cycle of violence and instability in which particularly women and children are brutalized. Small arms and light weapons proliferation in Nigeria is due not only to its strained economic and social situation, but also to the high rate of trafficking and smuggling of SALW into the country. The high rate of criminality, the development of secret cults, the emergence of private security and the electoral and political violence demonstrates as well as feed the culture of violence, which is strongly related to SALW. It is worth noting that Nigeria produces SALW. The Defence industries corporation of Nigeria (DICON) is the only legal manufacturer in Nigeria. It produces rifles, pistols, ammunition, but there are mainly used by the Nigeria Police, and do not represent a significant source of proliferation (Agekameh, 2002).

Oil company funds are a considerable source of weapons in Nigeria. Weapons bought with oil funds are provided in return for illegal bunkered or stolen oil, or to supporters within the oil industry. The oil industry also creates opportunity for protection from private security actors. Oil producing companies, increasingly finding the state provision of security inadequate use service of armed groups. These groups use oil company funds to buy weapons, which overtime, enables them to expand the outreach of their activities across other communities and across state boundaries. Another important source of weapon is the distribution of arms by political parties for the coercion and intimidation of opponents and the electorate at election times. A significant number of weapons enter Nigeria from neighbouring West African States like Sierra Leone and Liberia through the Nigeria – Benin border aided by dealers and members of the Nigerian Military who extend their military positions into these neighbouring states to collect weapons and ship them to Nigeria for resale. As a result of inadequate resources and expertise to effectively patrol and manage the Nigeria – Benin border which is about 1000 kilometres, it has been made a major route used to smuggle arms into the country.

SALW have been used to grossly violate human rights, to facilitate the practice of bad governance, to subvert constitution to carryout coup de tat and to create and maintain a general state of fear, insecurity and instability. The true magnitudes of the problems caused by SALW proliferation in Nigeria cannot be accurately quantified, as so many of the effects are hard to measure – such as fear and want. However, there is no dispute that small arms have had a devastating effect on development governance and everyday life of Nigerians as such posed huge threat to our national security (Keili, 2002). The uncontrolled movement of SALW has exacerbated conflicts and brought destruction, untold hardship, poverty and contributed to underdevelopment in Nigeria. The widespread availability of small arms to abusive actors poses a threat of unprecedented magnitude to Nigeria far greater than that of HIV/AIDS in terms of its socio-economic and human consequences. Because of this proliferation, the fabric of the country itself is rapidly changing moving toward self-destruction. This can be observed in three different areas:1. The easy availability and use of SALW is leading to tragic consequences, not only for combatants but also for civilian, who form the majority of causalities – people are losing their lives, their health, families, homes and livelihoods.2. The growing illegal character of the flow of SALW in Nigeria is transforming the bulk of arms transfers from a legal, accountable trade to what is better described as trafficking. What is perhaps most amazing is the number of state and non-state actors involved in the network of illegal transfer of light weaponry: and

3. The most significant and far reaching consequence of SALW proliferation, beyond the huge economic cost and social crisis, is the effect in cultural values. In different instances, customs have arrested groups of Nigerian arm traffickers near the border. The Nigerian custom service also reported the interception of small arms and ammunition worth more than 4.3 billion naira ($34.1 million) on their way into the country in the first 6months of 2002. A lot has come through the border with Benin and was being brought into Nigeria over land or by sea-in small boats.

During conflict, the structures of SALW circulation have integrated into economic structures. SALW have an economic value to the fighters that receive them. They enable combatants to engage in predatory violence against civilian populations, stealing goods to sell to the local black market which is the enrichment. Small arms, especially firearms, are the primary tools used to kill, threaten, and intimidate
civilian population in Nigeria. Small arms play a significant role in many abuses, including rape, enforced disappearances, torture, forced displacement and enforced recruitment of child soldiers.

Delta State has seen conflict since 2003 involving well-armed military groups (so also Jos) motivated in part by economic interest in stolen crude oil. These groups use a range of sophisticated weapons, such as Semi and full automatic rifles, alongside more traditional weapons to carryout deadly and paralyzing attacks on oil and gas installations. SALW proliferation also fuels the illicit trafficking of natural resources such as oil, diamonds, timber, coffee. Most victims of small arms violence in Nigeria are young men, who have the highest earning potential. The presence of these small arms creates an atmosphere of fear that affects the resumption of normal economic activity and everyday life which are all elements of national security. Over the last decade, the links between SALW proliferation, conflict, security and development have become better recognized and understood within Nigeria especially in the region of Delta state and Jos. It is now accepted that sustainable development is seriously threatened by recurrent violent armed conflict (Takirambudde, 2003).

However, Krause asserted that although the availability and use of more sophisticated weapons has contributed to the erosion of state authority, it is clear that the proliferation of arms is in part a respond to demand for personal security when normative social relations collapse or are seen to be on the brink of collapse. In other words the proliferation is rooted in inept structural forms which create or sustain human security in its broad sense (Jekada, 2005).

5.6 Smuggling in other Commodities

The smuggling of other commodities such as oil and cars have been constantly reported across the Nigeria-Benin border. Just this year alone, 380 cars stolen in Nigeria have been traced to Benin Republic which had the suspects released. Oil bunkering in Nigeria has also continued to occur at an alarming rate due to the easy smuggling of the stolen oil via the Seme border. According to the Federal Government, some 300,000 barrels are illegally exported per day with the Nigeria-Benin border acting as a major transit zone.

Efforts have been made to reduce smuggling activities to its minimum at Seme border due to its economic consequence which is a vital part of our national security. Between last year and January 2010, Nigeria custom Service (NICS), Badagry Area Command says it made a massive seizure. The head of the command, comptroller Aliu Barbriel Toba, put the value of goods seized at N573.3 million. Among the seizure were (Tokunbo) vehicles, bags of rice, wines, textile material and vegetable oil as well as pharmaceutical products topping the list of the seizures. The mode of concealment equally was amazing as some of these goods were concealed in a manner that ordinarily will not give an inkling of suspicion.

The command according to Aliu recorded huge revenue of N3.8billion in 2009 as against N3.5 billion recorded in 2008. He also disclosed that his command recorded N443.6 million as revenue in January this year as against 238.6 million in January 2009, a comparative difference of N204.9 million. Smuggling is like cankerworm that does no good.

The nature of our wide expansive border and coastland with the attendant difficulty of covering it because of limited resources has aided in both the smuggling out and smuggling in of different goods. Similarly the dominance of substandard goods, fake drugs and prohibited items in our local markets also has serious health implications for the people of the Nigerian Federation.

5.7 National Security

Generally, security has to do with freedom from danger, or with threats to a nation’s stability to protect and develop itself, promote its cherished values and legitimate interest and enhance the well-being of its people (Imobighe: ND). The 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 9 Sections 214 and 217 provides for the establishment and maintenance of an army, navy, air force and other security agencies that may be necessary for the purpose of:

i. Defending Nigeria from external aggression.
ii. Maintaining territorial integrity and securing one borders from violation on land, sea and air.
iii. Suppressing insurrection and acting in aid of civil authorities to restore order, when called upon.
iv. Performing such other functions as may be prescribed (such as undertaking relief or welfare duties in such cases as national disasters, peace keeping etc). There are clearly national objectives or goals. The means to goal attainment can only be feasible if the strategies are right and dynamic. Where the resources are limited and ineffectively distributed, discontent and conflict may take centre stage, because the problem of poverty, disease, which are internal security threats, must be contained before regional or global
problems (Willie, 2008). Security in whatever form is a standard measurement of the viability of any state or nation. A state of insecurity means red alert and that a risk factor have been identified which must be contained. This largely may involve military and non-military. All nations have the right under international law to secure its territorial space and protect its citizens from any imminent attack. National security once meant military power, but right now apart from military dimension to security, national security can be explained as the public policy of maintaining integrity and survival of the nation state through the use of other means like economic, religious, political, technology or the exercise of other diplomatic initiatives either in times of peace or war. This thinking informed Nwolise to postulate that: A country may have the best armed forces in terms of training and equipment, the most efficient police force, the most efficient custom men, the most active secrete service agents and best quality prisons, but yet be the most insecure nation in the world as a result of defence and security problems with governments, alienated and sufferings masses, ignorance, hunger, unemployment or even activities of foreign residents or companies.

The above scenario is not different from what is currently experienced with security assessment of Nigeria. Even the USA with enormous resources is greatly troubled by activities of forced migrants, talk less of Nigeria. Even if internal security problems are minimal in Nigeria, which obviously is not, the fact that her immediate neighbours like Benin are weak states vulnerable to crisis and conflicts, food shortages diseases or proliferation of small arms and light regions means that Nigeria may be unsafe except the security is beefed up. The new thinking about national security and emerging transnational challenges gained further prominence with MC Namara (1999) who is also of the opinion that: Any society that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortages, population explosion, low level of productivity and per capital income, low technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities and chronic problems of unemployment has a false sense of security. Mc Namara was absolutely right in arguing that the security of any nation cannot be primarily restricted to its military preparedness, but also in developing relative stable patterns of economic and political growth internally and globally.

National security is the ability of a nation to protect its internal values from internal and external threats. This for all practical purpose includes securing the individual against want, poverty, disease, loss of income and other health hazards. There must be national preservation and equilibrium in the economic, social, political and environmental spheres. Security, is normally a priority of every nation, this is very important in the sense that, it affects not only the satisfaction of needs of the inhabitants, but all things being equal and more importantly, is the fundamental issues of the national survival as a viable entity. Thus, it is only under a secured atmosphere that a state can develop, and direct its human and material resources towards a productive end (Willie, 2008).

In Nigeria today, governments, military and police forces; and other agencies responsible for various aspects of national security have little choice but to rethink security as it applies to the various transnational threats mostly organized crimes plunging us through the Nigeria-Benin border and other borders alike that political and military leaders have tended to ignore or wish away. These transnational crimes challenge our national security stability and sovereignty and might attempt either to control or depose governments. In this context, it must be remembered that crime, violence and instability are only symptoms of these threats. The ultimate threat is either that of state failure or violent imposition of a radical socio-economic-political restructuring of the state and its governance (Manwaring, 2008).

5.8 Curtailing Trans-border Crimes through Proper Management of Nigeria-Benin Border

Management as a concept has constantly changed over the years. To some people, management is an art, while others view it as science. Whatever it connotes, is not contestable here, but of relevance is the fact that management is a process used to accomplish organizational goals. Whatever an organization wants to accomplish can only done through and under management. An organization can be a business, profit or non profit agency, a school, community groups or security outfit. In the case of classical security border, mandatory tasks use assignment to specialized agencies like Armed Forces, Immigration, customs, police, state security service, plant and animal quarantine service and others (Willie, 2008). Organizing is the development of resources to achieve strategic goals. This deployment is reflected in:

i. The organization’s division of labour that forms jobs and departments.

ii. Formal lines of authorities and;

iii. The mechanism used in coordinating diverse jobs and roles in organization. It is very important to note that organizing follows a deliberate part of strategy. Why strategy indicates what needs to be done, organizing shows how to do it. Organization’s structure is a formal system of relationships that determines lines of authority and tasks assigned to individuals and units. There is a vertical dimension of this structure
which indicates who has the authority to make decisions and who is expected to supervise which subordinate. The horizontal dimension is the basis of dividing work into specific job specializations and tasks or assigning jobs into such units and departments. The horizontal dimension of the structure of the security set up of the border does not have operational problems with whose job it is to deter the entry of drugs as with National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA), human trafficking as with the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS) or smuggling being the constitutional responsibility of the customs. The real problem of border management and collective security at the Nigeria-Benin border has to do with the vertical dimension, where no single agency has the authority to make decisions for public good or as to efficient and effective management of the security border. Too many agencies with duplicated and overlapping functions operate at the Seme border pursing diverse and sometimes conflicting goals without unity of command. The joint Nigeria – Benin border patrol operates with at least two commanders and non subordinate to each other.

Furthermore, the concept of unity of command that a subordinate should have only one direct supervisor is missing among multiple security agencies that man Seme border. Though cohesion and unity of command operates as internal mechanism within specific agencies like the police, customs, immigration and others, harmony of overall national objectives continue to remain elusive in attempts at joint management of the security border, for no one agency is willing to subordinate its authority to another. Therefore the span of control is lost, thus tasking the overall goal objective which is peace and security. The management of the border facilitates is grossly inadequate due to lack of vertical dimension to the organizational structures. Common cliché’s you hear from sidelines on approaching the security border that further confirm the struggle for span of control are “custom controlled areas” for customs, “gatekeepers” for immigration, “security zones” for police and army or simply “baggage”, used commonly by all. There are currently about two functional and jointly managed international borders between Nigeria and Benin. The Seme border is on Benin Republic territory, while idiroko is on Nigeria territory. The Seme border present challenges in terms of policing due to complex arrangements in which the Beninese authorities are resistant to joint sharing of facilities. Nigeria security checks and clearance are conducted on Benin territory, and further subjected to counter checks and further clearance by Benin security agencies, before crossing to Nigeria side. Due largely to linguistic differences and disconnect between Anglophone Nigeria and Francophone Benin, the sharing of vital information between the two countries are minimal. Benin has continued to be a nation hospitable to transnational crime networks and the database on activities of criminals are not shared by two nations. To be an effective and efficient manger, it is imperative to be multi-skilled. This has become obvious with globalization and the dynamics of ever changing technology. New and emerging management focuses include communication skills, human skills, computer skills, time management skills and technical skills. Most, if not all are lacking in management approaches adopted by security agencies in policing our vast and porous borders.

5.9 Corruption and Transnational Threats

The interface between crime and politics, or crime and legitimate business, straddles the grey area of corruption. Corruption is often hidden, or at least is not openly admitted by its perpetrators and is rarely proven to a legal standard in a court of law.

Corruption in Nigeria has eaten into the very fabric of our society rendering most institutions fragile leading to both the attraction and fueling of a wide range of transnational threats. Corruption causes instability and creates roots for criminal organization and activities. Reasons why parts of the globe attract criminal activities include the lack of functioning criminal justice system, some of which are highly vulnerable to corruption, coupled with general lack of state capacity to control borders and their institutions, in which Nigeria is not an exception. The same set of institutional weakness leaves our state vulnerable to a wide range of transnational illicit activity and much has been written and said about the linkages among these activities. A new thinking is needed to help our country fight corruption because the word in every sense comprises the future of any country. In the case of poor and vulnerable states, it is even more damaging. Suffice to say that the loss of home grown values, the lack of formal education, the angry and violent attitude of young males and some females, the reign of the “almighty dollar” as a source of pride or power, the often compromised law enforcement bodies, the waste and the loss of funds for direct and indirect investment in the country particularly in education are all sad results of the disruption of social fabric due to trafficking and leadership, and an indication of serious lack of maturity among members of any society (Shehu,2009). Most top government official are solely responsible for the trafficking of arms and weapons into the country and the high level of corruption at these borders only makes things worst. It is
well known that state customs officials labour heavily to be moved to the border where it is easy to ignore state rules on clearing goods (Chikwanha, 2008).

6. Study Locale

The border will continue to be a dynamic concept in security studies. This assertion is informed by the fact that traditionally security has been conceptualized from the viewpoint of a nation state delimited having a fixed boundary, sovereignty and independence.

Nigeria shares a 773 kilometre boundary with the republic of Benin in the west and this boundary has been a major source of conflict as a result of continuous trans-border criminal activities. There are currently about two functional and jointly managed international borders between Nigeria and Benin. The Seme border is on Benin republic territory, while Idrisko is on Nigeria Territory. Seme however arrest special attention being probably the busiest and most mercurial of all border post in West Africa. The Seme border present challenges in term of policing due to complex management in which Beninese authorities are resistant to joint sharing of facilities.

For years cars stolen in Nigeria have turned up on sale in Benin and large quantities of cheap Nigerian petrol have been smuggled across the border. At the same time human trafficking have become rife in both directions. Nigeria seeking clandestine entry into Europe often leave via Benin, while West African children recruited to work for low wages on plantation in central Africa are dispatched in the opposite direction. These activities led Nigeria to close its western border with Benin on the 10th of August 2003 and said the border would remain closed till Beninese government took tougher action against smuggling across the border. Although this move may have contravened its treaty obligation as a member of the ECOWAS whose fifteen member countries have pledged the free movement of people and goods, the country claims that it was only taking necessary precautions to protect its national security.

Today there is still growing concern on the border due to multiplicity of checkpoints along the mile 2-Seme expressway. There are supposedly only three approved customs checkpoint on the route from Lagos to Seme but in practice, there are over 30 checkpoints mounted by various security agencies. Even at that transnational crimes persist at an alarming rate.

7. Research Design

Research design provides the glue that holds the research work together. The survey research design was selected for the purpose of this study. Survey can be divided into two broad categories, that is questionnaire and interview. This design was appropriate for the study because it enabled the researcher to collect data in form of writing and spoken language. This allowed the researcher to study selected issues in depth, openness and detail.

7.1 Population of the Study

The target population of the study comprises of the different Security agencies manning the Nigeria-Benin border. They include representatives from the Nigerian customs service, the Nigerian immigration service, national agency for food drug administration and control, national veterinary quarantine service, the state security service, Nigerian police force, Nigerian army, national drug law enforcement agency, national agency for the prohibition of traffic in persons, and top officials at the ECOWAS building at the border.

7.2 Sampling and Sampling Procedure

Specimen sample means the manageable population which the researcher can utilize effectively in the administration of questionnaire and interview. This specimen sample technically known a research population enables the researcher to carry out correct and accurate analysis of data.

The total population of security agent at the border cannot be adequately relied upon due to their large number. In this regard the researcher used random sampling to select two hundred respondents to constitute the sample size. The researcher distributed twenty questionnaires to different security agencies at the border and also distributed another twenty to top official at the ECOWAS building at the border.

Random sampling made it possible for all persons within the scope of study to have equal chances of being selected for the study and also ensure meaningful generalization from the research.

7.3 Research Instrument

The instrument for data collection is a questionnaire. This questionnaire is the liker type of four point scale. The response are strongly agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), strongly disagree (SD). Corresponding to each of the structured questionnaire items were responded to by ticking one option of choice by each
respondent. Mark are allotted to each response ranging from 4 to 1 (for SA and SD). In all there are 17 item in the questionnaire including the part here correspondent supply their bio-data.

7.4 Data Sources

Data collection deal with all the activities the researcher followed in gathering all the possible information required for the research. Two sources of data were used for the research. They are the primary source and the secondary source. The primary source include field visit or survey of the research environment, interview of selected person and administration of questionnaire the secondary sources include data from the internet, books, library, journals, newspapers, published and unpublished works.

7.5 Methods

The simple percentage was used to analyse the bio-social section of the questionnaire, while regression analysis was employed to test the hypotheses of the work.

7.6 Analysis and Results

This section of the work contains the bio- data of the respondents presented in simple percentages. It also estimates the data generated from questionnaire and used the data to test the various hypotheses. The regression analysis, specifically the ordinary least squares was used for analysis as shown below.

7.7 Gender

Table 1 Sex composition table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.7.1 Age

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-35</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56 and above</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.7.2 Agency

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGENCY</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NIS</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPF</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDLEA</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCS</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAFDAC</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSS</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAQS</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAPTIP</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.7.3 Education

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUALIFICATION</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WASSC</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEGREE</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.7.4 Years of Service

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO. OF YEARS</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 and above</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. TEST OF HYPOTHESES USING ANALYSIS OF REGRESSION RESULTS

The following results were analyzed in order to properly access transitional threats and national security using the Nigerian – Benin border as a case study.

8.1 HYPOTHESIS 1

H₀ There is no significant relationship between globalization and the incidence of trans-national threat.

H₁ there is a significant relationship between globalization and the incidence of trans-national threat.
Table 6:

Dependent variable: Trans-national threat
Method: least squares
Date: 09/17/10 Time: 10:18
Sample: 200
Included observations: 200

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>T-static</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GLOBALIZATION C</td>
<td>0.204966</td>
<td>0.027583</td>
<td>7.430948</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>140267.2</td>
<td>118852.0</td>
<td>1.180183</td>
<td>0.245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.598781</td>
<td>Mean dependent var.</td>
<td>5645 27.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R-squared</td>
<td>0.587937</td>
<td>S.D dependent var.</td>
<td>1014 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.E of regression</td>
<td>650982.8</td>
<td>Akaike info criterion</td>
<td>29.66 027</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum squared resid</td>
<td>1.57E+13</td>
<td>Schwarz criterion</td>
<td>29.74 559</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log likelihood</td>
<td>-576.3754</td>
<td>F-statistic</td>
<td>55.21 898</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbin-Watson stat</td>
<td>1.799206</td>
<td>Prob. ( F-static)</td>
<td>0.000 000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.1 SIGN/MAGNITUDE
The result showed globalization has a positive relationship with the incidence of trans-national threat, that is an increase in globalization by 10% will increase trans-national threat by 20%, all things being equal.

R²/R⁻²
The $R^2$ is the coefficient of determination and the goodness of fit test. The $R^2$ suggest that 60 percent of the total change in trans-national threat has been explained by globalization. The unexplained variation is just 40 percent (1-0.60). The $R^2$ is the adjusted $R^2$ for degrees of freedom and it suggests that 59 percent of the variation in the level of trans-national threat has now been caused by globalization.

8.2.3 F test and the test of hypothesis
The F test is used to test the overall hypothesis. The f test with a value of (55.21896) and probability of (0.0000) suggests a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that there is a significant relationship between globalization and the incidence of trans-national threats.

8.2.4 T test and test for hypothesis
The T test is used to test the statistical significance of each independent variable in explaining the dependent variable. The t test with a value of 7.430948 and the probability of (0.0000) suggest that globalization is statistically significant in explaining the changes in the level of trans-national threat. Thus, rejecting the null and accepting the alternative hypothesis.

8.2.5 DW test
The DW test is used to test for the presence or absence of first order serial correlation. The DW test with a value of (1.799206) did not show strong support for first order serial correlation in the model.
8.3 HYPOTHESIS II

H₀: The weakness of the state does not engender trans-national threat.
H₁: The weakness of the state engenders trans-national threat.
Table 7:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variable:</th>
<th>TRANSNATIONAL.threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Method:</td>
<td>Least Squares</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>09/1 7/10 Time: 10:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample:</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Included observations:</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>t-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STATE WEAKNESS</td>
<td>0.167954</td>
<td>0.040461</td>
<td>1.398378</td>
<td>0.0002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>222312.7</td>
<td>158979.0</td>
<td>4.151001</td>
<td>0.1703</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4.1 SIGN/MAGNITUDE

The result showed that the weakness of the state has a positive linear relationship with the level of trans-national threat. Thus an increase in the weakness of the state by 10 percent will increase the trans-national threat level by 17 percent.

\[ R^2 = 0.531773 \]

The \( R^2 \) suggests that 53 percent of trans-national threat has been explained by the level of weakness of the state. The unexplained variation is just 47 percent (1-0.53). The \( R^2 \) suggests that 53 percent of trans-national threat was explained by the weakness of the state.

8.4.2 F test and the test of hypothesis

The F test with a value of (17.23081) and probability of (0.000186) suggests a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that the weakness of the state engenders trans-national threat.

8.4.3 T test and test for hypothesis

The T test a value of (4.151001) and probability of (0.0002) suggests that state weakness is statistically significant in explaining trans-national threat. This suggests a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis.

8.4.4 DW test

The DW test with value of (1.975775) did not did not show strong support for first order serial correlation in the model.

8.5 HYPOTHESIS III
Table 8:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>std. Error</th>
<th>t-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BORDERSecurity</td>
<td>-0.055186</td>
<td>0.009033</td>
<td>-6.109613</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>388246.4</td>
<td>119642.1</td>
<td>3.245064</td>
<td>0.0025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R-squared 0.650220 Mean dependent var. 564527.6
Adjusted R-square 0.648574 S.D. dependent var. 1014117.
S.E. of regression 725112.3 Akaike info criterion 29.87596
Sum squared resid 1.95E+13 Schwarz criterion 29.9612 7
Log likelihood - 530.5812 F-statistic
Durbin-Watson stat 1.907614 Prob.(F-statistic) 37.3273 7

8.5.1 SIGN/MAGNITUDE
The result showed that the border security has a negative relationship with the level of trans-national threat. The result is that an increase in the level of border security will reduce the level of trans-national threats.

8.5.2 $R^2$
The $R^2$ suggests that 65 percent of the total changes in the level trans-national threat have been explained by the level of border security. The unexplained variation is just 35 percent (1-0.65). The $R^2$ suggests that 65 percent of total changes in the level of trans-national threat have been explained by the Nigeria – Benin Border security.

8.5.3 F test and the test of hypothesis
The F test with a value of (37.32737) and probability of (0.0000) suggests the rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that the Nigeria – Benin Border security tends to be hampered by trans-national threat.

8.5.4 T test and test for hypothesis
The T test a value of (-6.10913) and probability of (0.0000) suggests that border security is statistically significant in explaining the change in the trans-national threat. This suggests a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis.

**8.5.5 DW test**

The Durbin Watson (DW) test with value of (1.907614) did not show significant support for the presence of first order serial correlation.

**8.6 HYPOTHESIS IV**

Ho: The level of trans-national threat has no significant impact on the level of national security.
Hi: The level of trans-national threat has a significant impact on the level of national security.

Table 9:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Std. Error</th>
<th>t-Statistic</th>
<th>Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NATIONALSECURITY</td>
<td>-4.034345</td>
<td>0.596759</td>
<td>-6.760091</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>-422990.1</td>
<td>182911.2</td>
<td>-2.312543</td>
<td>0.0264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.552593</td>
<td>Mean dependent var</td>
<td>564527.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R-squared</td>
<td>0.540501</td>
<td>S.D. dependent var</td>
<td>1014117.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.E. -of regression</td>
<td>687432.3</td>
<td>Akaike info criterion</td>
<td>29.76923</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum squared resid</td>
<td>1.75E+13</td>
<td>Schwarz criterion</td>
<td>29.85455</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Log likelihood</td>
<td>-578.5001</td>
<td>F-statistic</td>
<td>45.69884</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durbin- Watson stat</td>
<td>1.578771</td>
<td>Prob.( F-statistic)</td>
<td>0.000000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**8.6.1 R²/R²**

The R² suggests that 55 percent of the changes in trans-national threats have been explained by the changes in the national security level. The unexplained variation is 45 percent (1-0.55). The R² suggests that 54 percent of the changes in trans-national threat have been explained by changes in national security.

**8.6.2 F test and the test of hypothesis**

The F test with a value of (45.69884) and probability of (0.0000) suggests a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that the level of trans-national threats has a significant impact on the level of national security.

**8.6.3 T test and test for hypothesis**

The DW test a value of (1.578771) did not show strong support for first order serial correlation.

**9. RESEARCH FINDINGS**
The findings of this research work from the sources of data collected indicated that trans-national threats are very prominent in our country and is occurring at an alarming rate with disastrous consequences on our social, economic, political sector and in general our national security.

The research also discovered that globalization is a major driving force of trans-national threat and a major driving force of trans-national threat in that a 10 percent increase in the rate of globalization will increase trans-national threats by 20 percent.

Another interesting aspect of the result suggested that corruption within the country and at the border also increases trans-national threats. The absence of highly trained security agents at the border compounds the problems of insecurity, also the security of the border is further hampered by the present threats but an increase in the effectiveness and efficiency of the border security in turn reduces these threats. Furthermore, an increase in the weakness of the state by 10 percent will in turn increase the degree of trans-national threats by approximately 17 percent.

10. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The result made some important revelations contrary to the view that globalization has a tendency of reducing trans-national threats; the results showed that globalization has the tendency of increasing trans-national threats. According to the result, an increase in the pace of globalization by 10 percent will increase trans-national threat by 20 percent. The study also suggests that a weak state is prone to all sorts of trans-national criminal activities or threats; this is because the high level of social vices within its custody destabilizes the states more. Another interesting aspect of the result is that when there is high border security, trans-national threats is reduced. The result showed that an increase in the level of border security by a unit will decrease trans-national threat by 0.6 percent. The result also showed that an increase in national security has the tendency of reducing trans-national threat. In other words, a good national security is a good sign for trans-national and global peace.

11. SUMMARY

This work is centred on an in-depth examination and analysis of trans-national threats and the consequences of these threats to our country’s national security, using a case study of the Nigeria- Benin border. It also describes globalization and technological advancements not only as agents of positive change but also as the major forces contributing to the occurrence to trans-national threats as a result of their ability to diminish state borders. The networking which now exist between most criminal organizations in the world are now much stronger than ever known in the past as a resulting effect of technological advancements. The research work also identifies the different ills associated with these threats, their impact on individual and national level, goes further to stress on the need and ways for providing the state with adequate border security control or management so as to fend off all manners of smuggling and illegal migration which at the end will have catastrophic consequences for our national security.

12. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Generally speaking border, territory, identity and human security are the corner stone of national security. The defence and security of Nigeria has done much with our borders. When the border fails to perform its required functions as barriers it creates space for different crimes to find their way into the country and disrupt our national security. Criminal organizations and gangs constantly device new strategies at a rate which law enforcement agencies are not able to meet up to with addition to globalization and ECOWAS protocols on free movement of anything or person, goods and services, the border has become a line on a map highly abused all round the clock.

A strategy to gain operational control of Nigeria’s vast and porous borders should focus on building means to constrain illegal and unauthorized crossing at points of entry and exits. Such measures must be able to interdict smuggling over land, sea and air. These strategies must entail strong legislation with no escape clause for criminals. The strategies must be dynamic, competitive and flexible to allow constant re-engineering to counter new threats. Conflict prevention, management, rule of law, human rights, poverty reduction, youth and female gender empowerment are also palliative strategies. The adequate and education of the security agents is very necessary as some of them appear to be school dropouts with no proper security training. Tackling cross border crimes through enforcement and legislation will not be sufficient to ensure sustainable development this is because the underlying causes to nearly all cross border crimes have links to economic disparity, bad governance and poverty. These three key elements are the bedrock of state failure and global terrorism.
Also rather than popularly seeking ways on what measure to adopt to ensure to secure the border, an alternative strategy should focus on what should be done to counter trans-national criminalities. An admixture of trans-border intelligence-led policing and combat operations on land, sea and air is necessary stem these dangerous threats.

**LAND:** Rather than focus attention on checking points, fences and routine grounds attention should be shifted to reconnaissance, surveillances, intelligence gathering and interdiction.

**SEA:** Serious attention must be paid to the maritime borders which of recent have become hospitable to human traffickers, drug smugglers and dealers.

**AIR:** The nation must be able to determine what takes place in its air space. This can be done through effective radar tracking systems and air border patrols.

**INTERIOR ENFORCEMENT:** Interior security networking can be of immense benefit to border security. It can effectively check illegal unauthorized entries, work permit abuse, alien control and destruction of dumped drugs and other contrabands.

**HUMAN CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT/ TRAINING:** Background checks should be conducted with an independent manpower survey to determine the caliber of manpower held. Training and development should be a progressive in security services to keep them abreast of modern trends. All officers and men must be computer literate and technically sound.

A combination of these strategies will go a great extent in delivering our country from a wide range of transnational criminal activities and therefore encourage overall development. The state will continue to be the main international actor and unless people have peace in their daily lives, peace will continue to elude the world. Rethinking and reformulating the notion of security requires a more comprehensive conceptualization of issues that are capable of addressing fears, hunger and the death of human beings.

**13. REFERENCES**


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Lohor, J. (2005, June 20). *Border closure: Kerekou sends emissaries to Obasanjo.* This day news.


Self-reliancism and national security: A critique

Barr. Simeon T. Igbanibo

Abstract

The main aim of this paper is to xray in all and some of its ramifications the impediments circumventing the successful realization of self-reliancism in Nigeria vis-à-vis attainment of national security. This is because a critical assessment of the sociological, political, economic and educational terrain of the nation clearly brings to the fore that for the Nigerian nation to become a self reliant cum well secured nation that is jealously guarded by nationalistic and patriotic Nigerians, then the increasing rate of poverty, corruption (that is seemingly “institutionalized”), unemployment, poor power generation, the banking sector crisis and the retrogression of the educational system must be checkmated. However, if the issues raised in this paper are not critically digested and addressed, the question of national security will be an exercise in futility.

1. Instruction

All countries of the world are very conscious of their national security and Nigeria is no exception, otherwise it can be destabilized internally or externally by its enemies. The need to prevent such perceived incursions and danger no doubt necessitated the introduction and application of the principles of self-reliancism as an antidote to checkmating the likely loopholes and catastrophe such exposition to poor security network may likely this great nation – Nigeria.

However, it is pertinent to state that the essence of this write up is to critically look at the factors that propel self-realiancism viz-a-vis national security. It is hoped that if the principles of self-reliancism are duly employed by our leaders and the people of Nigeria, the attainment of national security will rather than be real than a myth.

2. What is Self Realiancism

Ogundowole (2007) posited that “self-realiancism is the realization of the principle of self-reliance”. He said, “self-realiancism is a set of purposive activities directed toward self realization” (Ogundowole ibid). The features of self-realiancism are “competence, dedication confidence, national awareness, originality, inventiveness and creativity” (Ogundowole ibid). He further averred that “the ability of a people to control their resources and consequently their economic and socio-cultural destiny, is a necessary condition for bringing about a self realiancist society (Ogundowole ibid).

Countries that have wholly followed the paths of self-realiancism are Japan, India, North Korea, China etc because they looked inwards and adapted the principles and practice to their environment by creating scientific innovations that are imbued in nationalistic and patriotic sentiments. In fact, such heights are attained devoid of corruption and where such is proved beyond reasonable doubt; such culprits are summarily dealt with. Ogundowole (2007) opined that “self-reliance pre-supposes self-determination”.

Also, Okoli (1982:84) said self-reliance is “an act of faith in man’s ability to transcend the barriers imposed by nature, to blaze, by sheer force of the intelligence, new frontiers of progress, new paths to prosperity, new avenues for a better standard of life for all within the political entity”.

Okoli (1982) further stated that self-reliance is “a declaration of self-hood on the apart of a people”. This means the people of the nation must think and apply positively all their actions towards the advancement of their nation. Consciousness of the “self” can propel people to be creative, adventurous and must determine to excel in the comity of nations. This is what self-reliance is all about. It deciphers the weak from the determined and hardworking people and nations.

Okoli (1982:85) clearly stated that self-reliance cannot come to fruition without some denominators such as well planned educational system and a buoyant economy that ensures the satisfaction of the yearnings of the people. In fact, Okoli (1982) stated as follows:

The values, beliefs and ideals of self-reliance must be inculcated and objectified through a carefully constructed course of education, well-articulated and clearly understood directive principles and an economic
system which ensures to each individual not just a place of employment, but a practical opportunity for, the satisfaction of his basic needs.

In fact, Okoli (1982:85) emphasized three factors that are the fulcrum of self-reliance in any community viz:

1. an ideology
2. an educational system that is goal oriented
3. a political order which gives meaning and direction to the individual and collective existence of the members of the community and fastens a just economic order.

3. What is National Security

Berkowitz and Bock (1963) described National security as the “ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats”. This description is very apt for this paper because it is to guide against external threat that the essence of looking inwards and being adaptive to our environment that brings to focus the essence of self-reliancism. If the principles of self-reliancism are adequately and sensitively projected, the Nigerian nation will be well secured to stick out its neck in the comity of nations.

Furthermore, the concise Oxford English Dictionary (2007:1301) defined security as “the state of being or feeling secure”. The essence of this paper is that truly a nation that is self-reliant stands a good chance of being secure. Hence countries like North Korea, Japan, India, Brazil to mention a few tended to be more secured to ward off external threats because they tended to satisfy and guard jealously the basic principles of self-reliancism, one of which is believing in the “self” and its capabilities by promoting good education, by ensuring a highly democratic system of governance, by entrenching good leadership and flourishing economic system that may tend towards providing and satisfying the economic, political and social needs of the people. Let us now look at a critical appraisal of self-reliancism and national security.

4. A Critical Appraisal of Self Reliancism and National Security

Having explained what is meant by self-reliancism and National security, let us critically look at the Nigerian situation. Is the Nigerian nation well secured despite her natural endowments in both human and natural resources? Hence, in this section of the paper, some sectors of the nation will be critically looked at to ascertain the fact that the nation is not properly secured.

1) Education Sector: This sector is made up of not less than ninety Universities, 115 Polytechnics with nearly 100 Colleges of Education in the public and private sectors. (Bindir 2009). The bone of contention is the universities in the public sector. In most instances, they have been closed down due to incessant strikes by staff. The strike action is often necessitated by poor conditions of service and teaching environment. The negative implication of such work to rule actions is that most graduates are turned out quarter-bake to the extent that they are not fit to face the challenges of nationhood. This tends to weaken the security of every nation. For instance, Eso (2007) decried that most graduates of the Universities of Agriculture in Nigeria rather than take to their vocation, prefer going in for white collar jobs thereby, defeating the purpose for which the universities of agriculture were established. For instance Eso (2007) citing Prof. Nurudeen Adedipe, a former Vice Chancellor of the Universities of Agriculture, Abeokuta said

\[Within a quarter of a century of their existence, the universities of Agriculture had produced 24,214 graduates in various disciplines of the farm; of these were 1,978 Veterinary doctors. Granted this, the capital, which had been spent on this unique effort, had hardly been reflected in agricultural output.\]

On the contrary, Eso (2007) referencing Prof. Obumselu’s paper on “Liking University Programme with the needs of the community” quoted verbatim how the American Universities assisted agriculture advancement in their country.

\[Within a hundred years, American land grant state universities together with the forces which accompanied them changed the face of American agriculture and industries. They reduced the labour employed in agriculture from 50 percent to five percent thus freeing a large workforce for industrial expansion. In the process, they helped the United States of America to become the world’s richest economy. They changed the colleges themselves from rural institutions to universities of the first order, they took\]
education out of the classrooms and the library into workshops and fields; they have even transformed the scope of learning itself by giving respectable status to the discipline of soil science, agricultural engineering, plant and animal genetic storage, marketing and must recently biotechnology.

Also Igini (2009) stated that “Multi-year Education Review” of the Federal Government revealed that 57 of every 100 primary school teachers in Nigeria are unqualified to teach and that 34,200 of a total number of 60,000 primary school teachers are unqualified”. Such a frightening statistics calls for a serious overhauling of the Education sector. The fear is that if the situation is left as it is, our institutions at all levels will be turning out graduates that may not stand the test of time thereby jeopardizing the so-called national security via national development sought for.

Furthermore, Achimugu (2009:15) highlighted the poor funding of the education sector as a major problem plaguing the advancement of the nation’s development when he stated thus:

“The UNESCO standard for funding education all over the world is that a country should spend 25 percent of its national expenditure on education. Nigeria is far from reaching the standard. The highest I have heard is 14 percent”.

The implication of such poor funding is that the nation will hardly harness its full potentials, as most of its public institutions will be devoid of basic infrastructure for good learning environment. This means the security of the nation will be weakened due to brain drain and consequently the recruitment of inexperienced manpower and expatriates that may pose and constitute threat to national security and development.

2) Unemployment: This alarming rate of unemployment among youths and graduates is a cause for concern. It is always said that “an idle man is the devil’s workshop”. Such unemployed youths constitute a security risk to the nation. For instance, Soyombo (2009) said that “the national unemployment rate in 2005 was 11.9%. That young people constitute the bulk of the unemployed. For instance persons aged 15-24 years constituted 52.9% of the unemployed while those aged 25-44 years constituted 41.1%. (FOS 2006). This is corroborated by Bosah (2009) that the “World Bank claims that youths unemployment, of those between 13 and 25 years stands at 70 percent while 40 million youths are jobless. Males constituted 58.3 percent of the unemployed in 2004, while females constituted 41.7% (FOS, 2006) Igini (2009:54) stated “unemployment level has risen to almost 70 percent in the country. For instance, United Nigeria Textile (UNT) the biggest textile industry in the country that closed down in 2007 threw over 4,000 of its workers in the labour market. From a total of 175 textile mills in 1980 that employed well over 250,000 workers, we now have less than 20 mills employing just about 16,000 workers”. The implication of these statistical to the security of the nation is obvious. These youths can sabotage lofty governmental efforts because they are frustrated. They can resort to pipeline vandalization, youths restiveness and militancy to mention but a few. This scenario is likely to a mockery of the seven point agenda being propagated by Yar’Adua’s government. A country that does not take care of its youths through employment is groping in the dark thereby weakening its security system that can easily be capitalized on by other nations.

3) Inadequate Utilization of Natural Gas and Electric Power Generation: Ezigbo (2008) a gas distribution consultant stated unequivocally that the Nigerian nation is “sitting on top of gas that could take us about 150 years. “He stated that the nation loses about 2.2 billion to gas flare daily. To harness the dividend that will accrue from such resources requires political will by the Executive and Legislative arms of government.

Also Ezigbo (2008) succinctly stated that there are no infrastructures for the expansion of natural gas in Nigeria. He explained that gas in Nigeria is centered only around port Harcourt, Aba, Lagos and Ota. This is because of the West Africa Gas Pipeline that transverse the area to Lagos on its way to Ghana. Hence industries within this axis are relatively thriving better than others. For instance, the textile mills in the Northern part of Nigeria had all been grounded because of lack of access to cheap energy. If the infrastructure such as the West Africa Gas Pipeline is extended to the North probably the textile mills wouldn’t have been grounded. A self-reliant nation that imbibes the principle of “self” by accepting challenges inwardly can think of extending the basic infrastructures to all parts of Nigeria so that cheap energy can easily be accessible. Where this is not forth-coming the nation’s security will be exposed to external espionage and interference.
On electric power generation, the country is generating below the needs of the people. This deficiency is greatly affecting the industrial strides of the nation, thereby dangerously affecting the security network of the nation. Okon (2009) an energy consultant stated as follows:

The United State of America with a population of 307 million has a generation capacity of about 995,000 MW. China with a population of 1.3 billion generates approximately 713,000 MW and the United Kingdom, with a population of 62 million generates close to 74,000 MW. Closer home to Nigeria on the African continent, South Africa with a population of 49 million has the generating capacity of 36,000 MW and Egypt with a population of 77 million can generate roughly 23,000 MW of electricity. Thus, Nigeria with a population of approximately 155 million (UN Estimate) has a current generating capacity of 4,500 MW and will need to generate 10 times this capacity to be at par with Egypt in terms of capacity per population.

The implication of the above quotation is that a country that cannot meet up the energy needs of its people will naturally pave way for brain drain and insecurity of life that may be reflected in all spheres of life including the Nigeria air ports that are so busy with commuters due to the bad nature of the Federal roads. The air radars and other sensitive equipment depend on adequate electricity to inform the pilots on the state of the weather to avoid air crashes. The question is why is the country generating electricity power below the needs of the people? This can discourage the self-reliance spirit of the people except something drastic is done to improve on the energy needs of the people.

5. Conclusion
Despondency, corruption, brain drain and weak leadership are negative factors that weaken the “self” in self-reliance. This can negatively dampen the nationalistic and patriotic minds of Nigerians and in turn advertently weaken the security network of the nation. This is possible because when people fail to realize their potentialities in the midst of abundant resources, they can sabotage the essence of nationhood by constituting themselves as clogs in the wheel of progress.

6. References
The dynamics of gun possession and conflict ridden communities in Ikwerre land
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Abstract
This paper examines the hypothesis that increase in availability of firearms form “vicious circle” in the increase of communal conflict in Ogbogoro, Ogbakiri, Rumuekpe communities. We argued that the increase in one led to increase in the other hence the orgy destruction of lives and properties in the region. We deplored interview and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) approach using such factors like language and cultural similarity as a strong indicator. Our findings showed that the possession of gun or firearm, form a mutually reinforcing cycle in the destruction of lives and properties in communities in Ikwerre land. And the killing of notable and prominent Ikwerre sons and daughters in these communities.

Keywords: gun or firearm; conflict; ammunition

1. Introduction
Globally, conflict is a universal phenomenon, which occurs between individuals, groups, nations, inter and intra community’s worldwide. It is therefore not limited to our own local environment. Since 1989, there has been an average of 30 to 34 conflicts per year around the world. In 1994, we had about 34 wars waged in different countries of the world. Most of these conflicts took place in Third World countries – most especially Africa, (Conflict Management -2001). Note, the terms wars and conflicts will be used interchangeably. While in Nigeria, we have had local manifestation of conflicts. We have had one major civil war (Biafran war) and several “small scale insurgencies” in different parts of the country. Violent political conflicts in the Middle Belt and Western region of Nigeria, which national leaders could not resolve amicably in the 1960s, contributed greatly to the collapse of Nigeria’s first post independence democratic regime in 1966. The Nigerian civil war from 1967 to 1970, and the consequential widespread access to and use of small arms, popularised the use of force to settle disputes, particularly disputes between groups, in the rest of the country. Since the 1990s, the Niger Delta has assumed the character of a conflict ridden region and possession of arms are on the increase.

Recently, we have had conflicts in Ogbogoro, Ogbakiri, Emuoha, Rumuekpe, Rumuolemeni, Choba, Ibaa etc to mention a few in Ikwerre land. These conflicts witnessed the possession and use of sophisticated firearms. The cost of these conflicts includes loss of lives, property, and displacement of persons, trauma, pains, anger, distrust, neglect, poverty and underdevelopment. It is pertinent at this point to state that the costliest peace is cheaper than the cheapest war. The purchase and possession of these assorted firearms amount to huge sums of money. Such monies put together can be more than the annual budget of some states and local government respectively. It logically follows that conflicts drains away resources that could have been channeled to poverty alleviation, education, quality health care system.

2. Background and/or causes to the conflicts in Ogbogoro, Ogbakiri, Rumuekpe
From the empirical evidence, several factors and forces seemed to have come together to lay the foundations and trigger the ignition of conflict. Chiefaincy is a traditional stool associated with community leadership structure. Historical research indicates that one among the major causes of communal conflicts in many African societies; especially in Nigeria is chiefaincy matter. Most of the communal conflicts that grew and escalate into other conflicts result from traditional leadership stool. For the Long -standing disagreements over chiefaincy, land and other resources among communities are always one of the remote causes of these conflicts, even if other trigger causes exist. Examining a few cases of these conflicts will show the typical root cause.

In Ogbogoro community, for example, violent intra-community conflict has flared sporadically since 1998. An interview with Chief Owbor Wichegbule, aged 110, displaced from Ogbogoro and about the oldest man in Akpor kingdom, revealed that Akpalikuga was the father of Ogbogoro (Akami) who had two wives. He begot seven (7) children namely Rumukpalikuada, Rumubisio, Rumumayawada (called Rumuodor), Rumuwokenada, Rumudi, Rumuehiewo, Rumuehiosi, and Anaka. The old man said Anaka is
not a direct son of Akpalikunga, but migrated into the community. That Kpalikwuada as the first son, Bisio as the second son, Rumuadi and Ehiosi as the last son are from the same mother, while Rumuodor and Rumuwokeada are of a different mother. That Ehiosi being the last son of Kpalikwuada lineage was of a tender age before the death of their father, who now stayed and became trained by his elder brother Kpalikuada. Chief Owhor Wichegbule, stated that Chief Paul Amadi was the direct son of kpalikwuada, who was the first son of Akpalikuada, their father. Thus, he Chief Paul Amadi has the royal right and has maintained the leadership stool of Ogbogboro until his death in 1960's. His only wife was Nyejilam Amadi fondly called Nene. An interview with the old woman of 80yrs displaced and who took refuge at Rumuolumeni before her death in 2006 showed that she had many children with her late husband but many died, living her with a son Felix Amadi much later for the late husband through levirate marriage by Chief Elendu Wosu of Rumuhsisio compound. It is a system of marriage acceptable in the land. That it was in the words of his late husband before his demise that she should have nothing to do with outsider in terms of future procreation, but to have it inside in other to maintain the lineage and stool. However, that the death of her husband made her to send the paraphernalia of the chieftaincy stool to Chief Sam Dike, the son of Ehiosi (the brother of Kaplikuada), who was nurtured and brought up by Kpalikuada at the death of their father since their was no male son. That before the enthronement of Chief Sam Dike as a regent into the leadership stool, and conditions was reached by the seven compounds that made up Ogbogoro. The condition states that at the age of 15 years of Felix Amadi, Chief Sam Dike should relinquish the staff of leadership or authority to Mr. Felix Amadi who would have taken over, but for his tender age as his birth right. When Felix Amadi was of age, the mother Nyijilam Amadi went and demanded the staff of authority from Chief Ishmael Dike, direct son of Sam Dike, which he initially honoured. In the process, events took a dramatic turn, which polarized the community into factions and culminated into multiple issues particularly with the emergence of multinational companies in the community. Under this dispute is the Chieftaincy traditional stool of the community and the 1978 agreement that the community reached with an oil services company, ARCO, (UNDP, 2006). It requires the company to pay a modest annual rent to the community, and replaced an earlier agreement with a single family named Rumu-owhor voided by a court after a protest by the rest of the community. In 1993, OIL (Nig), Ltd. And West African Oil Services (WAOS) leased the property when ARCO left from Ekumes the original leasor. They signed an agreement that promised higher rent, contracts and jobs to local people under the regent ruler-ship of Chief I.N. Dike. This raised the stake of Ogbogoro Administrative Council (OAC), i.e the traditional head of the community, who become responsible for distributing the royalties and compensation to the community. This emerged a serious tussle to the stool by three claimants – Chief I.N.Dike, Late Chief Ogidi Chuku, Chief Felix Amadi. Consequently, Chief Amadi made a successful claim to the right to serve as the rightful traditional head. This polarized the community into two camps, with some persons behind the old regent ruler and the rest behind the new leadership of Felix Amadi. This necessitated several lawsuits filed and pending in high court. As a result of rising tension in the community, the then, Rivers State Internal security task force, headed by Major Obi Umahi, upon a frivolous petition dissolved the OAC and set up a Caretaker Committee and representative council comprising the three contending chiefs to administer and run the day to day administration of the community, (Wonodi, 2006). On 3rd October 1998, the two factions plunged the community into violence. Rampaging youths engaged in gun battles and ammunition, burnt down houses and destroyed millions of Naira worth of property. At the end, lives and properties were lost and majority of persons flee the community to neighbouring villages.

Another struggle of the Chieftaincy traditional stool was the Okporowo stool controversy of 1995 between Echonwere and Adanwerekne faction. The genesis of the problem was that of ascension to the ascension to the Okporowo Chieftaincy Stool made vacant by the death of Benson Alikor (Akwu XV) 1994. But the remote cause of what eventually destroyed Okporowo and into other communities started as a quarrel between friends in the persons of Sunny Keke Emesiobi and Gift Worukwo. Their interest was on a girl, named Oluchi, University of Port Harcourt student dated by Sunny Emesiobi. In the course of disagreement between the two friends over the girl, Mr. Sunny Emesiobi said “Gift, you can take the girl away from me, but not the ruler ship of Okporowo” Okwu, B.B. (2006. 125). These words became a catalyst and provided the necessary “toxic bomb” that later consumed the entire Okporowo and Ogbakiri-Wezina. According to Dr. Josiah Emeji in his memorandum, “it all started in Okporowo in 1994, and no one ever thought it could develop into such a monumental conflict that shook the very foundation of Ogbakiri and Abuja” (ibid).

The unfolding political wahala based on Chieftaincy Tussle raised an unprecedented tempo of politicking and eventually defined the shape and struggle for power in Okporowo. The Echonwere being in the majority constitutes the heartbeat of Okporowo, and has held the office of Nye-nwe-ali Okporowo for a
reasonable length of time. Their opponents in the desire to acquire the ultimate political power in Okporowo Chiefdom history underlined their agitation by taking biological ties. This necessitated alignment and realignment of political forces by the AKWUS, ESANWOS and the WORUKWOS among others, (ibid, 126). The ultimate result was the orgy destruction of lives, properties and mass displacement of persons to various communities and villages.

Similarly, the Chiefdom stool of Rumuekpe community was with Chief B.L.K Ogbara and HRH C.J.Okpara. Both men laid claimants to the traditional stool. But the remote cause of the conflict was youth election, which was masterminded by greed, avarice and jealousy. This polarized the community into factions. The incumbent youth leader, Mr. Friday Edu was elected democratically, and has ruled the youths for number of years. His opponent, headed by Mr. Reason Agala agitated for a change of youth leadership and to be compensated by the oil companies in their community. Mr. Agala and his factions determined to take over government unleashed a serious mayhem that destroyed lives and properties worth millions of naira. This agitation gave room for a lot of issues as Chief Ogbara has Reason Agala and his loyalist as his own factions, while HRH C.J. Okpara has Friday Edu and his loyalists on the other hand who incidentally were displaced until they unleashed attack to Reason Agala and his factions in 2006, (Adams, L 2006). This controversy led to a massive forced migration of persons (the two factions deserting the community) to other neighbouring communities as identified in our study. From 2006 –2007 Rumuekpe community became a no go area. Companies’ activities grounded to a halt. Killing of persons from either group in the city of Port Harcourt became the order of the day. People can no longer move freely. Our investigation shows that persons living in the city of Port Harcourt deserted their homes as the fight turned to “guerilla warfare”, while others went into hiding with abject suffering.

From, the above investigation, the built of tensions in the communities, was the possession of firearms. The 1999 election hopelessly armed the youths with sophisticated arms by politicians, in addition to the companies royalties diverted to purchase of firearms. This was the bane of communal destruction in Ikwerre land.

3. The problem

Most research on the relationship between firearm possession and crime rates has examined either the effect of gun possession on crime or the effect of crime on the demand for guns with few studies allowing for both effects simultaneously. Studies of the effects of gun possession on crime include Fisher (1976), Kleck (1979), Newton and Ziming (1969), Phillips et al (1976). They all found a relationship between gun density and crime rates. While Kleck (1984) and Murray (1975) in a panel study, did not find such a relationship.

A major problem facing this study has been to develop a satisfactory indicator of gun density, since there is little or no data on the number of privately owned firearms in the communities, even the state at large. However, past studies have measured gun density using firearm production within the U.S and other countries (Kleck, 1979 and Phillips et al 1976). Legal hand gun permits within a single individual and not a group. Studies using national data on firearms production are limited by inaccurate information on imports and exports of guns and by the fact that some production is to replace old weapons withdrawn from existing stocks. These studies are based on gun production for the nations as a whole, and assume that gun purchases are highest in exactly the same areas, in which case crime rates are highest. Wright (1983) et al, disputed this assumption, arguing that while crime is highest in large cities, gun ownership is highest in small ones. If this is the case, rural guns are being used to explain urban crime and estimates of the relationship between gun density and crime will be in error. Survey of gun ownership also face this aggregation problem since no existing survey provides enough data to allow study of ownership patterns in areas smaller than broad regions of the nation.

Of recent, what is paraded in our media by the police in terms of ammunition or guns recovered from arm robbers and from militants, cannot be exact and classified. In fact, it is a fig mare of imagination. More often, it is a repeat. Also, in our communities, possession of gun is a secret thing that does not easily come to the knowledge of all. In the light of the above, we therefore argue that while conflict is highest in cities, the preponderance of gun possession is highest in rural communities. The vicious cycle therefore is that increase in one leads to increase in the other.

4. Data collection

The data for this study came from both primary and secondary sources. Before data collection began, we carried out literature review and search for existing records. Sources included literatures on gun availability and crime rates. Also, were other national human development reports prepared by UNDP and outputs by
some human rights organisation. The primary data were obtained through interviews and focus group discussions. The FGD focused on the possession of guns, increase in communal conflicts and the destruction of lives and properties. However, in course of our interview we promised our respondents not to disclose their names due to its dicey nature. Getting accurate number of guns or firearms became difficulty by our respondents. The reason is fear of the unknown; hence, this interview was conducted on strict secrecy.

The above table shows the population figures of the three communities with their sub villages or compounds. The population figure is the 1991 National Population Census. The purport of this is to show the population figure of the communities destroyed by firearms. Thousands of lives and properties that cannot be quantified were lost due to the possession of arms. Access to were arms and ammunition were kept proved futile. But the fact remains that various communities had possession of guns for mass destruction.

5. Findings

Based on our interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD), fishing and agriculture are the two major traditional occupations of the three communities in Ikwerre land. During the colonial era, forestry was introduced as another major economic activity. We discovered that oil companies sited their offices there due to proximity of water, and oil flow station of Shell, Agip were built at Rumuekpe. Our interview revealed that Shell had an abandoned oil station at Egbelu-Akami an annex to Ogbogoro community. The presence of these multination corporations made the communities very relevant to the scheme of things. Oil servicing companies like WAOS, SPIBAT, TIDEX had their operations and offices at Ogbogoro waterside jetty. The emergence of these companies and there oil operation drastically declined the traditional economic activities of the people. All attention and efforts of the people tilted towards the royalties from the oil companies as a major source of revenue and livelihoods.

We need to emphasis here that along this line, we experienced the political saga and the possession of arms for thuggery during electioneering campaign. This period introduced align culture to the people. Youths possess arms and ammunition and became terrors in the community. These arms were given to them by political stalwarts in the local government and state at large.

The availability of guns and its use facilitated communal conflicts, a situation where an increase in one, begat increases in the other. Generally speaking, the chieftaincy crisis started in Ogbakiri (Okporowo village). Ordinarily, the various communities have had peaceful co-existence when availability of arms was not in place. The people had a traditional means of settling disputes without lives and properties being destroyed. The possession of arms and ammunition by various factions’ claimants to the chieftaincy stool became the bane of conflict. Ordinary feud and exchange of verbal words was accomplished by threat of guns and ammunition. The sophisticated firearms ranged from AK 47, machine gun, double barrel, dynamite, pistol explosive etc. The availability of these firearms was made by some politicians, businessmen, royalties from the oil companies were diverted to purchase ammunition. We discovered that some of the wealthy and notable men were interested parties to the stool, hence, negating and distorting the principle, values and norms that held the age long communities to their own selfish ambitions. Various factions started training their youths and wards on how to use the advanced technology (machine gun). Some of them had ex-military men who taught them how to defend and use the arms.

When the conflict erupted in Okporowo Ogbakiri, unimaginable lives and properties were destroyed with the use of firearms. People were badly affected. Hardship became the order of the day. Some groups became displaced. We gathered that those groups who were displaced had lesser firearms as against their opponents. The vicious circle commenced whereby the displaced persons started re-grouping by purchasing and hiring more firearms to unleash vendetta. At this point, we gathered that an illustrious son at the upper echelon of the military was killed at his home town Ogbakiri. This crisis engulfed the whole community (we-zi-na) with high destruction of lives and properties by the use of firearms.

Some persons migrated to neighbouring communities like Ogbogoro, Rumuekpe, Emuoha, Ibaa, Rumuolumeni etc for refuge. As if, the conflict at Ogbakiri, was enough, the Ogbogoro saga started on the same line with her neighbouring sister. Guns and ammunitions were possessed and brought into the community for mass destruction. However, a little difference was the legalised use of arms in Ogbogoro by the support and backing of Major Obi Umahi – Then, Rivers state boss on internal security matters. Major had allies with persons from the community after his kangaroo and cosmetics peace approach, the community was set ablaze. With the support of politicians and businessmen cum companies’ royalties,
armoury of arms and ammunitions were purchased. Again, some cross experience were exchanged with the displaced persons from Ogbakiri.

Similarly, the conflict engulfed Rumuekpe community which equally started with chieftaincy tussle, before it metamorphosed into youth election. The community became polarised into youth factions. Possession of arms and ammunition annihilated the entire Rumuekpe community. The availability of arms took the same patterns like the above communities. Displaced persons became aggrieved and unleashed mayhem on their opponents.

Our finding shows that the chieftaincy cases are still pending in competent court of jurisdiction. Meanwhile, unfathomable damage had been done in the communities. Prominent sons and daughter have been shot dead in these communities. Though temporarily peace seems to be restored, but aggrieved parties are still raging despite the military presence in these communities.

6. Post war experience

Now, the livelihoods of the people became precarious. Legitimate and ill-legitimate livelihoods coping strategies were adopted, (Wosu, 2007). A major lesson in this post conflict experience is the emergence of formidable cult groups in these conflict ridden communities. There emerged various cult groups that terrorized and became a monster in the region. These groups recruited, trained and initiated youths to unleash all kinds of atrocities and mayhem within and beyond the communities. These communities, because of their proximity to the river, the cult group created abode for themselves and others. It became a transit point of operation and attack. Due to its terrorist attack, we gathered that 2008, the cult groups unleashed a deadly attack on the chiefs and elders of Ogbogoro communities while in session in a town hall. This villainous act and others compelled the government to drift in military personnel into the community. Our investigation revealed that military personnel are stationed in these 3 communities. The question is for how long will the military junta continue to be there?

Again, cross experience were exchanged by these communities in terms of firearms, purchase and hiring, its use and unleashing attack. The areas became a rendezvous to harbour criminals and alike. The youths from these communities extended their tentacles to neighbouring communities to assist in terms of crisis. A recent case is the Ibaa Chieftaincy saga, where ammunitions and arms were given to youths and rivalry cult groups took over the entire communities. Hence, an Old man was be-headed by one of the cult group our source revealed. This is a sacrilege in Ikwerre land. (see attached pictures.)

Thus, the increase in possession of firearms and ammunition, leads to increase in communal crisis in Ikwerre land. Another new dimension to it now, is the phenomena of land sale by the youths. This capitalist ethos, if not checked, will unfold another disaster, especially with the possession of arms. Finally, we want to add that these firearms and ammunition in these communities are capable of destroying a nation if not checked.

7. Conclusion

We have come to the conclusion that increase in gun possession leads to increase in communal conflict. This takes a vicious cycle. Lives and properties are destroyed daily by firearms. We therefore, call on the leadership structure of Ikwerre-land to rise up in conjunction with the government to save the communities. The leadership should revert to some traditional ways of handling issues; prohibit the use of firearms with stringent measures in the community. The traditional leadership structure should desist from partisan politics and focus on their major role as spiritual fathers during the pre-historic era. Otherwise, our amiable communities are gradually heading to a doom. This paper call on the socio-cultural body of OGBAKOR IKWERRE, IKWERRE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION in conjunction with the government to save the polity. A stitch in time will certainly save nine.

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9. Appendix:

Table 1 – shows Population Census of Ogbogoro, Ogbakiri and Rumuekpe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of crisis</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Population figure</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999-2004</td>
<td>Ogbogoro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Rumukpalikuada,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rumuodor, Rumuobisio,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rumuadi, Rumueheiwor,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rumuwokeada,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anaka, Egbelu Akami &amp;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Egbelu Ozodo (annex)</td>
<td>12,040</td>
<td>Community factionalised; some deserted the community while few remained during conflict. Presence of oil companies – WAOS, TIDEX, SPIBAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001-2005</td>
<td>Ogbakiri – Okporowo,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oduoha, Rumuoro,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ahai, Rumuokani,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rumuada</td>
<td>19,668</td>
<td>Crisis did not start in the whole community at the same time. It happened in phases before engulfing the entire Ogbakiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2006</td>
<td>Rumuekpe – Ovelle,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ekwuche, Imogu,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omegwa, Oduoha,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mgbuhie, Mgbuodo,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Omoviri</td>
<td>16,900</td>
<td>Same as above. Presence of oil companies – Shell, Agip, Micro wave firms, etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1991 NPC, culled (Wosu, E. 2007)

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ABSTRACT Democratic principles permeate policing strategies to the extent of reducing avoidable harm and deaths through the use of non-lethal weapons. This work therefore, is a concise analysis of one of the latest innovations in the application of non-lethal weapons in intelligence gathering and policing, known as LED In-capacitors (or LEDI, with LED standing for light emitting diodes). It could give law enforcement and security agents, yet another way to subdue a violent subject depending on test results at the Pennsylvania State University’s Institute for Non Lethal Defence Technology. For the Nigeria Police, it presents enormous challenges for a police Force that is battling vigorously to break away from its colonial heritage, military attributes and institutional deformities in an emerging democracy.


INTRODUCTION

Globally, while violent crimes are becoming ubiquitous and more sophisticated, law enforcement has remained increasingly under the scrutiny of the media, trial lawyers associations, Human rights groups and the barrage of citizens armed with video cameras. Indeed, information communication technology (ICT) has added sweeping dimensions to law enforcement as walls of national security have broken down as a result of globalisation to intervene with global monitoring and bench marks in human rights matters. More so, cell phones with cameras inundate the globe and can capture all aspects of law enforcement. Incidents such as the 1991 Rodney King arrest in Los Angeles have hampered law enforcement agencies and caused them to rethink the use of traditional police tools such as the baton (Kramer 2004). In the, same vein, the effective probing eyes of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, and such other human rights bodies in policing, make it imperative to modernize law enforcement strategies to ensure that is humane and human rights sensitive.

Consequently, police and military formations all over the world have embarked on massive innovations in the use of non – lethal weapons as part of the global drive in the modernization of law enforcement or what can be referred to as the “Democratization” of Policing. During the year 2000, the US Institute of Justice had 17 ongoing projects on “non-lethal weapons” that had been founded during the mid to late 1990’s. With regard to anti –personnel system, the focus was on Kinetic impact projectiles, irritant chemical agents (OC / Pepper Spray ’), and the capture Net or Web shot.

As regards impact projectiles properties and OC, research was primarily directed at safety and effectivenes Studies. Development of Laser Dazzler weapon was ongoing as was investigation of a so-called active light barrier. The latter involved the use of a bright source shone on to scattered particles to provide a visual obstacle to a crowd. (National Institute of Justice 2001). Further assessment and development of the ring air foil projectile (RAP) and the sticky shocker’ electrical Projectile was equally ongoing (office of Justice programmes 2001)

Furthermore, in 2001, NIJ began an association with the Institute for Non – Lethal Defense Technologies (INLDT) at Pennsylvania State University (PSU), the group working closely with Joint Non – Lethal weapons Directorate (JNLND). NIJ funded a three phase project as follows:

Phase one will establish test protocols for attribute based evaluations of less – than- Lethal (LTL) Munitions; Phase two will conduct an investigation of controlled exposure to calculative – based oleoresin capiscum. Phase Three will provide an E – Forum to support an operational needs assessment for less – than – lethal technologies (NIJ Research Port Folio, 2006)

While the intent of this is not to profile a comparative analyses of research into non – lethal weapons, evidence above tend to show that so far, the United States of America appear to have the most vigorous programmes in this area. Part of the explanation of this trend is the 9 / 11 effect which has stimulated aggressive homeland security. However, this is not to say that other western countries such as the United
Kingdom, Australia, France, Sweden, and Germany are not pursuing these programmes. The fact remains that this trend in law enforcement is one of the fall outs of globalization. (Davison, 2007)

For the developing countries such as Nigeria, the challenge to join this global band wagon is enormous. This is due to the fact that as a vestige of colonialism, despotic militarism and structural corruption, the Nigeria Police Force is faced with the un-daubing task to modernize along the aforesaid lines. This is more so, now that democracy in Nigeria is being nurtured to enable it integrates into the global web. (Onyeozili, 2005).

Nigeria Police today is amongst one of the most the poorly equipped Police forces in the world. It has 90,000 arms, 92 million rounds of ammunition, 365 million riot control equipment, 5,900 serviceable vehicles, 108 serviceable marine boats, 742 horses, 89 dogs, 3 functional helicopters for a force of over 140,000 policing about 150 million people (The News 2008). This is against the minimum requirement of 140,000 arms, 150 million rounds of ammunition, 600 million riot control equipment, 35,000 vehicles, 500 Marine boats, 2000 horses, 600 dogs and 30 helicopters (The Punch 2007, the News 2008). The disgraceful yawning gap between the needs of the Police and what is actually available underscores the exponential inefficiency of the Nigeria Police in law enforcement. What is even more interesting is the fact that the global requirements of modern law enforcement strategies through increased usage of non-lethal weapons in Nigeria may take decades to take root even in this globalized age. The reasons for this projection have already been explained in the preceding sections of this work.

Be that as it may, the use of non-lethal weapons in modern policing is an obvious reality and no matter the level of development, the trend has come to stay. This work will therefore review one of such latest innovations and the challenges facing the Nigeria Police force in quickly adjusting and accepting these new trends. This is against the backdrop of the fact that globalization has made the nature and dynamics of crime similar in almost all parts of the world.

THE IMPERATIVES AND DYNAMICS OF NON-LETHAL WEAPONS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

It is obvious that from global demands, effective, easy to use weapon systems with a low chance of lethal results that will pass public scrutiny are a necessity. These weapons must not only meet the officer on the street but also be affordable, easily maintained and “acceptable in the eyes of the public”.

Several less lethal and non-lethal weapons have been developed and found their place in law enforcement. The basic difference between less - lethal and non- lethal weapons is that a non- lethal weapon cannot cause death no matter how it is used and is therefore placed on the lower rung of the force continuum ladder below deadly force and that of less lethal force. For this study, both terms shall be used interchangeably at least in their literal meanings. A study by the National Institute of Justice in 1991 provided parameters for less lethal weapons to be appropriate for law enforcement. These include:

* Ability to improve the present practice
* It should not overburden the officer
* It should be in expensive
* It should not require extensive training
* It should not require dedicated Manpower
* The liability issues should be manageable
* It should be practicable.

These benchmarks are outcomes of the emerging trends in the use of less -lethal weapon usage in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s. It was a period that saw the development of the following less- lethal and non – lethal weapons.

(a) **Air Bags:** This is used for transporting uncooperative and out-of-control suspects in the back seat of patrol cars. This was to overcome the handcuff of suspects behind their backs and their feet with a lead or “hog tie” the suspects. This method reduces danger and enhances the security of the suspects on their seats in the event of crash and puts them at low risk of positional asphyxia (Allison, G. et al 2004)

(b) **Sticky Foam and Aqueous Foam:** Sticky foam was developed for applications in prisons and as a tool for SWAT teams. It is spray foam so sticky, that it can stop a person in his or her tracks. When sprayed
on a suspect’s torso, he or she is entangled and immobilised. The foam can be delivered from a shoulder fired dispenser and can hit a target as far away as 35 feet. Aqueous foam is a water based foam similar to soap seeds and used as an obscurant. A person in a room flooded with aqueous foam would be able to breathe but not see much or find his/her way out. (Allison, G. et al 2004, Davison & Lewer 2005)

(c) Flash and Bang: The need to keep police officers in a safe distance from potential dangerous persons while still controlling their behaviour led to the experiments with distractions and disorientation devices. These devices use sound, lights or a combination of both to disorient a suspect. While lights flashing laser and strobe lights were developed for uses in jails and prisons to disorient an inmate long enough to enable officers gain control over him/her, Strobe lights are used in low light areas where light sources can be controlled and can actually interrupt or disable coordinate motor movements of a suspect (Donnelly, 2001).

(d) Star Trek Stuff: The magnetosphere gun and the thermal gun are based on long existing technology. The magnetosphere gun was proposed for use on people under the influence of drugs or alcohol and those suffering from mental illness. These people are often impervious to other types of devices but could be susceptible to the magnetosphere gun. This device delivers what feels like a blow to the head, stunning the suspect. It has a range of 10 – 20 yards and can be delivered through a wall. The thermal gun can also be aimed through a wall and has a range of up to 50 yards. The thermal gun forces a suspect’s body temperature up to 107 degrees Celsius causing incapacitation (Donnelly, ibid).

(e) Sonic Weapons: These weapons use large sound to incapacitate, distort or confuse human targets. American Soldiers blasted heavy metal rock and roll from large speakers mounted to their vehicles to create psychological terror among Iraq troops fleeing Kuwait along the road to Basra during the first Gulf war.

(f) Chemical Incapacitants: These are perhaps the most effective less lethal system and obviously the most controversial. The use of Alfentanyl/ Iofentanyl all have the capacity to incapacitate a suspect for one or two minutes with no side effects. (Klaunenberg, 2002).

(g) Oleoresin. Capsicum (O Cs): This is the most widely used of the modern less lethal weapons available to law enforcement. O C has proven effective on suspects who are under the influence of drugs or alcohol as well as mental health patients. It works on both humans and dogs and can be delivered without contaminating the officer. Its life is short and can be easily cleaned up. It works by a burning sensation in the suspects’ eyes, throat and skin leading to cough, nausea, or feeling of discomfort and disorientation. In Nigeria, it is popularly called tear gas (Natural Research Council 2003).

(h) Less Lethal Projectile Weapons: Projectile weapons include 12 gauge bean bags round of flexible batons, ballistic bags and rubber or wood bullets. These weapons are generally fired from a standard 12 gauge short gun 37 mm gas gun or a 40mm grenade launcher. The purpose is to steer and temporarily incapacitate the suspect. When fired repeatedly at close range, it could be fatal or cause rupturing of internal organs, lacerations and broken bones. (Air Force Research Laboratory, 2005)

(i) Tasers:

Tasers are being used extensively in the United States where over 5200 law enforcement agencies are noted to have used. They are handheld devices that shoot to probes attached to wires that extend up to 21 feet. Once the probes are in place in the target, the Taser emits a peak shock of 50,000 volts of electricity for five seconds. This can penetrate clothes: two inches thick, overwhelming the central nervous system and incapacitating the target.

The newer model Teasers, are powered by two Lithium batteries (Air Force Research Laboratory, 2005)

BETWEEN ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING AND NON LETHAL WEAPONS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT: THE CASE OF LEDI

The light emitting diodes Incapacitator is one of the latest arrivals in the non-lethal arsenal of law enforcement. A device still undergoing test at the Pennsylvania State University institute for Non – lethal Defense Technologies. The LEDI’S bright lights prevent eyes from focusing for a few seconds, comparable to magnifying the effect of a picture flash (Spadanuta, 2007).

The development of LEDI is funded in part by the department of homeland security with a grant $1 million as part of granting legion of non-lethal weapon work supported by the government and private companies
to provide military, police security and others with alternative options in potentially dangerous situations (Farina, 2007). LEDI works in the range of 10 – 20 feet from a subject and has advantages even among other non-lethal weapons. It does not have the residue effect after a person becomes adjusted to the visual over – stimulation. Additionally, there is no need for the contamination and no chance of cross contamination, as can occur when pepper spray hits police officers as well as suspects during an incident. LEDI’s flash lights and batteries can be reconfigured and recharged at no additional cost in sharp contrast to Taser cartridges which must be replaced and pepper spray which must be replenished. (Heal, 2007)

This electrical innovation will therefore consolidate the decreased liability associated with the use of non – lethal weapons in policing. It will also douse the tensions generated by Amnesty International over the use of Tasers and pepper which has made frantic efforts to show proof of fatalities suffered by persons subjected to a Taser hit. This is even in the face of raging debates over the extent of the cause and effect relationship between the weapon and the deaths.

NON – LEthal WArms AnD The ChAIlenGeS OF PolICInG “DeMoCrATIC” NigerIa

The advent of democratic regime in Nigeria has ushered in a new era of administration including criminal justice. Law enforcement therefore, must show appropriate dynamism to reflect global and transnational trends in a net – worked world. It is therefore needful to review the applicability of non – lethal weapons in Nigeria by the Law enforcement agencies, especially the police.

A survey of the crime trend in Nigeria shows an upward movement both in incidence and sophistication. This is perhaps attributable to the asymmetric equation in socio-economic resources in the country and the fact that available statistics show that the wealth of Nigeria is being appropriated by a meager 1% at the expense of 99% of the population (Lubeck, 2007)

While this is largely so, democratic principles and globalization have thrown up renewed awareness and consciousness among the oppressed. This explains the case of inflamed agitations and conflicts in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, where agitations have graduated from revolutionary protests to full blown insurgency and “reasonable criminality”. (Nte and Ekpenyong 2006)

In this particular situation, military option has been ruled out by the Nigerian government because of the realization of the fact that most of the demands of the region are genuine and appropriate. It therefore behooves the law enforcement agencies to rely more or less lethal weapons and non lethal weapons.

Part of the reason for the aforesaid approach is to ensure that genuine reconciliation is achieved in the region and in Nigeria at large where different ethnic nationalities are clamouring for justice in resource appropriation and allocation. Secondly, democratic demands involve humane policing in ways that should not jeopardize the rights of the suspects. Therefore in a globalised world, this makes the use of non lethal weapons quite imperative to ensure substantial respect for the rights of citizens of the country.

The challenge of the Nigeria Police therefore is that we have a force that is still battling with legitimacy, corruption and military mentality. This may impinge on its ability to effectively apply the use of non-lethal weapons in law enforcement. Be that as it may, this trend has remained an obvious necessity that the police in Nigeria must adopt to be relevant in a rapidly changing world.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Non lethal weapons and less lethal weapons have emerged as water shed in modern law enforcement strategies world wide. This is largely due to globalization and the activities of human rights group in a democratic world. The reality therefore is that although a lot of advances have been made by the developed nations in this regard, developing nations still rely largely on insufficient lethal weapons in law enforcement. Nigeria, with less than average points in effective policing must therefore modernize and embrace the paradigm shift to the use of non-lethal and less lethal weapons in policing, in a country that is filled with several dissent groups clamoring for social justice and equity.

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Organization structures of private universities and tertiary institutions in Uganda

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Abstract  
The organization structure of private universities and tertiary institutions in Uganda is analysed in this chapter. The organisation structure consist of prescribed bodies without a clear description of their constitute or dynamics.

1. Introduction  
Chandler (1962) firmly established the relationship between an organization’s strategy and the structure of organization’s communication and authority relationships in business organizations. He emphasized that when an organization changes its strategy a corresponding change in the organization’s structure must be implemented this principle has become an accepted axiom in the management literature (Ansoff, 1965; Learned et al., 1965; Porter, 1980; Hamel and Prahalad, 1994).

The government of the Republic of Uganda has taken heed of this relationship and when changing education policy the Government has made changes in the authority and communication relationships of universities and other tertiary institutions in the country. A complete reorganization of the organization structures of the higher education system took place with the enactment of the University and Other Tertiary Institution Act 7, 2001 (Act 7, 2001).

The scope and purpose of this article is to reveal the organization structures of private universities and tertiary institutions in Uganda as imbedded in the Act 7, 2001, draw the organization chart, analyze their relevance, and recommend improvements.

The Act is a complete overhaul of organization of the higher education system in Uganda and there are few if any published analytical studies of the organization structures imbedded in the Act. Hence, the people charged with the implementation of the Act 7, 2001 have little guidance as to the organization structures the Act 7, 2001 imposes on their institutions. This causes confusion, waste of resources, and conflict.

The methodology used in this paper is a detailed management analysis of communication and authority relationship embedded in the Act 7, 2001 and the use of secondary literature resources for supplementary information.

The article is organized as follows. First, the tertiary education of Uganda is compared to other developing countries. Second, the Act is analyzed to reveal its embedded organization structures of private universities and tertiary institutions. Finally, there is a discussion of the utility of the organization structures, conclusions are drawn on their appropriateness or areas of conflict, and recommendations for improvements are made.

The next section compares the tertiary education of Uganda to other developing countries.

1.1 Tertiary Education Comparison  
In Uganda, only 3.4% of people between the age of thirteen and 40 are enrolled in tertiary education institutions in 2004 (World Bank, 2004), this is one of the world’s lowest tertiary education gross enrolment
levels. The average for Sub-Saharan Africa is 3.6%, East Asia and Pacific average is 17.2%, Latin America and Caribbean average is 27%, and South Asia the averages was 10% (Worlds Bank EdStats, 2004b).

In comparison to Uganda, the Republic of China (Taiwan) which has slightly less population of 23 million compared to that of Uganda’s 26 million (CIA, 2005) had 75 universities, 70 colleges, and 24 special schools at the tertiary level. The enrollment of students in universities and other tertiary institutions approached one million in 2003/2004, (MOE(R.O.C.) (1) P: 7) that is more than eleven times the university and other tertiary institutions enrollment in Uganda.

The need for more universities are recognized by a member of the Uganda Parliament who calls for increasing the number of public universities from four to 23 universities (Gagawala, 2003).

In the late 1990's the development of private universities and tertiary institutions as well as concerns from the academic establishment resulted in the calls for complete reengineering of the higher education system, the consequence was that the Parliament passed The Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act 7, 2001, which regulates the organization structures and governance of the higher education system and institutions.

The following section analyses the structure of private universities and other tertiary institutions in Uganda.

2. Organizational Structures of Private Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions

The Act 7, 2001 classifies higher education institutions in Uganda as public universities, private universities, public tertiary institutions, and private tertiary institutions. The Act specifies a different organizational structure for the four types of universities and tertiary institutions in Uganda. The following section analysis the organization structures of private universities and tertiary institutions.

2.1 Private University

The National Council for Higher Education evaluates and approves applications for provisional license to establish and operate a private university in Uganda (96.1;97). The provisional license is issued for at least three years (97.3).

A private university holding a provisional license for more than three years may apply for a grant of charter and accreditation (100.1). The NCHE evaluates the application and makes recommendation to the President of the Republic of Uganda who grants it (102.2). The President has the authority to revoke the charter and accreditation of a private university (110).

The Act specifies that a private university charter shall have a governing council (104.e), officers (105), membership (106), a supreme academic body- (108,1) a board, faculties, and departments (104.e).

The Act does not specify the authority relationships in the organization structures of private universities; each private university's charter determines the administrative and academic structures and authority relationships (104.e), designates officers and, specifies the membership of the university.

3. Private Tertiary Institutions

The NCHE evaluates and approves applications for provisional license to establish and operate a private tertiary institution in Uganda (112). The provisional license is issued for at least two years (113.3). After two years, the private tertiary institution may apply to the NCHE for a certificate of classification and registration (114).

The organization structure of private tertiary institutions are not prescribed in the Act. Only a governing body is mentioned as one of the elements to be described in the application for the provisional license (112.2.f).

4. Discussion and Conclusions

The Act is a major restructuring of the education system in Uganda and, as typical in such an endeavour the Act raises as many questions as it provides answers. The two most important considerations are the roles of the various supervisory organs of the higher education system and university and other tertiary institutions officers.

The Act lacks clarity when it comes to the roles and responsibilities of the various officers and organs within the universities and other tertiary institutions.

Private universities and other tertiary institutions are appropriately given freedom to decide on their organization structures, charters, governing principles, and strategies. This freedom enables the private universities and tertiary institutions to be more flexible than the public universities and tertiary institutions.
Thus, the private universities and tertiary institutions will respond faster to changes in the education needs and trends in Uganda at the same time the more dictation to public universities and tertiary institutions allows for continuity and stability. The tendency to limit the freedom of private universities and tertiary institutions, as advocated by some academics (Kasozi, 2002), will lessen the ability of the Ugandan higher education system to respond to advances in technology and other trends and, therefore should be rejected.

The Act is a revolutionary restructuring of the higher education system in Uganda at the same time the Act raises a number of organizational problems that need further research.

5. References:


