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E-mail: unclerantiojo@yahoo.com

5. **Dr. Musibau Olabamiji Oyebode**
   Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
   National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi, Abuja.
   Mobile Phone: 08033283013
   Email: ooyebode@noun.edu.ng

6. **Dr. Adams Timothy Adeola**
   Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
   National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi, Abuja.
   Mobile Phone: 07081478381,
   Email: adadams@noun.edu.ng

7. **Dr. Samuel Osagie Odobo**
   Peace and Conflict Management Department,
   Civil Defence Academy, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence, Abuja
   Phone: 08033273605;
   E-mail: samuelodobo@gmail.com

8. **Dr. Bayo T. Asala**
   Research Fellow, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution
   Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Abuja, Nigeria.
   Phone: +234 8135564321
   Email: bayoasala@gmail.com

9. **Dr. Olusola Matthew Ojo**
   Department of Development Peace and Conflict Studies,
   College of Humanities and Social Sciences,
   Kampala International University, Uganda.
   Mobile Phone: 08034078102
   Email: samuelodobo@gmail.com

GUEST EDITORS

1. **Dr. Chima Mordi**
   College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences,
   Brunel University, Kingston Lane,
   London, Uxbridge UB8 3PH, United Kingdom.
   Mobile Phone: +447730799331
   Email: chima.mordi@brunel.ac.uk

2. **Dr. Hakeem Ajonbadi**,
   Department of Strategy, Management and Marketing
   Birmingham City Business School
   Birmingham City University, Birmingham
   Email: Hakeem.ajonbadi@bcu.ac.uk

NOTE FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

The Noun International Journal of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution is a product of the Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution, Faculty of Social Sciences, National Open University of Nigeria. The vision behind this academic journal is to:

i. promote sustainable research culture among the academia for the enhancement and development of the intellectual capacity of both the authors and the readers.
ii. aid the promotion and assimilation of the values of Peace and Conflict Resolution in our societies.
iii. provide a platform for espousing writers and well researched academic works for reference and teaching purposes.

The journal will also aid the promotion and assimilation of the values of Peace and Conflict Resolution in our societies. The Journal is published twice a year, first publication in March and the second in August and may also feature special editions as may be deemed fit at any material time.

The articles in this journal have been carefully selected, effectively reviewed and edited by the Editors who are tested and proven in their various fields of study and practices as seasoned academician and practitioners and I believe it will be a worthwhile reference material.

The journal has an online presence, thus making it a reference material which is easily accessible at any point in time and has become widely acceptable within the academic world both locally and internationally.

I must of necessity appreciate my Managing Editor in the person of **Dr. Basil Ibebunjo** who has been a worthy partner in the sustenance of this vision. I must of necessity also appreciate the persons of **Miss Oyintarela Abarugu**, **Nura Ibrahim** and **Juliana Idok**, the members of the administrative staff of the Department who have given their supports in one way or the other towards the success of the production of

this Journal. Finally, I appreciate the Almighty God who has been the source of my inspiration and from whom I draw the energy which mobilizes me for performance.

Dr. Samuel Opeyemi Iroye
Editor-in-Chief/ HOD, Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution

NOUN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION [NIJPCR]

CALL FOR PAPERS

The **NOUN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION [NIJPCR]** is a peer-reviewed journal publication of the **Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution**, Faculty of Social Sciences, National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja, which publishes twice a year but may also feature special editions as may be deemed fit at any material time. The Editorial Board of the journal welcomes well-researched original papers, for publication in the Journal which is released in the Months of March and August every year.

Paper submissions are welcome in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution any relative areas and they should adhere to the following guidelines.

1. Length of paper: Paper submissions should not be more than 5,000 words including footnotes and references.
2. Reference Style: All paper submissions must adhere to the current and recent edition of APA Style of Citation.
3. Font style and size: All submissions should use the Times New Roman fonts (12 font size) including the References. The manuscript should be formatted using 1.5 line spacing.
4. Abstract: Manuscripts must contain an abstract of not more than 250 words, which explains the content of the paper. The abstract must be expressed in clear words in the following format: the background of the research; description of the research problem; explanation of the research methods adopted; explanation of the findings, conclusion and recommendations.
5. Keywords: Manuscripts should contain at least three keywords (not more than five keywords) for indexing purposes. This should be inserted immediately after the abstract.
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by-section) process of resolving the problem. If the paper utilizes nondoctrinal methods, these should be clearly explained in the introduction.

7. Conclusion: Manuscripts must contain a conclusion section, which explains the findings of the paper and how the research problem was resolved. Where necessary, the conclusion should also contain the recommendations.

8. Assessment And Review of Manuscript: Articles sent for consideration must be accompany with a non-refundable assessment fee of N5,000 only. The articles will be subjected to a meticulous process of blind peer review, thereafter, authors whose articles are accepted for publication will be required to pay a publication fee of N20,000 only.

9. Manuscript should bear author(s) name(s), affiliated institution(s) and current mail addresses, GSM numbers and email addresses

10. It is the responsibility of authors to ensure that manuscripts do not infringe copyright of others. All submissions will undergo peer review and plagiarism check.

Deadline for submissions: Manuscripts should reach the editor-in-chief on or before 31st of January of every year for March Publication and 30th June for August. All enquiries to be directed to:

The Editor-in-Chief:
Dr. Samuel O. Iroye
Dept. of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
National Open University of Nigeria
Phone: 08033337207
Noun Journal of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution,
E-mail: siroye@noun.edu.ng

TABLE OF CONTENTS

AN INTERROGATION OF SECURITY, PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOME SELECTED RURAL COMMUNITIES OF OYO STATE

Musibau Olabamiji OYEBODE, PhD
Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja.
ooyebode@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT
In the past, rural communities in Nigeria were safe havens for residents, travellers and tourists. In the last one decade, the story has changed to the extent that people dread living, travelling or visiting most rural communities in Nigeria because of fear of being robbed, kidnapped, molested or killed. In the light of the above, this study examined the particularity of security, peace and development in some rural communities of Oyo State. The purpose was to unearth the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in rural communities' security and peace as templates for development with a view to suggesting ways of involving grassroots development architecture for better output. A set of questionnaire and interviews were used as instruments to collect primary data. Respondents to questionnaire consisted of 250 randomly selected sample population in five local government areas of Oyo State; fifty representing each of the five local government areas. Also, 25 officials of Local Government Administration were interviewed. These were complemented with secondary data. Findings revealed that drivers of insecurity and conflict inherent in rural communities that retard development include poverty, ungoverned space and neglect among others. Also, rural communities and forested areas provide dens for criminals. Security and peace institutions are generally weak, ill-equipped, underfunded and understaffed. Also, failure to annex grassroots security and peace architecture accounts for some of the problems. Therefore, grassroots institutions including local governments are not well positioned to face the challenges of insecurity, conflict and underdevelopment in the 21st Century. It is, therefore, recommended that mainstreaming grassroots institutions is a key to the achievement of enhanced development. Reactivation of hunters' guilds, forest guards and age-group associations will provide security back-up for countering criminality. It is high time National Assembly approved state police.

Keywords: Local government, institutions, peace-building, conflict, insecurity

Introduction

Most of Nigeria's rural communities are no longer safe for residents, investors, industrialists and tourists who are needed to build human capacity and strong institutions that will make the attainment of development a reality. Reports of insecurity inundate the daily newspapers, radio and television. Today, the major corridors of insecurity and theatres of conflicts are the grassroots especially rural communities in highly forested areas (Albert, 2017). This situation is worrisome because peace and security are germane to any development and they must be seen and felt at the grassroots in a manner that "down-top paradigm" mantra of inclusive governance is achieved and people key into and own institutions that enhance peace and justice. Unfortunately, peace has become elusive in many parts of Nigeria due to internal crises, conflicts and multi-faceted insecurity indicators.

Scholars like Akinyele (2004), Oyebode (2014a) and Herbert and Husaini (2018), have blamed lack of peace and security as well as consequential under-development in Nigeria to absence of dynamic leadership. Nigeria is said to be embroidered with archaic and fixated political actors who have remained in government as power brokers, legislators or executives since the Second Republic (Akinyele, 2004). This has been made possible through the institution of money-politics and godfatherism. Young and visionary politicians are suppressed unless they are ready to part with huge sums of money or pay obeisance to parochial mentorship (Oyebode, 2014a). This situation has restricted access of vibrant, new-breed and young politicians who can address the plethora of development challenges to public office.

Both economic and industrial development are fragile in Nigeria. Although, the World Bank Group (2021) opined that Nigeria's growth prospects have improved after the recession and Covid-19 downturns but pre-crisis challenges threaten the post-crisis recovery. The country continues to face massive developmental challenges, including the need to reduce the dependency on oil and diversify the economy, address insufficient infrastructure, build strong and effective institutions, as well as address governance issues and public financial

management systems (The World Bank, 2021). Despite having vast oil and other natural resources, there are abysmal social and economic development indicators as a result of the increase in political violence, community conflicts, insurgency and armed conflicts by non-state actors. These tensions are rampant across the country. To Yagboyaju and Akinola (2019), the Nigerian state stood in-between exhibiting attributes of state collapse and state failure. Corroborating this assertion is government incapability to proffer workable solutions to the plethora of socio-economic problems that have dwarfed development.

In recent times, banditry, armed robbery and kidnapping are major features of Oyo State rural communities. Hardly did a fortnight pass in Oyo state without reports of kidnap, banditry, killing, robbery, gang violence among other forms of crimes and criminalities in Ibarapa, Oke-Ogun, Ibadan and Ogbomoso rural settlements (Nigerian Tribune, 2021). The major corridors of insecurity are the forest areas that span kilometres between cities and along border area with Benin Republic (Albert, 2017). Bye and large, in recent times, Oyo State rural communities have attracted attention as places to dread as unsafe.

Oyebode (2014a), Albert (2017), and Yagboyaju and Akinola (2019) in their studies engaged in blame-game and tended to out-rightly condemn the scenario without examining the inherent apparatus at the grassroots, useful for tackling the menace and proposing workable solutions. Departing from blame-game, this study examined the state of grassroots security and peace as important tools for development in rural communities in Oyo State, Nigeria through the lens of a survey with a view of proffering solutions to identified obstacles. The purpose was to unearth the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats at the grassroots for development and peace promotion with a view to suggesting ways of involving grassroots development architecture. The research questions answered in this study include: What are the drivers of insecurity and conflict at the rural communities of Oyo State? What is the perception of people on security and peace architecture in rural communities of Oyo State? How do people assess indices of development in rural communities of Oyo State? What are the factors

that hinder development at the rural communities of Oyo State? In which ways can there be improved security, peace and development in Oyo State rural communities?

Literature Review

Conceptual clarifications made in this section with empirical studies relating to them are rural communities, ungoverned space, security, peace and development, and local government in Nigeria. Rural communities are non-urban centres. They are replete with small settlements called villages and hut. They are largely agrarian and consist of forests and farmlands. Forested land is often referred to as rural communities (Appiah, Bugri, Forkuo, and Appiah, 2016). Forested land which is technically called rural areas or rural communities have attracted interest in recent studies because of their importance in impacting the quality of life and well-being of people living in both urban and non-urban centres (Kotte et al., 2019). Rural areas consist of trees and other woody vegetation that perform life supporting functions on earth because of their richness in diverse flora and fauna. They also provide a variety of natural resources to cosmopolitan population. In view of their distance from the seat of government, most rural communities are assumed to fall within the area technically referred to as ungoverned space because of the absence of socio-economic infrastructure and policing architecture (Albert, 2017). This assumption may, however, not be universally applicable especially in developed countries where peace architecture and strong institutions have been entrenched.

Office of the Foreign and Commonwealth (2015) regarded ungoverned space as a territory, physical or non-physical, wherein control and effective state sovereignty is absent. It further stated that they are places where state institutions and rule of law perform insignificant or no function. The notoriety of criminals in many rural communities paints a clear picture of a neglected or 'ungoverned' area (Igwe, 2021). It is also a well-known fact that most criminals run into hiding in rural communities where it is difficult for security agents to capture them.

There is an ongoing debate on the need to redefine the concept of security in view of the emergence of recalcitrant armed non-state actors and Covid-19 pandemic that jostled many states. According to Fusiek (2020), the development of a more holistic security concept and the dismantlement of the pre-existing strictly state-centric and military approaches has become imperative. Thus, the concept of security has gone beyond the scope of geopolitical visions of security, which emphasises lack of threat in a physical environment and regime to embrace the availability of and unfettered access to everyday needs of individuals and communities (Newman, 2021).

Peace has attracted many definitions and description in scholarship because of its importance to man and society. However, it has not been possible to agree on a universally accepted definition. Peace has been defined as a state of consensus, harmony and mutual understanding (Hakvoort, 2010). In other words, peace is a process that involves reacting and managing differences with tolerance, imagination, and flexibility in a reciprocal manner through which a better understanding is engendered. Thus, peace has been described as a principal dimension of well-being and a way out of inequity and violence (Voukelatou. *et al.*, 2022). In the same light, Harris and Morrisson (2003) described peace as a positive force that aims to forgive and respect others, to cooperate with them, and to avoid all forms of violence.

Unfortunately, since 1976 scholars and social commentators have alleged that local government administration in Nigeria has merely become an appendage and protégée of state governments (Abdulhamid and Chima, 2015). Efforts to guarantee their autonomy as veritable planks for development and peace-building have been undermined and thwarted through political manoeuvring and unnecessary political interference by the state governments (Doho, Ahmed and Umar 2018). Under President Buhari administration, the presidency has made efforts to guarantee financial autonomy of local government through proclamation of Order 10, unfortunately, Supreme Court of Nigeria declared the order as unconstitutional, illegal, null and void for being inconsistent with the provision of the 1999 Constitution on the powers of states over local governments (ThisDay, 2022).

Theoretical Background

This study is anchored on community-led development theory and Bryden's theory on the exploitation of social and cultural capital. The community-led development theory is aimed at improving proactive community participation and quality of life along with social wellbeing of local community (Wahid et.al., 2017). Wahid et.al. (2017) submitted in their study that building capacity at local level provides ingredient for sustainable development, local stakeholders, participation and community ownership or control of situation and project.

In the same light, Bryden's theory on the exploitation of social and cultural capital relates economic development to the availability of labour and capital. The capacity of local actors and strong internal and external networks are said to be relevant for achieving comparative economic development (Terluin, 2003). In the light of this theory, Terluin canvassed mixed exogenous/endogenous development approach to grassroots economic development. Correspondingly, the social capital literature suggests that building networks and the social relationships will engender collective action to mitigate challenges that may pose threat to existential needs either during peace or crisis moment (McCarthy, 2014)

In achieving comparative economic development, societies should be organised in a way that inclusiveness of all in economic activities is guaranteed (Herbst, 2000). Thus, interventions need to address drivers of vulnerability and equip people to overcome challenges in agrarian livelihoods (McCarthy, 2014). Thus, to be able to achieve prosperity, peace and security a country needs to accumulate well-informed and trained human capital that can detect changing needs and devise methods of dealing with environmental and human dynamics. The level of attainment of SDG 16 (peace, justice and strong institutions) is not the same across states. It has varied due to comparative development of each state and how well they have been able to arrange and galvanise material and human resources to form a well calibrated system.

These two theories if taken together point to the need to engage local human resources in building reliable vanguard to tackle challenges of nature, vagaries of the environment and

human induced problem. They are, thus, apposite in explaining peoples' perception and engagement with issues of security, peace and development; the tripod on which good living conditions rely on. These theories are thus used to explain the gap noticed in government provisions and interventions of rural people in Oyo State to ensure and protect their existential needs.

Methodology

This is a descriptive survey that utilises sample population. The study area are some selected local communities in Oyo State. Oyo State is one of the thirty-six states in Nigeria. The population of Oyo State was estimated to be 7,840,864 in 2016 (Worldometre, 2016). The study population consisted of the residents of rural communities of Oyo State who are estimated to be about 48.04 % (World Bank, 2021). The 33 local government areas of Oyo State are divided into six administrative zones by government for convenience. The five local government areas in Ibadan zone which include Ibadan North, Ibadan North East, Ibadan Northwest, Ibadan Southeast and Ibadan Southwest have no rural areas. The other 28 local government areas in the remaining five zones have some varying degrees of rural settlements. However, five local government areas each representing five of the zones with rural areas were purposively selected for the study. They are Ibarapa North, Oyo West, Ogo-Oluwa, Irepo and Lagelu Local Government Areas.

Two different data gathering instruments were adopted; one set of printed Five-Point Likert Scale Questionnaire was used to elicit information from 250 rural dwellers while in-depth interviews were used to elicit responses from 25 officials of the five local government areas selected for this study. Fifty respondents to questionnaire represent each Local Government area. The 25 officials of Local Government Administration who were interviewed consist of 5 Heads of Local Government Administration and 20 Community Development Officials. These data sources were complemented with secondary data from books and journals.

Survey responses to questionnaire items were quantitatively analysed and summarised on a single frequency distribution using mean displayed in tables. Interview responses were discussed qualitatively in relation to the appropriate research questions. Themes were used to capture each of the research questions.

Findings and Discussion of Findings

Drivers of Insecurity and Conflict at the Rural Communities of Oyo State

Table 1: Five-Point Likert Scale Distributions of the Respondents' Assessment of Drivers of Insecurity and Conflict and in Rural Communities of Oyo State.

Respondents' Assessment Drivers of Insecurity, and Conflict	Sample Size	Variable Structure	Max	Min	Mean	Decision rule
Forest areas harbour criminals	250	Positive	5	1	4.36	Favourable
Mono-economy of rural community drives insecurity and conflict	250	Positive	5	1	4.12	Favourable
Economic injustice has led to endemic poverty	250	Positive	5	1	3.43	Favourable
Borderless borders with Benin Republic is a problem	250	Positive	5	1	2.16	Unfavourable
Infiltration of Arms and Ammunition along Border Areas Heightens conflict	250	Positive	5	1	3.89	Favourable
Heterogeneous population breeds suspicion	250	Positive	5	1	3.74	Favourable
Disputed elections and corrupt leadership at the local council drive instability	250	Positive	5	1	4.51	Favourable
Struggles over increasingly scarce land and water resources often cause conflicts	250	Positive	5	1	3.97	Favourable
Presence of militia/vigilante groups exacerbates insecurity	250	Positive	5	1	2.89	Unfavourable

*A positively structured variable + above 3.0 mean = Favourable, and vice versa

Higher number of respondents believed that forest areas harbour criminals with 4.36 mean score. This finding confirms Albert (2017) and Olaniyan's (2018) earlier findings that forests have become den of criminals. Nigerian Tribune (2021) identified some dark spots of kidnapping to include forests in Oke-Ogun and Ibarapa areas of Oyo State. It was reported in the newspaper that forests along the highways have become notorious bases for criminals who regularly mount roadblocks to attack travellers and also rob people living in the areas that border the forests. Some interviewees recounted their experiences or those of their relations who have fallen victims of crimes. Some reported crimes and conflicts by interviewees that undermine development in rural communities of Oyo State include kidnapping of redeemed church pastors for ransom along Lagos/Ibadan Road, armed robbery incidences along Ibadan/Ilorin Road, Pastor arrested with fresh human head in a sack at Fiditi in Oyo State. Human trafficking, smuggling, farmers-herders' conflicts, communal conflicts and boundary dispute between Kishi and Igboho were also mentioned by interviewees as major inhibiting factors to peace and security.

Economic injustice has led to endemic poverty attracted 3.43 mean score. Interviewees observed that there is general lack of development in rural areas of Oyo State. Successive governments only made promises during electioneering but failed to honour the social contract to rural communities. The interviewees expressed anger over the deplorable conditions of rural access roads the leads to loss of harvested agricultural produce. Distributional injustice and exclusive elitism result in inequality, poverty and lack of access to basic services which continue to drive grievances across the country and continue to hold back development for the majority especially in the rural communities.

Borderless borders along the Oke-Ogun and Ibarapa corridors with Benin Republic as a problem had 2.16 mean score. This means respondents do not see the borderless border as a problem. Probably this is because trans-border trade especially along borderless borders with Benin Republic sustains the inhabitants of this area (OECD, 2018). In the same light, interviewees do not see the borderless borders as the cause of insecurity. They enjoy the free

movement of people especially their kinsmen who reside and are natives of both countries. In contrast to this finding, previous studies revealed the role of fluid identities in trans-border crimes in Nigeria against the backdrop of ECOWAS protocol on free movement of people as a major concern (Yagboyaju and Akinola, 2019). The presence of homogenous Yoruba tribe split into different countries along Nigerian borders with Benin Republic makes it difficult to restrict movement of different nationals who assume different identities as situations warrant. Dual citizenship along the border areas constitutes security threats which include armed robbery, insurgency, armed conflicts, and terrorism, smuggling as well as human trafficking (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2018).

Proliferation of arms and ammunition had 3.89 mean score. This reveals that prevalence of arms and ammunition adds to problem of insecurity and conflict. Interviewees also noted that people have unfettered access to procure and use them during conflict and in the commission of crimes. There is a general problem of illicit arms flow in Nigeria which has accentuated crimes and insecurity in the last one decade (Foyouet et.al., 2018).

Heterogeneous population breeds suspicion obtained 3.74 mean score. This confirms that insecurity and conflict also stem from the heterogeneous population. Overlapping ethnic, religious, regional, and sub-ethnic (communal) identities mark the fault-lines along which political claims and violent conflicts erupt. Findings from interviewees revealed that insecurity and conflict challenges are multi-faceted in Oyo State rural areas. In recent times, the herders-farmers' conflicts and sundry crimes are being imputed on Nigerians of different nationalities and non-Nigerians who freely move along the land border corridor with Benin Republic.

Disputed elections and corrupt leadership at the local council drive instability had 4.51 mean score. This means that political drivers of conflict and underdevelopment also include disputed elections at the local council. Interviewees mentioned exploitation by politicians who use chauvinistic and prebendal appeals to cause animosity. Political corruption has also been a recurrent motivation for conflict as well as a key reason for the absence of amenities at the grassroots which breeds grievances.

Struggle over increasingly scarce land and water resources often causes conflicts scored 3.97 mean. Environmental drivers of insecurity, conflict and underdevelopment include struggle over increasingly scarce land and water resources. Climate change has exacerbated extreme weather in some parts of W/A, and has negatively impacted on food security and livelihoods.

Presence of militia/vigilante groups exacerbates insecurity had a low mean score of 2.89. Thus, the highly complex landscape of insecurity and conflict is not related to the presence of militia groups according to respondents. Interviewees even praised them as the saving grace against criminals. This finding, however, negates Felbab-Brown's (2021) assertion that while a wide range of anti-crime militias and vigilante groups operate in the rural areas and contribute positively.

Security and Peace Architectures of Rural Communities in Oyo State

Table 2: Five-Point Likert Scale Distributions of the Respondents' Assessment of State of Security and Peace Architecture in Rural Communities of Oyo State.

State of Security and Peace Architecture Ratings	Sample Size	Variable Structure	Max	Min	Mean	Decision rule
Local Government Security Council is not effective	250	Negative	5	1	4.87	Unfavourable
Policing agencies/formations are not adequate	250	Positive	5	1	3.82	Unfavourable
There is lack of inter-agency collaboration	250	Positive	5	1	3.73	Favourable
Traditional security institutions are not supported by local government administrations	250	Positive	5	1	3.35	Unfavourable
Funding and equipment for security agencies are not adequate	250	Positive	5	1	3.74	Unfavourable

*A positively structured variable + above 3.0 mean = Favourable, and vice versa

*A negatively structured variable + above 3.0 mean = Unfavourable, and vice versa

Local Government Security Council is not effective had a mean score of 4.87. This means that respondents believed that it does not contribute meaningfully to maintenance of law and order. Heads of Local Government Administration said that Local Government Security Council is headed by the chairman and consists of heads of other security agencies including Police, Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps, State Security Service, Immigration Service and Custom Service. However, they could not account for serious measures put in place by the council to ensure adequate policing of rural areas. They are most of the time reactive in their activities which include setting up of panel of enquiries, issuing statements of assurance and drafting police and army after some dastardly crimes have been unleashed on the people.

Policing agencies/formations are not adequate, had 3.82 mean score. This implied that respondents believe there is shortage of policing agencies in the area. Interviewees said that offices are mostly located at the local government headquarters. Areas far from these headquarters do not feel their presence or have access to invite them for emergencies.

There is lack of inter-agency collaboration scored 3.73 mean. The interpretation of this mean is that majority of the respondents believed that lack of inter-agency collaboration accounts for insufficient surveillance to have information to nib criminality in the bud. Interviewees mentioned specific occasions whereby police and civil defence personnel quarrelled over who should handle certain criminal cases.

Traditional security institutions are not supported by local government administrations had 3.35 mean score. Untapped traditional local community security groups are age grade association, hunters' guild, vigilante and cult. In reaction to previous findings, Momodu (2018) opined that the entrance of these non-state security group (NSSG) into the counter-terrorism operations and successes recorded through them indicated a governance deficit and the security vacuum which these groups filled. Experience in the fight against insurgency has shown that vigilante can be a veritable tool for tackling criminality. International Crisis Group (2017) affirmed that operating under the unofficial but revealing

name of Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) vigilantes were essential in flushing Boko Haram out of the city of Maiduguri

Funding and equipment for security agencies are not adequate low had 3.74 mean score. This implies that respondents see obvious gap between police needs and what is on ground. Heads of Local Governments recalled different occasions that they had to come to the financial aid of police to repair and fuel their vehicles, renovate their offices and provide other logistics. This excruciating working conditions make the police to be immobile and incapable of responding to emergencies.

Indices of Development in Rural Communities of Oyo State

Table 3: Five-Point Likert Scale Distributions of the Respondents' Assessment of Indices of Development in Rural Communities of Oyo State.

Indices of Development	Sample Size	Variable Structure	Max	Min	Mean	Decision rule
There are enough infrastructures like plastered road, electricity, schools, hospitals and pipe-borne water	250	Negative	5	1	1.94	Unfavourable
There are few industries and commercial activities are low	250	Positive	5	1	4.27	Favourable
Employment is low	250	Negative	5	1	3.77	Favourable
School drop-out and out of school children are low	**250**	Positive	5	1	4.13	Favourable

*A positively structured variable + above 3.0 mean = Favourable, and vice versa

*A negatively structured variable + above 3.0 mean = Unfavourable, and vice versa

There are enough infrastructures like plastered road, electricity, schools, hospitals and pipe-borne water scored 1.94 mean. This implies that there is inadequate infrastructure which is a

pointer to underdevelopment. Areas that lack development indices may not attract investors because the cost of doing business will be prohibitive. Thus, there is a great nexus between presence of infrastructure and development. Development is also measured by the presence of modern facilities.

There are few industries and commercial activities obtained 4.27 mean score. It can be inferred from this finding that absence of industries is an indication of development in those areas. Interviewees named a number of failed industrial complexes in rural communities of Oyo State. Agro-allied industries are even cited in big cities despite the fact that the raw materials needed are available in rural areas. The implication of this is lack of employment opportunities which will boost per capital income of rural dwellers and concomitant ripple effect on further national development.

Employment is low scored 3.77 mean. This implies that unemployment is very high in rural areas. This has led to rural-urban migration. The jobless youths do not contribute to economic fortune of rural communities. These jobless youths take to crimes as a means of survival and are available recruits for conflict entrepreneurs.

School drop-out and out of school children are low had 4.13 mean scores. This means that a great number of rural children either dropped out of school or did not attend school for formal education. Most of these out-of-school children or drop outs are pliable to recruitment by criminals of all sort and non-state actors.

Factors that Hinder Development at the Rural Communities of Oyo State

Table 4: Five-Point Likert Scale Distributions of the Respondents' Assessment of Factors that Hinder Development in Rural Communities of Oyo State.

Indices of Development	Sample Size	Variable Structure	Max	Min	Mean	Decision rule
Unstable local government leadership and policy somersault retard development	250	Positive	5	1	4.13	Favourable
Poor and decay infrastructural facilities hamper development efforts	250	Positive	5	1	4.21	Favourable
Conflicts and harassment by thugs scare investors	250	Positive	5	1	4.20	
Low female gender inclusiveness in economic activities slows down development	250	Positive	5	1	3.41	Favourable

*A positively structured variable + above 3.0 mean = Favourable, and vice versa

Unstable local government leadership and policy somersault retard development had 4.13 mean score. This finding shows that development challenges include unstable local government leadership and policy somersault. For example, for six years, between 2012- 2018, Oyo state did not have elected chairmen and councillors. The Executive Governor handpicked Caretaker Chairmen who could not take decisions without recourse to His Excellency. The same scenario played out between May 2019 and April 2021 when the local governments were administered by caretaker committees.

Poor and decay infrastructural facilities hamper development efforts obtained 4.21 mean score. Interviewees related this inadequacy of infrastructure to dwindling economic and social wellbeing of residents of rural communities. Bad roads restrict access, investment opportunities.

Conflicts and harassment by thugs scare investors scored 4.20 mean. Peaceful environment is necessary for any meaningful development efforts. Where there is breakdown of law and order, hoodlums take to banditry, extortion, harassment and exploitation of strangers and workers. This aligns with Oyebode's (2014c) finding on the activities of non-state actors and militia groups in the Niger Delta area of Nigeria.

Low female gender inclusiveness in economic activities slows down development scored 3.41 mean. Interviewees noted that rural women rely more on their husbands or merely support their husbands in selling farm produce. Thus, women lack economic independence and initiative to add value to development. This finding implied that economic inclusiveness is low. Of course, there cannot be inclusive development and peace as envisioned in the 16 Goal of SDGs if about 48% of the population is excluded or marginalised.

Conclusion

Insecurity and conflict have impeded development in rural areas of Oyo State. Most rural communities in the Oyo State of Nigeria do not have effective security architecture; traditional vigilante arrangement has been abandoned, police officers are not adequate and rural dwellers are lackadaisical. It is also revealed that employment of forest guards, who normally compliment the efforts of the police in rural communities, is no longer given priority by state and local governments as the retiring ones are not replaced thus making intelligence gathering unattainable. Thus, rural communities and forest reserves provide dens for criminals to plan, strike and keep their victims. Along the border areas of Oyo State, there is glaring irredentism and corruption among the citizens and security personnel who rather than hold their allegiance to the state are engrossed in primordial and prebendal sentimentalism.

Ungoverned space breeds criminals because there is a wide gap between the required security personnel and those provided along in local communities. Although there are security institutions in Oyo State, there is general lack of synergy in the both traditional and modern policing architectures. The security bodies are generally ill-equipped, underfunded and not well staffed. The vehicles to move are moribund. The local government chairmen are not

effective in providing solutions to security and development challenges because the state governor remotely controls local government affairs. Although, traditional local institutions are not well positioned to face the challenges of conflict and insecurity in the 21st Century but are useful if they are mainstreamed into modern policing architecture.

The panacea to insecurity and underdevelopment in local communities includes surveillance through intelligence gathering and participatory policing. It is, therefore, recommended that rural surveillance through community policing, forest guards and vigilante will provide needed intelligence to tackle the menace of insecurity and conflict. To achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by 2030 in Nigeria, devolution of powers to states and local governments on policing has become necessary in order to strengthen rural communities' security, peace and development. It is high time National Assembly approved state police.

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KEY THEORIES IN PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE STUDY AND PRACTICE

Okechukwu NDECHE
[Okey Ndeche & Co.]
Plot 497 Victoria Ironsi Crescent, Gwarinpa, Abuja.
okeyndeche@yahoo.com

and

Samuel O. IROYE, PhD
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution,
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja.
siroye@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) is an interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary social science that currently borrows some of its theories from other disciplines to provide philosophical foundations, conduct methodological inquiries, and offer critical explanation for social conflict situations. This paper briefly examines the core propositions of some of the theories in PCS using a qualitative-descriptive methodological design to collect data from conveniently sampled secondary sources of peer-reviewed journal articles and texts, thematically analysed to ground findings. The study conclusively established among other findings that theory is important to PCS as applied social science to ensure rigour in scholarship, research, teaching, and practice. The study recommends mandatory incorporation of theory in every academic writing and further establish a database of applicable theories as a step to theory building of its own.

Keywords: Conflict, Peace, Research, Studies, Theory

Introduction

Peace and Conflict Studies (PCS) are closely connected and almost inseparable terms and concepts. As an emergent twentieth century multidisciplinary field from critical experiences of wars and the need to avoid them in nature, Askerov and Barakat (2021) assert that PCS tends to borrow theories and frameworks from various disciplines to analyse and explain conflict at multiple levels. There is no overarching theoretical framework for the field hence this study is an effort at identifying and briefly discussing some of the mainstream theories available within the field of Peace and Conflict Research (PCR) without evaluating them for strengths or weaknesses. Every theory as a scientific law, must contain three elements, namely, assumptions, concepts (and/or variables), and propositions with which it seeks to explain, predict, or prescribe social phenomena of inquiry (Akinyoade, 2013; Naidu, 1996). The key concepts in PCR include peace, conflict, violence, nonviolence, justice, among others and act as the connecting framework holding other elements of theory together.

The discipline of PCS has become dominant in the Social Sciences but does not have a distillation of core theories readily available to researchers as a guide. PCS does not have a readily available compendium or glossary of theories and theorists. There is a gap in the knowledge base of applicable theories and the discipline needs to identify and crystallize the present core theoretical frameworks as an important step towards theory building of its own to support research, teaching, for Peace and Conflict Studies and Practice (PCSP).

This study examines three important issues which are; to examine key Peace and Conflict theories in the PCS area, to examine the core propositions of the key Peace and Conflict theories and to assess the impact of the theories in PCSP. This study employs a qualitative-analytical research method with descriptive data collected from secondary sources in PCS using convenience sample for desk review of embedded literature from peer reviewed articles and texts, and thematically analysed for findings. Convenience sampling technique is often used by social researchers based on ease, open access, affordability, availability, and time of the subject of study (Etikan et. al., 2016).

Conceptual definitions

We make some conceptual clarification of the terms used in this study.

Peace

A process involving activities that are linked to development and reducing conflict (Ibeanu, 2006). Peace is not the absence of war but broadly understood to include many situations that guarantee positive human conditions and existence (Jeong, 2017). Peace is also a relationship existing in absence of direct physical violence (negative peace), and presence of basic human conditions (positive peace) (Galtung, 1967). A human condition that is rooted in justice and harmonious existence with the environment (Author, 2022).

Conflict

According to Rahim (2017) conflict is an interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement, or dissonance within or between social entities (i.e. individual, group, organization, etc.). Conflict is actors and their actions in pursuit of incompatible and contradictory goals (Galtung, 2009). Conflict is the opposition of forces (Khan, 1988). The action of individuals or groups to realise their interests over those of others (Author, 2022).

Theory

Defined generally to mean a range of approaches that specify the scope of inquiry, lay out assumptions, provide a shared vocabulary among scholars, and clearly define and relate concepts in the form of principles and testable hypotheses and propositions (Weible, 2014). Theories are ways of thinking that are manifested in spoken or written words about contentious relationships that vary from a general approach or perspective to a set of deductively ordered postulations or principles that impact research and practice (Kriesberg, 2019). A theory is a body of thought and knowledge of high generality and contains a set of basic definitions, axioms, paradigms, and principles that are logically interrelated (Naidu, 1996). A systematised body of ideas constructed and independently applied in the explanation of phenomenon (Author, 2022). For PCS, theories that have been validated in PCR are generally either under the concept of peace or that of conflict.

Peace and Conflict

The terms as used in this work are not necessarily antagonists especially if the conflicting parties are nonviolent, less violent, and use non-lethal means of conflict resolution and transformation (Webel, 2007). Thus, scholars can combine one or more points of view from theoretical perspectives in the process of analysing social conflicts or as practitioners helping political leaders in policymaking to deal with them (Faleti, 2006).

Key Theories in Peace and Conflict Studies

Theory of Peace

Galtung (2005) propounded a mini theory of peace made up of two concepts of negative peace which implies the absence of physical violence, and positive peace which is the presence of harmony with the elimination of structures that inhibit human potential and performance, and which has become a major approach in PCS for removing conflict, solving it, or transforming it, and for understanding the different relations between peace thinking and social reality. Galtung (2008) argues that a grand theory of negative and positive peace designed to achieve security and conviviality based on the Japanese concept of *Kyosei* is possible in the twenty-first century PCS. Peace theorists in the twentieth century emphasise the concepts of social harmony, justice, nonviolence, security, and order consistent with transformative peacemaking and peacekeeping (Webel and Galtung, 2007). The theory of peace which is embedded in PCS has a number of closely related theories which also serve to explain, understand, predict or prescribe social phenomena.

The lay theories of peace according to Leshem and Halperin (2020) are based on the relative strengths of three meanings or interpretations of peace, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, corresponding to "the end of war" (negative peace), "harmonious relationship" (positive peace), and "justice" (structural peace). Although lay theories lack the rigour of scientific theories and not very popular in PCS, people rely on them to understand, interpret, and predict their social world and "what counts as one's lay theory of peace is the balance between the three, namely, which interpretations dominate, and which are more

peripheral" (Leshem and Halperin, 2020: 379). Leshem and Halperin (2020) applied the lay theory of peace to the understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to propose a binational state solution. This theory can also effectively intersect with other theories and used in different aspects of a study. PCR scholars and practitioners find the lay theories of peace constructively useful and consequently may adopt them for studies.

Peacebuilding theory

Lederach (1997) is credited with the development of this theoretical framework following Galtung's first use of the term peacebuilding (Gawerc, 2006). According to Sandole (2010) peacebuilding is a dynamic approach and framework for strengthening positive peace through some third-party interactions with different actors performing different tasks at the same time or at different points in time. Proactive peacebuilding would require third-party interveners to attempt and implement an intervention before a conflict occurs to "prevent the house from catching on fire" (Sandole, 2010, p. 13). Comprehensive peacebuilding is often undertaken for regional and global governance to deal with deep rooted causes of conflict from prevention through resolution to transformation.

Peacebuilding theory assumes that there is first a conflict requiring reactive or proactive intervention by a third party. Peacebuilding in theory and practice envisages a multilateral rather than a unilateral process of active prosocial civic engagements behaviours (author, forthcoming). Gawerc (2006) submits that peacebuilding must incorporate the critical elements of conflict resolution and social justice simultaneously while for Longpoe (2020) peace building theory addresses the underlying causes of violent conflict so that they become less likely in the future. This contemporary theory is effectively operative at all levels of conflict analysis and intervention in order to de-escalate the situation and restore normalcy for sustainable peace. It provides a conceptual and operational framework for reconciliation, distributive and restorative justice particularly in situations of recovery from mass violence, armed conflict, or violations of human rights. Adenyi et al. (2021) submit that peacebuilding is both a theory and a practical strategy for resolving and transforming conflicts and wherever

adopted and implemented substantially reduce agitations and social tension. This theory which has a communitarian social content is therefore important for researchers and policymakers for designing and implementing win-win policy outcomes. A distinct but related communitarian theory was coined in the mid-nineteenth century to provide the research perspective for studies in community traditions in contrast to Western liberalism. (Etzioni, 2015).

Maqoma (2020) argued in defence of communitarianism that Western ideas of unrestricted individual autonomy now used in defining an African has resulted in the imposition of negative ethnicity among Africans. Maqoma (2020) submitted that Africans are generally described as communal and who base their worldview on "communal thinking and values of generosity, compassion, benevolence, tolerance, kindness and goodwill that bring people closer together in order to achieve a common good of the community whether a single family or an entire country" (Maqoma, 2020, pp. 1-2). Communitarian theory according to Longley (2021) is a 20th century political and social ideology emphasising the interests of the community over those of the individual and considered the opposite of liberalism. Longley (2021) stated that, Ferdinand Tonnies, Amitai Etzioni, and Dorothy Day are among the prominent communitarian theorists even with their differing approaches. Nowhere is communitarian theory better explained than in the concept of *Ubuntu* as a practical philosophy of justice and African humanism (Ndeche, 2022 January 17-19, paper presentation). The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) 1981 embodies some of the fundamental communitarian principles of African societies (Art. 27, ACHPR). The framework is especially important and significant in the analytical understanding and formulation of traditional African conflict intervention and peacebuilding strategies.

Theory of Justice

Rawls (1971; 1999) propounded a moral theory of justice based on equity and fairness in the distribution of goods for a well-ordered society and argue that peace is conditioned and regulated by a shared public conception of justice. It is a fair choice model in which individuals

will hypothetically choose mutually acceptable principles of justice, equity, and liberty in their social interactions. According to Rawls (1971) the theory is a non-utilitarian justification of a democratic political order characterized by fairness, equality, and individual rights as first propounded by early social contract theorists. Rawls (1971) maintains that a theory of justice is based on the existence of equal rights of individuals to basic liberties, equal opportunities, and in which the concept of an egalitarian society and specific political arrangements are important in the practical application and understanding of social democracies and social justice frameworks derived from it.

Theory of justice is so closely connected to the theory of law since antiquity where according to Aristotle, natural justice exists and flourishes in natural law. Rawls (1999) argue that the principles of justice inherent in the theory are what guarantees the rights derived from these principles and the social institutions constructed to protect and promote them as social justice or formal justice. Rawls's theory of justice according to Dutta (2017) assert that a good society is characterised by a number of virtues of which justice is the first, and the foundation of the social structure upon which all political and legislative decisions should be designed to fulfil its requirements. PCR and legal scholars find convergence in the theory for its distributive, retributive and restorative justice conceptual frameworks.

It can thus be argued that the closely connected social movement theory (SMT) which is a contemporary sociological theory was developed in the mid-twentieth century as a response to the political opportunity of protests and movements having intellectual agenda and seeking to explain why social mobilisation occurs, the forms under which it manifests, as well as potential social, cultural, and political consequences (Goodwin et al., 2001; Jasper, 2008; 2020). The application of the theory is effective and relevant to analytical studies of social justice, civil rights, environmental/ecological rights, animal rights, anti-war, and feminist movements both domestic and global, to give voice back to protesters. The theory provides the needed interpretive framework for an understanding of injustice.

Conflict theory

This was propounded by Karl Marx with the idea of materially based social classes engaged in a class struggle and competition over scarce resources with resulting inequality and conflict and found in every society. This is the dominant theoretical framework for scholarly understanding of social conflict, cohesion, and consent in modern society. Conflict theory was first developed by Karl Marx (1818-1883) in mid-nineteenth century to explain inequality and conflict resulting from struggle and competition between two antagonistic social classes (Hayes, 2022). The theory provides a classical and contemporary theoretical perspective of conflict from sociological, historical, and socioeconomic methods of analysis of power relations.

Later strands of the theory now look at other dimensions to analyse and explain a wide range of social phenomenon including wars, revolutions, poverty, structural inequality, discrimination, and domestic violence. Galtung (1973) maintains that a correlation exists between the two elements of conflict (incompatible) and (cooperation, such that they exist in balance to produce harmony or one predominating to produce disharmony. Some of the conflict analytical tools like the Conflict Tree (which sees the causes as root, the problem as the trunk, and the effects as the branches), and Onion/Doughnut PIN (position, interest, needs) developed out of the theory (Best, 2006). Social conflict theory, conflict resolution theory, conflict transformation theory, alternative dispute resolution methods, peacebuilding theory are built upon the elements contained in conflict theory (Faleti, 2006; Best, 2006). Social theory according to Joseph (2022) is a contemporary strand for understanding and explaining social conflict in modern society while Social Conflict theory (SCT) is a Marxist-based theory that argues that individuals and groups (social classes) interact based on conflict rather than consensus. Social conflict theorists like Marxists argue that class conflict or class war or class struggle exist in society due to antagonistic competition for scarce resources between the working class and the wealth owners.

The theory is relevant in the study and understanding of ethnic conflicts, religious wars, terrorists' activities, and how to manage and resolve them. Structural Conflict theory is a similar Marxist-based theory of conflict derived from stratification, distribution of resources, access to power and justice, which result in conflict. According to Loadenthal (2018), structural conflict theoretical framework developed in the twentieth century with the belief that conflicts are caused by oppressive patterns of human relationships. Loadenthal (2018) state that structural inequality exists from conflict over means of production and which in turn fosters structural violence and conflicts. This theory when used in combination with Burton's "human needs theory" offers deep analytical insights and understanding of ways to promote positive peace and reduce negative peace in the society.

The Conflict Transformation Theory (CTT) propounded by Lederach (1996) is a contemporary theoretical framework for peacebuilding in the light of the dynamics and changing context in which social conflict occurs. The transformation concept of conflict is both descriptive of conflict dynamics including its impact, and prescriptive of the overall purpose that building peace pursues in a process-outcome paradigm. Galtung (1999) further contextualized the theory of conflict transformation in which there is no alternative to transforming, changing violent attitudes and behaviour, exploring, and engaging in peace dialogues and advocacy, with conflict transformation happening at all levels of conflict followed by peace transformation in the context of peace education. The importance of CTT is in its inclusive commitment to peacemaking, seeking the truth, healing relations, and promoting the concept of post-conflict restorative justice.

Realist Theory

Realism as the theory is also known according to Faleti (2006) traces its origin from classical political theory seeking to explain the root of conflict to flaw in human nature to be selfish and engaging in the pursuit of self-serving power. In international relations, the theory emphasizes the role of the state (state-centrism), national interest, and power in world politics and order. The theory was propounded by Carr (1939) and Morgenthau (1948) to explain state

behaviour and a set of policy options for analytical response to application of state power in foreign policy and diplomatic studies. Waltz (1979), and Donnelly (2005) have further contributed to the realist theoretical perspective on understanding internal relations. The theory has three major strands based on their view of the essential causes of inter-state conflicts. The classical realists hold that conflict flows from and follows human nature, neorealists attribute it to the dynamics of the anarchic state system, while the neoclassical realists believe it to result from both in combination with domestic politics.

This theory according to Faleti (2006), has greatly justified the militarisation of international relations, arms race, and finally elevating power and the state to the status of an ideology with tremendous impact on conflict at the international level. This theory in addition offers conceptual and analytical insights into why states possess and build armies and, in some cases, seek possession of nuclear weapons, even if for deterrence. Slaughter (2019) asserts that realist international relations theory focuses its account of world politics on the power of states and the ways in which they can act to assure their security and national interests. Realist scholarship contends that global cooperation and governance is conditioned and limited by the actions of powerful states (Slaughter, 2019).

To realists, international politics in modern times generally recognizes no authority above the nation-state and refuse to recognise any such supranational power and authority. Agreements among states are enforceable only by the agreeing states themselves. This assumption of anarchy poses a paradox for agreements to limit violence during wartime. (Bell, 2021). Reciprocity serves as the main tool to enforce agreements in international politics. Enforcement of an agreement is devolved to the parties themselves. Damaged parties have the option to respond with retaliatory sanctions to a violation of an agreement. The threat of reciprocal sanctions may be sufficient to deter violations, and so agreements can be enforced in international politics.

Realism is state-centric, sees states as rational actors, concerned primarily with national security and power, in which anarchy of the international system leads to perpetual

fear, a development consistent with human nature that is inherently egoistic (McGlinchey et al. 2017; Bell, 2021). Realists view human beings as inherently egoistic and self-interested to the extent that self-interest overcomes moral principles. Consider the absence of government, literally anarchy, to be the primary determinant of international political outcomes. The lack of a common rule-making and enforcing authority means, they argue, that the international arena is essentially a self-help system. Each state is responsible for its own survival and is free to define its own interests and to pursue power.

The idealist concept of the harmony of interests is based on the notion that human beings can rationally recognize that they have some interests in common, and that cooperation is therefore possible. Carr (1939) contrasts this idea with the reality of conflict of interests. According to Carr (1939) the world is torn apart by the particular interests of different individuals and groups. In such a conflictual environment, order is based on power, not on morality.

Values that idealists view as good for all, such as peace, social justice, prosperity, and international order, are regarded by Carr (1939) and Shaffer (2018) as mere status quo notions. The powers that are satisfied with the status quo regard the arrangement in place as just and therefore preach peace. They try to rally everyone around their idea of what is good. Carr (1939) nevertheless recognized that the logic of "pure realism can offer nothing but a naked struggle for power which makes any kind of international society impossible. Waltz created neorealist theory of international system noting differentiation of units which are primarily states and their capabilities, but also recognising the existence of nonstate actors. Waltz maintains that bipolarity based on the dominant two nuclear superpowers of US and Soviet Union at the time was much more stable than multipolarity. This has changed since the fall of Soviet Union, the rise of China as a superpower and the presence of India and other medium powers with potential for multipolarity realism. Burchill (2005) maintain that liberal institutionalism which agrees with neorealists acceptance of interdependence and mutual cooperation for common interest is responsible for reduction in conflict, geopolitical economic

integration and global free trade. Current developments in human rights, humanitarian laws, diplomacy, commerce, among others are attributable to liberal democratic thoughts and which have advanced peaceful global order. Realist theory according to Morumbasi (2021) is Eurocentric and formulated based on purely Western political experience and expectations. The international system is dynamic and ever changing. It has no African or Asian corresponding perspective.

Conclusion

Theories are critical and important to an understanding, analysis, explanation, prediction and prescription of conflicts by providing researchers and practitioners with necessary insights into the root causes, nature and effects, and initiatives for their prevention, management and resolution for peaceful and harmonious coexistence. While a unified theory of PCS may be desirable, it may be difficult to develop as the causes, levels, manifestations, and management intervention strategies in conflict situations are so varied with different actors and factors. It gives a connection between the objectives of study and the methodology for data collection, analysis, and findings.

In view of the above, the underlisted are thus recommended.

i. PCS should establish a database of theories and theorists in the transdisciplinary field. The department can lead the effort in this regard with this modest contribution from our work.

ii. It is recommended that every academic writing should incorporate at least a theoretical framework from the field as a basis of measuring rigour in teaching and research and, avoiding a disconnect from methodological foundations of scientific nature of PCS as an applied social science. This will no doubt incentivise theory-building in the field.

iii. This study is work in progress and it is recommended that researchers and practitioners build on it for the growth and development of PCS

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IMPACT OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC ON EDUCATION IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN OYO STATE

Julius Funso FOLARANMI
Department of Peace, Security and Humanitarian Studies
University of Ibadan, Ibadan
asikoloto@gmail.com
and
Onoseme Fortune AFATAKPA
Department of General Studies
Dominion University, Ibadan
f.afatakpa@dominion.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

This study interrogates some of the consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic on education in Oyo State, Nigeria. This was carried out using case study research using qualitative methods. Findings of the study includes that education was seriously affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, brought with it devastating effects in terms of the quality and quantity of teaching delivery, decay infrastructural deficit, and a distorted social behavioural pattern among students as a result of long exposure to corrupt experiences in the larger society occasioned by the long stay away from school. It was thus concluded that like other aspects of life, education in Oyo State was largely impacted by the dynamics of Covid-19. The study therefore recommends that should take to e-learning and encourage its development at all levels of education. It is also recommended that all stakeholders such as the Oyo State government, teachers, parents, old students, examination bodies, philanthropist and of course, students' representatives must discourage the use of violence as means to settling disputes among groups and individuals.

KEYWORDS: Ethnicity, Religion, Conflict and National Security

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic impacted hugely on the economies of the world, and by extension, its educational system also. The first case of the coronavirus disease was recorded in Nigeria on the 27th of February 2020 in Lagos State; when an Italian citizen in Lagos tested positive for the virus (Nigeria Centre for Disease Control, 2020). Since then, the number of people infected with the virus as reported by the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) has continued on a daily increase across the country. The pandemic has spread to all the 36 states of the federation not excluding the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja). In order to properly and efficiently manage the situation, different measures were put in place by the government and other relevant stakeholders to halt spread of the disease.

The Federal Government set up the Presidential Task Force on Covid-19 (PTF on Covid-19) (Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria, 2020) which included the Minister for Health, the ministers for Education and other relevant stakeholders but was headed by the Secretary to the Government of the Federation (SGF) Boss Mustapha. They initially imposed a partial lockdown on Lagos, Ogun, and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, as one of the temporary measures of curtailing the spread of the virus but would later extend the lockdown to the whole country. The government in partnership with other state govenments set up isolation centres as well as testing departments in major hospitals across the state. The Nigerian Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) was also put in place to provide information to the public, creating awareness about the virus and various preventive measures to curtail its spread.

It was observed that because of the large population of Nigeria, the mitigating strategies and preventive measures were not done by the government (Federal & State) alone but received help from the private sector coalition body, philanthropies and religious bodies; all who collaborated with the local governments and State governments to prevent and distribute palliative measures to curb the impact of this virus and prevent the spread. The government enacted new forms of rules and regulations such as social distancing, avoidance

of social gatherings, lockdowns and travel bans. These affected human behaviour in forms of stress, fear, social stigma, increased levels of depression, confusion and various types of anxiety. Apart from the behavioural change of people in the country, the livelihood of workers was also affected to a large extent following an increase in the records of job losses, reduction in the income of the people. This reduction in income of the people due to recession was caused by the lockdown among other factors.

Furthermore, it was also observed in Nigeria and other parts of the world that the education system was shut down and therefore kept school administrators, teachers and students back at home. As a result of these disruptions, the government at the federal and state levels in Nigeria responded by putting some measures such as online teaching to digitalize the Nigerian education system. Online education though not new in Nigeria, had a massive impact on education significantly such that modern devices with wireless internet access could help people receive and send completed tasks in one click from any location to another, be it rural or urban. With the aid of research and innovations, new online education software products have demonstrated that learning outside the formal classroom could be more exciting and engaging. It also makes it easy for physically challenged student who does not have the ability to attend classes to run live translations of any study by using pre-recorded video lessons and also have their test online through same means. Unfortunately, this appeared to not be the case in most cities in Nigeria, Oyo State inclusive. It was observed in Oyo state and other parts of Nigeria that most teachers lacked online teaching skills as well as the use of technologies that are associated with online teaching thereby making it difficult for digital teaching and learning to take place during the COVID-19.

Since education is the bed rock of national development which instils beliefs, norms, values, knowledge and skills, hence the consequences of education system shutdown is such that secondary schools in Oyo State which are considered as the critical foundation of tertiary education were affected. In that regards the income of teachers and supports staff were affected, those who used the school environment as their source of living were also affected

among others. This raises some salient questions such as, " To what extent has COVID-19 pandemic affected teaching and learning process in public secondary schools in Oyo State?" "In what ways did modern technology help in the teaching of students during the lockdown?" In what ways were the income and other sources of living of teachers in public secondary schools in Oyo state affected?" "What were the changes that took place in the pattern of food and non -food consumption during the pandemic?" The answer to these and other questions are critical for policy purpose. To achieve the objective of this paper, desk research was adopted and recommendations were made based on the findings.

Conceptual Clarification

Covid-19

According to WHO (2020), Covid-19 is an infectious disease caused by the SARs - CoV-2 Virus whose origin is traceable to Wuhan region in China in the year 2019. like most pandemics, covid-19 has two features that unequivocally qualifies it to be ranked as a pandemic. Scocik (2021) discussed the spread and severity of pandemic with particular reference to Covid-19. he was of the opinion that while Covid-19 spread as wild fire across the globe, its severity in tern of existential challenge it posed to humanity is phenomenal. It has recorded so far, the highest figure of human casualty when compared with past pandemics of similar nature and precisely SARS-CoV-1 of 200) and MERS-CoV of 2012.

The present global data of Covid-19 infection according to WHO is put at 430,257,564 while the death figure recorded is 5,922,049 and the recovery figure put at 363,641,734. the data above suggest that Covid-19 is health challenge that has come to redefine humanity in all facets of life be it existential, economic, political, technological, cultural and most importantly in education.

Education

Various scholars have attempted to define what education is. The word EDUCATION comes from two Latin words "EDUCARE" meaning. to bring out and "EDUCERE' meaning, improvement or enhancement. In essence, education is seen as a process of bringing out

improvement and progress out of an individual. Mahatma Gandhi defined education as an all-round drawing out of the best in a child and man - body, mind and spirit. Another scholar John Adams, saw education as a bipolar process where one personality acts upon another to modify the development of the other.

All the explanations above suggests that education is an all-round development of an individual that touches on his physical, mental, social, emotional, ethical, creative and spiritual development. It is a deliberate attempt to bring out rather than indoctrinating the child. It aims to develop to the fullest the potentiality and endowment of a child. Simply put, we can say that education is both the art and science of developing and ensuring the cultivation of appropriate learning that makes a child a functional member of the society he finds himself.

Theoretical Framework

Conspiracy Theory: This theory was propounded by K.M. Douglas and was essentially put in place to explain why people, nations or group strongly hold the view that an event or phenomenon that befalls a group or society is a deliberate act of sabotage or espionage by the other party. Such a thinking is further strengthened when there are no immediate explanation or solutions to challenges facing them. At the core of the conspiracy theory is the belief and sometimes an overt assertion that a co-competitor in the social, economic, political and global space had deliberately ignite a problem to cause social dislocation for the victim. The inability of the victim at the receiving end to find a satisfactory answer to the challenges bedevilling the group, nation or society presently or in the immediate future reinforces the thinking that there is a hidden agenda targeted at the group being perpetuated by a suspected known enemy.

Relating this theory to the Covid-19 pandemic is the thinking that the virus that led to the outbreak of Covid-19 was manufactured by the Chinese in one of their laboratories with the sole aim of waging war on the United States of America who is considered as being a foremost and domineering world economic power that must be checkmated at all cost. The spilled-over effect of the covid-19 pandemic as at today suggests that it is a leveller that respects no nation be it weak or strong. It has thrown up both existential and social challenges

that has impacted negatively on the fortunes of the world over. It has brought with it the need to think of new ways to live our lives in all ramifications, the education sector not exempted.

The Impact of Covid-19 on Secondary Schools in Oyo State

The most social challenge of the global response to COVID-19 was the closure of schools to stem the spread of the pandemic. This action as observed deprived millions of education personnel their means of income and reduced their overall well-being as well as depriving students from all forms of learning. The economic shock associated with the COVID-19 pandemic appears to be significantly larger than the shock of the financial crisis of 2008/09. The spread of the pandemic as perceived had a high human cost with virtually many households struggling to cope as costs continued to grow. The COVID-19 pandemic has led to significant trade disruptions, drops in oil price, and the tightening of financial conditions in Nigeria and many other countries. These effects have already led to large increases in unemployment and underemployment and has continued to threaten the survival of many households, institutions and firms. In response to this, governments, agencies and institution began to put policies in place to slow the transmission and to improve the livelihood of the citizens.

As at March 25th, 2020, approximately 150 nations throughout the world had reported school closures. School closures are important because they serve as a strategy to establish social distance in order to slow the transmission of the disease and avoid an increase in cases that would put a load on health services. The effectiveness of the closures as a measure to halt the spread of the virus, especially in Africa, will be determined by the exact timing of the closures, the age structure of the population, and the length of the closure. Others predicted that school closures would result in an extended period of disrupted instruction, causing children to become disconnected from their studies, which would have the potential cost of reversing gains in learning results (Jamerson & Mitchell, 2020).

Obiakor and Adeniran (2020) estimated that 23.5 million enrolled primary school students in Nigeria during the period under review are absent in school. Also, they were of

the opinion that not only will the closure of schools affect up to 46 million students across the country, but 4.2 million students in the North-East states of Borno, Adawama, and Yobe, which contain the most vulnerable populations of children in Nigeria, will be the most affected. The economic impact of COVID-19 in most nations can be felt through three scenarios: the labour productivity shock, which results in an average drop in labour productivity of 1.4 percent during the pandemic in 2020 due to loss of jobs. The second shock is the total factor productivity shock, which refers to a temporary halt in domestic activities due to disruptions in distribution and the inability to provide inputs and services because of worker quarantine. This resulted in a 1 percent reduction in global GDP total factor productivity growth. The trade shock is the final effect, which occurred through international trade interruptions and have increased the cost of conducting business by roughly 5% on average. This is enough to increase the cost of global economic growth by 1% (Vos, Martin & Laborde, 2020).

The COVID-19 outbreak has disrupted education and raised global health concerns, no country or race is immune to the virus, and the entire world appears to be swamped by the pandemic's rapid expansion and catastrophic impacts. The pandemic knows no bounds, and its impact is widespread and swift with restrictions on people's ability to migrate, trade, and interact. It also threw the entire world into a state of emergency, the reality of the situation was difficult to face, and Nigeria's school system remains one of the worst-affected by the pandemic (Akuh, 2020). As the country grapples with these issues, a key question arises: Is Nigeria's education system designed to adjust quickly to changing circumstances? Given the current state of affairs in the globe, a country's ability to ensure that learning continues will be primarily dependent on its ability to quickly harness existing technology, create suitable infrastructure, and mobilize stakeholders to establish alternative learning programmes.

According to UNESCO (2020), the pandemic has changed the contexts in which curricula are implemented, not only due to the use of platforms and the need to consider circumstances other than those for which the curriculum was originally designed, but also due

41

to the fact that certain knowledge and competencies are more relevant in the current context. A variety of decisions must be made and resources must be made available, posing a challenge to school districts, educational institutions, and teachers. This is true of curricular changes and priority, as well as the contextualization required to guarantee that the contents are relevant to the present emergency situation, and is based on consensus among all stakeholders. These adaptations must also highlight the capabilities and values that have emerged as a result of the current circumstances, such as solidarity, self-directed learning, self-care, care for others, social-emotional skills, health, and resilience, among others. The social impacts of corona virus and the actions taken to reduce its spread are severe, such that the circumstances have resulted in a unique situation in which people had to change their routine lifestyles, their activity patterns, the way they work and how they travel which are three facets of daily life (Mathijs, Faber and Hamersma, 2020).

Strengthening the resilience of education systems, according to UNESCO (2020), enables countries to respond to current issues such as safely reopening schools and positions them to better cope with future crises. Governments might focus on fairness and inclusion, strengthen risk management capacities at all levels of the system, provide strong leadership and coordination, and improve dialogue and communication procedures in this respect. In addressing the issue of disruption in education learning in Nigeria, a range of technological tools and services have been designed that can allow remote teaching and learning. Radio platforms are being used to transmit lesson instructions to a big number of children at the same time more than ever before. The majority of education service providers have also modified their platforms to allow large-scale remote learning. Apart from English language and mathematics instructional websites have expanded their content, by offering other disciplines that primary and secondary school students are obliged to acquire during this time. Also, education technology tools were rebuilt to include elements that allow parents or guardians participate in their children's or wards' remote learning (Adegboye & Henshaw, 2020). According to Simon and Hans (2020), the global lockdown of educational institutions will

result in severe (and likely uneven) interruptions in students' learning, disturbances in internal assessments, and the cancellation or replacement of public examinations for qualifications.

Response to Teaching and Learning in Secondary Schools during COVID-19 Lockdown

According to COVID-19 Global Impact Survey, all institutions of learning in Nigeria shut their campuses in the wake of the outbreak of the disease as a precautionary measure. About 80% of secondary schools were not prepared to move their teaching online and had to suspend teaching in the aftermath of the Pandemic. In the same manner, most of secondary schools at state level including Oyo State have no communication infrastructures in place to reach their students. Although, there were frantic efforts to devise means of exploring online teaching to continue with the interrupted academic sessions but truth is that states secondary education was not prepared and had little or no online teaching and learning infrastructure.

Online teaching refers to the use of technology to renew, simplify and improve processes, tasks and products (St.meld. nr. 27 (2015– 2016), 2016). Going further, online teaching in secondary Education is concerned with the essential process of change that involves existing forms of propagating knowledge and acquiring expertise, understanding of roles and institutional structures, and cooperation in and around secondary education system (Digitalisierung 2016). Nigeria as country in this period of academic shutdown made several plans and pronouncements for online learning. For instance, the Minister for Education directed that all academic institutions in the country to resume online teaching during a teleconference with stakeholders in the education sector, sometimes in March, 2020 - September, only a handful of government owned secondary schools (public secondary schools) have broached the subject of resumption. Teaching has not resumed in majority of the public secondary schools and no concrete steps were made to put the modalities that will facilitate teaching and learning into place.

Commenting further, on the directive of the Ministry of Education that Institutions of learning in the country should commence online teaching, an editorial in the Guardian Newspaper described it as hypocritical. An opinion submitted that the regulatory agency

knows for sure that the minimum ICT infrastructure and basic tools are not available in most secondary education institutions in the country. Tools like interactive digital whiteboards, smart phones, laptop computers and notebooks are not common sights. If such are found, they most likely belong to children of wealthy individuals and are not owned by these institutions. The opinion also touched on the functionality aspect that borders on stable and affordable Internet connectivity, security measures such as filters and site blockers and constant electricity. It is an open secret that electricity is a privilege and not a right in the country. There is also the serious challenge of internet connection in the nations' secondary education system which is crucial to the success of the initiative. Going through most of the secondary schools learning infrastructures in the five go-political zones of Oyo State like; Ibadan, Ibarapa, Oke-Ogun, Oyo and Ogbomoso in Oyo State Nigeria, hardly can you find schools with V-SAT or Internet mast which could aid teaching and learning during the school's lockdown. It was therefore obvious that online teaching could not work during the COVID-19 pandemic academic lockdown in Oyo State and other States of the Federation, except for few televisions and radio teaching which were also affected by poor electricity and poverty in many homes in the country.

Conclusion

COVID-19 Pandemic as observed in Oyo State and Nigeria in general created interruptions and confusions in the secondary education system which is yet to be addressed. The consequences occasioned by academic lockdown in secondary schools in the state as witnessed were, most students were not engaged in learning for a long period (one term), yet were promoted to the next class, this by no means will affect their fragile education foundation. The decay of academic infrastructures affected teaching and learning such that most teachers do not have online teaching skills and this affected the education system to a great extent, more so, as a result of the long period of academic lockdown some of the students' social behaviour were affected such that some students at secondary school level engaged in fraudulent ways of making money (interned/spiritual scam).

Amid these, is an opportunity to use the momentum created by the COVID-19 education disruption experience to re-position the secondary school education in Oyo State and Nigeria in general, not only to meet the present challenges, but embrace the opportunities in this unexpected education change to reposition secondary education in the state to withstand any shock that may arise in the nearest future. Governments, who are the major owners of these public secondary schools, should take the lead in redrafting the education policies to fully embrace online education platform. Finally, the Government of Oyo state and Nigeria in general should pay special attention to create equal opportunities, especially for disadvantaged students. If these are done, the public secondary schools will be composed to face any education shocks in the future.

Recommendations

In line with the consequences of COVID-19 pandemic on public secondary schools as observed the following recommendations were made;

i. Oyo State government in collaboration teachers, parents, old students, examination bodies, philanthropist and of course, the students' representatives should come together to find out workable and prompt responses to revert the ugly education infrastructure decay that affected teaching and learning during the lockdown.

ii. There should be capacity building and regular training of public schools' teachers in modern teaching technology to strengthen teachers teaching skills to enhance students' learning in an online teaching environment. This will involve developing existing practices and leadership involvement within staff development programmes. It should be noted that increased use and experimentation of ICT teaching method will support students' learning and would improve students and teacher's knowledge and as well support teaching and learning in the face of education disruption in the state.

iii. There should be reorientation of students on societal values and norms to enable them become functional members of the society.

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GACACA IDEOLOGY AND THE RESOLUTION OF THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE: IMPLICATION FOR NIGERIA

Nankap Elias LAMLE, PhD
Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies
University of Jos, Nigeria
lamleelias@gmail.com,

and

Damla Kevin MABAS
Centre for Conflict Management and Peace Studies
University of Jos, Jos, Nigeria
kevinmabas@yahoo.com,

ABSTRACT
Endogenous approaches to conflict resolution are methods that are rooted in the culture, tradition and custom of a community. These mechanisms of conflict resolution emerge from a complex set of knowledge and technologies that were developed around specific conditions affecting particular populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographic area. Africa is heavily endowed with endogenous approaches for resolving peculiar conflict situations. Often times, African communities neglect these endogenous approaches with proven capacities in conflict resolution, and adopt foreign methods that are not necessarily compatible with their customs, traditions, values and peculiarities. Consequently, the idea of any meaningful resolution of conflict always comes with limited success or only remains a wish. The paper therefore, examines Gacaca as an endogenous principle of conflict resolution, and its practice in the resolution of the Rwandan genocide on the one hand, and to present the lessons therein, as propositions for Nigeria, on policies, strategies and instruments for post-conflict resolution and capacity-building initiatives, on the other hand. With heavy reliance on published materials, findings reveal that understanding conflict and developing appropriate models for handling it will necessarily be rooted in, and must respect and draw from, the cultural knowledge of a people. Hence, this paper concludes that Nigeria, like Rwanda, should consider rediscovering the endogenous conflict resolution approaches and employ them for specific conflict situations, even if it will be in addition to the already existing modern/western approaches.

KEYWORDS: Rwandan Genocide, Gacaca System, Conflict Resolution, Implications, Nigeria.

Introduction

Contemporary scholars continue to fiercely debate Africa's capacity to manage its crises. This is in view of several constraints confronting the continent since independence. Such crisis include: civil wars, high crime rate, corruption, poverty, illiteracy among others. Some of the opinions on this debate are that post-conflict reconstruction in Africa has been preoccupied with the hardware components such as infrastructure development, rebuilding weakened institutions and facilitating socio-economic aspects of development, to the neglect of psychological (software) aspects of reconstruction. What is not in contestation is the idea that sustainable post-conflict reconstruction should happen at all levels including physical, economic, social and psychological. This is because violent conflict, especially of a virulent ethnic form like the genocide in Rwanda, destroys much more than buildings and roads. The psychological aspect of healing is imperative because those who have experienced the horrors of violent conflict are often scarred emotionally and left traumatized (Tony and Mutsi, 2008). This article will try to show that Africa is rich with endogenous conflict resolution mechanisms that are capable of addressing both the hardware and the software aspects of post-conflict reconstruction.

Gacaca is one example of post-conflict reconstruction mechanism developed in Rwanda to particularly rebuild broken-down relationships among people devastated by violent conflict. It has come to show how effective endogenous conflict resolution mechanisms are to a successful post conflict rebuilding process. The Rwandan genocide is one nasty example of what Robert Burns call "man greatest inhumanity to man". However, the manner in which the reconciliation process was carried out shows how endowed Africa is with endogenous mechanism for resolving peculiar conflicts. Endogenous approaches to conflict resolution are methods that are rooted in the culture and tradition of a community. These mechanisms of conflict resolution emerge from a complex set of knowledge and technologies that were developed around specific conditions affecting particular populations and communities indigenous to a particular geographic area. In looking at Africa, Zartman (2000) asserts that

conflict resolution mechanisms can only be labelled as endogenous if "they have been practiced for an extended period and have evolved within African societies rather than being the product of external importation." Endogenous conflict resolution methods are unique, informal, communal, restorative, spiritual, context-specific and diverse, apart from being integrated into life experiences. Furthermore, the use of endogenous methods of conflict resolution reflects the centrality of the community from which the fundamental needs of members are satisfied (Tony and Mutsi, 2008).

The relative successes recorded by *gacaca*, an endogenous conflict resolution mechanism adopted by Rwanda, should serve as a reference point for African countries that have, or are experiencing violent conflicts. Nigeria, for instance, has been battling so many forms of violent conflicts like terrorism, insurgency, banditry, and kidnapping with very little successes recorded in the resolution. This may probably be due to the neglect of endogenous conflict resolution mechanisms in complete preference for western forms. This work is therefore a call on the Nigerian state to toe the path of Rwanda, and adopt endogenous conflict resolution mechanisms. From a logical point of reasoning, since their conflicts are similar in so many respects, the pathway to their solutions should not be too far apart as well. In an attempt to drive home the foregoing, this paper begins by conceptualizing the key terminologies

Conceptualisation of Terms

Gacaca system

Gacaca, as practised in Rwanda, is a traditional mechanism of conflict resolution that attempts to address trauma and post-conflict reconstruction needs of that country's post-1994 genocide (Tony and Mutsi, 2008). *Gacaca*, derived from the Kinyarwanda word for grass, was a traditional method of conflict resolution in pre-colonial Rwanda (Costello, 2016 citing Clark, 2010). According to PRI, (2013), *gacaca* "Literally, "lawn"; is a traditional conflict resolution system for neighbourhood disputes. By extension, it is the name given to new peoples' courts charged since 2005 with ruling on cases arising from the genocide. Their competence extends to passing judgement on the perpetrators of genocide crimes and other crimes against humanity in categories 2 and 3. Reforms currently underway are investigating extending their remit to some perpetrators of category 1 crimes". Traditional *gacaca* hearings were community gatherings, held outdoors and led by the male heads of households, meant to address minor conflicts that arose within or between families, such as issues of "land use, livestock, damage to property, marriage or inheritance" (Costello, 2016).

After a series of deliberations, the government then instituted Gacaca (meaning grass) courts for restoring justice. It is a justice system, which evolved from a mix of traditional and modern approaches (Fred, 2018). Officially established in 2002, Gacaca brought together survivors, perpetrators and witnesses before locally-chosen judges to tell the truth about what happened during the genocide and to determine consequences for the perpetrators. In 10 years, over 1.9 million cases were tried in over 120,000 community-based courts (Fred, 2018).

The *Gacaca* system signifies a big step forward in providing victims with a remedy and combating impunity it is not unproblematic. Problem areas include insufficient education and replacement of judges, practical access to justice for all victims, security for victims and witnesses, and reparation for moral damages (Andrea, 2005).

Conflict

Conflict has been seen to refer to the disagreement, struggle or fight that occurs between two or more interdependent parties over unsatisfied needs (Best, 2012). Conflict is the friction

arising from actual or perceived differences or incompatibilities. It is a disagreement, a clash of interest and a struggle over resources. Conflict is neutral and could be dangerous (dysfunctional) or it could also present opportunities (functional), the outcome depends on our attitudes or responses.

Conflict is a natural, neutral and inevitable aspect of human experience. As people live together in close proximity, conflict is bound to occur. Just as the tooth, from time to time, and unwillingly, is bound to bite the tongue, because the two live and interact with each other in the same vicinity-the mouth. Conflict "is a critical mechanism by which goals and aspirations of individuals and groups are articulated; it is a channel for the definition of creative solutions to human problems and a means to the development of a collective identity" (Lamle, 2015).

Conflict resolution

The idea of whether or not conflict can be resolved has been a continuing debate to this very moment. When we look at conflict and its attributes of inevitability and dynamism, it is difficult to think conflict can be resolved. Conflict resolution means a process of ending dispute or disagreement. It mainly aims at reconciling opposing arguments in a manner that promotes and protects the human rights of all parties concerned.

Generally, conflict resolution adopts the following seven methods:

The term, "conflict resolution", is also known as dispute resolution or alternative dispute resolution. Other methods adopted for conflict resolution include negotiation, mediation, and diplomacy. Sometimes arbitration, litigation, and formal complaint processes such as ombudsman, are also referred to as conflict resolution.

Rwandan genocide

The Rwandan genocide is one of the biggest wartime massacres which occurred in the 20th Century. In April 1994, Rwanda was faced with horrific, massive and brutal violence, where, over a period of three months, an estimated 800, 000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed, and two million fled the country (Tony and Mutsi, 2008). The 1994 Rwanda genocide was the

result of an economic crisis, civil war, population growth and a struggle for state power. The president of Rwanda at the time, Juvenal Habyarimana, had decided, after long opposition, to comply with the *Arusha* Accords and put an end to the crisis and civil war. The civil war began when the armed wing of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded from Uganda in the autumn of 1990.

The RPF was a movement mainly made up of the Tutsi refugee diaspora in Uganda with which Habyarimana´s party, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND), had been forced to compromise. On 6 April, he flew back from negotiations in the Tanzanian capital, Dar es Salaam. His aeroplane was shot down as it came into land, and the president and a number of other top officials were killed. After the announcement of the death of the president, all hell broke loose in Rwanda. A group of senior military officials quickly seized power. Almost immediately, organised massacres of Tutsi and moderate Hutu began, initiated by the army and the Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi youth militia. (Maria van Haperen, 2012).

Brief Pre-Colonial and Colonial History of Rwanda

The purpose of this brief section is to present a historical background to developments in Rwanda that culminated in the genocide that began in April 1994. Rwanda is situated in the Central African Great Lakes Region, close to the equator. It is not a large country; it is around 10% smaller than Belgium. Rwanda is a lush country, covered in numerous hills. It is quite fertile by African standards, and there are many swamps, lakes and rivers. Centuries ago, three peoples settled in the area that comprises present-day Rwanda and Burundi: the baTwa in the 6th century, followed by the baHutu in the 7th century, and the baTutsi in the course of the 8th and 9th centuries. The majority of the population made a living out of agriculture: the Hutu were predominantly crop cultivators and came from the North West. The Tutsi were cattle farmers and came from the regions to the south and east of Lake Victoria (Tanzania). The Twa were a pygmy people who made a living from hunting, gathering and pottery-making. The Twa lived in the forest-covered mountains, isolated from the Hutu and Tutsi. Many Tutsi

travelled through the area with large herds. As agriculturalists, the Hutu lived in permanent settlements. (Maria van Haperen, 2012)

The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi people of Rwanda did not arise in a vacuum, but was rather the result of centuries of complicated historical processes in the region. Before the advent of colonialism, relative peace existed in Rwanda between the three primary ethnic and social groups: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. The Twa people, likely the original inhabitants of Rwanda, are a pygmoid race of hunter-gathers who probably settled in the region in approximately 1000 AD and now make up about one percent of the total Rwandan population (Clark, 2010). He also opined that the Bantu-speaking Hutu people soon followed the Twa, and, again, in the sixteenth century by the Tutsi, herdsmen who most likely originated in southern Ethiopia.

The Tutsi conquered much of Rwanda, establishing territories and placing Tutsi kings known as *mwami* at the head of Rwandan life. Thus, though these ethnic groups originated from different locations in Africa, over time the distinctions between Hutu and Tutsi came to have more to do with social class than with ethnicity, per se. The meanings of these terms began to shift during the eighteenth century, with "Tutsi" coming to describe "a person rich in cattle…the term that referred to the elite group as a whole" and "Hutu" meaning a "subordinate…the term that came to refer to the mass of ordinary people" (David, 2001).

Despite different origins, Hutu and Tutsi people shared a common language and religion and therefore these categories were highly permeable; Hutu could become Tutsi upon acquiring a certain level of wealth or prestige and intermarriage between the two groups was common (and remained so, even upon the eve of the genocide). Although these socio-economic categories were likely a source of division and resentment in Rwanda, "there is no record of violence between Hutu and Tutsi in the pre-colonial era" (David et. al, 2017).

The nature of this social relationship changed drastically upon the arrival of German colonists in Rwanda in 1894. The Germans, noticing the existing political structures with Tutsi kings at the head, sought to form alliances with the *mwami* and other Tutsi administrators.

Appealing to social Darwinism and the biblical story of Ham (known as the "Hamitic Hypothesis"), the colonial administrators exploited the existing understanding of Tutsi difference to justify their political alliance with the ruling class of Rwanda. Therefore, while socioeconomic and indeed ethnic distinctions existed between the two groups prior to colonialism, "the idea that the Tutsi were superior because they came from elsewhere, and that the difference between them and the local population was a *racial* difference, was an idea of colonial origin" (Mamdani, 2001).

When the Belgians gained control of Rwanda in 1919, they continued to favour the Tutsi leaders and expanded the existing divide between the socio-ethnic groups, while the reinforcement and expansion of "race policy" became a political priority. Beginning in 1925, the annual colonial administrative reports included extensive chapters defining the racial difference between Hutu and Tutsi (David, 2001). The Belgian colonial government "turned Hamitic racial superiority from an ideology to an institutional fact by making it the basis of changes in political, social, and cultural relations" (Mamdani, 2001). Under the Belgian rule, education, taxation, and the Church were reorganized around this concept of difference. Hutu people were forced into a nationwide system of forced labour and the government extracted taxes and crops from the Hutu population at extremely high rates (Mamdani, 2001). In 1933, the colonists solidified the distinction between Hutu and Tutsi by conducting an official census and requiring every Rwandan to carry an ethnic identity card indicating whether he or she was Twa, Hutu, or Tutsi. These identity cards remained a requirement for all Rwandans until they were abolished following the genocide (Costello, 2016).

The *Gacaca* Court System in Rwandese Culture and its Practice in the Resolution of Rwandan Genocide

As Rwanda emerged from the genocide, its new government had to face the task of rebuilding a nation mired in political upheaval, economic stagnation, crippling poverty, and some of the most pronounced physical and mental health epidemics in the world. Prior to the genocide, the population of Rwanda was approximately seven million; by August 1994 as many as a million people had been murdered and nearly two million additional civilians,

government officials, and soldiers had fled to neighbouring countries. (Prunier, 1997). The destruction of the nation's administration and infrastructure was "virtually unparalleled in human history" (Wells 2005). Though the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) had been established by November 1994, and a Special Chamber of the Rwandan Supreme Court was established in 1996, it quickly became apparent that these two legal institutions alone would not be able to provide the type of justice required for the nation to move forward. What was needed was a holistic approach to justice, "aiming to rebuild individual and communal lives and to contribute to reconstruction in both the short and the long term" (Clark 2010).

In effect, Rwanda needed a transitional justice system. Transitional justice programmes typically combine a variety of mechanisms such as war crimes tribunals, truth and reconciliation commissions, institutional reforms, and reparations programmes in an attempt to reconstruct societies that have been affected by political violence, civil war, or widespread human rights abuses. Due to the specific needs of such societies, transitional justice programmes are intended to address both the practical needs that any nation faces following armed conflict (that is prosecuting criminals and rebuilding infrastructure) as well as the more subtle socio-cultural goals of promoting truth, healing, and restorative justice. In such circumstances, where killing was widespread, highly physical, and extremely personal, the trauma of survivors and perpetrators alike goes beyond the practical problems caused by other kinds of warfare" (Costello, 2016).

Moreover, because Hutu and Tutsi people were so integrated within society and many people were too poor to leave their communities following the genocide, survivors were forced to continue living alongside their rapists and the people who had killed their family members. In addition to trying criminals, the transitional justice system established after the genocide therefore, needed to address broader, more profound objectives specifically designed to heal the society and help people live together again. Thus, the decision to turn to *Gacaca* as an institution of transitional justice was shaped by Rwanda's need to address a multitude of

pragmatic and profound objectives, ranging from reducing prison overcrowding to providing restorative justice to survivors" (Costello, 2016).

Reviving the *Gacaca* Courts

Reincarnated after the 1994 genocide, the *Gacaca* courts in present-day Rwanda differ in breadth and depth. As a post-conflict mechanism for justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, the *Gacaca* system complements the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and the national Rwandan court system, trying thousands of people who participated in the 1994 genocide. Like in pre-colonial Rwanda, "community judges" known as the *inyangamugayo* chair the Gacaca trials in contemporary Rwanda. These are elected household heads from the community who are essentially women and men of integrity. The judges receive no salaries but are entitled to free schooling and medical fees for their families. Approximately, 11 000 *Gacaca* courts are operating in Rwanda and each court has a panel of 19 judges (PRI, 2005: Uvin, 2005). For a *Gacaca* session to be regarded as valid there is a required presence of at least 15 judges and 100 witnesses (Tony and Mutsi, 2008).

Gacaca, derived from the *Kinyarwanda* word for grass, was a traditional method of conflict resolution in pre-colonial Rwanda. Traditional *Gacaca* hearings were community gatherings, held outdoors and led by the male heads of households, meant to address minor conflicts that arose within or between families, such as issues of "land use, livestock, damage to property, marriage or inheritance" (Clark 2010). Community members brought grievances to respected elders, who allowed the defendants to respond to the charges brought against them and pass judgment based on the evidence heard. *Gacaca* hearings usually followed a well-established pattern wherein defendants would "confess their crimes, express remorse and ask for forgiveness from those whom they had injured.

By the twentieth century, *Gacaca* was considered "the main method of ensuring social order in communities across Rwanda" (Clark 2010). Variations of *Gacaca* continued to exist under and after colonialism, shifting several times in form and function, but the system was never enshrined into written law. As early as 1995, the Rwandan government and the UN had

begun discussing restructuring *Gacaca* as a potential solution for addressing the complex needs of post-genocide Rwandan society. The Rwandan President established a commission in 1998 "to investigate the possibility of restructuring *Gacaca* into a system appropriate for handling genocide cases" (Costello, 2016), and after years of "protracted and often heated" debates and an extensive survey of the perceptions of the Rwandan population, the government determined that a restructured, institutionalized judicial system based on the customary practice of *Gacaca* was the solution (Costello, 2016). Organic Law 40/2000, referred to hereafter as the *Gacaca* Law, established the new *Gachaca* system in 2001. After a series of "trial runs," assessments, and modifications, *Gacaca* was extended to a large portion of Rwandan society by 2002, and instituted nationwide by 2005 (Costello, 2016)

In its modern form, *Gacaca* is a system of community-based justice which tries accused perpetrators of genocide within their own neighbourhoods, based on their confessions and the testimony of community members. *Gacaca* trials are judged by *inyangamugayo,* local leaders elected by citizens for their "standing in the community, their dedication to the well-being of their neighbours and for their love of truth and justice" (David, 2001). Under the *Gacaca* system, many suspected génocidaires were provisionally released from prison and sent to educational camps, known as *ingando*, devoted to the rehabilitation of recently released prisoners through sensitivity training, community service, and civic education. *Ingando* participants were taught the logistics of the *Gacaca* process as well as how to "return to their communities and spread the government's message that there was no place in Rwandan society for the ethnic divisions of the past" (Clark 2010). After *ingando*, the prisoners were allowed to return to their communities to await their trials at *Gacaca.* In *Gacaca*, *Inyangamugayo* determine punishments according to a set of regulations based on confession and plea-bargaining, in which suspects can reduce their sentence by at least half by confessing their crimes. Most *Gacaca* sentences combine reduced prison terms with community service in the form of post-genocide reconstruction efforts, ranging from building roads to rebuilding houses for genocide survivors. Because of these lightened sentences and the informal nature

of *Gacaca* trials, the government is able to process cases much more rapidly than if all suspected génocidaires were sentenced through the ICTR or the Rwandan national courts.

Objectives of Gacaca

When announcing the official launch of the *Gacaca* system in 2002, Rwandan President Paul Kagame stated that the five core objectives of *Gacaca* were to:

-Reveal the truth about what happened;

-Accelerate genocide trials;

-Eradicate the culture of impunity;

- Reconcile Rwandans and reinforce their unity; and

- Prove that Rwanda has the capacity to resolve its own problems. (Haskell 2011). The 2001 Gacaca Law itself promotes similar objectives, aiming to eradicate for ever the culture of impunity in order to achieve justice and reconciliation in Rwanda, and thus to adopt provisions enabling rapid prosecutions and trials of perpetrators and accomplices of genocide, not only with the aim of providing punishment, but also reconstituting the Rwandan Society that had been destroyed by bad leaders who incited the population into exterminating part of the Society. (Republic of Rwanda 2004) Thus, from the outset Gacaca was conscience of a wide variety of objectives.

Challenges of Gacaca

Traditional approaches to conflict resolution have not always been effective in addressing massive cases of trauma. According to Human Rights Watch (2006), Gacaca courts have dealt with more than 761, 000 accused persons. In addition, *Gacaca* courts are confronted with serious crimes of mass murder and other atrocities, committed during the genocide, issues which are beyond the scope of pre-colonial *Gacaca*. The number and nature of cases are quite overwhelming for the *Gacac*a which were traditionally meant to resolve minor, uncomplicated, local level civil disputes, and were aimed not at establishing criminal guilt, but at community reconciliation. Thus, while often touted as endogenous in orientation,

contemporary *Gacaca* proceedings have become markedly different from their traditional form (Tony and Mutisi, 2008).

According to Tiemessen (2004), the present day *Gacaca* has been reinvented, and is formally institutionalized and linked to state structures. Although *Gacaca* was conceived as a traditional institution for communal justice, it has been modernized, formalized and extended, through the state, to operate in the realms of retributive or criminal justice. Although it has maintained the traditional outdoor setting, essentially, the *Gacaca* system operates like a court and still employs the prosecution-based approach to justice. According to Article 39 of the Organic Law, No. 16/2004, *Gacaca* courts have broad competences, "similar to those of ordinary courts, exercising attributes of investigation, prosecution and judgment." Given that the *Gacaca* courtroom is a regulated forum, where discussion is strictly restricted to the genocide related case at hand, not other issues, it is difficult to wholly conceive it as a restorative justice mechanism.

Mann (2005) documents how *Gacaca* courts have been used to intimidate the current Rwandan regime's critics and opponents. Thus, the notion that African jurisprudence systems are naturally restorative rather than retributive is challenged, given the somewhat retributive aspects of the *Gacaca*. Such challenges demonstrate that Rwanda still confronts immense difficulty in dealing with its past. Although *Gacaca* valorizes the concept of "truth-telling," the Gacaca system is confronted by a well-known challenge called "the problem of truth." Truth telling does not always result in peace. There are repercussions to peace, as manifested in the aftermath of most "truth telling ventures." More often, the very act of truth telling involves recounting verbal memories of violence and trauma, a process that may "stimulate" identity-based hatred in the aftermath and subsequently revive identity problems. This is why Minow (1998) describes "truth telling" strategies as falling somewhere in between "vengeance and forgiveness."

In addition, *Gacaca* faces structural challenges. The nature of the crimes presented before the *Gachaca* courts is widely at variance with the statutes of the *Gacaca* courts.

Previously, *Gacaca* courts dealt with miniature disputes between community members. In grave crimes such as massacres, the *Gacaca* courts are largely under-equipped. Des Forges (1999) argues that crimes of genocide necessitate more than community healing mechanisms. In addition, the *Gacaca* courts have been overwhelmed with the genocide caseload. It is difficult to envisage the efficacy of the *Gacaca* process given that a large part of the population participated in the genocide. The burgeoning caseload is compounded by the fact that the elected *Gacaca* judges have minimal legal training and limited experience in handling issues as grave as genocide. Observation by Amnesty International led to the conclusion that *Gacaca* judges received inadequate training that does not meet the demands of the cases before them. Against this background, it is crucial to acknowledge that the cultural aspects of *Gacaca* alone will not meet the practical needs for justice.

Furthermore, the *Gacaca* system of conflict resolution faces challenges because of gender issues. Traditional African indigenous structures were largely exclusionary on the basis of gender. The majority of indigenous women were not included in the primary structures of decision-making. Currently, sexual offences are not provided for under *Gacaca* law. It is difficult to have witnesses in sexual offences and crimes committed during the genocide. Such a realization leads Conley and O'Barr (2005) to assert that culture is gendered.

In addition, the *Gacaca* judges have received no training on gender-based violence and its relation to justice. The androcentric nature of the *Gacaca* system is one reason why crimes of rape during the genocide are underrepresented in the Rwandese post-genocide healing process. Most women are reluctant to come forward to a male dominated trial system. There has not been adequate preparation for the communities to address issues of rape during conflict. Most often, women who are victims of rape during the genocide are afraid to testify in the *Gachaca* courts because it will be a woman's word against the accused.

Implications for Present-Day Nigeria

1. There is a clarion call to revive and reinvigorate the traditional mechanisms for resolution of conflicts to make them robust and effective. This will contribute to both communal and national reconciliation and social harmony.

2. There is need to check further westernization of traditional values of Africa and Nigeria in particular. We must give high esteem to what work within our context as Africans and Nigerians. For instance, Nigeria should develop and modernize proven mechanisms like the age-grade system that worked very well in the eastern parts of the country.

3. After the Genocide Rwanda, the new government thought of ways to rebuild the country. That involved dealing with the trauma millions of its citizens experienced; rebuilding their psyche and making all see themselves as first and last Rwandans. Like Rwanda, Nigeria must find a way rebuilding confidence in its citizens.

4. The successes the *Gacaca* system recorded in Rwanda was made possible only because the people (Rwandans) believed and owned the entire process. Regardless of their ethnic divisions (Twa, Hutu or Tutsi), they all embraced the process from the beginning to the end. This attribute should be emulated by Nigerians across the ethnic groups.

5. The Rwandan *Gacaca* provided a framework of disengagement that is based on justice and fairness, which includes transitional justice mechanisms, and 'truth and reconciliation'. This is framework should be replicated in Nigeria.

Conclusion

The *Gacaca* has been a mixed success, although it is definitely cited as a community owned process of transitional justice. Most Rwandans owned the *Gacaca* process from the beginning as they did participate in the election of the judges. One key achievement of the *Gacaca* is that it provided space for the truth to be told about the genocide. *Gacaca* processes are paving the way for healing, reconciliation and forgiveness. Despite its positive score on transitional justice, the *Gacaca* has not been spared of criticism. Although this case study is often used as

an example of a successful restorative justice, the *Gacaca*, as a system of conflict resolution and healing, has not significantly altered the victim perpetrator narratives. In lieu of the above the following suggestion are hereby imperative. One prerequisite of the success of *Gacaca* is the improvement in material well-being for all groups.

There should be a comprehensive peace building strategy which should be supported by the government and non-governmental organizations, engaging both Hutu and Tutsi in cooperative micro-credit schemes and other economic empowerment programmes. It is important for the Rwandan government to adopt measures to protect the personal safety of witnesses and victims, without adulterating the process of transitional justice. It is equally important for the *Gacaca* courts to ensure that the accused have the right to a fair trial. The Rwandan Government should give the *Gacaca* mandate to handle trials of atrocities committed by RPF forces prior to the genocide in 1994. For monitoring purposes, civil society organizations should be given access to *Gacaca* proceedings. This will ensure that the *Gacaca* becomes an effective and transparent system, which promotes justice, healing, and reconciliation. *Gacaca* judges should continually receive training to enhance their capacity in handling cases. For Nigeria and other sister African counties, the successes recorded by Rwanda with gacaca should serve as an eye opener to the fact that, endogenous mechanisms are more effective in resolving African peculiar conflicts. Nigeria in particular, can take advantage of already existing and effective traditional conflict resolution mechanisms like the age-grade system and explore its workability in contemporary times.

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MECHANISMS OF ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF CASES OF CORRUPTION IN NIGERIA

Adeola ADAMS
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja.
adadams@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT
Corruption is a perennial socio-economic cum political problem that undermines growth and development worldwide. In Nigeria, both private and public institutions have recorded horrendous corruption cases to the extent of seriously undermining the unity, peace and the development of the country. Various attempts to address the menace through the anti-corruption institutions, including the Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC), Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and the conventional court system have always triggered a backlash. Most of these efforts have been well documented in the literature and the reports of government and non-governmental bodies. However, there exists a scanty body of knowledge on the components of Alternative Dispute Resolution in the management of such corruption cases. This paper is an appraisal of ADR mechanisms in the management of corruption cases in Nigeria. First, the paper dissects the contour of corruption and the extent to which it has adversely affected growth of the Nigerian economy. Second, the paper examines the factors that make prosecution grossly inadequate for dealing with corruption cases in Nigeria. It went further to identify and discuss the various alternative dispute resolution processes including plea bargaining, whistle blower policy and out-of-court-settlement that have been initiated and applied to corruption cases in Nigeria. Finally, the paper examines the prospects and challenges of application of ADR to the management of corruption cases in Nigeria.

Keywords: Corruption, Alternative Dispute Resolution, Whistleblowing, Plea Bargain

Introduction

Nigeria grapples with chronic multi-dimensional problems that impede its national growth and socio-economic development. These problems range from inept leadership to highly disillusioned citizenship, poor management of national resources to inadequate funds to service national budgets, external debts burden to inconsistent governments' policies and of course lopsided federal practice to massive corruption in public places. Corruption is one of the key challenges that have held the nation down for decades. The image of the country has been smeared by the involvement of public officials in the practice of grand corruption to the extent that a former British Prime Minister, David Cameroon once described Nigeria as one of the fantastically corrupt nations.

This is also evident in the Transparency International's rating that once placed Nigeria as one of the top three most corrupt countries in the world (Ribadu, 2003). Several scholarly works (Maduagwu, 1996; Gboyega, 1996; Agaba, 2017) and other agencies' reports have further attested to the fact that Nigeria's growth and development are constantly being hampered by unbridled sleaze in the conduct of its public officials. For instance, as far back as 1987, the *Political Bureau* held that corruption remains 'the bedrock of Nigeria's political failure'. Also, the 2018 Report of Transparency International ranked Nigeria as the 11th most corrupt nation out of the 52 countries from sub-Sahara Africa. In the same vein, Maduagwu (1996: 13) had about two decades earlier submitted that:

> Nigeria presents a typical case of a failed democracy in Africa due largely to corruption. The case of Nigeria is especially tragic because, given its enormous natural and human resources, it had, and still has, the potential of being a shining star for the rest of Africa.

This is an indication that Nigeria's efforts at stamping out corruption or reducing the menace to the bearing minimum are not yielding positive results. The scale of corruption in the country has reached the peak, hence further studies showed that the sum of between $300 and $400 billion was lost to corruption in Nigeria since independence (Martini, 2014). More so, the efforts to reduce the socio-economic menace at global level appear unyielding. Studies

by the World Bank place the global statistics loss to corruption at $1 trillion annually out of which accounted for over 12% of the combined GDP of countries like Nigeria, Kenya and Venezuala combined (Nwabuzor, 2005). The 2021 Annual Report of Transparency International affirmed that over 131 countries had not made progress in their corruption rating despite their multiple commitments (TI, 2021).

In Nigeria, the complex and monstrous nature of corruption has attracted so much concerns that President Muhammadu Buhari had insisted in one of his campaigns that 'if we do not kill corruption, corruption will kill Nigeria' (Onoyume, (2015). Buhari vowed to end corruption in Nigeria (Vanguard, 2015: 1) Hence, since he assumed political power in 2015, the anti-corruption crusade has become the focal point of his administration. Addressing the gargantuan problems posed by corruption remains complex. Of course, the instrument of law and the establishment of anti-corruption agencies have been leading in the fight against corruption in Nigeria. To this extent, two major anticorruption agencies, namely Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) and Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) had earlier been established by the previous government for the purpose of investigating and prosecuting corruption cases in Nigeria.

The most important and popular components of these processes include Plea Bargaining, Whistle-blowing and Out-of-court settlement, which have been described as Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms in this paper. This paper is an attempt to assess the prospects and challenges of these processes in managing corruption cases in Nigeria. The first section of the paper situates the key terms within a conceptual framework. The second section dwells on discussing the modalities for the application of Plea Bargaining, Whistle-blowing and out of court settlement as ADR processes to corruption cases management. The third aspect of the paper focuses on challenges and prospects of ADR in the management of corruption cases while the final section concludes the paper.

Alternative Dispute Resolution and Corruption: A Conceptual Framework

It is difficult to define the concept of Alternative Dispute Resolution without encountering some etymological challenges. This is because of the ambiguities often associated with the term and its bold applications to various areas of study. Hence, it is not necessary to pursue a definitional rigmarole of what ADR actually means. However, it is important to simply emphasize that ADR is used to describe the different mechanisms or options of conflict resolution procedures other than litigation. In other words, any process that does not follow the conventional court proceedings can be referred to as Alternative Dispute Resolution. In this case, Ware (2008) described Alternative Dispute Resolution as encompassing all legally-permitted processes of dispute resolution other than litigation. It can also be described as an umbrella term that refers generally to alternatives to the court adjudication of disputes such as negotiation, mediation, arbitration, mini-trial and summary trial (Nolan-Haley, 2008).

Other processes of ADR include facilitation, conciliation, executive tribunal and med-arb (or arb-med). In the context of this paper, ADR mechanisms represent those strategies that have been officially adopted to deal with corruption cases apart from litigation. The ones identified in this paper include Plea bargaining, Whistle-blowing policy and Out of Court Settlement. In other parlances, ADR is understood as African Dispute Resolution, Appropriate Dispute Resolution or Additional Dispute Resolution. The whole essence of ADR procedure is to create or explore more flexible, rational, proactive and friendly means of handling cases in a consensual, sustainable and satisfactory way to parties in dispute. Although ADR is recognized as alternative methods to litigation, it must operate with the existing legal framework. In other words, the provision for ADR is not in conflict but rather supports or compliments the law of the land. For instance, ADR cannot be applied to severe criminal cases, which would amount to the subversion of the law and public good (Nagle-Lechman, 2008). In the context of this paper, the most commonly used ADR process in corruption cases is negotiation. This usually takes the form of plea gaining, whistle-blowing and out-of-court

settlement depending on the most useful to the parties. The latter part of this paper will be devoted the aforementioned ADR strategies.

Corruption is a global social menace that could be viewed from different prisms. The definitions are as problematic as the term itself. This is because the term corruption covers a wide range of issues. One of the most generic definitions was offered by Sorkaa (cited in Barnes and Tsuwa 2011:222), which says that 'corruption exists when an individual illegally or illicitly put personal interest above those of people and the ideals he or she pledges to serve'. It also suffices to state that different types of corruption have been identified and discussed in the literature. For Alatas (1990), there are seven types of corruption namely autogenic, defensive, extortive, invective, nepotistic, supportive and transactive. In a more elaborate form, Odekunle (1993:7) was more specific on the various dimensions of corruption:

> …any of the following is corruption: asking or taking of fee, gift, or favour in exchange for the performance of such a legitimate task; the pervasion of obstruction of such a task or the performance of an illegitimate task; hoarding, collusion, price fixing, smuggling and intimidation, abuse or misuse of office powers, and privileges…unfair and unjust acquisition of wealth, forgery of any kind, diversion of public funds etc.

In view of Odekunle's limitless dimensions of corruption, it is important to scope this paper such that it will be possible to track the key variables. Barnes & Tsuwa (2011) classified corruption into political corruption, economic corruption, bureaucratic corruption, judicial corruption and moral corruption. Since this paper will largely focus on political corruption, Adeyemi's (1988:19) definition is instructive:

> …an offence which aims mainly at the conduct public officials who take advantage of their positions within public administrations for the purpose of private gain.
> The above definition largely aligns with Gboyega (1996:5), who defined corruption

as 'the giving or taking of bribe, illegal acquisition of wealth using the resources of the public office, including the exercise of discretion'. In other words, political corruption involves the abuse of public office through illegal acquisition for personal gain. In Nigeria, the humongous amount of looted funds traced to politicians and civil servants are unimaginable. This has been the routine since the nation became an independent state. Fadaka (2002:11) raised this alarm

when he lamented that 'the incidence of corruption as we all know it, is ubiquitous in Nigeria and has increased exponentially since independence'.

Nigeria's Complex Corruption Profile: A National Disaster

There is a general view that corruption represents the major factor that perpetually retards Nigeria's growth and development. In the Anti-corruption Act of 2000, corruption was apparently described as antithetical to development and progress (Barnes and Tsuwa, 2011). This is because, the menace has permeated the various sectors of the Nigerian economy to the extent that it is now considered as a new culture of our people. According to Yelwa and Maijama'a (2014: 230):

> ….corruption is a phenomenon that has become a matter of great concern to Nigerians, as it has pervaded all levels of government and civil society. Thus, executive and legislative arms of government, the judiciary, religious institutions, the school system, law enforcement agencies, in fact, no part of the Nigerian society is spared…

It is necessary to point out that corruption in Nigeria takes different dimensions. The complexity of the Nigeria's corruption index does not simply lie on the humongous or massive public funds being siphoned by key official or actors of government but the sophisticated networks of those involved in the illicit trade. For instance, it is difficult to prosecute perpetrators of political corruption in Nigeria because it involves men and women of influence and affluence. Also, mounting of anti-corruption campaigns and prosecuting trails have become a major distraction to government in power as it is almost impossible to find a public official who is not culpable in one way or the other. Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms have, thus, assumed global relevance with respect to its ability to make rational compromises in order to facilitate amicable and speedy settlement of disputes. It is not surprising that the whole world is moving from adversarial to non-adversarial modes of conflict settlement. This is because the dare consequences of litigation proceedings no longer predispose disputants to court trial. Apart from its prolonged processes, court system is costly, brings about unsatisfactory outcomes and ruins existing relationships such that partners do not get justice from courts. By implication, the prosecuting powers of the state diminish by the

day as it no longer has the capacity to bring powerful and criminally minded people to justice. ADR has the tendency that could mitigate some of these shortcomings.

ADR Mechanisms in the Management of Corruption in Nigeria. The dynamics and flexible nature of alternative dispute resolution clearly demonstrate that its versatile process can be applied to various complex modes and situations, in which the outcome will be mutually beneficial to the concerned parties. Within the anti-corruption crusades, several variants of ADR are being utilized to address difficult cases that the courts may not be able to achieve effective or optimum results. Some of such mechanisms including plea bargaining, whistle blowing policy and Out of Court Settlement represent a component of the ADR process and will be discussed in details under this section of the paper.

Plea Bargaining: Scholars, especially those of western extraction have written extensively on the concept and origin of plea bargain. This is a process through which a defendant pleads guilty to a criminal charge with the expectation of being granted a pardon or offer of a lighter sentence by the State. It is touted as a tool for decongesting the prisons as well as save the State, enormous resources and time involved in putting an accused through a full trial. According to Langbein (1978, cited in Tarhule, 2014), plea bargaining occurs when the prosecutor induces a criminal offender to confess guilt and to waive his right to trial in exchange for a more lenient criminal sanction that would be imposed if the offender were adjudged guilty following a full trial. For Garner (1990) it is a negotiated agreement between the prosecuting lawyer and a criminal defendant whereby the defendant pleads guilty to a lesser offence or to one of multiple charges in exchange for some concession by the prosecutor, usually a more lenient sentence or a dismissal of the other charges. Garner went further to state that the outcome of the process is often referred to as a 'plea agreement' or 'negotiated plea'. With regards to the origin of plea bargain, Alubo (2012) opined that plea bargain is a product of common law, from the Medieval English Common Law court of guilty pardons to accomplices in felony cases. He traced the first case of plea bargain to the 1960s when one James Earl pleaded guilty to the assassination of Martin Luther King Junior and traded an

outright execution with a 99 years jail term. Logically, plea bargaining seemed to be preferred in the sense that the process saved the state from time wasting, enormous resources required to pursue criminal charges through a full-scale trial. According to Agaba (2017), Plea Bargain is consequent on the following:

a) There must be a prosecutor and an accused person

b) An existing negotiation between the prosecutor and the accused person

c) The negotiation must have ended in an agreement with concessions and compromises between the prosecutor and the accused

d) There must be a plea of guilt to be charged or a lesser charge

e) The court must be involved in the whole process

f) An acceptance of the plea by the court

The practice of plea bargaining in Nigeria is relatively a recent development. In other words, it was not known to the nation's legal or political parlance until 2004 when the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) was established. Specifically, Section 14(2) of the EFCC Act provides that the "Commission may compound any offence punishable under the Act by accepting such sums of money as it deems fit exceeding the maximum amount to which that person would have been liable if he had been convicted of that offence" (Tarhule, 2014:380). This provision empowers the EFCC to compound any offence for which a person is charged under the Act if the offender agrees to give up money stolen by him. Alubo (2012) however, clarified that the provision under reference is restrictive in nature, not applying to all criminal trials in Nigeria. Accordingly, negotiations are expressly limited to offences punishable under the Act. Also, Section 75 of the Lagos State Administration of Criminal Justice Law states that:

> Notwithstanding anything in this law or other law, the Attorney General of the State shall have power to consider and accept a plea bargain from a person charged with any offence where the Attorney General is of the view that the acceptance of such plea bargain is of public interest, the interest of justice and the need to prevent the abuse of legal process.

There are specific cases of high-profile corruption cases in Nigeria, where the instrumentality of plea bargaining was applied to enhance the outcome of the process. For instance, a former Inspector General of Police, Tafa Balogun was accused of embezzling a whopping sum of ten billion Naira (N10b), while he served as the Inspector General of Police in 2005 under the administration of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo. He was charged to court but later opted for a plea bargain arrangement, where he returned most of the funds for a six-month jail term in lieu of a maximum jail sentence of 5 years. Secondly, the former Managing Director of Eco Bank, Cecilia Ibru was charged before a Lagos Federal High Court in August 2009 on a 25-count charge that bothered on offering loans up o the tune of N20b to cronies beyond her credit limit. She entered into a plea bargain with the prosecution and pleaded guilty to a lesser three count charge. She was convicted and sentenced to six months on each of the three counts on October, 2010. As part of the plea bargain deal, she also forfeited over 100 choice properties valued at N191.4b across the globe.

Whistle-blowing: This is a deliberate policy of government used to describe an act to account, report as well as expose stealing, illicit transfer of funds, mismanagement of public funds or other wrongdoings that pertain to public corruption. According to Near and Miceli (1985: 4), whistle-blowing can be seen as:

> "... the disclosure by organization members (former or current) of illegal, immoral, or illegitimate practices under the control of their employers, to persons or organizations that may be able to effect action.

Section 368 of the Criminal Code Act of Nigeria addresses the issues surrounding the Concealment of Matters Affecting Liberty and provides that 'any person who refuses or neglects to give such information or to show such person or place to any such person to who is required to give such information or show the person or place… is guilty of felony and is liable for imprisonment for three years. Hence, the Whistle Blowing Policy represents on the one hand criminalizing the non-disclosure of information relating to the corrupt crimes and on the other hand serving as a critical support system and encouragement to individuals who willingly disclose useful information on how to discover and recover looted public funds.

Whistleblowing can be categorized into two; internal and external whistleblowing. While internal whistleblowing involves disclosure of act of corruption to a person within an organisation, external whistleblowing is carried out to report such an act to external parties, who can take immediate action to address the problem (Puni et. al, 2016).

However, it is important to note that there is a linkage between the internal and the external whistleblowing in the sense that the former is usually regarded as the precursor of the latter. When the internal whistleblowing fails to rectify the problem, there is usually a resort to the external option. Historically, the whistleblowing policy is traceable to the British and American Police Officers, who traditionally blow their whistles in order to alert members of the public about the criminal elements in the society. In Nigeria, the whistleblowing is an official policy of the government instituted around the anticorruption programme to encourage people to voluntarily disclose information about fraud, looted public funds, financial impropriety or any other forms of corruption to the government. The Bill was initially introduced by the National Assembly but was later taken up by the Ministry of Finance under the erstwhile Minster of Finance, Mrs. Kemi Adeosun. The policy was given an expedited executive approval by the Federal Executive Council in December 2016. It provides that a person may make a protected disclosure whether or not the person is able to identify a particular person to whom the disclosure relates. The policy does not provide any form of immunity from prosecution to the whistleblower if he or she partakes in the proceeds of the crime.

The question may be asked; how does the Whistleblowing Policy relate to ADR? ADR as a dispute resolution and management strategy has different components, which include negotiation, mediation arbitration, facilitation, early neutral finder, judicial appraisal among several mechanisms that can be utilized as considered appropriate to address any form of dispute. In this context, whistleblowing policy is consistent with the negotiation strategy, where the body or institution saddled with responsibility of investigating, prosecuting and recovering illicit stone negotiates directly with the whistleblower in order to access the

relevant information that may facilitate the processes. In essence, whistleblowing policy is basically relevant at the investigation stage of a particular corruption case to gather intelligence before proceeding to trial or any other forms of intervention that may be required for such cases. Furthermore, the act of whistleblowing is not just purely a moral and altruistic ventures, it provides accompanying financial incentives for those come out to blow the whistle on any confirmed cases of corruption. Based on this, a whistle blower is entitled to a payment of between 2.5% to 5.0% of the total funds recovered through him or her.

So far, no fewer than 2,000 cases of corrupt practices have been received by the Ministry. Some of the cases exposed by the Whistle Blowing Policy include the discovery of $9.8 cash discovered in a slummy district of Sabo-Tasha in Kaduna in April 2017; a $30m cash was locked up in an Ikoyi apartment in Lagos State, in Kaduna, the sum of $9.2 million was recovered from the former Group Managing Director of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, (NNPC), Mr. Yakubu, on June 12, 2020, President Muhammadu Buhari announced during his Democracy Day broadcast that the Whistle Blowing Policy has recovered an estimated sum of N800 billion in cash and landed properties (Edih, 2020).

Out-of-Court Settlement

This is another potent tool of ADR that is commonly used for managing corruption related cases in Nigeria. It is the amicable resolution of dispute between a Claimant and a Defendant outside the direct involvement of the court or the presiding judge. It is basically hinged on the assumption that pending cases can either be negotiated or mediated out of court. The court has benchmarks for deciding cases that can be referred for out of court-settlement. For instance, private disputes (including criminal matters) between individuals can expressly be settled out of court. Criminal cases against the state or heinous crimes are not readily amenable to Out-of-court-settlement. Basically, there are two main factors that influence Out-of-Court-Settlement. These include the willingness of the disputing parties to settle out of court and the nature of the dispute in question.

Out-of-Court-Settlement is slightly different from Plea Bargaining in the sense that the role of the court is far limited as the direct parties involved in the matter are at liberty to take the case out of court for resolution; although the court can help facilitate the process or play a mediating role. But in Plea Bargaining, the judiciary is an active party to the whole process of bargaining. Although there are procedures for achieving Out-Of-Court-Settlement, it has proven to be widely used in a condition where technicalities and overall interests of parties hang in the balance. Out-of-Court Settlement relies primarily on the goodwill of conflict parties to pursue their matter using the problem-solving approach rather than litigation.

There are no extant laws directly used for initiating Out-of-Court-Settlement proceedings; but there exist provisions that encourage it if the parties involved in the matter are predisposed to the process. For instance, most states in Nigeria have included ADR in their Civil Procedure Rules: Order 19 of FCT Rule for instance provides that a court or Judge, with the consent of the parties may encourage settlement of any matter (s) before it, by either-Arbitration, Conciliation, Mediation and any other lawfully recognized method of dispute resolution or **Section 18** of the High Court Act of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja provides that: "Where an action is pending, the court may promote reconciliation among the parties thereto and encourage and facilitate the amicable settlement thereof (Cap. 510, LFN Abuja 1990). To this end, a number of high-profile cases have relied on Out of Court-Settlement for amicable resolution even at the international level. The Federal government of Nigeria has signed an Out-of-Court-Settlement agreement with some defendants involving the late Head of State, General Sani Abacha's looted funds. As far back as 2002, the Swiss Government was informed about the transfer of the sum of over one billion naira (blocked in foreign countries) to Basel in favour of the Federal Government of Nigeria as part of the out of court settlement deal. (Swiss Federal Office of Justice, http://www.bj.admin.ch, 2021).

Prospects and Challenges of Alternative Dispute Resolution in Managing Corruption Cases

It is incontrovertible that ADR is an essential tool for complementing the prosecution of corruption related cases in our courts. Whistleblowing for instance is an investigation and intelligence gathering policy that helps to expose fraud and large-scale corruption that could have been concealed. Oguche (2012) believes that ADR enables prosecution to concentrate on serious offences and dispense of less serious offences by way of plea bargain or out of court settlement. Secondly, it was argued that plea bargain and other processes save the time of the court, of the prosecutor and of the defendant, reduces public expenditure on trials and at the same time avoids the necessity of public trial.

Another argument in favour of plea bargain according to the promoters of plea bargain is that it is not a punishment but an aspect of alternative dispute resolution mechanism, thereby bringing it closer to the reparatory theory of corrections (Tarhule, 2014) and of course, Oguche (2012) further argues that plea bargaining facilitates the decongestion of prisons, and given the level of congestion of prisons, the poor sanitary system, plea bargain is thus, a sure therapy to solve these multi-faceted problems of the prisons. However, there are obvious challenges that confront the application of ADR in corruption related matters. The Whistleblower policy has suffered a severe setback due to the constant of threats to the lives of those who chose to blow the whistle. The Federal Government of Nigeria, has, on several occasion reneged on the 5% compensation or reward promised to whistleblowers.

A major challenge of plea bargain is that victims often decry the lighter sentences that the process produces, thereby raising issues about the supposedly deterrent value of the criminal process. This situation is particularly true in Nigeria where the citizens have always genuinely felt short-changed any time a plea bargain arrangement has been entered into. Finally, it is generally believed that plea bargain is discriminatory against the poor. Accordingly, plea bargain as it is presently practiced in Nigeria only targets high profile mega corruption cases. This leaves the begging question as to whether persons charged with petty

offences of theft and the poor arrested for aimless wandering that populate detention facilities, could also take advantage of it.

Concluding Remarks

Pleas bargaining, whistleblower policy and out-of-court-settlement were identified as emerging ADR processes that are amenable to corruption cases. The application of ADR holds a lot of prospects for addressing chronic corruption matters. Apart from the speedy mode of dispensing such cases, ADR saves time, energy and cost. It also goes a long way to help in reducing courts dockets and decongesting prisons that is notorious for overcrowded inmates. However, ADR does not come without its own challenges. Plea Bargaining is considered to be elitist in orientation in the sense that it was conceived originally to deal with high level cases or matters that are difficult to be prosecuted in court. Also, there is a lack of political will on the part of the Federal Government to faithfully implement the Whistleblower Policy with respect to paying whistleblowers their agreed entitlements. Despite these shortcomings, the application of ADR mechanisms remains an innovative strategy of managing corruption related cases in Nigeria.

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EFFECT OF TERRORISM ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

Ameh Emmanuel UGBEDEOJO, PhD
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja
eameh@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

In spite of the fact that terrorism is a global phenomenon, its incursion in Africa and the emergence of terrorist act in Nigeria arising from the proliferation of terrorist groups in the world has been catastrophic as it has resulted to wanton destruction of lives and properties, kidnapping for ransom and hostage taking. This paper examines the acts of terrorism carried out in the North and South of Nigeria and how it has impacted on Nigeria's economic development by adopting documentary method of data collection and depending on qualitative analysis as a framework of contextual analysis of relevant data, and the use of the frustration aggression theory as a theoretical framework of analysis. The paper explored terrorism in Nigeria, mirroring the principal terror actors in the country; economic development in Nigeria; and the impacts of terrorism on Nigeria's economic development. It also by way of recommendation proffered suggestions that government should intensify to diversify the economy, adopt more non kinetic approach to counterterrorism, secure the porous borders and address the root causes of terrorism so as to enhance sustainable economic development.

Keywords: Terrorism, Development, Economy, Nigeria, Insecurity

Introduction

In recent years, terrorism has posed a significant threat to Nigeria's economic development aspirations. The operations of Boko Haram have led in the loss of life and property throughout Nigeria, particularly in the northeast. Bombings, suicide bombings, random shootings of defenseless and innocent people, the burning of police stations and churches, the kidnapping of schoolgirls and ladies, and so on are examples of these acts. Niger Delta rebel attacks on oil infrastructure, as well as Fulani herdsmen attacks on settlements in the north and south, have all contributed to the country's instability (Onuoha, Okafor and Femi-Adedayor, 2021; Ebiede,2017; Asamaowei, 2021). Nigeria has been labeled as one of the world's most dangerous countries (GTI, 2019). Thousands of people have been forced to flee their homes, and many lives and property have been lost. The consequence for this is that it has multiplicity of implications for the prospects of development in the country. Despite the government's frantic attempts to combat and eliminate the threats posed by terrorism and insecurity in the country, the speed with which insurgency and instability are spreading is concerning. While many efforts have been undertaken to advance the country's economic growth, rising levels of insecurity have been judged to be impeding the country's development. In light of this, this article explores terrorism and Nigeria's economic success. This is so that the nature of terrorism and its influence on Nigeria's economic development may be properly examined.

To achieve the aforementioned goals, this study has been divided into six outlines, the first of which is this brief introduction. The second outline included a conceptual discussion of the study's themes. In the third outline, the evolution of terrorism in Nigeria was clearly discussed. In the fourth outline, the nature of Nigeria's economic growth was analyzed, while the fifth outline focused on the effects of terrorism on Nigeria's economic development, and the article closed with actionable ideas to enhance Nigeria's economic development in the sixth outline.

Conceptualization and Review of Related Literature

Despite the fact that the concept of terrorism, its issues, and terror-based rule are all well-known historical practices, the study of terrorism has not been fully examined. Although interest in the study of terrorism arose as a result of the advent of a slew of terrorist movements and attacks by these terror groups over the last half-century. Terrorism has long been linked to acts of political violence or uprising. This is because terrorists' operational methods frequently include the murder of individuals or the destruction of property for political purposes. Terrorism as a euphemism for political violence, on the other hand, contradicts the concept's fundamental meaning. Nolan (1998) defines terrorism as "the premeditated execution and use of fear in order to influence political change." This is because terrorist attacks all across the world have involved the use or threat of violence in some way. Sandler and Enders (2005) defined terrorism as the deliberate use or threat of employing violence by individuals or sub-national groups to achieve a political or social goal by intimidating a large audience beyond the immediate victim. Certain basic characteristics of terrorism, according to Okeke (2005) and Nacos (2006), include the fact that it is motivated by political factors or reasons in the long run, despite the fact that terror actors may be guided by religious beliefs in the early stages; the targets are primarily civilians, non-combatants, or members of certain religious or ethnic groups; and the actors are primarily non-state actors.

Since the end of World War II, the concept of development appears to have been in flux. The meaning and understanding of the word appear to have been affected by ideological disagreements between the socialist east and the capitalist west in the early 1940s. The basic drivers of development and expansion are widely understood: an increase in the number and quality of all resources. Thirlwalll (1999) defines development as "change," and it is used to describe the process of economic and social transformation within countries in this context. This approach has a well-defined sequence and uniform properties across countries. Goulet (1971) differentiates three fundamental components or basic values in this broader sense of progress, which he names life-sustenance, self-esteem, and freedom, in one of the better

attempts at conceptualizing development. Self-esteem is concerned with a sense of self-respect and independence, as no country can be considered fully developed if it is exploited by others and lacks the power and influence to conduct relations on equal terms, and freedom is concerned with freedom from the three evils of want, ignorance, and squalor, so that people can better determine their own fate. Economic development refers to governments and communities working together throughout time to improve a region's standard of life and economic health. Human capital development, key infrastructure, regional competitiveness, environmental sustainability, social inclusion, health, safety, literacy, and other programs are examples of quantitative and qualitative improvements in the economy.

The terms "economic development" and "economic growth" are not interchangeable. Economic development is a policy intervention aimed at improving people's economic and social well-being, whereas economic growth is a phenomenon marked by increased market productivity and GDP. While there has been an increase in terrorist activities around the world, there is hardly any country that has not been affected by terrorism, either directly or indirectly. In this vein, Madunagu (2005) argued that there is no country in the world where terrorism is new or absent. As a result, terrorism is widespread throughout the world. Terrorist operations have had an impact on almost every country in Africa, including Nigeria, which has faced a variety of security challenges since its restoration to civil government in 1999, spanning nearly all of the country's six geopolitical zones.

Terrorism has been an insidious crime committed on a daily basis for decades, and it is responsible for the physical and structural violence that many Nigerians have experienced (Udama, 2013). In recent years, Nigeria has experienced a new wave of violence in the form of terrorism, which has assumed a variety of forms, techniques, and sites across the country. Terrorists in Nigeria, for example, enjoy kidnapping, blowing up international oil pipelines, and destroying property at impunity. The most lethal of the above are kidnapping and bombings (Abimbola and Adesote 2012:15). According to a report released by the United States Bureau of Consular Affairs, five improvised explosive devices (IEDs) were thought to

have been detonated in the Niger Delta region in March 2010, posing a serious threat to Nigeria.

The emergence of terror strategies such as outright confrontation, violence, pipeline vandalism, bombing of oil installations, armed resistance against state security forces and transnational oil companies operating in the region, kidnapping and hostage taking marked the agitations in the Niger Delta from 1998 to the present (Ogbogbo 2004). Before President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua adopted the Amnesty Programme in 2010 as a constructive move to eradicate these terror acts in the region, the Niger Delta insurgency's operations against the Nigerian state, on the one hand, and transnational oil companies operating in the region, on the other, posed a serious threat to national security.

Armed bandits have been attacking the northern Nigerian states of Zamfara, Katsina, Kaduna, Niger, and Sokoto for more than four years. Cattle rustling, the spread of small arms and light weapons, illicit artisanal mining, youth unemployment, poverty, and inequality are all exacerbated by these circumstances. Bello and Jamilu (2017) attribute banditry's prevalence to irresponsive governance and social marginalization, while Dami (2020) believes that the North West's weak security apparatus fosters continuous attacks on farming communities, while cultural and ethnic underpinnings are identified as a factor that necessitated banditry (ENACT Observer, 2021).

Another terrorism concern that the country is currently facing is the growth of the violent Islamic group known as Boko Haram in the northern part of the country. The Islamic group's actions in the area, notably since 2009, have not only put the country's security at risk, but have also made it the most dangerous place to live in the country. Boko Haram is calling for political and religious transformation, including the implementation of Sharia law and the practice of Orthodox Islam (Bagaji et al, 2012). As a result of political and religious turmoil in Nigeria, the organization began an insurgency in 2009. (Adesoji, 2011; Onuoha, 2012). This extremist sect has continuously threatened Nigeria's security, sovereignty, and stability, particularly in northern Nigeria, since its inception in 2002. Its confrontation with state

security forces began in 2009 with a series of high-profile attacks on the military, police, schools, political figures, and other critical infrastructure (Nicoll, 2011).

Boko Haram has increased attacks on government officials including state security forces and buildings, and authority figures in Nigeria's north eastern region, including bombing and killing individuals, as well as targeting specific people and locations such as worshiping centers, living residences, economic hubs, communications masts, government installations and infrastructure, kidnapping, and depriving people of their rightful entitlements. Asamaowei (2021) captured that the Nigerian government through its counterterrorism operations in the north east of Nigeria which involves the execution of decapitation operations on Boko Haram leadership using special operations forces, targeted airstrike and outright offensive gun-battle has been able to reduce the potency of the group. As a result, the kidnapping of government officials and other Nigerians, the bombing of oil companies and vandalism of property by militants in the Niger-Delta region, the increased incidents of banditry, which includes kidnappings and cattle rustling, and the Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria's north are all considered acts of terrorism.

Nigeria is Africa's largest economy, ranked 27th in nominal GDP and 24th in purchasing power parity in the world (World Bank, 2020). When Nigeria attained independence in 1960, Simpson (1987:205) claims, it was one of the few countries in the world capable of achieving stable and sustainable development. Because of Nigeria's oil boom, the country's multiple administrations were motivated to make large investments, as evidenced by the various national development plans which were geared towards enhancing economic growth and development of the country.

Crude oil exports to the rest of the world are now the primary source of Nigeria's economic growth, but this was not always the case. As one of the world's most agriculturally productive countries, Nigeria's total land area in the 1990s totaled 82 million hectares with approximately 61 million hectares of arable land. At the time, only 34 million hectares (or 42 percent) of the world's arable land was farmed (Metz, 1991). No wonder Nigeria's economy

was built on agriculture before to the oil boom, and the country was well known for cash crops such as cocoa, groundnuts and palm oil. At the time, these cash crops were the primary source of export revenue for the government. Since the 1956 discovery of crude oil in Oloibiri, Bayelsa state, Nigeria's agricultural economy has deteriorated. In the past, the economy of the country depended heavily on the production of cocoa, rubber, groundnuts, cotton, and oil palm. Nigeria imports food as a result of its agricultural sector's neglect.

According to Ajakaiye (2004:54), most African governments between the late 1950s and the early 1980s developed comprehensive development plans, sometimes in partnership with local and foreign specialists, to structure their decision-making. Governments used these national development plans to make concerted efforts to boost Nigeria's social and economic development (Tomori and Fajana 1987:131). The pre-independence plans from 1945 to 1954 and 1955 to 1960 were little more than lists of federal and regional projects to be implemented, as can be seen by comparing the goals and outcomes of successive national development plans from 1945 to 1995. Nigerians' social and cultural backgrounds were not taken into consideration because of a lack of national coordination and common interests. As a result, the plans could not be implemented because they did not take into account the people's aspirations.

The Second Development Plan (1962–1968) was Nigeria's first step toward constructing a plan that reflected the interests of the entire country. In exchange for public support for the newly independent country, the approach aimed to help Nigerians improve their standard of living and wealth creation as rapidly as feasible. Following the end of the Nigerian Civil War, the Third Development Plan, 1970-1974, was drafted by the government of Nigeria. Post-independence growth and reconstruction following the civil war were the primary goals of this document. Success was achieved in the manufacturing, transportation, health, education, and information and social welfare sectors, as well as in the mining sector, thanks to the implementation of this strategy. Crude oil exports have enhanced foreign exchange inflows, which have resulted in these notable accomplishments.

There were four development plans between 1981 and 1985. Improve living standards and broaden the economy away from dependence on oil to include more agricultural, industry, and scientific and technological industries in order to achieve this goal (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2000:1). SAP was launched in 1986. As a result, the economy's productive base was restructured and diversified in order to become less dependent on foreign oil and imports. This also helped the country achieve fiscal and balance-of-payments viability and set the stage for long-term, inflation-free growth. It also reduced the amount of money spent on wasteful public sector projects and increased private sector productivity (Central Bank of Nigeria, 2000:1). The perspective plan, which was supposed to start in 1990 with rolling plans, didn't start until 1996, when Abacha established the Vision 2010 Committee. The Vision 2010 report, which was submitted to the Abacha dictatorship in September 1997, suggested that the vision be the focal point of all plans, including long-term, medium-term, and annual budget plans (Adubi, 2002). Despite Abacha's death in 1998, the Vision was adopted as the country's first strategic plan.

Following the failure of previous economic stabilization efforts, Obasanjo's re-elected government in 2003 recognized the need for significant sociopolitical and economic reform in Nigeria. The National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS) was introduced within this framework. NEEDS supported self-sufficiency, income generation, job creation, poverty reduction, and a shift in values. The bulk of NEEDS goals have yet to be met, which is an issue. Despite the fact that Nigeria's annual budget grew from billions to trillions of naira during NEEDS, from 2003 to 2007, Nigeria's per capita income remained lower than that of the poorest countries, at $1 per person (Ikeanyibe, 2009). NEEDS aimed to create almost seven million jobs by 2007, yet the majority of the government's efforts to achieve this goal were harmful to employment creation. As a result of her efforts to restructure government agencies, many jobs were lost. Due to obligatory retirement, the Central Bank of Nigeria lay off 804 staff in 2005. NEEDS, like earlier Nigerian development projects, failed

to build infrastructure and produce the expected benefits, according to CBN (2005). The four basic goals of employment creation, poverty reduction, wealth expansion, and value reorientation are just that on paper. Also, Vision 20:2020, for example, aimed to place Nigeria among the top 20 economies by 2020. Although for real economic development to occur, Nigeria's rural areas must be transformed into world-class metropolitan hubs in order to achieve this goal. Nigeria's education, health, power, agriculture, and industry must all be on level with high-income OECD countries within the next ten years. Amongst all theoretical approaches readily available for the analysis of this study, the frustration aggression theory is chosen as the best suited.

Frustration aggression ranks among the most seminal and prolific theories in research on aggression. The theory was proposed by John Dollard, Orval Mowrer and Robert Sears in 1939. The theory states that aggressive tendencies are as a result of the blocking or frustrating of a person's effort to attain a goal (Friedman and Schustack, 2014). The theory attempts to explain how and why some people, or group of people, become violent or aggressive during certain scenarios. Berkowitz (1989) expanded on the theory by suggesting that negative effect and personal attributes play a major role in determining whether frustration instigates aggressive behaviour.

The idea is that frustration, when it cannot be displaced or relieved turns into aggression. This aggression may then turn into violence, resulting in the frustrated person or group lashing out. This lashing out may be directed at another person. According to Dollard et al (1934), frustration is the "condition which exists when a goal-response suffers interference", while aggression is defined as an "act whose goal response is injury to an organism (or an organism surrogate). The theory postulates that frustration causes aggression, but when the source of the frustration cannot be challenged, the aggression gets displaced onto an innocent target. This theory is also used to explain riots and revolutions, which both are believed to be caused by poorer and more deprived sections of society who may express their bottled-up frustration and anger through violence.

The application of the Frustration- Aggression theory in research requires the availability of basic qualitative data. In applying this theory to this research work, it can be deduced that the outbreak of terrorism in the North and South of Nigeria which has brought so much devastation in human and natural resources, thereby degrading economic developmental strides is as a result of frustration encountered by the divergent group, which later, manifests into aggression.

Within the context of the frustration-aggression theory, since it has been identified that frustration results to aggression, frustration therefore, can be likened to the inability of most members of violent extremist groups in Nigeria to actualize set socio-economic goals or objectives due to underdevelopment of the Nigerian state which is characterized by poverty, corruption and poor governance among others. Hence the need to join a group such as Boko Haram, bandits and the various militant factions in the Niger Delta. Also, in the midst of the 2009 crackdown on Book Haram group which resulted to the death of Mohammed Yusuf, the high handedness of state security forces engaged in counterinsurgency operations before the Presidential Amnesty Program in the Niger Delta could be seen as an increase in the drive of frustration while the aggression is seen as the attack on the Nigerian government in the form of destruction of critical national infrastructures, kidnappings and killing of both civilians and military personnel.

The frustration aggression theory further explains the need for the government in its counter-terrorism efforts in Nigeria to adopt measures such as investing in the people through the provision of food, security, employment opportunities, security and education to mitigate the local grievances that has led to a violent insurgency and terrorism.

The Impact of Terrorism on Economic Development in Nigeria

It is a widely held belief that if people and property are not adequately protected, investment and economic progress would suffer in any society. There has been a mix of insecurity in recent years due to terrorist acts, which have generally threatened socio-economic growth. A new level of violence is being perpetrated against civilians and military personnel alike in

Nigeria, including acts of terrorism that threaten life and property, as well as arson attacks on residential buildings, farms and religious organizations. For example, terrorists' operations have disrupted social and economic activity, resulting in an increase in crime and a decrease in public trust in the government's ability to deliver public goods such as security, resulting in the loss of life and property.

As far as most experts are concerned, terrorism is bad for the economy, and it has never been good for anything in the world. As a result of the activity of several insurgent groups in the 1990s, the Niger Delta conflicts have had a substantial influence on Nigeria's economic prosperity (Nwogwugwu, et. al. 2012). MEND, the Niger Delta Vigilante Force (NDVF), MOSOP, the Ijaw Youth Congress (IYC), the Niger Delta Emancipation Movement (MEND), the Niger Delta People's Volunteer Force (NDPF), and others are militant groups in the Niger Delta. A number of attacks on oil and gas facilities, as well as attacks on Nigerian Naval officers and oil industry employees resulted in the deaths of several people and the serious injury of many more have been carried out by these groups.

Despite the fact that the Presidential Amnesty Programme conducted to ease the tensions in the Niger Delta has lasted longer than expected, new armed organizations began to pose fresh dangers in the Niger Delta in the start of 2016. New attacks have been taken out by armed organizations such as the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA). The Niger Delta Alliance, like other armed groups in the area, claimed to speak for oil-producing communities in the Niger Delta region and to have heard their grievances (Ebiede, 2017). The NDA has regularly targeted oil industry infrastructure. The Niger Delta's oil production has suffered as a result of this. The Post Amnesty Programme (PAP) of the Nigerian government aims to bring peace to the Niger Delta region. The Niger Delta Avengers (NDA) and their damaging attacks on oil industry infrastructure, on the other hand, raise concerns about how well it is working.

Ebiede (2017) had noted that militancy in the Niger Delta continues to reduce oil production, putting the country's economy in even more jeopardy at a time when oil prices are at an all-time low. Militancy also makes it easier to commit oil theft, which is a widespread

crime in the Niger Delta. The unrest in the Niger Delta provides an opportunity for criminal networks in the Gulf of Guinea to prosper. Pirates in the Gulf of Guinea are a major source of concern. Armed organizations from the Niger Delta have a lot of ties to pirate networks in the Gulf of Guinea. These threats concern both the Nigerian government and the rest of the world.

In the North West and North Central, where cattle rustling and kidnapping have become more widespread, so have gunmen attacks, which usually occur at night and results in the slaughter entire villages. Cattle theft has been a major issue in Nigeria in recent years, particularly in the north. Rustling has resulted in the theft of a large number of cows, the deaths of individuals, and the destruction of property in recent years. Cattle rustling is a significant reason why Nigeria's security problems are getting worse, and it's become a big business involving herders, big-time gangs, and heavily armed criminals, according to news from the northern region every day. According to Ahmadu Suleiman, chairman of the Miyetti Allah Animal Breeders Association of Nigeria's Kaduna State branch, between October 2013 and March 2014, over 7,000 animals were snatched from commercial livestock farms and traditional herders in Northern Nigeria. Normale et. al. (2019) in their research observed that as robberies involving armed robbers and cattle rustling become increasingly common in Nigeria, herder attacks in farming areas become more frequent. Nigeria's Zamfara state is still a hotbed for livestock rustling despite the governor's amnesty program for cattle rustlers to surrender their guns, according to the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding in Nigeria. Currently, Nigeria is one of the world's fastest-growing terrorism hotspots (Farouk, 2012, GTI, 2019).

This is demonstrated by the large number of people who have relocated away from Nigeria's northern territories. Because of the circumstances, residents in that part of Nigeria have been unable to engage in legal commerce. Economic activity has stalled and growth plans have been put on hold as it becomes clear that terrorists can strike anywhere. As a result, international investors, such as those who had previously invested $200 billion a year in Nigeria's economy, no longer regarded it a safe haven (Akpan, 2010). Boko Haram's

operations in Nigeria have had a significant economic impact, which cannot be overstated. Almost every aspect of the country's economy has ceased to function as a result of what they did. Boko Haram had launched strikes, the majority of which targeted communication centers. In 2012, roughly 530 base stations in Nigeria were destroyed. While floods destroyed 380 homes in several towns across the country, Boko Haram in northern Nigeria wrecked 150 residences (Okonji, 2013). Boko Haram's major purpose in attacking telecom infrastructure is to cut off one of Nigeria's intelligence and security systems' main sources of information. Another issue is that network operators will have to rebuild damaged facilities with money that was previously set aside for network growth and making the most use of the infrastructure they presently have. Damage from BH and flooding cost Nigerian telecom providers almost N75 billion in 2012. According to analysts of Nigeria's telecoms infrastructure, a base station costs on average $250,000 (N 39.47 million), and replacing the damaged ones will cost over N15.9 billion.

FDI flows to Nigeria fell from $8.65 billion (N1.33 trillion) in 2009 to $6.1 billion (N933.3 billion) in 2010, according to the UNCTAD study. This is a drop of around 29%, according to the Central Bank of Nigeria's (CBN) annual report which indicated that for 2020, $5.99 billion in foreign capital entered Nigeria's economy in that year.

Conclusion

Nigeria, like every other country in the Commonwealth, has worked hard to build its economy since independence. Because the major indicators for assessing growth and development of nations were then the growth of per capita income, which was necessary for the GDP, the country's early economic development policies were based on expansion. Nigeria's government concentrated on strengthening development in the early 1970s. As a result of the finding of petroleum, the nation's process was completely intensified. The expectation was that the oil sector would benefit the economy by encouraging growth. Because Nigeria's oil exports are expected to account for more than 80% of the country's GDP, this is the case.

Between 1965 and 2000, Nigeria earned about $350 billion in oil and gas revenue as a result of this.

However, with the surge in terrorist attacks in the country's north and south, the chances for economic development have been dramatically decreased due to the increasing level of insecurity, which has hampered any development initiatives, whether private or public. According to all reports, the terrorist assaults have resulted in the closure of schools, companies, and the loss of jobs for the majority of the country's residents. According to the findings, terrorist attacks on both private and public enterprises have closed many businesses, including access to entrepreneurship, due to rising security threats, and have also resulted in job losses and unemployment, reducing people's capacity to pursue economic growth and development in Nigeria.

Recommendation

Arising from the foregoing, this paper therefore recommends that:

i. The porous borders in Nigeria, where individuals' movements are mostly untracked, are one important source that has exacerbated terrorism in the country. the nature of the borders which is influenced by the by the weak security system has major security consequences and as such, the government must ensure that it is closely monitored. Using the Immigration, Nigerian Custom Service and the Nigerian Police to ensure that illegal weapons are not smuggled into the country and also checkmate the influx of migrants from neighboring nations, who are among the perpetrators of terrorist attacks in the country.

ii. Most terrorist organizations recruit new members from areas with perceived grievances against the state, with these groups taking advantage of the need to provide financial incentives and enhanced family assistance to recruits. As a result, government policies should prioritize social and economic development in order to

reduce the pool of potential recruits. This can be accomplished by adopting and implementing appropriate poverty-reduction methods.

iii. Efforts should be made to diversify the economy so that foreign and domestic investments will proliferate so as to enhance employability and boost productivity since it has been identified that economic marginalization has been one of the drivers of conflict particularly conflict that tends to take a violent extremist posture.

iv. Government should intensify efforts in the adoption of non-kinetic measures in their counterterrorism operations in the country.

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THE IMPACT OF PEACE EDUCATION IN CURBING CULTISM IN HIGHER INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING IN NIGERIA

Steven Sunday OGBOBE
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi, Abuja.
nou215008842@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

The real problem and challenges that cult activities herald is usually generated by the absent of peace-culture through peace education means. Cultism and undertakings of cults are more predominant in the tertiary institutions such as Colleges of Education, Polytechnics and Universities, secondary schools, and eve among the neighbourhood. Although, sporadically, the threat of cultism in educational establishments in Nigeria, mostly in ESUT Enugu State has become worrisome, it is against this statement the researcher understands there is existing gap which both previous researchers and policy makers ignored to focus on, which this study intended to bridge. Therefore, this paper examined the impact of peace education in curbing cultism in institution of learning in Nigeria. The objective of this paper is to examined how peace education can be used in alleviating the menace of cultism in high institutions of learning. Both primary and secondary sources of data were applied in this study as methodology. Therefore, the paper discusses the concept of peace education and cultism in clear term. The causes and nature of cultism has also been discussed in the paper. However, the study touches the place of moral peace education in cubing cultism. The paper concluded that peace education is an essential tool as well as a veritable technic that when deployed can help control the menace of cultism in our institutions of learning. The study concluded with some recommendations that there should be encouragement of religious Activities. Apart from that, students must be encouraged at any cost to see every reason why higher academic accomplishments and realizations are essential with peace culture.

Keywords: Peace Education, Cultism, University, Enugu

Introduction

Cultism is undeniably one of the social settings that set the development of academic and non-academic progress of Nigeria backward. Primordially, secret cults in Nigerian schools, according to Oguntade. (2018) was established in 1952, at the University College, Ibadan, known as the National Association of Sea Dogs (Pirate Confraternity). This association had honorable philosophies and commitments at inauguration but transmuted into well-known dreadful group with the passage of time. (Alanamu, Olanrewaju and Muhammd, 2018) mentioned that cultism was hitherto a higher institution activity but that secondary school learners and non-students today are accomplices. The cult groups turned Nigerian institutions of education into killing grounds. (Osakinle and Falana. 2011).

According to Richardson. (2012). the word cult is often associated with religion, though a cult does not need to be religious in outlook. In the case of the religious cult, Weber's dictionary (20011) describes cult as a scheme of religious piety directed towards a specific figure or object. That is, a moderately small religious group observed by others as a weird or as improving extreme control over members. A religious cult can also be defined as any religious group which varies expressively in some one or more respects as to established manifestation of that religion. Religious and social cults are overtly or covertly practiced in Nigerian institutes of higher learning. The word cultism originated from the Latin word "cultus" with the verb "colare" meaning to cultivate, to worship. Peace-education involves the utilization of educational instruments to pass unto leaners attitude, behaviour and ultimately a culture of peace. It can therefore be seen as a deliberate endeavour to modify the pattern of social relationships to breed a healthy society. Theory of Social Conflict was used for this study Faleti, S. A. (2006). Through the aids of Peace and Conflict Studies, the researcher found out the gaps which have greatly encouraged cultists in Nigeria institutions, and mostly ESUT in Enugu State, and recommended that Peace education remains the tools for change of attitude.

Conceptualizing Peace Education

Peace is a broad concept with practical and spiritual connotations. It can imply a state of inner calm or end of conflict. Peace has been understood to mean the absence of conflict or violence and conversely as the presence of states of mind and of society such as harmony, accord, security and understanding. Peace education is a planning strategy of eliminating the conflicts and violence caused by injustice, which equally prevents conflict.

Therefore, peace education is a goal of education. There is no universally accepted definition for peace education. There are good numbers of definitions available on the basis of different perceptions and approaches. Some of the definitions given by eminent educationists are given as stated by Marriam Webster Dictionary (2011), who defines peace "as a state of quiet or tranquillity, freedom from disturbance or agitation, calm repose". From the above definition it can be agreed that in the absence of elements such as tolerance, understanding, empathy, cooperation and respect for the differences in others, there cannot be peace. Any positive strategy employed to helps enhances peace among the individuals could be known as peace education Foltz-Gray. (2002). According to Albert Einstein (1978) "Peace is not merely the absence of war but the presence of justice, of law, of orderliness. The researcher shared same view with Albert Einstein; Peace must be more than an absence of conflict; it must be presence of justice and respect for human rights.

According to Freire (2006) "Peace education is a mechanism for the transformation from a culture of violence to a culture of peace through a process of "conscientisation". "Peace Education is the attempt to promote the development of an authentic planetary consciousness that will enable us to function as global citizens and to transforms the present human condition by changing the social structures and patterns of thought that have created it". "Peace Education is an attempt to respond to problems of conflict and violence of scale ranging from the global and national to the local and personal. It is about exploring ways of creating more just and sustainable futures said by Laing, (1978). According to John Dewey "Peace education is grounded in active citizenship, preparing learners for assiduous participation in a

democracy, through problem – posing and problem – solving education, and a commitment to transformative action in societies." From these definitions it is understood that the peace education inculcates the higher order human values among the individuals. Further, "Peace education definitions" reveal that it aims at the overall development of the individuals and helps to enhance eternal values in their minds.

Cultism

A cult is observed as a group which demonstrates a high form of obligation or devotion to a specific cause or belief, while making its undertakings and members to appear mysterious in the eyes of the uninitiated (Galace, 2003). Their membership and undertakings, as described above, are often blanketed in secrecy and as such, they are also often referred to as secret cults. Onyechere (2008) simply defines cult as a group of persons who share and spread peculiar philosophies only to members. This suggests that undertakings of a cult are mysterious; non-members are not granted access to information about a cult as well as distinguishing ideology of such groups. Others have described cults from the religious point of opinion. For instance, it is observed as a unique, tentatively stylish system of devotion or belief (Ukpong, 2003).

This clarifies why diverse cults vary in terms of their rules, standards, emblem, and other characteristics, which are hidden from the uninitiated. Ogunbameru (2004) considered secret cults as not only establishments whose modus operandi are concealed, but such undertakings are carried out at irregular hours of the day while also clashing with convention or widely acknowledged ways of life. Igodo (2002) distinguishes a cult as a collection of persons who share strange philosophies and beliefs and participate in secret unconventional behaviour.

The degree of cultism among secondary school students has been on the surge. The earliest record of secret cults in Nigerian schools, according to Umeh. (2001) was in 1952 in the then University College, Ibadan, when the National Association of Sea Dogs (Pirate Confraternity) was established. This assembly had noble principles and purposes at commencement but transformed into full blown atrocious group with the passage of time. T

hen, they brought to focus public ills, valued humanitarian services, and established relationships for future benefits. Long ago, Eneja. (2008) witnessed that many students have cultured the habit of laziness towards their academic pursuit and channelled their energy to cultism. They spend much time playing music, organizing and attending parties, engaging in various clandestine and occult practices, and other forms of vices. Cultism appears to rank very high among the maladaptive behaviours among secondary school students. Agbo. (2010) remarked that cultism was previously a higher institution business but has today gone down the line of the educational establishments and yonder, that secondary school pupils and non-students today are participants. stated that all over the world, from the universities to the polytechnics, colleges of education and other tertiary institutions, and unfortunately some secondary schools, come stories of violence, torments, and terrorization effected by members of secret cults. The cult groups turned Nigerian institutions of education into killing fields or theatres of war. (Osakinle and Falana. 2011)

Causes of Cultism in and out of Nigeria Academic Institutions

There are various causes of cultism on educational institutions some of which are studied as follows:

1.   **Influence of Peer Group**

There is no doubt that peer group stimulus is a powerful factor that induces young undergraduates to join secret cults. Ibeh (2005) postulated that the era of adolescence is marked by intense social relationship in any environment he/she finds himself. At adolescent, there is a change of emphasis on social relationship from the parents to the peer group. As adolescent breaks the total dependence and interaction with his/her parents, he/she moves same to the recently acquired group which in most cases is any group on campus he/she hugs. Akinfolarin (2003) and Omoegun and Akanle (2007) also stated in their schoolwork that peer group influence is one of the motives students join cultism. Example: Peer group can influence an innocent fellow into drugs abuse, which might lead to other unpredicted acts like raping,

cursing troubles. Such fellow may equally want to remain relevant, hence, getting self-attached to bad gang.

2. **Parental Background**

Students, who come from backgrounds where codes of good behaviour and discipline are not firmly imposed, are more predisposed to cultism. Olajuigbe (2001) described that parental background, absence of moral teaching at home and the method in which the child is carried could be a factor in recognition as a member of a cult. The author elucidated that extreme control by parents, too many rules could make individual anxious and restless while a child whose independence knows no bound may be a prepared nominee for cult membership. According to Mgbekem (2004), some parents love their children to the degree of indulging them. When they do a wrong thing instead of admonishing them, they let the children go free from the wrongdoing. They develop up with such undesirable pattern and consequently imbibe criminally-oriented conduct which lead them to joining cult groups, Owoeye (2007) also recognized a very vigorous link between fragile and malfunctioning family background and influence and predispositions for students to join secret cults. According to the writer, parents themselves might be associates of secret cults. Cult members may come from disjointed homes where child mistreatment and neglect are very widespread. Ayodele and Ayodele (2002) also recognized family collapse as one of the causes of cultism on campuses. According to them, a child who comes from fragmented home is exposed to parental inattention and frustration. Such child is easily persuaded into cultism.

3. **Societal Depravity**

Ogunbameru (2007) lamented that the Nigerian society has cheerfully or unwillingly delivered an empowering atmosphere for all forms of crimes among which is the problem of campus secret cult. The author maintained that Nigeria has replaced honour with dishonour as a normal attitude. Mgbekem (2005) also bewailed that youths nowadays imbibed depraved principles instead of instructing moral and decent principles. The author posited that this accounts for

why the youth see or feel no misgivings in joining secret cult. Okeowo (2004) also connected youths' tendency to join cult to the general state of normlessness surviving in Nigeria.

4.   **Corrosion of Education Standards**

The economic recession in the 1980s and early 1990s in the country strengthened corruption and deterioration of standards in the educational system. Most students gained admission into the universities with suspicious qualifications (Akinfolarin 2003). Such students, because of their low self-perception find security in cultism in order to survive the academic exactitudes at all cost. For such students, to endure the academic system becomes a game of existence at all cost and as such they join cult groups to intimidate lecturers and the school authorities.

4.   **Political Influences**

Political influence is one of the major factors that influences Nigeria youths into cultist. Due to poverty, politicians easily influence them with money for them to make themselves available for campaign purposes. In other for them to remain powerful and relevant, they found themselves joining cultist as means of protection.

5.   **Excessive Drugs**

Excessive drugs are another factor that leads or influences young students to cultist in school. Once they get drunk or under the influence of drugs, they take some ugly decision by joining the cult groups.

Effects of Cultism

i.   **Malicious Destruction of Lives of Stakeholders in the Education Sector**

Cultists release mayhem on teachers, students and members of school administrations, to the amount that some have been killed or forever disfigured through violent acts such as shooting, and other perfidious attacks. Such attacks undermine the educational system by generating perceptible fear in the hearts of its accomplices.

ii.   **Atrocious crimes like armed robbery, rape**

Cult members involve in robbery and other crimes to frighten their victims and commonly to make money needed to hold out their luxurious lifestyles, procure arms, buy security from

corrupt law enforcement agents, pay hospital bills when confronted and pay for legal fees when their members are arrested for crimes.

iii.   Examination misconduct

Cultism equivalently leads to examination misconduct as cult members, who do not study hard, attempt to compromise assessment procedures through the use of bribe, pure hostility or intimidation. This ultimately diminishes ethics and quality assurance in the Nigerian education system.

iv.   Reduced academic performance

The manner of horror unleashed by cults in educational institutions constrains learning by producing terror and pressure in the school environment. Learning is known to flourish best in an atmosphere unoccupied by fundamentals of threat, therefore, it takes its toll on academic performance of students. Cultists also fail to study hard while attacking competitors or their targets or worse still while endeavouring to elude attack.

v.   Destruction of property

Cults are known to destroy the property of their targets or institute, to draw attention to their complaints. Houses, automobiles, and other accommodations belonging to educational institutions have been destroyed or utterly damaged by cults. The economic consequences recession, is best imaged.

Demonstration of cultism at different levels of the education system

Cultism and undertakings of cults are more predominant in the tertiary institutions such as Colleges of Education, Polytechnics and Universities, although sporadically, the prevalent influence of cults gradually penetrate other levels of the education system, especially the secondary school level, where the associated violence, torment, harassment and terrorization connected with cultism have since found its way in Nigeria (Adewale, 2005). The influence of cults and cultism has also infused the whole society, meaning that it has found its way into social groups and organizations, establishments and even religious organizations. Little

wonder why cults have been recounted to manifest in Nigerian secondary schools (Abayomi and Nnabugwu, 2012).

The Role of Peace Education in Curbing Cultism Institutions of Learning in Nigeria

There are a number of ways by which peace education can alleviate the menace of cultism activities in the institutions of learning in Nigeria. The mediums of peace education play pivotal role in cocurate moral education to the students. The medium of peace education includes the following:

Public enlightenment

Public enlightenment can be created through seminars, workshops, symposium, posters, handbills, jungles and public lectures. Onghba (1998) advocated for a special enlightenment programme aimed at education the public on the evils associated with crime. Though public lectures and seminars, Idogun (1999) agreed that the issue of cultism will be eradicated. He however, suggested that such lectures must not lose sight of students' involvement. At the University of Lagos, there was a drama presentation organized by student tag "The Dean of Decision" written by Fabiyi a former student union president. The drama created had impacted in eradication of cultism in the institution. Apart from that film show, drama sketches are also recommended as medium through which most students can be conscientized to shin cultism (Omemu, 2015).

The moral of peace education

1. To promote the knowledge and understanding of moral values geared towards fostering good moral conduct in human society.

2. The promotion of an attitude of mutual concern for one in order to build a society in which the most possible good exist.

3. The promotion of harmony and sense of fair play in human relation.

4. The strengthening of the basis and motivation for behaviour as an essential foundation for social order (Godwin, 2019).

Conclusion

Family financial background has no significant influence on students' interest in cult activities however peer pressure seems to be a major influencer. This thesis provided insight into the current state of cultism in Nigeria educational system. Nigeria has responded positively by formulating educational policies that have led to rapid expansion of education which particularly and to a significant extent has benefited lower social class groups thereby reducing the prevalence of cultism. Although these efforts seem not to have produced obvious and tangible results to the expectations of Nigerians it has become imperative that the introduction of peace education in our educational curriculum will in no little way establish and sustain more gains in the fight against this dreadful scourge. Peace education is an essential tool as well as a veritable technic that when deployed can help control the menace of cultism in our institutions of learning.

Recommendations

The concerns highlighted in this study call for policy backing. Thus, this study advocates for the following policies:

1. School authorities should commit to decreasing the connection between social status and certain learning consequences by eradicating any form of discrimination and prejudices relating to socio-economic status of students, they must let the students relish the levelled-field of learning process and must also inspire them to partake in all academic activities.

2. Delivery of counselling and motivation to less-privileged students must be stimulated.

3. Government, parents and teachers must attempt to recognize whether there are certain economic circumstances largely liable for classes of cult activities and come out with relevant legislation, implementation strategies and political will power to address them.

4. Concrete parental care: Charity they say starts at home. Children are best cultivated, shaped and educated by both parents to enhance good upbringing at home. Parents should instill the fear of God and respect for fellow human beings in attention of their children at

home. We should as a matter of determination give our youths the anticipated moral education so that, when they get out of their homes, they will not be swayed by bad company.

5. Discipline**:** One of the foremost religious and moral standards of the society is discipline. Maintenance of discipline at home, in the school and in all school and in all places by the parents, teachers and top government officials on the younger ones is very important. This will help to build up an integrated total individual that promotes personal growth and social modification. Parents, lecturers and the established authorities in tertiary institutions should find ways of helping students advance worthwhile curiosity, standards and life goals so that they would be able to repel the entreaty of secret cults. Of prominent importance in developing such attitudes is the very example set by adults as prototypes.

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AN ASSESSMENT OF CURLE'S MODEL IN KOFI ANNAN THIRD PARTY INTERVENTION IN THE KENYAN 2008 POST-ELECTION CRISIS

Adekunle James OKHOGBE
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja
aokhogbe@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

This study examines the outcome of Kofi Annan third party intervention *in* post-election crisis in Kenya within the context of Curle's model of mediation as a conflict resolution strategy using historical based method on mid-range policy analysis and proper classificatory of events. The study also describes series of conflict resolution strategies and tools used by the Panel. These include the benefits of a single mediation fully supported by the international community; strong engagement by civil society; a division of issues to be negotiated into short- and long-term categories; a carefully orchestrated media strategy; a strong emphasis on pragmatism over politics; an understanding of peace as a process, rather than an event; and a high level of creativity and flexibility on the part of the mediators. Above all, the agreement which was negotiated reflected the desire of the Kenyan people to achieve peace in their country. Its sustainability, however, will depend on their *ability* to address the root causes of the conflict and to tackle the underlying and deep-seated issues which triggered the crisis in the first place. From the analyses, it shows that Kofi Annan employed systematically the Curle's model but the point of divergent is on the process itself. Annan adopted the power mediation while Curle adopted soft mediation. Based on these findings, the study recommended among others that: power mediation should be used in asymmetric conflicts, and the government of Kenya should restore faith and transparency in the electoral system.

Keyword: Curle's model, Conflict resolution, Civil society, Mediation

Introduction

Kenya 2007 post-election violence is rooted in the ethnic dispute between Kaleiins and Kikuyus and was fueled by the results of December 2007 elections. Kalenjis believe that the Kikuyus have marginalized them for far too long by dominating the major sectors of the economy of the country at their own expense. The country of Kenya was ruled by the iron hands of two men in succession from 1963 to 2002: Kenyatta (1963-1978) and Daniel Moi (1978-2002). In 2002, there was a change: the ruling political party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), that had ruled the country since independence, collapsed. It collapsed beneath a new political party comprised of an alliance that had formed between all of the major Kenyan tribes. This political stakeholder was named the National Rainbow Coalition (NAPE). The election victory was a landslide. Mwai Kibaki of the NARC won 62% of the vote on a platform of fighting corruption, forming a coalition government that shared power amongst the various tribes, and changing the constitution within 100 days of being elected to limit the executive power that had ballooned over the previous four decades (Mutua, 2008; Calas, 2008). People across Kenya from all tribes felt hope that the country's government was finally on the verge of a system of governance that would have accountability through shared power.

The disintegration of the MARC party and the broken promises of a shared government and new constitution left many citizens tasting what could have been and frustrated over what should have resulted from the new government coming to power in 2002. This frustration fueled the violence that took place after the election in 2007. The immediate cause of the violence was the announcement of the elections results while there are other inherent factors. Kenya land problems dates far back to pre-colonial period when powerful communities acquired the land of the less-privileged through conquest. It was a period like the Hobbesian state of nature where the most powerful takes all; the powerful groups dominated the weaker ones and appropriated the resources

The consequence of 2007 Kenya post-election violence's cannot be underestimated.

The violence claimed more than 1,000 lives like those that occurred in 1990s but its effects by displacing hundreds of thousands of people was more than the displacement that occurred in the 1990s. I shall briefly discuss the consequences but I will focus on the case of 1DPs. 2007 post-election violence left hundreds of thousands of people displaced or uprooted from their home or place of habitual residence. The Kenyan violence was characterized by ethnic cleansing and this led to massive removal or displacement of some ethic groups. For instance, the Kalenjins attack of Kikuyus and PNU supporters at the Rift Valley and other places after the announcement of 2007 presidential elections and this caused members of the attacked group to move. This kind of displacement also occurred in the violent dashes of the 1990s and not all the displaced persons have been able to go back home since then.

The announcement of the disputed Kenya 2007 elections results on December 27th, 2007 led to what could be described as the worst political crisis in her history. This massacre claimed over 1,000 lives of children, men, and women, and left around 600,000 Kenyans internally displaced (Obonyo, 2008). The immediate and remote causes of the crisis have been analyzed by authors. Thus, it is argued that the violence and displacement began with the establishment of multi-party politics in the 1990s and it took different forms in different parts of the country. Although exacerbated by political feuds, the violence had its roots in ethnic rivalries and struggle for ancestral lands. The internal feud had been brewing for decades and the election results were the catalyst and immediate cause that finally ignited the conflict. (Obonyo, 2008; Bayne, 2008). This essay undertakes a cause-effect analysis of the conflict with focus on the forty-one-day mediation process in Kenya with a view to determining the place of Curle's model of mediation in the process of managing the crisis.

Overviews of Curle's Model

The theoretical framework underlying this study is Curle's model of the process of resolving conflict (mediation), the progression from limited power and awareness to a sustainable peace is represented as a balanced linear expression. Curle considers two variables: awareness and balance. Awareness *refers* to the degree to which relevant actors are Adam Curle is an English

Quaker and peacemaker. He has worked around the world, helping people find just and peaceful resolutions to a broad array of conflicts, from familial to international. Reflecting on his wealth of experience, he developed a model for proper sequencing of conflict-resolution and nonviolent-action processes. Curle's work (1971) built on Galtung's approach. He traces how asymmetric relationships can be transformed, through a shift from unbalanced to balanced relationships achieved through a process of conscientisation, confrontation, negotiation and development.

Curle avoids the word "power" and names his other key variable "balance." This distinction has the advantage of avoiding the many conscious and subconscious connotations of the word power. It also helps us to focus more fully on the relationship between the parties and on the resources, they bring to bear on the particular issue(s) in contention. In a balanced relationship, neither party is able to impose its will on the other. This does not mean that they are identical in their sources of power. The resources which each bring to the relationship may be different. Parties may vary substantially in levels of control over any given commodity (e.g., wealth, arms, popular support). In relation to the issues in contention, however, the sums of their individual assets are relatively equal when weighed against each other. Neither side is likely to be successful in acting on the issue without the support or at least acquiescence of the other.

Four processes are integral to Curle's model: education, confrontation, bargaining, and conciliation.

Education: Education involves effort to increase the awareness of parties relevant to the conflict. Education is likely to take different forms, depending on the nature of the party. In the case of members of the aggrieved group, people may need further information on the sources of the conflict as well as training in the discipline of nonviolence.

Confrontation: While education is geared to all groups with any stake or interest in a conflict, confrontation is directed only at the adversary. Confrontation tactics are designed to make it uncomfortable, if not impossible, for the adversary to proceed with business as usual. They

highlight and help build the strength of the aggrieved group, so that any power imbalance begins to be equalized.

Bargaining: Bargaining refers to efforts between parties to work out a resolution to the conflict which both find acceptable. In some cases, the parties may be able to fashion an agreement with no external assistance through negotiation. More likely, they may need a third-party to help them reach a mediated resolution. In either case, it is important that parties do more than simply reach an agreement.

Reconciliation: During the course of the conflict, parties tend to develop negative, mistrustful feelings toward one other. This is particularly likely if the conflict has lasted for a long time and if people have died or been irreparably injured as a result of it. Curle underscores the importance of conciliation, which is a technique dependable. It is important that the parties work together to re-knit their frayed relationship.

This study deals with analysis and discussion of Curle's Model of Mediation to determine whether the conflict resolution strategy adopted by Kofi Annan in the post-election crisis in Kenya exemplified the Curle's Model of Mediation.

Curle's Model of Mediation

	Unpeaceful Relations		Peaceful relations
Balanced		3) Conciliation	4) Development and Restructuring of the formerly unpeaceful Relations.
Unbalanced	1) Education (Conscientisation)	2) confrontation	
	Lower Awareness of conflict	Higher Awareness of Conflict	

Source*: Culled from Curle (1971) and Lederach (1995).

From the figure above, stage 1 represents Education, Curle (1971) stated that education or conscienlisation involves efforts to increase the awareness of parties relevant to the conflict. Education is likely to take different forms, depending on the nature of the party. He argues that in a situation of gross power unbalance, the weaker party might not even realize the injustice that is being done to him. In this case, education is needed to generate awareness of the inferior position of the lower - power party. Lederach (1996) in his adoption of Curle's model opined that it is power that is balanced and unbalanced. Abdi and Williams (2003) posited that Adam Curle model has been used by many in the peace building field to show how relations can move from unpeaceful to peaceful through a process of increasing awareness of the conflict and the relationship balance between the parties, ultimately leading to no conflict.

Stage II represents confrontation: Curle (1971) stated that Awareness leads to a desire for change that often can be attained only through confrontation, and then a balance of power might be achieved, as well as legitimization of the weaker party's needs and interests. Only then can negotiation (or mediation bring a desirable change in relationship. In affirming Curle's model Galtung (1996:112) suggested that peacemaking aims to change the attitudes of the main protagonists, peacekeeping lowers the level of destructive behaviour, and peace-building tries to overcome the contradictions which lie at the root of the conflict. Dugan (1982) asserted that education is geared to all groups with any stake or interest in a conflict, confrontation is directed only at the adversary.

Stage III represents conciliation (negotiation). Woodhouse (2010) posits that during the course of the conflict, parties tend to develop negative, mistrustful feelings toward one another. This is particularly likely if the conflict has lasted for a long time and if people have died or been irreparably injured as a result of it. Curle (1971) underscores the importance of conciliation, which is a technique through which parties overcome feelings of antipathy, hatred, distrust, and resentment. Without overcoming these feelings and building a new base for a relationship, the agreement may not be durable or dependable. It is important that the

parties work together to re-knit their frayed relationship. It is conciliation that sets the stage for moving toward what Curle calls development, "the restructuring of unpeaceful relations to create a situation, a society, or a community in which individuals are enabled to develop and use to the full their capacities for creativity, service, and enjoyment." Lederach (1995) argues, the two strategies complement each other. Negotiations are possible after a balance of power has been established, and interests and needs have been identified and recognized. This is achieved through nonviolent advocacy.

Bargaining: Bargaining refers to efforts between parties to work out a resolution to the conflict which both find acceptable. In some cases, the parties may be able to fashion an agreement with no external assistance through negotiation. More likely, they may need a third-party to help them reach a mediated resolution. In either case, it is important that parties do more than simply reach an agreement.

From The Analysis Curle (1971) stated that there are four elements of good practice mediators should aim to achieve. These elements are:

- Provide Information on the facts so that conflict parties are not misled by rumor, prejudice, or misunderstanding.

- Build, maintain and improve Communications between the mediators and the protagonists to the conflict.

- Befriend, *referring* to the relationship between mediators and those with whom they are dealing with.

- Engage in Active mediation: mediators help the conflict parties to see possibilities for a solution that they might not otherwise have perceived.

He further expressed that before engaging in face-to-face negotiations, mediators should move from one conflict party to the other in an effort to see if there is common ground for a meeting.

Kofi Annan Conflict Resolution Strategy

Lindenmayer and Kaye (2009) highlighted strategies adopted by Kofi Annan and his team in

the mediation process of the postelection crisis in Kenya. These strategies are:

i.   Single mediation (Track 1); Inclusion of pressure group (Civil Society); iii. Separating the short-term from the long-term issues; iv. Media strategy; v. Pragmatic mediation and vi. Making negotiation a process and not an event

First, fostering the conditions for a single mediation process-with international support where possible - Annan (2008) is an essential step to begin pursuing solutions meaningfully. In Kenya, Annan assured that, first and foremost, he had the African leaders behind him and that he also had the support of the International Community and in particular the United States-which stepped in at pivotal moments to put pressure on the parties. While the process began with multiple mediator options, the panel managed to assert authority over the process, and to generate enough worldwide support in order to ask the parties to accept its mediation as the only one they would engage in.

Secondly, civil-society actors have a vital role to play in the dialogue Annan (2008); even if involving them and intimately in the negotiations around the table is not-always practical, their consultative involvement early on helps shape the process in a way that ensures that the people have a voice and that the necessary pressure is put on the government during the implementation phase. In Kenya, the active involvement of the media, religious groups, business communities, and peace activists was crucial for creating an atmosphere that was conducive to fruitful negotiations and for generating that vital link between an elite-level process and the grass-roots realities, to avoid disenchantment or dangerous disconnect. Civil Society engagement can be fostered and encouraged actively by mediators willing to take the time to listen to their views and engage them in the process where possible and appropriate.

Third, separating the short-term from the long-term issues Annan (2008) when drawing up a Road Map can prove essential in creating the much-needed nonviolent space for dialogue to proceed, as well as getting the parties used to agreement at a time when agreement with "the enemy" can be seen as a weakness. Putting the emphasis on ending the violence,

over and above seeking "truth" about the elections, meant that Kenyan lives rather than political power were put at the heart of the peace process. Given that ending the violence and addressing the humanitarian situation also involved apolitical, or at least nonpartisan, discussions, it was easier to encourage the parties to agree, and to generate a sense of teamwork and compromise. rapid agreement on the shorter-term agenda items, one and two, of the roadmap, was without doubt an important building block for the more difficult, long-term agenda items to follow.

Fourth, a carefully thought-out media strategy Annan (2008) is essential both to ensure that the process within the room is not derailed by political-point scoring outside the room and to keep the people fully on board and correctly informed; it can also prove to be a useful tool in moving the process in the right direction. In Kenya, the panel asked the parties early on to avoid making inflammatory statements to the press about the details of what was going on behind closed doors; when it seemed that they were not keeping their promises and that press statements risked sowing the seeds of failure, the decision to take the parties to an undisclosed location, where the media could no longer play a role, may have actually prevented the talks from deteriorating into exchanges of accusations and finger-pointing

Fifth, an emphasis on Pragmatism Annan (2008) can help overcome political differences, turning political questions into technical ones, postponing divisive debates over appellations, and focusing on practicalities rather than the "big picture" can all be useful strategies in helping negotiators to work as a team and to put peace before political aspirations or concerns. In Kenya, the use of technical experts-be they humanitarian, electoral, legal, or political-was an essential part of helping the parties to understand which solutions were feasible given the explosive environment in which they were operating; they also helped orient the parties to a problem-solving framework and away from adversarial negotiation strategies.

Sixth, understanding that negotiations are a process, rather than an event-and that the process is owned by the parties themselves-is integral to a holistic approach to peacemaking Annan (2008). Expectations can be managed more fruitfully if dialogue is engaged in as part

of a process, rather than simply a political exercise or event; the process has its own inherent worth, and trusting that the process will be constructive also means being patient. The panel reminded the parties to have patience when they appeared frustrated, and reminded them of progress already made when they were despondent; similarly, the panel was flexible and opens enough to see the talks as a process, one which needed their full engagement if they were going to succeed.

Annan's decision to stay was part of this realization and certainly helped the parties to realize he was certainly not in transit, but as much a part of the process as the parties, that said, while the mediator is a part of the *process,* the process always belongs to the parties. This was essential in the final stages of the peace process in Kenya: suspending the talks was the mediators' decision, but it was based on actions by the parties; and the ability to save the talks from collapsing lay with the parties, not the mediator.

Comparism of Curle's Model with Kofi Annan Strategy of Mediation in Post-Election Crisis of Kenya

Conflict Resolution Techniques, Comparism between Curle's Model and Kofl Annan Conflict Resolution Strategy in the Post- election crisis in Kenya.	
Curle's Model	**Kofi Annan mediation strategy**
Provide Information on the facts so that conflict parties a re not misledby rumour, prejudice, or misunderstanding.	Annan provide information by informing the conflict parties that the mediation process would be a single mediation
Build,maintain and improve Communications between the mediators and the protagonists to the conflict.	Annan build, maintain and improve communication by the media strategy he devised the media was a very useful tool to put pressure on the parties, when necessary, to add momentum or to plant the seeds of desirable outcomes inthe minds of the government, the people of Kenya, and the International Community.
Befriend, referring to the relationship between mediators and those with whom they are dealing with.	Understanding t hat negotiations area process, rather than an event-and that the processis owned by

	the parties themselves-is integral to a holistic approach to peace making.
Engage in Active mediation: mediators help the conflict parties to see possibilities for a solution that they might not otherwise have perceived.	Pragmatic mediation was an essential part of helping the parties to understand which solutions were feasible given the explosive environment in which they were operating; they also helped orient the parties to a problem-solving framework and away from adversarial negotiation strategies.

From the table Kofi Annan employed systematically the Curle's model but the point of divergent is on the process itself. Here Annan adopted the official mediation. Harris (1998) emphasized that building on pure mediation, power mediation (or "mediation with muscle") employs a powerful third party who uses incentive and punishments ("carrot and sticks") to persuade the parties yield inflexible positions and move towards agreement. Movement is based on the power relations between the mediator and each party, rather than on the inter-party relationship. This form of mediation is often associated with official mediation (Track 1).

While According to Curle (1986), mediation is an extension of the negotiation process, which occurs on many different levels, from inter-personal to international. To him, mediation involves the intervention of a third party, who may be more effective in getting the conflict parties to re-examine their positions, interest and needs. It is a voluntary process in which parties retain control over the outcome and the mediator merely acts as impartial facilitators of the process of communication. The mediator, unlike a judge or arbitrator, has no power outside the mediation situation and cannot make or impose binding decisions. The mediator's role is to facilitate direct negotiation on the subtractive issues, with the aim of producing a lasting settlement. This soft mediation or "pure mediation" which is most often associated with unofficial mediation (Track 2). The mediator is concerned with all parties, including other third parties and the relationship between them. Harris (1998) emphasized that building on pure mediation, power mediation (or "mediation with muscle") employs a powerful third party who uses incentive and punishments ("carrot and sticks") to persuade the

parties yield inflexible positions and move towards agreement. Movement is based on the power relations between the mediator and each party, rather than on the inter-party relationship. This form of mediation is often associated with official mediation (Track 1),

Griffiths (2009) Kofi Annan deserved much credit for his negotiation skills and lot keeping the public well informed through the media and by engaging with civil society, faith-based groups, the private sector and other stakeholders. That engagement had given Kenyan stakeholders' space to express their views and provide inputs into the process. The openness was appreciated by all and provided a platform for international support to the Kenyan process. Lindenmayer and Kayer (2009) also commended the tactic of extracting parties from their usual environments and enclosing them somewhere neutral where they are forced to spend time together is not an unusual one: Jimmy Carter used it in the Camp David Accords and many other negotiators have used it across the world. It is most useful in highly intractable conflicts where the parties to the discussion do not know each other personally, and the time can be used to build up trust and a certain level of understanding of the other party's position and perspective.

Woodhouse (2010) posits that Curle's later work in the 1990s revealed that much of his involvement took the form of supporting the activity of the Osijek Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights. Osijek, a town in the Eastern Slavonia province of Croatia, was, with the adjacent town of Vukovar, the site of the most violent fighting of the Serb Croat War. His involvement with the people of Osijek, who was trying to rebuild a tolerant society while surrounded by enraged and embittered feelings caused by the war, motivated a considerable amount of reflection by Curle on the problems of practical peacemaking. It was apparent, for example, that the model of mediation specified in his book, In the Middle, and distilled from his experiences in the conflicts of the 1970s and 1980s was very difficult to apply on the ground, in the confusion and chaos of the type of conflict epitomized by the wars in former Yugoslavia. It was still the case that the use of mediatory techniques would he much more likely to produce the shift in attitudes and understanding necessary for a stable peace, a

resolution of conflict, than the use of conventional diplomacy alone: "solutions reached through negotiation may be simply expedient and not imply any change of heart. And this is the crux of peace. There must be a change of heart. Without this no settlement can be considered secure." However, Curle (1990) realized through his involvement with the Osijek project that the range of conflict traumas and problems was so vast that the model of mediation based on the intervention of outsider-neutrals was simply not powerful or relevant enough to promote peace. tie made an important revision to his peace praxis, as follows: "Since conflict resolution by outside bodies and individuals has so far proved ineffective (in the chaotic conditions of contemporary ethnic conflict - particularly, but not exclusively, in Somalia, Eastern Europe and the former USSR), it is essential to consider the peacemaking potential within the conflicting communities themselves." (Cur1e, 1995: 96) Curle came to see the role of conflict resolution in post-cold war conflicts as providing a variety of support to local peacemakers through an advisory, consultative-facilitative role with workshops and training in a wide variety of potential fields which the local groups might identify as necessary.

Wainaina (2009) affirmed that Kenyan civil society had played five roles during the mediation process: first, it had responded to the emerging humanitarian crisis by ensuring domestic contributions to assistance that was channeled through the Red Cross with the support of the United Nations. The face of the humanitarian response had been Kenyan, a unique and unusual feature. Second, Kenyan civil society had generated the internal demand for peace - citizens' gatherings such as the Concerned Citizens for Peace and the Concerned Kenyan Writers had created the space and enabled the initial brokering between the parties. Seasoned domestic negotiators had begun to "break the ice" between the parties, laying an important foundation for the Panel's work. Third, Kenyan civil society had helped to generate the internal demand for truth and justice as preconditions for a sustainable peace - electoral truth as well as accountability for the violence. That had been a difficult challenge given the assumptions around the political affiliations of civil society organizations. Civil society had also worked to monitor and document the elections and the violence. As a result, one private

governance in Kenya. This landmark achievement opens new vistas in terms of the amenability of other succession-oriented conflicts in Africa to third party intervention and resolution. Also, this could provide new insights into new models of conflict resolution strategies as an approach towards peace-building in post conflict societies/communities in Africa.

The post-election violence in Kenya is deep-rooted. Seemingly, its causes can be traced as far back as during the colonial and independent Kenya history before December 2007. The violence that occurred in Kenya between December 2007 and February 2008 cannot simply be wished away. Concerted effort in 'cleaning' the political, economic, and social domains of the Kenyan society should seriously be undertaken for the benefit of all concerned. Politicizing the postelection violence in Kenya shall only worsen the plight of the already wounded persons. It will heighten ethnicity segregation and vulnerability of all the affected everyone in the future of the State.

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PERSPECTIVES OF ISLAMIC PEACE AND PEACE EDUCATION: AN OVERVIEW

Hashimu SHEHU
shehuhashimu67@gmail.com
Umaru Ali Shinkafi Polytechnic Sokoto

Jameel Mohammed BASHIR
jameelmkiru76@gmail.com

Samuel Opeyemi IROYE, PhD
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
Faculty of Social Sciences
National Open University[2]
siroye@noun.edu.ng

Musibau Olabamiji OYEBODE, PhD
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
Faculty of Social Sciences
National Open University

ABSTRACT

Islamic peace education is very comprehensive because its integrated values, ethics, morals and norms based on the Islamic fundamental teaching of peaceful living in all sphere of life. Though, to non-Muslims may not have a clear picture of whether Islam has peace education considering there is western peace education in particular. Therefore, this paper is divided into sections. This study discusses extensively practical aspect on the Islamic approaches to peace education which comprises of Non-violence; Peace-building; principles of fundamental rights, values and freedom of non-Muslim and by and large speaking the truth as the cardinal principles of Islam. The paper further elucidates some significant values attached to tolerance; individualism; neighbourhood; peaceful co-existence from the glorious Qur'an. Lastly, the paper concluded that Islam is entirely a religion of peace from its semantics and rhetoric. Therefore, this paper applies qualitative methodology which implored textual and content analysis of document and secondary sources used which are the glorious Quran, the Hadith which was the tradition of the prophet and other Islamic jurisprudence throughout study for clear perspective.

Keywords: Non-violence, Peace-building, Islam, Peace Education, Quran, Hadith

Introduction

The moral aspect of Islamic teaching concerns with the essential provision of rules, norms and principles guides on how society live with their lives in a normal channel which could be acceptable to all for cooperate existence as a whole (Familusi, 2010). Islamic peace education has not been given adequate attention simple because the western literatures dominate the academic scene in particular. Islamic peace education is an area that has not been either totally or adequately explore in order to utilizes it potential aspect in addressing social challenges, educational balance as well as knowledge economy of human peaceful interaction. The problems associate to this could be related to insufficient of academic literatures to showcase the relevant of Islamic peace education towards building culture of peace and promoting nonviolence. Again, the available literatures of scholars such as Abu-Nimer (2020), Muneer (2020) and Majied (2014), Anjum (2017) a few to mentioned have not been academically exposed in the contemporary academic cycle of peace education.

There is wide gap between western literatures and Islamic literatures on peace education both within and outside classroom. The issue here is that, Islamic peace education derived its prime source based on Islamic textual documents which comprises Quran, Hadith and Jurisprudent. Unlike western peace education relied on theories, models and empirical studies of western philosophers and thinkers. It's against this backdrop that based on the existing literature gap that this paper intended to address the existing problems by exploring Islamic peace education to bridge the gap. Therefore, the main objectives of this paper are to examines the Quranic peace in Islam, the Maqāṣid a-Shari 'ah of Islamic peace education, the practice of Islamic approaches on peace education. The paper also assesses the principles of fundamental rights, values and freedom of non-Muslims as well as the Teaching and Learning Approach of Islamic Peace Education. The methodology applied in paper is contextual analysis as part of the qualitative approach.

Conceptual Discourse

Religion in every society serves as an instrument of oneness, togetherness, brotherhood, cohesion, unity and tolerating one another for the progress of peace. It is, also used to control the social and spiritual life of the people in a community and in wider society. Religion is an instrument of building peace, enlightenment, development and inspiring one for co-existence, also a concept that promotes human welfare and better spiritual well-being for man (Sahee, 2013). The theologians found religion as something in connection to God or supernatural and spiritual powers. It also connecting soul with God in spiritualism or involved a belief in a hierarchy of spirits from the lower to the most powerful beings. The moral aspect of religion concerns with the essential provision of rules, norms and principles guides on how society live

with their lives in a normal channel which could be acceptable to all. Religion provides mental peace in human endeavoured (Familusi, 2010).

A number of literatures have reviewed the conceptualization of the religious conflict in broader sense. A religious conflict can, therefore, be as a conflict involving believers of two different faiths or the same religious faith (i.e. among Christianity or Islam believers) for the purpose of dominating the other faith in order to expand one faith at the expense of other. Parties in such conflict whip up religious sentiments and use religious symbols to mobilize support. With this, it becomes easy to identify a religious conflict. Therefore, it can be posited that there is actually religious conflict (Shehu H. , 2015). Religious conflict has been described as the threat or actual implementation of acts which have potential capacity to inflict physical, emotional or psychological injury on a person or a group of persons for religious ends. In view of that, the perpetrators of religious violence often represent or act in the name of a particular religious' causes (Ayinla, 2005). According to Dogo explanation of the objectives of religious conflict which include gaining recognition and freedom of worship and expression, conversion of non-believers, revere of injustice done to members of certain religious tradition, acquisition of land or property, political expediency etc. However, the means of achieving those goals are not justifiable.

Islam is comprehensive religion that deals with aspects of life, be it political, social, economic and religious (Bala, 2021). The word 'Islam´ speak itself from the content meaning and literary derives from Arabic word 'Silm' or 'Slim', meaning peace and happiness of here and hereafter. Islam is the total way of life for all mankind. In another point of paraphrasing, Islam connotes total submission, surrendering to one God and also the religion of peace, mercy, and forgiveness. Islam connote "Salam" and is one of attribute of Allah' names that is "Ya-Salam". The Quran says:

> Allah is He, there is no other god except Him; the Sovereign, the holy one, the source of peace (and perfection), the Guardian of the faith, the preserver of safety, the exalted in Mighty, the irresistible, the supreme; Glory is to Allah! High is He above the partners they attribute to Him". (Q: 59:23).
> Truly, the religion with Allah is Islam (3:19)
> Behold His Lord said to him: Submit (asim), He said: I submit (aslamtu) to the Lord and cherisher of the Universe. (Q: 2:131).

"*Salam*" is also one of the names of Jannah (Paradise) and the inhabitants of paradise will greet each other with '*Salam*'

The comprehensive Islamic meaning of peace entails both the inner personal, spiritual peace, and the outer social peace. According to tradition of the prophet of God (SAW) said:

A true Muslim is the person from whom other Muslims feel secured against abuse and attacks from his tongue and holds, and a true immigrant is a person who forsakes what Allah the Almighty has declared unlawful". (Bukhari and Muslims) (Abdul Majid, 2014).

The word '*Muslim*' means the one who has submitted him/herself to God and lives with peace. The rationale behind Islam is that, the more one submits his/herself to God, the more that person enjoy peace, tranquillity, and contentment in the life of humanity (Anjum, 2017). Like any other Holy books, the '*Quran*' is surely the Islamic glorious book of Muslims Ummah which believe to be Allah's final revelation and the word literary means '*recitation*'. Similarly, the Quran was both recited orally and written down in a book form. The true power of the Quran remains in the oral recitation, as it is meant to be read aloud melodiously for divine intervention. The holy Quran guides all the acts of mankind, even from the personal deeds to the international dimension (Monjur, 2011).

In addition to that, Quran also teaches mankind on the virtues of a good moral. Good moral means mankind need to have morals relating to three dimensions. The divinity, humanity, and faulty. First, with the regard to the dimension of the human morals divinity that is to say humans have an attachment with Allah. Second, human moral, relating to the human being must have a relation with a man as a social being.

Empirical Review of Literature

The word 'peace' has been mentioned many times in the Holy Qur'an with their synonymic meanings and derivatives that including *muslimat*, *muslimuna*, *salama*, *salimina*, and *al-salm*. Thus, Peace is an important issue of coexistence which has been mentioned in 48 out of 114 chapters. Scholars of Islamic reputes have dwelled extensively on the studies of peace from the glorious Quranic perspective in broader sense. Islam examined the concept of peace in the light of the Qur'an, which aimed to gain tolerance, nonviolence attitudes, compassionate, as well as brotherhood Islamically (Muneer Karama, 2020). However, in another related reviews of Majied (2014), Anjum (2017), Muthalif (2016), Akhtar, Heidarizad (2016), Khasawneh (2013) and Al-Jamal (2017), have critically examined peace in accordance to glorious Quran that it, a way of command of interaction peacefully between individuals, groups and communities at large, not just that but also stability; equilibrium as well as harmony among all religious diverse. More so, peace in the light of holy Quran is resourceful which deals with promotion of freedom for all people; encourages security for individuals and societies so that they are safe from worries and by and large Quran teaches way of peaceful reconciliation in all matters related to divergent views (Abdul Majid, 2014; Anjum, 2017; Mohamed M.A.M, 2016; Saeed A., 2016; Mohammad H. S., 2013; Omar M. K., 2017; Meraj, 2016).

In perceptive, Meraj (2016) studied the concept of brotherhood in the Holy Qur'an and discovered that brotherhood and peace address the same issue, that is, promoting mutual respect between humanity in all ramification. In another scholarly discourse, Ahmad Manusor (2012) examined the core content of peace from the Holy Qur'an which is the origin of the understanding of Islam as a religion and the bases of the relationship between Muslims and others. Mustaqim (2017), developed a thematic and hermeneutical method to address normative essence of peace in the Holy Quran and he concluded that humanism and tolerance are the moral aspect of Quranic teaching of peace building and peace management in particular (Ahmad, 2012; Anjum, 2017; Azad, 2011; Mohamed M.A.M, 2016; Rosidin, 2020). In a relative term, the word '*Peace*' has been ascribed as '*Salam', 'Yaslemu'.* or *'As-salam'* in Arabic perspective form which means to surrender or submit to God. The Islamic greetings also implies peace that is '*As-Salamu-Alaikum'* or '*Salamu-Alaikum*' means '*Peace be Upon You'* in traditional religious ways. There is peace in the sense of praising of which the Almighty says, *Peace be upon Noah in the world* (Q, 37: 79). (Muneer Karama, 2020; Omar M. K., 2017; Rosidin, 2020).

However, in another perspective, peace means sense of goodness. The Quran says:
Devotees of Ar-Rahman are those who walk with humility on the earth, and
when they are addressed by the ignorant, say: "Peace; (Q, 25: 63).
The fact here is that, if ignorant people addressed to God, including hate to say, answered them by the favour. The Quran says:
Turn away from them and say: 'Peace'. "They will come to know soon" (Q, 43: 89);
Ibn KathEr said,
Do not answer them if they address you with bad talk, but desist and forgive
them already and say good things (Muneer Karama, 2020; Rosidin, 2020).
From the above textual review on the Quranic statement on peace generally, there is the belief that approximately half of the chapters of the Holy Qur'an focus on peace, meaning to say, they indicate the importance of peace in Islam and emphasize unity and righteousness, which refute the views of those ones who destroy societies in the name of Islam (Mohamed M.A.M, 2016; Muneer Karama, 2020).

The Quranic Peace Education in Islamic Paradigm
The Qur'anic Peace education is comprehensive, richness and also typically concern with the strengthening cordial harmonious relation among the laws of God (*Theos*), it also includes people's necessity (*Anthropos*) as well as wider perspective of universe as entity (*Cosmos*). The relation of three elements were more connected to harmony when critically examine the

position of both human and universe as the signs of God's authority. Based on that, it also captures on three categories as follows:

a. **Knowledge:** meaning the cognition or power to secern or separate between the road of truth and false (7:146); not traverse anything when its heart and soul is still unknown (27: 84); not refuse actual reality (53: 11).

b. **Attitude** which has to do with incorporation of peace (sakīnah); loving and caring each other's (mawaddah) and caring imagination (2: 164); incorporation of the characters indicate obeying religious principle of rules instead of fleshly desire (6: 150) and incorporation of eccentric, meaning to be gratitude for the benediction of both natural and human resources. (55: 13)

- **Maqāṣid a-Shari 'ah of Islamic Peace Education Life Skill** implies Rahma attitudes. (30: 21); applying or enforcing a prophetic core educational system based on tilāwah, tazkiyyah and ta'līm (3: 164); the employ natural resourcefulness and acquiring human resources (2: 164); edifice civilized society with essential welfare and faith (34:15) as well as supporting fringy groups, such as difable people (24: 61), all in recognition with high esteem to human social affairs (Rosidin, 2020).

However, the central aim of Islamic rules comprising of *hifzud'-dīn*, *hifzun'-nafs*, *hifzul'- 'aql*, *hifzun-nasl*, *hifzul'-māl* and *hifzul'- 'irḍ*. Furthermore, it contributes to the wider perspective of *Maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*, which is *hifzul'-'ālam* which deals with environmental control, such as life both up-shore and onshore, climate change as well as affordable of clean water for purifying soul (Rosidin, 2020; Sezai Ozcelik and Ayse, 2010; Wahyudin, 2018).

i. *First* is *hifzud'-dīn* (upholding of faith). It is testimony that from making the Qur'an as starting point for both theory and practice of Qur'anic peace education.

ii. *Second* is *hifzun'-nafs* (conserving of soul and body). In this case, can be seen from the effort to protect both body and soul of human evils.

iii. *Third* is *hifzul'- 'aql* (sustenance of mind), in this regard, based on support on fact-based science, rather of dupery one.

iv. *Fourth* is *hifzun-nasl* (preserving of offspring). It is established by construction harmonious social inter-relation, corporation, sustainability on both intra and inter-religious affiliations.

v. *Fifth* is *hifzul'-māl* (sustenance of wealth) to establish society's social welfare through adequate utilization of both natural and human endeavour.

vi. *Sixth* is *hifzul'- 'irḍ* (preserving of honours) in order to support on less privileges people such as those with various degree of abilities.

vii. *Seventh* is ***hifẓul'-'ālam*** (conservation of environment) in order to harness the surround and build up natural resources (Rosidin, 2020; Abdul Majid, 2014; Ahmad, 2012; Sezai Ozcelik and Ayse, 2010; Wahyudin, 2018).

The above principles laws indicate that Qur'anic peace education simply implies to build a positive peace, instead of negative ones among nation. The major concern of Qur'anic peace education on the positive peace stated that human enmity is a life inevitability; but on regards to the unity and communion is surely a choice. The Quran says:

> Mankind was [of] one religion [before their deviation]; then Allah sent the prophets as bringers of good tidings and warners and sent down with them the Scripture in truth to judge between the people concerning that in which they differed. And none differed over it [i.e., the Scripture] except those who were given it – after the clear proofs came to them – out of jealous animosity among themselves. And Allah guided those who believed to the truth concerning that over which they had differed, by His permission. And Allah guides whom He wills to a straight path. (Qur'an, 2: 213).

In view of this, the Qur'anic peace education designed its principles in order to reduce two categories of violence.

i. The number one principle is directed towards violence both personal, which include murder, rape, arson and terrorism; and institutional ones such as war and natural desersters or destruction because of industrial sectors.

ii. The number two principle is concern with indirect violence which fall out structurally as in the case of sexism, poverty, discrimination, racism, hunger, inadequate of educational resourcefulness and healthcare service (Muneer Karama, 2020; Rosidin, 2020).

The Practice of Islamic Approaches to Peace Education

a. The "Afw"

The concept of Afw in Islamic tradition means forget and forgiveness for the sake of Allah and it should be held with high esteem in dealings with conflict at both personal affairs and public levels. Forgiveness is given preference over anger and revenge no matter how the circumstances of the evil of the offense characterised. From the holy Quran state that *"And who shun the more heinous sins and abominations; and who, whenever they are moved to anger, readily forgive." (42: 37)*. The Quran does not limit forgiveness only to the large conflict, rather, it extended to the manner of interaction among individuals and communities for the cultivations of peace culture in particular. The holy Quran clearly stated that

> Keep to forgiveness and enjoin kindness and turn away from the ignorant.
> And if it should happen that a promoting from Satan stirs thee up (to anger)
> seeks refuge with Allah: behold, He All- hearing, All- knowing. (7: 199-200).

It has been reported by Oqbah ibn Amr that the Messenger of Allah said,

> you shall keep relationship with one who cut off from you, you shall give one
> who disappointed you, and you shall pardon one who oppressed you.

In another narration by Abu Hurairah reported that the Messenger of Allah said:

> Moses son of Imran had asked: O my Lord! Who is the best honourable of
> Thy servants to Thee? He [the God] said: He who pardons when he is in
> position of power. (Amir, 2010).

The fact here is, forgiving others whether at lower level or while being in the position of power is a sign of generosity of spirit, oneness, humility as well as humanity. In another Hadith, Abu Hurayra reported that the Messenger of Allah said:

> The strong one is not he who knocks out his adversary; the strong one is he
> who keeps control over his temper.

In general term, the amnesty given to all the oppressors on the day of conquest of Macca and the distribution of war booty after the Battle of Hunayn to Maccans is sign of an understanding that forgiveness in Islam is not just forgetting and moving on, but also, an act of improving relationships with adversaries and gaining their respect and trust wholeheartedly (Syed, 2009).

b. The Sabir

The word *Sabr* has been elucidate on the notion of non-violence attitude in clear perspective (Khan, 2010). The holy Quran does not enforce on passivism but it employs orientation to nonviolence and peace over violence and conflict in particular. The entire of holy Quran disembodied spirit is articulated on consensus with the aspect of peace and nonviolence, whereas it does not approve the use of violence as a means or norm in all sphere of life. When the holy Quran revealed to the Prophet Mohammad (SAW.), at the Cave of Hira Mountain, he kept the recitation of the Quran peaceful and secretly in order to avoid violent confrontation with the opposition in Makkah. When dehumanisation reached to peak against him and his companions, instead of retaliating and reacting violently, the Prophet Mohammad (SAW.) preferred secret migration to Medina from Makkah for peace management. Similarly, during the battle of Al-Ahzab when the tribe of Quraysh had initiated a war, then the Prophet Mohammad (SAW.) with his companions dug trenches to just to avoid a violent battle. This is another example of Prophet's character for nonviolence irrespective of circumstance (Abu-Nimer M. , 2003).

c. Non-violence Approach in Islam

Islam has a long-standing history of nonviolent teachings and practices, through the Quranic juridical interpretation on the ethics of violence dating as far back as the 9th century. Surely,

Al-salam is among the 99 names of Allah in the Quran which ascribes as '*the author of peace safety and severity'* (Jafari, 2012). In several occasion, when individuals, groups and communities disagree with certain issues or face with unprecedented conflict; there exists two approaches to conflict resolution that is violent approach and nonviolent methods. Violence leads to aggressiveness, destruction, anger and hatred, whereas nonviolence provides with peaceful means of avoiding violence and confrontation. The Quran tells us that Allah does not like *Fasad* or those who perpetrate *Fasad*

> And of the people is he whose speech pleases you in worldly life, and he calls Allah to witness as to what is in his heart, yet he is the fiercest of opponents. And when he goes away, he strives throughout the land to cause corruption, therein and destroy crops and animals. And Allah does not like corruption. And when it is said to him, "Fear Allah, pride in the sin takes hold of him. Sufficient for him is Hellfire, and how wretched is the resting place. (2:204-05; 28:4; 30:41; 26:150-52; 7:74).

Islam is a religion which prefers nonviolence means over violence or confrontation. All most all the basic virtues revealed in the Quran like patience, kindness, forgiveness truth, generosity and respect for human life and dignity are also guiding principles for modern day nonviolent strategic action. For instance, the holy Quran attaches great importance to patience more especially on the relationship between patience and nonviolence. Patience implies a peaceful response or reaction, whereas impatience implies a violent response.

Peace-building in Islamic Context

The holy Quran attaches great importance to mutual consultation and consensus building, and has therefore introduced the principle of *Shura, Sulh* and *Salih Amal* for peace-building approaches.

i.   'SURA' (Council)

The *Sura* is most common method apply under the Islamic law for conflict management. The concept is also term as the council of expert which is recognised in Islamic political affairs of a government. Again, *Sura* is encouraged as a means for dispute settlement in all aspect of a Muslim's life. In fact, it is described as an attribute of a believer (Cader, 2017; Abdul Aziz Said, 2012; Abubakar, 2014). Quran say:

> And those who have responded to their lord and established prayer and whose affair is (determined by) consultation among themselves (42:38). (Abu-Nimer-2003).

It is imperative that the fundamental principles of Islam comprised justice, equality and human dignity. Shura is essentially parallel to the democratic principle in Western political thought, having analogous aspects and about the same tendency or direction. It has outlined

its principles of teaching in three dimensions respectively. Firstly, Islam declared that all persons in any given society in respective of their status or gender are equal in human and civil rights with clear conscience. Secondly, Islam allowed and recognised those public issues are best decided by majority decision not few minded views. And thirdly, that the concept of principles of justice, equality and human dignity, which constitute Islamic moral laws, and from which all Islamic perception of human and civil rights derive, are best actualized, in personal as well as public life, under the Shura governance (Sulaiman, 2010).

The holy Quran states,

> Those who answer their lord establish the prayers and their affairs are by consultation; who spend of that which we have given them. (42:38). (Sulaiman, 2010).

ii. *'Sulh'(Conciliation) and 'Salih Amal'* (Good Deeds)

From the Quranic perspective, emphases should be given to the relationship between the concept of *Sulh* and that of *Salih Amal* (good deeds). Salih, like Sulh, comes from the same root and means to approach to peace or to move towards establishing peace". 'Suhl', is refer to 'conciliation' and reconciliation, aims at providing enabling environment for "ending conflict and hostility between believers so that they may rebuild their old relationships in peace and unity. 'Suhl' has been mentioned in the holy Quran says:

> And if you fear a breach between the twain (the man and wife), appoint an arbiter from his folk. If they desire amendment God will make them of one mind. (4:35). "Lo! God commands you that you restore deposits to their owners, and, if you judge between people, that you judge with justice. Lo! Comely is this, which God admonishes you. Lo! God is ever Hearer, Sear. (4:58). "But no, by your lord they can have no real faith until they make you judge in all disputed between them, and find in their souls no resistance against your decisions, but accept them with the fullest conviction. (4:65).
>
> Islamically, a good Muslim is the one whose hand and tongue leave other Muslim is

peace". According to both the Quran and Prophet's tradition, Muslims are supposed to settle their conflicts and disagreements in peaceful manner. The holy Quran says:

> In most of their secret talks, save him who orders charity or kindness or conciliation between mankind ad he who does this seeking the good pleasure of Allah, we shall give him great reward. (4: 14).
>
> In another verse of the holy Quran explicitly encourages Muslims to seek for peaceful

intervention to resolve an issue. The holy Quran says,

> If two parties among the believers fall into a quarrel, make you peace between them: but if one of them transgress beyond bounds against the other, then fight you (all) against the one that transgress till it complies with

the command of Allah; but if it complies then make peace between them with justice, and be fair: for Allah loves those who are fair. Believers are but a single brotherhood: so make peace and reconciliation between your two (contending) brothers, and fear Allah, that you may receive mercy. (49:9-10).

The verses quoted above stress both the importance of peaceful interventions as dialogue and the need for the dialogue or any other peaceful means to enshrine justice and fairness among all mankind. God has ordinance mankind to associate with the justice in dealings with affairs even if it against his relatives' ones.

Settlement has been an integral part of Islamic reconciliation and conflict resolution. Prophet Mohammad's (SAW) inventive through noble approach to resolve the dispute between tribes of Macca regarding the replacement of the black stone in Kaaba, is one remarkable example. "Black stone was historically attached to Abraham as the original construction of Ka'abah and was a reminder Meccan's noble ancestry. The dispute emanated as a result of replacing the Black Stone after Kaabah was rebuilt due to badly destructed by the heavy floods. Every tribe swore that they have the honour of replacing it and they would not hesitate to kill if they were not given that honour and privileges to replace it. In order to douse the tension, the Prophet (SAW) asked the chief of all disputant tribes to hold edge of a piece of the sheet on which the black stone was placed whereby they jointly lifted the sheet, and then Mohammad (SAW) lifted the rock and placed on its original position. Nobody felt discontented because every clan had participated during the peace process (Hart, 1992; Mohammad A. A., 2011).

The Principles of Fundamental Rights, Values and Freedom of Non-Muslims

Islam is a religion that dealt with fundamental rights of both Muslims and non-Muslims exclusively. Part of these rights include freedom of beliefs and worship in a rightful manner without interference or molestation or incarceration. Islam is not a religion of forceful conversion or compulsion of whatsoever, but Muslims are command to win the hearts of disbelievers who mingled and interact with, by showing love, kindness and succour to them, so that at the end of the day the non-Muslims become pursuance and embrace Islam on their well. Islam recognised freedom of worship and the safety of Monasteries as such it did not interfere into ways peoples of other faiths practised their religions and even offered them security in their places of worship. The Prophet (SAW), wrote to the people of Najran about security, involving the safety of their churches and non-interference in their affairs and worship by assuring that this was a pact involving them, Allah and His Messenger. It has been reported by Ibn Sa'ad said: *"The Prophet (SAW), wrote to the Bishop of Bani Harith bn Ka'ab, Najran Bishops, priests and their other followers as well as followers that whatever is in their*

priests, between them and Allah and His Messenger, that no bishop or monk or priest would change the pact". There was also the treaty of Hudaibiyyah which signified fundamental human rights. (Abubakar, 2014; Ahmad, 2012; Shehu, 2021). Islam as a religion not only lays down foundational principles towards a peaceful and just society, but has also stressed upon putting these values and principle in practice for the empowerment of the weak and oppressed. In Islam passivity is looked down upon and there is great support for "dynamic social activism in terms of individual duties and sense of social responsibility (Abu-Nimer, 2003). The holy Quran discusses on characteristic of the right as the one who are active in executing tasks that will benefit others and says,

> They believe in Allah and the Last Day, and enjoin the right and forbid the wrong, and compete in doing good. They are among the righteous. (3: 114). (Abu-Nimer a. D., 2015).

In Islamic point of view, all human beings have been created by one and the same God, and belong to one great brotherhood, that is why Islam has laid great emphasis on the activism to support the poor and needy so as to empower the society. According to Islam, a nation cannot survive without making fair and adequate arrangement for the sustenance and welfare of all the poor, underprivileged, destitute members of every community. The ultimate goal would be the elimination of their sufferings and poverty. Understanding the complementary religious principles is helpful in achieving peace and harmony in the society (Mohammad A. A., 2011).

i. Tolerance in Islamic Perspective

Tolerance is a deliberate choice of non-interference in the conduct that one disapproves. Tolerance demands us to accept people and permit their practices even when there is strongly disapprove of them. Tolerance, however, require collective attitude that is intermediate between wholehearted acceptance and unrestrained opposition. Tolerance is the willingness to accept the opinion or behaviour of others that one may not like or agree with even though it causes pain or suffering for the purpose of peace to rain and harmony to stay (Thowfeek; Scanlon, 2003; Saheed, 2016). The Islamic theology of tolerance derived from the Quran also through the practice of the prophet Muhammad (SAW). It is part of the teaching of the prophet and commandment by Allah that Muslim should accommodate one another irrespective of their social status or religious affiliation. The Quran says:

> And thus, We have made you a median [i.e., just] community that you will be witnesses over the people and the Messenger will be a witness over you. And We did not make the qiblah which you used to face except that We might make evident who would follow the Messenger from who would turn back on his heels. And indeed, it is difficult except for those whom Allah

has guided. And never would Allah have caused you to lose your faith [i.e., your previous prayers]. Indeed, Allah is, to the people, Kind and Merciful. (2:143).

Tolerance is the basis for dialogue because that was the reason that the Prophet Muhammad (SAW) was guided to look for common things with the people of the Book. In this case Islam forbid Muslims violating other with enmity, anger or labelling them as infidel can be considered as not Islamic in its totality.

ii.   Neighbourhood

Islam command and admonished its followers to be kinds, love and cherish to their neighbours both near and far, succour to orphan, not only that but also to established a strong bond of togetherness with other faith as a sign of tolerance. The Quran says:

> Worship Allah and join none with Him (in worship); and do good to parents, kinsfolk, orphan, Al-Masakin (the need), the neighbour who is near of kin, the neighbour who is a stranger, the companion by your side…(Q4:36) (Thowfeek).

iii.   Peaceful Co-existence

Islam permitted the lawful living together peacefully, mutual understanding among various tribes, discourages fight on whatsoever course against the fundamental right and partisanship with those who are non-Muslims in respect of their origin, colour and background. The verses that stated the right and lawfulness of peaceful co-existence are numerous as follows: The Quran says:

> Allah forbids you not, with regard to those who fight you not for (your) Faith nor drive you out home, from dealing kindly and just with them: For Allah loves those who fight you for (your) Faith and drive you out of your homes, and support (others) in driving you out, from turning to them (for friendship and protection). It is such as turn to them (circumstances), that do wrong. (Q8:9). (Abubakar, 2014).

God created mankind in various tribes and nation so as to enable them knowing each other difference with mutual understanding and respect humanity. The Quran says:

> O mankind! We created you from single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into Nations and tribes, that you may know each other (Not that you may despise (Each other). Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is (he who is) the most acquainted (with all things).

It has been reported from the Hadith of Prophet which prohibited of committing injustice against the Allies and Dhimmis. The Prophet (SAW) was reported that: *"Whosoever harms a Dhimmi actually harms me and whosoever harms me actually harms Allah.* "Islam permit the visitation of non-Muslims sick persons because during the life time of the Prophet Muhammad, (SAW) visited one of Jewish boy (who use to serve him) when he fell sick, sat

close to him and said: *"Embrace Islam!".* The boy looks at his father who was with him at that time. The father to the boy said to him: *"Obey the instruction of Aba al-Qasim"* (meaning the Prophet SAW). Then, the boy embraced Islam. Islam also permit the acceptance of gifts from non-Muslims in as much as those gifts are lawful. It however encourages interacting with non-Muslims in the course of business, acquiring skills and borrowing of things from them. It has been reported by 'Aishah, (May Allah be pleased with her), reported that: *"The Messenger of Allah, (SAW) died while his garment was mortgaged to a Jew for thirty measures of (sha'ir) a kind of (cereal)"*. Transmitted by al-Bukhari. (Abubakar, 2014).

The Teaching and Learning Approach of Islamic Peace Education

There is indication that worship without adequate knowledge has no goodness and value in it. The fact that knowledge without understanding has no goodness in it, so also, the recitation of the Quran, which is not thoughtful, has no goodness in it. (Abu Dawud; Tirmidhi). Pursuit of knowledge and reasoning are subjects to central Islamic tradition. Islam considers knowledge as essential for both spiritual and mental development. However, knowledge without creativity and philosophical thinking is valueless. In the field of peace education, creativity and critical thinking are among educational attitudinal value. Meaning to say, Ijtihad or independent thinking is useful as a principle of creative and critical thinking in Islam education (Azad, 2011).

a. Teaching Objectives of Islamic Peace Education

The idea behind subjects of education were to provide teaching resourcefulness so as to implement critical issues toward peace education, which are peace keeping, peace-making, peace building and anticipating any causes of violence. The course content of education process consists of four core elements that include aim, material, method and evaluation. The overall aim of Qur'anic peace education is to provide enabling environment for build peace (Azad, 2011). Therefore, it is against this backdrop to design in detailed of aim based on hermeneutic terms of *salima*, *qatala* and derivation of both found in Qur'an, 2: 191, 2: 208, 4: 93, 4: 94, 8: 61, 25: 63, 37: 84, 5: 30, 9: 36; and 17: 33 as following:

i. Knowledge

Means to build a critical reasoning through habituation of *tabayyun* (4: 94), while explaining *jihād* ethics in both contexts of war and peaceful condition (9:36); as well as exploring criminal laws relating to violence act, including murder and terrorism (17: 33)

ii. Attitude

Incorporating the characters or behaviour of peace and love one (8: 61) and at the same time building a peaceful heart called *qalb salīm* (37: 84).

iii. Life Skill

Enforcing Islamic teaching generally in the sense of *īmān*, *Islam* as well as the attitude of *iḥsān*(2: 2018); doing polite coexistence and communication skill with the jahil community (25: 73); as well as applying de-radicalization values in a family realm, societal setting (5: 30), among Muslims ummah (4: 93) and among believers (2:191). (Rosidin, 2020; Mohammad A. A., 2011; Sezai Ozcelik and Ayse, 2010).

Islamic Peace Education Methods to Students Approach

The approach to Islamic peace education is through presentation of effective and efficient of Qur'anic peace education method. One of the appropriate methods in Islamic education is refer to *al-ḥikmah* with various significant meanings. Therefore, method approach to Qur'anic peace education is applicably centred on hermeneutical perspective of *ḥakama*, *hawā* and derivation of them are found in holy Qur'an, 2:151, 2: 269, 11: 1, 16: 125, 31: 12, 4: 135, 18: 28, 30: 29, 38: 26, and 79: 40 as follow:

a. Justice principles based participatory method (4: 135)
b. The lecture method explaining physical reality and spiritual essence (11: 1)
c. Proportional method between individual need and students' collaboration (18: 28)
d. Problem solving method or problem-based learning (38: 26)
e. The method of *tilāwah*, *tazkiyyah* and *ta'līm* (2: 151)
f. The method of scientific work and practical science (2: 269)
g. Scientific method (30: 29)
h. The method of *maw'iẓah* (31: 12)
i. *Riyāḍah* method or anger/desire controlling (79: 40)
j. The method of giving good example or *uswah* (16: 125) (Azad, 2011; Muneer Karama, 2020; Rosidin, 2020) (Sezai Ozcelik and Ayse, 2010; Wahyudin, 2018).

Conclusion

Islam is entirely a religion of peace, harmony and loving state of affairs of both Muslim and non-Muslim Ummah. It is a comprehensive religion of every affair of mankind and above all a religion of peaceful co-existence only that some fanatical Muslims take it to a different dimension, misinterpret its core content and principles of teaching ascendance down to mankind. Islamic peace education teaches oneness, humility, forgiveness, endurance, helping the needy and above all recognises fundamental rights of every individual and groups, both non-Muslims and Muslims irrespective of their gender or status. Islamic peace education recognises other faith and respect the doctrine of other religions.

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THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS OF VIOLENT CONFLICT IN NIGERIA: A PERSPECTIVE ON BOKO HARAM ISLAMIC SECT

Rahmatullah Abubakar LAMORDE
ramatulamorde@yahoo.com

and

Basil IBEBUNJO, PhD
Department of Peace and Conflict Resolution,
Faculty of Social Sciences,
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja
bibebunjo@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

This study examines the theoretical understanding of violent conflict in Nigeria: A perspective on the Boko Haram Islamic Sect. The paper adopts eclectic approach that is, combination of relational/vengeance, the human needs/socio-economic/deprivation-frustration – Aggression, social learning and social identity theories) for this analysis. Based on this, using historical design which is qualitative and explorative in nature, the paper found out that there has been plethora of reason adduced to this development, each of the perspectives offers some degree of insight into the problem, as well as the general patterns of conflicts and violence in Nigeria, which Boko Haram merely epitomizes. Findings from the study show that the Boko Haram insurgency and indeed conflicts and violence in Nigeria is a direct consequence of cumulative sociological, political, (religious) and historical relationships, deprivation and frustration caused by inequality, economic deprivation, poverty, unemployment, corruption and bad governance in Nigeria, snowballing into frustration and leading to aggression on government officials, government agencies, institutions and members of the society.

Keywords: Boko Haram, conflict, violence, Islamic Sect

Introduction

Conflict is indeed a part and parcel of nature. Human, on individual or group basis often experience conflict. Conflict exists within individuals, between one person and another person, between one group and another group. No country or community is untouched by it. Wilmot and Hocker (2001) explains that conflict is "an expressed struggle between at least two interdependent parties who perceive incompatible goals, scarce resources and interference from others in achieving their goals. Over the past few decades, Nigeria has been confronted by multiple violent conflicts based on overlapping ethnic, religious, political and regional divisions including, notably the resilient Boko Haram "Western education is forbidden," in the north east, long-running discontent and militancy in the Niger Delta, increasing violence between herders and farming communities spreading from the central belt southward, separatist Biafra agitation in the Igbo south east, and kidnappings nationwide.. However, the Boko Haram ('Western education is a sin') conflict is the latest in the long list of such violent conflicts to afflict Nigeria in recent times.

In affirmative, Amalu (2015) argued that since the country returned to democratic rule in 1999, the Boko Haram sect is at the forefront. According to Abdulkarim, Abeeb Mohammed and Idriss (2018), Boko-Haram insurgency have been on for over a decade beginning from 2009- up-to-date. Their cruel activities have been so devastating; they kill people in mass and indiscriminately too. They also kidnap people too, especially women, youths and children. A notorious example of this was the brazen kidnapping of the Chibok Girls on 14 April 2014 (Olojo, 2015) and the Dapchi Girls (2018). These two incidents which attracted both national and international outrage demonstrate not only the brutal nature of the insurgency but also the complexity of the crises. The group was reported to have taken over some villages and local government areas in Borno, Yobe and Adamawa states and proclaimed Gwoza, a village in the suburb of Borno state as the seat of their caliphate. The frequent ransacking of villages and the attendant displacements, loss of lives and property has made life nasty and brutish in this part of the country and there appears no end in sight for the hellish situation.

Furthermore, one of the outcomes of the security challenge imposed by the Boko Haram insurgency on Nigerian society has been the evolving preponderance of theories that attempt to explain the challenge posed by the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria. How relevant these theories are to the explanation of the current crisis is the question to which this paper addresses itself. Against the foregoing background, this paper is poised to examine the theoretical underpinning of violent conflict in Nigeria: A perspective on the Boko Haram Islamic Sect.

The activities of the BHT group in North eastern Nigeria pose security challenges to the country. The threat of the group to Nigeria, its neighbours and the international community cannot be ignored. Despite the efforts by the government of Nigeria to halt the increasing violence of Boko Haram conflict in the north-east, the activities of the sect seem to be unabated, the violent campaign embarked upon by the Boko Haram Islamic sect has refused to die down. So far, the conflict has claimed the lives of several thousand people, displaced more than 2.3 million and has left at least 7.7 million people in need of urgent humanitarian assistance. Aside the human cost in the protracted Boko Haram conflict, the atrocities of the sect have socioeconomic implications, especially in the northeast where Boko Haram has dominance. According to Okereocha (2012) human capital and investors drain is hampering economic development in the northeast this is due to the attacks on banks, markets, parks and government departments. The attacks on these commercial areas have led to the migration of people to other parts of the country.

Also, the current challenges posed by the Boko Haram sect in Nigeria is not only about the viciousness of its terror campaigns, it is also about confusion regarding the exact cause(s) of the violence. Several theories have emerged to explain the problem, broadly revolving around socio-economic, political, and religious themes. While each of the competing perspectives indeed may offer some valid approximation of the real cause(s) of conflicts and violence in Nigeria, the multiplicity has tended to frustrate a clear understanding of the problem and articulation of appropriate response to it. This paper set out to explore relevant and suitable theories that explain the brain behind the sudden rise of the Boko Haram in the

Northern region. How relevant these theories are to the explanation of the current crisis is the question to which this paper addresses itself.

Conceptual Clarifications

For the purpose of conceptual explanation and to limit the level of uncertainty, which is among the rules and characteristics of academic research, it is important to examine some of the concepts and terms that are used in this paper.

Concept of Conflict

Etymologically, the term conflict is derived from the Latin verb confligere meaning 'to clash', 'engage in a fight' (Osimen, Akinwunmi, and Adetula, 2015). Present conceptions are not particularly at variance with this but appear to have grown wider in meaning. Therefore, there are many definitions of the term 'conflict', the multiplicity of its definition however, has always pointed at one direction; that conflict is an enduring aspect of social existence (Musa, Shabu and Igbawua, 2016). Schmid (2000) attempted a synthesised definition of conflict. Here, conflict is viewed as an antagonistic situation or adversarial process between at least, two individuals or collective actors, over means or ends such as resources, power, status, values, goals and relations of interest. The ranges of outcomes include victory, defeat, domination, surrender, neutralization, conversion, coercion, injury or destruction and elimination of the opposite party or, alternatively, the solution, settlement or transformation of the conflict issue. Conflict reflects a determined action or struggle over a goal which may be overt or subtle, manifest, or imagining (Akpuru-Aja, 2007). Yecho (2006) asserted that conflict is a condition of disharmony within an interaction process. This usually comes about as a result of clash of interests between the parties involved in some form of relationship.

The Foundation Coalition (2012), defined conflict "as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values or goals". Kalu (2003), stated that "conflict is a process of interaction between two or more parties that seek to thwart, injure or destroy their opponent because they perceive they have incompatible goals or interests" (Kalu 2003). According to Swanstrom and Weissmann (2005) conflict is the result of opposing interests

involving scarce resources, goal divergence and frustration. It happens when two or more people or groups have, or think they have, incompatible goals. Furthermore, Imobighe's (2003) submit that conflict represents a condition of disharmony within an interaction process usually as a result of a clash of interest between the parties involved in some form of relationship. Udomisor (2002) defined conflict as the "result of differences in opinion, attitude and behaviour; differences in the philosophical, psychological, sociological, political and economic orientation of the interactors in a given system."

Sequel to the above, one can easily perceive that conflict connotes the occurrence of dispute, disagreement, or controversy that may take the form of ideas, viewpoints or value interests between two or more individuals or groups, which results in a disharmonious interpersonal or intergroup relationship or in extreme cases, violent show of aggression.

Violence

Violence is a concept that has attracted huge attention among the scholars in peace and conflict studies, criminology and security studies as well psychology. Consequently, a lot of definitions have emerged. Jackman (2002) proposes a 'generic definition' he puts it as 'actions that inflict, threaten or cause injury. These actions may be corporal, written or verbal, psychological, material or social'. Elizabeth Stanko's often-cited definition is that violence is 'any form of behaviour by an individual that intentionally threatens to or does cause physical, sexual or psychological harm to others or themselves' (Stanko 2001). Fischer defined violence (conflict) as any random or organized act that seeks to determine, delay, or otherwise influence a process through threat, verbal intimidation, hate speech, disinformation, physical assault, forced "protection," blackmail, destruction of property, or assassination (Fischer, 2002). In a similar vein Felson (2009) describes violence as 'physical aggression, i.e., when people use physical methods to harm others'. However, he continues that 'The harm they produce is not necessarily physical. It could be a social harm or a deprivation of resources'. In its 2002 World Report on Violence and Health, the World Health Organisation (WHO) proposes a definition of violence that has since become a working term for many international organisations

working in the field, as the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation (WHO, 2002)

The Historical Development of Boko Haram and Recent Trends

The evolution of Boko Haram is somehow shrouded in mystery and obscurity. The apparent confusion generated by the plethora of theories attempting to explain the Boko Haram challenge also characterizes the origin of the sect. The confusion not only reflects within the narratives about the precise date, and who the actual founder was, but also as to the true source of these expositions. For instance, Adibe (2012), has noted that while the popular belief is that it was founded around 2001 or 2002 in Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state in North eastern Nigeria under the spiritual leadership of Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf., others trace the date to as far back as 1995, and argues that, one Lawan Abubakar, who later left for further studies at the University of Medina, Saudi Arabia, actually founded the Boko Haram sect. Under Abubakar, the sect was known as Sahaba, (Adibe, 2012). Elsewhere, these expositions are credited to Shehu Sani, a civil right activist in northern Nigeria, who helped broker the first peace deal with the sect with these revelations, which failed. While Uzodike and Maiangwa on the other hand acknowledge the version which traced the origin to an evangelical group formed by Muslim students at the University of Maiduguri, Borno state, who reportedly felt dissatisfied with Western education (Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012).

Muhammed Yusuf, to whom the formation is now generally ascribed, according to the competing narratives only assumed leadership after Abubakar's departure and "indoctrinated the sect with his own teachings, which he claimed were based on purity" (Adibe, 2012). Yussuf's notion of "purity" and teachings were inspired by the works of Ibn Taymiyya, a fourteenth century legal scholar who preached Islamic fundamentalism and is considered a "major theorist" for radical groups in the Middle East (Johnson, 2011), after whom Yussuf named his mosque in Maiduguri *The Nation*, May 23, 2012). The obscurity

surrounding its true origin perhaps informs why initially, the sect "had no specific name as its members attracted several descriptions where they operated based on the perception of the local population" (Okereke, 2011). Such names include Taliban and the *Yussufiyyah.* The sect soon became formally identified as *Ahulsunna wal'jama'ah Hijra* –'Congregation of Followers of the Prophet Involved in the Call to Islam and Religious Struggle.' The name Boko Haram, to which it is now commonly referred derives from the sect's anti-Western posturing, literarily meaning 'Western education (book)/civilization is sin.'

In the early stages, the Boko Haram sect was widely known to have mobilized its membership from women and children, school drop-outs and unemployed university and polytechnic graduates, most of who tore up their certificates; student members withdrew from school. Okereke posits that "these recruits were indoctrinated by Yussuf to believe that their state of hopelessness was caused by government which imposed Western education on them and failed to manage the resources of the country to their benefits" (Okereke, 2011). Although from the outset, the sect's mission was to impose the Shari'a on Nigeria, the leadership went about its preaching peacefully, but not without attracting attention among other Islamic preachers who saw the preaching and interpretation of the Quran as a recipe for violence and an affront to constituted authority (Okereke, 2011). Although incidents of violence have earlier been recorded against the sect, (Uzodike and Maiangwa, 2012), serious concerns over its violent tendencies grew only after the open confrontation between the sect and the government in July 2009 following the death of Yussuf while in police custody, as well as his father in-law and sect financier, Ustaz Buji Foi, and the incarceration of members by state authorities.

Boko Haram regrouped under Yusuf's former deputy, Abubakar Shekau, expanding operations to include large- scale bombings, assertions of territorial control, and cross- border attacks in neighbouring countries. It earned notoriety for its brutality, including its use of women and children as suicide bombers, and drew global attention with its 2014 abduction of 276 girls from a school in Chibok, Borno State, which gave rise to the "Bring Back Our Girls"

social media campaign. In 2015, Shekau pledged allegiance to IS, and Boko Haram rebranded as IS-WA (the Islamic State West Africa Province - aka ISIS-WA or ISWAP). An internal dispute later fractured the group; IS recognized another IS-WA leader in 2016, and Shekau's faction reassumed its original name, continuing to be commonly known as Boko Haram.

IS-WA has distanced itself from the indiscriminate violence that came to characterize Boko Haram, renouncing the killing of Muslim civilians and vowing to focus attacks on Christians and state targets. It reportedly has provided some state-like services (e.g., basic law enforcement) in its areas of operation, forging ties with some communities. By 2020, U.N. monitors assessed that IS-WA had "outstripped" Boko Haram in size and capacity and was operating "with a high degree of success, including by conducting raids on security forces, which have yielded significant war spoils in the form of materiel and other supplies."

In May 2021, IS-WA militants killed Boko Haram leader Shekau, prompting thousands of people—including former Boko Haram fighters, their families, and civilians fleeing Boko Haram-held zones—to surrender to Nigerian and Cameroonian authorities. A number of Boko Haram commanders reportedly joined IS-WA following Shekau's death. One remnant Boko Haram faction remains active around Lake Chad, in far North eastern Borno State.

Shekau's death signified the demise of one of the world's most notorious extremists, and it appears to have left Boko Haram in disarray. Still, prospects for an end to violence in northeast Nigeria appear tenuous. Analysts and Nigerian officials have warned that IS-WA may prove to be a more resilient threat, citing IS-WA's efforts to build legitimacy in areas it governs and its reputedly strong resource base. As of early 2022, U.N. analysts estimated IS-WA to have 4,000-5,000 fighters. The group continues to attack military facilities, killing soldiers and looting materiel, and funds itself through raiding, kidnapping for ransom, and taxing local populations and commerce. Primarily active in northeast Nigeria, IS-WA also continues to mount attacks in adjacent zones of neighbouring countries, primarily targeting local military positions.

Amid rising insecurity in other parts of northern Nigeria and in the Sahel region, to Nigeria's north, concern has mounted over a possible convergence of security threats. U.N. investigators report that IS-WA has links to another IS faction, known as IS-Greater Sahara, active in Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger, though each group appears primarily focused on local aims. Some Boko Haram members have reportedly moved west, establishing a cell in Nigeria's Niger State that claimed several attacks in 2021. In neighbouring Kaduna State, another Boko Haram splinter group known as Ansaru, which claims affiliation with Al Qaeda, has apparently reactivated after a period of dormancy, preaching in local mosques and clashing with criminal groups. Other former Boko Haram combatants reportedly have joined criminal gangs in rural northwest and north-central Nigeria known locally as "bandit" groups.

Theoretical Understanding of Boko Haram's Violent Conflict

Among the most important notions of the behaviourist school are the belief that the root causes of conflicts and violence lie in human nature and human behaviour and that an important relationship exists between intra-personal conflict and conflict that pervades the external social order. Among the widespread micro-theories that this paper will review are: relational/vengeance theory the human needs/socio-economic/deprivation-frustration – aggression theory, social learning theory and social identity theory.

The Relational/Vengeance Theory

Relational theory attempts to provide explanation for violent conflicts between groups by exploring sociological, political, economic, (religious) and historical relationships between such groups. The belief is that cultural and value differences as well as group interests all influence relationships between individuals and groups in different ways. Thus, a number of conflicts grow out of a past history of conflict between groups that has led to the development of negative stereotypes, racial intolerance and discrimination, (Faleti, 2006). The differences in value invariably creates the "We" and 'Others" dichotomy: "The fact that 'others' are perceived as different makes us feel they are entitled to less or are inferior by reason of values. This disrupts the flow of communication between us and them and to that extent, twists

perceptions that we have about each other" (Faleti, 2006). Okereke (2011) notes that sect members "attracted several descriptions where they operated based on the perceptions of the local population. In some communities, where it existed, the sect and its members were described as terrorists and persons with psychiatric challenges" (Okereke, 2011).

The state and other members of Nigerian society who are targets of Boko Haram's violence may indeed find it difficult to understand the sect's penchant for blood-letting. On the one hand, the former group becomes in this context the "We" and all efforts are being to secure it from savagery of the "Others", the Boko Haram members. On the other hand, the latter group bond either by the common purpose of fighting the "unbelievers" for Allah, or feeling of deprivation or both sees the remaining members of the Nigerian society as the "Others". In the circumstance mutual antagonism exists and can be violently expressed. On the part of Boko Haram, killing of members by government security forces- the "Others" attracts reprisals from it, the "We".

Similarly, to the "Others", the sect is identified by the "prohibited name," Boko Haram, (Western education is sin), whereas to the sect itself, the "We", "our name is *Jama'atu Ahlus Sunnah Lidda Awati Wal Jihad* (Saharareporters, online, January 22, 2012). Beside its pejorative connotation, in the sect's perspective, the name does not capture its objective and has been a motivation to violence. Its spokesman, Abu Qaqa offered this, in particular, as reason for the sect's targeting of the Nigerian media (Saharareporters, online, May 1, 2012).

The Human Needs/Socio-Economic Perspective

The perspective which blames social conditions for the violence is anchored on the human need theory of social conflicts. The socio-economic perspective of the Boko Haram challenge in Nigerian essentially attempts to de-emphasis the interpretation of this being a particularly Muslim or northern crisis (Alozieuwa, 2012). The fundamental thesis of this theory is that all humans have basic needs which they seek to fulfill and failure caused by other individuals or group to meet these needs could lead to conflict. The Human needs/ socio-Economic theory in the views of Dougherty and Pfaltzgrate (1990) is similar to the frustration aggression theory

of violence, which posits that aggression is always a consequence of frustration (Dougherty and Pfaltzgrate Jr, 1990). According to the theory, relative deprivation is a perceived disparity between value expectation and value capabilities and that the lack of a need satisfaction – defined as a gap between aspirations and achievement generally – relies on the psychological state of frustration and aggressive attitudes emanating from it (Midlarsky, 1975).

Unlike the relational/vengeance theory, the perspective goes beyond the trigger to focus on the underlying factor(s) that could have bred such groups. It has its largest proponents from the intelligentsia, and is particularly viewed by some foreign governments such those of the United States and Britain as explanations for the problem. Nigeria's socio-economic indexes seem to validate the assumption of human needs theory. The Human Development Index Trend, for instance, ranked Nigeria 156 out of 186 in 2011. The socio-economic factors being adduced as the root causes of violence in Nigeria include unemployment, especially among the youth, poverty and a deteriorating standard of living, especially in the north. But perhaps its relevance in the interpretation of the Boko Haram problem is that while its proponents admit of endemic poverty and hopelessness generally in Nigeria, they note its severity in the north. Hence for Professor Jean Herskovits of the *State University of New York,* to whom "it was clear in 2009 when the insurgency began that the root cause of violence and anger in both the north and south of Nigeria is endemic poverty and hopelessness," the government must address socio-economic deprivation, which is most severe in the north (Herskovits, 2012).

Indeed, the very high incident of poverty in Nigeria is generally seen as a northern phenomenon. A study by Professor Charles Soludo, shows the three northern regions having an average poverty incidence of 70.1% compared to 34.9% of the south's three. Ten states in Nigeria with the highest incidence of poverty also are all northern states, whereas the ten states with the lowest incidence of poverty are all southern states. Thus, "70% of the people living in the north live below \$1 per day. The high conflict potential of the developing areas could indeed be a function of frustration caused by economic deprivation, (Dougherty and

Pfaltzgrate, Jr. 1990). Frustration-aggression tendencies often also manifest misplaced aggression. This trend has featured in the series of violence inflicted upon the ordinary citizens of Nigeria, most of who have no direct connection with political and economic elites whose mismanagement of the country's resources engender the unemployment, poverty and deprivation that breed frustration and foster violence. As Dougherty and Pfaltzgrate Jr. have rightly noted, hostilities in such instances, are directed "toward someone or something not responsible for the original frustration" (Dougherty and Pfaltzgrate, Jr. 1990).

Further, relating this theory to Boko Haram, the group perceives themselves to have been economically and religiously deprived by the actions and inactions of the Nigerian government. For instance, at the formative stage of the BHT group, members needed Mohammed Yusuf as a leader and a mentor to guide them in their Islamic renaissance drive. The arrest and subsequent extrajudicial killing of Mohammed Yusuf and other members of the group by the Nigerian Security Forces was therefore considered as a deprivation of the fundamental right to life of their comrades (Ordu, 2017).

Moreover, in their view, the refusal of the federal government to replace western education with an Islamic educational model in Northern Nigeria constituted a deprivation of their right of choice to select a model of education that is consistent with their Islamic faith. Furthermore, Boko Haram views the Nigerian government's opposition to the creation of the Islamic state for Northern Nigeria as a deprivation of their rights to self-governance (Raineri and Martini, 2017).

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory is based on the hypothesis that aggression is not innate, instinctual but actually learned through the process of socialization. One acquires aggressive attributes by learning them at home, in school and by interaction with their environment in general. Interaction in society helps to focus and trigger stored aggression against economies. This is an important concept, particularly when the conflict is ethno-national or sectarian in nature. Social learning theorists have tried to understand the relationship of the individuals in their

environment and how this re lates to sectarian aggression. Faleti (2006) looks at the causes of terrorist act in Nigeria through the lens of psycho -cultural perspectives. He contends that psychological, religious and other cultural contradictions are the basis of conflict and that such conflicts are intractably perennial. Religious influences in terms of Islamic jihads and solidarity with global Islamic fundamentalists motivate other jihadists. The terrorist activities of Al-Qaeda, Taliban and ISIS in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Libya, Mali and Middle East motivate others to learn their mode of operations and military tactics, which are eventually imported for domestic insurgencies (Faleti 2006).

Social Identity theory

Another theory of interest is the Social Identity theory. This was developed by Psychologist Henri Tajfel in 1998 and offers insight into the conflict in Northern Ireland. The basic focus of the theory is that we create our social relations. There is a human need for positive self-esteem and self-worth, which we transfer to our groups. We also order our environment by social comparison between groups. The concept of in-group and out- group is important in this analysis. The social identity theory has helped Social Psychologists at least to recognize that individuals are different in groups and that it is this difference which produces recognizable forms of group action. For example, ethnic identities are very strong because of their composition as extended in kinship groups. People in similar conditions, such as: abject poverty, unemployment, social inequalities and marginalized groups can be united together to fight a common enemy. The kinship groups are important in the development of in-groups and out-groups. This is a particularly important concept when dealing with ethnic conflict or social inequality. Jerrold (2008) attributed Boko Haram insurgency to psychology of group identity for marginalized or isolated group of people.

The paper, therefore, adopts a combination of relational/vengeance theory, the human needs/socio-economic/deprivation-frustration-aggression theory, social learning theory and social identity theory as the framework of analysis for the subject matter. The relational/vengeance theory elucidates that as efforts to combat the BHT group intensifies, the

government becomes the "we" and the group becomes the "others." This opposes the way the BHT group sees itself as they consider themselves bound by a common purpose of defeating the "unbelievers." Boko Haram members also consider themselves as deprived and regard the remaining members of the Nigerian society as the "others." The relational/vengeance theory is thus a theory that can illuminate the BHT group's resolve to avenge its members at all cost even in the face of the overwhelming military might of the Nigerian security forces against the group. The deprivation-frustration- aggression theory argues that aggression is the consequence of deprivation with resultant frustration. Individuals are motivated to achieve life ambitions and fulfil certain social expectations, but when these expectations are thwarted, frustration sets in and this leads to some form of aggression. In Nigeria, especially in the North East, majority of the people are deprived of basic infrastructure; there are pervasive unemployment, abject poverty and basic infrastructure. Consequent upon these, frustration and aggression result, which often manifest in the form of militancy, terrorism and insurgency as witnessed mostly in North - East of Nigeria.

The justification for the use of the social learning theory for this analysis is the attribute that aggression is acquired by learning them at home, in school and by interaction with their environment. The Boko Haram Jihadists were socialized to believe that other religious denominations other than Islam are infidels. Hence, their interactions with other Islamist groups in other parts of the world trigger stored aggression against common enemies. This explains Boko Haram's insurgency against western education, Christians, churches, government officials and security officials.

The Social identity theory in the framework attempts to explain the social division among individuals in different groups. Members of Boko Haram Sect see themselves as distinct people that would Islamize the Northern Nigeria within Global Islamic Jihad. Hence, this difference produces group action and aggression against other religious groups and Islamic organizations believed to tolerate other religious bodies in Nigeria.

Conclusion

Theories examined point to the fact that economic deprivation, widespread poverty, social injustice, unemployment, corruption, and bad governance are the major reasons citizens take up arms against in conflicts and violence. The paper has established that the Boko Haram insurgency and indeed conflicts and violence in Nigeria is an offshoot of emerging cumulative sociological, political, (religious) and historical relationships, deprivation and frustration caused by inequality, economic deprivation, poverty, unemployment, corruption and bad governance in Nigeria, snowballing into frustration and leading to aggression on government officials, government agencies, institutions and members of the society.

The paper recommends that in order to curb the incidence of conflicts and violence in the country, government should tackle the root causes which include poverty, exploitation, unjust laws and reorder the political and economic systems of the country in such a way that the maximum well-being of all citizens will be assured. This will entail the at least address the issues related to the economic and social well–being of her people, among others. In sum, a holistic approach to the understanding of violence will help in the overall development of a country when its citizens are adequately taken care of. Additionally, government should ensure a wholistic approach is taken to fight insecurity.

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MUSLIM WOMEN'S VOICES AND ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

Abdullahi Adamu SULAIMAN, PhD
Department of Islamic Studies,
Nasarawa State University, Keffi
aburuqayyah@nsuk.edu.ng

Bakare FADILU
Department of Islamic Studies,
Nasarawa State University, Keffi.
bakarefadilu@gmail.com

and

Zainab SULAIMAN

Department of Religious Studies,
Federal University of Kashere, Gombe State
zainabsakko@gmail.com

ABSTRACT
African women generally have long time been advocating for their rights in ensuring a gender balance in every societal activity, be it religious, economic, social, political and education. There are quite number of feminists among African Muslim women. This research work tries to reveal the reactions of African Muslim women on issues pertaining to their dealings with the public and family affairs and the activities of Islamic movements founded by them. The research adopted a qualitative research design; relying on secondary sources of data collection. The research reveals that African Muslim women are faced with the challenges like: unequal treatment by the authorities concerned in the society, beating in a matrimonial home, raping, denial of right to exercise some religious duties etc. on the notion that they are inferior and incapable of making relevant contributions as men. The study further establishes that there are Islamic movements in Africa that are solely belong to Muslim women. The movements, as revealed in the study, have the aim of promoting Islam through different means; focusing also on the issues that concern women, especially in the public. The study recommends that government in each country should engage in women empowerment program and make every opportunity available accessible to all; both men and women. It further recommends that Muslim women in Africa should seek knowledge continuously and be more active in advocating for their rights that are guaranteed by Islam and seek peaceful means in addressing their grievances.

Keywords: Muslim Women, Islamic Movements, Africa

Introduction

It is universally believed that women are physically and mentally inferior to men, and their activities should be restricted to child bearing and rearing as well as domestic chores. Over the years women in Africa have been advocating for their participation in the political, economic and social development of their various countries. African Muslim women are part of the struggle and are seen participating from religious angle; establishing various Islamic movements as it will be revealed in this work (Gabriel, 1995). African women experiences of Islam reveal the reach and layered ways in which belief has shaped not only their deeply personal relationship to Allah but also broader political, social, economic and cultural processes (Shobana, 2022). The experiences they had gained enabled them to contribute immensely to societal development.

African history shows examples of pious Muslim women who have made notable contributions through their activities to profess their own faith and strengthen believers and practices within their communities over many centuries (Shobana, 2022). Among them are Sumayyah bint Khayyat (d. 615 AD), an Abyssinian, who was among the first women to accept Islam and was tortured to death alongside her husband, Yasir bn Amir by Abu Jahl for accepting Islam, Umm Ayman (d. 644 AD), an emancipated Ethiopian slave, who participated in the battle of Uhud during the Prophet's time, caring for the wounded and attending to them, Fatima Al-Fihri of Morocco (d. 876 AD) who is known for her charity and taking in young boys who studied under her and was also known as the first woman to set up a university in history, Aisha Al-Mannubiyya (d. 1,267 AD), from the village of Al-Manubba in Tunisia who studied extensively and was renowned for associating with the impoverished inhabitants of Tunis and for her kindness, generosity and ability to inspire others through both word and deeds, Sayyida Al-Hurra (d. 1552 AD) from the town of Chefchaouen, northwest of current Morocco who participated actively in politics and became the governor of the town of Tetouan upon the death of her husband, Nana Asmau of Nigeria (d. 1864 AD), the daughter of Shaikh

Uthman Dan Fodio, who was a poet, historian, educator, a religious scholar who played a vital role in the political, cultural and intellectual development in West Africa and the last, Fatima Soudi bint Abderremane (d. 1878), a descendant of Merina of Madagaskar royal family who as a Queen of Mwali, the smallest island in Comoros grappled with the power struggle between France and Sultanate of Zanzibar (Mahdi, 2022).

The aspiration of African Muslim women to be part of the public activities is as a result of the belief they have in themselves. As every human being, women also have the capacity to contribute immensely to the society if the authorities concerned give such opportunity.

Muslim Women's Voices in Africa

Muslim women in Africa had long time been demanding for their rights which are said to be marginalized. It means nothing but injustice if the women are deprived of their rights. Here, some African Muslim women's voices are documented as to reveal vividly the nature of the situation.

In Morocco, Muslim feminists endeavour to promote women's empowerment through education, knowledge and legal rights; they raise women's awareness about the family law and the labour code through their Non Government Organizations (NGOs) and community-based groups. The number of women's NGOs in Morocco has exploded during the last two decades, representing both the channeling of energies and passions into directly addressing and trying to solve single issues about women care profoundly, as well as the limitations of government programs in addressing social problems (Moha, 2021).

Some women's NGOs attempt to solve perceived problems directly, such as capacity building, or by establishing income-generating activities, orphanages, shelters for battered women or schools. Other attempts have been made to pressurize the government and the private sector into undertaking solutions and reforms. Women's NGOs are also active in politics, peace and legal human rights, among innumerable others. They engage in diverse activities, as a result, they have accumulated a great deal of experience in mobilizing women

in local development. The challenge facing the NGOs is to elaborate autonomous strategies and to establish themselves as independent forces in their partnership with the state and with political parties (Moha, 2021). It seems like the struggle of Muslim women in Morocco is not given much attention by the government making them to involve in self-empowerment. Government is the key master of all activities and must reasons in making women part of the country activities.

Also common among the degradation of Muslim women in South Africa is the expulsion from a state school for using a veil. There was a case of one Mariam Adams who was barred from attending Ladysmith High School because she wore the headscarf. After a protracted battle with the Education Department and school authorities, she was allowed to resume her schooling wearing her headscarf. However, the school persisted their discrimination policy and refused to admit Mariam's younger sister Hajara after the incident because they wore scarves (Zubeida, 2004). It is a very critical condition when women who are the mothers of children and their first instructors are treated unfairly in marriage. The fact that women act out of normal sometimes does not mean that they should be ridiculed and frustrated. Husbands have to be patient and treat them gently as Islam prescribes. In education, women are one of the keys to achieve sustainable development in the society.

The African Women Development Fund (AWDF) in its publication puts on records some of the reactions of women in Africa as regards feminism. Some of the reactions of women are rich and varied, while some carry messages of anger, rage, frustration and pain (2009). Underneath are some of the reactions made by some African women. An Egyptian woman, Hakima Abbas, as documented by AWDF, reveals the challenges faced by African women to be the multiple oppression based on race, class, sexuality, gender amongst others. (African Women Development Fund, 2009). A Nigerian woman, Hajiya Mairo V. Bello, reveals that women in Africa are faced with the challenge of clarifying their values and balancing the multiple roles they play in making the society a humane place to live for

everybody. She added that women in Africa need to fight against the tendency to undervalue themselves as the society taught them to do (African Women Development Fund, 2009).

Another Muslim woman, Rissi Assani, who is from Ghana, explained one of the challenges facing African Muslim women to be stigma as a result of negative perceptions of the concept of equality of men and women. She expresses the readiness to challenge the patriarchal nature of the communities and governments by promoting women's leadership and encouraging them to seek authority positions at the level of governance and be fully involved in decision-making processes. Another Muslim woman from South Africa established that throughout her life, she had committed herself to end racism, classism and sexist oppression against women (African Women Development Fund, 2009). In Zambia, a number of Muslim women also made a lot of complaints about physical and sexual violence, and this is said to be common among less educated ones (Simona, Mazuba and Harriet, 2015).

The voices of these African Muslim women call for serious attention of both individuals and government. It is an undisputable fact that society cannot achieve success without women participation. It is by nature that we are created from a single soul and therefore need to work hand in hand to be able to arrive at dependable solutions to the challenges. Referring to the origin of men and women, Allah says:

> O mankind, fear your Lord, Who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both of them many men and women. And fear Allah, through who you ask one another, and the wombs. Indeed Allah is ever, over you, an observer (Q4: 1).

Every authority needs to realize the Islamic message in this verse, a man in a highest position and a common woman from a village are from the same source and compassion must always be resorted to in favouring everyone; male or female.

Women Islamic Movements in Africa

There are quite number of Islamic movements that belong to Muslim women in Africa. The movements originated through objectives that are based upon the faith. They also serve as a

carrier of feminist advocacy concerning the issue of inferiority of women as believed by the society. The movements are listed below.

Women Islamic Movements in Ghana

Muslim women in Ghana deemed it necessary in 1960s to mobilize themselves into an active group to prove to the public, particularly, the non-Muslims who believed that, the highest office of the Muslim woman is the home and rendering services to husband and children. Among the women Islamic movements in Ghana are the following:

1. *Al-Ansāriyyah* Islamic Society: This is the women's wing of *Ahlus-Sunnah wal-Jamā'ah*. It was formed on the 3rd of February, 2003 by Hajia Hajara Sidik and Hajia Sakina Ja'far who saw the need to form an association to uplift the image of Islam through women activities. The society has the following objectives:

(a) To uplift the image of Islam in Kumasi and its environs.

(b) To educate their children in line with Islamic principles and improve the social standard of Muslim women.

(c) To promote the interest and foster good relationships among members.

(d) To teach their members how to recite and read the Qur'an in its original text, Arabic and interpretations.

2. The Federation of Muslim Women's Association of Ghana (FOMWAG): The association was founded in 1992. The founders felt the need to mobilize Muslim women of Ghana under the umbrella body as to give them voice and recognition.

3. *Tijāniyyah* Muslim Women Association: The association was set up in Ghana in 1952. The objectives were to foster brotherhood, inculcate the virtues of Islam as well as *Tarīqah* (*Sūfī* path) into the women, making the masses aware of the importance of women's education (Agyare, 2011).

The effort of Ghana Islamic movements of women is strongly geared towards empowering the members through education as presented above as to give them voice and recognition. This

is an indication that, women, when given the opportunity have a lot to contribute to societal development. Their deprivation will equally result to waste of human resources.

Women Islamic Movement in Nigeria

The most recognized Islamic movement in Nigeria is the Federation of Muslim Women's Association in Nigeria (FOMWAN). It was founded in 1985 in Minna, Niger State, Nigeria. Prior to the formation of FOMWAN, there was no distinct forum where the voice and yearnings of Muslim women could be coordinated in a united form. Hence, with the organizing ability and untiring energy of the first Amirah (Women Leader) of the organization, Hajia Aisha Lemu, FOMWAN has become a household name not only within the Muslim circles in Nigeria but also among all progressive minds outside the country (FOMWAN, 2007).

FOMWAN has made significant contributions in political mobilization of women and has attempted to shift some of the hegemonic discourses on women to ones that are more favourable (177). The objectives of this organization are listed as follows:

(a) To create awareness of the true teachings of Islam in the Qur'an and *Sunnah* among Muslim women, and to encourage women to live in accordance with those teachings.

(b) To promote and propagate the cause of Islam in Nigeria and beyond.

(c) To make a positive impact on National matters both religious and secular with a view to safeguarding the interest of Islam.

(d) To unite and coordinate Muslim women's organization in Nigeria so as to enable them speak with one voice, by acting and making decisions together.

(e) To serve as a liaison body between Muslim women and the Governments (Federal, State and Local) of Nigeria.

(f) To do away with sectarianism, ethnic and other divisive factors among Muslim women in all parts of the country (FOMWAN, 2007).

FOMWAN is therefore a Muslim women organization in Africa that enables women present any challenge confronting them, especially, as relate to public dealings. The movement is a

strong one which is recognized by both Muslims and non-Muslims in the country and at the international level.

Women Islamic Movement in Egypt

In 1932, Muslim women movement was created in Egypt out of the existing Islamic organization known as Muslim Brotherhood, whose founder was Hassan Al-Banna. The movement was given a name as *Firqatul-Akhwātil-Muslimīn* (the Muslim Sisters' Group). The group consisted mainly of the daughters, wives, and other relatives of the brothers. The aim in forming the Muslim Sisters' Group was to uphold the Islamic ethos and spread virtue through lectures and women-only gatherings. The women's organization did not have its own head; instead, it was under the authority of the Brotherhood's Supreme Guide, who communicated with the sisters through a female deputy. Soon, Al-Banna soon appointed a man, Shaikh Mahmud Al-Gohari, to supervise all women's activities and act as a link between the women activists and the Supreme Guide (Abdel-Latif, 2008).

Women Islamic Movement in Zambia

In Zambia, Muslim women are also organized through associations. There are two prominent organizations linked to Muslim women in Lusaka, namely, the Lusaka Muslim Women Trust (LMWT) and Zambia Islamic Child Care Education and *Da'wah* Association (ZICEDA). The LMWT provides female religious teachers in four townships of Lusaka (Matero, Old Kanyama, Chawama and Mtendere) where the majority of the participants are lower class women. By the end of the last century, Muslim women have already taken their place in the growing Muslim community as LMWT substantially contributed to the affirmation of the Zambian Muslim women identified through religious instruction, regular gatherings and charitable projects (Nelly, 2019).

It is a good development to have such women movements in Zambia. Carrying out religious activities and helping others through charity confirms their good social relation in their communities which is expected from a good individual, either male or female.

Women Islamic Movement in South Africa

In South Africa, the Muslim women movement was established in 1970 in Durban, and since its inception has dealt with numerous women's issues in South Africa. These issues include inviting foreign women guests to deliver speeches, establishing a Women's Council; campaigning for women to be allowed spaces and attempting to form a 'Women's Islamic Movement'. The 'women in mosques' campaign attracted a great deal of attention in the Muslim community. The MYM campaigned for mosques to provide facilities where Muslim women could pray. Many of South Africa's mosques especially in the northern provinces have no prayer facilities for women in their mosques (Zubeida, 2004).

It is important to note that limiting women from participating in public activities and failure to create space for them in the mosque are violations of women's rights in Islam. As men have role to play in the aspects of religion, social, economic, family and political affairs, women also have the same. The rights of women in those aspects will be discussed as solutions in the next sub-heading of this research work.

Women Rights in Islam

Islam accords rights to human beings including women, irrespective of their colour, gender, race and nationality. Muslims are thus cautioned not to engage in anything which violates the rights of others. Some of the rights of women in Islam are listed here:

1. Equality: According to the Qur'an, men and women are equal before Allah. No where in the Qur'an, from where quality is derived, is the woman made inferior to man. Allah says in the Qur'an:

Indeed, the Muslim men and Muslim men, the believing men and believing women, the obedient men and obedient women, the truthful men and truthful women, the patient men and patient women, the humble men and humble women, the charitable men and charitable women, the fasting men and fasting women, the men who guard their private parts and the women who do so, and the men who remember Allah often and the women who do so, for them Allah has prepared forgiveness and a great reward (Q33:35).

Allah further says:

> Whoever does good whether male or female and he is a believer, We will most certainly make him live a happy life, and We will most certainly give them their reward for the best of what they did (Q16 : 97).

It becomes obvious in these verses that men are women are equal before their Creator, Allah. Rewarding people for what they had done is not gender-basis. Each one, either a male or a female gets reward of what he or she does, in matters relating to religion, without compromise.

2. Right to Choose a Husband: Women in Islam have been granted full freedom in the choice of her husband. According to Islamic law, women cannot be forced to marry anyone without their consent. In connection to this, the Qur'an states:

> And when you have divorced women and they have ended (their term of waiting), then do not prevent them from marrying their husbands when they agree among themselves in a lawful manner (Q2: 232).

Preventing them from marrying men whom they wish is a violation to their rights as the above verse states. So, they are very free to choose a husband that their minds soften with provided he is a Muslim.

3. Right to Fair Treatment in Marriage: Islam recognizes monogamy and polygamy and makes regulations to govern each system. It limits the number of wives to be taken to four (Abdulhamid, 2016). Women must be treated with mercy by their Muslim husbands. Allah says:

> And they (women) have rights similar to those against them in a just manner, and the men have a degree over them (Q2: 228).

Having a degree over a woman as stated in the above verse means that men are to treat women more fairly than they treat them. It thus means that any form maltreatment against women must be avoided.

4. Right to Acquire Education: In Islam, both men and women have the capacity to study, understand and teach. This is because, the more a person, male or female, studies the creation and its workings, the more he or she would appreciate the Divine Being who originated and sustains all creation. Regarding seeking knowledge, the following Qur'anic verses state in general term:

>Recite in the name of your Lord Who created. Created man from a clinging substance. Recite, and your Lord is the Most Generous. Who taught by the pen (Q96: 1-5).5

It is through knowledge women can contribute meaningfully to the society. A knowledgeable woman trains her child through the spirit of knowledge and such a child is surely expected to behave well in the society.

5. Right to Dressing according to Religious Dictate: Modesty is a virtue enjoins upon Muslims, men and women. (Zubeida, 2004). The Qur'an states:

>Say to the believing men that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty, that will make for them greater purity, and Allah is well aware of what they do. And say to the believing women to lower their gaze and guard their modesty and do not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to Allah all of you, O believers! So that you may be successful (Q24:30-31).

According to the verses, both men and women have right to proper dressing in Islam. As for the women, they are not allowed to display their beauty and adornments except for that which must be ordinarily appear. What may appear according to majority of Muslim scholars include face and hands and whatever appears of their body owing to uncontrollable factors such as the blowing of the wind, or out of necessity such as the bracelets or even the outer clothes themselves. Likewise, their dress must be loose enough so as not to describe the shape of their body (Badawi, 1969).

Therefore, based on understanding from the above verses, no Muslim woman is expected to be denied of her right to dressing as her religion prescribes. And the command is

purely good for the society, especially in the current situation we found ourselves, where women appear naked in public without fear of consequences.

6. Right to Participation in Public: It is the right of a woman in Islam to participate in public affairs that are said to be lawful in Islam. The Qur'an states:

> The believers, men and women are protectors of one another; they enjoin what is just and forbid what is evil; they observe regular prayers, practice regular charity and obey Allah and His apostle. On them will Allah pour His mercy; for Allah is Exalted in power, Wise (Q9: 71).

The obligation of commanding and ensuring what is good in the society as well as suppressing evil by Muslims, men and women depicts that every Muslim, irrespective of gender, can contribute significantly to societal development by encouraging the good and forbidding unlawful acts.

7. Right to Economic Activities and Possession of Properties: Women in Islam also have rights to engage in business activities that are considered lawful. She likewise has the right to own properties. The Qur'an reads:

> O you who believe! When you deal with each other in transactions involving future obligations in a fixed period of time, reduce them to writing… (Q2: 228).

The content of this verse deals with testimony in case of financial transactions (Saira, 2014). It is clear that the instruction in the verse is general, involving men and women who are believers. This confirms the participation of men and women in trading activities. Allah says in another verse:

> Men shall have the benefit of what they earn and women shall have the benefit of what they earn (Q4: 32).

So, whatever is acquired of properties through a man's or a woman's effort belongs to him or her. A woman has the right to claim ownership of what belongs to her as a man does. Indeed, women are protected as men in Islam. Discussing rights of women is never an exaggeration. It is part of the religion and must be respected by everyone including the government.

Neglecting it means neglecting the divine prescriptions and upholding it depicts upholding the divine dictates.

Conclusion

African women are faced with the problem of gender discrimination because the society considers them as inferior who could not withstand males in any dealing. Even some of the Muslim scholars are of the opinion that Muslim women are not to participate in public affairs for the religion has not permitted them. In response to this and other related issues like rape, beating by the husband, denial of education among others, African Muslim women express their dissatisfactory and were able to form some movements as to empower themselves religiously, educationally, socially, economically and politically. Islam reserves undisputed rights for women, these include equality, right to choose a husband, right to fair treatment in marriage, right acquire education, right to dressing according to religious dictates, right to participate in politics and right to economic activities and possession of properties.

This research therefore recommends that government of each country should see the reason in empowering women in general by making all the opportunities available and accessible to all; both men and women. Muslim scholars who see the participation of women in public activities that are meant for the success of the society as a violation of Islamic law should seek more knowledge in the aspect of Islamic feminism and not to prohibit what Islam prescribes. Also, Muslim women in Africa should continuously seek knowledge and be more active in advocating for their rights that are granted by Islam and seek peaceful means in addressing it.

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CULTURAL COMMUNICATION SCHEMA FOR SOCIETAL COHESION: PERSPECTIVES AND IMPACT OF MORAL DIDACTICS AND VALUES IN NIGERIAN SOCIETIES

Ebenezer Adekola TEGBE

Lead City University, Ibadan.

ebenezertegbe@yahoo.com

and

Lydia CHINENYEMBA

Chrisland University

Abeokuta

ABSTRACT

Life in African societies is interdependent and demands good behaviour towards each other in a manner that is socially approved, while lapses in the moral domain are obvious as resultant growing moral decadence experienced in the contemporaneous societies. Africans use several and diverse communication forms to address issues of morality to teach, inculcate and reprimand departure from approved society's behaviour. This however is seen in the diverse schema devised by different societies in Africa where moral value has much premium and transmitted to individual members from the cradle as enculturation in African societies starts from the home through informal education. In African societies immorality and exhibition of moral decadence are opprobrium seriously frowned at and accompanied by sanctions of various forms that make members of the society endeavour to live in line with approved norms and mores.

Keywords: Communication, Schema, Morality, Didactics, African, Behaviour, Society

Introduction

From the yore, Africans particularly Nigerian societies have always had several and diverse means of communicating morality within its confines. Enculturation is a tool for cultural assimilation especially, in disseminating values and this is embedded in taboos, proverbs, names, parables as well as folklores as communication formats meant to produce morally upright individuals in developing healthy attitudes acceptable in societies. Phenix (1961) posits; children and adolescents get to adulthood with unresolved emotional problems, worries, anxieties, fears, grievances with feelings of guilt and self-reproach resulting in delinquencies and crime attributable to inadequate education which tends to teach people all other things that are impersonal other than themselves.

Taboos, proverbs, names, riddles, folklores, address informal education for self-understanding in order to be socially integrated as one relates with other people throughout lifetime. Extant research has focused on the formal sector of education; take for example UNESCO United Nation Educational and Social Commission under the UN; child education in elementary and secondary school education in focused exclusively, and takes the front burner while the informal sector of child's education is largely ignored. Whereas education in African societies is an all-encompassing; starting from the home to the community in enculturation of values of the land. It is the opinion of Omoyajowo (1975) that to be cut off from one's natural relationship with the hearth and society is seen as a curse similar to that laid upon Cain in the Bible. It is therefore the Black man's incorporation in society that really makes a man.

This mentalistic view is embedded in the attitudinal expressions of socialization and enculturation that cover all the society's norms and mores necessary for the continued existence as a functioning unit (Andah 1982). It sets out to espouse taboos, proverbs, names, pynegerics, parables, myths as communication tools drawn from different Nigerian societies and communities. The method adopted for this study is ethnographic method of data gathering anchored on descriptive analysis. Data are collected from primary as well as secondary

sources. Primary sources are from sub-sections of Nigerian societies through in-depth interview and focus group discussants. Such information system delimits social, political, economic, kinship, family, parent/child, sibling, marriage, status, roles, worldview and beliefs embodying the collective accumulated wisdom of the people. This is communicated through various perceived symbol systems in the contemporaneous or future and preserved, in language- proverbs, taboos, names, poems, parables dance, poem, folklore, song as well as artifacts.

As it has been observed, it is imperative, to restore the African mind from the historical harrowing experiences of the Arab imperialism and slave trade, Islamic proselytizing, the American Atlantic slave trade, Western colonialism/imperialism and similar traumatic epochs of Western and Arab institutions. The restoration can be done through what Idowu (1973) sees as link among individuals in society. To Idowu (1973), there is no abstract entity called society: Whatever society there is; is a society of living human beings and this is why the education of the individual is given high premium in Africa.

Conceptual Review

Culture

Edward B. Taylor defined culture in his work Primitive Culture (1871) as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs or any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Bello (1991: 189) sees it as "the totality of the way of life evolved by a people in their attempts to meet the challenge of living in their environment, which gives order and meaning to their social, political, economic, aesthetic and religious norms thus distinguishing a people from their neighbours". Aziza (2001: 31) asserts that Culture refers to the totality of the pattern of behaviour of a particular group of people.

It includes everything that makes them distinct from any other group of people for instance, their greeting habits, dressing, social norms and taboos, food, songs and dance patterns, rites of passages from birth, through marriage to death, traditional occupations, religious as well as philosophical beliefs. Culture is passed on from generation to generation.

The acquisition of culture is a result of the socialization process. Explaining how culture is passed on as a generational heritage, Culture is passed on from generation to generation. The acquisition of culture is a result of the socialisation process. Explaining how culture is passed on as a generational heritage, Fafunwa (1974: 48) writes that: The child just grows into and within the cultural heritage of his people and imbibes it. Culture, in traditional society, is not taught; it is caught. The child observes, imbibes and mimics the action of his elders and siblings. He watches the ceremonies, religious services, marriage rituals, funeral obsequies.

Etuk (2002: 13) is of the opinion that "an entire way of life would embody, among other things, what the people think of themselves and the universe in which they live −their world view − in other words, how they organize their lives in order to ensure In the African society, the individual is very much conscious of his/her behaviour so as not to bring the name of the lineage into disrepute. The behaviour is of concern to all members not only of the immediate family, but of the community as a whole, for each has a certain moral standard to maintain.

Communication

Human communication is essentially the process of exchanging our views or feelings with another person. In its basic form, communication is the expression of thoughts, feelings or information. Communication is a process in which one individual conveys information – either intentionally or unintentionally – to another. Communication occurs when one person attaches meaning to the verbal or nonverbal behaviour of another (Sheafor and Horejsi, 2011). Communication is the exchanging of information, creating and maintaining relationships and sharing understanding with those around us. Human communication from the perspective of linguistic anthropology sees social structure and social-structural behaviour as essentially communicative phenomena. Communication is the process of sharing ideas, information, and messages with others in a particular time and space. Communication therefore includes writing and talking, as well as nonverbal communication such as facial expressions, body language, or gestures, visual communication which is the

use of images or pictures, such as painting, photography, video, or film, and electronic communication in form of telephone calls, electronic mail, cable television, or satellite broadcasts. Communication is thus a vital part of personal life and is also important in business, education, and any other situation where people encounter each other.

Parables

These are simplified short stories that teach moral or spiritual lessons. They are told to illustrate the rhetoric. The Greeks originally gave the term parable to any motif illustration in the form of brief narrative, to introduce moral or philosophical id. Essentially, parables are brief succinct stories in prose or verse. The word proverb derived from Latin, proverbium is a simple, concrete, traditional saying that expresses a perceived truth based on common sense or experience. Proverbs are often metaphorical and use formulaic language. Collectively, they form a genre of folklore. Lord John Russell (1850) observed poetically that a "proverb is the wit of one, and the wisdom of many.

Proverbs are short and pithy sayings that express some traditionally held home-truths in terse language as ways of transmitting cultural heritage. They are usually metaphorical and often for the sake of memorabilia; alliterative. Indeed, almost nothing defines a culture as distinctly as its language and the element of language that best encapsulates a society's values and beliefs as in didactic proverbs. Proverbs have literal and interpretative translations.

Proverbs, riddles and narratives are made of communications in African societies that form daily events encapsulated in witty sayings in verses, prose or song meant to deliver strong messages of time-tested truth about human endeavours, life situation, morals and values. In similar vein, Fafunwa Babs (1974) describes proverbs as linguistic expressions that bring out meanings of obscurity in conversations and arguments. They are indirect modes of communication that are yet more effective than the direct. To Akpan (1971), proverbs are loaded with morals of the society.

Folkways and folklores

Folkways are the fixed customs of a particular group that are morally binding upon all members of the group and necessary to its welfare and preservation. They are the vast body of community beliefs which shapes private actions. Folkways are also moral   attitudes that are in conformity to the ever-shifting ways of the moment most times intertwined with proverbs   and   taboos   in   some   African   communities.   These   are   traditional customs, beliefs, dances, songs, tales, or sayings preserved orally and unreflectively among a people or group, such that form the life and spirit of a people or of peoples as revealed in their traditional customs and tales including mythology. Folkways specify what is considered prim and proper in the community in such areas like etiquette, clothing, use of language, eating habit. Folkways are habitual since they are the usual ways of doing things such as; standing on a queue, arriving on time for appointments, greetings, celebrating birthdays, eating three square meals.

The breaking of breeches in folkways does not carry any punishment as such, it just attracts mild sanction or displeasure like ridicule, gossip, ostracism for doing what others don't do or not doing what others do. If one eats   boiled   rice with fingers, lick   plate   of food, dress obscenely, use bad language, shake hands with kings and not prostrating or kneel, one may thus be regarded as eccentric and against the folkways of many African societies.

Taboo

Taboo is an implicit prohibition on something usually against an utterance or behavior based on a cultural sense that it is excessively repulsive or, perhaps, too sacred for ordinary people. Such prohibitions are present in virtually all societies. Taboos are often meant to protect the human individual, but there are numerous other reasons for their existence. An ecological or medical background is apparent in many, including some that are seen as religious or spiritual in origin. Taboos can help use a resource more efficiently, but when applied to only a subsection of the community they can also serve to suppress a subsection of the community.

A taboo acknowledged by a particular group or tribe as part of their ways, aids in the cohesion of the group, helps that particular group to stand out and maintain its identity in the

face of others and therefore creates a feeling of "belonging". The meaning of the word "taboo" has been somewhat expanded in the social sciences to strong prohibitions relating to any area of human activity or custom that is sacred or forbidden based on moral judgment, religious beliefs, or cultural norms. "Breaking a taboo" is usually considered objectionable by society in general, not merely a subset of a culture. Taboos are also known as abominations. In other words, they are asocial or religious custom prohibiting or restricting a particular practice or forbidding association with a particular person, place, or thing. Many taboos have also developed around physical exposure.

Findings and Discussion

From interviews and discussions with various sub-sections of societies in Africa, didactics on values, morals and social expectations of the society from members are illustrated and expressed in proverbs and taboos portraying the mentifacts of the group.

Contextual examples of Proverbs among Yoruba of Southwest Nigeria

Proverb: *Ọgbọ́n olọ́gbọ́n kìí jẹ́ kí á pe àgbà ní were* **Translation**: The collective wisdom of others prevents elders from being regarded as fools. Interpretive **Meaning**: It is part of the culture of the Yorubas that elders usually like to listen to the ideas and opinions of younger ones, especially wherever there is an important controversy to take care of. As the younger ones speak, the elderly ones in the panel modify or confirm their own personal opinions and ideas. In the final analysis, the elders come in to sum up and conclude the case. The community then acknowledges the wisdom of the elders, although it may, most of the time, be the overall summary of the ideas of the younger ones. The language of the elders in such situations also helps in lending unusual quality to their final pronouncement.

Proverb: *Ilé ni àbọ̀ ìsimi oko.* **Translation**: The Home is the place where you come to rest after working hard in the farm. Interpretive Meaning: It seems an obvious fact that the home is the place where one comes back to rest after working hard in the farm. 'Farm' and 'home' are used in figurative sense here to represent the period of hard work in life and the situation of future rest in this world. The proverb is therefore mainly used to remind people to 'prepare

for the rainy day', i.e. to make provision for comfortable retirement life. It is also used to warn people not to forget or ignore their place of origin during apparent prosperous days. One would need the company of the native community at some time in the near or far future.

Proverb: *Ọrùn kúkurú ni a fi ń yá owó, ọrùn gígùn ni a fi ń san án.* **Translation**: One's neck is usually short when one wants to borrow money, but one's neck becomes elongated when it is time to pay back.

Interpretive meaning: It is the custom in Yoruba land that a person who wants to borrow money goes to the lender with great humility. The borrower literally begs and sometimes prostrates before the lender. At this time his neck becomes contracted, looking very short. However, when it is time to pay as promised, the borrower keeps postponing the date of payment. After a number of approaches by the lender, the borrower stands straight at full height and shouts at the lender with this neck fully stretched, saying after all, how much is the money on which you will not allow me to rest? This proverb is used to warn people who become recalcitrant against their benefactors or mentors. Many people in high positions today may forget about their humble submission to mentors in the earlier days of their careers.

Proverb: *Kèrègbè ni yó sọ ibi tí a máa fi okùn sí ní ọrùn rẹ̀.* **Translation**: The gourd (container for palm wine) will always create where to put a rope around its neck.

Interpretive Meaning: An average Yoruba person knows that the gourd which is used for storing palm wine is the product of a crawling plant. In its natural form, its shape presents a big belly, a neck, and a small head. This natural shape dictates where to put a rope for carrying it when palm wine is poured into it. In the same way, a stupid, misbehaving or recalcitrant person, by his actions, dictates what type of punishment is suitable to correct him or repay him for his bad behaviour.

Proverb: *Kòkòrò tí ó ńjẹ ẹ̀fọ́, inú ẹ̀fọ́ ni ó ń gbé.* **Translation**: The maggot that eats up the green leaves actually lives in the green leaves. Interpretive Meaning: Usually, green leaves or vegetable items which are not properly preserved eventually get eaten up and destroyed by maggots or other pests. Such maggots usually live inside the vegetable items and see the items

as their homes. The Yoruba use this observation to show that if a situation seems to be problematic, almost defying simple solutions, we should always look inwards or into our homes for the cause of the problem. Elders in the society are adept in discovering or highly suspecting that the cause of one problem or another is indeed among those who are crying against the problem. Therefore, the proverb is used to advise those concerned to look carefully and diligently among one another for the cause of the problem. The discovery of the cause is a logical beginning of the solution. Yoruba elders will not go directly to mention the person or persons who perpetrated the trouble. They take it that the proverb itself is a good pointer to the solution.

Proverb: *Ẹni tí a rò pé a kò fẹ́ rí, orí afárá ni a ti ń pàdé e rẹ̀*   **Translation**: If there is someone you hate to see, you may incidentally meet him on a narrow bridge.

Interpretive meaning: If you hate somebody, it is natural that you try to avoid situations in which you may meet face to face. However, there are always situations which cannot be avoided. One of such situations is that in which the two of you are walking in opposite directions, face to face, on a narrow bridge. If you do not decide to turn back, contrary to your aim, the two of you will eventually meet on the narrow bridge. What then would you do? The Yoruba people constructed this proverb to show that there is no absolute conditionality in life situations. The proverb is used to plead with people not to be extremely adamant in taking rigid and negative decisions. Elders also use the proverb to expose the low-level intelligence of youths who think they are already wise enough to go their own way without the advice or assistance of others. It is also used to show that there can always be a way of reconciling with your adversaries.

Proverb: *Kíkéré ni abẹ́rẹ́ kéré, kìí ṣe mímì adìẹ.* Translation: Although the needle is a very small object, it cannot be swallowed by the hen. Interpretive Meaning: In this proverb, the small size of the needle is used to represent the assumed low importance of a person who is usually not pompous and arrogant, but simple and humble. Such a person may occupy an important position in society, but he does not puff himself up because of this position. Hence

it is easy for careless and arrogant members of the society to underrate and attempt to cheat such humble ones. Fortunately, it is often discovered that the object of cheat has rare qualities which cannot be dismissed with a wave of the hand. It is the possession of such qualities that make it impossible for others to succeed in cheating or underrating him. The proverb is therefore used to caution people to be careful so that they don't rush into cheating or underrating others whose background or qualities they do not know. Even in the literal sense, it is usual, in our society, for people to tend to underrate persons of small stature or those not flamboyantly dressed. Such a person may indeed be a minister, an ambassador, a priest or a professor.

Proverb: *Ajé ń gbè'jà ọmọ rẹ̀ ní idi, ṣùgbọ́n kìí dé'lé sọ fún un.* **Translation**: The witch usually defends her child at the meeting of the underworld powers, but she would not tell the child when she gets home.

Interpretive meaning: It is believed that witches and wizards usually hold meetings periodically at specific venues. The venue of the meeting is called 'idi' in Yoruba. At such meetings members are usually requested to donate some of their children for rituals. In fact, the meeting may specifically ask for certain children, especially if there are no voluntary offers. At that stage, each member may begin to defend her child against the request. However, those who succeed in defending their children must not tell the children when they get back home. The proverb is based on this seemingly fictitious behaviour of witches. The mode implies that each witch is required to be sufficiently self-disciplined so as not to reveal what transpired at the meeting to any non-member. This is to avoid undue publicity and undue joy by the innocent child, and also to preserve the secrecy of the behaviour of the secret group. The proverb is said by the speaker to let others know that something good is in the offing for the listener(s). It is also said by another person to defend the person who should have taken action, i.e. to let people know that positive action is in progress on an issue, but the action need not be revealed yet.

Contextual examples of Taboo among Yoruba Southwest Nigeria

Whistling: Men and women are not allowed to whistle at nights in Yoruba land. Whistling at nights is believed to invite demons and evil spirits into the house to torment people. Additionally, it is believed that whistling could attract snakes and reptiles into the house at night. Suicide: Committing suicide is a serious abomination in Yoruba land, and the body must not be lowered down until some sacrifices are performed to appease the gods. The body of such individual will be thrown into the evil forest or outside the town to avoid invoking the anger of the gods on the land. The family of an individual that commits suicide will be tainted forever in the community.

A strapped baby must never fall from its mother's back: It is an abomination in Yoruba land for a baby to fall from its mother's back. It is believed that if a male child falls from its mother's back, he will always lose his wife at adulthood, while for a female; she will always have a lover die atop her when she grows up. If a baby does fall from its mother's back, the mother is expected to carry out some rituals to prevent evil from happening to the child when it grows. Killing of vulture: This scavenging animal is not common in most of the places. There is a serious warning that this bird that feeds on dead animals shouldn't be killed. It is well said that anyone that kills a vulture will die when they do that.

A king and his royal crown: Kings in Yoruba land are forbidden from looking inside of his royal crown. A king must wear a crown but he must never peer into it. The day he does it is the day he will join his ancestors. Kings could be allowed to do this if they insist on committing suicide.

Stretching hand under rain droplet: Children most especially are warned not to collect rainwater by spreading their hands in the downpour. It is even said that thunder can strike one down if it is done. This is actually used as a step to personal hygiene.

Carrying ladder on shoulders: In some places in Yoruba land, carrying a wooden ladder on the shoulder symbolizes a coffin. So, for evil not to prevail, it is a taboo to carry a ladder just like undertakers who carry coffin on their shoulders during burial.

Sitting on Mortar: Mortars are used by the people in preparing some of their favorite dishes such as pounded yam, foufou and so on. A serious warning is then given not to sit on this mortar. This is practically used as a means of hygiene. It is therefore used as a taboo to strike fear into the hearts of the people.

Pregnant woman walking outside on a sunny day: It is also a taboo for a pregnant woman to roam about in the hot sun. it is the belief of the Yoruba people that demons roam about at this time of the day. It is believed that the unborn baby or the mother can be possessed by these demons. This is also used as a form of protection for the pregnant woman. Beating a male child with a broom: This is a common taboo. They say if you beat a male child with a broom, his sexual organ will disappear. This is just a devise used to protect the child from physical abuse.

Adultery: Yoruba culture forbids a married woman to have sexual relations with a man that isn't her husband. A man that suspects his wife of cheating could be tempted to lace her with magun, which is one of the strangest traditions in Nigeria. Magun could lead to her lover losing his life or getting stuck while in the act. This taboo is more critical against women than against men, so it is highly frowned upon for a wife to cheat on her husband.

Corpse of a person that drowns must not be brought for burial at home: What this means is that the corpse of a person who dies in a river must be buried near the river, and the corpse of a person who falls from a tree must be buried at the base of the tree. Bringing their corpses home is believed to irk the gods who may cause people to die without causes.

A king must never prostrate for anyone again in his entire life: A royal king is considered a demi-god in Yoruba land and he must never prostrate to greet anyone in his entire life. Same sex relations: This is forbidden in Yoruba land. Although many people practice it in Nigeria, it is still considered an abomination in Yoruba land. The result of this act is believed to be prolonged bad luck and death.

Contextual examples of Proverbs among the Bajju ethnic group of Southern Kaduna and Plateau states

i. *iyah pfong bu atang, Npye atang*. **Translation:** set a thief to catch a thief. ***Interpretive Meaning***: be smart to win.

ii. *Abuaka abyi diryenni aryuye*. ***Translation***: A barking dog seldom bites. ***Interpretive Meaning***: do not be afraid of dog that bark or people that threaten you {say they will do something bad to you} in both cases, they rarely take action.

iii. *Jiyii ryen na uh byan kawonka*. ***Translation***: spare the rod, and spoil the child. ***Interpretive Meaning***: when you undisciplined a child, it means you are spoiling the child.

iv. *Am Aka Bibi emi kiri ke,Ivin tubo towa mini ye*. ***Translation***: The breaking palm kernel is better done, when there are teeth in the mouth. ***Interpretive meaning***: A thing can best be carried out when there is the power

Contextual examples of taboos in Bajju land

i. Do not answer a call at night. Reason**:** Only the evil one call at night. **Consequences**: It causes death.

ii. Spirit snakes should not be killed. Reason: It may be the spirit of a person sleeping or having a fever. **Consequences**: when you kill the snake, the person will die.

iii. Do not whistle at night. **Reason**: For it would call a spirit. **Consequences**: it causes bad luck to the person.

iv. A visitor must not eat food alone**.** A person from the visited household must eat with the guest. **Reason**: to prove the food is not poisoned. **Consequences**: your family will be regarded to as a disrespect family.

Contextual examples of Proverbs among Urhobo in Southeast Nigeria

i. ***Okpole oteya gheleofe***. ***Translation***: Big yam tubers grow despite the beetles. ***Interpretive Meaning***: Despite the challenges and obstacles in life one must survive.

ii. *Aye da rho n' ovorovwro roye, odjaye eje-e. Translation*: Even if the co-wife is taller, it doesn't stop them from choosing things. *Interpretive Meaning*: No matter how wealthy you are the culture has respect for position and age.

iii. *Obo evwere seru, urho ke se ruo-o. Translation*: The feat of the earthen cooking pot can't be achieved by the mortar. **Interpretive Meaning**: Where your strength and accomplishment lies is different from where my own strength and accomplishment lie.

iv. *Oro vwovwerhare nyorhe ivwirhi*. **Translation**: He who blows the fire perceives its smoke. **Interpretive Meaning**: You must enjoy the fruit of your labour.

Contextual examples of Taboo among Urhobo

It is a taboo to kill and eat an iguana lizard. *Reason*: The lizard is recognized as a deity they worship. People call them mother when they see them. *Consequence*: Spend huge money to conduct an actual burial ceremony if the lizard is killed.

i. **Consumption of dog meat. Reason**: Bush dogs led trapped warriors out of the battle front. *Consequence*: Huge burial ceremony of the dog.

ii. **Hunting fowls and taking their eggs. Reason**: They are regarded as deity. **Consequence**: Punitive measures are put in place for anyone who disobeys and calamity can befall the person.

iii. **Taboo: A married woman to have sexual intercourse with another man. Reason**: She is meant for only her husband. **Consequence**: She will experience delivery difficulty and only if she confesses then she would deliver safely.

Contextual examples of proverbs in Ibiobio land Southeast Nigeria

i. *Dabu nana bo bibi ka min*. **Translation:** "The person that has a problem knows how to solve it"

ii. *Oya keme nomikeme.* **Translation:** "A poor man is as good as a mad man"

iii. *Oya ebua.* **Translation:** "Poverty is not good".

iv. ***Bebe dibabra dibabra ogun kou pei gha.*** **Translation:** "No matter the case you don't use axe to solve the problem you use money".

Conclusion

The major social fact embedded in a society's culture is the moral guide and guard. Culture not only protects, but also preserves the society and this is accomplished through communication. The relationship between communication and culture is a very complex yet intimate one because, cultures are created through communication, communication is the means of human interaction through which cultural traits- values, traditions, customs, roles, rules, rituals, laws, or other patterns—are created and shared. It is not so much that individuals set out to create a culture when they interact in relationships, groups, organizations, or societies, but rather that cultures are a natural by-product of social interaction.

In a sense, culture is the residue of social communication. Without communication and communication media, it would be impossible to preserve and pass along cultural characteristics from one place and time to another. One can say, therefore, that culture forms the bedrock of society's moral guide is created, shaped, transmitted, and learned through communication at the same time, communication practices are largely created, shaped, and transmitted by culture.

Recommendations

This paper recommends that Africans need to inculcate their culture, cherish and imbibe it into their lives to be epitome of what their societies envisage and not take on foreign values and culture that is alien to their social structure leading to confusion and disorientation of lives. Many African youth are in the throes of losing their identity, their roots in the quest for Western civilization. African values that embrace hard-work, dignity of man, respect for elders, abhorrence for crime and shedding blood, honesty, community life, care for others will go in no small measure to launch Africa into stable, peaceful and enviable lives.

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PEACE EDUCATION AND ART: A STUDY OF THE EMERGING "PEACE THROUGH ART" MOVEMENT IN NASARAWA STATE, NIGERIA

Nwachukwu Akomaye ONUORAH
National Gallery of Art, Lafia, Nasarawa State.
Federal Ministry of Information and Culture.
nwax2002@yahoo.co.uk 2347065552348

ABSTRACT

There is general lack of participation of citizens in Nigeria with regards to peace promotion exercises and peace efforts often focus mostly on conflict resolution. This paper examines an emerging peace movement in Nasarawa state Peace through Art, to show the contributions of an art peace movement in promoting the culture of peace and peace education in Nigeria, the research also tries to show the impact art and artists can make in the area of peace education and how we can all benefit from the art industry in the area of peace promotion. This study adopts qualitative and quantitative analysis of data. It involves identifying and locating sources that provide information or personal/expert opinion on the research questions. The primary data used was mostly collected via oral interviews of members of the movement and beneficiaries of the movement. The research finds that creative work in groups connected individuals and created an awareness of their surrounding needs and helped overcome prejudices this agrees with Galtung's notion of the uplifting effect of being part of something that is bigger than the sum of its parts. The research was concluded on the fact that art can intensify its mediating role in nurturing peace-oriented thoughts. The research also discovers how effective art is in peace education.

Keywords: Art, peace education, peace movement.

Introduction

A 2017 study published in Frontiers of Human Neuroscience reviewed numerous studies that point to the sociological value of art. Researchers noted that, in addition to affecting moods and attention, contemplating art also promoted better social knowledge and self-understanding. Art, they found, can help develop empathy, and allow viewers to take a new perspective and to understand others better. These qualities are crucial pillars of peace, which begins when we understand the effects that our own actions have on others. (Writes, 2019).

Many exhibitions throughout history have focused on the horror and destruction caused by war and violence. Many artists such as Picasso in Guernica, or Goya in his anti-war prints, both used powerful imagery to reveal the way war destroyed lives. This could arguably be one of the most powerful ways in which art could be used to promote peace, by warning society of what they can expect if they do not put a stop to those who make decisions on engaging in or desisting from war. (Writes, 2019).

In general, it is believed that peace could be cultivated through two forms of power, namely hard power and soft power. Hard power is legal steps taken by the government, authorities or customer stakeholders to seek peace through diplomacy. Those with hard power are community representatives who are mandated to resolve the conflict. However, hard power tends to be useful in times of conflict and post-conflict only. What was also needed is conflict prevention (Richards, 2018). Soft power, on the other hand, is peace effort done by affecting human consciousness. Soft power is in charge of moving, awakening, and touching everyone's heart on the importance of peace. The vitality of soft power lies in the message content. Peace messages actually live in the values of local wisdom rooted in every culture. The task and challenge is to manage the messages of peace in a creative way.

Until recently, only government was concerned with peace education in Nigeria. The general population participates only when there is a conflict such as war, riots, or acts of inter-party violence. Peace efforts often focused only on conflict resolution arranged by political groups resulting in very little transformation. It is believed that to make the peace education a

sustainable effort, it would require people from all levels of society to be actively committed to peace. There needs to be an attitudinal shift by the people who tended to be passive, getting all actively involved in the peace education. Due to constant conflict in Nigeria and lack of participation of citizens in Nigeria in peace promotion exercises, especially in peace movement which has proven to be very effective all over the world, this research will try to encourage involvement of everyone in promoting a culture of peace using an art peace movement. This is against the backdrop of the fact that art focuses more on creativity, education and entertainment. It usually has a gathering of relaxed individuals looking forward to be entertained and educated. This study therefore focuses on a movement in Nasarawa state called "Peace through Art" which is taking on the challenge of using art and culture toward building a culture of peace through education. In order to achieve this objective, the study therefore raises the following questions: i. What is the nature of peace education in Nigeria? And: ii. How can art be effectively used to contribute to peace education and ultimately national cohesion?

Conceptual Review

Peace education

Peace education is generally understood as encompassing two dimensions of practice, characterized by Reardon (2000) as "education about peace" and "education for peace." Education about peace refers to education primarily concerned with the acquiring of knowledge about violence and peace. This may include teaching about the negative effects of war and violence, or about the history and possibility of nonviolent alternatives, for example. Education for peace refers to education which focuses on learning the skills necessary for living peacefully and promoting action to create peaceful alternatives (*Bermeo, 2022).*
So many different approaches and definitions of peace education exist today, this research will look at the approaches that best fit the field of art and peace.

Johan Galtung's, reflections on peace education mainly focus around teaching peace in schools. However, in *Encyclopedia of peace education* he acknowledges that most school

systems engage in some sort of structural violence such as "highly vertical division of labour manifesting itself in one-way communication; the fragmentation of those on the receiving end, preventing them from developing horizontal interaction that will allow them to organize and eventually turn the communication flow the other way; and the absence of true multilateralism in the education endeavour" (Galtung, 2008). His focus lies on structural components that promote or hinder the peace education process. He describes the content of peace education rather as a dialogue, leading to action. He agrees that one step should involve the display of knowledge about the facts of the world related to peace. Fountain (1999: 1) defines peace education as

> the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level.
> Peace education to her is the general promotion of skills, attitudes and knowledge.

She goes further to describe it as follows; It appears that developing awareness of critical situations and the will to take action to avoid or resolve them, the ability to reflect critically upon own actions, the provision of a peaceful and respectful environment, equality, tolerance, understanding of peace, human rights and social justice and possibly global political issues, knowing how to act in violent or conflict situations, respect of differences, promoting peace and social justice values enable reflection and the practice of the learned skills, values and attitudes (Fountain, 1999:). All those skills that peace education in her opinion should promote as its one goal, so both Galtung and fountain lean towards personal development rather than international politics issues.

Although they differ in their technicalities; most peace education definitions include the development of skills, attitudes and values in a safe, peaceful environment. Those values and attitudes mostly depend on existing peace definitions, theoretical knowledge and the skills needed for peacebuilding or peacekeeping. Peace education involves mutual learning processes that promote openness, tolerance, understanding and appreciation of diversity and

differences in culture or religion, intercultural friendship, personal development, respect, and the culture of peace. The approaches are different in their execution as well as in the further definition of the skills, values and attitudes mentioned. The intersections with art that this work looks at, suggest that the focus of this research should be within the aspects of personal development of skills and attitudes rather than the actual teaching of international politics and peace theory. As this work tries to identify mechanisms and their effects that promote peace education, the structural suggestions seem to be important. It still seems difficult to imagine, how such a mutual learning environment is created.

Art and peace

Arts and Peace involves carefully facilitated arts-based activities, such as theatre, dance, painting, yoga, and music to foster positive behavioural change. As with sport, art is used as an entry point for peace building. The purpose of Arts for Peace is not art itself, but rather the means through which to convey conflict transformation objectives (*Hussein, 2016*). Lederach (2005) argues for a more creative-process-like approach to reconciliation as well. He describes the term moral imagination to include three aspects: stretching the limits of one's personal perception of reality by practicing more awareness, including creative thinking in these perceptions and in our actions and finally enabling change.

> He goes further to state;
>
> …this is the capacity to imagine and generate constructive responses and initiatives that, while rooted in the day-to-day challenges of violence, transcend and ultimately break the grips of those destructive patterns and cycles (Lederach 2005).
>
> He also advocates the power of music. According to him, "music, it seems, has the

power to push things either in the direction of greater violence or towards reconciliation" (Lederach 2005). He also made a case for including more creativity in the reconciliation process in general and he explained some reasons for that. In this description, the creative process is not linear, it has its own speed and is sensitive to force or pressure, it is strongest

when it is simple and honest, it is not completely comprehensible by thought and reason only, it requires passion and fun rather than formal, serious work (Lederach, 2005).

Art Education and the Nurturing of Peace

The major learning methods in arts education are through observation, introduction of historical sites such as museums and galleries. One of the methods of teaching peace to children is also to introduce historical sites to them. Using this method, children can investigate historical and monumental buildings from distant past and discover their relationship with their environment. In this method, children learn how to protect historical sites and unique places. This method uses a background behavioral approach. For example, when a child is introduced to the great ancient Benin bronze art, he or she gets to know about royalty, slavery, and class system and can pursue the trend since those times into the present. In this method, the Benin art is investigated through peace seeking approaches. Students learn peace with their environment and historical objects and attain hope and cordiality from museums and lives of the departed. When a teacher takes his students to the cemetery of veteran martyrs, according to McCarty (1995), he does not praise war but commends those who sacrificed themselves to protect collective memories and lifestyles of the people in the territory. Moreover, these historical memorials do not induce regret but bring hope and reflect human challenges and tries for equality and liberty along with their sacrifice for their ideals. These memorials could teach

Galtung's focus on art was mostly music, in *Music and conflict transformation harmonies and dissonances in geopolitics.* Galtung talks about the group experience of an orchestra or a quartet as opposed to soloists. He describes how the individual, in putting itself aside by entering the group, can contribute to uprising the group performance to more than the sum of its parts. "This is beyond words alone. This is peace through art by way of isomorphism and structural identity. The art lies in being peace rather than just expressing and verbalizing peace. In the quartet or the symphony there is that jump into a new reality, which is more than the sum of parts. And the argument would be that the kind of conflict solution that is peace

building, as opposed to merely conflict settlement, has exactly that quality" (Galtung 2008). Here Galtung argues for the uplifting quality of music that we, as he suggests, feel when engaging in music with a group that helps us to feel like we are part of something greater than the sum of its parts. This experience he believes has the power of overcoming conflict.

The Need of Art Education in Promoting Peace in Nigeria

Teaching peace is of such a vast range that can cover a child's aggression in school level, tribal segregation in the national or international level and even global commitment to saving the planet. However, its basics vary from one community to another. Nevertheless, forms and contents of teaching peace coincide with the implicit and explicit understanding from background condition and the related affairs (Haulsrod and Sternberg, 2012). Every community or society has its own special technique of peace education, which is usually based on their culture, type and effect of conflict on the community. Due to variety of challenges facing humans, several ways have been proposed for teaching peace. Thus, teaching peace includes different forms and issues. Different forms of violence need different techniques of teaching peace. One of the ways through which peace could be taught effectively in Nigeria is using art. Psychologists and art critics believe that having an artistic life guarantees salvation in social and individual life of people. Therefore, art helps solve mental disorders and increases internal coordination. This will be facilitated if we understand ourselves.

This promotes mutual compassion and understanding and removes humans' introversion toward their fellow counterparts. On the other hand, this cements the accepted social values and promotes ethics. According to several scholars, peace plays the reliving role historically played by religion. Teaching peace and arts have several common purposes. They aim to relieve stress, improve concentration, expand imagination and augment sympathy. Whenever words cease to work music begins. Whenever a fact, an incident or a human experience could not be expressed through verbal signs and philosophical, logical and scientific concepts, art begins. Art can do things that could not possibly be done with things that use verbal potentials of the language. (Nasrabadi, Heidari and Neyestan, 2016).

It refers to human senses and when added to revelations, art demonstrates a high level of potential for transmitting inherent experiences of humans and reveals mysteries that could not ever be opened with any other keys. Art opens up routes for humans that could not be traversed with unstable feet of wisdom and logic. Artistic creation is of an elevated position in the spiritual life of humans and this gives it a higher position compared to science, logic and even philosophy (Ahmadi, 2013). The power of an image of a war-stricken kid is incomparable to hundreds of books and articles published to censure violence and praise peace. Maxine Greene, in his book titled "Releasing Imagination: papers on education, art and social change" (1995) believes that imagination is the basis for educational and social reforms. For him, arts education is a tool for stimulating learners' imagination, thinking in different ways. Art can therefore help us better understand others, that we learn through art to see through each other's eyes and hear through their ears and these are the outcomes of the real learning for they turn into parts of one's body (Dewey, 2012: 394). This is one of the biggest challenges we have in Nigeria today, a lack of understanding of each other and art can help us end the lack of understanding among us.

Peace Movement and Art

Art has considerable potential in peace building, not only in the conflict resolution field but also in post-conflict reconciliation. Defying all linguistic boundaries, it is considered a universal language and therefore an ideal resource to understand the perspectives of others, particularly their perspective on a given conflict (Chambelland, 2018). The use of art in conflict situations can be strategic, especially during negotiations and mediation processes when verbal communications reach its limits. Art is a powerful instrument for collective reconciliation between communities, and it can equally be useful for individuals to overcome any trauma linked to conflict.

The Dada movement, founded in Switzerland in the early 20th century by artists from a plethora of countries, including war-torn countries, shows the extent to which creativity can be used to both advocate for peace and overcome the devastating effects of war. Dada artists

often relied on photography collages to express their dissatisfaction with government regimes that pushed unwilling victims into war. Without a doubt, their art helped them deal with their inner turmoil. There is a reason why, today, art creation is used as therapy with many groups – including refugees, war victims, veterans, and war survivors with PTSD. The value of art therapy goes way beyond the perceived aesthetics of the works themselves (Writes 2019)

Through the use of art and cultural traditions, both sacred and modern-contemporary, the opportunity of involving and mobilizing people in the peace movement becomes greater. (Richards 2018). This could be seen in the United States in the era of the 1960s, when the young generation rejected the Vietnam war, they blended with the hippie's musical movement with the slogan "Make Love Not War", To stand against the war. In music, over the years there are a number of music festivals created by world musicians with the theme of peace. (Richards 2018)

Peace through Art Movement in Nasarawa State

Creating art is a way to reimagine the future, to build bridges and foster understanding, to develop empathy, to make friends, to express feelings, to build self-confidence, to learn how to be flexible and open-minded, to be exposed to different ideas and learn to listen to the views of others, to work collaboratively. These are all attributes that can help to promote peace (Marder, 2019).

In a world today in which people live amidst violence, this groups and others like them are creating opportunities for children, teens and adults to engage in the arts to help them discover things about themselves and an understanding about others that will help them better deal with differences and handle conflicts better and more peacefully. Some of these groups are international, some are more local, but all are necessary, and doing very important work.

Peace through Art is a movement that started in Nasarawa state around August of 2021, by a few visual artists coming together to find ways to contribute to peace promotion and education in Nigeria, this group is trying to tap into children's and teen's innate creative resource and imagination, where they can imagine and visualize their enemies as human

beings like themselves with no much difference, thereby visualizing a more peaceful coexistence. The main aim is to reduce the transmission of hatred and violent thoughts which has existed in the minds of many Nigerians of the present generation and should not be allowed to continue in the next generation. The idea is to develop empathy through art and imparts leadership skills so children and teens can help to create a peaceful future for their communities.

The Peace through Art group is involved in creating of art works by the children which will involve different mediums including mural art in the street carried out through teamwork and will turns into a positive work ethic, which, in turn, results in a genuine feeling of self-worth by all participants. Exhibitions featuring the art works by practicing artists and works created by the children and teens promoting peace will also be among activities of the group. Regular visits to historical sites, in and outside the states to create a better understanding in the minds of the children about their history and the beauty of Nigerian diverse cultures. Some of these activities have already been started and an analysis of the activities was carried out using interviews of some of the participants and beneficiaries.

From interviews with members of the peace movement, it was found that the idea behind the movement was to teach the kids using fun ways to create understanding of each other's differences and diversities, for children to engage in the arts and to discover things about themselves and others that will help them better deal with differences and handle conflicts peacefully. They were all also positive and believed there was some improvement in the children and believed the future was promising. Teenage participants also affirmed that they had and were all very excited to be involved in the process. They believed more in their capabilities, seeing more possibilities in their future, learning more ways to communicate with each other, gaining more friend and learned to co-exist peacefully

Galtung's notion of the uplifting effect of being part of something that is bigger than the sum of its parts did come up during the interviews (Galtung 2008). Some people touched upon the issue when talking about harmony and coordination in group works, according to

them art connected them and created an awareness of their surrounding needs and the overcoming of prejudices among other things. Almost all of them also agreed that they gained openness and became less judgmental through the creative work in the groups. The open-mindedness is considered a good basis for peace work and education. All this happens through the simple teaching of listening and the need to feel the group's dynamic when working in an art group.

Some findings agreed with Galtung's structural considerations (Galtung, 2008). Galtung's mutual learning process made a lot of sense during the interviews. So, within their reflections, art bares a basis for peace education to that effect. It needs more encouragement of thinking, display of knowledge and imagining the future to address global political issues within the setting. Looking at Fountain's UNICEF approach it is also possible to trace resemblances between the general goals of peace education and interviews with participants' (Fountain, 1999). Their notions touch upon many of the values she mentioned. The learning process of arts groups for the participants was, mostly administrated by people in charge or generally described as mutual. Everybody was able to contribute knowledge, and people learned from each other and through working together, which naturally requires mutual respect as well. The appreciation of diversity seemed to be dependent on setting and success of the art projects.

The peace values of equality and harmony were touched upon by the coordinators and the kids during the interviews to some extent. Some people mentioned, that harmony was both required and promoted during the group production of arts where they all had to work together as one unit. This as well as the mutual learning supports Galtung's ideas on positive peace, He states that the definition of peace can involve different concepts from security through military forces over "justice and prosperity, harmony in society, between human beings, and in the mind, inside human beings" (Galtung 1981). Many people mentioned refraining from judgment, the overcoming of differences and the group growing together and developing a community to some extent, many people loved their community however and developed

strong feelings of belonging and affections towards their group. With this it is possible to say that visual art might be a reasonable basis for peace education in Nigeria

Conclusion

Arts education gives the opportunity to the society and the cultural environment to create novel meanings in the minds of learners. Visual art has always been relevant in all aspects of education and learning, learning usually works well with visual illustrations, photographs etc. all produced by artists. Society as a whole creates art and in a social process, art can intensify its mediating role in nurturing peace-oriented thoughts in children, firstly as children and secondly as the future generation of the society. Art education gives numerous opportunities to students to go beyond limitations of the classroom to communicate with the real world. Like language, art is of a multifaceted power in education which could function as a connecting device to enrich and link various aspects of human life. The belief that Art is used to pass time is a proof of lack of awareness about the potential power of art. Issue-based arts education in a framework centered on social, political and cultural context could be guided in different ways, mixed with other subjects, taught combined with them and nurture peace. Since arts education focuses on issues related to life and concerns of children, students are motivated to have a deeper look at themselves, other people and the surrounding environment.

Like Cohen and White suggested, that there is much more room for improvement through more research and the documentation of work on art and peace (Cohen and White, 2012). Only through this can one project learn from the experience of another and for such an area to grow and develop. If we learn more about the success of the art and the peace process, we can also come to a conclusion about the peace development process. Further discoveries in this way could improve the work not only of peace educators but also of peace keepers and peace builders. This study shows that the link between art and the peace process is not yet fully understood, as everyone has different experiences. The study also suggests that there are many sources of knowledge in the area of peace and conflict resolution that needs to be researched more on.

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WITCHCRAFT, SOCIAL CONTROL AND PRIMORDIAL ADJUDICATION IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES

Ebenezer Adekola TEGBE
Lead City University, Ibadan.
ebenezertegbe@yahoo.com

and

Lydia CHINENYEMBA
Chrisland University
Abeokuta

ABSTRACT

Many African nations are developing and undeveloped young politically, economically, socially independent and having their judicial adjudication just evolving whole many African societies are still pre-literate. The Justice system in many of these societies are old, moribund, with traditional norms still being held unto especially social institutions of social control and adjudication. The Justice and social control system of these African societies are mysterious, esoteric and exist in closed scheme tied up in traditional beliefs. Ethnographic exploration of African societies carried out in stratified random selection revealed strong relationship between adjudication of cases and social control and these are tied up in the belief system. Witchcraft, sorcery entrenched in these societies translate into social relationships. Behaviours, interactions, case adjudication and arbitration are still determined by traditional norms stagnating development in African societies despite modern global trends. It is therefore imperative on societies in Africa to align with the world at large and key in to the global Justice system.

KEYWORDS: Social-control, African societies, Witchcraft, Norms, Adjudication

Introduction

Different scholarships and intellectual disciplines have made efforts to explain the phenomenon of witchcraft in the universe, and through generations, mankind's attempts to put into order the mysteries of the universe and the complexities of human behaviour have resulted into several strategies. Among Africans, the quest for social order and thus social control is inclusive and holistic. Efforts on social order and control as embedded in African philosophy and science, define the universe in a larger context, grounding people's sense of reality, identity and their code of behaviour in a grand scheme; visible and invisible, spiritual and material realities confronting man. Western science explains cosmology by countless molecules but African science explains it by countless spirits, and pantheons. To control human behaviour; the spiritual recourse is rife in many African societies as life to Africans is a continuum of the spiritual, and the natural not given to separatism; one influencing the other and the spiritual in which witchcraft situates, have influence on human behaviour therefore, manipulation in the spirit realm is a craft in the intention of moral guard of the social environment from yore in many African societies.

In African societies and in general, witchcraft has always been perceived with fear and trepidation. Mere mention of witches inspires chill and dread. Witchcraft is associated with the esoteric yet it is besides us in Africa, it is forlorn, yet nigh, a mystery which Africans live with. In traditional African belief, man is a tripartite being; he is a spirit, possessing a soul and living inside the body. This epitomizes the concept of witchcraft acting on people's souls while outside the bodies. Witches are human beings with spiritual and supernatural powers to manipulate the lives of their fellow humans in the spirit realm that would manifest in the physical. Bascom (1969) posits witches are humans, they are mostly old women who have small birds or cats as animal familiars into which their souls can enter to go out at night and give a person a disease or suck his blood while sleeping.

Anthropologists have devoted special attention to the field of social organization for nearly a century and have made more striking scientific progress here than in any other branch

of their subject. As a consequence, they have developed a somewhat complex technical vocabulary which it is necessary to employ in any discussion of society. The concepts employed though seldom difficult to grasp, are not always familiar to the general reader, and the terms are not always fully standardized. The African continent, with approximately 240 million inhabitants, ranks third in global population, behind Eurasia and North America and appreciably ahead of South America, but it has more distinct peoples and cultures than any other continent. Africa is home to about 3000 ethnic groupings inhabiting diverse societies but there are more similarities in values, norms and culture than there are differences that can make the region, being described as African societies not too wide off the mark; society being a structured human grouping with similar social institutions, traditions, values, norms and core territory. However, in any society, there could be no coherent social life unless the social relationships which bind people together were at least to some degree orderly, institutionalized and predictable.

To maintain an orderly system of social relations people, have to be subjected to some degree of compulsion, they cannot, all the time, do exactly as they like for often self-interest may incite behaviours that are incompatible with the common good, societal norms or rules. And so it is that in societies some rules and norms may be trespassed. Thus, some kinds of constraints on people's behaviour are acknowledged and on the whole adhered to. These rules and the means by which they are enforced differ greatly from society to society. But always, they more or less effectively secure some degree of social order.

However, witchcraft is conceptually different from magic and sorcery, the difference is not in the physical beings of the practitioners but in the practices. Sorcerers use magical items of physical objects accompanied by incantations or spells to injure or harm people; they are consulted to assist in effecting consequences on other fellows in the society. Though their work is often defined in the negative but magic can be offensive as well as protective. It can be used to harm, injure and can also heal. Magic conjures and also uses physical objects such as plant and animal extracts including that of human and often accompanied by incantations

or spells. Magic is the acting out of a situation, the expression of a desire in symbolic form. Magic is imbued with physicality to induce spiritual causality. While witches have no palpable apparatus of their craft and their activities are spiritual. Witches are not consulted to harm though the biblical witch of Endor was consulted by Saul the king of Israel but witches in African societies is a secret cult, discussed in awe and fear seldom approached or consulted physically.

Witchcraft has been in the world from time immemorial and generally perceived in the negative. The Christian Bible has it in the book of Exodus 22:18 that sorcery and anything allied should not be permitted to exist. Deuteronomy has it that sorcery, necromancy, omen interpretation are abominations. The Book of Revelation says sorcerers shall burn in hell fire. The Book of the 2nd Kings, chapter twenty-one, verse six condemned king Ahab for dealing with wizards. The Book of Acts of the Apostles, chapter nineteen, verse eighteen denounced magic and wizardry. The book of Leviticus, chapter twenty, verse six warns against interacting with mediums and wizards. Though witchcraft is shrouded in secrecy and mystery, its fear is strongly felt among African societies making people to obey the norms and values for fear of incurring the wrath of witches and thus bewitched. Also, the stigma of being tagged a witch in cases of deviant behaviour curtails people's anti-social behaviour since a wicked, surly, melancholic, unsociable member of society is often tagged a witch. The bottom line is that witches are human beings with supernatural powers to harm or protect.

Deviance occurs when a person's or group's attachment to social bonds is weakened. According to this view, people care about what others think of them and conform to social expectations because of their attachments to others and what others expect of them. Socialization is important in producing conformity to social rules, and it is when this conformity is broken that deviance occurs. This theory focuses on how deviants are either attached, or not, to common value systems and what situations break people's commitment to these values. Most people probably feel some impulse towards deviant behaviour at some time, but their attachment to social norms prevents them from being deviant. Social control

implies the social intercourse is regulated in accordance with established and recognized standards. It is comprehensive, omnipotent and effective to stimulate order, discipline and mutuality; discouraging, and if need be, punish the deviant. Generally speaking, social control is the control of the society over individuals in order to maintain the organization and order in the society. This control is necessary in order to have desired behaviour from individuals and enable individuals to develop social qualities in tandem with the societal expectations and norms.

Society in order to exist and progress has to exercise a certain control over its members since any marked deviation from the established ways is considered a threat to its welfare. Social control is the term anthropologists and sociologists apply to those mechanisms by which any society maintains a normative social system. It refers to all the ways and means by which society enforces conformity to its norms.

Activities of witches: Parrinder (1962) asserts there is no cult of witchcraft, while Jegede (2010) affirms cultism in witchcraft and even referred to grove of banana plants, under pawpaw trees, river banks as meeting spot of witches. Other scholars referred to their meeting places as tree tops in market square, three road-path intersections but the general belief is that witches have meeting spots that are physical which are referred to as covens.

Witchcraft is to be understood within the social setting of African societies. To Parrinder (1962), witchcraft is a social activity like Sabbath. But the conceptual belief in witchcraft is exclusive of religious leanings or convictions. Regardless of religious affiliation, witchcraft situates in the worldview which is the innate cognitive perception of the world in which one lives, the interpretive comprehension of the universe while religion is the worship of the supreme deity and the acceptance of an unquestionable truth in the lordship of a deity. Thus seen, worldview is extraneous of religious leaning but the comprehension of the universe one lives in and the energies there-in.

Prince (1961) cited in Williams (1956) stated, there is certainly a real witch cult comprising many elderly women with male leaders. It is very widespread, highly secret and

much feared by the people. Witches are believed to have power to see the human intestines, liver and other internal organs as well as foetus in the uterus of their mothers. Witches according to Simpson (1980) cannot be recognized physically or by any overt behaviour. But a good observer can recognize a witch through her behaviour as example; a young woman who defies her elders or a woman who keeps losing her children is suspected of contributing her own children to feasts where the witches jointly eat one another's children. It is believed, according to Simpson, witches are not friends or members of a cult in everyday life. It is only when they change into non-human forms that they are members of a society. The spirits (birds-souls of witches), fly to meetings at midnight and upon arrival, they become human beings again. At the meetings, the witches sit according to rank attending to cases brought to them as litigations or pleas. Decisions are taken which include how and when to kill those whom they have agreed to kill, inflict those marked for affliction and who will do the killing. Pleas are also taken to assuage a victim's plight or pronounce the demands requested from a victim.

Witchcraft Acquisition: Areas of witchcraft prominence such as among the Azande, Ibiobios, Nupe/Tapa, Yoruba, Calabar, Fulani, Kanuri, Edo, Ashante, Kpelle, Igala, Ebira, Zulu, Berbers, Luo, Khoi, Luvendu, Ga, Lugbara, Buganda, Nuer to mention but a few, all spread across the African continent have witchcraft established through supernatural means. Among the Ibiobio for instance, according to Haviland (2008), witchcraft is in form of red, white and black threads in needles and other ingredients that are swallowed by the recruits which transmits into them the witchcraft spirit. Haviland (2008) opined, they are capable of harming people and thus unacceptable. This view is not valid outside Ibiobio land which Haviland studied and the view cannot be generalized.

Among the Yoruba, witchcraft is seen as socially acceptable to some extent, and acquisition is through meals; recruits are given meals to partake where-in the spirit has been transferred and then swallowed by the initiate and this has been reported among school children in Yoruba land transferring witchcraft spirit to fellow pupils. Also, in some parts of Yoruba land, witchcraft is acquired by partaking in kola-nuts given by a member to an initiate.

Another form of recruitment and initiation is when a neophyte finds herself in the dream familiarizing with strange women at a meeting spot. Simpson (1980) stated that formerly only old women were witches but nowadays, witches include younger as well as older persons.

Witchcraft is widely believed to be hereditary and passed from mothers, aunties, grandmothers to females within the family but not to males, but in few cases, it can be solicited in membership. It is believed witches do not receive training or serve apprenticeship; witchcraft may be inherited but not through biological inheritance. The power may pass as stated earlier from mother to daughter through various media and it is not uncommon for a old witch shortly before her death, to transfer her 'bird' to someone, often a daughter. The witches may decide to bring a woman into their association in the spirit realm and give her something to eat which will make her a witch either voluntarily or non-voluntarily. If non-voluntarily, the woman becomes a witch without realizing it until much later. In some other instances, one who wishes to become a witch in order to avenge a wrong or for other reasons may indicate her interest and eventually meet a witch to give her the desired power at a price. Views, according to Simpson (1980) differs concerning where a witch keeps her power. Usually, it is said she keeps it in her stomach, or use the eyeballs as repository. At times, she may keep her power outside her own body- in an anthill, in a calabash, inside a tree or an animal.

Esoteric transcendentalism in witchcraft: The belief in many quarters in African societies is that the spirits of witches are able to leave their body to attend meetings in their chosen covens. Some believe they transform into birds and fly to their meeting places, some belief they go in animal forms like sheep often seen congregating on the street. The general belief is that witches place their legs transfixed on the walls of their rooms, to transcend to meeting spot and if anyone finds her in that position and remove the leg, the spirit would immediately come back to the body.

Colour Symbolism in witchcraft

The Yoruba according to Jegede (2010) has three categories of witchcraft: the black, the red and the white. The categories inform their attitudes and activities in their covens. The covens

or meeting spots are allied to the courts where cases are brought and judged. The black witches that profess black witchcraft are believed to be extremely wicked and non-tolerant. They are the most dreaded among the categories since cases brought to them are hardly investigated and they even go out of their way to inflict hardship on their fellow humans on flimsy excuses regardless of their relationship with their victim.

The red category of witches is believed to be harmful only to those that offend them or pronounced guilty of offence against the society or their fellows. It is assumed the red witches do not harm or punish indiscriminately and their accused are innocent until proven guilty. Cases brought to them in the spirit realm are investigated and if found guilty the accused is then punished. The punishment ranges from bareness, to illnesses that are often intractable and may not be diagnosed by any medical practitioner. The punishment goes to include, motor-vehicle accident, blindness, limb-crippling and death. Even the seemingly common illnesses such as headache, stomach disorder may lead to death. The punishment also includes ill-luck and lack of success in endeavours, even to lack of suitors, failure in academics and bankruptcy in business.

The white categories are believed to be caring, benevolent and are often regarded as fortunate to have as mothers, or wives because they look after the interest of their own. They are believed to be protective of their children and husbands hence the success of their beneficiaries in endeavours is guaranteed. In Yoruba parlance, they are referred to as *aje olomo* meaning witches that protect their children. The white witches' category believed to exist purposely for caring are responsible for all the good things that happen in the world. They manipulate the positive force of life as life is believed to have both positive and negative forces. Positive forces in the universe bring peace, prosperity, longevity and good health and the negative force ushers otherwise. A new dimension is added to this belief by Jegede (2010). In Jegede's view the white category is believed to be persons or behind persons of extraordinary gifts who use their gifts for development in areas such as sciences, technology and medicine. According to Jegede (2010) all inventions that have impacted the world

positively have the inputs of white witches. Inventions of electricity, electronics including the computer, and expertise in science is not possible without input of witchcraft.

Ogunde, a prominent Yoruba folklorist and artiste succinctly portrayed witches as the owners, custodians or guardian of the universe and are referred to as *'aiye'* literarily meaning the world. He also categorized witches into black, red and white. The black forms are evil, the red is wicked and the white are benevolent. This is in consonance with Ngubane (1977), explanation of Zulu medicine. Medicine burnt into black powder is used in treatment of infirmities, and when the patient is getting better, red medicine is introduced which symbolizes twilight; the midway between darkness and light and when the patient is getting healed, white medicine in form of infusion is introduced. Witchcraft, illness and medication are thus conceptualized in colour symbolism. The black is bad, the red though not so good, is in between black and white, while the white is conceptualized as good.

Beattie (1968) took his readers to a test of conscience. He says many people in the Western world think the word; *logos*, has its own special power. To say or even think something solemnly and emphatically enough is somehow to make it more likely to happen. He says further, members of modern societies may be frightened and ashamed when they become conscious of hidden wishes for the death or injury of someone they dislike, and may feel guilt when the object of their antipathy is run over by a bus. To Beattie (1968), the belief in power of words, thoughts and symbols is by no means monopoly of simpler societies. He affirms, most members of advanced societies have at least some non-scientific, non-empirical beliefs and practices which are sometimes embedded in formal religious rituals that may not be put to any kind of tests which might disprove them.

Gendered form of Witches

The belief is that witches are mostly old women while their male counterparts are wizards. Elders, especially old people within the community are treated with respect and must not be offended or incur their wrath lest the person risks bewitchment. Any encounter with an elderly especially a female as mentioned earlier, is with caution.

Falola (2016) citing Washington (2000) state, belief in witches and bewitchment among the Yoruba has survived for centuries and continues to be very significant to this day. Fear of witches looms large in Yoruba consciousness and practice. Whenever references are made to witches or to their names ' *aiye* or *iya*' it is prudent to touch the ground with one's finger tips. According to Falola (2016) the Yoruba associate witchcraft with women and wizardry with men. Witches possess considerable superhuman mystical powers and can perform wonder. They can hurt their victims, kill an enemy, block the fortunes of others and cause a business failure for a neighbour. They are capable of doing anything evil with impunity. To Falola, Yoruba believe witches turn into birds, cats, sheep or goats, and congregate in the forest at night under giant trees, where they feast on the flesh and blood of their victims. The general belief is that witches are women cult and their male counterparts are wizards.

Totem in Witchcraft: Totemism is a mystical relationship between an individual or group and an object presumably a living thing such as birds, animals and plants. Totemic objects are adopted by individuals or groups serving as familiar spirits and things that are identified with. Totemic objects are transferable from man to other living things. Bascom (1969) stated witches have small birds or cats as familiars into which their souls can enter. Among the Yoruba as example; the antelope is regarded as a totem of witches probably because the skin of the animal has the *Ifa* oracle corpus signs as marks on the skin.

Witchcraft Taboo: It is believed witches avoid contact with *Obo* (*Ficus platyphylla*) tree and the bark of the tree. Tasting the bark of the tree is an abomination to witches and can spell doom for them. The belief is that any totemic bird of a witch that happens to fly directly on top or perch on the tree may likely lose its gravity and fall. It is also believed that witches do not confess in the open. The point of confession marks their exit from the cult.

Witchcraft and control within social setting

Most misfortunes are attributed to witchcraft and are directed at someone acquainted with the witch thus, Evans Pritchard (1937) ascribed witchcraft among the Azande in East Africa to the social setting stating that witchcraft is only effective and recognized within a closed

system. It is therefore a social phenomenon as well as spiritual since it does not only provide an acceptable way of thinking about socially disruptive experiences of illness and death, it also prescribes a socially approved way of solving issues. This is done by canalizing and giving institutionalized recognition to the hostile emotions that are inevitable in a small community. The emotions are poured out on a phenomenon recognized by the whole society. Not only that, among the Azande, witchcraft is a social sanitation against anti-social behaviours for a man that is surly and unfriendly within the neighbourhood stands the risk of been bewitched or he is regarded as a witch by his or her neighbours.

The political system lends credence to the social setting within Azande society as witchcraft, forms a coherent system on the level of thought and action with important implication for the community life. The Azande witchcraft may be employed against bad people such as anonymous murderers within the community. This is corroborated by Malinowski (1922) observation among the Triobrand Island community in the Pacific; that the village heads use witchcraft to beat into line deviant members to conform to social norms.

The Yoruba of Southwest Nigeria belief in witchcraft is strongly felt and dreaded. A stingy individual stands the risk of being bewitched. In a festival or personal ceremonial feast, a perceived miserable meal served to a guest or served round the community may draw the wrath of witches. Care is always taken to treat people equally when providing feast meal especially to the poor otherwise it attracts anger that may result into being bewitched by the aggrieved. Of note is reverence given to age among Africans, it is generally believed though there are now exceptions that witches are mostly old women, it is thus imperative to respect the old that are more in the position of bewitching people. Failure to assist an old person especially a woman is an invitation to bewitchment. Rudeness can also invite bewitchment.

Young wives are required to be respectful and treat the mother-in-law with honour and respect otherwise they stand the risk of bewitchment. Most women inability to conceive is alluded to witchcraft and this often stems from disaffections between wives and women of the family compound.

Belief in witchcraft persists in Yoruba land despite modernization although the fear may likely be decreasing of natural events or infirmities that were beyond ordinary daily experience explained off by the mysterious circumstances of witchcraft. Falola (2016) explained the ontology of witchcraft as an esoteric science that belongs to the generation of beings in the cosmos of human created by the supreme deity.

Belief in witches reminds people of their religious devotion to the deity and explains good and evil in moral theology. As examples, if a child has malaria and is not responding to treatment, the parents and relatives will look inwards to find out why the illness is intractable. If a witch cries in the night (usually in form of bird sound) and a child dies the following morning, there is no hesitation in ascribing the death of the ill-child to the cries of the witch in form of bird sound. A witch is therefore someone with mysterious powers to do good and evil. It is believed, a good witch uses his or her witchcraft to protect the children, while the evil witch, has diabolical spirit to punish members within the family.

Beattie (1968) posits, there could be no coherent social life unless the social relationships that bind people together are to some extent orderly to which the alternative is chaos. Some degree of compulsion is therefore necessary to maintain an orderly system of social relations, thus, some kind of constraints on peoples' behaviour are needed. To understand how community social order works, one has to understand how it is enforced. Many societies in Africa lack the Western pattern of social control but some sort of social stability is achieved, without resort to the familiar Western machinery of police, courts and judges. With categories of people, there are ordered maintenance of relations, physically unseen but felt within the social aggregate.

Social order, maintained through witchcraft is thus different from what Weber (1947) propounded as legitimized or authorized social power which is the right vested in some categories of persons. Malinowski (1948) opines that social order is not maintained only by repressive force of an embryonic criminal law, to which Radcliffe Brown (1952) points out

that categories of Western jurisprudence are inapplicable to the institution of simpler societies, that have social control embedded in their belief system.

Findings and Discussion

It is revealed, most African societies are experiencing cultural lag as theorized by William Ogburn explaining that there is difference between material culture and non-material culture. Culture and belief system take time to catch up with technological innovations. The change in mindset, mentifacts and belief is slower than the change in technology. In many African societies, technological advances occur faster than changes in rules and norms. This however may affect the interactions and relationships of many African societies and a continent as a whole within the comity of nations within the United Nations, International court of arbitration as primordial adjudication evidenced in the traditional forms of social control runs contrary to modern global judicial practices. Moribund and archaic norms and belief system that need to be jettisoned are still being held onto in many African societies and this may affect developments within African continent as evidenced in case studies revealed.

Case Studies of Witchcraft and Moral Values

Various cases attributed to witchcraft in African societies are alluded to breech of norms on; generosity, respect, social justice, humility and modesty. A young lady in Ibadan, Nigeria aged twenty-seven having being married for four years without a child claimed the source of her inability to have a child is her mother-in law's witchcraft. This was ascribed to the lady's rude attitude in the husband's family. An occultist was consulted who took her to a woman presumed to have higher spiritual power to appeal to the alleged witch to either release her from spiritual captivity or use a higher power to deliver the lady. This led to the lady having some nails sucked out of her navel, being the offensive object preventing her pregnancy.

A reported case of a young man who murdered her own mother was featured in the dailies. The offence of the victim was alleged spiritual affliction of failure in life endeavours by the victim on the assailant.

A notable aged artiste who often played the role of witches in Yoruba Nollywood films was strangled by her grandson on the allegation of the cause of his serial failure in life. The case resulted into police arrest and investigation.

A daily newspaper carried a picture of an old woman who allegedly fell down while spread-eagled across the sky, making a headline of the newspaper.

It is believed that people who have witchcraft; usually headmen of communities among the Nuer, can cause a person whose behaviour is generally disapproved, to become ill. Akeem Tijani a spiritualist disclosed witches love givers who give out of their little means and not a big spender who flaunts wealth from abundance and as a matter-of-fact witches hate pride and flaunting wealth by individuals and those who do such stand the risk of bewitchment.

Interpretation of Witchcraft

It may be more appropriate to regard witchcraft in African societies as interplay of psychological, sociological, cultural and economic variables. Williams (1956) in his sociological hypothesis states, "witchcraft stems from the strains inherent in the kinship system; of anxiety and guilt in the women; and ambivalent sentiments in men- affection and respect for the mothers of their children, but fear of the inadequacy of maternal care, and fear that the jealousy of women in a polygamous household within a compound group giving the corporate members in a continuing agnatic lineage to their children but denying it to themselves, may be vented as spite against their husbands." Prince (1961) in his own psychological hypothesis holds that Yoruba witch:

> represents the collective image of the bad mother in a people who have not yet attained the depressive position in their emotional development, it would not be distorting the Yoruba concept too much to think of witchcraft as representing all the bad aspects of the mother or the female.

Witchcraft may thus be a reaction of women to patriarchal dominance in African societies. Witchcraft is an extension of women protest and inter-gender conflict between women and men's power. It is symptomatic of reactionary resistance to male dominance in Africa.

In a social setting of polygyny where co-wives live in the same homestead of a man; rivalries and animosities are engendered and such marital setting requires fortification and protection of both the mother and their children in a volatile and highly hostile social environment common among co-wives; seeking spiritual power through witchcraft seems the plausible solution.

Witchcraft can also be gleaned through the understanding of avenging wrongs done to a seemingly powerless wife in an environment different from her family of birth; she is seen as a 'stranger' and treated as such until through alliances and counter-alliances she becomes familiar with the terrain. It is therefore not uncommon for a mother to transfer witchcraft to a daughter at the point of entering into marriage to protect her in her new abode and for favor in an expected hostile environment.

Witch-doctors and Witches Nemesis

A wave of witch-hunting referred to as the '*Atinga*' cult emerged in the 1950s that emanated from the West African country of Republic of Benin and spread into Nigerian cities and villages. Groups of men beating drums enter into compounds especially with the invitation of the chiefs with the aim of the drum beats alluring witches into the open for confessions of their atrocities. A lot of women were thus pointed out and made to confess. This led to many houses of supposed witches been burnt and razed down, local deities' shrines pulled down. The action was banned and the cult proscribed by the colonial government as it was discovered the Atinga cult was sponsored by the chiefs whose offices had been made secular under the Protectorate. Witch-doctors hold ambivalent position in dealing with witches. They act as intermediaries between victims and the witches and they also confront recalcitrant witches. In that wise, they may consult traditional religion priests in the confrontation to release victims from the hands of the witches.

Witchcraft and modernity

The witchcraft complex is not a part of religion but it is related to the religious realm. Although belief in the power of local deities and ancestors has decreased sharply, belief in the witches

is still widespread. Witches provide a convenient explanation of one's troubles or the troubles of a traditional doctor's client and serve as a possible means of striking back at enemies. Through witchcraft confidence may be obtained to cope with life's situations. According to Simpson (1980), schooling does not necessarily obliterate fantasies about witches since, in a period when many people hesitate to be seen participating in a traditional religious ceremony, witchcraft has the advantage of being carried on secretly.

Simpson (1980) citing Morton-Williams (1956) posited that the latter's comment on Yoruba methods of dealing with witchcraft in the past is interesting. It seems to have been rare in the past because nowadays, accusation of witchcraft is forbidden in the criminal code of Nigeria. Authorities have no legal ground to take actions on witches. Dealing with witches now lies with masquerade *egungun*, bull-roarer *oro* cults and the ancestors *ara-ile*. For the ancestors *ara-ile*; are evidences of immortality, no less than because they symbolize the desired triumph of male vigour over female.

Conclusion

Witchcraft in African societies has ironically stood its stand against tides of social change in African societies and African groups rely on the existence of exoteric and extra-mundane system of adjudication to beat into line erring members of the society, informally controlling behaviours and enforcing conformity to societal norms without recourse to the physical enforcement of rules and laws. Iconoclasm within the realm of religion and many other aspects of culture has not affected the belief in witchcraft the negative perception in different quarters within the public space notwithstanding because; witchcraft situates in the worldview of African peoples. The fear for the cult has a stabilizing factor in moral and social control within African communities where members understand the reality of their cosmos and adjust behaviour in line with the norms of the society whose jurisprudence transcends the visible courts. However, this belief system is not in line with the global practice and runs contrary to modern Justice System. The world is turning into a global village with the innovations in internet technology, international business transactions connecting diverse cultures and, to be

able to compete and connect with the world, societies in Africa need to adjust to the modern form of social control practices and adjudication.

Recommendations

In spite of the fact that this unique system of informal adjudication has been in place from time immemorial in African societies, efforts should be made by the over 3000 societies in Africa located within the 54 nations on the African continent to adjust to the modern system of adjudication that are visible, transparent, recordable rather than the closed system that is not comprehensive nor understood by non-initiates. Judiciary should transcend the local enclave of African societies to extend into other parts of the world since the world is now a global village where transactions are daily incorporating nations economically, politically, socially and in other aspects of life in international forum. Human activities are no longer restricted to the corners of pre-literate societies where primordial opinions and systems held sway and as such, social control and conforming to global practices in adjudication of cases enforcing conformity to humanity should be embraced by African societies.

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FACTORS INFLUENCING KIDNAPPING AND THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS FOR KOGI STATE

Adegbe Samson OJONUGWA

Regional Training and Research Institute for Distance and Open Learning
National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi-Abuja
adesamugwa@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study examines the global menace of kidnapping but with a focus on Kogi State in Nigeria. The study finds that the drivers and social and economic implications of kidnapping in Kogi State are substance abuse, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, security lapses, and the complication of security personnel in ransom payment. It was determined that the socio-economic implications are these are discouragement of investors and expatriates, social effect/dearth of social life, adverse effects on budget planning, obstruction of business activities, work place insecurity among others. It was thus recommended that government should enact a law that would prevent an individual to pay ransom intelligence security agency, bad eggs in the security agencies be fished out through intelligence gathering and face the consequence of the law among others. It was also recommended that citizens have a role to play in terms of security of the state as well as the government.

Keywords: Kidnapping, Social, Economic, History

Introduction

Kidnapping is one of the most heinous crimes in history of mankind (Adegbe 2019). According to Evans (2018) he stated that, a young Julius Caesar was at the center of one of Rome's most unusual kidnapping cases. The incident unfolded in 75 B.C., when a band of Cilician pirates waylaid the 25-year-old as he was sailing to the Mediterranean island of Rhodes. Also, the story of Saint Patrick would be incomplete without the accounts of his career as a Christian missionary sparked by act of kidnapping. Born into a wealthy family in Roman Britain in the late fourth century, Patrick was abducted by a band of raiders at age 16 and taken away to Ireland, where he was held as a slave (Evans 2018). The above cases were listed among the eight most notorious kidnappings in history (www.history.com).

Empirically, in Nigeria, kidnapping occurred in Oboro community Delta State in 1999 when three expatriates working with Shell Company were kidnapped (Vanguard 13th August, 1999). In that same year, ANCOG Construction Company at Ughelli, Delta State experienced a sad event when two (2) Indians nationals were kidnapped. Moreover, Bristow Helicopter that was rented by Texaco Oil Company (TOPCON) was seized by the youths of Ogbotobo community along with six members of staff in it and one million five hundred thousand naira was demanded as ransom before setting the captives free (Vanguard 13th August, 1999).

Davidson (2010) explained that, the wide spread of insecurity in Nigeria calls for declaring state of emergency because the rate at which kidnapping occurs within interval of time is worrisome. Schools has become the main target of kidnappers now, some victims are being kidnapped from their homes and highway (Amar 2021). It is now the usually modus operandi of criminal elements in Nigeria to waylay motorists on highways with guns and dangerous weapon which they employ to coarse people and move them into captivity against their will thereby, demanding ransom through phones calls before their release (Adegbe 2019). Kidnapping has become endemic in Nigerian society; it is fast becoming a lucrative business to armed robbery and the gravity of kidnapping is so intense that it has virtually permeates through all states in Nigeria. The focus of this paper is on global and Nigeria historical trends

of kidnapping. Also, the paper delves into origin of kidnapping in Kogi State and its drivers. Lastly, the paper examined the social and economic implications of kidnapping in Kogi State.

Conceptual Review

Kidnapping is an act in which kidnappers chose and strategically planned before been carried out by them (Adegbe 2019). In perspective of classical criminology, kidnapper is viewed as a criminal, and it is an action of a free will because there are criminal acts that criminologists classified as a freewill action that are characteristically planned and executed by criminals (Void 1979). In classical criminology, behaviour of a kidnapper is a product of free will or the choice of the individual, who access the potential benefits of committing the crime against its potential cost. In criminal law, kidnapping is illegal taking of person into a confine place against the victim's will usually for ransom or other reasons known to the culprit i.e. transporting people away forcefully without having authority to do so and keeping them in a secluded place. The English common law website defines kidnapping as offence requiring that one person takes another person away; by force or fraud without the consent of the person taken and without lawful excuse.

Similarly, Garner, (2009) sees kidnapping as a crime of illegal seizing and moving a person away by threatening to kill them with gun so that the victim can succumb against his or her will with the intent to collect ransom in later time. Also, Goldberg (2000) argues that kidnapping is a crime against humanity involving seizing and confinement of victims. Furthermore, the act of kidnapping involves abduction, subjection, forcefulness, threats, terror and servitude. That means kidnapping can be infer to be de-humanisation of an individual or group of persons which is totally an aberration to the spirit of fundamental human rights. In line with the above, there are also kidnapping for religious reasons which has not been heard of in Kogi state but in the North East of Nigeria where Boko-Haram members held victims' hostage as a result of their religious backgrounds depriving them their fundamental human right of choice of religion. Thus, in any form or reason, kidnapping is a crime infringing on another person's fundamental human rights of freedom.

In view of the above, Nigeria criminal code's punitive prescription for kidnapping is that, anyone who illegally put another person into confinement against the person's wish within Nigeria in such a way to deprive the fellow access to court and people that can help him or her to gain freedom or preventing people to know the place of confinement; the culprit has committed offence of felony and it may attract ten (10) years imprisonment (Tar Hon, 2004).

Theoretical Framework

The paper was anchored on anomie theory which was introduced by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim in 1893 (Durkheim 1893). Anomie or normlessness, is the breakdown and blurring of societal norms which regulate individual conduct (Schubert 2021). Anomie theory explains reasons for breakdown of societal norms or why rate of normless is high in various societies when compared to different historical epoch (Jon 2014). According to the theory, crime is usually driven by unequally distribution of resources in the society; this put pressure on individuals to jettison societal norms and use illegal means to acquire resources (Charlotte 2022). Anomie can be seen as obstruction of stability in the society due to inequality in social structure or lack of individual or collective strategies for adapting to changing social circumstance.

This theory aptly described the situation of kidnapping in Kogi State where those engaged in it do not regard the societal norms that discourage negative behavior. Norms are expectations that are socially enforced encouraging positive attitude but the kidnappers had jettisoned this social order for their inordinate pleasure. Generally, in 21st century Nigeria, our society norms of contentment, do not cheat, do not steal has been abandoned by so many people; arms are proliferated and youths are into hard drugs, cultism, corrupt security agents among other because of lack of enforcement of societal norms.

Also, the current reality is that government cannot provide jobs for all the unemployed youths and the successive governments have failed to create enabling environment for citizens to create employment for themselves. These changing circumstances which some persons

cannot adapt to may exert pressure on them to find a means of wealth creation through kidnapping. Moreover, some persons may be under pressure to make money through kidnapping as a result of the unequal distribution of wealth and inequality in the structure of the society that has created huge gap between the rich and the poor.

Historical Perspective of Kidnapping in Nigeria

In pre-colonial era in Nigeria, kidnapping was a means of sourcing for slaves to be sold for foreigners. During the 15th and 16th centuries, the indigenes kidnapped their brothers, sisters, relatives, notorious criminals and sold them out to slave traders (Dode, 2007). After the abolition of slave trade, kidnapping for rituals continued in many countries and regions in West Africa Fetish and animist beliefs have allowed such practices especially in Nigeria. Dennis (2017) explained that evolution of kidnapping in Nigeria has matured into varying forms that were hitherto uncommon. There are different types of kidnapping beside the one for ransom that is prevalent now. There are kidnappings for political reasons, human trafficking, body parts harvest, for rituals, for religious reasons and of course the original type which is the kidnapping of children by a parent, because of custody issues.

In recent past, political kidnapping was introduced by Niger Delta militants who targeted foreigners, especially Americans and British, mainly to draw attention to their plight of environmental degradation caused by oil and gas exploration and production. The hostages were usually kept for sometimes and released after press conference, which will be carried by CNN or BBC. This trend continued and actually brought the desired publicity to the Niger Delta kidnapping menace. Apparently, in 1999, kidnapping operation began in Oboro community in Niger Delta when some expatriates were kidnapped working with ANGOG construction company at Ughelli, in Delta state. Nevertheless, one of the foremost recorded of kidnapping that drew both national and international attention around 2005/2006 for example, when the Movement for the Emancipation of Niger Delta (MEND) kidnapped nine (9) foreign workers in Delta state to bargain for the release of detained Mujahid Asari Dokuubo, leader of the Niger Delta People Volunteer Force, (NDPYF) and the arrow head of the Niger Delta

222

struggle, for a fair deal in this cycle. They do not ask for ransom, only that their leader should be released in exchange for the hostages (Amaize 2010).

The government of Yar'adua granted amnesty to Niger Delta militants in a bid to end the violent crimes in the region, but the main effect was diversionary according Essien and Ema (2013). Therefore, the crime of kidnapping escalated from targeting Oil workers and multinationals to targeting politicians, clergy man, entrepreneurs and business owners. Also, Arewa (2013) noted that while the crime is abating to tolerable level in the South -South where it first assumed its present notoriety, after general amnesty granted to the militants, it has spread like wide fire to the remaining parts of Nigeria especially the South East region in states like Abia, Imo and Anambra states that kidnapping was also very prevalent.

Boko-Haram members have also attacked schools and universities, for instance, the kidnapped of 250 female students from Government Girls' Secondary School Chibok Borno state and on Febuary 19, 2018, 5:30 pm, one hundred and ten school girls aged 11-19 years old were kidnapped by Boko Haram terrorist group from the Government Girls Science and Technical College (GGSTC), Dapchi, located in Bulabulin, Yunusari Local Government area of Yobe state in the north east part of Nigeria (Onuah 2018). Another associated group, Ansaru, has also targeted Western nationals, kidnapping Christians and government officials in Kano and kastina in North West region (Barna 2014).The South west geopolitical zone of Lagos, Ondo, Ogun, Ekiti, Oyo and Osun are not exempted especially the notable case of a billionaire kidnapper Chukwudi Onuamadike a.k.a Evans, where he made open confession when he was paraded in Lagos police headquarters about his kidnapping exploit in Lagos states and its environs (Uche 2017).

North central zone in which Kogi state our area of study is situated have also have its own share of kidnapping activities form Benue to Jos, Kwara to Nasarawa, Kogi to Abuja and Niger States. For instance, in Benue state, kidnap cases have been on the rise in which a middle age woman was arrested in Alede, Benue state for kidnapping of two siblings on her way to Onisha, also, a Journalist with Radio Benue was kidnapped in her home in Makurdi, Mrs.

Iyuadoo Tor Agbidye who was kidnapped on December 2, 2016 by four-man gang suspected to be kidnappers. (Temi, 2016).

Kidnapping in Kogi State

In Kogi state, kidnapping that is relatively known compared to its prevalence in Niger delta or southern parts of the country has become a threat and phenomenon of discourse or research among intellectuals that desire to delve into it. As a result of this, residents, visitors and travelers using Kogi state to other states are under perpetual fear. A lot of people are known to have suffered in the hands of kidnappers since kidnapping found its way to the state in the late 2000. According to one of the vigilante officers that was interviewed in Dekina Vigilante Command:

> kidnapping started in Idah Local Government Area in Kogi East and their operations move to Ankpa Local Government Area before the occurrence in Dekina Local Government Area and as it is now the prevalent rate in Dekina is equivalent to that of Idah now.

In February, 2014, the wife and daughter of the former chairman of Adavi local government, Salihu Adaviruku were kidnapped from their home. The woman and her daughter spent over three weeks in captivity before they were released after undisclosed ransom was paid to the captors (https://kogireports.com). Also, in March, 2014, two sons of the former speaker of the state House of Assembly, Momoh Jimoh Lawal were kidnapped from his residence in Okene and were released after two days following the payment of ransom. In May, 28, 2014, Hajia Hawawu Bello, mother of the incumbent Governor of the state, Alhaji Yahaya Bello was kidnapped from her Nagazi residence in Adevi local government area. She was also released after the payment of a ransom (www.thepost.ng.com). Before now, indigenes and other residents of the state agreed that the state was only known for political violence and thuggery, as well as other forms of crime, but not kidnapping, which was only heard of in Edo, Anambra, Ondo, Enugu and other states. They wondered why it has now become rampant in Kogi state (Usman, 2015).

Finally, from 2010 till 2018, there are several cases of kidnapping in Kogi state that is not captured here leaving one to wonder if the government or the police truly exist in Kogi state. Commenting on the ugly development, a public commentator, Idris Miliki wondered why nobody is doing anything to stop the trend, which is killing the economy of the state, among other ugly influences. Miliki blamed the continued cases of kidnapping on ransom payment, which according to him, encourages the criminals to dare security agencies.

Drivers of Kidnapping in Kogi State

Drugs and alcoholic

Okoli (2009) linked the upsurge of kidnapping in Nigeria to high consumption and trafficking of hard drugs. Vigilante commander in Okene also stated that: "hard drugs and alcoholic are illicit substances that craft irreversible problem such as kidnapping, unnecessary violence, and many others imperil atrocities in Kogi state".

Hard drugs and alcohol are toxic substance that affects wide range of body organs and fabricate harmful risks to the health especially the brain cavity yet these substances are consumed by majority of youths in Kogi state which easily drive them into crimes and criminal acts like kidnapping. Hence, the psychoactive effects they produced include sedation, euphoria, mood changes, figment of evil imagination, perceptual and other cognitive distortions with direct effects on motor neuron, thus, a man under the influence of hard drugs or alcohol is susceptible to crime.

Proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWS) and the abuse of military uniform

Inyang (2009) believed that the proliferation of arms as a result of political patronage of miscreant who were dumped after elections by the politicians may indirectly encourage and enhance kidnapping. Some politicians that normally employ idle youths as political thugs and armed them with arms and ammunitions during electioneering period. Therefore, after winning election, the politicians will abandon the youths and the next strategy by the youths is how to use the weapons or ammunitions in their hands to kidnap innocent citizens and the relative of those they perceive are wealthy (Iyang and Ubong 2013). More so, that some of the

thugs use fake army uniform as a camouflage to deceive unsuspecting victims pretending as if they are real army officers before carrying out their notorious activities. The Inspector of police in Lokoja police headquarters, supported this view in an interview when he said that: "some of the kidnappers disguised in military uniform to operate".

Security lapses by the victims of kidnapping

According to Okpanachi and Agagu (2017), they argued that, inappropriate security measures have also been cited as being responsible for the kidnapping of certain people. The police on their part have chided some members of the public of not reporting or exposing strange faces sighted in their neighborhood.

Sometimes, these strange faces only come around to gather initial information about their targets social and geographical environments. Also, the populace has equally been of not being cautious enough before opening up to strangers. These malfeasants have cost many people their lives or belonging to kidnappers.

Role of security agents in ransom payment

the involvement of some security agents such as police officers as intercessors between kidnappers and relatives of their victims had equally been suspected to be a motivating factor to the escalating trend of kidnapping in Kogi state. Some kidnap victims, their friends and relatives alleged that kidnapping continued unabated because some police officers are also part of the kidnapping cartel as they give information to the kidnappers. They believe is so because they observe the police officers are often quick to offer themselves as go between for affected families in negotiating ransom with the kidnappers (Okpanachi and Agagu 2017).

Refusal to involve the police

In the other way round, the inspector in Lokoja police headquarters stated that:

> hasty payment of ransom by relatives and other well-wishers of abductees without involving the police have made the tracking and eventual arrest of suspected kidnappers difficult.

Although they do this out of fear not to lose their love ones just like the case of Mustapha that was adopted from his home at Ihima in Okehi local government area of Kogi state but he was

later found dead and buried in a shallow grave in the forest (Obahopa 2016). Also, Okpanachi and Agagu (2017) mentioned that hasty payment of ransom by victim's family without involving the police has also contributed to the growth of kidnapping menace in Kogi state".

Unemployment and general socio-economic

According to the National Bureau of Statistics, Nigeria's unemployment rate increased to 23.9% in 2011 compared with 21.1% in 2010 and 19.7% in 2009. The country has a youth population of 80million, representing about 60% of the total population with a growth rate of 2.6% per year, and the national demography suggest that the youth population remains vibrant with an average annual entrant to labour force at 1.8miillion between 2006 and 2011. In 2011, 37.7 percent of Nigerians were aged 15-24 years and 22.4% of those between ages 25 and 44 were willing to work but did not get jobs, by this development at the national level and narrowing it down to Kogi State without proper economic planning, youths are tending to devise other means as a means of survival (Ewetan, 2013).

Social and Economic Implications of Kidnapping

Loss of investments

As a result of increase in the rate of cases of expatriates that are been kidnapped in Kogi state, this portends negative signal to investors that might have interest in investing in the state. For example, Mrs. Phylis Sortor, a 75 years old American Missionary, was kidnapped from her office at her school at Emiworo community in Ajaokuta local government area of Kogi state, she operates a primary and secondary school known as Hope Academy, which is meant for less privilege people in the area. Being an America, her case attracted international attention and it nearly result to diplomatic fracas between Nigeria government and the US government before the woman was later released by her captors and she later left Nigeria. Moreover, two Chinese national working in a construction company in Lokoja were kidnapped at Zango-Daji community in Adavi local government area in March 2015. Three other Chinese nationals were kidnapped in another construction company at crusher area of Lokoja Local Government Area; another two Chinese nationals working in Dangote Cement Company were kidnapped

at Obajana community in Kabba Local Government Area. In April, 27, 2015, another Chinese national, Yang Zhengming, working in West African Ceramic Company Ajaokuta, was also kidnapped. Therefore, with the rate of kidnapping of expatriates, it is capable of driving investors away and those on ground might relocate which ultimately affect the socio-economic development of the state (Usman, 2015).

Diminished socio-cultural activities

Generally, insecurity normally affects social life (Abubakar, 2012). Kidnapping affects the social life and social relations of many people in Kogi state who are forced to stay at home from dusk to dawn for the fear of being kidnapped. As a result of kidnapping, night, travel has become a high-risk venture. Also, many people have been forced out of their newly completed houses by kidnappers in Lokoja metropolis in the areas that development is just springing up along Salem University area. Also, aspect of interpersonal relationship, kidnapping has also contributed to a relatively high level of mistrust among people. Few people still extend the traditional African hospitality to strangers. Some people do not acknowledge or return greeting by strangers nor oblige strangers asking for direction because most people are unwilling to render help to people in distress for fear of being kidnapped (Soyombo, 2009). In Okene for instance, night life is no longer fashionable for the fear of been kidnapped because in Okene, a pastor narrated the issue of attempted kidnap on him by kidnappers that: "there were attempts to kidnapped him and this has affected the way the church schedules their programmes not to go into the nights for the fear of been kidnapped".

General work place insecurity: the incessant kidnapping in Kogi state as increase the insecurity sensitivity of the workers while going about their daily routine in the working place they constantly watch their back. It is difficult to work freely in an area an establishment is located and kidnapping is rampant. The kidnapping activities around the workers working environment normally affect their productivity negatively, whether at work or at leisure all Nigerians are entitled to their fundamental human right including right to movement, which kidnappers have threatened in Kogi State.

Conclusion

Kidnapping is a global phenomenon that can be traced to history. No epoch of history that is without one form of security challenge or the other. Therefore, Nigeria being a part global village has been experiencing the steady rise in the anomies of kidnapping and Kogi Sate is not exempted. One of the major security problems in Nigeria today is kidnapping which started as a tool for economic emancipation in the Niger Delta. But today, it has turned to means of money making by criminal gangs as a result of lack of enforcement of societal norms. The driver of this anomies can be traced to proliferation of arms, intake of hard drugs, inequality in wealth and structure of the society, unplanned economy among others.

There is therefore empirical evidence of social and economic implications of kidnapping in Kogi State in form of discouragement of expatriates and investors, wealthy indigenes avoiding the State, work place insecurity, dearth of social life, adverse effect on budget planning among others. However, with the collaborative efforts of all stakeholders in Nigerian society and government the anomies of kidnapping can be eradicated.

Recommendations

i. Religious organization messages that centered on materialism and physical prosperity as true evidence of serving God should be modified or dissuaded.

ii. Government through the various orientation agencies should focus on reviving the norms of the society and its enforcement.

iii. There should be a deliberate measure to flush out bad eggs in security organizations in Nigeria and any culprit among them should be sacked and convicted to serve as deterrent to other corrupt officials.

iv. Government should enact a law that stipulates that paying ransom without leveraging on appropriate intelligent institution of government would be deemed as an offense.

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CONFLICT, CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND EARLY WARNING SYSTEM IN NIGERIA

Faustina Ngozi OZOANI-ENE
Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution,
Faculty of Social Sciences
National Open University, Abuja Nigeria
ozoanifaustina@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

In the last four decades, the international peace agenda has been dominated by debates on conflict prevention. In Africa, the post-Cold War era has witnessed a shift in emphasis from conflict management to conflict prevention processes. Essentially, the shift is necessitated by the shortcomings of the reactive nature of conflict management approaches. Irrespective of the paradigm shift towards conflict prevention, most African countries continue to witness persistent overt conflicts which requires an urgent need for effective mechanism. This paper therefore explores early warning system early response (EWSER) in explaining the causes of conflict in a multicultural, multi-ethnic and multi-religious society like Nigeria to avert the tendencies of conflict eruption, escalation and resurgence. The study finds that early warning and response interventions are less effective if they fail to address the underlying causes of conflict, this study further finds that institutionalized internal and external oppression triggered early warning signs, which breeds natural resistance against endemic structured inequality and create avenue for struggle, competition, high rate of crime, disrupts peaceful co-existence and peace-building in Nigeria. This study therefore proposes state autonomy to enhance grass root empowerment and development which will help in alleviating poverty, monitor early warning and stimulate prompt response in mitigating eruption into conflict.

Keywords: Conflict Management, Early Warning (EW), Response System, empowerment

Introduction

Conflict is a globe social issue of an intense concern that has kept national and international organizations in perpetual need of finding means of combating its eruption, escalation and resurgence. This concern with its adverse consequences resulting in the use of arms, killings of innocent souls and the violation of human right gave rise to a quest of finding solution to these menaces. Chung and Megginson (2004), defined conflict as, "the struggle between incompatible or struggling needs, wishes, ideas, interests or people. Conflict arises when individuals or groups encounter goals that both parties cannot obtain satisfactorily". It is on this backdrop that most conflicts emanate. Conflict signs if not monitored and arrested, disrupts harmonious social relationship, causes disagreement, create animosity and struggle among parties.

The Forum for Early warning and Responds (FEWER) defined early warning as the systematic collection and analysis of information coming from the area of crises for the purpose of anticipating the escalation of violence, development of strategic responses to these crises; and the presentation of options to the critical actors for the purpose of decision making.

Early warning system according to Boutros-Ghali (1995), helps to assess the situations of a threat to peace and prepare actions based on the information about natural disasters and political indicators. Its efficiency relies on good forecasting of the probability and severity of a potential conflict escalating into violence. This includes a comprehensive tool for identifying risks, reducing their impact and coping with the residual effects. Several early warnings indicated interventions following the warning signs of crises are often late. The analysis of early warning systems in this study testified to inconsistencies in the identification and analysis of risks and prompt response even in most repeated trends. At the core of a well-functioning system is a common understanding and agreement on identifying, analyzing and evaluating risks, with an indication of the significance and effect of the risk for the affected population in its realm of economic, social, political and cultural life. Its ultimate goal is anticipation and thereby mitigation.

Boutros-Ghali (1995), said that key components of a comprehensive conflict prevention strategy included early warning, preventive deployment, mediation, peacekeeping, practical disarmament, accountability measures, as well as post-conflict peace-building, recognizing that those components were interdependent. The number of violent conflict has increased since 2010 thus, raising the question of how violent and its escalation can be prevented in Nigeria especially violent conflict which has become endemic and require preventive strategies to address the root causes of conflict in a comprehensive manner as a means of promoting sustainable development, poverty eradication, national reconciliation, good governance, democracy, gender equality, an end of impunity, the rule of law and respect for protection of human rights, among other principles upon which crises erupt.

Since conflicts frequently manifest itself despites various means deployed, it become imperative that conflict early warning system and early responses should be adopted to address these factors upon which conflict erupts in Nigeria as it is designed to scan for conflict risks.

Nigeria is multiethnic nation with different cultural orientation, religious background, language, values, norms, belief system whose unity due to structural unification continually play its diversity in political, social and economic affiliation strengthen their differences causing competition, rival and nepotism resulting to disagreement on who controls who and the what and why that arises from it, with its consequences that end in crises and most times in violent conflict.

Theoretical Framework

The relevant theory of choice for this study is the structural conflict theory. This theory with two branches comprising the radical structuralism and the liberal structuralism. According to Faleti (2006), the structural radical comprising the likes of Marx, Engel and Lenin. The liberal structuralism includes Ross (1993), Scarboroug (1998) and Galtung (1990). The structural theory of conflicts assumes that social conflicts arise due to imbalance in the structure of social system in a given locale. Structuralists opine that society with unjust and exploitative organization makes one class subservient to another, especially when the subservient

constitute the majority, are prone to conflicts. This has been traced to the discrimination and inherent imbalance in access to the means of production, which favors the few at the expense of the majority.

Most capitalist societies characterized by the exploitation of the proletariat are referred to by Marxists and radical structuralisms as prone to social conflicts. They argued that such structural imbalance can only be solved through a revolution or civil war speared by proletariat. The liberal structuralism advocates the removal of exploitative structure through new policies among states. The **structural basis of conflict is a theory that attempts to explain conflict as product of the tension that arises when groups must compete for scarce recourses**. According to this theory, Structural conflicts are caused by forces external to the people in dispute. Thus, conflict does not just happen, that it goes through a cycle of phases, and that preventing the outbreak of overt conflict is possible depending on three assumptions:

1.   Timely response to manifestations of danger.

2.   An all-inclusive, coordinated approach to mitigate the threats to violence.

3.   A comprehensive attempt to transform the root causes of violence.

Conflict prevention requires the identification of both structural and proximate causes of conflict, as well as efforts to avert causes before the outbreak of violence Reychler (2020). The championing for conflict prevention does not imply that conflict is undesirable, it just simply means that trying to resolve a conflict after it has happened complicates its resolution and it is costly. For conflict to be forecasted, information about its characteristics is crucial on one hand and the situation at risk on the other hand. As a result, early warning mechanisms especially in Nigeria due to multiple violent conflict confronting her needs the formulation of early warning frameworks that are context-based. Just merely having a regularly-updated database on states at risk of conflict, whose data has been shared among interested parties, is not exhaustive of an early warning system.

Early Warning Signs of Conflict

    i.   Body language: How peoples' facial expressions of frustration and body language reveal; ii. How they are really feeling; iii. Behavioural changes: People withdrawing, not inputting or remaining silent; iv. Cliques developing: This condition heightens dangerous affiliation; v. Strange comments: Animosity/Hate speech are made inciting people to take up violent option; vi. The words people choose: These become more and more emotive as the conflict; vii. Deepens; viii. People taking sides and ganging up: Forming opposition to drive their points; ix. The desire to attack or do away with opposition develops; x. A lack of tolerance: If not checked creates crises situation.

The Establishment of Early Warning in Nigeria

In Nigeria, early warning program was established in 2003 by the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) regional office which at the time was partnering with an unstable network of Nigerian CSOs, because of the urgency to institute an official platform for Nigeria, a WANEP country office was founded in 2002. Specific successes of this structure include reinforced response system and production of Nigeria incidence and situation accounts for ECOWARN as an appendage of the ECOWAS/WANEP early warning system for West Africa. A different achievement has been the evolution of Election Barometer monitoring and analysis system for Nigerian elections of April/May 2007, culminating into a letter of cooperation with WANEP regional office by the Action Congress before the elections. This set the pace for consequential early warning issues that Nigeria applies in any anticipated conflict situation.

Structural Causes of Conflict in Nigeria

It is important to understand the history behind contemporary conflict in Nigeria. This will help to give an insight on how to adequately mitigate them. Many of these causes are linked to the countries colonial roots as can be seen from the discuss below.

Dual-Ideology of the Constitution

The federal constitution of Nigeria has become dual interface of military decree and the inclusion of sharia as legal system in 1912 under Native Ordinance Law. During the drafting of the 1979 Constitution, the Muslims saw it as a chance to introduce Sharia into the rest of the country by establishing a Federal Sharia Appeal Court and by instituting it in all states. Muslims argued in this vein: "since half the population of Nigeria was subject to Islamic….law, it was …for this basic necessary diversity to be fully acknowledged", Lateef Adegbite. According to Mr. Adewumi, What the supporter of Sharia are after, is a dual society along Sharia laws.

Religion

Durkheim (1965), viewed religion as integrative power in human society, according to him, religion bond often transcends personal and divisive forces which gives people meaning and purpose for their lives as well as certain ultimate values and ends to hold on in common. Religion is another major cause of conflicts in Nigeria, it creates atmosphere of exclusivism, intolerance and clashes which sometime break out into open conflict some of which are bloody (Nigeria–Biafra war. Religious bigotry between Christians and Moslems history shows that religious intolerance was the **cause** of the Riot that took place in Kano on May 1, 1953 which began a series of violent attacks against non-Muslims in the Country. This scenario never stopped till date. Religion is essentially political in nature and hardly can the two be separated.

Hate Speech

This is usually a means of expressing animosity, an early warning sign usually through verbal expression majorly caused by people of reputable status with influence and follower-ship, who use the opportunity they have as a result of their position to incite violence and creating tension. For example, the call for all the Igbos in the North to vacate the land and go back to their land can cause a major bloody conflict in the country. The verbal IPOB demand and the urgent need to jettison Nigeria to a Biafran state to mention but few.

Ethnic Hegemony/Tribalism

The solidarity to pursue sectional goal/agenda as against national interest is the undoing of Nigeria as a nation. One of such is the call for all Fulani across the globe to come to Nigeria. The IPOB agitation for Biafra is another case that has eaten deep into the so-called unity we all find ourselves as one Nigeria. The Niger Delta agitation for resource control is another issue of reference, the Oduduwa awareness for Oduduwa state is also a situation that exposes ill health of Nigeria as a united front. Ethnic hegemony has proved that even though we are one Nigeria, the originality in us, is speaking forth by our attitudes towards the peaceful co-existence of Nigeria as a nation.

Farmers and herdsmen clash

Many bloody conflicts have been recorded because of farmers and herdsmen clash across Nigeria especially in Benue state. The disagreement between the farmers, struggling to make ends meet through farming, and the Fulani herdsmen whose nature is nomadic, has caused a major bloody conflict in the country. The situation has created a condition of unrest and unpredictable outcome of where the conflict between the two parties is leading the nation into. Many states within the Federation have faced one attack or confrontation by the conflict between the farmers and herdsmen. Statistical and non-statistical records show that, humanitarian crises have arisen from it, souls lost and properties damaged.

Favouritism/Nepotism

This aspect is endemic in the system. There is no major sector in the country where nepotism is not found. Favouritism is preference of your ethnic brother than the other ethnic groups which is sign of ethnocentrism. Appointment into key offices are along ethnic line and faith based, into key government positions. It has become institutionalized as a culture of importance to strengthen ethnic hegemony at the expense of others in the country.

Propaganda and misinformation

This is information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view mostly used by politicians and other fields related to politics to demean someone or group/groups seen as an opposition for their mischievous motives.

Corruption and inept leadership

Majority of our leaders are incompetent, unskilled, unproductive and ineffectual in carrying out their duties. Meritocracy is being crucified at the altar of godfatherism, party interest and zoning without consideration to competency of the person in quote, this practice is now a social norm whose manifest shows during electioneering, job allocation, scholarship/contract awards, sentimental policy making and decision making, injustice in economic distribution; heightening the already existing inequality emanating from corruption. The resultant effect is uneven distribution of the common wealth of Nigeria, hijacked by few in the corridor of power at the expense of the majority. Corruption in the high places has become an institutionalized norms to uphold political power.

Early Warning and Early Response in Nigeria

In Nigeria, peace building stakeholders' responses to early warning signals are weak and inadequate due to lack of coordination between major stakeholders – policymakers, civil society and local actors. There is an urgent need to develop conflict prevention and management mechanisms to enhance political stability, peace and human security in Nigeria. There is no synergy between the bodies entrusted with intervention in various capacity. For EWER systems to be successful in Nigeria to avert, mitigate or curb resurgence, closer engagement between local actors and government are essential. Most of conflicts in Nigeria emerge from the local community. This requires an active role of traditional and local leaders, community-based organizations and faith groups to become more prominent in providing information and support which will be relevant in deploying the necessary force/mechanism to combat escalation both at the state and federal level. It is of great importance to recognize the traditional and cultural institutions in towns and

villages in Nigeria as having various workable mechanisms for EWER that influence conflict mitigation, response and peaceful coexistence, such as village assemblies and town hall meetings, the use of age group and secret cult and even masquerade to enforce peace negotiation. These mechanisms are often not documented, but play a crucial role in peace building and community resilience to violent conflict. An effective early warning system is a catalyst for policymaking, conflict prevention and peace building without taking the required step to ensure mitigation, conflict is bound to erupt.

A Pilot SMS-based conflict early warning system was used by Search for Common Ground (SFCG) and Community Action for Popular Participation to test early warning system in the Jos region of Nigeria. This was adequately reported by Stine (2013). He further explained that 109 focal points were trained to send SMS messages of conflict early warning signs, to encourage others in their community to send SMSs, to a centralized system. Through the project, people could also submit incident reports through the project's Crowd map website. The validity of each alert was verified and key stakeholders (security, government and NGO partners) notified of the incident via SMS (it's urgent) or in a daily email report). However, such problems associated with mobile phone connectivity and lack of sufficient public outreach and training of focal points impacted on the number of incidents reported plagued the system (Stine, 2013, p. 5). Also, not all the information sent in was relevant as some of it consisted of requests for further information or greetings. Other problems of EWS in Nigeria are discussed below.

Problems Associated with Early Warning System in Nigeria

The dynamics of capacity, willingness and cooperation of relevant institutions and stakeholders towards early warning signs are always treated with laxity. Timely response to early conflict indicators is very helpful in the prevention of conflict. Nigeria approach to early warning is a one-off activity and a military junta approach rather than a due process of the proceedings of peace initiative in addressing the root causes that trigger conflict ranging from factors such as apathy, social contract agreement, ethnic hegemony, political

party affiliation interest, the state actor factor, caber ideology, immigration and border porosity and indifference to conflict warning signals in Nigeria among others, most often, lead to escalation of conflict.

Early warning without early response is counterproductive, early response takes into consideration structural and systemic causal factors that constitute the root cause of emerging or ongoing conflicts. Clear and accurate information is integral to Early Warning Early Response (EWER). Wrong or subjective information can lead to a wrong response. In most cases, most people in Nigeria sold their conscience for money either to diverge information or give false information concerning any conflict anticipated situation mostly to safeguard selfish interest. This scenario always set the wrong pace in an early warning response. Importantly, verified information should reach decision-makers fast enough in order to make quick decisions. The contribution of local, state and national systems to conflict prevention in Nigeria will depend on how strong the linkages between them are, and how they can adequately complement each other.

Political willpower is a common weakness cited around failures in early warning in Nigeria. Carment and Schnabel (2004), argued that the challenges of linking early warning to response are abundant and come about as a result of what is time and again dubbed "lack of political will." Unloading the key components of political reluctance to act is the first move towards building approaches to tackle the problem. Countering these challenges is a difficult task and conceivably an unrealistic mission. It calls for realistic and rational responses to deal with the lack of political will to take action. The lack of political will has meant that conflict anticipation has been ad hoc and inept.

There are a number of complex organizational, hierarchical, political and economic factors limiting early warning system in Nigeria. Research into early warning decision-making has revealed a number of challenges, such as message resonance, communication of warnings, source credibility, cognitive biases and institutional incentives to act, which are important reading for those embarking on the development of an Early warning (EW) mechanism.

Furthermore, An Early warning system (EWS) needs predictable and consistent decision-making steps following previous trends which must be well defined, clearly visible and realistic to implement and adhered to by Early Warning stakeholders. This will in itself create incentives for follow-up action, which will be more transparent and more accountable.

EWS tend to be characterized by participatory and accountable institutions, able to accommodate vested interests and promote incentives for cooperation among their citizenry. An enabling political environment should be marked by a degree of transparency and accountability in responsiveness to emerging trends and risks by information sharing, and willingness to act timely. In Nigeria, several states have repeatedly stated their commitment in strengthening their preventive capacities via Early Warning Signals unfortunately, full support is yet to be gotten to this effect. Those who dare to, are doing it on individual might.

The prerequisite resources – human expertise, technological infrastructure and political will needed for successful early warning and early response mechanism are lacking. Without which necessary information to combat conflict eruption may not be easily accessible and responses as a result cannot be rapid. The attitude of playing politics with EWER in Nigeria remains evident, specifically of national security, which is paramount for peace building. Looking back at conflict incidences across Nigeria, we see that often, decision makers were surprised and inadequately prepared, responding with a series of reactive actions. In an effort to address gaps in the anticipation and mitigation of conflicts, Nigeria should endevour, delve into the development of early warning models and considerably advance their methodologies according to new trends development of early warning sign and the trend of violent conflict that clip the nation's capacity to contend.

Data analysis has to be the backbone of Early Warning in order to pinpoint specific regional and local factors that might mobilize people or groups to engage in violence. This should enable all stakeholders in an EW process to agree about which events or developments could increase tensions in this context, e.g. incitements to violence by influential actors, the electoral cycle, announcements of major policy initiatives, imposition of candidate during

election or agitation of ethnic minorities. Even though information becomes increasingly available, sheer quantity does not imply quality. Rather, the challenge is how to 'filter the signal through the noise'.

Prospects of Early Warning in Nigeria

It is important to highlight the significant progress Early Warning Early Response (EWER) has made in Nigeria in spite of the prevailing challenges. Civil society organizations such as the West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP), Search for Common Ground (SFCG) and Inter Faith Mediation Center (IMC) have been involved in sensitization, capacity building, design and implementation and reporting of EWER Program in Nigeria. For example, WANEP established a Nigeria Civil Society early warning-response mechanism, and SFCG runs a participatory EWER system in Plateau State.

There are occasions where interceptions are made by our security officers like the Joint Military Force, the Army, the Police, the Civil defense, Nigeria custom Service, the NDLA etc. due to prior information. This is evidence in most arrest of bandits, kidnappers, terrorist and a host of them. Sometimes, security operators mount the road for thorough check on our major roads to track or prevent crises anticipation. The relation between warning and response still remains inadequate. According to Evans, as cited in Kuwali and Viljoen (2014) "if early warning alarm bells do not generate enough response they might as well not be rung at all."

According to Lawrence (2009), "the historical patterns of conflict early warning suggests that new wars will continue to erupt unabated if greater and smarter efforts are not made to prevent them". Nigeria is already swimming in a pool of crises among which are the suicide bombing techniques adopted by the Boko Haram terrorists and the herdsmen /farmers clash in the Benue state. The IPOB activities in the eastern Nigeria especially the attack on security officers and burning of police stations, every Monday stay at home in the East with its economic consequences, the hijack of the situation by hoodlums, the killings of prominent figure - Professor Nwabueze, the Amotekun in the southwest, the North east crises and many

others. These factors including other several factors are pushing the country into a new period of significant dangers and state of anarchy. To further point at limitation of early warning in Nigeria is the construction of rail ways without security presence which resulted in the bombing, killing and hijacking/kidnapping of prominent Nigerian men of caliber along Abuja Kaduna route. The negligence of government to heed to the Minister of transport's request of 3 billion naira to put security presence along the rail way route is lack of anticipating danger of terrorist attack on such remote route. Now the money that will be spent to repair the railway will no doubt outweigh the minister's request. The bombing of Kaduna railway shows that the bombers have more information, more intelligence network, more dispatch intelligence information to secure their safety attack as if they are government on their own, while government cannot heed to preventive measures in combating the incessant attack by this terrorist or share intelligence information.

The Roles of Stakeholders in Early Warning Systems

The entire linkage of early warning stakeholders and target groups should be made up of networks of local volume, monitors, trained analysts, journalists and media, intelligence services, diplomatic missions, development agencies, local committees, early warning country coordinators, research institutes, donors, economic actors and their local affiliates as well as even the rule of law bodies (Buchanan-Smith and Davies, 1995). For the purpose of decision-making warning happens when predictive conclusions and a verification to support them are produced and disseminated to various stakeholders. Thus, warning entails championing for well-timed and proper restorative actions as response options for prevention and transformation before conflict intensifies. This perspective presupposes a consistent, well-timed, and regular practice, in which inputs and decision-making processes about the information that is disseminated are comprehensible and sufficiently flexible to produce well-timed interventions.

Conclusion

Unchecked early warning signs and negligence have been the genesis of crisis in Nigeria. Conflict early warning machineries have not necessarily produced the anticipated result as the relation between warning and response still remains inadequate in mitigating the eruption of conflict. These lapses show social contract, ethnic hegemony, lack of political will power, activities of state actors and cabers, selfish interest among many as the key factors limiting prompt responses to potential conflict eruption in Nigeria.

Early warning stakeholders required to be made up of networks of civil societies, local communities, state and federal government with the operation of monitors, trained analysts, journalists and media, intelligence services, development agencies, early warning experts, research institutes, donors, economic actors and their local affiliates, collaboration with international organization (immigration and border porosity) as well as the of rule of law to secure decision-making and enforce timely response to risk anticipation. However, these are not adequately operational in combating conflict as a result of warning signs negligence, which makes response delayed in averting eruption, escalation and resurgence into violent conflict.

1. Application of Early Warning System (EWS) in Nigeria needs predictable and consistent decision-making steps following previous trends which must be well defined, clearly visible and realistic to implement and adhered to by Early Warning stakeholders.

2. There is need to decentralize Nigeria and empower state resource control to enhance grass root social development which will enhance poverty alleviation and encourage self-emancipation thereby reduce the tendency for conflict eruption.

3. State autonomy and state policing as necessary tool to compliment early warning system. This will help in the development of various states in Nigeria without unnecessary interferences that causes animosity, competition and rivalry that give rise to sense of inequality and marginalization.

4. There is an urgent need to uphold the rule of law and the will power to respond to warning signs and prosecute anyone who violates the law or incite people into creating disharmonious situations as well as eliminating social contract and caber entanglement with internal and external actors whose primary objective is violence.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI NONVIOLENT CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM TOWARDS PROMOTING   GLOBAL PEACE AND UNITY

Jibrin Ubale YAHAYA, PhD
Department of Political Science,
National Open University of Nigeria
jibrinubaleyahaya@gmail.com

and

Abdullahi ADAMU, PhD
Department of Political Science,
National Open University of Nigeria
abadamu@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

Gandhi's concept of nonviolence has become one of the dynamic approaches in dealing with various categories of conflict in the society. For this reason, therefore, this study investigates his philosophy framework for nonviolence, aimed at challenging and changing the nature and character of people's mind set from violent agitations to the nonviolent resolution of conflict in the society where they lived. The study finds that Gandhi basically view human feelings and grievances as inevitable that man is naturally a nonviolent creature, but gradually he or she can become violent based on the emerging situations on the ground that can irritate and trigger his or her mind to react British oppression and inhuman treatment were so severe and intensive that Gandhi was cautious about the use of violence, alternatively, he adopted non-violence to be the only imperative paradigm to dislodge the domination and inhumane treatment of the colonist against the Indians in South Africa. The study concludes that violent process of conflict resolution has further created a merging of mistrust and escalate the impending conflict among disputing parties. Secondly, Gandhi philosophy of nonviolent is a kind of procedure that can easily led to trust and understanding between the conflicting parties if it can be properly utilized. Ultimately, it was recommended the adaptation of Gandhi's non-violence principles as a fundamental paradigm towards sustaining peace in the entire global community to address the problems of religious, ethnic, family, community crisis to some extend national issues through use of nonviolence approaches.

Keywords: Nonviolence, Gandhi Conflict, Colonist, Cooperation, and British

Introduction

The history of nonviolence movement has started for quite long time but Gandhi is credited with it and be regarded as the father of non-violence movement because of the strategy he invented that added new values in the movement which has extended the principle of non-violent from individual to social and political circle. Gandhi's notion of non-violent culture has attained a special status globally because of its impact and relevance towards resolving various types of conflict in the society. Gandhi has not only theorized it, he adopted non-violent process of conflict resolution as a philosophy and an ideal way of life where social, economic and political misunderstanding can be appropriately addressed through use of nonviolence procedures of resolving conflicts. Gandhi has made us to understand that the philosophy of non-violent conflict resolution is not a weapon of the weak, it is a weapon that can be tried by all to attain the status of peaceful society.

Prabhu and Rao (1973) strengthened the above position when they asserted that "Gandhi's philosophy bears the influence of several sources from the activities of the concepts such as Ahimsa, which signifies the forms of basic foundation of Gandhi's thought". Apart from *Bhagavad-Gita*, *Upanishad and Bible*, he was highly influenced by Tolstoy's "The Kingdom of God is within us", Ruskin's "Unto this last, Thoreau's 'On the Duty of civil disobedience' and Plato's Dialogues of Socrates (Bassey, 2019:22). Today in the contemporary world, the philosophy of Gandhi has clearly demonstrated the importance and significance of A*himsa to* the individual as well as in social life. Before Gandhi, the term 'non-violence' was accepted both in Indian philosophy and religion as a religious virtue. Gandhi has unquestionably given the credit for extending the concept to be open in terms of scope and operational space (Ogar, 2018; Udoudom, 2018).

It was also added that the theory and practice in the field of politics that the principle of A*himsa* or non-violent action has won a place in the vocabulary of global politics in the process of attaining the goal of global peace. Gandhi's principle of A*himsa* not only governs the relationship between human beings, but also man's relation to the non-human world

(Bassey, 2019). From the citation of the above scholars the principles of Gandhi nonviolence were mainly responsible for bringing out the tactics and skills of nonviolent culture from the boundaries of religions and cultures and getting it a rightful place in a moral and political environment from various societies in world and some extend cover the many countries governance conduct to fit the sustenance of peaceful society in the world.

The Gandhian Political Thought centres upon the "necessity of reconciling ends and means through Satyagraha, a philosophy of action" (Grover, 1968). Just like any other philosophical treatise, it has basic foundations upon which it is intimately rooted. These are *Satya, Ahimsa,* and *Tapasya* which translate as Truth, Nonviolence, and Self-suffering, respectively. These three fundamental principles are so vital that failure to grasp them results to confusing the entire *Satyagraha* with those ordinary modes of rebellion like strikes, demonstrations, boycott and fasting. In other words, what makes *Satyagraha* a unique concept and method is its adherence to these fundamental principles which are not always present in other traditional forms of subversion. For this reason, therefore, it becomes cogent to study this phenomenon adequately in order to determine how they can be applied to conflict management and peacebuilding in contemporary Nigeria.

Conceptualising Nonviolence and Related Terms

***Ahimsa* or Nonviolence.** Etymologically, *Ahimsa* is a negatively stated word, which literally means "not to do harm." *Himsa,* without the negative prefix "*a*", traces its roots from the word *han* that means "to kill or to inflict harm." In a deeper sense, *himsa* connotes "to wish to kill." Thus, *Ahimsa* is not just a word denoting the act of refusing to do harm, but in a deeper level, it also means "not to wish to kill or inflict harm." In the same vein, Gandhi believed that *Ahimsa* is not only the refusal to do harm on the level of the physical, but also on the level of the mind. This means to say that *Ahimsa* prohibits the harbouring of ill-will against one's oppressor and the wishing to take revenge on them.

Moreover, in practicing *Ahimsa*, as Gandhi taught, one is not in the negative state of inoffensiveness. In other words, one is neither passive nor indifferent when renouncing

violence. On the contrary, he/she is in the positive state of doing good and of showing love to his/her enemy. Thus, *Ahimsa* is an "active force of the highest order" (Prabouh, 1973). Cowardice is the running away from a perceived fear or refusing to do harm for fear of being harmed in return. *Ahimsa*, conversely, is not an act of turning away from danger but a brave act of confronting the danger with the pure intention of standing for the sake of Truth.

Ahimsa, therefore, implies that, due to the love for Truth, one must speak and act according to it, no matter what it will cost him. The adherent of *Satya* and the lover of *Ahimsa* must not be swayed from his conviction by any threat of harm that may arise due to his steadfast reliance on Truth and Nonviolence. In fact, between violence and cowardly fight, Gandhi preferred violence than cowardice. As Gandhi himself declared,

> We do not call a mouse a coward because he is made by nature no better than he is… But a man who, when faced by danger, behaves like a mouse, is rightly called a coward. He harbours violence and hatred in his heart and would kill his enemy if he could, without being hurt himself. He is a stranger to nonviolence (Ogar,2018).

Gandhi believed that fearlessness is not a quality of the body but of the soul. A physically well-built person is not always fearless and a physically weak is not always a coward. Fearlessness is an interior quality which implies freedom from any attachment to mundane desires and external fears. Human passions and the attachment to earthly wealth are one of the reasons behind why people fear of not satisfying their desires, illnesses, death, and losing their properties and fame. In fact, fear of insecurity is what, oftentimes, drives people to impose violence to others. Hence, nonviolence entails the absence of any form of fear that only affects the body.

***Tapasya* or Self-suffering.** The word *Tapasya* has a close affinity with the word *tapas* which connotes asceticism. In *Satyagraha,* it means a lot more than that – it denotes self-suffering. Deliberate suffering in one's own self has a profound objective. It is not meant just to arouse pity on the side of the oppressor, but it is intended towards the *"moral persuasion"* of the one to whom the act of self-suffering is directed (Bondurant, 1958). In other words, self-suffering is meant to blatantly remind the oppressor about his acts which undermine the people's

fundamental rights and dignity. Thus, "by fighting evil non-violently, self-suffering goodwill should wean the perpetrators of evil to do better ways (Starosta and Chaudhary, 1993)."

Careful understanding must be made, however, when speaking of self-suffering. It must be made clear that self-suffering is not the least and the last option because all other means of redress are exhausted. On the contrary, it is the most difficult and the most offensive attack in *Satyagraha.* "However, if this kind of force is used in a cause that is unjust, the person using it suffers (Fischer, 1962)." An example of such is fasting or hunger-strike. Self-suffering, just like *Ahimsa,* leaves no room for cowardice. A true *Satyagrahi,* when faced with an imminent danger due to his faithful adherence to Truth and Nonviolence, is supposed to courageously confront the danger without any intention to use violence. This is to say that, even when the *Satyagrahi* has all the might to retaliate using the force of violence, he wilfully suspends it and faces the oppressor using the force of nonviolence. Hence, "self-suffering is not a weapon of the weak" (Bondurant, 1958).

This wilful act of putting one's self in a state of affliction is beyond the normal tendencies of human beings. In the brink of danger, when one's life and dignity is threatened, a person normally fights back or flees away. Yet, Gandhi strived to transcend from what is normal. He believed that it is not easy to cultivate such an attitude, that is, to withstand danger for the sake of Truth and Nonviolence. That's why "*Satyagraha* is the new name for the law of suffering" (Starosta and Chaudhary, 1993). At the outset, *Satyagraha* requires its adherents to be purified from the normal tendency of man to succumb to violence. A *Satyagrahi,* through self-suffering, must wilfully eradicate his inclinations to act violently towards the persons whom *Satyagraha* is offered. "Just as one must learn the act of killing in the training of violence, so one must learn the act of dying in the training for nonviolence (Bondurant, 1958).

Satyagraha

This is one of the greatest contributions of Gandhi to Indian history and world history in general. Gandhi formulated this concept to express the nature of his action against the "racial discrimination" in South Africa. Satyagraha was first used for the first time during the

resistance of Indian workers in South Africa against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of 1906 (Iyer, 2000: 62). In another perspective, 'Satyagraha' was conceived out of two 'Sanskrit' words, "Satya meaning "truth" and "agraha" meaning "holding fast to," he extended the word to mean truth force (Edet, 2002:33, Eyo, 2012; 157). However, prior to its usage, 'Satyagraha' was synonymous with passive resistance, but when it was fully developed, the expression gradually ceased to be considered as being synonymous because violence (passive resistance) was conceived as a universal weapon of the weak. (Eyo, 2012:157).

Gopinath submitted that according to Gandhi, discovered the science of Satyagraha by his experiments with truth. This science of Satyagraha has come to me by scientific research. It is a result of the hardest labour a human being is capable of. I have applied to this research all the skills of a scientist (Gopinath, 1946: 65-66) Gandhi to strengthen this concept defines Satyagraha as a relentless search for truth and a determination to reach the truth" (Dalton, 1998: 141). Desai asserts, Satyagraha is dynamic, passive resistance is static and negative… Satyagraha on the other hand acts positively and suffers with cheerfulness because from "love", the sufferings are fruitful. It is based on the principle of love and believe in "love for all and suffer for all" it excludes the use of any form of violence. It is based on this philosophy that man knows the absolute truth and cannot punish anyone. At this point, the notion of Satyagraha can be better understood through three basic truths namely "Satya" (truth), "Ahimsa" (Non-violence) and "Tapas" (self-suffering). Eyo added "Satyagraha as a matter of principle does not coerce anyone but rather to convert by persuasion to reach the reason through the heart" (Eyo, 2012: 158).

Gandhi's *Satya* (Truth) and Peace

Satya **or Truth.** Gandhi's concept of truth plays an essential part in his entire philosophy and, in fact, his entire life. His book, *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth,* underscores his love for Truth. It is this concept that *Ahimsa*, *Satyagraha, Swaraj* and his other key ideas were derived. This notion, however, did not remain merely as an insight stored in his mind. Rather, it became the motivating factor which propelled him to put his ideas into

concrete actions. Gandhi never claimed to have fully comprehended the Truth, nor did he pretend to have grasped it with his own hands. Rather, what he was fully conscious of was that he was always in search for it. And while searching for it, his basic presumption was that, "the Absolute Truth is unattainable in this life" (Thomas, 1991).

What men can possibly know are the countless manifestations of this Truth, which may at times vary from one another. This Absolute Truth is:

> The Eternal Principle, which is God. There are innumerable definitions of God because His manifestations are innumerable… But as long as I have not realized this Absolute Truth, so long must I hold by the relative truth as I have conceived it. That relative truth must, meanwhile, be my beacon, my shield and buckler (Mark, 1987).
>
> Gandhi adopted the term *Satya* which, in Jain tradition, means Truth. *Satya* is derived

from the Sanskrit word *Sat that* signifies 'being.' And since 'being' is that which exists and is real, *Satya* or Truth therefore is that which exists and is real. By understanding Truth as God, which is a principle of *Satyagraha,* Gandhi breaks off the wall which divides religions. "With his changed creed, he could easily accommodate as fellow-seekers those who looked on humanity or any other object as their god, and for which they were prepared to sacrifice their all (Bondurant, 1958)." Hence, *Satyagraha* may be imbibed by anybody irrespective of his/her religion or belief systems. Furthermore, Gandhi acknowledged an inner voice which he called the "still-small-voice-within," that tells a person the right thing to do when confronted with doubts and confusions. Such inner voice, for him, is tantamount to the voice of conscience, or the voice of God.

For Gandhi, realization of the Truth cannot be possessed by anyone who is filled with pride, anger and hatred, nor can such a man hear the "inner voice" within him. Gandhi emphasized the virtue of humility as the only way to Truth, side-by-side with *Ahimsa.* The search is obviously not only an intellectual endeavour but most importantly it must pervade one's daily conduct. Only those who have an abundant sense of humility can obtain a glimpse of the Truth. The basic presumption of Gandhi is that the Absolute truth cannot be fully known except through its countless manifestations. It takes humility not to reject any person or

religion which claims to have known the Truth, nor to devote and narrow down his beliefs in a single religion. Gandhi even went further in saying that due to man's incapacity to know the Absolute Truth, he has, therefore, no authority to punish other men. "No one has the right to coerce others to act according to his own views of truth (Gene, 2016).

The Gandhi philosophy from the above discussion of scholars we can understand the practice on nonviolence principles can easily leads to mutual toleration between the disputing parties which should have become the golden conduct in resolving differences. The literature of Gandhi has demonstrated to us the acceptance of the fact that what is true for one may not be true for another. However, Gandhi assured that the different and sometimes conflicting notions of Truth must not worry its seeker, for the varied interpretations of Truth are like countless leaves of the same tree.

Gandhian Concept of Conflict Transformation and Nonviolence Philosophy

Conflict transformation is the most important and recent forms of problem-solving method. Many of ideas in Gandhian Satyagraha has a relevance with modern conflict transformation. The study will make an attempt to compare the impact of modern conflict transformation and Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence or Satyagraha ideology. Many of the conflict transformation content are included in Gandhian Satyagraha philosophy. Gandhi's nonviolence has a positive aspect of love to the opponent. Satyagrahi loves the enemy and tries to win him over to his side by transforming him. There is no victory and there is no vanquish. Many of the internal and external factors can have the cause of the conflict transformations.

The Gandhi's concept of conflict transformation maintains self-purification and reformation. Self-purification could be made internal transformation of the parties. Gandhi emphasized self-purification is training their followers in nonviolence. He stressed personal cleanliness, self-discipline and proper conduct in the face of conflict situation. Gandhi used nonviolent resistance as a great symbolic gesture to help increase Indians self-awareness, raise their pride and unity, and give all of them a chance to participants in the national resistance

effort. Gandhi's constructive programme is the best example of external transformation of the parties. Constructive programme was made major change in the parties; it was emphasized in conflict transformation process. Constructive programme is to build a new social and economic order through voluntary constructive work. Gandhi considers it was important than resistance. Gandhi's constructive programme included a variety of specific measures aimed at social improvements, education, decentralized economic production and consumption, and improvement in the lot of the oppressed sections of the population. Self-purification and constructive programme can transform the individual and through the society. This entire programme is gradually transformed violent to new nonviolent society.

Nonviolent resistance stresses, when the agitation leads to changes that not only resolve the conflict but also transform the relation between the opponents. Transformation of power is the important aspect in the Gandhi's problem-solving method. Transforming power seeks to completely alter the structure of conflicting relationship by winning the hearts and minds of the opponent, not by destroying them. Conflict transformation, Gandhi meant not the elimination of maladjustment. It rather meant for him progress towards more and more meaningful adjustments. This can be achieved only when violent relationships are transformed into nonviolent relationships, where energies of the opponent are utilized in a higher integration. This calls for a modification of attitudes and requires fulfilment of needs is both an objective and a means for effecting fundamental change.

Behaviour of the Satyagrahi is could have made major development in the transformation of the parties. Nonviolent transformation depends on how its practitioners insist on treating the other. Nonviolence insists on seeing the self in the other on loving, understanding and respecting other. Nonviolent views and treats the opponent much differently than violence. Since the practitioners of nonviolence acknowledge their own selves in others and seek not to hurt the opponent but to treat them instead with respect. By doing so, they avoid dehumanizing the opponent their actions change the structure of the conflict. Gandhi pointed out the new and dynamic way of nonviolence to end conflicts and to transform

our thoughts and actions. He added a new dimension to nonviolence and thus converted a passive principle into a dynamic doctrine of Satyagraha to fight against injustice, exploitation and different other forms of violence.

Mediation is one of the important forms in third party intervention. Mediation provides a form of third-party intervention aimed at facilitating the resolution of the conflict; it is more consistent with the aims and principles of Satyagraha. Mediator's job is to assist the parties to come to their own resolution of their dispute. Mediators may take a step with close relationship between the parties. The Gandhian mediators would act as a Satyagraha catalyser, helping the parties to jointly reach an agreement upon and mutually satisfactory solution, aiming to resolve the underlying conflict, to reach a higher degree of truth, and to achieve transformation in both the opponents and their larger social environment. Gandhian model of mediation would be located to the development of skills and attitudes in the parties that contributes to the building of a nonviolent society. The Gandhian mediators would aspire at both fostering empowerment of the disputing parties and recognition between opponents. Gandhi is always supported in modern concept of alternative dispute resolution. It is avoiding legal adjudication or legal establishment. It is the system third party's job to assist the parties to come to their own resolution of their disputes. There is not outside compulsion in alternative dispute resolution, parties in mutually accommodating each other and finally get into a settlement with the help of third parties. This ADR movement is very close to Gandhian Satyagraha.

Applications of Gandhi Satyagraha Philosophy to Conflict Management

Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagraha,* does not simply mean protests, civil disobedience, hunger strikes and other modes of resistance that seek to overcome injustices, violence and oppression. On the contrary, as a *concept* and *method,* it is very far from being a movement which only goal is to overthrow a corrupt regime. Rather, it is a movement geared at achieving peace and unity and restoring social harmony. However, for us to properly understand the subject matter let us briefly analyse various categories of conflicts and its characteristics

specific to it and way different conflict may also requires a different approach to attain peace between disputing parties:

a. Interpersonal conflicts

Satyagraha in such situations depends on the degree to which its values have been internalized rather than on a conscious adoption of tactics or skills. This presupposes great study, tremendous perseverance and thorough cleansing of one's self of all impurities through living the creed in your life which must be a living sermon and through a wide and varied experience of internal conflict (Lous,2002)

For reconciling the duty of resistance to evil with that of Ahimsa, Gandhi advised that it is in personal relationships that we can start practicing nonviolence-"he who fails in the domestic sphere and seeks to apply it only in the political and social sphere will not succeed" and replace the deep-seated emotion of FEAR with TRUST. In most conflicts both parties want to dominate. Satyagrahis cannot adopt rigid attitudes but while hoping to win over the opponent should be willing to change their own attitudes as the issues and underlying causes become clearer. (Raghvan, 2001)

The important thing for us to consider is for us to understand the interpersonal conflicts arise when parties have similar interest and also have the same power exercise, this kind of situation requires third party agent to broker peace through working with conflicting parties to reach an agreement to retain peace between the parties.

b. Legal process of resolving dispute

Disputing parties can use legal system process in addressing their differences rather engaging in to violent means of resolving the conflict legal system can be used as rightful option for disputing parties to restore in to peaceful condition by judgement of accepted court of jurisdiction that has power to entertain the case. It generally precludes the Gandhian dialectic from coming into play because it is concerned with 'sanctions' and not with reconciliation and compromise, least of all conversion. One of the parties in conflict risks total loss and usually

both incur costs. Gandhi, himself a lawyer, saw lawyers as mediators rather than mere conductors of legal proceedings. This is clear from the extract below:

> As Gandhi said: "Truly, men became more unmanly and cowardly when they resorted to the court of law, surely, the decision of a third party is not always right, we, in our simplicity, imagine that a stranger, by taking our money, gives us justice.'' (Donald, 1996).

The courts may not be even doing their intended job a common perception. Hence, in the absence of alternative effective modes of resolving disputes, disputants may resort to violence, avoidance or 'lumping-it'. As it is, many traditional forms of dispute settlement mechanisms have disappeared from our urbanized society, e.g., respected elders, trusted priests, and village leaders. The case of Satyagrahis arraigned in a court arising out of civil disobedience against a law seen as immoral falls in a different category. Because of the basically law-abiding nature of Satyagrahis, they (civil resisters) as a rule, voluntarily submit to arrest, do not seek bail, avoid lawyers and willingly accept the legally laid down consequences for such a breach. Gandhi's advice was: "It is much to be wished that people would avoid litigation. But what when we are dragged to the courts? In fact, Gandhi even saw benefits in incarceration due to Satyagraha: "The discipline that they will be acquiring in prison will help the nonviolent organization of the people outside and instil fearlessness among them." His statement in the court, in his famous trial for 'seditious' writing, in March 1922 has become memorable: "Non-Cooperation with evil is as much is as much a duty as cooperation with good." Nonviolence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil." He wanted civil resisters to "make no distinction between an ordinary prisoner and himself", but to "civilly resist such regulations as are not only irksome or hard to bear but are humiliating or specially designed to degrade non-co-operators."

c. Industrial conflicts

Industrial Conflict is one of contemporary emerging disagreement between the employer and employee which if parties involve did not reach agreement the action may led work close-up which has an implication to both the economy and social life of the larger society. The conflict

between employer and employee has four key issues two from the employer which domination and exploitation while from the employee side it has non-productive and lack of trust from the worker's side.

Gandhi believed that to a large extent, such domination rests on the acquiescence of the oppressed. Satyagrahis must fight what they see as injustice at all costs firmly. Gandhi stressed on honesty in this context: "in Satyagraha the minimum is also the maximum and as it is the irreducible minimum, there is no question of retreat, and the only movement possible is an advance." But the Gandhian technique also provides for reconciliation and a shifting of the position as the perception of Truth alters. Mediators may help by forcing the parties, including Satyagrahis, to get a clearer mandate and realization of Truth in the process. If all else failed, Gandhi noted that "strikes are an inherent right of the working men but must be considered a crime immediately the capitalists accept the principle of arbitration. However, Gandhi warned: "Public has no means of judging the merits of a strike, unless it is backed by impartial persons enjoying public confidence." During the 1918 Mill strike which Gandhi led, he wanted answers to the following questions for deciding the sought-after wage increases: (a) Wage increase necessary for the labour to lead a simple but contented life; and (b) Can the mills gives this increase? If not, how much can they afford? He laid down following general principles for the conduct to address disputes with the management:

> i. Workers and their leaders stick to real situation on ground not to exaggerate demand to go beyond their work load and availability of resource. ii. Strikes action can also the last resort after all means of negotiation fail out. During strike, labour should remain ready for settlement or arbitration. iii. Labour bodies need to be nonviolent even under provocation and bear no ill-will towards employers (Donald, 1996).

e. Satyagraha against the state: civil disobedience

In the political field, nonviolent social struggles generally consist in opposing 'evil' in the shape of unjust laws, i.e., Satyagraha takes the form of Civil Disobedience (or Resistance). Gandhi believed that the seeming breaking of a law is really not so, provided that

(c)   a higher law, that of the conscience, is followed; b. the law is broken nonviolently; and c. the violator is happily prepared to pay full penalty for violation (Lovis,2002)

Gandhi, has emphasized that to be 'civil', obedience "need be sincere, respectful, restrained, and never defiant, must be based on some well-understood principle, which need not be capricious and above all must have no ill-will towards one another or even the hatred behind it. Gandhi believed in the state authority in a democratic society. Here, Civil Disobedience is Satyagraha only if carried out openly. One had a duty to obey laws except those which are contrary to the conscience or cause tangible harm to people's welfare: "It is only when a person has thus obeyed the laws of society scrupulously that he is in a position to judge as to which particular rules are good and just and which are unjust and iniquitous." Further, "Civil Disobedience is not a state of lawlessness but presupposes a law-abiding spirit, combined with a self-restraint.'' (Thoreau, 2001)

f. Inter-state conflicts

The modern contemporary world of today was full of emerging issues in terms of economy, politics and technological problems that led to war between states since the broke of first World War. Gandhi philosophy of nonviolent has believe on the operational practice of Ahimsa which aimed at distinguish between the aggressor and the defender. Side with the defender in a nonviolent manner' because, "the (violent) defence has to resort to all the damnable things that the enemy does, and then with greater vigour if it has to succeed." Gandhi saw that for a less armed world "some nation will have to disarm her and take large risks." In the present political state, complete unilateral disarmament' since armaments are largely controlled by economic factors, Gandhi said: "real disarmament cannot come unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another." Gandhi's ideal society would aim to resolve international conflicts by helping its neighbours alleviate their economic problems and try to remain friendly with them. It would not exploit any other nation.

Conclusion

Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence culture if it can be institutionalized in different angle of both social, economic and political life of the global community it can really aid the mechanism of conflict resolution and the process of actualization of peace in the world. Most importantly of Gandhi's philosophy was Satyagraha "truth force," "Ahimsa" non-violence and "Tapas" self-suffering." These constitutive elements urged Indian activists to exhibit vision, hope courage and action of enduring significance to accomplish success in India's independence. However, I stated in this paper, that non-violence comparatively is stronger, viable and efficient than the use of violence in conflict resolution and advancement of peace.

Recommendation.

On this frame, therefore, for Africa, a developing continent, with enormous natural and human resources to advance and liberate herself from foreign strangulation and manipulation I opine that non-violence, as proposed by Gandhi with some further articulations, would help Africa to fine-tune and stabilize mechanisms of conflict resolution and maintain the peace for continuous and consistent advancement and needed social, political and economic freedom.

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ETHNO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS IN NIGERIA (2015-2021): IMPLICATIONS FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

Samuel Onyekachi CHIDI
Department of Peace studies and Conflict Resolution,
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja
chidisamuel25@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

In contemporary times, Nigeria faces more internal threats from ethnic and religious conflicts than it does from external sources. This study seeks to examine Ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria from 2015 to 2021, and its implication on National Security. The research was guided by six objectives. The theoretical frame-work adopted for this study is the Structural Conflict Theory, which provides adequate explanation, predictive justification for the frequent occurrence of ethno-religious conflicts and the tendency to provide necessary insight towards resolving them. The findings of study revealed that there is a strong relationship between Ethnicity, Religion, Conflicts and National Security, and that the ethno-religious conflicts experienced in Nigeria have gross implications to national security. The study recommends the need to restore and maintain the secularity of the Nigeria state, and that state of origin be removed and replaced with state of resident in all our national document as this will reduce ethnic identity which is in opposition to nationalism. Religious leaders, traditional rulers, the media and other stakeholders should support the government in the fight to curb ethno-religious conflicts by sensitizing their youths, preach unity and peaceful co-existence, and discourage the use of violence as means to settling disputes among groups and individuals.

KEYWORDS: Ethnicity, Religion, Conflict and National Security

Introduction

Conflict is inevitable in human interaction, arising from disagreement, controversy or quarrel between two or more people or groups of people. When such a disagreement, controversy or quarrel is not resolved or managed, it escalates to a disordered state where hostility and violent actions manifest. Mbachu (2009) opined that Conflict is a condition of disharmony or hostility in relations. Whenever two individuals opine in different ways, a conflict arises. Wright (1990) defines conflict as opposition among social entities directed against one another, it distinguished competition and defined it as opposition among social entities independently striving for something of which the resources are inadequate to satisfy all. In a layman's language, conflict is a disagreement either between two individuals or among group members. No two individuals can think alike and there is definitely a difference in their thinking process as well as their understanding.

Ethno-religious conflict on the other hand is a form of conflict produced on the basis of real or imagined distinction rooted in ethnic and religious identities, lines and lens. Ethno-religious conflicts refer to those involving groups where religion is an integral part of social and cultural life, and religious institutions are representative, possess moral legitimacy, and mobilization potential. Where conflicting groups define themselves along ethno-religious lines and lens, religious identity can create sharp distinctions between parties, and increase group mobilization.

The intense ethno-religious polarization and conflict in Nigeria has increased in recent years due to the politicization of religion and ethnic values. This has led to a rise in ferocity and scope of destruction of lives and property, and tension between different ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria. Some effects of these conflicts are the increase in arms proliferation by various groups, armed banditry and kidnapping. The scale and prevalence of these conflicts in Nigeria remains a matter of concern and requires urgent attention from all stakeholders. As a result of these conflicts, social, economic and political progress in Nigeria has suffered, threatening National security.

There have been several measures put in place by successive governments at the State and national level to prevent or resolve ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. These measures range from the creation of additional states and local governments to the principles of federal character, quota system, equity representation in the national and state assemblies, among others. However, these measures have not adequately addressed the problems as the rate and intensity of ethno-religious crisis still persist. The effects and implications of ethno-religious conflicts constitute a threat to Nigeria's national security. It is against this background that this research seeks to examine Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria and the Implications to National Security, with a view to proffering plausible solutions towards resolving or preventing their future occurrence.

Conceptual discourse

For a better understanding of the concept Ethno-Religious Conflicts, it is important to know the definition of Ethnicity, Religion and Conflict, before fusing the word ethno-religious conflicts together.

Ethnicity: Various attempts have been made by scholars to define and analyze ethnicity, leading to the development of several concepts. Odeh, (2010) defined an ethnic group as a group of people who hold in common a set of traditions that differentiate them from others with whom they are in contact. These traditions include a common ancestry, place of origin, religious beliefs and practices, and language. Ethnic groups are social formations distinguished by the communal character (i.e., languages and culture) within their boundaries. Snyder states that ethnicity is consciousness of a shared identity within a group. The instrumentalist theory of Ethnicity views ethnicity as a device used by individuals and groups to unify populations. Ethnic identities played a major role in the Nigerian political process especially during the colonial period and post-colonial era. Almost half of Nigerians (48.2%) label themselves with an ethnic identity compared to 28.4% who identify with respect to class or religious group.

Religion: Religion is a social and spiritual phenomenon, which involves the grouping of people based on faith. Wikipedia defines religion as "a social-cultural system of designated behaviors and practices, morals, beliefs, worldviews, texts, sanctified places, prophecies, ethics, or organizations that relates humanity to supernatural, transcendental, and spiritual elements". Growing religious intolerance has become a burden to various governments, making peace elusive in the world. Religion guides our daily lives and should not be based solely on the virtues of individuals. In essence, religion is more than what we assume it to be. It is paramount, well above material, governments and policies.

Conflict: A conflict is a clash of interest. The basis of conflict may vary but it is always a part of society. Although, we are familiar with those inexhaustible things that cause conflicts, but in this context, they can be categorized into four namely: Conflicts over resources, Conflicts over psychological needs, Conflicts involving values, Conflicts over inadequate information. Disagreements among individuals lead to conflicts and fights. Junega (2020) states that "Conflict arises whenever individuals have different values, opinions, needs, interests and are unable to find a middle way".

In classifying conflicts, Ted Robert Gurr, in his article "A Comparative of Civil Strife" and Wright (2017) in his paper "The Nature of Conflict" rightly argue that the level of violence rather than its absence or presence is a better criterion for classifying conflicts. People have different value system, interest, needs and opinions, and most times selfishly guides them thus leading to conflicts. Conflicts usually occur as a result of clash of these values, needs, interests between societies, groups or states that are pursuing common but opposing goals (Okon, 2003).

National security: The concept of national security encompasses the total sum of what a nation does in order to safeguard itself as a sovereign entity. This could be in areas such as 'defense of territorial integrity, promotion of socio-economic and political potentials, military strategy, diplomatic interests and whatever a country might consider as its vital national interests'. The definition of national security is hardly precise and there is yet to be a consensus

by scholars on its definition. One focuses on strategic definition, while the other emphasizes socio-economic factors. There are two essential views on the definition - one which goes beyond military preparedness to include political, economic and social development of a nation.

Accordingly, national security is seen from the internal and external perspectives. The internal perspective is concerned with the security of the individual against hunger, absence of threat to life and property and ensuring that he/she is gainfully employed

National security is thus the extent to which a nation safeguards itself from internal or external threats. Going by Nigeria's threat profile, Nigeria faces more internal threats emanating from ethnic and religious crises than it does from external sources.

Theoretical Framework of Analysis

There are several theories that provide theoretical explanation as to why conflicts occur. In their attempts to explain the nature, causes, and effects of events in their society's social scientists have always devised theories. To this end therefore, the theoretical frame-work adopted for this study is the Structural Conflict Theory. The theory provides adequate explanation, predictive justification for the frequent occurrence of ethno-religious conflicts and the tendency to provide necessary insight for the ways resolving them (Alao, 2015). Parson (1960) an American Sociologist champions the course of this theory after the World War II. In this theory he opined that "individuals will adjust to a given structure in an organization, institution or society. Any change in the structure of the organization or institution causes conflict and it destabilizes the society. The Structural Conflict theory comprises of two branches, the radical structuralists and liberal structuralists. According to Faleti (2006), the radical structuralisms are mostly from Marxist dialectical school comprising the likes of Marx, Engel and Lenin. The liberal structuralisms include Ross (1993) Scarborough (1998), and Galtung (1990).

The main argument of the structural theory is that social conflicts arise due to the ways societies are structured and organized. The theory views social problems like political and

economic exclusion, injustice, poverty, exploitation, inequality, as sources of conflict (Faleti, 2006). This has strong leaning on Marxist's theory of historical materialism. The structuralist opined that, societies with unjust and exploitative organization that makes one class to dominate another, especially when the dominated classes constitute the majority are prone to conflicts (Faleti, 2006). The liberal Structuralist call for the removal of structural defects through new policies with human face.

Ethno-Religious Conflicts and National Security

We can trace ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria to the Maitatsine Revolt in1980, when Mohamad Marwa made attempts to force the 'sui-generis' religion on other religious groups in the country. The military later became involved in the conflict which claimed over 5000 lives and destroyed properties worth hundreds of millions. Nigeria is the most populous black nation in the world, and the most crowded African country with a population of about 182 million by 2015 (World Population Prospects 2015). A survey conducted in Nigeria by Lewis and Bratton found that almost half of Nigerians (48.2%) label themselves with an ethnic identity compared to 28.4% who label themselves with respect to class and 21% who identified with a religious group (Lewis and Bratton 2000; Osaghae and Suberu 2005). This means that over 66% of Nigerians view themselves as members of an ethnic or religious group. What is even more interesting is the fact that religious and ethnic identities are more salient than class identities (Lewis and Bratton 2000; Osaghae and Suberu 2005).

Nigeria's national security has recently been threatened by latent ethnic and religious struggles which often resulted in conflicts. This situation indicates a direct relationship between ethnic and religious conflicts and national security. The effects of these conflicts threaten the corporate existence of Nigeria due to reprisal attacks carried out within states where the conflicts occurred and in other parts of the country. Ethnic and religious conflicts have led to the creation of various militant groups like Bokoharam/ISWAP, Banditry, Niger Delta Militants and others who carry out acts of aggression against the Government and people

of Nigeria. These acts of aggression have affected national unity and integration, which are essential components of national security

Implications of Ethno-Religious Conflicts on National Security

The major concerns of national security are the preservation and maintenance of a nation's interests. Any development that threatens the stability of a nation or its socio-economic and political order would thus be considered a threat to national security (Otite, Albert, 1999). Ethno-religious conflicts have long been identified as a fundamental threat to stability, political order and state cohesion in Nigeria. There are further implications of ethno-religious conflicts namely:

Social implications: Social implications of ethno-religious conflicts often transcend the boundaries of the contending religious and ethnic groups. A social implication of ethnic and religious conflicts on national security is the humanitarian problems associated with each conflict.

For example, the Sharia crises that started in Kaduna metropolis spilled over to Zaria and Kano. Another instance was the 2009 Boko Haram crises that spilled over to Bauchi and Yobe States and presently all the north east states. The effect of these conflicts generated sentiments that resulted in reprisal killings in different parts of the country. This situation also destabilized stable communal and relationships and led to unfriendly communal living across many parts of the country.

Economic implications: The economic implications of ethno-religious crises, like the social implications, are multi-dimensional. The disruption of economic life due to ethnic and religious conflicts negatively impact on the national economy. Individuals, corporate organizations and governments have business interests in various parts of the country and the outbreak of such conflicts usually necessitates the closure of business activities, an example is the ENDSARS protest. The closure of businesses results in heavy losses for individuals, cooperate bodies and government. Consequently, several businesses have either shut down or

relocated from Nigeria due to ethno-religious conflict and the prevailing insecurity, causing a decline in the economy.

Political implication: The political implication of ethno-religious conflicts on national security is often viewed from the perspective of the stability of the state. The failure of government to prevent successive acts of ethnic and religious violence in Nigeria has heightened the feeling of insecurity and hostility. This has led to the erosion of cohesion and harmonious co-existence amongst different ethnic groups and religions in the country. It has also created a sense of ethnic and religious inclination, rather than national inclination among Nigerians. In defense of their actions, religious and ethnic groups often complain of the inability of government to protect their interests and guarantee their security.

The result of the aforementioned has led to agitations for political autonomy based on ethnic or religious beliefs in some parts of the country. An example of this agitation is the clamor by the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and the Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB). This group has persistently agitated for secession based on the perception of marginalization by the Nigerian State. The impact of this cessation on the existence of the nation would be negative, causing further strained relations and loss of a vibrant part of the Nigerian society. The various tiers of government in Nigeria could therefore take deliberate steps with the right political will to allay the fears of marginalization by various ethnic and religious groups. A more transparent approach by the government, which accommodates every group, could facilitate this process.

Causes of ethno-religious conflicts

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic and multi-religious society and has recorded numerous cases of conflicts that were ethnic and religious in nature. Kano, Jos, Kaduna and Maiduguri, Benue, Lagos, Niger, Taraba, among others are areas that have witnessed ethno-religious crises in the country. Several factors have been attributed as the causes of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria, some of these include:

Ethnic and religious intolerance: One of the causes of conflict in Nigeria is lack of tolerance between people of different religious or ethnic groups. Religious intolerance is the failure to recognize and accommodate views and opinions of other is one of the major sources of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. Lack of tolerance is usually caused by a lack of trust between ethnic or religious groups, especially if there has been conflict between them in the past. Extremists usually take advantage of this situation to further polarize the society. Nigeria religious adherents, especially the Muslims and the Christians have demonstrated intolerance attitudes which have resulted to violence outburst that spill over the political and economic lives of the citizens (Alananmu, 2005). Despite Nigeria's potential for development, the distrust and intolerance among her people create an atmosphere of near-constant tension in the country (Dumoye, 2010).

Poverty: Poverty coupled with economic deprivation has been identified as one of the causes of ethno-religious conflicts, this result to problems, like unemployment, Inadequate housing, physical and social infrastructures (Obateru, 1994). The present unequal distribution of scarce resources in Nigeria Societies has created the problem of poverty which is partly responsible for ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria.

Illiteracy: Most conflicts which occur in Nigeria are attributed to the low literacy level among the people involved. This has left many young people with inadequate education and as a result, does not gain meaningful employment. This low literacy level and unemployment impairs their ability to dispassionately process thoughts and make informed decisions, thus creating a pool of willing foot soldiers for any conflict that may occur irrespective of its religion or ethnic dimension.

Corruption: Corruption is the enrichment of an individual or a section of society against the greatest happiness of the greater number of people. Corruption is so rampant in the country that the Transparency International in its perception index currently awards Nigeria 25 points out of a maximum of 100 points. She is also rated 149 out of the 180 nations that were evaluated in the world (Transparency International Corruption Perception Index 2020). The

level of corruption has its attendant effect of increasing poverty and unemployment in the country. Consequently, the idle population created is highly frustrated and could easily vent that frustration through crisis and other forms of destructive behavior.

Competition for scarce resources: Competition for scarce resources has been identified as one the causes of crises in societies. These resources could be human or material and may lead to conflicts when they are seen to be unfairly distributed or insufficient. For example, land has been a recurring problem between communities in Nigeria, leading to conflicts. The struggle for the exclusive or predominant control of land has been a basic pattern of inter-ethnic relations in Nigeria (Eliagwu, 2015). As a result, some conflict in the country border on land and boundary issues. When land disagreements occur between neighboring tribes or communities, it is likely to result in ethno-religious conflict. This is because indigenes of the affected communities' resort to conflict and base their struggle along ethnic/religious lines. The pattern is also evident in clashes between farmers and herdsmen over land for farming and grazing respectively.

Competition for political recognition: The present democratic system in Nigeria requires a balanced representation from all geo-political zones, at all tiers and levels of government as enshrined in the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999. In situations where two or more communities are in the same electoral constituency, representation often causes conflicts. This could be more acute when the communities belong to different ethnic groups. Political representation has been observed over the years to be directly linked with the access to resources, employment, social infrastructure and political appointments.

Indigene and settler disputes: A major cause of ethnic conflict in Nigeria is between 'hosts' and 'settlers' (Olawale, 2015). Different ethnic groups lay claim to 'indigenous statuses on the basis of history of migration, early patterns of settlement or local history among others. Those who claim to be 'indigenes' seek to exclude 'settlers' thus seeking to maximize their own access to resources at the expense of the settlers. Those excluded as 'settlers' resist their exclusion on the grounds of long residency in the area.

Causes of ethno-religious conflicts have been examined, and the consequences of ethno-religious conflict in Nigeria have been identified as agitation for self-determination and wastage of enormous human and material resources. These conflicts also result in increasing gaps in social relations among ethnic groups, antagonism towards one another and religious prejudice. Other consequences range from threat to security of life and property to loss of foreign investment in the economy and ultimate a threat to National Security.

Management of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria

The careful management of the causative factors of crises is the panacea to solving ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. The prevalence of crises in Nigeria is eroding the unity upon which any meaningful development could take place. Since the effects of ethno-religious crises borders on national security, it is imperative that governments evolve such measures that would protect lives and property of the Nigerian people. In the past, the greatest challenge faced by the government has been to ensure that various religious and ethnic groups harmoniously co-exist.

The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 makes provision for any Nigerian who has resided in a state for at least 5 years to have the right of being an indigene (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999). These right permits such a person to seek for elective posts in the state of residence. However, the domineering effects of ethnicity have hindered the full implementation and respect for this section of the constitution. It is therefore imperative that the implementation of this section of the Constitution is enforced. This would provide Nigerians with the opportunity to identify with and be part of any state in the country.

The provision of adequate information is an important tool in conflict management. Creating awareness and enlightening people is necessary for the eradication of ethnic and religious violence. The youths could be educated on the need to tolerate all religions and respect the cultural values of one another. Government could effectively use the print and electronic media to sensitize the youths in this regard. Additionally, the services of religious

and community leaders could be used to enlighten the public in mosques, churches and during village or community meetings. The consciousness created by such enlightenment campaigns is likely to persuade people to shun violence and embrace non-violent means of resolving conflicts. In this regard, it is necessary for the government to educate the large number of unemployed and illiterate youths in the country.

The management of ethno-religious crises is essential for the protection of Nigeria's national security. The prevalence of crises in Nigeria is eroding the unity upon which any meaningful development could take place. Since the effects of ethno-religious crises borders on national security, it is imperative that governments evolve such measures that would protect lives and property of the Nigerian people. These measures include resolving the settler/indigene controversy in line with the constitution and public awareness/enlightenment on the negative implications of ethno-religious crises. Other measures are the provision of effective leadership, socio-economic infrastructure and sanctions for perpetrators of ethno-religious violence or conflicts. These measures would guarantee the reduction of ethno-religious crises and uphold the security of the Nigerian State.

Some major ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria

In order to examine the implication of Ethnic Religious Conflicts in Nigeria, there is need to highlight some major conflicts in Nigeria, especially within the period in study which 2015 to 2021.

Kaduna State

On the 19th of October, 2018 Christian's in Adara community and Hausa Muslim youths. A dispute in the market led to the death of two people from the Adara community. In retaliation a communal conflict erupted, the Adaras attacked the hausa community killing dozens of people. The conflict resulted in the death of 55 persons.

Zamfara State Conflict

On the 9th of June, 2019, 16 people celebrating Eid al-Fitr were killed by unidentified bandits in Kanoma Community of Maru LGA.

Benue State

On 2nd of March 2019, herdsmen killed 16 persons in an attack on Gwer West LGA. The government blamed the attack on allegations of theft of cows by livestock guards made by the military. Residents said the herdsmen brought along many cattle and took over their lands for grazing.

Kogi State

On the 7th of March 2019, in Bassa LGA, Kwomu community twenty residents were killed in an attack by an Egburra Mozum militia in Bassa LGA, Kogi State.

Rivers State

On the 19th of March 2019, in Khana LGA Five people were confirmed to have been killed by suspected Iceland group members in a cult attack on KonoBoue in Khana LGA. The cause is suspected to be retaliation for killing of their member.

Borno State

The Koshebe conflict in Borno state took place on 28th November 2020 in the village of Koshebe, Nigeria, in Borno, when as many as 110 civilians and peasant farmers were killed and six were wounded as they worked in rice fields in Koshebe village, near the northeast Nigerian city of Maiduguri. The attack was thought to be carried out by the Boko Haram insurgency. About 15 women were also kidnapped.

Plateau State

On 3rd May 2020 an ethno-religious conflict erupted in a Christian school. The Messiah College High School in Plateau state was closed down due to COVID-19, but the perpetrators stormed the on-campus home of the school's principal, Rev. Bayo James Famonure. He was shot in the head, while his wife was shot in the back and his two children were shot in the feet. The conflict further led to the death of four Christians who were later ambushed by same attackers and were killed in Adu village.

Findings and Conclusion

This study finds that there is a strong relationship between Ethnicity, Religion, Conflicts and National Security, and that the ethno-religious conflicts experienced in Nigeria have gross implications to national security. This is evidenced to the fact that ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria often take a violent approach, attacks are often made on social places like churches, parks, mosques, schools, including homes and farmlands resulting to loss of lives and properties.

Religious extremism, poor leadership and marginalization have been identified as the major causes of ethno-religious conflicts in Nigeria. Nigeria religious adherents and leaders, especially the Muslims and Christians have demonstrated intolerance attitude towards each other resulting in religious fanatism, confrontations and conflict of interest between members of this various religious group. Nigerians today tends to define themselves more in terms of ethnic and religious affinities as opposed to their national identity thus increasing the gaps in social relations among ethnic and religious groups.

The study concludes that there's a need to restore and maintain the secularity of the Nigeria state, as this will reduce the existing religious conflict. Nigeria is a secular state but the identification of Christianity and Islam to the exclusion of other religion further deepens exclusion in Nigeria. Also state of origin should be removed and replaced with state of resident in all our national document as this will reduce ethnic identity which is in opposition to nationalism.

Finally, just as the former secretary to the state government of Nigeria Anyim Pius Anyim, stated in his open letter to the president, "it is important to note that every violent agitation originates from a non-violent agitation that was not attended to." Today, Nigeria is bedeviled with violent and non-violent agitations. It is also a fact that the current ethno-religious conflict and violent agitations in the country originated from non-violent conflicts and agitations that were not attended to. Therefore, the President of Nigeria should empanel a commission of inquiry to inquire into the ethno-religious conflicts, the violent and non-violent

agitations in Nigeria and make recommendations on the immediate-, short- and long-term solutions as a way of first de-escalating the rising tension in the land and a process for the renewal of our march to nationhood.

Like Anyim Pius Anyim said once said "in a democracy, no action is deemed successful or completed until the buy-in-of the people is secured through a democratic process. As long as the people are not part of the process of finding solutions to the conflicts, a permanent solution will be a mirage. Therefore, the need for a national discourse/conference is made more important and long over do." This buy-in- is an imperative that is yet to be pursued in the search for a plausible solution towards resolving, managing and preventing ethno-religious conflicts and violent agitations that have threaten Nigeria's national security and sovereignty.

Recommendations

Based on the findings reported in this research work, the followings are recommended:

- Restructure/amend the constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria to include a buy-in and input of all the ethnic groups in Nigeria.

- Nigeria is a secular state, therefore the secularity of the Nigeria should be restored and maintained.

- De-emphasize on religion and ethnicity by first replacing removing state of origin and replacing with state of resident in all our national documents and identities.

- Re-orientation and education of the citizenry to encourage religious and ethnic tolerance and respect among ourselves.

- The president of the country must be a detribalized Nigerian with candour, whose words, actions and inaction resonates as comfort especially to the minority ethnic and religious groups in Nigeria.

- There should be religious tolerance, respect, justice and equity for all religious and ethnic groups in Nigeria.

- Religious leaders, traditional rulers and chiefs, the media and other stakeholders should lend their supports to the government and the Armed Forces in the fight to curb ethno-religious conflicts by sensitizing their youths, giving out useful information that will help solve misunderstandings, preach unity and peaceful co-existence, and discourage the use of violence as means to settling disputes among groups and individuals.

- Politics in Nigeria should not be played along ethnic and religious lines, rather credibility, accountability and leadership should be given priority.

- Government should tackle the problem of poverty and illiteracy in Nigeria. Jobs should be created for the youths. This is because the unemployed youths are more prone to being used to perpetuate ethno-religious conflicts.

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THE ROLES OF ELDERS IN ALTERNATIVE DISPUTE RESOLUTION: THE NIGERIAN CONTEXT

Steven Sunday OGBOBE

Department of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution
National Open University of Nigeria, Jabi, Abuja.
nou215008842@noun.edu.ng

ABSTRACT

The study investigates the role of elders in Alternative Dispute Resolution in the context of Nigeria. The problem of the research is aimed at addressing the unattractive situation in which the elders as ADR in Nigeria have not been given the due awareness it deserves. And where the practice is encouraged, the activities of devious elders seem to be discouraging its patronage. The objective of this paper is to examine the roles of elders in settling dispute amicably for community peaceful coexistence as a whole. However, the paper gave a wide discussion on the conceptualization of alternative dispute resolution in particular. The methods of alternative dispute resolution by the elders in Africa and Nigeria has equally been discussed in the paper. The roles of elders in critical dimension are part of the paper elucidation. The paper also examines motivation for ADR in the Nigeria context. This study adopted both primary and secondary sources of methodology. Social solidarity theory was used on this study. The paper concludes that elder's intervention enhances conflict resolution among indigenes, in the context, Nigeria cannot over emphases considering their traditional position in the society. Findings revealed that elder's involvement in conflict resolution aids resolution of conflicts to a great extent, as the strategies has often proved successful. Recommendations are that elders should be regularly exposed to contemporary methods of conflict management.

KEYWORDS: Elders, Alternative Dispute Resolution, Community, Traditional

Introduction

Contemporary Africa is faced with the reality of numerous evolving states that have to wrestle with the inexorableness of conflict. On their own, the young institutions in these states cannot cope with the huge demands unleashed by everyday conflict. It is within this context that the comparison as well as complement between traditional institutions and the modern state institutions of conflict resolution becomes not only observable, but also imperative. Zartman (2001). The continuing role and influence of traditional leadership and especially in modern Africa is hard to miss, nonetheless, the relationship between the state and traditional institutions should not be taken for granted for it is a contested environment beleaguered with complexities. Richard (2009). While traditional institutions are rooted in the culture and history of African societies, the modern state exerts a large amount of influence on these institutions. In some cases, the traditional institutions are politicized and have become instruments of propagating state ideology. In other cases, especially where they express disagreement with the state, these traditional institutions have often been undermined or usurped by the state. (Ali and Bukar, 2019).

The adversarial nature of the courts means that a judge rules in favor of one party and against another, awarding sentences that often fail to satisfy either party. The winner-takes-all nature of the judicial system is encapsulated by the Yoruba expression "A ki ti Kootu de ka sore", meaning you do not return from court and remain friends. The idea of a sympathetic third-party hearing disputes and contributing to their resolution continues to resonate with Nigerians. Ordinarily, the courts serve as the traditional forum for the resolution of conflicts. The judiciary arm of government is conferred with the authority to interpret the law and settle disputes between the parties involved in dispute. However, the problems associated with litigation such as delays arising from long adjournments, costs, corruption, technicalities, congestion of cause lists in the courts, formalities, etc. Impede the realization of the purpose of the courts adjudicative process, with recourse to alternative dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms as viable alternatives to judicial settlement of disputes in Nigeria (Oddiri, 2020).

Access to justice means more access to courts, and some disputes may not even be suited for the litigation process. The biblical account of the judgment passed by King Solomon between two women laying claim to a living child (1st King 3:16-28) was accompanied with such a profound wisdom that till date, it is traditionally considered the philosophical foundation of ADR, and in most especially by elders. Traditionally, the elders play special roles such as managing public affairs, keeping the peace, serving as judges and looking after community welfare" (Mazrui, 1986).

The purpose and practice of ADR in such conflict management makes it meaningful, fruitful and sustainable. Among the most embraced methodologies to conflict resolution includes, but not limited to the following; arbitration, judicial, diplomacy, avoidance, confrontation, compromise and negotiations (Hugh M. 2004). These approaches however have certain procedures that must be duly observed in order to get the best results from any of them when eventually employed.

Conceptual Framework

The term "alternative dispute resolution" or "ADR" is often used to describe a wide variety of dispute resolution mechanisms that are short of, or alternative to, full-scale court processes. The term can refer to everything from facilitated settlement negotiations in which disputants are encouraged to negotiate directly with each other prior to some other legal process, to arbitration systems or ministries that look and feel very much like a courtroom process. Processes designed to manage community tension or facilitate community development issues can also be included within the rubric of ADR. ADR systems may be generally categorized as negotiation, conciliation/mediation, or arbitration systems (Marshall, 1998).

Negotiation systems create a structure to encourage and facilitate direct negotiation between parties to a dispute, without the intervention of a third party. Mediation and conciliation systems are very similar in that they interject a third party between the disputants, either to mediate a specific dispute or to reconcile their relationship. Mediators and conciliators may simply facilitate communication, or may help direct and structure a

settlement, but they do not have the authority to decide or rule on a settlement. Arbitration systems authorize a third party to decide how a dispute should be resolved (Miller and Sarat 1980; Menkel-Meadow, 2004).

It is important to distinguish between binding and non-binding forms of ADR. Negotiation, mediation, and conciliation programs are non-binding, and depend on the willingness of the parties to reach a voluntary agreement. Arbitration programme may be either binding or non-binding. Binding arbitration disputants must follow even if they disagree with the result, much like a judicial decision. Non-binding arbitration produces a decision that the parties may reject (Park and Burger, 2010). It is also important to distinguish between mandatory processes and voluntary processes. Some judicial systems require litigants to negotiate, conciliate, mediate, or arbitrate prior to court action (Miller and Sarat, 1980).

ADR processes may also be required as part of a prior contractual agreement between parties. In voluntary processes, submission of a dispute to an ADR process depends entirely on the will of the parties. These forms of ADR, and a variety of hybrids, are described in more detail in Appendix A: Taxonomy of ADR Models from the Developed and Developing World. The Guide uses the general term, ADR, when referring to conditions or programs that may affect or include various types of ADR, but will refer to particular types of ADR— negotiation, conciliation, mediation, or arbitration— whenever possible Culture‖ (1980-1981). Although the characteristics of negotiated settlement, conciliation, mediation, arbitration, and other forms of community justice vary, all share a few common elements of distinction from the formal judicial structure. These elements permit them to address development objectives in a manner different from judicial systems.

Most fundamentally, ADR processes are less formal than judicial processes. In most cases, the rules of procedure are flexible, without formal pleadings, extensive written documentation, or rules of evidence. This informality is appealing and important for increasing access to dispute resolution for parts of the population who may be intimidated by or unable to participate in more formal systems. It is also important for reducing the delay and cost of

dispute resolution. Most systems operate without formal representation (Cloke and Goldsmith, 2010; Galanter, 1983).

Equally important, ADR programs are instruments for the application of equity rather than the rule of law. Each case is decided by a third party, or negotiated between disputants themselves, based on principles and terms that seem equitable in the particular case, rather than on uniformly applied legal standards. ADR systems cannot be expected to establish legal precedent or implement changes in legal and social norms. ADR systems tend to achieve efficient settlements at the expense of consistent and uniform justice. In societies where large parts of the population do not receive any real measure of justice under the formal legal system, the drawbacks of an informal approach to justice may not cause significant concern. Furthermore, the overall system of justice can mitigate the problems by ensuring that disputants have recourse to formal legal protections if the result of the informal system is unfair, and by monitoring the outcomes of the informal system to test for consistency and fairness (Cloke and Goldsmith, 2010).

Other characteristics of ADR systems include more direct participation by the disputants in the process and in designing settlements, more direct dialogue and opportunity for reconciliation between disputants, potentially higher levels of confidentiality since public records are not typically kept, more flexibility in designing creative settlements, less power to subpoena information, and less direct power of enforcement. The impact of these characteristics is not clear, even in the United States where ADR systems have been used and studied more extensively than in most developing countries. Many argue, however, that compliance and satisfaction with negotiated and mediated settlements exceed those measures for court ordered decisions. The participation of disputants in the settlement decision, the opportunity for reconciliation, and the flexibility in settlement design seem to be important factors in the higher reported rates of compliance and satisfaction (Cloke and Goldsmith, 2010; Cappelletti, 1993).

Conceptually, there was scholarly divergent views in regard to the concept of elders. Although there are commonly used definitions of old age, there is no general agreement on the age at which a person becomes old. Realistically, if a definition in Africa is to be developed, it should be either 50 or 55 years of age, but even this is somewhat arbitrary and introduces additional problems of data comparability across nations. The more traditional African definitions of an elder or 'elderly' person correlate with the chronological ages of 50 to 65 years, depending on the setting, the region and the country. In another dimension, elders are regarded as the elderly persons in the society which play a pivotal social role of maintaining values, norms of the society by transmitting to the future generation. Elders have collective responsibilities of consolidating unity and prospect of the entire community. Their contributions in providing wisdom and advice to younger generations and the society as a whole should be acknowledged. Elders are also part of social networks of friends and family, are active in clubs and associations, work as volunteers and are economically active. Elders are traditional custodians of the acculturations (Cletus, 2016).

Conflict is a particular relationship between states or rival factions within a state which implies subjective hostilities or tension manifested in subversive economic or military hostilities. Conflict can be described as a condition in which are identifiable group of humans whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, religious, socio-political, economic, cultural or otherwise is in conscious opposition to one or more other identifiable human group because these groups are pursuing what to be incompatible goals. More importantly, conflict arises from the interaction of individuals who have partly, incompatible ends, in which the ability of one actor to gain his ends, depends to an important degree on the choice or decisions that other parties will take. Conflict could be violent on uncontrollable dominant or recessive, resolvable or insolvable under various sets or circumstances. A.A Mohammed argues that Conflicts are inevitable wherever severe resources are unequally distributed among competitors and inequity is reflected in cultural and political relationship between groups. With regards to various issues in dealing with conflict, it is important to bear in mind not just overt, physical

violence, but also the sometimes subtly disguised forms of structural and cultural violence. Conflict management in general and conflict resolution in particular, are almost entirely determined by our understanding of the composition of a conflict and not only by symptoms (Raman,1963).

Elders Role in Critical Dimension

The roles of elders in conflict resolution as an alternative process in promoting peaceful coexistence within the society, is intentionally recognizing that experience and wisdom that comes with or accompanies longevity can be brought to bear in the prosecution of conflict resolution. The term 'elderly' or older person has different meaning in different countries; it is mainly explained and is related to chronological age, functional age as well as retirement age. George. (2004). According to the UN definition, older persons are those people whose age are 60 years and over. Eskedar Sibuh' (2015) definition has gained acceptance in Ethiopian context as it coincides with the country's official retirement age.

Africans, like many other people elsewhere, have their own philosophy of life. They have a dissimilar culture by which they see and interact with themselves. For instance, individualism is a philosophy of life by the West, while communality is a principle in Africa. However, the exceptionality of traditional institutions, by virtue of their indigeneity and use of local actors, enables them to either repel or even sometimes challenge the state. These traditional institutions, also known as indigenous conflict resolution systems continue to demonstrate their relevance in post-conflict states. This is especially true in the context of weak states that are overwhelmed with ongoing state-building processes.

There is no straightforward formula regarding the interactions between the state and traditional institutions. McCandless. (2006). a community cannot access formal justice systems due to costs and other externalities; elders are there to resolve disputes. The role of elders is such that their audience accord them all the support they require in successfully carrying out their reconciliatory mandate. Fisher in (2000) said that conflict exposes the opportunity for relevant changes that can only be attained when it is properly handled. In spite

of the recognition of the judicial powers of traditional leaders by the law, there is informal dispute resolution. The first level of informal dispute resolution is usually the family; secondly, by the intervention of the clan; and thirdly, the village can intervene and if the dispute is not resolved, the matter is finally heard at the ward level by ward leaders and their advisers. Adesina (2002). The procedures of dispute resolution at these levels involve negotiation and mediation pointed at reconciliation purposes.

Chiefs and other community elders generally adjudicate in civil cases such as land grabbing, seduction, '*woman palava*' (a situation where a man has illicit sexual dealings with a married woman and the woman later confesses or is forced to confess the act to her husband), and criminal offences such as arson, theft and violation of community sanctions. In civil cases the plaintiff and defender are encouraged to advance their cases together with their witnesses (if any) before the chiefs can take a final decision. Generally, some compensation is paid to the aggrieved party.

The justice system is heavily tilted against women, especially in husband–wife relationships, and against young people. It is not considered in the best interest of the family to wrong a husband even if his guilt is clearly evident. Instead, the elders would attempt to say soothing words to the wife and later privately rebuke the husband for his misdeeds. While this may look like an injustice to the woman, there is an important social element here. The main interest is to hold the marriage together, not to create a situation where the woman will 'win the war but lose the peace'.

Criminal offences require a range of punishments, ranging from public reproach and the payment of reparation to cleansing ceremonies. Where an alleged offender denies his guilt, the services of diviners, medicine men and other supernatural agencies are sought to help identify the culprit. Collectively, disputing parties would sit together informally and resolve disputes and conflicts to preserve social coherence and re-establish social bonds. Thus, all the techniques of dispute resolution had aimed at restoring social order. Conflict resolution

amongst African communities has since time ancient taken the forms of negotiation, mediation, reconciliation or arbitration by elders.

In negotiation, the aim is to complement the interests of the parties concerned. Thus, even when the conflict involves a member against his or her society, there is an emphasis on recuperation and reinsertion of wayward member back into its place in society. The repossession of a disobedient member can just as well be seen as the reestablishment of the coherence and integrity of the community, as the declaration of value consensus and social cohesion, so that the management of the conflict favors the concerns of both parties. In traditional Igbo society, peace is negotiated. Request for forgiveness for wrongs done to persons and the complete community is a feature of negotiation. Such apology is routed through the elders, compound heads and chiefs of high competence in the society. It is done on the representative level or quasi-representation. In Yoruba, The Babaogun (patron) played the role of a representative in the sense of conflict resolution (Olayinka, 2018).

Mediators sought from inside the communities or societies of the parties concerned. Elders are respected as trustworthy mediators all over Africa, because of their accrued experiences and wisdom. Their roles depend on traditions, circumstances and personalities, accordingly. These roles include, compelling, making recommendations giving assessments, conveying suggestions on behalf of the parties, emphasizing appropriate norms and rules, visualizing the situation if agreement is not reached, or repeating of the agreement already accomplished (Jeong, 2001).

This is the most substantial aspect of conflict resolution. It is the end product of adjudication. After the disputants have been persuaded to end the dispute, peace is re-established. This restoration of peace and coherence is always anchored on the principle of give a little and get a little. This idea buttresses the idea of the disputing parties to give concessions. A banquet is usually organized to endorse the readiness of the conflicting parties towards reaching points of finding the middle ground. The reconciliation function is practiced by an authority figure that mediates between conflicting parties but is empowered to make

binding judgments. The purpose is not to render a judgment in law but to reconcile the conflicting parties and its norms. The relationship between the authority and the community is moderated by community representatives who advise authority (Miller, 2003).

Motivation for Elders roles in ADR in the Nigerian Context

There have been numerous cases of conflict in Nigeria since her independence in 1960, which have resulted in massive waste of natural resources and human lives, and for which conventional litigation approaches have not achieved lasting/maximum results in circumventing the wave of conflicts in Nigeria and many African states. In 2010, there was a bloody war between the people of Umumilo Village and their fellow members in Abudum Village in Anambra state, Nigeria, over alleged destruction of farm crops and economic trees worth a large sum of money on a disputed portion of land, as well as the removal of an ancient boundary hedge demarcating the two communities. It took the intervention of armed police men to restore calmness to the villages. Similarly, the federal government had been called upon to intervene in the Benue and Nasarawa crisis between farmers and Fulani herdsmen.

The crisis had resulted in bloody killing and rendered thousands of people homeless due to dispute over farming and land grazing. In the same vein, the federal government of Nigeria, in trying to arrest the continual land and boundary dispute in some communities in Edo and Delta states of Nigeria, gave its Boundary Commission a two-week ultimatum to submit its report on the resolution of the dispute involving the communities. These areas had been known to be involved in this fight for a long time, which engendered the boundary commission in 2002. But the commission was, however, not forthcoming, as the fight had been escalating over the years. The conflict of land/boundary dispute can be resolved amicably if and only if the parties are willing to find alternative solution to the dispute instead of resorting to violence (Ayres,1997).

The Niger-delta conflict attracted national attention in 1966, and this conflict has been on the increase since 1990. It has graduated from a dominantly peaceful agitation to violent struggle conducted by the youths on the heels to have a say on how the region's oil resources

are to be exploited, the proceed shared, and then used in a way that will bring development to the people, and not to leave them to suffer the undesirable hazardous effect of oil pollution, as was done by the Nigerian government in Niger-delta.

The Nigerian civil war fought in 1967-1970 was also a struggle for resource control, which later necessitated the then administration to create 12 more states in order to stop the succession bid of the Rebellist in Odumegwu Ojukwu (Isichei,1978). Conflicts between and within different communities as a result of benefits that come from oil exploration are well documented.

These conflicts are said to have resulted from the struggle for the ownership of oil wells, and location of oil pipes (Ogbogoro War (1998), Obeakpu Oyigbo Conflict (1999), Bille-Ke Conflict (2000), Nembe War (2000), OlomoroOleh Conflict (2000). These conflicts have become serious national issues and have attracted international interests as well. The origin of the whole conflict has been attributed to the insensitivity of the government and oil companies to the underdevelopment and the suffering faced by the people of the region, which in turn have resulted to serious upheavals, with youth taking to possession illegal arms and other criminal activities (Brown and Marriott,1999: Brown,1994).

Attempts at resolving these conflicts have been under the institutional and legal framework of Nigeria. It only appears as if this approach has yielded little or no fruit going by the increase in violent conflicts happening in the country. Even the amnesty program for militants in the Niger Delta was halted as a result of its limited success and an uneven response from the militant groups (Puryear,2011). Resolving conflicts has mainly been done under the existing legal mechanism which includes the courts of law, both under civil and criminal law. Under litigation, people go to court to get judgment in their favor, thereby feeling victorious over their opponents. This often times leaves permanent scars on the mind of the losing party rather than resolving the problem, and may create even more enmity and foster hostility among the parties in the future. Hence, they have not really been effective in resolving or managing conflicts.

Legal proceeding is quite costly, moreover its more interested in enforcing legal rights than protecting the interest of the parties involved. It is agreed that the high price of litigation is delay and therefore denial of justice. This situation, if not checked urgently, may lead to public loss of confidence in the formal judicial process and hence anarchy. Indeed, it is noteworthy that there have been notable pronouncements from court of appeals urging speedy, undiluted justice (Case Flow Management in the Lower Courts). Nigeria has, especially at the state level, begun to explore the feasibility of ADR in dealing with issues of development for instance, the president of Enugu Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Mine and Commerce, Chief Okechuku Nwadilobi, in an address at the Eastern Mediation Centre, Enugu in 6th April, 2011, expressed the willingness of the chamber to adopt ADR in resolving conflict which ordinarily would take longer time and stress in the conventional court system (Brown and Marriott 1999: Shavell,1995).

Conclusion

Elders' intervention enhances Conflict Resolution among indigenes in the context of Nigeria cannot be over emphases considering their traditional position in the society. The strategies employed by the elders in conflict between indigene is equally improved effective communication to a great extent as the elders utilized various strategies to intervene at least more often. Poor communication followed by high distrust between parties themselves are the major challenges in the strategies utilized by the elders to address in various communities in Nigeria while unwillingness of parties to hear each other out and activities of interested third parties are other challenges in the strategies Utilized by the elders to address conflict resolution. Furthermore, it can be concluded that leaders and elders in the community create a conducive atmosphere to aid proper ease of tensions through effective conflict resolution practices. It is pertinent to note that the use of Alternative Dispute Resolution practices enhances societal cohesion among ethnic diverse. This is because, to a great extent the frequency to which Alternative Dispute Resolution practices improves conflict resolution

outcomes is the same frequency to which parties to conflicts feel more responsive to elders' intervention.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusion of this study, the following are recommended to better improve the impact of role of elders in the utilization of alternative dispute resolution in Africa and Nigeria in particular:

1. Elders should be regularly exposed to contemporary methods of conflict management, leaders and indigenes since there is no problem with its usage but the purpose and essence to which it is used that can determine its success or failure.

2. Indigenes must dedicate more time on learning about and appreciating the reconciliatory activities of their social institutions for conflict resolution and knowledge-based activities rather than merely relying solely on past experience of the elders alone.

3. Interpersonal arguments should be limited to a very large extent especially when tensions are high, rather indigenes should seek for the intervention of a third party they in whom they both have confidence in to help sort out their grievances.

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THE CHURCH FOR WORLD PEACE AND JUSTICE: REFLECTIONS FROM WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES (WCC)

Benjamin J. POKOL, PhD
Gindiri Theological Seminary,
PMB 01001, Plateau State, Nigeria
benjaminpokol@rocketmail.com

ABSTRACT

This article focused on the role of the church as an ecumenical movement in building, promoting and sustaining justice and peace, leading to experience of just peace in the world. The motivation for the article emerged from the ever-increasing loss of justice and peace in our world of the 21st century resulting in the collapse of peace. The aim of the article is to quicken the churches around the world of the need to re-invigorate their effort toward rescuing creation from total annihilation from the threatening life-denying loss of just peace that is claiming the lives of both human and inhuman creation. This study concludes that while life-taking challenges overtake creation, churches around the world seem to fall away from their divine mandate to promote justice and peace in our world. It was recommended that the choice of World Council of Churches and other such organizations should continue with their traditional efforts in taming violence in our world. It was also recommended that churches should strive to promote justice and peace. This will ensure that human life is treated as if it was meant to be as the Creator intended.

Keywords: Church, Justice, Peace, World Council of Churches,

Introduction

The life-denying global crises, confusions, and experiences that have overtaken the human family are fed by human tendencies. These are reflected in the destruction of life and property, and untold hardships seen in growing rate of migrants and refugees across the globe. These unnatural events could be blamed on gross global loss of justice and just peace. The strongest justice voice that seems to be rising against these waves of crises emerges from the Ecumenical Movement and the World Council of Churches (hereafter WCC). Justice and peace are the cry and urgent need of the universe in the 21st Century. Peace and justice are dire need in every facet of human endeavour, cultural, economic, political, and ideological, religious, and cultural issues around gender inequality. In its frantic effort to promote justice in the world by calling for the will of God to be done in the lives of people. The WCC has been actively involved in putting in place several peace and justice programmes to promote justice and peace within the human family.

This frantic effort has been a helpful step though it has not been without its challenges both from within and without its organization and the member-churches. The International Ecumenical Peace Convocation held in Kingston in 2011 affirmed that "Churches must help in identifying the everyday choices that can end abuse and promote human rights, gender justice, climate justice, economic justice, unity and peace" (Hewitt, 2013: 43). There is a definite linkage between peace and justice. As Hewitt (2013) asked rhetorically, "How is there going to peace when there is no justice? Someone is taking more than their share, of the bounties of this land and that is not fair" (Hewitt, 2013: 108). In one of the key programmes the WCC and the Ecumenical Movement have produced over the years, this challenge has been dealt with continuously. This is because they pose a threat to justice and peace. It thus becomes necessary to investigate the role the church can play in ensuring world peace and justice.

Disorderliness in Current Civilization

It is pertinent that the WCC started with what the mission of God means for the human society, especially when confusion seems to overtake and deny people the experience of justice and peace. This programme was developed during the first Assembly of the WCC in Amsterdam, 1948, with the main aim of reassessing the essence and function of the gospel in addressing the realities which militate against justice and peace in the world. Because the programme aimed at emphasizing the gospel's realistic impact on the life of people in concrete contexts of injustice, Reinhold Niebuhr, with his Christian Realism approach, was highly influential in the development of the WCC's social thought (Niebuhr, 1948: 278). Two forms of political religions dominated the minds of the people at that time: morally cynical worship of force and morally sentimental and utopian hopes to establish anarchistic millennium by using revolutionary force to eliminate the need for force in a purely classless society (Niebuhr, 1948: 278), which the Western nations depended on but failed to achieve justice for all. In addition, the Christian faith, as practiced, had not solution to the problem of injustice because it was not translated and lived in concrete ways that the love of God would become experiential and effectual in confronting the forces of injustice.

The Christian faith ought to be such that help people to see that the love of God is lived to the extent that it would promote justice and peace within the society. The Christian faith was celebrated by the Western nations but injustice was also deeply entrenched in the manner they treated others unjustly. In this situation, Niebuhr (1948: 280) noted that

> the first task of the Christian Church was to interpret the sorrows and distresses, agonies and pains through which the world was passing and recognize the hand of God in them, and to see beyond the crises because there was a divine judgment upon the sins that were travails of the nations.
> But the Church could fulfil its concrete redemptive relation to the society only if

it fulfilled the conditions of contrite faith. From this background, the WCC programme called for a return to Christianity that reflected the justice, peace, and love of God in the society instead of relying on secular idealism and its false promises (Niebuhr, 1948: 282). Reliance

on secular idealism, secular law, and uncritical Christian legalism would not promote social justice; therefore, the Christian Church ought to strive more earnestly for the peace of the nations by translating the gospel to speak to the conditions of oppressors and the oppressed. The WCC realized that unless divine grace flowed into the hearts of women and men, they would not only fail to obey the law, but will also use it as an instrument for their own advantage (Niebuhr, 1948: 282-283).

The Responsible Society: World'sPerspective

The theme of this programme dominated the ecumenical social thought throughout the 1950s. The second Assembly of WCC at Evanston, 1954, affirmed that the Christian Social responsibility was centred on the mighty acts of the creator who created the world were embraced within his eternal purpose centred on justice and peace (WCC, 1954: 282).

In view of the above, the first assembly of the WCC at Amsterdam coined the term 'Responsible Society'. By 'responsible society', it meant a society "where freedom was the freedom of men [and women] who acknowledge responsibility to justice and public order and where those who hold political authority and economic power are responsible for its exercise to, and the people whose welfare is affected by it" (1954: 283). Responsible society was not an alternative social or political system, but a criterion by which we judge all existing social orders and at the same time a standard to guide us in the specific choices we have to make (WCC, 1954: 283). Justice cannot exist where few people abuse social and political power by denying the majority their socio-economic and political freedom. The WCC sees the Churches as vanguards of God's justice and peace until these are fully realized by all human beings without conditions.

This report encouraged the exercise of justice at all levels of society: families, work places, young peoples' teams, tribal groups and associations, and Christian congregations (1954: 284). Concerning the function and structure of the state, the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, in 1937 gave the following functions of the state with regard to justice: 1) Since God is the source of justice, the state is not the ultimate

source of justice, but rather, its guarantor. It is the servant of justice; God is the ultimate source of justice, 2) True justice is dynamic and its forms must vary to meet changing needs. Those who seek it should be made sensitive by love to discover such needs where they have been neglected, 3) Justice requires the development of political institutions which are humane as they touch the lives of people, against wrong use of power, 4) No one form of government has a universal claim on Christians, but any political system must include some elements without which it tends to become oppressive tyranny, 5) By this, Christians should work by active participation in political affairs, 6)

Christians should work for the embodiment of the responsible society in political institutions by emphasizing justice for all (WCC, 1954: 285). Concerning problems that have bedevilled the Economic Life and social policies, thereby fostering life-denying injustice in the world, the report affirmed that the Church is concerned about God's concern for human beings who work to produce goods and services, who use them, and for whom businesses exit. Churches are to stand wherever justice is lacking The Church is not under obligation to uncritically support any particular country, but should be critical of every economic exploitation and marginalization. Other areas where Christian concerns for social justice make the Churches uneasy about the status quo include: Warnings in the Bible about the dangers to the rich man, which Churches ought to use in challenging practices of injustice, biblical call for efficient production as well as fair distribution of resources, the need for identifying with the weak in the society, the need to call on trade unions to be objective and responsible to the needs of society, and the need to remind those in political power to make policies that are life-giving for all citizens in the society (WCC, 1954: 287).

Development   of Justice in Ecumenical Discussion

The first major World Conferences of the Ecumenical Movement were entirely under the influence of the majority Churches (Western Missionary Churches) (Duchrow, 2002: 629). They focused on the conflict of understanding the concept of the kingdom of God in relation to history. The first World Missionary Conference at Edinburg (1910) had

understood 'kingdom of God' as "Christianizing of the world (educating people into the ways of Western Civilization).

In Stockholm Conference of "Life and Work" (1925), the German and English positions on the kingdom of God clashed: To the German Bishop (Ludwig), on the one hand, the kingdom of God was supra-mundane, having to do with human hearts and that it penetrated the community only when it was a Christian community; and not completely because of sin. On the other hand, the English Bishop (F.T Woods) spoke of "setting the kingdom of God on earth" (Duchrow, 2002: 629). However, Stockholm (1925) defined the aim of the conference as "united in practical action in Christian Life and Work" (Duchrow, 2002: 629). All this while, the conference was making effort towards how the kingdom of God could address real issues of social justice in the real world in dire need of justice.

The second World Missionary Conference (1928) in Jerusalem gave more practical shape to the understanding of kingdom of God. This time the conference rejected in principle the worship of money, calling it 'the religion of capitalistic society' (Duchrow, 2002: 629). At this time, it was made clear that the object of mission was not merely to shape the life of individual Christians and Christian communities but also social and political life of society as Jesus intended and did. Following the above tentative attempts to mobilize the biblical perspective of the kingdom of God against modem secularism and structures of exploitation in the economic systems and colonialism, the 1937 Oxford Life and Work Conference on "Church, Community and State", reverted to the Medieval Reformation majority Church Model of "Taming Power" by participating in it, which laid the foundation for ecumenical social ethics until 1966 to 1968 (Duchrow, 2002: 629-630).

The great world economic crisis and the rise of fascist totalitarian states constituted the background to this "Christian realism" behind which stood theologians like Reinhold Niebuhr, J.H Oldham, and Emil Brunner. Between the line taken by kingdom of God theology (Transformation of the worldly orders and resistance on the basis of an alternative Christian Society) and resigned accommodation

to the worldly orders in privatized piety, the majority at Oxford supported critical but constructive approach which was intended to contribute to relative justice on the basis of natural law or moral law (Duchrow, 2002: 629-630).

The World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva (1966) and Uppsala (1968) represent the beginning of a new period in search of justice in the life of the ecumenical movement informed by increased participation from the Churches of Africa and Latin America; shifting from its orientation from the top (seeking to influence power holders) to a perspective more from below (participating in the actual struggles of the oppressed in their imitation of the Suffering Messiah). Methods also changed to models of contextual p a r t i c i p a t i o n and reflection towards struggles which expressed the transcendence of the kingdom of God (Dachrow, 2002: 630).

Programme to Combat Racism

Racism has been one of the heinous weapons militating against social justice and peace within the human family. Hugh McCullum (2004: 346) argues that "the Ecumenical Movement has accepted that human beings are made for community, which is a human characteristic". In this programme, the Churches were blamed for joining forces of oppression when they should have been forces of liberation; Member-Churches were, therefore, encouraged to emphasize the liberating elements of their faith (Mudge, 2004: 346). The WCC's 1969 Central Committee at Canterbury, UK, took steps to establish the programme to combat racism (PCR) (Mudge, 2004: 286). This was planned to become ecumenism' most controversial foray into material solidarity with the oppressed. The emphasis fell on white racism and racist character of the white wealth and power. This programme focused on checking racism in government and private sectors, and how the Church contributes to it. Churches were called to support organizations representing the racially oppressed and those supporting victims of racism in order to promote justice and peace (Mudge, 2004: 286-287). Other programmes emerging from this committee included "the future of man [and woman] and the society in a world of science-Based Technology",

and "violence and non-violence and the struggle for social justice" (Mudge, 2004: 287). All of these programmes focused on search for justice and humane treatment of one another in the world.

Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation

This programme was developed to engage ecumenical member-churches in a conciliar process of mutual commitment to justice, peace and the integrity of creation as a priority for world council programmes. It was originally intended for the WCC but its Vancouver assembly (1983) later extended it to non-member churches. Vancouver was responding to a situation of crisis outlined in the assembly statement on peace and justice: "Humanity is now living in the dark shadows of an arms race more intense and of systems of injustice more widespread than the world ever known (Duchrow, 2002: 631). The programme outlined the responsibility of the Churches in this situation to include: confessing faith anew and repenting for their past silence, biblical vision was regarded as not being one of the many options for Christians but an imperative for the times. Christians were to resist the powers of death in racism, sexism, caste oppression, economic exploitation, militarism, violation of human rights, and misuse of science and technology (Ducrow, 2002: 632).

The Vancouver assembly touched off a worldwide JPIC process because many national, regional, and confessional ecumenical initiatives contributed to the richness of JPIC and the preparations for the World Convocation. The World Convocation that took place in Seoul Korea (1990) saw an important road towards common pronouncements and actions on the urgent questions of human survival. The convocation put forward some affirmations and recommendations for the Churches: regarding the exercise of power as accountable to God, God's option for the poor, equal value of all races and peoples, male and female created in the image of God, truth is at the foundation of a community of free people, modelling the peace of Jesus, creation as beloved of God, the earth as the Lord's, the dignity and commitment of younger generation, and human rights as given by God (Duchrow, 2002: 632).

The WCC Seoul Convocation (1990) on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation (JPIC) was intended to help build stronger conciliar fellowship in the ecumenical committee around the shared moral principles (Mudge, 2004: 301). However, in the preparatory process, some Member-Churches saw "conciliar process" as implying ecclesiological commitment which they were unprepared to make. The Roman Catholic Church withdrew its agreement and sponsorship in the convocation. This shows that not all was smooth in the WCC in search of justice and peace because there were divided opinions of certain matters.

Legacy of Ecumenical Social Thought

Mudge (2004: 279) notes that ecumenical social thought needs to be construed in two ways: institutionally and theologically. Institutionally, ecumenical social thought refers to thinking about social implications of the Christian faith carried on by the various administrative and official gatherings of ecumenical bodies. Theologically, ecumenical social thought wrestles with challenges of achieving the Oikoumene (whole inhabited earth, world) as a global household of life for all human beings living under the reign of the creator (Mudge, 2004: 279). This new understanding called for a central motif: a discovery of the Church's relationship to God's creative and redemptive work throughout creation, a rediscovery occasioned by deeper encounter with secular liberation struggles and with people of other faiths (Kinnamon cited in Mudge, 2004: 280).

Understanding the ecumenical social thought of 1968 depended on making reference to the seminal contributions of the 1966 Geneva 'Church and Society'. The 1966 gathering marked an effort to understand the revolutionary realities which shaped the modern world economically, politically, technologically and scientifically (Mudge, 2004: 281). Grappling with these issues raised theological and social questions which dominated the years since 1968. Paul Albrecht (cited in Mudge, 2004: 281) argues that "Geneva 1966 questioned the nature of Christian responsibility for world economic and social development. How do Churches understand revolutionary social transformation? How do Churches with

different moral traditions and contemporary attitudes cooperate in facing such questions? What mode of cooperation existed between the Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement? Therefore, Geneva Conference criticized the concept of "Responsible Society". With the differences of ideologies confronting the process and development of the ecumenical social thought, the possibility of substantial Christian Social Witness was weakened on the global scale (Mudge, 2004: 281). However, the process continued even in situations where opposing points seemed to make real encounter impossible. This is where the WCC and the Ecumenical bodies deserve commendations.

Uppsala Assembly

As an heir to the legacy, the WCC Uppsala assembly met at a time of tumultuous events because the events of the time set the agenda of the assembly (Mudge, 2004:282). Preparations for this assembly took place at the height of social optimism symbolized by civil-rights movement and the "Prague Springtime". Despite all the ambiguities of the time, things were still possible with even an application for the WCC membership from the Roman Catholic Church (Mudge, 2004: 282). Social issues raised at the assembly included: The Spirit and the Catholicity of the Church, which reaffirmed the determination of the Church not to compromise in the face of the prevailing situations, and secondly, World Economic and Development, where the fair and common use of the resources of creation was emphasized (Mudge, 2004: 283). The Church was encouraged to be bold in speaking of itself as the sign of the coming unity of humankind. Uppsala marked the surfacing of a new perspective where the WCC began to make commitments to various actions intended to be in solidarity with the victims of oppression by promoting justice for all.

Towards a Church for the poor

At Nairobi (1975), recapitulation and new emphases were made especially on the Uppsala concerning issues of faith, science and technology, militarism and disarmament, ecology and human survival, and the role of women in the Church and society (Mudge, 2004: 290). Nairobi assembly marked a growing liberation perspective on many aspects of WCC

social thought and actions. Philip Potter, who was one-time WCC General Secretary emerged as key voice in the transition from older to newer paradigms of ecumenical social thought (Mudge, 2004:290). This time also saw the development of moving away from the Western paradigms towards participatory postures that listened to other voices.

Programmes that were focused on and consolidated here were "Towards a Church of the poor", towards a "Just, Participatory and Sustainable Society' (JPSS), and towards a coming on "Faith, Science and the Future" (Mudge, 2004: 290). Towards a Church of the poor was undertaken to produce documents to explore the relationships between the poor and the organized Church in the medieval periods. The idea of towards the Church of the poor was for the Church to identify with the poor, encourage preferential option for the poor, and identification and solidarity with the poor as means of promoting justice in the oppressive world (Mudge, 2004: 291).

Militarism, Disarmament and Peace

Nairobi, like all other WCC assemblies, did recognize the concern about global militarism, noting connection between perceived and real economic injustice and the resort to warfare. The programme met with opposing ideas between the Just-War theorists and the Pacifists, making it difficult and contentious (Mudge, 2004: 294). A committee was set up to deliberate the contention, which led to the production of a document: "Before it is too late: The challenge of Nuclear Disarmament". The final outcome was that the production, development, and use of nuclear weapons were a crime against humanity and must be condemned on ethical and theological grounds (Mudge, 2004: 295). One could also see more complications that keep posing challenges to the WCC's noble task of searching for peace in our world today when it comes to the relationship between justice and peace. For instance, are there no instances when the use of weapons could help in fighting evil to give way to peace? Could WCC's desire and good strategies stop the influx of evil in the world? But on the other hand, if weapons are used as a means to restoring peace in the world, would that be "just-peace"?

Community of men and women

Since 1948, the position of women in the Church has been a concern to the ecumenical social concern. A department on the cooperation between men and women in the Church was established in 1954 and 1974 sponsored by the WCC's desk (Mudge, 2004: 296). Feminist theologians critiqued patriarchy and expressed anger at gender injustice against women. Therefore, in 1988, the WCC launched an ecumenical decade of Solidarity with Women, and concluded with a presentation at the eight assembly in Harare in 1998 (Mudge, 2004: 296).

The sixth assembly (1983) saw only one theme dominating: "The Confession of Jesus as the life of the world and Christian resistance to the powers of death are one and the same thing" (Mudge, 2004: 296). The seventh assembly in Canberra (1991) saw the replacement of East-West replaced by North-South perspective. This assembly also marked as a season of great debate in ecumenical social ethics, especially over the paradigms used. What was called 'South' began to project its own perspectives and positions in a manner determined to be "non-aligned" politically, economically and theologically (Mudge, 2004: 304). This combined with the need to appropriate the learning of Seoul, led to 1992 a reorganization of WCC's Unit iii under the name "Justice, Peace and Creation".

The destructiveness of modem warfare and inequalities of modem economic life had led to a new kind of theological reflection on traditional "Life and Work" issues. WCC's Geneva Conference marked a new start, a reorientation of the "Life and Work" tradition; so the WCC and the Catholic Church jointly set up a committee on "Society, Development and Peace" (SODEPAX), to give advice on matters of social justice (Lodberg, 2004:323).

Telling the Truth about Ourselves and Our World: Decade to Overcome Violence (DOV)

The article, Telling the Truth about Ourselves and Our World: Decade to Overcome Violence (DOV), shows how the WCC has declared a decade to overcome violence (Chunakara, 2013: ix) during the International Ecumenical Peace Convocation (IEPC) held

in Kingston Jamaica in 2011. This was a remarkable and historic ecumenical event and the biggest since the ninth World Council of Churches (WCC) Assembly in 2006. It was inspired by the experiences of the churches around the world and their commitment to justice and peace. More than one thousand participants at the IEPC were nourished and enriched by a renewed theological, moral and spiritual incitement to unite in the call to build a culture of justice and peace in the world. Nurturing peace involves developing and nurturing positive attitudes toward fullness of life, inspired by the ethos of justice. The IEPC made every effort to lift up the spirit of justice and peace (Chunakara, 2013: vii).

This WCC programme was launched in 2001 in Berlin, Germany; in the hope that: "[Churches] come together from the four comers of the earth, aware of the urgent need to overcome violence that has pervaded [human lives], the world and the whole created order. The programme was launched in response to peoples' deep yearning for the restoration of justice and building lasting peace grounded in justice (Telling the truth, 2009: 8). The WCC set up this programme calling on individual Churches and movements to work together in promoting justice and building peace in the world. Churches have called one another to an International Day of Prayer for peace and justice on 21st September of every year, visiting different countries to listen, learn, and share approaches and challenges in overcoming violence and in peace-making in the world.

Gender Justice and Gender Equality

Equality means equal rights, obligations, and opportunities for women and men in all important areas of life. That is, women and men should have the same power to shape society and their own lives (2012: 6). The Church of Sweden advocates for gender justice where men and women have the same rights and the same value. Equality means that women and men have the same opportunities, rights perspectives. Justice remains elusive once gender injustice reigns between women and men (2012: 6)."To the Church, it is about asserting and defending every individuals' unalienable value and rights, as God's loved children, as images of God ... the Church maintains that a Church of equality and

inclusiveness is the only Church that can be a community open to all, relevant to its times and offering scope for many voices and perspectives to play a part in interpreting faith tradition" (2012: 6-7).

Lessons from fifty years of Ecumenical Work for Economic and Social Justice

According to Paul Albrecht (nd), "From Oxford to Vancouver", this document focused on economic and social justice which the ecumenical movement has been critical of (Albrecht, nd: 148). The document further reveals that the ecumenical social concern could be classified into the following periods: 1) The ecumenical social justice and peace (Pre-WCC period, 1925-1938), 2) First WCC formulation of political and economic policies (1948-1961), 3) A time of review (1962-1968), and 4) The period of liberation ecumenism (1969-1987) (Albrecht, nd: 148). These series of activities attest that WCC has never relaxed from search for peace and justice right from inception.

Ecumenical Chronicle Life, Justice, and Peace for All: A Call to action

This programme was mainly based on economic justice. It is a call to action necessitated by people and the earth being in peril due to overconsumption of some, growing inequalities as shown in the persistent poverty of many in contrast to the extravagant wealth of a few (2012:590). The WCC makes a case that the global community life would end if the sins of the egotism, callous disregard for, and greed, which lie at the root of these crises are not addressed (2012: 590). With a sense of urgency this dialogue is brought to the Churches as a call for action; born of a profound hope and belief that "an economy of life is not only possible, it is in the making, and God's justice lies at its very foundation" (2012: 590). This dialogue addresses the destructive economic variance between the global North and the global South because it fosters economic injustice.

Conclusion

Justice and peace have occupied pride of place within the ministry of the wcc right from inception. Issues of justice have centred on economic, political, gender, and environmental justice. Although the wcc has had its share of internal and external threats and challenges, it

has never given up on the search for justice and peace in the world. wee has produced series of holistic programmes at various periods of its existence to promote social justice within the society; but search for just peace remains a war to live with because of the ever-emerging issues that constitute threats to human unity and wellbeing as the world becomes more and more a global village. The entire ecumenical movement and the wee deserve commendation because of their resilience and commitment to the search for justice and peace in a world that seems to lose taste and respect for community and life-giving relationship. It must be pointed out that the Week's programmes for the promotion of just peace are and have been an up-hill task because the parameters and scope of this tasks look like an impossible task. For instance, its decade to overcome violence was the decade when violence started claiming thousands of lives across the globe.

The global socio-economic and political threats are also there, but wee has been resolute and firmed in its mission, which is commendable. To facilitate this search for global justice and peace, the wee   member-churches may need to transcend their individual traditions and ideologies that tend to frustrate common effort towards facilitating just peace. It is, therefore, highly recommended that ecumenical movement and the wee   should keep their resilience on building, promoting and sustaining justice and peace in the world in keeping with the creator's mandate to humanity for a peaceful society to thrive.

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AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF INCESSANT INDUSTRIAL ACTION BY MEMBERS OF ACADEMIC STAFF UNION OF UNIVERSITIES (ASUU) ON STUDENTS OF FEDERAL UNIVERSITY, LOKOJA

Idris M. JAPA

Department of Peace Studies & Conflict Resolution
National Open University of Nigeria, Abuja
idrisjapa007@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) is always in the news for prolonged industrial action. This ugly experience has generated a lot of concern among most Nigerians especially stakeholders in the educational sectors. During these periods, there were usually unbridled animosity, frustration and anxiety among some Nigerians especially students, parents, politician, among others. Since the formation of ASUU in 1978, it has been in a long drown battle with the government to respect the demands of the Union. It is the objective of this paper therefore to trace the genesis of the ASUU struggle; conceptual clarification, the aims of the formation of ASUU and theories in which the paper was anchored were discussed. The paper highlighted the demands of ASUU, x-rays the impact of ASUU strike on Federal University of Lokoja. Disruption of academic programmes, delay in graduation and call up for the National Youth Service Scheme are some of such effects. The paper finally handed down some recommendations such as; the federal government to honour any agreement reached and students to cultivate the habit of studying at home in times of strike.

Keywords: Impact, Industrial Conflict, Trade Disputes, Collective bargaining, Agreement.

Introduction

The Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) grew out of the Nigerian Association of University Teachers (NAUT). The NAUT was formed in 1965, covering academic staff in the University of Ibadan, University of Lagos, University of Nigeria, Nsuka, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and University of Ife. The NAUT orientation was mainly for improvement in the condition of service, the socio-economic and political well-being of the country. (ASUU National Secretariat, 2014). NAUT hardly even took any noteworthy position on national issues. Ideologically, it seemed to be a middle-class fraternity with viewpoints not too divergent from those of the post-colonial state. On the few occasions that it issued public statements, they tended to be conservative and sympathetic to the regime.

To understand why NAUT became unsuitable for the development of the University system in Nigeria, its useful to understand that the development of the university system was a function of the movement of the socio political and economic direction of the country Toyo (1990) puts it succinctly when he places the ASUU struggle on the roots and the bad faith of primitive bureaucracy and crude militarism.

ASUU was formed in 1978, the period of the beginning of the decline in the oil boom, when the country faced the consequences of the failure by its rulers to use oil wealth to generate production and social welfare system. Military dictatorship had eroded deeply the basic freedoms in the society. Academic freedom and university autonomy were causalities of military dictatorship. The funding of education, and so of universities, became poorer. The factors required a changed orientation of the union of academics, from 1980. ASUU orientation became radical; more concerned with broad national issues, and stood firmly against oppressive, undemocratic policies of the country. Assault on academic freedom was subject of resistance by ASUU throughout freedom was the subject of resistance by ASUU throughout the 1980s. Throughout the military period ASUU waged its struggles around:

a. the survival of the university system with three components, the conditions of service (salary and non-salary, funding and university autonomy/academic freedom, the defence of the right to education.

b. broad national issues such as antimilitary struggles, the struggle against military rule, the struggle against privatization, against structural adjustment programme (SAP) and the World Bank's attempt to take over universities (Ajayi, 2014).

The military government responded to ASUU's opposition of its polities by arresting, detaining, and out rightly sacking some lecturers especially the leaders of the union. In spite of all these ASUU did not change its position and instead, begun to strengthen its relationship with the civil society organizations. At some point ASUU was proscribed and the lecturer came up with University Lecturers Association, even though the government made pronouncements of not recognizing the University Lecturers Association, activities of University Lecturers Association went on unabated underground until ASUU was de-proscribed. Regime after regime in Nigeria, ASUU has had rough times with them over its demands for better condition of services for its members. ASUU struggles have lived up to the Union's conventional requirement that the Union should defend the interests of its members, establish and maintain just and proper conditions of service for its members, the protection and advancement of the socio-economic interest of the nation. It is not the goal of ASUU to please any government in power, it is her historical mission to play the role of creating new values, producing knowledge for freeing the people of Nigeria from the systematic domination to where the people have been subjected since slavery through colonization to the present. (ASUU, 2010)

> ASUU struggles arose out of the necessity to build a country in which every citizen shall be free, educated, well-fed, and healthy. We cannot abandon those struggles and yet be worthy of being called intellectuals. The struggles usually call for sacrifice. We have made them and should be ready to continue to make them. Emigration is not a good alternative given our mission. We should not abandon what has been built with the blood and sweat of our people to agents of domination and oppression of African and other peoples.

We must not abandon our people, the oppressed, and the under privileged.
This is where we stand. This is where we ought to stand. (ASUU, 2010).

Conceptual Analysis

Industrial Conflicts

The human society is full of conflicts. Conflicts arise as a result of disagreement between two antagonizing parties. With reference to the industrial society, industrial conflict is the inability of parties to an employment relation (employers and employees represented by their unions) to reach agreement on any issue connected with object of employer – employee interaction (Wokoma, 2011). Industrial conflicts could also be seen as a breakdown of cordial relationship between labour and management. Industrial conflict is thus, the result of an unpalatable, imbalanced and antagonistic relationship and interaction between and among parties involved in industrial relations. The import of this is that industrial conflict is expressed of not-so-good and hostile relationship between and among industrial relations parties.

Many discussions on industrial conflicts refer to strikes. Strikes are the most over form of industrial conflicts. Fajana (2000) therefore defines strikes as a temporary cessation of work efforts by employees in the pursuance of a demand. Strikes have become a significant approach toward expressing workplace grievances. Adeogun (1980) remarked that strike is all about "grievances, actual or imagined, arising from industrial life.

Trade Dispute

Generally, the intention of parties in an employment relationship is to have a continuing relationship. However, labour and industrial relations are vulnerable to changing, sometimes divergent interests, which could engender conflicts. Industrial conflicts arise in the workplace, since the interests of management and labour do not always coincide. These conflicts may or may not lead to industrial actions. Inability of the parties to resolve an emerging conflict may eventually result into a trade dispute, which itself could precipitate an industrial action (Orifowomo and Ashiru, 2015). Section 540 of the National Industrial Court Act (NICA) defines trade dispute to mean any dispute between employer and employees including dispute between their respective organization and federations which is connected with:

a.   the employment or non-employment of any person,

b.   terms of employment and physical conditions of work of any person,

c.   the conclusion or vacation of a collective agreement, and

d.   an alleged dispute

Collective Bargaining

Collective bargaining is a means of regulating relations between management and employees and for settling disputes between them (Khabo, 2008). It is based upon the realization that employers enjoy greater social and economic power than individual workers. The contract of employment is by nature imbalanced due to the fact that its content is largely determined by the employer by virtue of him owning the means of production and this places him in a stronger bargaining position.

Collective bargaining has a great potential for minimizing conflicts, and redressing confrontational attitudes and acrimony inherently associated with the employment relations, thereby promoting industrial peace and ultimately economic growth. On its own, it can serve as a mechanism for labour dispute resolution of labour dispute in collective bargaining agreements. One of the virtues of collective bargaining is that disputes are solved at source, a factor that does not leave the bitterness associated with such adversarial processes of dispute resolution as adjudication.

Collective Bargaining Agreement

A collective bargaining agreement (CBA) is a written legal contract between an employer and a union representing the employees. The CBA is the result of an extensive negotiation process between the parties regarding topics such as wages, hours, and terms and conditions of employment (SHRM).

There are three different categories of subjects that are part of a CBA: Mandatory, voluntary or permissive and illegal subjects. Mandatory subjects are those topics required by law and the National Labour Relations Board. Those subjects include items like wages, overtime, bonuses, grievances procedures, safety and work practices, and seniority, as well as

314

procedures for discharge, layoff, recall, or discipline. Voluntary or permissive subjects maybe negotiated but are not required and include topics such as internal union matters and the make-up of the employer's board directors. Illegal subjects that would violate a law are prohibited, such as closed shops (when an employer will hire only members from a union) or illegal discrimination.

It is important to note that once a CBA is reached, both the employer and the union are required to abide by that agreement. Therefore, an employer should retain legal counsel before participating in the collective bargaining process.

Theoretical Framework

This study is anchored on two theories – Unitary theory and Marxian (Conflict) theory.

Unitary Theory

This theory identifies an organization as comprising of groups of individuals who have and share some goals, and work as members of one team. The unitary view recognizes an organization as one big happy family. Unitarists view the enterprise as a unitary system with one source of authority – management, and one focus of loyalty-labour (Armstrong, 2009). Unitary framework extols the virtue of teamwork, where everyone strives jointly to a common objective, everyone pulls their weight to the best of their ability, and everyone accepts their place and function gladly (Armstrong, 2007). The unitary view sees conflict as a bad thing which should not exist because it served as a constraint towards the achievement of mutual objectives of both management and labour. However, unitarism has been criticized as being essentially autocratic and authoritarian. It also does not recognize the fact that an organization is made up of individuals and groups with divergent and often conflicting internal.

Marxian (Conflict) theory

In view of the inherent weakness of the unitary theory in recognizing that an organization consists of people who often conflicting interests, the Marxists theorized that conflict is an inherent characteristic of the society. This view of Industrial Relations looks at the nature of the capitalist between labour and capital, and sees workplace relations against this background.

The conflict theory is embedded in works and ideas of Karl Marx. This theory explains that conflict is inevitable and stems from inequalities of power and economic wealth inherent in a capitalist economy. In Marxian analysis, conflict is attributed to an enduring power struggle between workers and their employers over the control of various aspects of work (Fashoyin, 2007) identifying the causes of workplace conflict, Fashoyin (2007) further submits that inequality in the distribution of the proceeds of industry, job-security of the worker, and poor management control strategies breed grievances which lead to conflict. Here, conflict is seen as inevitable, and trade unions are a natural response of workers to their exploitation by capitalists, since it is rather difficult and dangerous for workers individually express their grievances to management. Conflict theorists posit that there may be periods of acquiescence in this conflicting relationship. However, the institutions of joint regulations are believed to enhance rather than limit management's position as they presume the continuation of capitalism rather than challenge it (Wokoman & Chiemela, 2011)

This theory (Marxian Conflict) is of much relevance in explaining industrial relations in Nigeria. Observably, industrial relations in Nigeria are largely imbalanced and antagonistic between the parties involved, often in favour of capital. The employer is wielding so much power at the expense and exploitation of the work. Thus, in response to such exploitative tendencies, conflicts result, conflicts over processes of work relations and control. With regards to wages, while the capitalist endeavour to purchase labour at the lowest price possible, the wage worker on the other hand, tries to sell at the highest possible price in order to ensure his existence (Fajana, 2000).

The unitary theory identifies an organization as comprising of individuals which ASUU is. The Marxian (conflict) theory talks of conflict being inevitable in human society because of inequalities of power and economic wealth inherent in a capitalist society; this the Nigerian society represents. The two theories are very relevant to the topic of discourse.

Objectives of ASUU

The objectives of ASUU are contained in the Rule '2' of the constitution of ASUU. Its principal objectives are as follows:

1.   To organize all academic staff who are qualified for membership.

2.   To regulate the relationship between academic staff and employers and between members.

3.   To establish and maintain a high standard of academic performance and professional practice.

4.   To establish and maintain a just and proper conditions of service for its members.

5.   To advance the education and training of its members.

6.   To provide benefits and other assistance to its members.

7.   To encourage the participation of its members in the affairs of the University system of a nation.

8.   To protect and advance the socio-economic and cultural interests of the nation and

9.   To pursue such other objectives that are lawful and are not inconsistent with the spirit and practice of trade unionism (ASUU constitution, 1978 as amended in 1984).

Source: Sanchi, Alhassan, Ekeuna, Asamu and Sabo (2022).

Causes of ASUU Strike

ASUU Strike in Nigerian Universities have become problematic that parents and students are divided in their opinion on who is responsible for these lingering crises. While some view government nonchalant attitude and lack of commitment to the welfare of education sector as the cause, others blame ASUU on their radicalism, confrontational approach and insatiable demand. Apart from the sentiments being expressed by people, not so much effort in the form of research has been extended towards this industrial crisis. Fashoyin (2009) noted that despite their significance, strike in Nigeria has hardly received serious attention in industrial relation research. However, in Nigeria, professionals resorted to strike as a weapon in industrial relation in the 70s. The reason for this according to Anoneba (2015), is the social scientists

showed no interest in professional unionism because until very recently, trade unionism was regarded as a working-class phenomenon and generally thought to be inconsistent with the ethic and status of professional employees. Uzoechkwu, Anierobi and Ezennaka (2021) observe that what caused ASUU strike right from the formation of ASUU in 1978 are still the same issues responsible for the strike of 2022. It shows how the attitude of government towards tertiary education in Nigeria remain myopic, insensitive and inhuman. They pointed out that the previous ASUU strike of 1978 was as a result erosion of university authority, visitation of academic freedom, poor condition of service, poor salary structure, under funding of the universities, lack of infrastructural facilities and delay in the payment of elongated salary structure.

Wahab (2018) also observed that ASUU and government are always in conflict over funding of the Nigerian Universities, university autonomy and improved working conditions among others. Wahab further posited that each time the two parties come to dialogue in order to settle the disagreement; it would always end up in empty, vain and unfulfilled promise by the government. Presently, the government is still bent on interfering on the autonomy of the Universities through the introduction of Integrated Payroll Personnel Information System (IPPIS) (2017) observed that most of our citizens are rushing to Ghana, most Universities there are public universities.

In summary, the crux of the matter according to Sanchi et al (2022) centres on ASUU trying to protect its interest, as well as upgrade Nigerian Universities in all ramifications for competitive advantage.

Impact of ASUU strike on Federal University, Lokoja

Federal University was established along with other eight new Federal Universities on the 16th February, 2011 following a pronouncement by former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. The University is sited in Lokoja, the capital city of Kogi State of Nigeria, in the North Central Political Zone.

As the current ASUU strike of 2022 is affecting other Universities, Federal University, Lokoja is not left out of such impact. The effects of the long-term strike action on Nigerian students and the education sector cannot be overemphasized (Ajayi, 2014) Disruptions in academic programmes serves as non-motivational factor to the students. It is not surprising therefore that during strike actions, most students are seen involved in diverse activities such as sexual immorality, cyber scam, pool belting, unnecessary gossips, watching of films etc. In long term they soon forget about academics and are no longer prepared for class activities which negatively affect their learning capabilities. Chand (2016) concluded that an effective learning or an enhanced academic performance is achieved of the course outline timely and before examination. This is rarely achieved with strike action in place.

Due to the time wasted, students get rushed through the curriculum without attention being paid to whether concepts taught are understood or not. This leads to a drop in academic performance and low motivation towards excellence. Presently students of Federal University, Lokoja experience delays in their graduation time and time for the National Youth Service assignment. Some spent 7 years studying a course which ordinarily should have been 4 years. Cybercrime, drug addiction, gambling, cultism and other undesirable acts have been on the rise since students have been at home. Students have been arrested at different times of different crimes; this was as a result idleness of the students (Wahab, 2018).

Disruption of academic activities has been seen as causes of depression, psychological and emotional trauma, fear of not knowing what next, and other psychological problems in students. This may lead to low self-esteem when they see their counterpart in private universities graduating and moving on with their lives while they are in one class for two or three years. A lot of students have lost belief in education and the education sector as a result of the long-term strike action. Those of them, who have engaged in money-making ventures, are no longer keen in returning back to classroom (Sanchi et al, 2022). This shows that extent the young generation has lost belief in the educational system.

Some parents who have provided the basic amenities for their children on campus will go through the stress of re-providing, as most students have consumed their resources, while the perishable ones will have been lost as a result of the long strike. The situation we are witnessing in Nigerian Universities has resulted in the churning out of half -baked graduates into the labour market. These half-baked produced cannot live up to expectation in their various chosen professions. This is as a result of poor learning necessitated by poor services from aggrieved lecturers.

Financial loss to the universities is another angle to it. When the universities are shot down due to strike the universities still run and pay for services such as power and water supply, as well as running and maintenance of vehicles. On estimate of the internal and external losses to the Nigerian Universities system for one month of total strike involving all the unions is in the neigbourhood of billions of naira (Ajayi, 2015). Finally, top-rated universities desirous of staff and students exchange will prefer to partner with universities that maintain stable academic calendar in other parts of Africa.

Conclusion

ASUU strikes have placed limitations on student's aspiration, to complete their course of study in good time apart from the fact that the strikes elongate the study duration of university students. The performance of students in academics activities are hampered, so much so that good and brilliant students end up graduating with poor grades. Government education policies and the associated inactions and the strike embarked upon by members of the Academic Staff Union of Universities have contributed to the poor academic performance of the University students in Nigeria.

The avoidable conflict between the government and ASUU must not be allowed to jeopardize the academic and future of Nigerian students. Education in Nigeria must be given its pride of place; the government must strive hard to meet United Nation's Minimum standard. Nigerians Universities cannot be locked up permanently and think ASUU and government will move about comfortably.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are hereby put forward to address incessant ASUU strikes in Nigerian public universities.

i. Government has to learn to keep to bargains and meet up with their obligations; they should not wait to be reminded. ASUU has been drawing their attention to outstanding in terms of allowances.

ii. Instead of opening more universities, government should invest more in already existing universities and ensure they have enabling environment for academic pursuit.

iii. Implementation of the reached agreement between ASUU and Federal Government in 2009 among other recommendations above all, indeed, go a long way in solving the persistent impasse that often result in ASUU strikes in Nigeria.

iv. The Federal and State governments should work in partnership with ASUU aggressively and assiduously at all levels in making sure that the lingering crises in universities, violation of rights of the academics are addressed.

v. If the Federal government cannot implement UNESCO recommended 26% of any country's annual budget, it should be close to it to avoid unnecessary bickering on non-provision of infrastructural facilities in our ivory towers.

vi. There should be reduction of bureaucracies to enhance effective personal communication between ASUU officials and government bodies.

vii. Students should cultivate the habit of study at home during strikes, this will help to improve their performance when strike is suspended or call off.

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