

# PHILOSOPHY AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA:

*Proceedings of the International Conference of the Association for the  
Promotion of African Studies on African Ideologies, Human Security  
and Peace Building, 10<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> June 2020*

## **Editors**

Ikechukwu Anthony KANU  
Ejikemeuwa J. O. NDUBISI

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## DEDICATION

To Him who was the foremost Grand Patron of the Association  
for the Promotion African Studies

*Late Sir Emmanuel N. Kanu KSJ*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The first law of life is unarguably the law on security of life. It is only when life is secured that other things can follow. Something cannot be built on nothing. There must always be a basis for whatever is. For any society to be said to have been developed or be developing, there must be conducive environment engendered by security of life and property. The concrete manifestation of any being (in this instance, human beings) is life. Meaningfulness or meaninglessness in life is highly dependent on how life is secured or not. The metaphysics of life is that that which is, has existence; and that which has existence, especially in concrete terms, is said to have life (force). In this sense, life concretizes human existence.

However, experience has shown that human life has been greatly threatened in the recent times especially in Africa. There are instances of incessant killings and destruction of properties. Human life appears no longer to be sacred. Almost everything has turned upside down. It appears the human person has lost his rationality or that the human reason has gone on vacation. This book is geared towards reawakening the consciousness of the human person, especially the African, about the sacredness of human life and the necessity of peace. It is undeniable the fact that conflict is a natural phenomenon. Yes, conflict is part of nature but we must not remain in conflict. As rational beings, we have to tow the path of conflict resolution; we have to always find a way to make a redress.

Conflict is a natural phenomenon; but it is better to reconcile and be at peace than to constantly engage in conflict. It is better to train for peace than to train for war. Our authentic existence, as human beings, is not in generation of conflict, but in peaceful and nonviolent conflict resolution.<sup>1</sup>

## Philosophy and Conflict Resolution in Africa:

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On another note, philosophy, as we know, is a rational search for truth of reality. Peikoff rightly argued when he states: “Philosophy is a human need as real as the need of food. It is a need of the mind, without which man cannot obtain his food or anything his life requires.”<sup>2</sup> One thing that is sure is that philosophy makes every rational effort to solve human problems. This is made explicitly manifest in the eleven (11) chapters of this book. This book is part of the proceeds from the 2020 APAS International conference (10 -11 June) that focused on: African Ideologies, Human Security and Peacebuilding. It is my strong conviction that the critical reflections of African scholars in this book will certainly bring about better understanding of the place of philosophy in conflict resolution and peacebuilding in Africa.

### **Endnotes**

1. E. J. O. Ndubisi, *Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution*, (Onitsha: Bechor Publication, 2016), p. iii
2. L. Peikoff, *Objections: The Philosophy of Ayn Rand*, (New York: Dulton, 1991), p. 2.

## CHAPTER ONE

# PHILOSOPHY AND SECURITY ISSUES IN AFRICA

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### Executive Summary

*Philosophy and security issues in Africa is a discourse of the commonality of Africa lived experience, as it relates with the quagmires posited with the security issues in the continent. It shows an understanding of how the scholarship of philosophy is a tool for a better and all-inclusive comprehension of the problematics of security issues in Africa. The problems associated with Africa historicity, identity thesis, radical Islamism, Arab spring, transnational security challenges, and terrorism and leadership failures are militating against the peaceful coexistence and social relationship in the region. This article is a presentation of philosophy as a framework to the solution of the hiatus of concord and anomaly of governance created by the vast security issues in Africa. The method used is phenomenological analysis. It provided a detailed description of the analytic process engaged in the continent in the myriad of perspectives articulated as fundamentals to the security issues. Philosophy scholarship has provided overarching guidance and principles, when implemented served to abate the recurrent security challenges through its wealth of knowledge vested in reason and pragmatically oriented approaches in ontology, epistemological prowess and the*

*import of axiology and social and political philosophic principles. This article serves in perspective as preoperative in the security issues in Africa and a proactive measure to future security issues in Africa for human and groups' interrelationship is dynamic and for other continents of the world.*

**Keywords:** Philosophy, Security, Epistemology, Africa, Axiology, Framework, Issues, Ontology

## **Introduction**

Philosophy and security issues in Africa is a discourse of the manifold security issues in the vast continent of Africa of 54 counties. Comprehension of Philosophy as a deep love of wisdom and scholarship will ameliorates the security issues in Africa. Critical thoughts, axiology and influence of philosophy of law galvanizes mutual coexistence, regional integration in Africa, Africa responsivity in regional capacity and the continent political will, underscores the security intent of freedom and absence of fear of inversion for growth and meaningful life in Africa. Where there is no security, there is no life (Narayan et al, 2002, as cited in Stephen John, 2011, 68) This situation will recall us back to the understanding of human existence before the concept of social contract; where life is short, nasty and brutish. However, it is intrinsic as soon as we are born, we are old enough to die (Heidegger, 1986, xi) but a meaningfully coexistence is equally an intrinsic characterization of man. The fundamental essence of *Dasein* (Man) lies in its *Existenz* (*Existenz* underscores a dynamic, active, future oriented sense) (Heidegger, 1986, 7) the security issues in Africa calls for the individuals' (Human Agent) realization of his authentic (*eigentliche*) existence, and this approach underscores the concept of choice between authentic (*eigentliche*) and inauthentic (*uneigentliche*) existence (Heidegger, 1986, 68). For which a decisive choice, must be taken, in this instance philosophy provinces of wisdom is required for critical thoughts and evaluation that orients towards the best attitude; be it security challenges or life challenging situation in general.

The philosophy of law understanding also is indeed paramount in abating the security issues in Africa. This understanding makes it possible for rights for all men to be recognized; thus, rights conceptualized and rested on the idea of natural law. (Locke, 1988, 270). In Locke's Second Treatise of Government, we learned this understanding:

The *state of Nature* has a Law of Nature to govern it, which obliges every one: And Reason, which is the Law, teaches all Mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his Life, Health, Liberty, or Possessions. And being furnished with like Faculties, sharing all in one Community of Nature, there cannot be supposed any such *Subordination* among us, that may Authorize us to destroy one another, as if we were made for one another's uses, as the inferior ranks of Creature are for ours. (Locke, 1988, bk, II, chap. II. α 6, II. 6-19, 271) italics in original.

Sharing this understanding, security issues in Africa will decline in the light of; appreciating and demonstrating the law of natural reason by understanding our common nature, given same powers of reason. On the foundation, that Locke observe (i) We are "all equal and independent" on this framework (ii) there cannot be any "subordination among us," thus; (iii) no one can injure anyone else or take his life, liberty, or possession.

In this instance, the concept of right not well expounded. Nevertheless, elsewhere Locke enounce this concept:

If man in the State of Nature be so free; If he be absolute Lord of his own Person and Possessions, equal to the greatest, and subject to no Body, why will he part with his Freedom? To which 'tis obvious to Answer, that though in the state of Nature he hath such a right, yet the Enjoyment of it is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the

Invasion of others. This makes him willing to quit this Condition, which however free, is full of fears and continual dangers: And 'tis not without reason, that he seeks out, and is willing to joyn in Society with Others who are already united, or have a mind to unite, for the mutual *Preservation* of their Lives, Liberties and Estates, which I call by the General name, *Property*. (Locke, 1988, bk, II, chap. IX, ¶ 123.II. 1-17, 350) italics in original.

An understanding of the above reference points enunciates that all men are to share in; reason bequeaths them with equal rights. This basis of rights emphasizes the acknowledgement, itself rooted in reason, that we all have the same foundation- our common nature, which substantiates the ascription of an equal right of everyone to preserve their property. Owing to this consideration, a prescribed or procedural justice is required and thus a legal framework to administer and ensure control and compliance. In this instance, a legal security is required and expresses the relationship between man and his social need. (Martinez, 1995, 127) The social body, Tocqueville writes has anticipated everything, the individual only needs to take the trouble of being born. Society embraces him in its wet nurse's arms, it oversees his education, and it opens up for him the roads of good fortune. He moves forward in peace under the protective watch of this second providence; under the protective power that has taken care of him throughout his life, and that also watches over the repose of his ashes: This is the mind of the civilized man. (Diez del Corral, 1989, as cited in Martinez, 1995, 127) In this instance, the call for the wisdom, which only philosophy offers become imperative, for the knowledge inherent in axiology will enable the African mind, set to pursue for higher value of understanding and mutual coexistence in total freedom and responsibility.

Philosophy generally considered, as the love of wisdom, is the scholarship of wide-ranging and ultimate question about existence, understanding, principles, reason, mind and language. Such questions often posed as problems studied or resolved. Pythagoras probably

coined the term philosophy. (Philosophy-Wikipedia, 2020) In an all-encompassing intelligence, philosophy is a scholarship people undertake when they search for, to comprehend fundamental truths about themselves, the world in which they live, and their relationships to the world and to each other. The aim in Philosophy is not to master a body of facts, so much as think clearly and sharply through any set of facts. It is an activity of first principle.

The conception of security is less fundamental in modern political philosophy. Nevertheless, it is trite that Rousseau writes about security as that protection which results in both order and certainty if we look at it from an objective point of view and as absence of fear and absence of doubt if we look at it from a subjective point of view. Considering this concept from a different point of views, Hobbes comprehends security as the peace that arises from the social contract that disentangles man from the State of Nature and transforms him into a citizen who hands his security over to the Power, to the Leviathan, in detriment to his natural freedom, which led to warfare of all against all. Security regarded as a fundamental human right in international law, and by many theorists of human rights. (Liora, 2015, as cited in Wolefendale, 2017, 238-255) In a similar way, security is a basic right, possession of which (along with subsistence) is necessary for the enjoyment of any other right: Threats to security are among the most serious and in much of the world the most widespread hindrances to the capabilities approach. (Shue, 1996, as cited in Wolefendale, 2017, 238-255) Notwithstanding the distinction of a right to security in international law and human rights theory, nonetheless, there is a minute agreement on the definition of security. In this instance, different accounts of security have different implications for the scope, weight, and duties imposed by a right to security, and for how security ought to balance against other important social goods, such as civil liberties and equality. (Waldron, 2009, as cited in Wolefendale, 2017, 238-255). Philosophy as a framework of insightful thought mirrors for Africa a security consciousness that will build a continent free from decline of cultural and traditional values,

political chaos, proliferation of illicit arms, unconstitutional changes of Government, transnational threat perceived holistic marginalization and internally displaced persons and refugees.

### **What is Philosophy?**

Etymologically, the word “philosophy” originates from classical Greek and means "love of wisdom." Countless philosophers in the ancient times held that the sage, the one who knew, was, at best, an ideal towards which the seeker, i.e., the philosopher, the lover of wisdom, strives, answers are found – then criticized, reformulated, and challenged severally to ascertain its content validity.

As a historical background: philosophy is a scholarship of antiquity. In the West, investigation indicates that philosophy originated in the 7th century, in the Greek colonies in Ionia (i.e., the western coast of present-day Turkey.) Literature reviews presents Thales of Miletus, by tradition the first philosopher, articulated a natural, rather than a supernatural, account of the world, by means of the natural science of his day. Thales, his contemporaries and their successors, investigated interpretations of the world and humanity. They questioned explanations based on the Homeric and Hesiodic mythologies of their time. This questioning has continued to the present time, in various forms. Philosophy is a scholarship of a historical foundation, contextual relevance, and the contemporary reality to both the world and humanity in thought provoking and meaningful ways. This scholarship provides a better understanding of balanced moral judgments, critical rational discourse, and perspectives routed in knowledge and experience.

### **Security - Multifaceted Concept**

About two decades ago, debate in scholarship on the conception of security have yielded great consideration over the redefinition of national security to respond to new global challenges. (Obi, 1997, 2) The construct and content validities of the notion of security was the practical details of the debate and these debates underscores three essence. The discontent among some scholars with the neo-realist

foundations that characterized the field, the need to respond to the challenges posed by the emergence of a post-Cold War security order, and the continuing desire to make the discipline relevant to contemporary concerns. (Krause and Williams, 1996, 229)

The multifaceted conception of security notwithstanding, scholars in government and philosophy has articulated their understanding in perspectives. Goodin (1985) has argued that we have an “obligation to help the vulnerable” (as cited in John S, 2011, 68-91) Pogge link “security to the account of basic human rights” (as cited in John S, 2011, 68-91) in similar understanding Shue shares Pogge conception of security. In this definition, the understanding of Philosophy weights even in this simple conception of security as an obligation to enable the vulnerable, for the fundamentals of ethics underscores the discipline concerning human moral behavior and raises the questions of right or wrong. In this instance, Security as a concept better appreciated because of the moral dimension offered to the mind as a living document to implement.

The acknowledgement to security as *freedom from fear* may submit that the significance of security be understood (at least partially) in terms of absence of fear. Security as freedom from the prospect, and therefore the fear, of personal violation. (Rothschild, 1995, 62) offers an outstanding instance for understanding the application and restrictions of such an approach. Rothschild’s interpretation of security appears to differentiate two characteristics of being secure: first, absence of the prospect of violation, and second, absence of fear, where the second obtains in virtue of the first.

A cooperative approach to contemplate about the right to security is in terms of protecting fundamental interests arising from areas of human vulnerability. (Gilson, 2011, 325) As an illustration, our physical body leaves us vulnerable to physical violence and threats to basic subsistence, and so a right to security protects our interest in being free from such threats. Roughly, divide using this background,

existing conceptions of security into three categories that prioritize different areas of human vulnerability: Pure safety accounts. (Waaldron, 2006, 461) Freedom from Fear accounts and Assurance accounts. (Wolfendale, 2017, 242) Respectively of these accounts pinpoints different ways in which human persons are vulnerable to harm, by virtue of their physical, emotional, and psychological make – up.

### **Africa - Continent with Embattled Life**

Africa is a continent of 54 countries other than two States whose independence is borderline (Somaliland and Western Sahara). Subsequent to Asia, it is the largest continent. Destined by long-established ancient, socio-economic and geographical ties in spite of the artificial boundaries enforced by colonial powers. In Africa, the period of about two decades marked by great upheavals and the subsets of Africa – North and West Africa characterized with different security issues. The Arab Spring, insurrection in Egypt and Tunisia-Tahrir and Jasmine Revolutions showing signs of outbursts of democratic movement in the Middle East and North Africa. In addition, Libya civil war, Syria and Yemen watersheds suggest the foundation of a novel security issues. West Africa is very sensitive, volatile and unstably depicted with the aftermath of civil war in Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. The plight of insurrection in Senegal’s Casamance area, the instability in Guinea and numerous West African countries. For example, the Hoko Harem attacks in Northeast Nigeria and South-south agitation in Niger Delta area of Nigeria. Worrisome is the Tuareg upheavals of Sahel parts of Africa of Niger and Mali, indeed Africa is a continent with embattled life.

Recall the outbreak of civil war in Cote d’Ivoire in 2002 and challenging transitions in numerous other countries are indications of the multifaceted security issues facing Africa. Aside violent clashes in the Mano River Union Countries of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone and the participation of neighboring countries in the clashes, which occasioned refugee flows, arms flows, trans-border crimes and the determination of fighters in the areas, the changed international

context among other consideration compelling an urgent philosophical approach.

## **Background to Security Issues in Africa Historicity**

Historicity is the authentic existence of persons or events, the essence of being part of history as opposed to being a historical myth or fiction. The philosophical debate of essence and existence may not suffice here but in the instance circumstance of security issues in Africa. Africa historicity denotes the circumstances and odysseys of its existence and essence, and indeed the quest for authentic existence in concrete reality, where the abstract dimensions is the essence. The book *Africa Must Unite*, recalls the insightful thought of Kwame Nkrumah on the effects of colonialism and the dangers of imperialism in demanding to break up Africa into small weak states. (Nkrumah, 1963) Thus, recall the Race for Africa, as well called the Partition of Africa or Scramble for Africa- incursion, occupation, colonization and annexation of Africa territory by European power during the imperialism.

## **Identity Thesis**

Identity thesis is an internal reflexive perspective of a detailed and substantial attributes of the subject that is persistence, resulting to *weltanschauung* (worldview) *inter alia* subsisting nucleus that gives vent to other attributes. Africa lacks this concept of an Identity thesis, an articulate distinctive African reality.

## **Radical Islam**

Radical Islam is a global phenomenon, generated by the uncontrolled dissemination of extremist ideology, supported by vast private wealth in the Gulf, the use of which is not subject to scrutiny. (Collier, 2015). It characterized a unique threat to Africa relatively because many African countries have considerable Muslim populations that, in circumstances of poverty and poor governance, easily become

disaffected. The threat from radical Islam has recently been evident in Mali, the Central African Republic (CAR), Kenya and Nigeria. In Nigeria and Kenya, the threat has taken the form of sensational terrorism that, while not threatening the states themselves, is highly damaging to their international reputations. (Collier, 2015).

### **Arab Spring in North Africa**

The expression “Arab Spring” used to characterize the Arab revolutions originated by US political academic journal “Foreign Policy” (Abusharif, 2014). Marc Lynch, an American political scientist, first used the phrase in his article written in “Foreign Policy” journal (Abusharif, 2014). Arab Spring was a movement of violent and violence less protests and civil wars started from Tunis on December 18, 2010 and extended all over the Arab world (Terrill, 2011). This crusade stood against autocratic rules of the dictatorial rulers, incessant state of emergency in which Police, the Interior Ministry had extreme powers to crush the people, unemployment, poverty, and inflation, etc catalyzed the crusade. In this instance, all the regimes affected by the Arab Spring used their supremacies vehemently to crush the protestors and subsequently the peaceful protestors became vehement. The collective catchphrase of the protestors throughout Arab Spring was “the people want to bring down the regime” (Aissa, 2012).

### **Transnational Security Challenges**

Transnational threats refers to those coming from subnational and transnational forces which requires comprehensive and imaginative responses rather than simply the threat, deployment and use of military force, and demand novel combinations of bureaucratic expertise that are not found in any single department or agency. (Williams and Black, 1994). They equally considered by what means these threats pose challenges to State capacity and Political Will to normalize and control transnational interactions and powerful transnational organizations. The absence of a philosophical approach diminishes the effort of the African States. Thus, a condition favorable for protest, suppression, insecurity and conflict: studying the

resistance against the operations of foreign oil companies in, Angola Nigeria and conga and also the forest and mineral resource extraction companies in Sierra Leone, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Again, the consideration of the harsh social consequences of the adjustment policies pursued by the international financial institutions in Africa are windows for Africa security issues

### **Terrorism**

The Formation of the word “terrorism” comes the word “terror”. The word Terror originates from the Latin *terrere*, which means “frighten” or “tremble.” When tied with the French suffix *isme* (referencing “to practice”), it turn out to be “practicing the trembling” or “causing the frightening. Terrorism is the use of violent acts to frighten the people in an area as a way of trying to achieve a political goal. (Obi C & Ukaulor C.S, 2016) For in instance, in West Africa sovereign countries- Burkina Faso, Benin Republic, Cote d’Ivoire, Cape Verde, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo in present situations experienced terrorist attacks of lost lives and valuably private and public properties. For example, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Mali and Cote d’Ivoire has experienced terrorist attacks between 2015 and 2016. Terrorists in November 2015, attacked the Radisson Blue Hotel in Bamako, Mali, the tourist beach of Grand-Bassam near Abidjan, Cote d’Ivoire, attack of Hotel Splendid and Cappuccino Café in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, and Mosques in Maiduguri, Nigeria, at different times by terrorists between January and March 2016 (The Punch 2016) These mayhem’s activities seems more in Nigeria and Mali. While Nigeria is home to Boko Haram, Mali houses AQIM, Ansar Dine, MOJWA, known by its French acronym *Mouvement pour l’unicite et le jihad en Afrique de l’ Ouest* (MUJAO), and al-Mourabitoun, which has links with AQIM (United Nations [UN] 2012). These sets are by far the most deadly terrorist groups in the sub-region, as their vehement actions have caused countless security issues.

### **Natural Resource Deposit**

Natural resources defined as materials or substances occurring in nature, exploited for economic gain. (Oxford English Dictionary, 1884). The resources that exist (on the planet) independent of human action. It is the benevolent and free gift of nature. They have the prospective to catalyze vehement conflict, as with diamonds in Angola and Sierra Leone. They have also raised the stakes for capturing power, while reducing the need for accountability to citizens by displacing taxes as the primary source of state revenue, the resultant corruption of politics perceived by Nigeria. Further, since valuable resources unevenly spread throughout a territory, they give well-endowed regions an incentive to try to secede from the nation, as with the Katanga region of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and the Biafra region of Nigeria.

### **Leadership**

Leadership is one of the central issues for the myriads of security challenges faced by Africa today. Factors originating from gaining independence orchestrated to political independence without the corresponding economic freedom and the weak State capacity and Political will are the underlining influences undermining the effort to stable the continent. Internal cohesion among ethnic groups against each other, perceived historic marginalization and land border conflict are catalytic tendencies to the security issues in Africa. A decade ago, some of the continent's worst conflicts including Uganda's conflict between the government and Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Kenya's post-election violence, border disputes between Eritrea and Ethiopia, and the civil war in Somalia have affected East Africa's stability tremendously.

The Southern Africa security issues highlights sub-regional conflicts, migration and xenophobia, democracy and governance, weak regional institutional structures. Security issues in Southern Africa region has three dimensions: a) significant inter and intra-state violence, most notably in the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC); b) post-conflict challenges such as Disarmament, Demobilization, and

Reintegration (DDR); and c) political differences arising from deficiencies in democracy and governance.(Ngoma, N.& Roux, L.L., 2008). Numerous States in the sub-region have undergone DDR with mixed results because of weak State capacity and Political Will. In Angola, political stability is particularly dependent on a successful DDR process.

Lack of philosophical foresight in leadership prowess underscores these security quagmires. Security *sector reform* (SSR) in most countries of the region, has emphasized defense at the expense of the police and intelligence services. South Africa has undergone the most comprehensive SSR. Botswana, Mauritius, Namibia, Tanzania, and Zambia have undergone substantial SSR processes, but still lack transparency and democratic oversight in the security sector. Mozambique, Lesotho, and Malawi must consolidate SSR in new policies, laws, and structures. In Zimbabwe, politicization of the security services has reversed past SSR gains. (Ngoma, N.&Roux, L.L. 2008).

These leadership-challenging situations of Southern Africa and the Arab Spring in North Africa, East Africa and the Terrorism quagmires in West Africa are the overarching principles of destabilization Africa and the foundation of her security issues. However, Philosophy as a tool of scholarship of antiquity, in its domain of wisdom, critical strength of epistemic foundation and axiological imperative will redress and articulates in perspective as preoperative for abating the security issues in Africa.

### **Philosophy and Security Issues in Africa**

The key to the *Laws* is that man is capable of starting: the beginning says Plato, is a god who, by establishing himself in men, saves all things. Saint Augustine accentuates on this thought frame in the *City of God* and Hannah Arendt, in *Condition of modern man*, underscores that man is not only mortal: he is born and can be reborn. On this campaign of philosophy and security issues in

Africa. We begin, that philosophy in the scholarship of Arendt articulates freedom as a human condition of capability to begin something anew, humans' proficiency to begin something anew, which involves newborn children as well critique of the society. (Lysaker, 2015). A pragmatic approach to Arendt scholarship is by holding that the politics of humanity is, fundamentally speaking, grounded in newborn's embodiment. In this instance, the herculean task ahead of Africa in articulating the vast perspectives inherent in philosophy is achievable for a continent of multiple security issues. Arendt concept of newborn's embodiment is a beacon of hope that philosophy is a pedigree for the security issues in Africa.

Recall in paragraph 16 above, Africa historicity. The charade of Africa and Scramble notwithstanding. Philosophy is an overhauling principle of remediation. In this instance, Plato idea of the 'allegory of the cave' as an insightful thought that shows that real knowledge is gain through philosophical reasoning, is a wakeup call for Africa to use philosophic tools as the solution undebatable, if Africa has considered her historicity and scramble as a contributive factors to insecurity. As Wittgenstein observed, people who have no need for transparency in their argumentation are lost to philosophy. Philosophers have a role therefore to make sense of reality, thought and knowledge. (Canfield, 1997) Wittgenstein's observation is necessary for articulating meaning in this situation and therefore demands expression of intelligibility of purpose. After the literature review of Africa- incursion, occupation, colonization and annexation of Africa territory by European power during the imperialism. What next? A reflexive approach is required for the unsecured and scrambled Africa. In this instance, a philosophic introspection is needed using Socratic method as a whooping framework that examined the current reality of Africa messed up with security issues. It rouses critical and abstract thinking and ideas, and fundamental suppositions in the quest for understanding of what characterize Africa as an entity, Africa ascription and Africa indeed. This philosophic framework- Socratic method will incite Africa mind on the need for clarification in the world of encounter with reality by

probing assumption, reason and evidence provided for justification for viewpoint and perspective, implication and consequence. This philosophic analysis of Socratic Method will enounce Africa to a consciousness of discovering amiss the charade of ascriptions for an identity that demand it true representation. This philosophical tool will make clear to Africa the implication of laissez faire attitude and over dependence on Europe, America and recently Asia east of the Pacific Ocean to give form to Africa. Recall that form intrinsically is linked to object and substantial form is unchangeable (Aristotle) the realization of the security issues in Africa is famous the conscious realization of Africa form and this is within the purview of philosophy as a framework.

Identity thesis, an articulate distinctive Africa authentic reality is lacking in any worldview that depict Africa. Understanding that the traditional epistemology of philosophers underscores the concept that seeks truth, reason and objectivity. (Goldman, 1999) This question of identity is what philosophy will enable Africa to realized, for this potential is intrinsic in human thinking. In this instance, Africa will recalls Descartes Cartesian dualism “I think, therefore I am” (Sarup, 1993) considering a cultured life to happens one need first understand self. Africa identity is rooted in this understanding of self and self-reexamination. Socrates’ insightful quotes *an unexamined life is not worth living* becomes a pointer for reflection and meditation on Africa identity. Recall Kant, for example, prescribed that life should be about the greatest good. (Metz, 2013) the concept of good may not be discussed here but suffice to say Africa must struggle with such value judgments and their epistemic base to build up rational meaning of the self. Meaning therefore expresses a good that is conceptually distinct from happiness or rightness. (Metz, 2013) Thus, a distinctive and unequivocal worldview that depict an Identity. However, the concept of African identity is not a discourse here.

It suffice to say that a conceptually articulated worldview gives a direction and a step to abate the security issues in Africa. When realized an authentic self, its preservation is cultivated and the

understanding of the philosophy of self as a theorized scholarship of sundry situation of identity that underscores Africa subject of experience separate from other continents' experiences even under similar circumstances appreciated. This quest for Africa self is something that underscores a being, unified and linked intimately to consciousness, mindfulness, and activity that it encounters. Owing to the *Ubuntu* philosophy forged in ancient Africa, a newborn baby is not a person and without *ena* or selfhood, rather it acquires it *via* interaction and experiences over time. On the metric of this *Ubuntu* philosophy, this unique odyssey of Africa are the material cause of an overarching worldview of an authentic identification. This identification will denotes a symmetrical balance that diffuse the points of security issues in Africa. This becomes an achieved reality as we leverage of the wealth of wisdom shrouded in philosophy. In the light of this, Buber scholarship of the concept of self-weights' either supplementary disconnected or more unified through its relationships to others.

This philosophic import of Buber demonstrates that Africa to be whole weights on the relation to another. In this instance, the concept of identification weighting on the concept of selfhood (*Ubuntu* philosophy) *via* interaction and experience articulates a progression that State within certain African blocks overlaps by share interaction and assimilation of security, social-cultural and political ideas. Recall the concept of Buber "I- Thou" philosophy, we leverage on this understanding for it is smart and pragmatically abates the sum of security issues in Africa *via* political interference and larger interdependence among Africa countries. In this light of this philosophic apparatus of reengineering Nkrumah wrote *Africa Must Unite*, foster as intermediaries, and afford an environment for the coordination of security issues. Routes to articulate this realization are through the philosophy that Africa should unite into a single political federation in an 'all-African government'- the 'maximist approach', and 'gradualist approach has been desired. This suggesting the necessity for a more intergovernmental system. (Thonke and Spliid, 2012) In this instance, recall that the AU is an intergovernmental

approach that has come to stay, but the domain of sovereignty is an undermining factor of redress. In this perspective observed President Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania subsequent to a deliberation at the AU Summit in 2008 at which he specified that African leaders present at the meeting are worried that the establishment of an AU government will undermine their own countries sovereignty and therefore oppose the establishment of such a government. (Thonke and Spliid, 2012)

President Jakaya submission notwithstanding and may not suffice, for the social philosophic apparatus of the principle of subsidiarity and participation trailed back to ancient Greece scholarship of Aristotle and successively emphasized in the erudition of Johannes Althusius and John Stuart Mill will balance the pendulum of power tiers among Africa countries. In this perspective, abates the security issues in Africa, identified and tracked through the grassroots route. In this instance, owing to this social philosophic apparatus- the principle of subsidiarity and participation births the five African Power Tiers. In Central, Southern, Eastern, Northern and Western secured in Economic Community for Central African States (ECCAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), East African Standby Force (EASF), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) respectively.

A conceptually articulated Africa worldview will treat radical Islam security issues in it stead. Radical Islam is a learning of indoctrination that venerated off rationality tests and requires philosophic intervention. However, the underlining factor of radical Islam *inter alia* non-integration of the populace in the economic, political and social progress in the region. The root cause of these challenges is governance, lack of freedom and human rights issues, which culminate in poor leadership acumen. Hence, a philosophy King (Plato) a remediating factor vested with the State capacity and Political Will necessary for the pursuit of the greatest good is proposed. Radical Islam is the subset of Arab spring as a wave calling for human rights, freedom and a democratic system of government.

Philosophy chaperon's thoughtful moral judgements, rational discourse and standpoint routed in pragmatic knowledge and experience in the pursuit of a just and peaceful society is the basal requirement for redresses the balance action. Democracy has become a more stable and overarching practice of governance that relatively articulate the balance of interest of the people in a dynamic sense. The criticism of Plato democratic concept notwithstanding, the dialectic relevance of democracy cannot be overemphasized for it has weighed on the wisdom of philosophic principles.

Philosophy has been a sentinel to societal growth and the evolving tendency towards eudemonia. Thus, philosophers has contributed significantly through their wealth of wisdom in remediating conflict or insecurity in the State through philosophic framework. In the instance of radical Islam and Arab spring, Spinoza shared an in-depth illustration on how best a society without tyranny or violation of citizen liberty, (*Tractatus politicus* 1891) for steady growth, balance of power and respect to human rights. The Philosophy of Spinoza's ethics weights on the concept of natural right, the State administration, pragmatic democracy and even circumstances to uphold the absolute power of the state and how rationally be executed in the solutions to some metaphysical, epistemological and ethical problems. In this regards, the Radical Islam and Arab spring security issues is not unachievable and insurmountable. The insightful thought and analysis of freedom of thought and reasonable speech, emancipation from preconceptions and protection of civil rights in Spinoza's social and political philosophy is a leeway to challenge the problematics of radical Islam and Arab spring in North Africa.

On the strength of this scholarship for a well-grounded measure to ensure security, the insightful thoughts of philosophers like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke who conceived the State as sovereign and secular and Locke weights on a stern sovereignty with the knowledge of constitution are panaceas to the security issues in African. Integrations of these insights shared by these philosophers, the

security issues in Africa will abate when these considerations implemented in the pragmatic sense of the word, will become the strategies that ameliorates the Radical Islam and Arab spring quagmires. Within all epistemic limitations, the understanding and firm grasps of Baron de Montesquieu's separation of power weights as the anticipated coordinate for resolving conflicts in a civil way. Thus, philosophy is a well-rounded tool or a distinct framework for the security issues in Africa and a light to the continent. For instance, embracing the understanding of the concepts of political freedom and popular sovereignty, the general will, just law and democracy in Rousseau's philosophy will put the North Africa security struggles in concord. The inherent strains and oxymora in Rousseau's concepts of freedom and justice notwithstanding, his scholarship in social relationship will be fundamental in abating the security challenges in this region.

State and national boundaries are anxious spaces in Africa, and principally in the Sahel, these concerns manifest mostly about purportedly weak States. Jurisprudence the scholarship in philosophy of law suffices to inform the need of unequivocal and pragmatic legal system. This is because the growth of the state as the political system develops monopoly of power by suppressing, or at least by beginning to quash, the plurality of the foundations of law, transforming it gradually into state law, will favor the transformation of state law into a legal system, which is foremost the indispensable condition for legal security. The framework of philosophy provides first the need to build and understand a system of operation just as Hobbes and Locke understood the concept of social contract. In this instance, regulation, rule and control are in place, checks, and balances performed. Through philosophy of law, we understood that system and legal security are not separable.

The character of the philosophy of law in the formation of a legal culture in general to that performed by law in society is a requirement to the solution for abating the security struggles in Africa. Philosophy

makes distinct understanding the fundamental of law conceived as a system of social guide. If Africa do not articulate foremost a single goal and a strategy to accomplish it, it will err and risk failure. In this instance, in the promulgation of or derogation from the laws, legal security accomplished through an understanding of the establishment of a prior systemic procedure. Within the epistemic limitation of the philosophic insightful thought underscores the addressee of the laws, either the citizen for primary laws or the legal officials for secondary laws. In this regard, philosophy enquires that law must be intelligible to those who are subject to it; it must make practical sense to them at least to the extent that they can, across a wide range of application, grasp what kind of behavior the law calls for and how it's doing so might give them some reason for complying. In addition, Hart's philosophy articulates that citizens should know what to expect and should be able to tell the difference between law and the orders of a gang of highwaymen (a traditional issue in philosophy of law from Saint Augustine to Kelsen), precisely by identifying the procedure. (Hart, 1962) This knowledge enables transnational security challenges in Africa boundaries conflicts to be in perspective such that measures and pragmatic control in juridical and social institutions implemented. The understanding of State as political community has its root in the thoughts of ancient, modern and contemporary philosophers. This wealth of scholarship from the axis of political and legal philosophers will strengthen the transnational security challenges in Africa through overarching principles of a functional policy formation and implementation, administrative efficiency and political will. Philosophy portrayal of the will power and cognitive dexterity required for effective State administration is one of the vital necessities for the solution for the security issues in Africa. The thoughts of Bodin on the basic characterization of sovereignty and the strength of the sovereign prerogative implementations and Montesquieu fundamentals in the coordinate separation of political power are overriding philosophic frameworks in this perspective of pragmatic system building that is all-inclusive to the solution of security issues in Africa.

Paul Ricœur fronted one of the most significant growths in ethics, leveraging on his philosophy on the idea of Justice. Which founds society on the principle of treating everyone as an equal, is itself founded on the idea of care or solicitude for “the other” (Kemp, 2015). This concept of care or solicitude for the other diffuses the tension associated with many internal cohesion among nations and transnational struggles that leads to terror in the vast continent of Africa. In the light of this understanding, philosophy is enlightening the dark minds of hate and bias founded in religious indoctrination and Western influence of negative globalization effects.

Recall in paragraph 22 above. The etymological summary of terrorism is ‘practicing the trembling’ or ‘causing the frightening’ and it is inimical to Africa, hence the security issues. Nevertheless, centuries ago Hobbes’ philosophy has put this in perspective as a state of war of all against all. (Hobbes, 1970) accredited with bestiality and thus, a security squirm that led to the premise *Homo Homini Lupus* (Man is a Wolf to Man) and until the formation of a pragmatic civil society. In this instance, philosophy is a remediating factor because considering the above submission of Hobbes; we infer that terrorism results as a lack of civil society or the break of it and from this standpoint; we articulate the root cause of it in the light of infraction of justice.

Bidima philosophy of justice in its inclusiveness underscores the relationship of men to their commune humanity that looks at both its founding references, its daily social bricolages and the future. As it speaks of either trust especially in Africa where it is often as elsewhere, under the weight of prejudice, or corruption. (Bidima, 2014) The framework of Bidima philosophy as a remediating factor to security issues in Africa underscores what is at stake, in our treatment of justice is to point out two things as a guiding principles; that justice is an idea, a requirement to read the fragility and cruelty of the world, and then as an institution. In the light of this, philosophy is providing steps in creating conducive atmospheres of terror free space for Africa and other continents. *In contrarium* (in

opposite direction) Uygur scholarly input is to articulate injustice in order to determine what it is. His philosophic acumen enlightens us on how to distinguish between justice and injustice with references to particular circumstances. Uygur underscores the concept of seeing injustice as the foundation of averting it, (Anticipatory Strategy). Uygur logic is imperative in abating the security issues in Africa for in most cases conflicting circumstances are indeterminate of its causal agent. Uygur philosophic acumen becomes the gadfly to security operatives' discovery and anticipatory to security issues and its averting strategies. In this instance, it provides a proactive measure to the five African Power Tiers. The Central, Southern, Eastern, Northern and Western secured in Economic Community for Central African States (ECCAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), East African Standby Force (EASF), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) respectively.

Recall in paragraph 26 above, philosophy as the scholarship of antiquity will redress in this article and articulates in perspective as preoperative for abating the security issues in Africa. Hence, leadership failure is the hub of the myriad of security issues in Africa. Thus, different quanta of these security issues in Africa notwithstanding, the emergence of Philosopher kings in the light of Plato's postulation is a catalyst in synergizing these problematics through a philosophical framework of ancient, renaissance, modern and contemporary backgrounds; for leadership paradigms in several philosophical branches are sufficient to abate the security issues in Africa. Ontology for example underscores the nature of being a leader and accentuating Plato's philosopher king, the utmost intelligent, rational, self-controlled, in love with wisdom, and well suited to make decisions for the community, and who promote the interests of the society as a whole. The wealth of this scholarship will discourage the autocratic rules of the dictatorial rulers in some regions of the continent and in the light of this, needless is the threat of usurp of any kind and the consequent civil unrest and security challenges. Selfhood, our mode of being in this or that instant transpires from and

is established in articulating and experiencing our consciousness (our awareness of ourselves and the world we live in), forming our identity as we forge from our historicity and identity thesis. Our commitment (to something that surpasses the self), our interpersonal congruence (authenticity with self and others), and our wholeness are formative of the insightful thought of philosophy and the testy force of terrorism is quench for self-realization has occurred. Hence, the Socratic quotes ‘Man know thy self’ and ‘unexamined life is not worth living’ becomes more meaningful and appreciated. Philosophy has shown as an efficient and effective framework in the security issues in Africa, for it articulates stout ontological groundwork for leadership in Africa, when it implements its axiology, epistemology and praxis in procedures that principled groundwork of security issues in Africa is reinforced and continued.

Epistemology denotes what we can know about leading, its basis, depth, dexterity and discipline while praxeology (underscores the methodology in the research realm) examines the leaders’ activities and performances in a formative and summative evaluations. Theorists vary on the imperative for investigating these assumptions nevertheless most settle with the erstwhile nature and predominance of ontology. Thus, in this instance, the five African Power Tiers. The Central, Southern, Eastern, Northern and Western secured in Economic Community for Central African States (ECCAS), Southern African Development Community (SADC), East African Standby Force (EASF), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) respectively are overarching for their diver’s strength and measure in abating the security issues in Africa.

Axiology scholarships underscores the leadership principles, value judgments, and ethical choices. The recurrent evidence of crash between groups and government official, ferocious community disputes over natural resources and pervasive sexual and gender-based violence will die a natural death as a result of the influence of

the reasonable comprehensive wealth of philosophy, in the quote of the English Renaissance statesman and philosopher Francis Bacon ‘knowledge is power’ indeed knowledge implemented becomes power. The power that will abate the security issues in Africa is philosophy.

## **Conclusion**

This article is a discourse of philosophy and the security issues in Africa. It attempt to show firstly, how philosophy serves as a pragmatic framework that will remedy security issues in Africa through an all-inclusive analysis of the understanding of causes of the problematics in its material, formal, efficient and final dimension of these causes. Through the various branches of it composition as a hub of knowledge it understood the various standpoints of the divergence of the problematics. The syrup of wisdom it diffuses detonates and reconciles conflicting perspectives, for philosophy underscores reason, and superior reason challenges the rationality inherent in man. In this article, philosophic frameworks has mirrored the analysis of the fact and reality of the security issues in Africa. It has proffered solutions and perspective as preoperative to the security issues in Africa and holding a blue pencil for subsequent security issues because man coexistence is dynamic, thus, this article secondly, serves as a proactive measure to security issues to African and other continents.

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## **CHAPTER TWO**

# **THE SEARCH FOR SECURITY, THE EVOLUTION OF THE BAKASSI BOYS AND THE ANAMBRA STATE EXPERIENCE; 1998-2004: LESSON FOR TODAY'S SECURITY AGENTS**

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### **Executive Summary**

*The development of any nation depends principally on its security. Security depends on the machinery put in place by the government of that nation and the effectiveness of the security is determined by the extent of motivation given to the security agents and their dedication to duty that enable them discharge their duties effectively. In recent time, insecurity has taken the place of security in Nigeria and the consequences are overwhelming. Between 1998 and 2004, insecurity in Anambra state was at the climax. What have government done and is doing to ensure that security of life and property of its citizens are guaranteed. In 2000, the Anambra state Government enacted a law transforming the dreaded Onitsha Vigilante Services (OVS) into the Anambra state Vigilante Service (AVS) to end the high level of insecurity, thus giving birth to the popular ‘‘Bakassi Boys’’ Vigilante Service in Anambra State. Methodologically, the paper adopts the historical analysis approach to analyse the state of insecurity in the state in the period under study. Data was collected via primary and secondary sources. The paper concludes that even though the method of punishment adopted by the Bakassi boys (AVS) was non-conventional, it*

*achieved the purpose for which it was established, while the conventional security outfits turned to be problems themselves to be solved. It therefore called on government at all levels to motivate and equip their security agencies to work more effectively like the defunct Anambra Vigilante Services in order to end the spate of insecurity in Nigeria.*

**Keywords:** Anambra state, Security agents, Vigilante, Insecurity, Bakassi boys

## **Introduction**

Insecurity remains the bane of any nations' socio-economic and political development. Insecurity comes in different shapes, forms and type. One thing is clear, insecurity no matter the shape, form or type retards development. In Nigeria, insecurity has murdered the socio-economic and political achievements of the nation since inception in a twinkle of an eye. Boko haram insurgents, Fulani herdsmen attacks, Niger Delta militancy, kidnapping, armed robbery, cultism and religious crisis has rocked the country in recent years like never before.

In Anambra state, between 1998 and 2004, the security situation was quite overwhelming. The Upper Iweka and the down fly over axis of Onitsha was a night mare. There were physical brutality, assault and murder, armed robbery, picking pocket, rape and other unholy acts by hoodlums in broad day light. In general, security in Anambra and environs was watered down by the activities of this hoodlums whose activities defies the powers of our constituted security authorities (Igwe, 2000)

On daily basis in Anambra, corpses of people killed by armed robbers are discovered, homes were attacked and shops broken into, while the die-hard ones among them reserved the effrontery to write notice letters to residents informing them of their intention to visit them (Nnaemeka & Onele, 2014). They were so sure that they conclude in their letters to their victims that they need not bother to inform the

police because even the police cannot stop them. The situation became so pathetic that people are not sure of their safety at any moment. Carrying a black nylon, a brief case or the popular 'Ghana must go' bag becomes an invitation to instant death if you are unlucky not to have your hand cut off with machete by the hoodlums while trying to snatch the property from you.

It was in this terrible situation that the good people of Anambra state found themselves until when in 2000 a group of Aba based security agency popularly known as the Bakassi boys were invited to Anambra state by the then state Governor Dr. Chinwoke Mbadinuju to help combat the rising crime wave as they successfully did in Aba, Abia state. Although, in the eyes of the law, the security outfit was unlawful and had some challenges, it was able to succeed where the acclaimed legal security agents woefully failed. This paper examines the evolution of the Bakassi Boys security outfit, today's security challenges and how today's security agents should confront such challenges as it was done in the past. It specifically discussed the evolution of the Bakassi boys as a security outfit into Anambra state and how it helped to restore security in Anambra state. It also advocates that today's security agents should learn from the way the Bakassi boys operated by being dedicated to their duties, as accepting bribes and extortion of the citizens was unheard of. Complaining of no fuel in the security van or flat tyre like our today's security agencies was never imagined at the time.

### **Historical Evolution of the Bakassi Boys' Security Outfit**

The vigilante group otherwise known as the "Bakassi Boys" originated in Aba, a city made up of different autonomous communities. It is made up of two local governments of Aba North and South which situate within the Southern Senatorial district of the state. With the birth of Abia State in 1991, Aba came to be the commercial nerve centre of the state owing to its booming commercial activities while Umuahia became the administrative headquarters of

the state. Aba South is the main city centre and the heartbeat of Abia state, south-east Nigeria.

The industrial nature of Aba had by the close of 1998 led to an upsurge in the population of Aba as people from different places migrated to the area. However, due to its enterprising nature, Aba has been fondly referred to as the ‘Japan of Africa’ (Nnaemeka & Onele, 2014), while the name ‘Aba made’ has become a popular Nigerian expression for cheap local manufactures. Thus, any material which appears to be cheap is termed Aba made owing to the fact that our people prefer foreign materials to our local manufactures. But that does not imply that Aba products are cheap or inferior as the name suggests. The major economic contributions of Aba people are textiles, garments, shoes, pharmaceuticals, plastics, cement and cosmetics. There is also a brewery and distillery within the city which is famous for its handicrafts.

The upsurge of people in the Enyimba city and following the commercial prowess of the city, the population of Aba swelled that artisans and expatriates of non-Igbo origins settled temporarily, if not permanently in Aba. The natives and people of other tribes like Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba, Efik, Ibibio, Kalabari, Opobo, Benin, Tiv, Idoma and foreign nationals from Africa and other continents constituted part of the population of Aba till this day. With the rise in population coupled with the attendant consequences of the Structural Adjustment Programme (unemployment and economic difficulties), Aba gradually became a ‘harbour’ for unemployed youths who took to robbery, gangsterism and thuggery as survival options in the face of hardship during the era of the military. As a result, a serious escalation of organised crime began to rear its ugly head.

These organised crimes were carried out by a group of armed gangs who believed that through crime they could make life better in the face of economic difficulties. A chunk of Mafians also known ‘Mafs’ terrorised Aba and traders whose livelihoods depended on trade with

traders from outside Aba. Thus, lives and property became unsafe and non-indigenes and traders were forced out of Aba in their numbers in search of safer places for their various economic activities. Moreover, the level of crime in Aba on the eve of the Fourth Republic can be likened to that of Onitsha where it was reported that criminals moved about with such confidence that on some occasions they would tell people the exact date on which they would be robbed. On the appointed day, they would force their way into the houses they had earmarked, regardless of whether the occupants had fled or not.

Thus, by the close of the military era, Aba could be said to be likened with the book called “One week, one trouble” as no day could pass by without shootouts, killings, rapes and robbery incidents. These crimes happened in seconds and minutes, and people lived in fear, (the fear of armed robbers and Mafs), who had killed about two hundred people in the city between 1997 and 1999 (Ekekwe, 2019).

As a measure of self-defence, people became their own security forces, taking up the security role of the police which the later had abandoned. Among the self-defence security measures were the purchase of fire arms and other weapons, and the erection of high walls around residences. This situation however, brought a slow pace in the wealth making of the shoe and garment manufacturers in particular and the public at large, who were faced with the challenge of curbing armed robbery activities perpetrated by gangs of armed robbers popularly referred to as Mafs. It appears that the challenge was not only to put a stop to robbery activities but also to lead the revolt against the excessive harassment and extortion by the hoodlums in the town. The leadership however came from the shoe makers of the ‘Bakassi’ area of Ariaria market where the name was coined.

The incessant harassment and intimidation of the residents and traders in broad day light by the so called Mafs had left the traders with no option than to devise a means of settling them. Thus, they resorted to settling the hoodlums who have gained much control of the city by

settling with money so as to appease them from taking it from them by force. But in the past, criminals are known to fear and tremble when they see the owners of the house they have come to rob, but nowadays, the owners fear, tremble and run away for the strangers. The condition of life of the people there could be attributed to what Thomas Hobbes describe as been nasty, brutish and short, because everyone was in fear and in doubt of what will happen the next minute.

On November 6, 1998, in a bid to shake off the chains of oppression by these hoodlums, the traders decided to confront the Mafians. When the traders got to Aba Mosque, a serious fight had developed. There were sporadic shootings from the two camps. The traders kept pressing on until they overran the Mosque area which forced the Mafs to leave “Emejiaka’s house” which they used as their hideout. With the decimation of their hideouts, the traders continued their onslaught against the Mafs and their accomplices in such a way that some die-hard ones among them like GOC and Jango were killed and burnt while others were forced into exile.

The traders continued with their fight against the Mafs until Aba became a safe place for human activities as against what it used to be (a den of robbers). It was at this point that they deemed it a nice idea to establish a ‘self-help’ security outfit to keep the Mafs permanently out of Aba as they promised to deal with armed criminals ruthlessly and decisively. According to Rebecca Jones, the traders vowed to embark on an operation of seizing and executing suspected armed robbers until nearly all suspected criminals had been executed or had fled the state (Rebecca, 2008).

This could not have been possible if not for the support given to the Boys by the populace who always provided them with information concerning criminals and criminal activities. There were many reasons for the formation of the group in Aba at the time, but the last straw that broke the Carmel’s back was the murder of a pregnant Calabar woman in October 1999 and the inefficiency and widespread corruption

of the police force which led them to mounting frustration with a steady increase in violent crimes. While the importance of these events cannot be denied, they may be regarded as the remote factors in the emergence of the Bakassi Boys.

The Power Line contest between the traders and the Mafs that eventually saw to the 'eclipse' of the later, was the immediate cause of the rise of the formation of the Bakassi Boys. In appreciation of the efforts of the shoe makers from the Bakassi area in the campaign against the Mafs, the traders decided to honour the outfit with the name, the 'Bakassi Boys'. The Bakassi Boys as an informal security outfit originated from the civil society who saw the need to establish a 'community police' to guard lives and property in a community where the security agents, the Police were unable to live up to their expectations.

The Boys emerged as a result of lack of trust of the Aba populace in the existing formal criminal justice system and the lack of confidence in the Police as security providers. Thus, it can be rightly summarised that, threatened with criminal activities and the minimal provision of security by the Police or better still deprivation of security which the populace were entitled to, the Ariaria traders with the majority of them coming from among shoe makers banded together in a collective action to wage a war against organised crimes perpetrated by a group of armed gangs. Like-minded citizens from Ariaria market and later other markets in Aba came together and formed the Bakassi Boys; a vigilante group which had the objective of fighting crime in Aba. It can also be said that the Bakassi Boys, as a 'self-help' security outfit developed amongst the Aba populace, against armed civilians (armed robbers) in the interest of the populace. With time, the Boys became an alternative security outfit in Nigeria's South-East zone, where law enforcement agents were performing below the expectations of the society.

The activities of the Bakassi Boys Vigilante were extended to Anambra and Imo States on July 12, 2000 and 22 December 2000 respectively. The activities of the Boys which centred largely on jungle justice with tips of information provided by the populace about criminals and their activities ensured that between 1998 and 2002, armed robbery activities to a greater extent, ended with the violent death, exile or detention of the perpetrators and their accomplices.

The Bakassi Boys for their own safety had to operate in a “military style” – carrying small arms and light weapons as if they were a conventional and institutionalised security outfit.

They started with nothing but a ‘cause’ and quickly grew to become somewhat; a “Special Security Force” that relieved the injuries inflicted on the civil population by Mafians through organised criminal activities. They became, for the purpose of it a ‘special security force’ that fought against the Mafians. They possessed the qualities and skills required to rid the civil society of organised armed robbery activities and related crimes. However, the Bakassi Boys possessed charms which helped them ascertain whether a suspect is guilty or not. They used their lie detector apparatus in the form of a machete to identify criminals and used their charm-imbued necklace to which made it difficult for a suspect to lie. It should be noted that the Bakassi boys also set free, people who was accused of crime by their enemies and punish people who peddle lies against their perceived enemies. The administration of justice at the discovery of truth entailed torture and summary execution of a victim. The execution normally started with what the local people referred to as ‘long sleeve’ or ‘short sleeve’.

The slang short sleeve and long sleeve entailed the amputation of the wrist or the elbow, respectively with the use of their ‘Obejiri’ (Machete) and subsequently, chopping off of other parts of the body after which they set the dismembered bodies ablaze. Probably, this strategy could have been adopted to serve as a deterrent to others who would be offenders among the crowd that normally watched the

execution. The Bakassi Boys jungle justice strategy in fighting crime can therefore be seen as a synthesis of traditional practices and modernity. It is this strategy that helped them in overthrowing the reign of terror carried out by notorious armed robbers like Jango, GOC, Prophet Eddie, Derico and others whose 'protective charms' bowed to the 'protective and revelatory charms' of the Bakassi Boys (Akunne, 2015).

### **The Advent of the Bakassi Boys to Anambra state**

Before the invitation of the Bakassi boys to Anambra state precisely in 2000, Anambra, Onitsha could be described as 'den of robbers' and haven for criminals. People were harassed and bullied on daily basis. It was only the uninformed that dared carry money or other valuables in the broad daylight. Notorious armed robbers were marauding the streets of Onitsha and having field days while the police were busy extorting and harassing innocent and unarmed youths. Armed robbers, ritualist, kidnappers and other hoodlums took over the city such that no one dared stay out beyond 7: pm. Travellers who mistakenly cross the bridge to Onitsha after 7: pm becomes a cheap prey to the criminal predators parading every nook and crannies of Onitsha and environs.

The security agents has become accustomed with the situation as they normally mind their business while the hoodlums perpetrate their evil acts. The police aloofness will not be unconnected with various experiences they have had with the hoodlums while trying to do their work. On many occasions the police have been ambushed and shot by the armed robbers for arresting their members as if they (robbers) were doing their lawful business. Although it should be noted that at a point, some policemen became agents and informants to the criminals and have aided them with guns and uniforms with which they carry their criminal acts.

Notorious criminals like **Okwudili Ndiwe**, a 22 year old, and popularly known as Derico nwa mama or simply Deri, Chiejina and

Jonathan Uzoigwe (pulse.ng, 2018) were infamous for unleashing mayhem on the people of the state at large and Onitsha in particular. They were confident enough to recruit and operate a ‘gangs’ who were answerable to them by bringing ‘returns’ to them at the end of every operation. In those days, banks were robbed in their numbers and huge amount of money catered away without traces, apparently because some influential people in the state are involved. Worst still they easily evade arrest and even when arrested, they don’t spend a night in detention before they will be released via the connections they have with influential citizens who stood beside them in that criminal acts.

Apparently, about 1,500 criminals were killed by the Bakassi boys’ vigilante group in Anambra especially in Onitsha and Nnewi as the case may be (All Africa.com, 2000). No matter how brutal, devilish and illegal their operation were, the truth remains that it brought peace and tranquillity to Anambra state between 1999 to 2003. They restored confidence in the people of Onitsha once again that people could sleep and have their eyes closed.

Before their arrival, all manner of crimes were being perpetrated in the state and covered by their perpetrators. Some of the police and house of Assembly members were indicted as their accomplices which always made their arrest and prosecution difficult (Ugonna, 2018) This assertion was buttressed by the confession of Derico when he alleged that some members of the Anambra state house of assembly and local government chairmen were his sponsors. Although, people may agree that he was under duress to speak, but we all know that in every lie, there is an element of truth. Why did the government and police not investigate the allegation? Why was it that the police kicked, arrested and detained some of the Bakassi boys for their role in the killing of Derico nwa mama? Why did the police and government prevailed on the boys when the popular prophet Edward Okeke (Eddie Nawgu) was arrested? Am also aware the police and the government officials were there and did not intervene when other criminals were arrested and killed by the Bakassi boys. This is an indication that crime persists because it has backups.

In Anambra especially in Onitsha, before the advent of the Bakassi boys, buses were robbed in broad day light while security agents disguise themselves to avoid being sighted by the hoodlums who see police as the greatest obstacle to their freedom. Emeka Ugwuja (2010), a trader in the Relief Market area of Upper Iweka corroborates this issues. He observes that security agents especially the police on sighting the armed robbers will quickly remove their uniforms and hide their guns so that they will not be identified by the armed robbers. He also said that the armed robbers shot at the police at sight as they perceive them as enemy of progress.

The dump site in Okpoko known as 'Ikpo ahihia' was a major hideout for the criminals in Onitsha. People always complain upon passing the route that they were searched and robbed. In fact there was hardly any week that passed in Onitsha without serious armed robbery experience. The police were helpless as some of the armed robbers seems invincible. They equally attack police stations in a bid to acquire arms with which they rob banks and big companies.

Though thousands of criminals were brutally killed by these dreaded boys, the climax of their presence in Anambra was the killing of Derico nwa mama and Prophet Edward Okeke, alias (Eddie Nawgu). Their arrest and eventual execution was highly celebrated by residents of Onitsha and environs. Their death elicited jubilations from every corner as they heaved a sigh of relief. The boys were able to deliver where the army and police put together were helpless. According to Unegbu (2018) Eddy Okeke alias Eddie Nawgu was a prophet based in his home town Nawgu, operating a healing ministry known as the Anioma Healing Ministry. He was untouchable and had killed and maimed many people in the name of offering them solution to their problems. It was confirmed that there was a river where both men and women were bathed naked. According to him, this evil river was capable of healing any kind of sickness and including raising a dead man. That was where the source of his power emanates.

Chief Emeka, Ikeogu (2019) from Ukpo, a neighbouring village with Nawgu, observed that a lot of men lose their wife to the prophet who claims that god told him that it was the wife was the cause of their problems. Thus many unborn babies were removed by the prophet through ritual means. According to Nnadozie,

Eddy derailed from the path of truth and justice, and started doing all sorts of devilish and fetish things. He slipped from the path of decency, and became uncontrollable in doing evil (Nnadozie, 2008)

Nnadozie claimed that, at this point, the prophet perpetrated all kinds of malicious crimes ranging from armed robbery, ritual killing, beating of widows, violence acts against the people, and the people could no longer feel secure having the prophet and his ministry which had virtually become a den of thieves around them. He, like Derico, also had government backing. This could be seen when he was arrested by the Bakassi boys. Delegation from influential people in the state, Government House and Aso Rock were trooping the headquarters of the Bakassi boys at White House Onitsha, (Uzo, 2010). Pressures were mounted on them to release him but they boys acted swiftly and put an end to everything by sending him to the great beyond. Uzo (2010) an eye witness to his death said that he was embowelled and dismembered before setting his dismembered parts ablaze.

For his part, **Okwudili Ndiwe**, alias Derico rose from a random street urchin to become the leader of a ruthless armed robbery gang that was synonymous with blood in the eyes of the people. At the height of his notoriety, traders could hardly display their wares with any illusion of permanence for fear that the shout of "Derico" would rent the air and begin another chapter where some would lose their livelihoods and their lives. It was no different at night, many would say they could only sleep with one eye open because Derico would come when he would, night or day.

He and his gang would lay ambush, waiting for luxurious inter-state buses to rob. In December 2000, it was said that Derico attacked a 59-seater bus at the popular Upper Iweka. After robbing the passengers, they killed all the passengers. Only four people survived (Pulse.ng, 2018). After operations, he would often boast of his invincibility and that no man could kill him. But his power failed him and he was captured by the boys. An Igbo adage has it that every day is for the thief, but a day is for the owner. Thus, everything he labour vanished at the presence of the Bakassi boys. Thus, his exit and that of other criminals in Anambra became a relief to all Anambrarians both home and abroad who could attest to the superiority of the Bakassi boys over that of the hoodlums.

### **Bakassi Boys' Vigilante Services and Conventional Security Agents: Lesson for our Security Agents**

According to Okoye (2000) public servants regards government and public office as belonging to no one in particular, therefore they become mean and careless which gives room for corrupt practice. Similarly, the police and its sister security agencies pay little attention to the plight of the citizens unless it comes to where money is involved. They don't respond to distress calls and hardly care about the people which they are meant to protect the way that is expected of them. Investigation into a crime of murder, rape, assassination and other heinous crimes takes the police ages to come with report whether positive or negative, but when a police officer is shot by armed robbers, rapped or insulted, then the police will arrest and detain the perpetrators within two days of the incident.

The Bakassi boys, though used force and threat of it to arrest their victims, they were far from victimizing innocent people. The police were trained to investigate crime and arrest offenders, yet they arrest people indiscriminately with many innocent people detained. They even arrest people based on allegation and suspicion which makes it easy for them to harass innocent youths with the allegation that they

are criminals. The security agent's attitude to the public is always that of nothing goes for nothing.

The Bakassi boys for the period they lasted in Anambra state and Aba, were never known for intimidating innocent people. Mr. Udo Hillary (2020) affirms that whenever the boys arrest a criminal, they will interview him and he will make his confession. He said that none of the people that was arrested and killed ever denied the fact that they were guilty of the crime accused them of. Their lie dictator was second to none. In saner climes, the government should have opted for the improvement of their kind of technology which gave them the upper hand above the police and the army. In fact the greatest of their security gadget was the instrument that makes a person who disappeared to reappear within some minutes. The instrument also makes it possible to import criminals who migrated to neighbouring states and towns on hearing the exploits of the boys.

The personal interest of the legitimate security agents as we are meant to know made them to be akin to bribery, intimidation, killing of innocent people via accidental discharge as they always claim. Extortion of unsuspecting members of the public such as the bus drivers, Indian hemp smokers, and petty criminals made them to be indifferent with big time armed robbers. At least to them, they have families and therefore should not risk their life for nothing.

We have not condemned the conventional security agents in its entirety. There are some, so many who are dedicated and willing to protect their father land. After all the police is your friend. All we are suggesting is that they should sit up to their duties and make the nation proud.

## **Conclusion**

Security issues in Nigeria has gone beyond what our lukewarm security agents can tackle. Coupled with the politics which pervades every aspect of our national life, it becomes impossible to fight crime to a standstill because crimes are fought on ethnic basis. Boko haram,

Fulani herdsmen, Niger Delta militants, armed robbers, kidnappers and so on are tackled on ethnic lines. This suggests why federal government pleads with Boko haram criminals to repent and embrace amnesty. When they falsely repent, they are subsequently enrolled into the army. How can a blind man lead a blind man? A criminal can never fight a criminal no matter how he pretends to do that.

The Bakassi boys was highly dedicated to the job they came to do. They did not combine their job with politics and did not abandon their task for bribes as the police do, neither did they operate on religious or ethnic lines. All they did was to call a spade a spade. They saw criminals as criminals and not as Igbo, Hausa or Yoruba or as pagan, Christian or Muslim. Security issues should be seen as a threat to the entire nation and should be tackled as such and not by asking about the source of their power and that it is against some religious beliefs. When the criminals strike, they don't kill based on religion or ethnic group and as such should be fought with every source that can defeat them. We have seen many times when criminals are handed over to the police and the police collect money from them and release them. The case of the notorious kidnapper Wadume, the police and the army is still fresh in our memory.

The Bakassi boys were able to achieve what they achieved within a short period of their stay because they meant business. After all the notorious Derico and Eddie Okeke were living with the police and security agencies and they never devised any means to arrest them or get them to behave properly. Rather they became friends with them so as to be free from their wrath. Security agents became friends with criminals so that the general public became enemy to the criminals, or should I say that this is also a security strategy.

We therefore suggest that the security agents should improve both in character and in equipment to be able to face the challenges of this hoodlums who have gone sophisticated. It is an irony for a criminal to carry Avtomat Kalashnikova (AK47) and pump action rifles while a legal security agents has with them pistol in the name of gun. The

guns carried by our Fulani herdsmen are no match to what our security agents' parade as gun. So how will they cope? There must be a reverse of the trend if the war on insecurity must be won.

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## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **STRATEGIES TO CURB CORRUPTION AND PROBLEMS OF INSECURITY IN NIGERIA: A TECHNOLOGICAL VIEWPOINT**

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#### **Executive Summary**

*Nigeria is ranked second ‘most corrupt’ Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) country on Transparency International (TI) corruption index and 146 on Global Corruption Index in 2019. Effective adoption of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has significant importance in curbing corruption, and has increasingly been advocated as a solution to deal with corruption and insecurity problems. However, effective adoption of ICT has remained crippled due to poor ICT policies and practices, poor data governance, e-governance and ignorance. ICT innovations that may effectively mediate corruption are further hindered by high illiteracy rate among Nigerians, given at 40.33%.*

*The purpose of this study was to identify strategies for ICT adoption and usage for dealing effectively with corruption and insecurity problems. The Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) was adopted as the study conceptual framework. In this study, the authors explored a narrative review, analysis, and synthesis of prior research that revealed significant information on how effective ICT adoption and usage can curb corruption and insecurity problems. Peer-reviewed articles within the last five years were extracted from electronic databases. Results revealed that strict adherence to ICT policies and adoption coupled with good formulation and communication of same, are the major impact for curbing corruption and insecurity problems. The result from this study may increase understanding, minimize corrupt practices and encourage trust in ICT adoption, acceptance and sustainability that can positively curb corruption and insecurity problems in Nigeria.*

**Keywords:-** *Corruption, Insecurity Problems, ICT, adoption, ICT sustainability.*

## **Introduction**

Nigeria is ranked second ‘most corrupt’ Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) country on Transparency International (TI) corruption index and 146 on Global Corruption Index in 2019 (TI, 2020). The word corruption is a universal challenge and not native to Nigeria. However Nigeria has remained a corrupt nation because Information and Communication Technology (ICT) which mediates corruption as evident in some developed countries, has not been adopted according to standards in Nigeria. Globally, ICT has been recommended as a tool to curb corruption and insecurity problems (Wickberg, 2013), by simplifying the process of collecting digital facts and figures that could provide substantial evidences to detect corrupt practices (Krishnan, Teo, & Lim, 2013). Unfortunately, the same ICT innovations that mediate corruption practices in developed countries (Krishnan, et al., 2013), to the contrary, promotes corruption in Nigeria

(Ogutu, Okello, & Otieno, 2014). This is due to the fact that ICT adoption and sustainability in Nigeria has been plagued with corrupt polices, ethics and values. It is evident from this study that investment in ICT can have both negative and positive effect on the corruption level of a nation, depending on the value placed on ICT (Ogutu, et al., 2014; Wickberg, 2013). Increase in ICT investment possibly will provide infrastructures that can effectively monitor and control corruption. However, more ICT investments without adequate adoption, acceptance and sustainability can also provide an opportunity for corruption because, according to Sahi and Gupta (2013), the value placed on any technological innovation is measured by its adoption, acceptance and sustainability. Acceptance of a technology is measured by adoption, *adoption guarantees sustenance, while sustenance determines its value*. Consumers are likely to adopt, accept and sustain ICT services and be more satisfied with it if they believe that using the system will increase their performance and productivity (Sahi & Gupta, 2013). It is hypocritical to observe that the various arms of the Nigerian Government make much noise about ICT while in truth they do not value it because they do not see ICT services as a means to increase the performance and productivity of the nation. Rather ICT is seen more as a corruption-exposer technology. The objective of this study is to pinpoint strategies to increase transparency and fight corruption in Nigeria through effective ICT adoption, acceptance, and sustainability.

Besides adoption and sustainability challenges, achieving secure ICT systems is complex in nature, and demands a well-designed and well-developed structure that enables reliable physical and logical connection between different systems such as appropriate data governance and e-governance. ICT system involves both software, hardware, and other concepts such as data protocols that control the interactions between systems. ICT investments alone cannot solve its security problems until users understand technology and the problems (Stallings & Brown, 2012). This is because users appear to be the most significant links to the information security of any organization, and invariably constitutes the highest risk to the information security

measures and information integrity of any organization (Stallings & Brown, 2012). The user is frequently the weakest link in the security of a system. Many security breaches are instigated by weak passwords, unencrypted files left on unprotected systems. This is why security breaches have been on the increase, involving both small and large organizations, notwithstanding the advancement in technology (Fenz, Heurix, Neubauer, & Pechstein, 2014).

Aside identifying how effective ICT adoption and usage can curb corruption and insecurity problems in Nigeria, determining what contributes to information insecurity and secure ICT system is also of paramount importance in this study, particularly in the implementation of activities that mitigate threats, curb corruption to the organizations' data: confidentiality, integrity, and availability (Fenz, et al., 2014). Secure ICT system must be within the conceptual frameworks that leverage confidentiality, integrity, and authentication (Stallings & Brown, 2012). A conceptual framework for secure ICT system is considered for computer security that included among others: availability, access control, and privacy. Fenz, et al. (2014) viewed these from its five distinct functional areas: prevention, deterrence, risk avoidance, detection, and recovery; and defined in terms of several interdependent domains: physical and personnel security, system security, operational or procedural security, and network.

In this paper, the authors established some strategies for implementing a secured ICT innovations system that may impact data trustworthiness, accountability and compliance especially with users (Bertino, et al., 2014). They are focused on the availability, integrity and confidentiality of organization's ICT. However, it is vital that it works in harmony with other related policies and programs, including cyber safety, identity security and privacy. This study seeks to implement secure ICT system that will present a functional ICT system operation that is clear, safe, concise, familiar, responsive, consistent, attractive, enjoyable, efficient, and forgiving, and reliable to handle every ICT service delivery to customers. Secure ICT system will attract more customer to use ICTs which in turn, will cause

organizations to enjoy additional revenue, high levels of customer satisfaction, investment opportunities, cost savings, effective service delivery, and competitiveness (Jegede, 2014). It is anticipated that findings from this study may motivate social change as more Nigerians will have value for ICT innovations, and secure ICT systems that are likely to leverage users' confidence, improve user morale, preference, attraction, and productivity, and also mediate corruption across all borders of the economy.

### **Problem Statement**

Corruption breaches among ICT Innovations in Nigeria have been on the increase in spite of the advancement in technology. The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) fluctuated substantially and tended to increase through 2005 - 2019 period ending at 26 score in 2019 (TI, 2020). This index for Nigeria averaged 20.98 points from 1996 until 2019, reaching an all-time high of 26 Points in 2019 (TI, 2020). Ironically, ICTs that are supposed to help mediate the effect of corruption in Nigeria, are plagued by corrupt policies and values. ICT Innovations functions should include policies, resources, activities, operations and implementation procedures defined to mediate corruption and mitigate most security threats, vulnerabilities, and risks. The general IT problem is the implementation of procedures: data governance, e-governance, policies, resources, activities, and operations to mediate corruption and mitigate security threats, and vulnerabilities. The specific IT problem is that some IT managers of ICT Innovations lack strategies to mediate corruption and mitigate security threats, and vulnerabilities, associated with ICT Innovations systems in Nigeria.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The information system theory called the Technology Acceptance Model (TAM) was adopted as the foundation for this study. TAM was developed by Davis in 1989, based upon the psychology-based Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) and Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) (Davis, 1989). According to TAM, users accept and use technology by presuming two variables: Perceived Ease of Use (PEOU) and

Perceived Usefulness (PU). PEOU and PU are the primary determinants TAM interwoven in a complex but mediating relationship between system characteristics (external variables) and potential system usage. A lot of researchers claims are consistent with TAM's views on how PU and PEOU are often determined by a perceived attitude towards technology (Gangwar, Date, & Raoot, 2014); cognitive ability (Chen, Liu, Li, & Yen, 2013); social, cultural, and political influences (Kaushik & Rahman, 2015); self-efficacy (Teoh, Siong, Lin, & Jiat, 2013); facilitating conditions (Tsai, 2015); usability measurement attributes (Hsiao & Tang, 2015); and effectiveness, efficiency, learnability, and memorability (Chen & Chan, 2013). This property of TAM makes it to be the preferred user-acceptance model for this study which focuses on trust, value, adoption, and usability of ICTs especially among people with varying attitudes, abilities and literacy levels.

## **Literature Review**

Transparency International (TI) elucidated corruption as the abuse of entrusted power for personal or group interest (TI, 2020). Corruption can manifests in various forms: bribery, extortion, collusion, fraud, embezzlement, misappropriation, trading influence, illicit enrichment, abuse of position, and money laundering. A report by TI asserted that more than two-thirds countries in the world have corruption score below 50 on a 0-100 scale where 0 represents highest corruption (TI, 2020). In 2019, Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) for Nigeria was 26 score (TI, 2020). This report suggests a high rate of corruption in Nigeria. That notwithstanding, prior research suggests that measures that can create atmosphere of transparency and openness are likely to help identify and deter corruption or corrupt behaviours (Krishnan, et al., 2013; Ogutu, et al., 2014; Wickberg, 2013). These measures include, but not limited to, effective e-governance (Krishnan, et al., 2013), good data governance (Khatri & Brown, 2010), well-functioning ICT policies, ethics and values (Komatsu, Takagi, & Takemura, 2013), literacy, with trust and value for technology (Adjei, 2015; Sahi & Gupta, 2013).

E-government is clarified as the application of ICTs and the Internet to promote access and delivery of all aspects of government services and operations that impacts transparency and accountability for the benefit of the citizens, businesses, employees and other stakeholders (Krishnan, et al., 2013). It is an effective and efficient process that runs on a sustainable ICT platform to improve transparency and accountability of all aspects of government services and operations for sustainable economic goals (Ionescu, 2013), and help to diminish corruption by enhancing transparency and accountability of government administration (Güney, 2017). Sustainable ICTs are enablers and platforms for sustainable e-government. Krishnan, *et al.* (2013) enumerated significant negative relationships exist between sustainable e-government and corruption. While ICTs are seen as enablers of e-governance, sustainable e-governance can impact reduction in corruption, problems of insecurity, and increased transparency in government. Guarded by the conceptual framework for this study, the authors addressed these gaps in the literature by adopting a theoretical approach that synthesise the link between ICT, e-governance, corruption, and problems of insecurity. These relationships among ICT, e-governance, and corruption can be represented as a continuing sequence of stages, tasks, or events in a circular flow, each shape having the same level of importance with no emphasis on direction of impact, shown in figure 1 below.

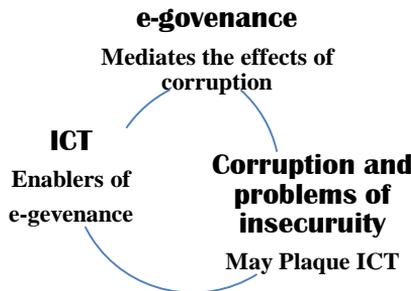


Figure 1 Relationship between ICTs, e-government, and corruption e-government has the potential to offer: enhanced data governance service delivery (Khatri & Brown, 2010), increased usage and

adoption of ICT and information systems security measures (Aguboshim & Udobi, 2019; de Albuquerque & dos Santos, 2015), reduction in corruption and increased transparency and accountability (Krishnan, et al., 2013), reduction of security breaches among ICT networks (Fenz, et al., 2014), and reduced gender ICT divide (ITU, 2016; Nwokocha, 2016; Park & Kim, 2014). In this study, our focus is on strategies to enforce sustainable ICT void of corruption and insecurities.

### **Barriers to the Implementation of Sustainable ICT in Nigeria.**

Despite the global technological advancements, ICT implementation and adoption in Nigeria has remained quite slow, and in some situations non-effective due to: corrupt practices, poor adoption of ICT standards, ignorance, illiteracy, and bad governance.

First, ICT Infrastructures in Nigeria are either inadequate or incompletely implemented with poor internet accessibility. Basically, there is a lack of solid implementations of ICT innovations. Most of the technological innovations in Nigeria often end with the technological equipment alone leaving off “information and communication” aspect of ICT. This is because adequate data governance to drive ICT innovations are virtually nonexistence. Data governance is all about realising data as the asset to the nation’s business, and making sure that all the rules, policies, roles, responsibilities and tools needed are put in place to ensure that data are accurate, consistent, complete, available and secure (Koltay, 2016). Data governance is defined as a system of prescribed acceptable models which described what actions are taken with the data and information, how, when, where, and under what conditions and methods, decision rights and accountabilities such actions are taken within an information-related processes. (Data Governance Institute, 2015). The global aim of data governance is to encourage a single version of the truth and to allow one single reference for critical master data, across geographies and business units. This is farfetched in Nigeria. Sustainable data governance is of significant importance in realizing or attaining sustainable e-governance that can mediate the

effect of corruption and impacts increased transparency of decision-making in Nigeria. A significant relationship exists between sustainable ICT and sustainable data governance (Bennett, 2017). Lack of sustainable data governance in Nigeria is the reason why ICT Innovations are not effectively functional because ICT innovations frequently adopt databank rather than database system technology. For instance, Traffic lights in Nigeria are not properly implemented and so are not adequately or properly put to use. As a result police and other touts are used to check traffic light offenders, when the same traffic light is embedded with a monitoring camera. What a stupendous waste of both human and technological resources. ICT innovation to curb corruption should be automated. One cannot run ICTs without good data governance and good communication of same. How can a nation run an automated traffic system without proper documentation of vehicles and owners? The same is applicable to other establishments such as Nigeria Road Safety Commission (NRSC), Police, and Ministry of Justice etc. For instance the NRSC or the police cannot at any location (outside their offices) ascertain the originality or expiry date of drivers licence. This is because our ICT infrastructures, where they exist, are not fully implemented or adopted. These situations breed corruption, and result in poor adoption and sustainability of the Nation's ICT. *It takes adoption or use of technology to sustain it* (Ogutu, et al., 2014).

Second, there is high rate of Ignorance, Illiteracy, and Lack of Trust on ICT Innovations in Nigeria. Sustainable ICT innovations in Nigeria have been hindered by the ignorance, illiteracy and lack of trust on IT innovations in Nigeria (Adjei, 2015; Sahi & Gupta, 2013). There is a high level of digital divide among the genders nationwide. The existing technological innovations in Nigeria have failed to provide easy-to-use system for the great number of Nigerians that are illiterates or semiliterate, and the many literate ones with illiterate-ICT mindsets. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) 2015 Statistic Report placed the Nigeria literacy rate for adults aged 15 years and older at 59.67% (UNESCO, 2015). Meaning that 40.33% are illiterates. Survey report by

Enhancing Financial Innovation and Access (EFInA) revealed that only 7.9% of Nigerians use ATMs, while 53% of adults bank customers use their ATM cards. EFInA (2014) specified that Nigerians are likely to be among the top population that stores money in their houses, rather than aligning to the ongoing cashless move. Claims by researchers put the estimated percentage of cash in circulation in the Nigerian economy is outside of the banking system at 65% (Emengini & Alio, 2014; Ezeamama, Ndubuisi, Marire, & Mgbodile, 2014; Itah & Ene, 2014). One of the major reasons for this might be ignorance, illiteracy, and lack of trust of technology embedded in corruption instincts. Human resources in Nigeria generally lack competent personnel adequate awareness, and professional training required to implement increased transparency in the public sectors, as well as improved service delivery through user-friendly administrative systems.

Third, is the high level of corrupt policies and practices that plagued ICT innovations in Nigeria. ICT innovations in Nigeria have been subjected or corrupted with human emotions, thoughts, and attitudes, thereby rendering ICTs useless, un-impactful, and with nonsensical outputs. It is common in Nigeria to observe some of the so-called honorable men in the society breaking the traffic light, using the exit door for an entrance, their vehicles with government registration numbers even when they have left the office. Many drive their private vehicles without seeing any need to renew their vehicle particulars because the so-called ICT in place has been subjected to have attitude. This is a big slap on the face of technology in Nigeria.

## **Methodology**

We adopted a narrative review methodology to review, analyse and synthesise prior research findings because drawing a holistic interpretations or conclusions from our reviews is of paramount importance. According to Hill and Burrows (2017), narrative review methodology is appropriate where analysis and synthesis of different and related research findings are required to draw holistic interpretations or conclusions based on the reviewers' own

experience, existing theories and models. A narrative study approach is best suited for a descriptive or explanatory study (Bell, 2017), where results from such narrative studies are of qualitative rather than quantitative in nature (Scarnato, 2017). There is significant strengths portrayed by narrative studies in the sense that they have ability to provide platforms for comprehension, diverse and numerous understanding around scholarly research findings, and the opportunity to make reflective practice and acknowledgement of researchers' views and knowledge (Scarnato, 2017).

### **Data Collection**

We reviewed some professional and academic research findings that are relevant and related to our study. Many of such findings came from the ProQuest databases, ScienceDirect, Walden University international library databases and peer-reviewed, and other related texts. Our reviews incorporated 38 references. Ninety two (92%) of total references incorporated in the study are peer-reviewed, while (71%) are peer-reviewed journals that are within the last 5 years.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Eradication of corruption using ICT will be dependent on several factors: automation of operations without attitudinal influence, removal of all forms of discretion (transparency), detection and monitoring of all ICT operations including online and networks, publishing corrupt culprits (deterrence), removal of respect for persons, and promoting ICT ethical standards and attitudes. Achieving all these may be difficult, but may provide real potentials for sustainable e-governance and other devices for reducing corruption, problems of insecurity, and increased transparency. Based on our findings, we recommend that countries with high level of illiteracy as Nigeria should consider usability interfaces to accommodate users' behavioural intention to use ICTs and their varied abilities, cultural backgrounds, and literacy levels. ICTs policies and standards should be well managed because technology alone is not sufficient to ensure information security. Humans appear to be the most significant links to the information security of any system and invariably constitute the

highest risk to the information security measures and information integrity of any organization as what contributes to information insecurity has proven to be complex, dynamic and more of psychological in nature. It is believed that no single tool can exploit the full ICT control automation potential. A combination of different tools: data governance, e-governance, information security policies intentions, principles, rules and guidelines and sustainable ICT are required. We recommend that countries with high level of corruption consider implementing good data governance and e-governance to leverage sustainable ICT as a means to mediate corruption, mitigate system insecurities, and empower operations that impact transparency and accountability. It is hoped that findings from this study will encourage future studies to further explore the ICT-corruption link, including the relationships among ICT, data governance, e-governance, corruption, and the factors that moderate their relationship

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## CHAPTER FOUR

# SOCIAL JUSTICE: THE USE OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY TO CHALLENGE DICTATORIAL GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA

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### Executive Summary

*Social Justice: the use of Religious identity to Challenge Governance and Dictatorial Governance in Africa. The paper is a critical analysis of how religious identity has been used and is still being used to challenge governance. It argues that social justice is prerequisite to good governance and again that; religious identity; and violence; have come about largely as a result of frequent leadership change, lack of ideology, policy reversal and weak institutional patterns. Using the method of historical interpretation review of related literature to collect data and employed the theories of primordial, fundamentalism, and instrumentalism the researcher argues for how it affects religion that leads to the challenging of the polity (government). The paper also examines the leadership selection process in Africa and that leadership selection process in Africa takes the imposition pattern mostly and that African leaders frequently come to their position with limited technical know-how of the job. Hence, the decline in moral and godly values/religious resources and discipline caused by bad policies, eroded professional standards, distorted values and ethics and weakened the*

*system of governance. The paper lays emphasis on leadership, governance and religious fundamentalist in some selected African countries. The paper observes that for African countries to overcome the crises of leadership governance in the Continent and fundamentalism in the world, those on whom the burden of leadership will fall in the future must fully comprehend their responsibilities, duties and obligations. They must also be exposed and be prepared to face the challenges of leadership in developing society, since the long term salvation of developing countries depends on the quality of its leaders. The paper concludes that religious identity is not the only factor for waging war against the government and only leadership that has maximum empathy for the people can be relevant to the qualitative movement of African countries.*

**Keywords:** Social Justice, Religious Identity, Governance, Dictatorial Governance!

## **Introduction**

Many developing countries suffer from the increasing levels of social inequality, weak public corporate governance, limited competition, lack of a well-structured public sector, and pervasive corruption during the last few years and the call for the concepts of social justice, good governance and the challenge of dictatorial governance is timely, important and no doubt topical, reflecting the worldwide thrust toward political and economic liberalization. Throughout the whole world, there has been an urgent desire among various people and government for unity, justice or social justice, peace and stability. This is often indicated by various identities through social advocacy as in the Stefano's Foundation faith-based organization in Jos, Nigeria (Casanova, 1994). The unequal earning destroyed the lives of the poor and spread poverty and slums. In developed and developing societies alike the last few years have witnessed the 'return of religion' to public life (Habermas, 2006). This process is normally dated from the

Iranian Revolution in 1979, and has been distinguished by the mobilization of religiously-based political identities, virulent anti-secularism and vocal claims for a more generous role for religions in the public sphere where, for the most part, the operative norm since 1945 has been the secular state (Haynes, 2007). Radical political movements in the name of militant Islam have created a global security threat: in Afghanistan and Pakistan, militant Islam threatens to capture the state for a global jihad against the West; in Europe the call by some Muslim groups for Sharia law has led to an anti-Islamic backlash; and in large parts of the Middle East and South East Asia, religious terrorism in the name of Islam has mobilized new political formations and also in Africa, Nigeria is not left out (Klausen, 2005) agrees in perspective with (Roy, 2004).

Leadership is one of the most observed and least understood phenomena on earth. A call for a focus on leadership, social justice, and dictatorial governance is timely, important and no doubt topical, reflecting the worldwide thrust toward political and economic liberation. Throughout the whole world, there has been an urgent desire among various people and government for unity, justice, peace and stability. The resurgence of this desire is not only explicable through their political policies alone; but also it is reflected in the social and economic policies (Obasola, 2002:9) cited in (Afegbua,2012:141). In fact, most constituted governments in Africa have been undergoing serious and deepening politico economic crisis. These problems generated by political, social and economic instability and the prevalence of ethnic, communal and religious identity crises, which have bedeviled Africa, call our attention to the problems of social injustice, leadership, governance and dictatorial governance in the Continent. In other words, the staggering wave of violence, insecurity, increasing crime wave, economic recession, coupled with the break in law and order are the attributes to the problem of social injustice, leadership, governance and dictatorial governance in Africa. Therefore, the quest for good leadership is a *sine-qua-non* for governance and sustainable development (2012:141-142)

Fundamentalist Christianity has also been mobilized as never before; the Protestant Reformation, often referred to simply as the Reformation, was a schism from the Roman Catholic Church initiated by Martin Luther, John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli and other early Protestant Reformers in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Europe. The theoretical and empirical evidence presented here encompasses a variety of psychological fields examining cognitive, emotional, relational, social, and economical and personality dimensions of religion. Religion is thus seen as a set of beliefs, emotions, rituals, moral rules, and communal aspects. According to **Amos 5:20-24**: “Is not the day of the LORD darkness, and not light, and gloom with no brightness in it? 21 I hate, I despise your feasts, and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies. 22 Even though you offer me your burnt offerings and grain offerings, I will not accept them; and the peace offerings of your fattened animals, I will not look upon them. 23 Take away from me the noise of your songs; to the melody of your harps I will not listen. 24 But let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream” (RSV).

The paper emphasizes that religious identity is one of the major sources of conflict used to mobilize support for or against any government. However, a more pragmatic view is a description opined by Best (2011). Best associated religion with belief, the unseen, life in the hereafter, rituals and practices among others and could be perpetuated by institutions and systems of reproduction. It is perhaps because of this basic principle of religion that Mangyvat as cited in Afolabi, (2015) identify three reasons that causes hostility and used for group mobilization amongst different religions of the world and most especially Christianity-Islam relationship in northern Nigeria.... Thus, every religious belief recognizes itself as the correct (true) religion which implies that other religion represents falsehood. In the process of recruiting converts, they portray others as false and even make uncharitable remarks on the others to the latter's displeasure, every religion has the inherent desire to stamp out others through persuasion, coercion or a combination of both. All these are not limited to a functionalist approach to religion; both a “defensive” and

a “prospective” creative conception of religion. The main arguments are that:

- Religion is a specific quest for meaning but is not defined by it;
- Religion is the search for values of the ideal life;
- Religion contributes to the challenges of governance;
- Religion is animated by the aspiration for unity, integration, and harmony as an instrument for coactions;
- Religion provides personal empowerment and social support as well as clues for construction of identity as a community.

For every argument, positive (examples optimism, self-control, peace of mind, self-esteem, pro-social concerns) as well as negative (examples fundamentalism, obsession, fixation on the maternal world, conservatism, out-group prejudice), consequences of religion for personal and social well-being are depicted. Special attention is paid to relations between religion and governance: regulation of the equilibrium between absorption by, and rejection of, governance; government-religious differences versus governance invariants in psychological aspects of religion. Finally, new challenges for the psychological understanding of religion (and modern spirituality), due to the combination of factors such as individualization, and globalization, are examined (Afolabi, 2015).

## **Conceptual Frame Work**

### **The Concept of Social Justice**

The concept of social justice means the practice whereby people make sure that there is no oppression or discrimination against anyone in the society on the grounds of tribe, nationality, age, race, gender, religious beliefs- example is the case of Leah a Dapchi school girl kidnapped by Boko Haram among the 110 school girls in Yobe state Nigeria on the 14<sup>th</sup> May, 2018 and till date 14, May 2020 in their custody, political associations or party affiliations, clicks, or socioeconomic status/backgrounds that is as in high economic standard or low economic standard and etc. Ayo (2019) opined that social justice is a

social concept that assigns rights and duties to individuals in the institutions of society, and which enables this people to receive their basic benefits and burdens of cooperation. The relevant institutions often include taxation, social insurance, public health, public school, public services, labour law and regulation of markets, to ensure fair distribution of wealth, and equal opportunity. Another conceptualization is given by Ayantayo (as cited in Pokol, 2019:444-447) who defined social justice as “giving every person what is due to them, which connotes liberty, freedom, equality and fair play. It also means that we must defend innocence and promote social justice and truth among humankind”.

A recurring theme in the reactions, reflections and comments of all people about the vicious cycles of violence that have bedeviled Nigeria over the years, whether by culprits or victims, is the issue of justice or the more inclusive social justice. The biggest challenge about social justice is that different groups or identities and individuals in a conflict, claim it as the justification for their own actions. This is further complicated by the fact that each group sees justice from its own religious, political, socioeconomic and ideological perspective, with the strong tendency to despise and wave aside the other side's understanding of justice as illegitimate. Justice to a radical Muslim is quite different from justice to a fundamental Christian because each believes that his or her religious perspective is the only legitimate place to stand and talk acceptably about justice or as absolute truth (Ango, 2018:8-9).

### **The Concept Religion/Faith**

According to Best, (2011) religion may be defined as an institutional framework within which some specific theological doctrines and practices are advocated and pursued, usually among a community of like-minded believers. Again, he opines that religion is a system of language and practices that organizes the world in terms of what is deemed Holy.

Hammond (1988) noted that religion is a derivation of the social circumstances that create the enabling environment for involuntary acceptance of a way of life, especially as a consequence of group membership. For, instance, people are made to manifest their sense of unity and belonging as a result of group membership through participation in rituals, ceremonies, beliefs system or orientation and behavior towards symbols and objects perceived to be sacred and treated with sense of awe and wonder.

Concept of religion according to AMOS 4:20-24 is seen as man's way of reaching God while true religion is one in which we combine together the rituals and ceremonial aspects of our faith with its moral requirements or godly values! In (Deepak, 2002:2) also said “religion is the belief in someone else's experience. Spirituality is having your own experience”.

### **The Concept of Religious Identity**

Religious identity refers specifically to religious group membership regardless of religious activity or participation. Religion is the individual and social experience of the sacred that is manifestation in the mythologies, ritual, ethos and integrated in a collective or organisation (Don, 1999).

A person's religious identity is the name of the religion that they identify themselves with. In today's society, people want to know, what religion are you? Generally they expect a one answer with the name of the religion that expresses their religious identity. A person might say they are a Buddhist, or a Christian, or a Jew, or a Muslim, or a Hindu. These are examples of religious identity (Rosemary Nguamo & Others, 2016:5).

As a group within the context of this paper, the writer conceptualize religious identity as a specific type of identity formation with a sense of group membership to a religion and the importance of this group membership as it pertains to one's self concept.

### **The Concept of Governance**

Canadian International Development Agency 2013 (CIDA) uses the term good governance in its policy on Human Rights, Democratization and Good Governance, and defines the concept as follows: by good governance we mean the manner in which power is exercised by government in the management of a country's social and economic resources. "Good" governance is the exercise of power by various levels of government that is effective, honest, equitable, transparent and accountable.

The World Bank uses the following definition: "By governance we mean the manner in which power is exercised... in the management of a country's social and economic resources". Pokol (2016) defined governance as "governing or directing the affairs of a group of people which could be a family, a village, a city, a country, or groups of countries. It is the activity of rendering stewardship of human and material resources within a given place and time". Governing is an exercise of constructive power by exercising leadership through persuading & influencing people towards realizing their goals (Ruwa, 2001:27) as in Pokol 194. Power in this case means diffused power which is found everywhere instead of the analogue idea of concentrated power in an individual leader. People who engage in governing are people who are entrusted with responsibilities of ensuring the well-being of those under them. The governing mandate is a divine one as recorded in Genesis 1:26-27 (Pokol: 194). To govern is to direct the public affairs of a country. Governance is the activity or manner of governing by a structure of governance which is the government. A Government is a group of people governing a state or country. In all constituted communities, public affairs have to be directed, controlled, influenced and managed. Thus governing is the right or power to govern. Governing implies authority. Authority refers to the right by virtue of office and position to command obedience. Authority is necessary for the unity of the state. Its role is to ensure as far as possible the common good of the society (Ruwa, 2001:26).

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in its 1997 policy paper, defined governance as “the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions, through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences “. This definition was endorsed by the Secretary General’s inter-agency sub-task force to promote integrated responses to United Nations conferences and summits.

### **Brief Concept of Religious Identity**

Religious identity has often been used to mobilize one side against the other, as has happened in Iraq, Sudan, and elsewhere. Religious identity is also used to fight dictatorial regime so as to insure good governance. Examples include: Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Syria Crises which is ongoing by Islamic State (Isis and Isil). In times of dictatorial governance people often responded in defense of their identities or in defend of their faith. But to describe many such conflicts as rooted in religious differences or to imply that ideological or doctrinal differences are the principal causes of conflict is to seriously over simplify and misrepresent a complex situation.

### **Theoretical Perspectives**

Here the writer asks whether religion is a cause of conflict and what role religion can play in generation of conflict. The four broad categories have been singled out to guide our understanding and how religious identity is engaged in challenging governance; these are; primordialism, instrumentalism; fundamentalism and structural conflict theory.

### **Primordialism Religious Theory**

They views religious strife as the climates of strain in relationships as a result of cultural, identity and historical differences. Ancient hatreds create diverging interest and it is possible for conflict to take place over or between two civilizations. Perhaps out of the desire to be

politically correct some have wished away the primordial issues that laid the foundation for the use of religion to create conflict in Africa. According to Turaki (2012), it is not possible for Africa to have a proper grasp of the nature of religious and communal clashes, frictions, riots, conflicts and violence without understanding our primordial, religious, cultural and colonial past; what we were before the arrival of Christian mission, Islam and colonial masters, and what we became during and after the Christian mission, Islamic, colonial and post- colonial eras.

### **Instrumentalism Theory of Religious Conflict**

Instrumentalist argue that although religion may aggravate conflict once it has occurred and been caused by other factors, religion is hardly a cause of conflict, let alone violent conflict. They believe that the polarization of religion and religious identities and the radicalization of religious communities become a possibility when there is a situation of economic and political decline (Hasenclever and Rittberger, 2000). The instrumentalisation of religion has been made possible by many factors, among them, the failure of development, (structural conflict), and failed modernization that have created vacuums which are conveniently filled by religion.

### **Fundamentalism/Fanaticism Theory**

This perspective has it that religious conflicts are work of fundamentalists and fanatics and persons who are religiously overzealous and misguided and who follows extreme and often potentially confrontational interpretations and forms of religious teaching. The follower ship and sponsors are also considered fundamentalists who confront each other because they are intolerant of other faiths and cannot accommodate other beliefs in a religious plural society (Gwamna, 2007).

### **Structural Conflict Theory**

The structural conflict theory has two main sub-orientations; one is the radical structural theory represented by the Marxist dialectical school

with exponents like Marx and Engels, V.I Lemn and others. Two is the liberal structuralism represented by Ross (1993), Sear borough (1998) and the famous work John Galtung (1990) on structural violence. It is also sometime similar transformative theory which addresses the reactions of individuals groups, cultures, institutions and societies to change. It further sees incompatible interest based on competition for resources, which in most cases are assumed to be source, as being responsible for social conflicts (Collier, 2000). Marxist theorists based on the conception of historical materialism present conflict as most tied to economic structures and social institutions.

### **The Ethnic-Religious Nexus (Religious, Political, Economic, Social and Conflict Relationship)**

According to Jonathan (2000), religious belief systems are essential aspects of the identities of those who follow them. Accordingly any attack, real or perceived, on one's religious framework is not an attack on the religion; it is also an attack on a vital element of one's identity. Given this, it is not surprising that this can cause a defensive reaction that is often violent. Wentz describes this phenomenon metaphorically as defending the 'walls of religion'. Lewis makes this argument with respect to Islam and Christianity noting that these religions' claims to exclusive truths are a major source of conflict (Jonathan, 2000:7-8).

Again, Gurr in Jonathan said one way to understand the ethnic conflict process is described as basic model posits that discrimination or even differences in status between groups, causes deprived minority groups to form grievances. Gurr specifically deals with grievances over social, political, autonomy, and economic issues. These grievances cause the minority to mobilize for conflict. These mobilized groups finally engage in conflict. This is the core of Gurr's model. He also accounts for the influence of the group's cohesion, size, and geographic concentration, regime factors like democracy, democratisation, state power, and economic development, international contagion and diffusion, international support for both

the state and the minority group, and repression. Although Gurr does not deal with religion directly, by analogy religious discrimination should lead to religious grievances which, in turn, should lead to mobilisation followed by conflict (Jonathan, 2000:9).

Economic perspective on the causes of civil war and based on empirical patterns globally over the period 1965-98. During this period, the risk of civil war has been systematically related to a few economic conditions, such as dependence upon primary commodity exports and low national income. Conversely, and astonishingly, objective measures of social grievance, such as inequality, a lack of democracy as in political, and ethnic and religious divisions, have had little systematic effect on risk (Collier, 2006:1).

Collier again, opines that economists would argue that it is not really necessary to distinguish between the three variants of the predation theory. It does not really matter whether rebels are motivated by greed, by a lust of power, or by grievance, as long as what causes conflict is the feasibility of the predation. Indeed, economist tends to set little credence on the explanations which people give for their behavior, preferring to work by 'revealed preference': people gradually reveal their true motivation by the pattern of their behavior even if they choose to disguise the painful truth from themselves. Rebel leaders may much of the time come to believe their own propaganda, but if their words are decried by their behavior, then their words have little explanatory power (2006:3-4).

Identities have historically been significant in the Nigerian political process, under colonial rule as well as in the post-colonial dispensation. Under colonialism, administrative exigencies warranted "the invention of traditions", and the nurturing and exacerbation of an "us" *versus* "them" syndrome: Muslim *versus* Christian; Northerner *versus* Southerner; Hausa-Fulani *versus* Yoruba *versus* Igbo, and so on. Religious, regional and ethnic differences were given prominence in conceiving and implementing social, educational and economic development policies and projects under the indirect system of colonial administration favoured by the British. Thus, the differential

impact of colonialism set the context of the regional educational, economic and political imbalances which later became significant in the mobilization or manipulation of identity consciousness in order to effectively divide and rule, as well as in the politics of decolonisation and in the arena of competitive politics in the post-colonial era (Jega, 2000:15-16).

## **Some Selected Case Studies**

### **The Arab Spring: (Dictatorial Governance)**

According Sarihan (2012) the emergence of reformers is the first phase of revolution within authoritarian regimes (Huntington 1991:127). According to Huntington (1991) in the democratization process, the reformers could be group leaders, party leaders, or potential leaders (Huntington 1991:127). Again, during this initial phase of democratic revolution, democratic defenders demand a change from autocrat, tyrannical, and sometimes cruel regimes to democratic, transparent, and human rights-based regimes. The movement triggers, encourages, and induces people who live under the rigid systems to speak out loudly against their government's edicts, such as restraint of speech and protest. This emergence of reformers paves the way for future uprisings against autocracy (Sarihan, 2012:127-129). The Islamist parties, excluded from the political sphere for much of the last decade, is now coming to the forefront of Arab politics. Therefore, closely related to what is happening today 2014-2020 the events of 2011 that is the electoral victories of Ennahda in Tunisia and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt suggest that the future of Arabs politics will be dominated by decision-makers with faith-based political agendas. But the part that religion should play in the new political orders of Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, and how its involvement might be shaped in law and practices, remains the subject of controversy and debate. The role of religion in Arab politics will be determined by the people of the region. Religious identity (parties) and movements cannot be excluded from political process. But the success of faith-based movements at the polls can exacerbate social tensions. Recent electoral results seem to indicate that strict

secularism will not be an option for the new Arab States in the near future. It is yet to be seen which formula of faith-based politics emerging democracies will adopt, on the spectrum between Iranian-style theocracy and Turkish religion inflected secularism.

The line between religion and ethnicity, culture and tradition is not always clear. It is important, however, to distinguish between religions identity, such as Islam and Christianity, and faith-based political ideologies, such as Islamism and fundamentalist Christianity. Whereas religion is the matter of personal identity, ideologies serve a political agenda. This policy brief will explore the role of religion and faith-based ideology in Arab transitions. Long before the ‘Arab Spring’, religion was recognized as a major force in Arab politics. The electoral results of 2011 confirm that (relatively) free elections in the Arab world show strong public support for political Islam, as already seen in Algeria in 1990, Egypt in 2005 and the Palestinian territories in 2006. In 2011, new Islamist parties emerged and previously established ones consolidated their positions. In Tunisia, Ennahda won the greatest number of Parliamentary seats. In Egypt, the Muslim Brothers and several Salafist parties together accounted for two thirds of the Legislative Assembly. In Jordan and Morocco, Islamist political actors are gaining in importance. The victory of Morocco’s Justice and Development Party (JDP) in the country’s 2011 elections led to the appointment of the country’s first Islamist prime minister (2015: 12-22).

The fact that it has a Muslim majority does not mean the Arab world must automatically embrace Islamist rule or reject other religions or faith-based organizations and secularism. Islamists are benefiting from their former exclusion and/or persecution by ousted leaders. The search for strong alternatives to the old regime has encouraged people to support faith-based parties. Islamist movements’ history of opposition to and persecution by the recently toppled authoritarian regimes has given them credibility and legitimacy, which they used effectively during their electoral campaigns. Meanwhile, liberal and secular parties may have lost ground for not opposing the former

leaders strongly enough (Elizabeth Iskander Monier and Annette Ranko in <http://www.researchgate.net><2595...> 10:20-48 searches March, 2020.

For decades, leaders from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) controlled the religious sphere in their countries, either by influencing religious leaders, as in the case of al-Azhar in Egypt and the Muftis in Saudi Arabia and Syria, or by direct interference, as in Iraq under Saddam Hussein, as well as in Jordan, Algeria, Morocco and Libya. But efforts to eradicate religious-based political parties and the instrumentalisation of religion did not diminish religion's popular appeal. In the public imagination, religion became trademark of movements that challenge authoritarian rulers, who persecuted them out of fear. This religious group's defiant stance brought them popularity that was further argued by their charity and social work. Islamists presented their charity activities as filling the gaps left by government's neglect. For them, this was evidence that religious movements were best able to provide relief for social and economic ills, as expressed in the Brotherhood slogan 'Al-Islam Houa al-Hall', 'Islam is the solution'. So, when Arab Spring began to sweep through the region, Islamist parties could make a case that they were the only credible alternatives to authoritarian power. This image, combined with access to foreign funds mostly from Qatar and Saudi Arabia, gave the Islamists an advantage in the ensuing elections. The current momentum does not necessarily mean that religious precepts are set to dominate the Arab world.

In Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, tensions between secular and Islamist actors still exist. Many secularists and liberals doubt the Islamists' democratic commitment, while Islamist parties continue to try to reassure their domestic opponents and the international community of their democratic credentials. As stated above in 2011, in Tunisia, Ennahda insists on a fundamental role for religious rules in the country, even as secular parties reject this direction. But parliamentary debates on the future Tunisian Constitution must begin before concrete issues are decided. In Egypt, too, efforts to draft a new framework for governance are under way. The Muslim Brothers

control the Parliamentary committees for external affairs (diplomacy, defence and energy) and Salafis are at the head of the committees' economy, education and religious affairs. This suggests that Egypt will most likely evolve towards more conservative rules and an islamisation of social life.

In Libya, the National Transitional Council (NTC) has insisted from the outset on the importance of Sharia for the country, which may give some indication of the influence Islamists are likely to have on Libya's future. Drafting a new constitution gives new deputies the chance to determine the degree to which religion will affect their country's future political, legal and social system. New provisions will have to comply with international law as well as taking into account the rules of Islam. This should allow a break with former authoritarian laws while ensuring, as far as democratically possible, compliance with Islamic values. Achieving this balance will be a very tough challenge. Even under previous nominally secular regimes, some social issues were based on the rules of Islam, for example, inheritance, polygamy, family code and minority rights, with particular implications for women's rights. In the current debates, the most contentious issues include the right to sell and drink alcoholic beverages, women's wearing of veil, suspension of activities during prayers, religious instruction and respecting freedom of belief.

Western partners typically view a strict separation between state and religion as a necessary prerequisite for a democratic political system. But this vision is not viable in the MENA context, where religion cannot at the moment be excluded from public sphere. The divide between faith-based and secular political actors in the Middle East is an illusion. Progressive and nominally secular parties do not isolate themselves from religious beliefs. Any attempt to definitively exclude religion from public a political life would be met with harsh public criticism. Neither is secularism necessarily desirable for the region, since religion can serve as a powerful force for national cohesion, for example, in providing common ground between Conservatives and liberals. This is due in part to the fact that, in Islamic belief, affiliation

to the Islamic community (Umma) transcends any ties to a nation-state (2015: 130-145 and Konrad: 2012).

### **South Sudan (Governance)**

The decade long civil war in Southern Sudan of 1983-2005 that was predation by armed groups during the second civil war (1983-2005) initiated a process of dominant class formation, and demonstrates how, through various strategies of resources capture and kinship networks, commanders from the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and other factions formed a new aristocracy- a "dominant class" that thinks itself as "the best" Clemence (2014).

ON 15 DECEMBER 2013 THE GRAVEST POLITICAL CRISIS in the short history of the Republic of South Sudan erupted. Following a series of disagreements within the highest echelons of the ruling Sudan People's Liberation Movement, thirteen political figures were imprisoned, accused by President Salva Kiir of attempting a coup under the leadership of estranged Vice-President Riek Machar Clemence 2014:192. Again, the movement is often described as a religious conflict between Muslim and Christian, with the north being predominantly Muslim and the south predominately Christian or animist. There is some truth to the characterization, particularly after 1989, when an Islamic fundamental government came to power in Khartoum with an agent to Islamize all of Sudan but the difference between north and south go well beyond religion and rarely are the disagreement religious or theological in character. Northerners speak Arabic and want Arabic to be Sudan's national language. Southerners generally speak Arabic only as a second or third language, if at all, and prefer English as the lingua franca (Best: 2011).

Northerners are more likely to identify with the Arab world, whereas southerners tend to identify themselves as Africans. Thus, racial identity is fundamental to the division between north and south. The religious division between Christian and Muslim happens to overlap with these racial, ethnic and geographical divisions, but the conflicts

divide has been confined to or even dominated by religion (Smock:2008).

### **Egypt and Syria (Governance)**

According to Sarihan (2012) the Egypt, reformist began on January 25, 2011, in Tahrir Square. Protesters sought to overthrow the autocratic regime that had ruled since 1952. Most insurgents drew their motivation from the country's history of corrupt and autocrat leadership; limited social, political, and economic rights; and their desire for greater economic inequality. Fawaz Gerges (2011) as in Sarihan further explained that the protesters were "...calling for open societies, for freedom, for transparent elections, for their voices to be heard..." (Scott Peterson, 2011).The Egyptian revolution carries a challenging transition phase, starting out with problems such as low foreign direct investments (FDI), a high budget deficit, a high debt rate, a high unemployment rate, a high poverty rate, and a low standard of living. The temporary supply shortages that followed the upheaval, coupled with rising international prices of food and fuel have adding to the pressure on the domestic price level since early 2011.

The Egyptian citizens had taken part in smaller protest before January 25, 2011, but they were not as effective as the most recent uprising. In the early 2000s, a group of people, spearheaded by the Kifaya (enough) group criticized the Mubarak government for its neutral and silent position on the second Israeli intifada in Palestine. (Kefaya: Asking the Right Question," Baheyya, 30 April 2005) the Egyptian people had criticized the country's rulers for their soft and open policies with Israel since the 1979 Camp David agreement. In the early 2000s, ten thousand people, mostly students, protested the continued Israeli violence toward Palestinian civilians at Cairo University (Samer, 2004).The Egyptian government has played a major role in creating and maintaining a religiously intolerant environment in Egypt that is hostile to non-Muslim and any Muslim who deviates from government endorsed religious norms and traditions. This intolerant environment that stifles independent

thinking and religious liberty is the natural breeding ground for Islamist extremists.

Religious freedom in Egypt precisely, the thereof turns on the interrelationship of some forces in Egypt: the regime, the religious establishment, Islamists, and society at large. Each entity has its own internal considerations and goals that help to diminish religious freedom, but the dynamic relationship between them creates the ongoing cycle of intolerance. Given the nature of this dynamic, any attempt to deal with religious freedom issues in Egypt must start at the state level. Egypt's population is predominantly Sunni Muslim. The government does not acknowledge the existence of non-Sunni Muslim groups, which are deemed deviant versions of Islam. Once the Egyptian nationalist project collapsed and was replaced by other identities-Arab nationalism and Islamism-it was only a matter of time before the dynamics between religious groups turned sour and the state became suspicious of religious minorities and deviations. (Khalidi, 2011)

In 2003, an anti-war movement appeared to organize people against Mubarak to criticize his quiet and ineffective policy regarding the United States' intervention in, or invasion of, Iraq (Hamalawy, 2007). This public protest was the first against Mubarak since his reign began. After the election of the People's Assembly of Egypt, Egyptian oppositions, such as Kifaya, the April 6<sup>th</sup> group, and the Muslim Brotherhood, protested the election results and called the parliament illegitimate, because Mubarak prevented opposing sides to participate in the elections. Religious freedom in Egypt-or, more precisely, the lack thereof-turns on the interrelationship of four forces: the regime, the religious establishment, Islamists, and society at large. Each entity must be accorded its distinct understanding, but the give and take between the four entities is what creates the challenge for religious freedom in Egypt (Cook, 2011).

Awhile Egypt's rulers have fought the Islamists and challenge religious establishment on various issues they have not held a secular viewpoint or attempted to limit the role that religion plays in Egypt.

They focused on taking control of religion, which they viewed as a dangerous weapon in the hands of their enemies. Egypt's three modern rulers have pursued this policy with varying degrees of success using methods ranging from the stick to the carrot. Nasser and the presidents that followed him were driven by a fear of the Islamist challengers to the regime. Under President Anwar El Sadat and then President Hosni Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood and the violent Islamic groups have been viewed as the main threats to the regime, both practically on the group and in terms of legitimacy. To combat this challenge the regime aimed at mobilizing Islam for its own benefits. Under Nasser, the religious establishment was encouraged to emphasize the socialist nature of Islam. After Sadat gave up on socialism, the religious establishment was directed to emphasize how this peace with Israel was Islamic. Sadat even took the absurd step of calling himself the "pious president the regime's policies naturally overflowed into the constitutional framework and laws. Article 2 of the Egyptian constitution proclaims: "Islam is the Religion of the State. Arabic is its official language, and the principal source of legislation is Islamic Jurisprudence (Sharia)". In theory and practice, Articles 40 and 46 contradict Article 2. Article 40 declares: "All citizens are equal before the law. They have equal public rights and duties without discrimination due to sex, ethnic, political association or affiliation, language, religion or creed." Article 46 proclaims: "The State shall guarantee the freedom of belief and the freedom of practicing religious rights" (Korand, 2012).

### **Syria (Governance)**

The summary of Syria dictatorial governance; uprisings against Bashar al-Assad's dictatorial regime in Syria started in Mid-March of 2011, following the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, and the protests continue. (Syria-Protests 2011," New York Times, 15 November, 2011) Prior to the March protests, Syria had three important uprisings against the Baath regime. The first insurrection occurred 1999, when Hafez al-Assad decided to transfer his authority to his son Bashar al-Assad, because of his health problems. Hafez's other son, Rifaat, and

his supporters protested the decision in Latakia, Syria. While protesters claimed hundreds of people died at the hands of government forces, official records stated that only two people were killed after the clashes between Rifaat's supporters and state forces (Sarihan, 2012:72).

The second important protest against the Baath Party took place in Damascus during the spring of 2000, and it is called 'Damascus Spring'. When Bashar al-Assad came to power, Syrian intellectuals began to protest the Baath regime's dictatorial management in salons and forums. To appease the people, Assad released 600 hundred political prisoners. Assad's concordance with protestors did not last long; and in 2001, he closed the forums, then killed and imprisoned many protesters from Damascus Springs (2012:72).

The third important protest in Syria came in the form of the 2004 Kurdish Al-Qamishli riots. Syrian Kurds in the northeastern city of al-Qamishli turned a small skirmish that started during a soccer game into a much broader, political conflict between the Kurds and the Syrian government. The conflict resulted in approximately 100 deaths (2012:72).

### **Boko-Haram: (Governance) the Nigerian Experience**

According to Andrew (2012) United States Institute of Peace said Boko Haram's origins lie in a group of radical Islamist youth who worshipped at the Alhaji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri a decade ago. In 2002, an offshoot of this youth group (not yet known as Boko Haram) declared the city and the Islamic establishment to be intolerably corrupt and irredeemable. Boko Haram, which means "Western education is forbidden", was founded in 2002 but started the movement in 2001 by an Islamist cleric named Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf in response to Nigeria's democratic transition, nationalism and Western influence. The group's official man is not Boko Haram but Jama'atu Ahlis Lidda'awati wal-Jihad, which means "People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad". Members are known to reference the Islamic verse that states, "Anyone who is

not governed by what “Allah” has revealed is among the transgressors”. Osama Bin Laden invested 1\$3million in northern Nigeria, where Muslim are majority, to promote his brand of Salafist Islamism. Bin Laden also endorsed an Islamist revolution in order to topple the Nigerian government and establish a sharia-based state (Jacob, 2018).

According to Lengmang, Yusuf had an estimated 280,000 followers and his armed supporters were referred to as the Nigerian Taliban and dozens trained in Afghanistan. Yusuf was killed on 30 July 2009 by Nigerian forces in the city of Maiduguri in Northern Nigeria and replaced by its current leader, Abubakar Shekau. In November 2013, the U.S. State Deputy designated Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, as well as a splinter group named Ansaru. The U.S. government said Boko Haram has links to Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Magreb and is responsible for killing thousands of people (Best, 2011:11).

### **Boko Haram Main Objective**

The immediate objective of Boko Haram is to establish strict sharia law in northern Nigeria, where the majority of the population is Muslim. Although there are nineteen (19) states in Northern Nigeria but (12) twelve northern states have implemented sharia governance, Boko Haram believes it is too lenient and violates Islam.

Islamist ideology holds that Muslims are required to wage jihad until all territory once under Muslim rule is returned. Boko Haram regards itself as the successor to Usman Dan Fodio who founded the Sokoto Caliphate, which ruled parts of Nigeria, Niger and Cameroon from 1804 until it was formally abolished by the British in 1904. In this vein, Bin Laden also said:

“There are only three choices in Islam: either willing submission (conversion); or payment of the jizya, through physical though not spiritual submission to the authority of Islam; or the sword-for it is not right to let him live. The matter is summed up for every

person alive: either submit, or live under the suzerainty of Islam, or die” (<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/05/11/boko-haram-s-bin-laden-connection.HTML>). .

Boko Haram has specifically identified the U.S. and other Western countries as eventual targets.

### **Major Attacks**

Boko Haram follows a doctrine of unrestrained warfare, making no distinction between non-combatants and combatants; civilians and soldiers; females and males, or even Muslims and non-Muslims. Boko Haram has killed over 2,000 people since 2009. The leadership of Boko Haram believes disarmament is un-Islamic and opposed to negotiated solutions. Spokesperson Abu Qaqa said in January 2012. “We will consider negotiation only when we have brought the government to their knees... we will only put aside our arms-but we will not lay them down. You don’t put down your arms in Islam, you only put them aside”. Likewise, Shekau said in his 2014 video taking credit for the abduction of 300 Nigerian schoolgirls (<http://www.BBC.com/news/world-africa-22538888>).

### **Some major attacks carried out by Boko Haram include (2017 to 2020)**

1. 26<sup>th</sup> June, 2017 Borno State multiple suicide bomb attacks in Maiduguri killed at least 9 people and 13 others injured (Duke, 2017:8-14).
2. 17<sup>th</sup> January, 2018 a male and female suicide bomber attacked a market in Maiduguri, killed 12 people, at least 45 injured.
3. 21<sup>st</sup> February, 2018 Boko Haram seized 110 school girls from schools in Dapchi Yobe State, Nigeria.
4. 26<sup>th</sup> April, 2018 Boko Haram bombers killed at least 4 civilians in Maiduguri but left 2 officers wounded and several others injured.

5. 12<sup>th</sup> September, 2019 (GMT+3) 4 dead among 6 hostages taken by Boko Haram
6. 14<sup>th</sup> December, 2019 (GMT+3) 22, 000 Nigerians missing which most are children since Boko Haram crisis began: Red Cross (aljazeera.com by 3:00pm).
7. 18<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 2020 the killing of a University of Maiduguri student and indigene of Plateau State; killing of an abducted CAN chairman of Michika LGA Adamawa state Rev Lawan Andimi and 2 other Pastors and 2 other students from the same State by Boko Haram through a video that went viral through TVC news 2.24pm 13/5/2020.
8. 4<sup>th</sup> March, 2020 (GMT+3) 6 killed in attack on Nigeria military base by Boko Haram in Damboa.
9. 24<sup>th</sup> March, 2020 (GMT+3) at least 50 Nigerian Soldiers killed in Boko Haram ambush.
10. 5<sup>th</sup> May, 2020 (GMT+3) Nigeria has killed 134 members of the Boko Haram and Islamic state of West Africa Province (ISWAP) armed groups.

### **General Assessment of Leadership, Governance and Dictatorial Governance in Selected African States**

The writer summarized the work of Afegbua and Adejuwon (2012) to have some background understanding of leadership, governance and dictatorial governance crises in Africa. Therefore, the paper briefly examines the said concepts in selected African countries as follows:

**Nigeria:** Nigeria, is the “Giant of Africa “, the country became independent in 1960. Then out of 48 years of independence, the country has been under the control of tyrannical and autocratic military dictators for about thirty years. The dictators employed all sorts of intimidation, aggressive, threatening and elimination methods to remain and withhold the political power (examples are General

Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida and Sani Abacha). Under the new dispensation, the country seems to be experiencing nascent democracy though leadership into public and political office still follows imposition pattern with dictatorial principles like threatening freedom of speech to “hate speech”(Afegbua and Adejuwon, 2012:152).

**Ghana:** The political situation in Ghana is similar to that of Nigeria, for instance, since the country’s independence in 1957; Kwame Nkrumah ruled the country until 1969 when his government was toppled. Since then military ruled the country for almost twenty years (1979), Jerry Rawlings ruled the country from 1981 and changed the President after 12 years in power through a series of less-than-legitimate election before he handed over to John Kufor in 2001. With this predation and dictatorial governance often breed conflicts from people of the lower economic class (2012:152).

**Zaire:** In Zaire, formerly Congo-Kinshasa is a country in Africa that never experience stable democratic governance as a result of despotic and tyrant leader. In 1960 Mobutu Sese Sekou terminated the government of Patrick Lumumba in a bloody and gruesome manner. Mobutu a self acclaimed life President of Zaire is one of the African leaders that overstayed their glorious day in office until he was chased out of the country. Again, the present administration in Zaire is not ready to accommodate and give room for popularly elected leader (2012:152).

**Malawi:** Malawi is a small country in Africa where Kamuzu Banda became the head of state in 1966, and proclaimed himself as “Life President” for the country and life Chairman for his party. The human right records of the regime were so bad that Amnesty International (human rights group) alerted the whole world on the frightening repression melted to opposition in the country (2012:152).

**Zambia:** In Zambia, President Kenneth Kaunda ruled for 27 years, from 1977-1991 when his ambition to become life president was cut short. Before President Frederick Chiluba was popularly elected in the general election (2012:152)!

**Kenya:** In Kenya, after the death of President Jomo Kenyatta in 1977, Daniel Arap Moi became their leader and ruled for years, he ruled autocratically and reject any reform that can pave way for democracy and good governance in the country (2012:152).

**Central African Republic:** In Central African Republic, Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa toppled the regime of President David Dacko in 1966, since then he refused democracy to operate in the country. The government of the country was nothing but family compound. He was sentenced to death and later reversed to life imprisonment as a result of world leaders and international organizations plea (2012:152).

**Liberia:** This country was founded in 1847 by Americans for freed slaves. The country was described as the oldest in democracy in Africa until when Samuel Doe killed Tolbert who have been in government since 1951 with President Tubman in a bloody coup. Samuel Doe ruled for ten years and turned Liberia to a personal courtyard, until 1990 when he was brutally murdered by Prince Yormie Johnson version of rebel. Then rebel version of Charles Taylor ruled the country in a tyrannical and despotic manner, until recently when peace returned to Liberia, and the country became the first country in Africa to produce female President in a general election {What a great challenge to us in Nigeria} (2012:153). The foregoing is a pointer to the fact that Africa, most countries are still been ruled by the tyrants, as a result of this, development is very far from the Continent, but nevertheless this can be argued. This menace has dogged almost all African countries since independence that the whole continent is riddled with despots. Most of the leaders have decided to remain in power, not willing to handover leadership and aim to retain number one seat of their countries. Most of these despotic leaders have intentionally render democracy useless in their countries simply because they want to remain in power.

## **Recommendations**

This study has highlighted a number of ethnic and religious used of identity through observing leadership and governance challenges in

Africa. It is sad to observe that Africa's leadership selection process takes the imposition pattern directly or indirectly. Worrisome too is the fact that the Africa's political formation is along tribal groupings and ethnic aggregations thus visionary leaders are dropped while mediocres are often selected or imposed on the masses leading to protest that breed conflicts. In view of the above, therefore, the following suggestions are proffered to help to ameliorate the seemingly endemic leadership and governance challenges in the Continent so as to achieve a measure of credibility and purposeful governance.

The immediate responsibility of leadership and governance in Africa is to restore hope and distorted values. To pull our people out of the pit in which they have found themselves. Indeed, to rescue the people from the ravages of military and dictatorial democratic governance or dictatorship and from the ruling clique (Afegbua and Adejuwon, 2012: 153-154).

The search for leadership and governance in Africa is a search for social justice, which automatically, eliminates social injustice as did establish in the beginning. The principle of justice is to give each person or group what is his or her due and to demand the contribution of each on the basis of equal consideration. This is because knowing or finding the truth is integral to the attainment of justice.

It is recommended that Africans should learn to deal sincerely and honestly with one another and in upholding the godly values so that the question of mistrust and suspicion amongst the various religious and ethnic identities in the Continent would be wiped away or manage. It is only then that any qualified African can be elected into leadership and governance positions without mistrust, suspicion, acrimony or reference to his or her ethnic or religious background.

Africa needs leadership and governance which has the "mental magnitude" to decode the conflict and ideological commitment to uplifting the material and cultural aspirations of the broad spectrum of the people. The challenges for Africa and its leadership endowed with

the godly values such as courage, determination, tolerant, honesty, forgiveness and etc and the creation and promoting the process of endowing political institutions with necessary legitimacy which is their ultimate safeguard against violent overthrow (Kamuntu, 1993:109) as in Afegbua and Adejuwon 2012.

The crucial elements or values in the good governance being called for in Africa are accountability, transparency, predictability, human rights etc. African can develop the common values or morals necessary for the governance of Africans societies which in essence must be rooted in the spirit of cooperation, tolerant and adherence to constitutional rules and procedures (Obasanjo, 1993:100) in Afegbua and Adejuwon 2012. The long term salvation of African therefore, depends on the quality of its future leadership. In this context, apart from improved quality of education intensifying building of values so as to secure able future leadership, the present leader of Africa have a special responsibility to develop a new generation of leaders, tested in our era(Afegbua and Adejuwon, 2012:154).

## **Conclusion**

All of these cases demonstrate that while religion is an important factor in conflict, often marking identity differences, motivating conflict, and justifying violence, religion is not usually the sole or primary cause of conflict. The reality is that religion becomes intertwined with a range of causal factor-economic, political, and social that defines and propels and sustains conflict. Certainly, religious disagreements must be addressed alongside these economic, political, and social sources to build lasting reconciliation. Fortunately, many of the avenues to ameliorate religious violence lie within the religious realm itself.

In the words of Kuka the writer quotes:

“A catapult and a stone in my hands can only frighten a little bird. But in the hands of David, it killed Goliath. It depends on whose hands it is in.

A tennis racquet in my hands might hit a ball across a net. But, a tennis racquet in the hands of Serena Williams is worth millions of dollars. It depends on whose hands it is in.

A soccer ball before me is nothing more than an inflated leader. But, in the feet of Ronaldo or Messi, it is worth millions of dollars. It depends on whose feet it is before.

A certificate from the University of Jos is perhaps just a piece of paper. But with it, Yakubu Dogara is now the Speaker of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. It depends on whose hands it is in (Kuka, 2018:14).

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## CHAPTER FIVE

# JOHN LOCKE ON FAMILY AND PROPERTY VIS-À-VIS THE SECURITY OF THE WIDOWS IN IGBO

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### Executive Summary

*The “Two Treatises of Government” (1690), has been recognized as Locke’s major political analysis. In the Second Treatise, he discussed rights at different levels, with family rights as one of such. Within the family rights, Locke discussed conjugal rights and property rights, among others. For Locke, the end of familial society is to raise children to a state of reason so that they could be competent in the management of their own property. Children have a right to the property since to be a person entitles one to own property. The father’s property does not belong to him alone; rather it belongs to the whole family. Since marriage is a contract, the property rights of both partners, both corporeal and spiritual, could not be arbitrarily infringed. In Locke, “property” is individual, with free alienation and bequest having priority. This is one of the areas that have received little attention in our society, as regards the women folk. The insecurity surrounding women (widows) after the death of their husbands is alarming in different parts of Igbo, even when they are legitimately married. This paper therefore used the method of textual analysis and evaluation for a*

*better application of Locke's principles in order to improve the situation of widows in Nigeria.*

**Keywords:** Security, Widows, Igbo, John Locke, Property

## **Introduction**

Security may be defined as being safe or a state of being free from danger, such as war, attack, robbery, etc. It may also mean measures to be taken to be protected from harm. One of the important areas that should not be overlooked when dealing with security issues is the violations of the rights of women and girls in the society. Women's security is strongly linked to the integrity of their rights as humans. "Women's rights to education, to health, to land and productive assets, and rights of participation, decision-making and leadership in the village or community matters are strongly linked to women's security".<sup>1</sup> Others are issues concerning domestic violence and the well-being of family units. When there is no peace between husband and wife or within the family, there is no security in such families. This is why cases of husbands battering their wives have occurred severally or the other way. When a woman that lost her husband is stripped of all that she acquired with her husband, for example, land, car and other properties, it means that she will suffer from financial insecurity, which makes her vulnerable.

This paper examined specifically, the insecurity surrounding a woman (widow) after the death of her husband in Igbo culture. The plight of widowhood is not peculiar to a particular culture in Nigeria, but it is prevalent in most cultures like the Igbo culture. It is good to know too that, the terrible experiences of widows in different parts of Igbo land is not applicable to every family or rather, not every woman whose husband dies goes through those horrific experiences. For some

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<sup>1</sup> Unwomen, (2015). "Protecting the Rights of and Girls in Humanitarian Settings". <https://wps.unwomen.org/protecting/>

families, such wickedness of discriminating and dehumanizing the widow is not practiced nor does she feel insecure because of the death of her husband, rather the diseased brothers and sisters do everything possible to protect her and her children. But these are exceptional cases. Greater number of widows are made to go through tortures in the name of culture and greediness. Another fact is that the woman can also die and live the man a widower. Experience has shown that the challenges and difficulties which accompany the death of a husband are greater than those which accompany the death of a wife.

This is why it is still important that we should not be tired of creating awareness of this kind of evil practices being carried out on human beings, who have their rights to be respected just like every other person in the society. It becomes a serious concern that these practices are going on in our present-day society despite the overwhelming presence of different religions among the Igbos, especially Christianity. Some traditional customs, such as wife inheritance and widowhood rites have continued to exist, significantly associated with violence against which women are not well-protected. For example, a woman was harassed by her brother-in-law who asked for the documents of the house before her husband's body even left for the funeral home and who also insisted, she had to leave the house. Another woman's husband was critically ill in a hospital, when her sister-in-law demanded a huge amount of money from their bank account. When the wife refused, her in-law swore she would regret it. Three days later, her husband died, his family descended on her, took her husband's cars away and emptied the house and she was left alone with an empty house to start life afresh together with her five children (girls). One of the statements the family members made was that she gave birth to no child for their brother because girls are not children and have no right of inheritance of their father's property. The children could not understand why they were treated as such. There are many of such stories in our society. Ordinarily, part of what gives a widow security after her husband's death is their property, and the love and care from the rest of the family members. When she is denied these, she becomes vulnerable to abuse and sickness. This paper looked at

Locke's theory of family and property and used it as a paradigm for enhancing the wellbeing of widows in Igbo culture.

### **Locke's Concept of Family**

Locke sees the family as a private entity, a non-political form of association. In this way, he discredited arguments for a patriarchal kingship.<sup>2</sup> He also countered the "reigning patriarchist's position enunciated most forcefully by Sir Robert Filmer, who supported the absolute power of the monarch on patriarchal grounds, which identified political power and familial power. According to the patriarchal world view, all social relations could be explained in terms of a model of the household in which the father was the absolute master."<sup>3</sup> The family is described by Locke as a conjugal society.

Conjugal Society is made by a voluntary Compact between Man and Woman; and tho' it consists chiefly in such a Communion and Right in one another's Bodies, as is necessary to its chief End, Procreation; yet it draws with it mutual Support, and Assistance and a Communion of Interest too as necessary not only to unite their care and affection but also necessary for their common off-spring, who have a right

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<sup>2</sup> Jacqueline L. Pfeffer, *"The Family in John Locke's Political Thought"* Polity, Vol. 33, No. 4 The University of Chicago Press (Summer, 2001), P.597.

<sup>3</sup> Kristin A. Kelly, "Private Family, Private Individual: John Locke's Distinction between Paternal and Political Power" in *Social Theory and Practice* 1 July 2002, Vol.28 (3), p 363.

to be nourished, and maintained by them until they are able to provide for themselves.<sup>4</sup>

## **Conjugal Rights**

According to Locke, conjugal society “is made by a voluntary compact between man and woman.”<sup>5</sup> This implies that the right of husband and wife is “founded on contract.”<sup>6</sup> This contract must be consistent with the ends of conjugal society, “else it cannot count as a marriage contract.”<sup>7</sup> Locke maintains that marriage is a moral not merely a legal relationship “and one whose terms are thus not to be thought of as constrained by any particular legal (or other) rules or conventions”.<sup>8</sup> He further maintained that “Husband and wife may promise to love, honor, cherish and obey one another, or they may bind themselves by different and more specific agreements. The contract must be consistent with the ends of conjugal society, or else, it cannot count as marriage contract”.<sup>9</sup>

Conjugal society is a voluntary exchange involving mutual affection and need. “The proof of this characterization can be found in the fact that the ends of conjugal society (procreation and the rearing of children) can be accomplished without either party retaining the right to determine life and death.”<sup>10</sup> “For Locke, the end of conjugal society is procreation and the care of common offspring<sup>11</sup>, “yet it

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<sup>4</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. by Peter Laslett Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960, §78

<sup>5</sup>John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, §78.

<sup>6</sup>A. John Simmons, *The Lockean Theory of Rights* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 170

<sup>7</sup>John Simmons, 170.

<sup>8</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, §83

<sup>9</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, §83

<sup>10</sup>Kristin A. Kelly, “Private Family, Private Individual: John Locke's Distinction between Paternal and Political”; “Power”, in *Social Theory and Practice*, 28, (2002), p. 361.

<sup>11</sup>John Simmons, *The Lockean Theory of Rights*, 170 -171

draws with it mutual support, and assistance, and a communion of interest too, as necessary not only to unite their care and affection, but also necessary to their common offspring who have a right to be nourished and maintained by them, till they are able to provide for themselves.”<sup>12</sup> Because of this the bond of husband and wife must be a lasting one, which means that even after procreation they must be together, since they have the responsibility of taking care of their children until they reach the age of maturity. This responsibility says John Locke comes from the “Law of Nature” because “they had begotten, not as their own Workmanship, but the Workmanship of their own Maker, the Almighty, to whom they were to be accountable for them”.<sup>13</sup>

### **Governance Of The Family**

Despite the fact that the conjugal society is based on a contract, Locke argued that even the man or husband has no absolute power over the woman or wife, but he does have a certain priority: “Though they have but one common concern, yet having different understandings will unavoidably sometimes have different wills too; it therefore being necessary, that the last determination, that is, the rule, should be placed somewhere, it naturally falls to the man’s share, as the abler and the stronger.”<sup>14</sup> In that case, the woman owes the man subjection. But this right which the man has “can be only a conjugal power, not political, (it is ) the power that every husband hath to order the things of private concernment in his family as proprietor of the goods and land there, and to have his will take place before that of his wife in all things of their common concernment.”<sup>15</sup> This situation which Locke described here arises when there is a disagreement between husband and wife, with the man having the right to the final decision.

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<sup>12</sup>John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, §78.

<sup>13</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, §56.

<sup>14</sup>John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, §82.

<sup>15</sup>John Locke, *First Treatise of Government*, §48.

## **The Family And Property In Locke**

Locke's doctrine of property is almost the central part of his political work. Property in the Second Treatise was summarized by Locke as "lives, liberties and estates"<sup>16</sup>. It refers more narrowly to material goods.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, Locke says that every man has a "property" in his own person and in his own labor, that is the work of his hand. "Hence the term property admits of many interpretations in Locke's Second Treatise. "The basic meaning of property for Locke, which gives substance to all the others, is that of proprium, a Latin word meaning one's own, from which the English word property is derived. Hence under the notion of property as being what is one's own, Locke includes all the natural rights of man"<sup>18</sup>.

The end of familial society as Locke stressed is to raise children to a state of reason so that they could be competent in the management of their own property.<sup>19</sup> Children have a right to property,<sup>20</sup> since to be a

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<sup>16</sup> John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, §123

<sup>17</sup> Mary Winifred G. Eche, *An Ethical Evaluation of John Locke's Theory of Rights*. Makurdi, Nigeria, Aboki Publishers, 2019, p.67.

<sup>18</sup> Bracken, Joseph Andrew, "A Theory of Property According to John Locke" (1960). Master's Theses. 1547. [https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc\\_theses/1547](https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/1547)

<sup>19</sup> According to Jacqueline, John Locke expresses that to attain this end, nature gives parents authority over their children (2T? 173). This power is "not so much as the shadow" of the power of the civil magistrate, because the "Power of the Father doth not reach at all to the Property of the Child," since power over a child's property is unnecessary to the attainment of the end of the society of parents and children (2T??65, 170). Indeed, a parent's power over his child's property is not only unnecessary to raising children to be competent managers of property, but would be a prohibitive obstacle to the attainment of this end, because a child who does not have the disposal of his property at his command cannot be taught how to

person entitles one to own property. Children are also their own property, that is, in their individuality they are something that no one else can take as simply his own, and they have the right to develop their natural talents, God's different gifts.

In Locke, "property is individual, with free alienation and bequest having priority."<sup>21</sup> For him, children have the natural right to inherit their father's possessions and fathers also "have power to bestow their estates on those who please them most."<sup>22</sup> This means that fathers have their rights to dispose of their property as it pleases them. Locke in his defense of free alienation and the priority of inheritance, gave two main reasons.

First, provided that the property that may be freely alienated is conceived as joint property, held by all the family members together, paternal alienation or bequest will have no priority . . . . Second, even if property is individual, free alienation is compatible with having committed or partially alienated one's property to those with whom one enters into a special relationship such as those relationship created by marriage or procreation.<sup>23</sup>

In view of this argument, the father's property does not belong to him alone; rather it belongs to the whole family. But if the father has no

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manage it. Children, Locke argued, acquire competence in an activity only by practice and experience that settles in them habits (STCE??64-6); they cannot simply be given rules about the management of property, but must practice its management. The familial society of parents and children is closely related....

<sup>20</sup>Jacqueline L. Pfeffer, "The Family in John Locke's Political Thought, 598.

<sup>21</sup>John Simmons, *The Lockean Theory of Rights*, 204.

<sup>22</sup>John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, §72.

<sup>23</sup>John Simmons, 205.

right to dispose of his property as he pleases, it would appear that Locke, perhaps unknowing, undermined the very foundation of individual rights. A father is said not to be only the proprietor of what he has for himself, his children also have rights to a part of his property. In the *First Treatise*, Locke clearly states that “men are not proprietors of what they have merely for themselves, their children have a title to part of it, and have their kind of right joined with their parents, in the possession which comes to be wholly theirs, when death having put an end to their parents use of it, hath taken them for their possessions and this we call inheritance.”<sup>24</sup> Locke further argued that children should learn to acquire and use their property not only for their own benefit, but also to dispose of their property for the benefit of others. He urged parents to foster a liberal, giving disposition in children, so that they can “part with what they have easily and freely to their friends.”<sup>25</sup>

What did Locke say concerning the woman’s right? Has the woman any right of inheritance in the property right of John Locke? In different parts of Nigeria, for example, even when the customary law has allowed the female to be part of the inheritance of her father’s property, it is not being practiced. What is the position of Locke on this?

For Locke then, the same restrictions and freedoms applied to the marriage contract as applied to any other covenant. Most importantly, the property rights of both partners, both corporeal and spiritual, could not be arbitrarily infringed. Consequently, just as a people could not grant the state absolute power over their property, a wife could not grant her husband the right to absolute authority over her life even if she so wished. To do so would alienate a property she has not the power to give away. Nor may a man confiscate for his

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<sup>24</sup>John Locke, *First Treatises of Government*, §88.

<sup>25</sup>Jacqueline L. Pfeffer, “The Family in John Locke's Political Thought, 604

own use the goods a woman brings to the marriage merely because the couple have chosen to marry. This was her property and hence part of her being and as such could not be expropriated against her will. For Locke the marriage relationship created no theoretical difficulties with these forms of property. There was, however, a theoretical problem with property which a husband and wife, by common endeavour, might accumulate during the period of the marriage. As this wealth was the product of their common labours the husband could have no right to arbitrarily utilise it as he wished. For as to the wife's share, whether her own labour or compact gave her a title to it, it is plain her husband could not forfeit what was hers.<sup>26</sup>

This means therefore, since both of them labored together, if the husband dies, the wife becomes responsible for the property owned by both of them. Hence, no husband's relation has the right to interfere in the ownership of the property belonging to the man and his wife, after the man's death. This is because, there was a contract between both. And since she applied her labour to it, she has a natural right of inheritance over the property.

### **The Widow's Plight**

Despite the changing times, women are still found victims of injustice as a result of the enforcement of old traditions in different parts of Igbo land. For example, the oppressive customs and traditions pertaining to widows are sustained by those who benefit from them, especially in the villages where many women are ignorant of their rights. One of the peculiar experiences that widows go through is that

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<sup>26</sup> Nyland, Chris, John Locke and the social position of women, Department of Economics, University of Wollongong, Working Paper 90-6, 1990, 32. <http://ro.uow.edu.au/commwkpapers/321>

of the male dominance at the level of inheritance, outside other horrible rituals that are being performed.

I witnessed a serious quarrel between a widow and her brother in-law, from a village not too far from mine, over the management of what the widow's husband left behind. The widow was a young lady in her early thirties. She had a boutique. Unfortunately, her husband died suddenly in a ghastly motor accident. After the burial of the man, his younger brother came to the woman claiming all the assets belonging to his brother. He claimed that being the eldest male in the family, after her mourning period, he would inherit her as the custom demanded since she was still young and take over all the properties belonging to his brother. This meant that she had no right over any of them. It is presumed that the rituals and deprivations that most of these widows go through occur mostly within marriages under customary law. As in the case of customary law,

all meaningful property is owned and controlled by the husband. Women are often, if not always, reduced to the status of property-less dependents who have to submit to the will of their husbands in order to survive. The customary law on matrimonial property perceives a married woman as an unpaid servant of her husband.<sup>27</sup>

It is pertinent to note that this situation is not peculiar to marriages under customary law. Rather, it is a problem of an erroneous mentality and a tradition wherein a woman is seen as an acquired property. This mentality also exists among some Christian couples, thereby leading to the maltreatment of widows after their husbands' death. Ideally, after the death of her husband, a widow deserves sympathy and care.

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<sup>27</sup> Austin O. Ezejiolor, (2011). "Patriarchy, Marriage and the Rights of Widows in Nigeria" *Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities* Vol. 12, No. 1. Pg. 146. <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/ujah.v12i1.9>

This will enable her to overcome the psychological trauma of losing her beloved one. However, most often that is not the case. Rather, “she is stigmatized as the killer of her husband, oppressed, suppressed, afflicted, neglected, accused, openly insulted and consequently made to succumb to widowhood rites on account of customs and traditions.”<sup>28</sup> In fact, she is eventually made more miserable and is stripped of her self-esteem and all the property she had acquired with her husband.

These amount to infringements on her human rights. A woman is a human being in exactly the same way that a man is, so maintaining the practice of denying inheritance to widows, after the death of their spouses and even worse, letting widows be inherited as property, is inhuman and counter to treaties to which Nigeria is a signatory. For example, The United Nations Charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Moreover, it is contrary to the Nigerian constitution, which stipulates in chapter IV§34 that (1) Every individual is entitled to respect for the dignity of his person, and accordingly - (a) no person shall be subject to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment, etc. While in §43 it states, subject to the provisions of this Constitution, every citizen of Nigeria shall have the right to acquire and own immovable property anywhere in Nigeria. It did not say any man but any person and this includes women.

Since the unfair treatment meted to widows violates their fundamental human rights, this work encourages us, those who know the law and are educated to fight for justice, defend the helpless, moreso to fight against the maltreatment of widows, because it is still very much alive in our society today. Most of those who go through these have

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<sup>28</sup> George, Tayo, (2017). “Widowhood and Property Inheritance among the Awori of Ogun State, Nigeria”. [http://www.researchgate.net/publication.322103084\\_widow](http://www.researchgate.net/publication.322103084_widow)

no one to speak for them. Many are uneducated and because they are ignorant of their rights, they are more vulnerable than the educated widows.

### **Application Of Locke's Principles To The State Of Widows In Igbo Culture**

Locke in the "*First Treatise*" §61, recognized the equality of the father and the mother and affirmed that whatever was given to them was given to them in common. In the *Second Treatise of Government* §52, he emphasized that the father not only has absolute rights over his own offspring but *shares* equally parental power and the duty to care for them with the mother. For example, as quoted above, Locke said that, men are not proprietors of what they have merely for themselves, their children have a title to part of it, and have their kind of right joined with their parents, in the possession which comes to be wholly theirs, when death having put an end to their parents use of it, hath taken them for their possessions and this we call inheritance. This clearly portrayed, that he made no distinction between both parents.

He also argued in support of individual property rights as natural rights. Furthermore, he maintained that the fruits of one's labor are one's own because one worked for them. As established in the work above, Locke is of the opinion that the property rights of both partners (that is husband and wife) both corporeal and spiritual, could not be arbitrarily infringed.

Consequently, just as a people could not grant the state absolute power over their property, a wife could not grant her husband the right to absolute authority over her life even if she so wished. To do so would alienate a property she has not the power to give away. Neither can a man confiscate for his own use the goods a woman brought to the marriage merely because the couple have chosen to marry. This was her property and hence part of her being and as such could not be expropriated against her will. As regards the wealth acquired by the family, Locke has this to say: "this wealth was the product of their

common labours, the husband could have no right to arbitrarily utilise it as he wished. For as to the wife's share, whether her own labour or compact gave her a title to it, it is plain her husband could not forfeit what was hers".<sup>29</sup> The lessons we can learn from Locke are as follows:

First, the woman owns herself and therefore, cannot whatsoever be someone's property because she accepted to marry. In that case, she is not a property to any man. So, for those who argue that a widow is their inheritance as their tradition demands, it is wrong and such tradition and persons infringe on the widow's right of existence. And statements such as 'immediately after wedding, you have become my property' are abusive and the woman has every right to reject such. This therefore implies that after the death of her husband, the widow has the right to decide if she will re-marry or not.

Second, since marriage is a contract between two persons, in this case, between husband and wife, no one has the right to interfere in what the wife owns in common with her husband. Sometimes, some of these properties are acquired by the woman either before or within the marriage. And sometimes both acquired them. What it means is that, it is not always the case that the man is the sole acquisition of family property. But the agreement to enter a contract joins all these together. Since they labored together without a third party, it will be unjust for a third party to come in to claim the family's property after the man's death while the wife and children are alive.

Third, the children according to Locke have the right of inheritance. Locke mentioned in his work, two main primary rights of the children. The first is the right to be nourished and maintained by their parents; the second is about the child's right of inheritance to parental property. Therefore, no relation of their father has the right to

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<sup>29</sup> Nyland, Chris, John Locke and the social position of women, Department of Economics, University of Wollongong, Working Paper 90-6, 1990, 32. <http://ro.uow.edu.au/commwkpapers/321>

confiscate their father's property after his death. Locke clearly indicated that no one should interfere with the man's property because, the children have a natural right over their father's property.

## **Conclusion**

The inhuman treatment meted out to widows has continued in different parts in Igbo cultures. Efforts should be made to change this situation. Leaders in various spheres of society – traditional, religious and political should be proactive in enlightening their followers and making the necessary changes that would improve the lot of widows in the Nigerian society. Moreover, the government should make legislations that stipulate the rights of widows and protect them from such negative treatment. This would safeguard the security of widows and of their children, especially the younger ones.

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## **CHAPTER SIX**

# **EDUCATION FOR PEACE-BUILDING IN NIGERIA**

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### **Executive Summary**

*This paper discussed education for peace building in Nigeria. It attempted to see how education can facilitate peace building in Nigeria for national development. Definitions of education and its impact on the life of the students after schooling were considered. This was to be a factor that will enable the individual to maintain peace, which is a way of being in agreement with one's environment at all levels. The paper revealed that living in accord with one another will foster growth and development. Signs of lack of peace in Nigeria were identified as cultism in schools, kidnapping, Boko Haram insurgency and human trafficking among others. Agencies of education like home/family, schools, club/societies, the church/mosque, peer group, government, social media and the community were encouraged to be up and doing in propagating values that will build mutual co-existence in Nigeria. It was later recommended that government should pay more attention to job creation, on-going formation or more awareness programs and careful selection of leaders to ascertain peace building, while at the individual level; the focus should be on togetherness for progress. Phenomenological method of research was used for the purpose of this study.*

**Key Words:** Education, Peace-Building, Nigeria, Kidnapping, Cultism, ritual killings, Social Media and Government.

## **Introduction**

The issue of education for peace-building is the intention of this paper. It is an attempt to see the influence of education on individual which will later translate to peaceful co-existence and nation building in Nigeria. Education is the process that supports learning; encourages acquisition of knowledge and boost understanding of values. Education especially formal education must possess the ability of leading one from ignorance to better understanding of views. It moves one from emptiness to fullness or ability to reach the height. It leads one into the capacity to realize his inbuilt potentials and become useful and reliable after schooling. Education refines and delivers individual that value it from being narrow-minded, which gives room for competency to accommodate others and their views. The anxiety in Nigeria especially in relation to lack of peace is not a new thing and this is increasingly becoming an accepted culture and practice. Attention need to be paid to how individual are raised up in the informal training or education received according to backgrounds. The view of Olowu (2016) is applicable here as he opines that “Nigeria is a multicultural and multiethnic nation where people are raised differently according to the beliefs and customs of their ethic group. Consequently, by observing one’s behaviors it is possible to discover one’s origins” (p.1)

Education must take place under the direction of educators for proper assessment and attention, because it carries with it a particular curriculum to be strictly followed. It has methodology for transmitting the required knowledge. This can come inform of teaching, discussion and learning. Education is time consuming because it occurs in stages and after each stage, there must be some noticeable improvement since, education brings about an intrinsic and lasting change in a person's thinking and capability to do things. Education is not about having access to information on a particular issue, it is more of

acquiring or inserting information into one's brain and this can only be possible through repeated practice. This will later translate or transform into proper assimilation that will change the attitude of the receiver for good. In other words, changing to be able to differentiate what is good from what is bad. This by implication is the ability to apply what education has given, to one's day to day life and activities.

Smith (2015) has carefully defines education "as the wise, hopeful and respectful cultivation of learning undertaken in the belief that all should have the chance to share in life." (p.2). He further explains that it is a process of inviting truth and possibility, of encouraging and giving time to discovery. In the opinion of smith, education must not be confused with schooling because the responsibility of school teachers is to bring out or develop individual potentials. In other words, it is a process of helping individuals to realize what he is good at and be productive in life. In the mind of the researcher however, schooling will still help to arrive at this discovery stage. When one is exposed to school curriculum step by step, the tendency of clinging to a particular area of interest is possible. Hence a good teacher or educator can then tailor his student towards this aspect for improvement. This can certainly lead to career counselling.

Fafunwa (2003) defines education "as the engine of economic, social and political growth and development of any nation" Also, "Education is the Alpha and Omega for development". "Education is the aggregates of all processes by means of which a person develops ability, aptitude and other forms of behavior of positive value in the society in which he lives"(p.2), he says further while citing Edmund Burke that "Education is the cheap defense of nations"(p.2). While supporting Smith in differentiating School from Education, he arrives at this definition- "what you are left with after schooling" (p.2). Accordingly, schooling will still promote education. This is not to say that informal education will not play any part as many within the society of learned or literates might not have opportunity of attending formal education. Therefore, education can be formal informal and non-formal. However, all the types of education are very important to

shape the life of individual for the betterment of the society. Although a well behaved or mannered person might be considered educated but to what extent can that go in this time and age?

### **Types of Education**

Education in this regard can be classified into informal, formal and non-formal.

**Informal Education** is the oldest form of education belonging to African society, and Fafunwa (2003) has willingly calls it- 'Traditional African Education.'(p.3). It can be regarded as home training. It is not done in an organized manner but by regular information from elderly people in the home and learning what others are doing through repeated process. It is transmitted through interactions with others by the use of proverbs, folk tales, folklores, songs, ceremonies and art. Methodology here is oral tradition. Informal education is simply the business of the environment, which is what a given setting is able to inculcate into the mind of individual as long as one is part of it. The definition of Akinlua (2002) is also pertinent here. To him, "informal education is as opposed to the formal one in that it is not organized, not thought of but is accidentally acquired through what is called experimental learning" (p.21). Informal education is learning by imitating what others are doing. That is, values are passed down through learning by doing method.

Little wonder Smith (2015), criticizes this type of education that "the problem often comes when education drifts or moves into entertainment or containment. Involvement in the immediate activity is the central concern and insignificant attention is given to expanding horizons, nor to reflection, commitment and creating change."(p.15). It is simply given and nothing is being contributed on the part of the receiver. He added that "people are treated as objects to be worked on or 'molded' rather than as participants and creators i.e. where education slips into 'schooling'. (p. 15). This type of education last for a very long time or for eternity because it is a product of a particular culture on individual. The content of the learning in informal

education is what Adeyemi (2004) calls “acquisition of simple habits and norms of the society as well as the societal values” (p.4). Which is gradually fading away through interaction with civilization as Fafunwa (2003) opines “We lost many aspects of our moral and cultural heritage after our contact with the colonizers” (p.4). In informal education, there were no dropouts and no unemployment as well. The question is can this type of education be useful for development? It will not definitely but it is the basis for formal education.

**Formal Education** is an organized type of education. It is done in a structured environment, with trained or qualified teachers or educators in a classroom setting, with an approved class size. It has stages and structured curriculum for each stage. Assessment is done after completing each stage to ascertain progress to the next stage and there are procedures for this. The stages in this case are preschool or kindergarten, primary school, secondary school, college and universities and vocational training school. This is well controlled by the government and it attracts certification after completion. This type of education according to Fafunwa (2003) “is linked with economic development, culture, social and political activities” (p.3). If this is experienced by any society, there will be progress and peaceful co-existence.

This type of education has lots of influences on students because it exposes them to many areas and peer group influences have much impact as well. Smith (2015), while looking at the problems of formal education opines that “the choice is not between what is ‘good’ and what is ‘bad’ – but rather what is appropriate for people in this situation or that. There are times to use transmission and direct teaching as methods, and moments for exploration, experience and action. (p.15), to him, methodology must be applied to a given situation and therefore, various methods of teaching need to be adopted for proper transmission of knowledge.

Nigeria has gained a lot from the missionaries who brought formal education to them around “September 1842” according to Akinlua

(2002), (p.16) and through this, many schools have emerged and still emerging till today, at all levels because formal education has become celebrated as it has grown over the years.

**Non-Formal Education** is being described by Adeyemi (2004) as attention given to people who just want to learn some skills without necessarily going to school. Example of this are: adult literacy classes, cooperative societies, young farmers' club and recreational clubs. On the view of Opakunle (2002), non-formal education pays more attention to those in vocational carrier, where it has no fixed time of completion, no time table and no curriculum. It is meant for acquisition of a particular trade like learning in the workshop of a road side mechanic, a fashion designer, carpenters and cobblers. These views have been agreed upon by Akinlua (2002). To him, "non-formal education is intentional but not organized in a school fashion." (p.21).The summary of these views is that non formal education therefore is education that occurs outside a prearranged condition like formal setting but they are organized and planned for because education must not be left to chance.

### **Agencies of Education**

Agencies of education are those who are responsible for the transmission of education from one generation to the next, either formally, informally and non-formally. The following are recognized in this regard as Opakunle (2002) explains.

- a. **The family or the home:** being the very first of contact with life, a child is brought up in a home, where basic knowledge of what is expected in the society is taught. Opakunle explains that toiletry habits, table manner, respect for mother tongue and the second language are being imparted in the home, starting from a tender age. In as much as the researcher agrees with Opakunle, the content of informal education of Adeyemi (2004) as "acquisition of simple habits and norms of the society as well as the societal values" (p.4) is a better summary of what family or home inculcate in the life of a child as education. This is more than toiletry habit and others as Opakunle feels.

- b. **School:** once a child grows up to age two these days, he has contact with the school. Now, a child is being introduced into formal education. What a child acquires here is more than home training. The first is the act of reading and writing with knowledge of arithmetic that makes him literate. Along with moral values. As he grows in a school environment, he is exposed to many subjects that eventually broaden his horizon with the efforts of teachers and peer group influences.
- c. **Church/Mosque:** each family belongs to a particular place of worship. As a result of this, regular attendance at these places of prayer and contact with the creator will have influence on children through sermons, Sunday school programs and socialization with other children .
- d. **The peer group:** the impact of small group of friends on children cannot be over emphasized. This may be around the home or in the church or school. They influence each other easily. Therefore, much attention should be paid to children in their choice of friends as they grow up. Whatever they learn from each other form part of their education.
- e. **The community:** this is a representation of the larger society. The society corrects every individual and builds the schools. Whatever a child gathers from the society will be returned to the same society.
- f. **Social Media:** the impact of the social media on the life of every single person cannot be over emphasized. These days, social media is even faster than schools in spreading information. Apart from this, much information about issues or school subjects are readily available in the internet for the purpose of interested researchers. It is therefore important to note that social media is a very fast and important part of education in Nigeria today.
- g. **Clubs and Societies:** schools have clubs and societies as part of their extracurricular activities. Children join anyone they like and from here, a lot are being taught and learnt by individuals like leadership skills, ability to face the crowd and spirit of collegiality and togetherness. They are equally exposed to the

act of supporting one another when they are asked to make financial contributions for good purposes.

- h. **Government:** all that have been discussed above cannot be achieved without the efforts of the government, who pays attention to various educational policies and finances the educational industry. It is through the government's efforts that we have enabling environments where schools can function better.

Whatever children acquire through these means form their values in life. They grow with them to become responsible citizens. Therefore these vehicles or transmitters of education need to be responsible to bring about the best that will eventually develop and improve the society.

## **How Education Can Improve Peoples' Lives**

In as much as education is more than acquiring a certificate or certificates, it gives opportunity to be exposed to many ideas beyond ones imagination. Education is life and its main purpose is to improve lives for a better society. It gives a chance for one to gain a lot and be properly enlightened and cultured to differentiate evil from good and desire to live with others peacefully and to investigate issues before concluding. Through this, others will be improved and the society will as well be enhanced. Hence, Andry (2018) is of the opinion that the following are some of the ways with which education can improve the life of individuals: **1.** education increases the chance of getting a job more easily, **2.** it increases mental health lowers the risks of dementia and Alzheimer, **3.** Opportunity to make friends as University is a place to build friendships, **4.** It gives a chance to building business relationship in the sense of meeting professionals along because of educational exposures.

Also, number **5** is the fact that education enables one to gain confidence by taking actions and accomplishing goals. **6.** Education improves communication skills through meeting people from different

backgrounds and characters and various approaches to deal with them. **7.** It facilitates continuous opportunity to learn new skills and broadens ones horizon. **8.** Education helps one to be independent since qualified personnel gets paid job easily. **9.** The last one on this list and the most important one to this paper is the fact that education helps individual to develop and create a good community. Good people would make a good community. If everyone studies hard, they will reach their personal goals; as a result, there will be a society full of knowledgeable people who can work and live on their own, and help each other, too. They will be people of the same orientation and single-mindedness. This will foster working together and developing the society.

If education has the purpose of improving people's lives, it must facilitate peaceful co-existence resulting in societal development. Education is for enlightenment, clearing of doubts and it supports ability to welcome new ideas. Thus, if these are what education especially formal education does to individuals, it is then important to examine how these acquired values through education would influence peace-building and societal development in Nigeria.

### **Education for Peace-Building in Nigeria**

Education, most importantly formal education is an instrument that shapes peoples' minds to become more welcoming and encourage peaceful co-existence in Nigeria. Dupuy (2008) while referring to Brock-Utne defines the concept of education for peace as "education or socialization that results in more peace in the world or that at least has as a result the greater likelihood that peace will be the existing condition than the case would have been without that education" (p.2). Buttressing this view, Kester (2008) stresses the significance of peace education in this assertion. "It is of very high importance, as it will enable people to adopt a positive attitude regarding the different issues they can face through their life and to develop the necessary skills to peacefully resolve conflicts. This, in turn will impact positively on

the society.” (p.27), these views denote that within educational curriculum, skills to resolve conflicts amicably could be acquired.

In the mind of Olowo (2016), “Peace education is the process of equipping learners with tools for developing knowledge’s, skills, values and attitudes needed for resolving differences and conflicts in non-violent ways and in living peacefully with oneself, others and the environment. It is concerned with resolving conflict of intrapersonal, interpersonal and intergroup levels without violence.”(p.10)

Olowo was of the opinion that peace education should be inculcated into educational curriculum. During the course of his research, he came to the realization that peace education and social studies are the same, and social studies have been part of educational syllabus for a long time. By now, the country should be reaping the fruits of this gained knowledge in the majority of the citizens, if truly the education is comprehensive enough. Little wonder Olowo suggested that social studies curriculum should be reviewed to have the nucleus with which it was introduced into the curriculum, especially in relation to peace-building in Nigeria. Training and retraining of teachers will be an added value in realizing this goal.

Signs of lack of peace in Nigeria can be identified among others as cultism in schools, human trafficking, kidnapping, Boko Haram insurgency, Ritual killings and violence between Fulani herdsmen and farmers. The effects of these problems on families translating into society cannot be over emphasized. The question is, in all these, what will education do? Formative effect on the way one thinks, feels, or acts may be considered educational. Education helps approach to life and proposes ways with which issues can be settled without conflict promptly and at the right time. It builds respect for time and time management as against the Africans mentality that “wait for time or in the process of ‘producing’ time” as Mbiti (1969) asserts (p. 19), when they are not doing anything at all but just waiting for the right time to function. They forget that time waits for nobody and it is only in the consciousness of time that one can make more progress and headway, principally in solving pressing issues.

Above all, education is the major channel through which confidence can be gained to make major improvement in the society, through acquisition of values that will be common to all against ethnic values that individual gained in the home training. From these educational communal values, majority can think alike and share the same views from their broad orientation. Thinking with Kester (2008) that education will facilitate “positive attitude regarding the different issues they can face through their life and to develop the necessary skills to peaceful resolve conflicts.” (p.27)

### **Education and Development in Nigeria**

Education and that is, formal education is a way of developing human resources that will in turn develop the society. Development is a product of westernization and civilization generating from proper education. Imagine the typical African setting especially before colonization, where what we refer to as villages today were our best. Today we have cities and majority of our youths prefer city life to village life for good reasons. The main motive is job opportunities as against regular farming, weaving and petty trading in the villages. With good job, there will be enough money to live more productively. Another value is documentation. This is a pure product of civilization as against oral tradition that nearly killed African culture. Today, many Africans can put the values of each culture in black and white for posterity.

What Nigeria is having and experiencing today in terms of development can be traced back to influence of formal education. In as much as informal education is very vital, the researcher will like to echo the relevance of formal education to development. Apart from its contributions to individual knowledge that has effect on the society, its impact on well learned persons to start up and be noticed is to be admired. Mathur (2012) has identified the following as ways with which education can develop the society which can easily be applied to Nigeria situation.

**1. Preservation and transmission of social, moral and cultural values.** All the values gained in informal education will be built upon in schools. Systematic education will encourage procuring more ethics from the school curriculum and teachers, including school and societal influences considering the agents of education discussed above and regular exposures from the school executions. Individuals will have reasons to live, transmit and preserve these values since it has become part and parcel of them.

**2. Awakening of Social feelings.** Through education individuals become aware about the importance of unity, love, fraternity and other values. Education makes all people get awakened of being part of the society and how they can contribute to the world as society. Through their knowledge of values and skills, they have concerns for the society and become aware of the environment and how to improve it.

**3. Political development of society.** Education makes all aware about rights and duties of all, so that they can develop their civic sense. Through different lesson of political leaders and stories, education develops ideal leadership quality so that in future citizens can lead the state as a society.

**4. Economic development of society.** Education develops skills in individual and makes him a productive citizen. Through education everyone learns how to earn money and as per their qualification he gets job or labor and on the whole, taxes is generated to develop the economy. Education enable people to migrate to another place and from their gross profit, economic development can take place.

**5. Social changes and reforms.** Education makes individuals perfects and aware about the rights. It also helps to make all aware about how to live peacefully and how to face difficulties and live peacefully. Doubts, superstitions and misconceptions about issues are cleared through education. Education produces better citizens for the development of the society.

## **Recommendations**

Based on the above discussions, the following recommendations are formulated:

1. Agencies of education should propagate values that will foster growth and development particularly in the school settings where children spend most of their formative years before they grow into adulthood.
2. There is need to review the related courses on peace-building in school curriculum; like social science to pay more attention to peace-building and development in a thematic form. Teaching methodology must also emphasize the relevance of each topic to peace-building. Instead of leaving students do the application of the topics on their own
3. Emphasis should be on training and retraining of teachers to continuously stress the importance of peace-building to their students specifically in today's Nigeria.
4. On the part of government, the following must be done:
  - a. Finances must be readily available to achieve teaching peace- building in education through seminal and workshops for both teachers and students.
  - b. Job creation for youths and young school leavers to engage them in more productive activities that will distract them from involving in conflict should be a priority.
  - c. There should be awareness program on importance of good leadership that will encourage peace and development all the time.
  - d. More emphasis should be on the relevance of togetherness and collegiality as against self-centeredness.

## **Conclusion**

This paper discussed education for peace building in Nigeria. All types of education discussed above are pertinent to peace-building and development. It is only that the informal education is narrowed to

individual culture and backgrounds. Formal education is general and broader; it goes beyond any ethnic understanding. Therefore, formal education that is the most celebrated will be very useful for peace-building and development in a country like Nigeria.

Education is an instrument of peace-building and societal development. People with higher attainment of education are able to work with open and clear minds with folks of other cultures, to achieve greater levels in different dimensions of peace building and development. Therefore, people of this caliber must be considered for leadership. Education must improve peoples' lives! Learning is forever, learning is for life and learning is continuous. Learning is all encompassing and this should be encouraged for everybody to improve living together peacefully for societal development.

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## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

# **POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTION VIOLENCE IN NIGERIA, 2007-2019: A HISTORICAL EVALUATION**

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### **Executive Summary**

*Political parties are one of the major pillars of democracy. This is because it helps in the peaceful transition from one political dispensation to another. Political parties are expected to serve as an agent of change, peace and national unity as its members are drawn from across the nation irrespective of tribe, ethnic background or religious affiliation. But in the recent times political parties have been found to be involved in escalating political cum electoral violence in Nigeria. The youth wing of some political parties now serve as an agent of pre, during and post-election violence. Party thugs are so glaring that it is easy to identify which party that parades the most active and dreaded thugs in the political system. Why do political parties involve in election violence and what are the implication to democratic stability in Nigeria? Methodologically, this paper adopts the historical analysis approach while data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The paper finds out that political parties involve in election violence in order to win election and perpetuate their party in government. The paper concludes that to minimize the rate of political parties involvement in election violence, there is need for electoral reforms that will inculcate new*

*provisions as a way to checkmate electoral violence and prosecute political parties who perpetrate or sponsor of electoral violence.*

**Keywords:** Political parties, Election, Electoral violence, Democracy, Politics.

## **Introduction**

This paper examines the role of political parties in electoral violence in Nigeria. First, the paper looks at the definitions of these concepts in order to give insight on the subject matter. A political party is an organized group of people (men and women) who have similar ideologies and who come together for the purpose of contesting and winning election for the purpose of controlling the machinery of government. Therefore, a political party is an organized group of individuals seeking to seize the power of government in order to enjoy the benefits to be derived from such control. This definition in essence implies that political parties are organized for the purpose of benefiting from such organization by the organizers especially in the corridor of power.

Electoral violence on the other hand is a form of organized acts or threats which may be physical, psychological and structural aimed at intimidating, harming or blackmailing a political stakeholder before, during and after election with a view to determining, delaying or otherwise influencing an electoral process, (Nwolise, 2007). Electoral violence in Africa's electoral processes has become increasingly alarming. Virtually every political process in Africa such as party conventions, party primaries and party nominations are usually fraught with violence. Party stalwarts/chiefdoms in a bid to install their puppets and ensure the control of government usually encourage violence in order to achieve their aims. Thus electoral violence continued to be aided and abated by political parties in order to ensure that their party continues in power.

To Ojo (2014) electoral violence is any act of violence perpetrated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post-election periods, and may include any of the following; thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings and or voting at polling stations as well as use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with the electoral process. From the above assertions, it is clear that electoral violence is aimed at thwarting the normal electoral process by the actors.

Whenever the electoral process is marred by violence, the choice of the electorates are always in jeopardy. The choice of the electorates may not have the political and economic will power to withstand the negative onslaught of the party stalwarts who has what it takes to install whomever they wish because of their status in the party at the detriment of the powerless choice of the electorates. Evidence from existing studies shows that electoral violence is a recurring issue and has become an integral aspect of the electoral processes in Nigeria and other emerging democracies especially in the casting of votes.

Political parties have continued to encourage electoral violence in the political system by ensuring that its members do everything possible to retain their position in office which invariably means retention of their party in power. The ruling party by hook or crook ensures they continue in power while the oppositions fought tooth and nail to ensure the dethronement of the ruling party. To achieve its aim, both parties enlarges and consolidates their tentacles to ensure they reach their destination which is to win election and control government power. Further evidences reveal that both ruling parties and opposition parties use violence to achieve their aims, (Mehler, 2007). The opposition parties also employ violence to express their grievances over the outcome of the electoral process whenever they lose. In fact, it has become natural in Africa, hence Nigeria, that after elections, those who lose, always complain that the election was marred with fraud, while the winning party describes same election as the most free, fair and credible election in the country and vice versa. The ruling party usually take arbitrary and suppressive measures against

the oppositions due to the fear of losing political power to opponents (Laakso, 2007). Election related violence typically includes clashes between political party supporters, incidents that take place at campaign events, and attacks on existing or aspiring politicians.

The implication of the above is that competitive elections are prone to conflict and violence due to the interest of the stakeholders in the competition. This makes them to do everything possible to ensure that they retain the office for the fear of been maltreated when the opposition wins. Thus, political parties employ the services of thugs, who happens to be the youths of their parties to unleash mayhem on their opponents in order dismantle them from power and assume leadership roles while those in the ruling party uses every strategy at their disposal such as the electoral umpire, the judiciary, security agents and other relevant agencies that matter in the electoral process to intimidate the opponents to victory and back it up when the result is being contested in the law court.

This paper is an expose on the role of political parties in electoral violence in Nigeria. The paper finds out that political parties, at one time or the other have orchestrated electoral violence in order to ensure that political powers does not elude their party for fear of being maltreated by those whom they lost to. The paper concludes that a law should be made that any party involved in electoral violence either by its members or candidates must be made to lose the position automatically to the opponent. This will help to sanitize the system and rid it of electoral violence.

## **Conceptual Clarifications**

### **The Concept of Political Parties**

A political party basically, is a group of people. These people come together to contest elections in order to hold power in the government. It is a way to mobilize voters to support common sets of interests, concerns, and goals. The primary roles of a political party is to fix the political agenda and policies and control the government. So, each

party tries to persuade people by claiming their policies are better than those of other parties. Many scholars have amply defined political parties from their own perspective and understanding of the importance of political parties in the society.

Nwankwo (1990) defines political party as an organized group of individual seeking to seize the power of government in order to enjoy the benefits to be derived from such control. This definition in essence implies that political parties are organized for the purpose of benefiting from such organization by the organizers especially in the corridor of power. To Ward (1962), political party is a group with common views on certain political means. He insists that the day-to-day concern of politics is fundamentally with means and not ends.

For his part, Orji (1997) sees political parties as those organizations under whose ambit, people aspire to, and acquire political power in a system. From the above definitions, it could be said that a political party is a forum or platform under which political actors take decision on how to control the machinery of government to their advantage. This implies that political parties serve the interest of their members whose interest determines the success and otherwise of the forum.

From the above we can identify some of the characteristics of political parties as follows:

- There must be a group of people sharing the view on means to achieve an end
- The aim of political parties is to promote the national interest of a political system
- Political parties have ideologies they tend to implement when they come to power
- They have cohesive leadership
- Political parties have persuasive rather than cohesive means in coming to power.

Political parties represents aggregate of social forces and classes and bear the imprints, and characteristics of the individual and groups they represent and signify. Parties therefore originates as an act of free will among people and group sharing the same vision. This is because people who make up political parties are volunteers who chose to be in that particular party amongst other parties in existence. To this end a political parties are means via which the people can speak to the government and have a say in the governance of any country. Thus, Political parties must be an agent of peace, change and an aperture through which the political system is kept alive.

### **The Concept of Election**

The term election is associated with several meanings. Ojo (2008) sees election, as a “formal expression of preferences by the governed, which are then aggregated and transformed into a collective decision about who will govern, who should stay in office, who should be thrown out, and who should replace those who have been thrown out.” In concurring, Awopeju (2011) observes that election is a procedure that allows members of a given society to choose representatives who will hold positions such as leaders of local, state and national government. To Dye (2001) election is an important mechanism for the employment of administrative governance in democratic social order, a major involvement in a democracy and the way of giving approval to a regime.

Election is a set of activities leading to the selection of one or more persons out of many to serve in positions of authority in a society (Nwachukwu & Uzodi, 2012) cited in Onuoha (2017). For Dibie, election is the act of electing candidates to represent the people of a given country in the parliament, the executive and other arms of government (Dibie, 2018). Sadly though, the conduct of vote-casting is usually not as easy as it may initially look, with several experts and researchers classifying them as turning points for violent acts. Thus (Ikyase & Egberi, 2015) opines that elections have become the apogee for violence and uncertainty in many states in Nigeria.

## **The Concept of Violence**

In his earlier study, Johan Galtung conceptualized violence in terms of influence (to mean harm). He explains the relations between the influencer, the influenced and a mode of influencing; categorized in terms of a subject, an object and action. He accepted though within the limited assumption, that the end state of violence is its somatic incapacitation or deprivation of health of the individual by means of killing which is an extreme form of violence in the hands of actors who intend it to be the consequence of their action (Galtung, 1969). He sees violence as “present when human beings are being influenced (harm) so that their actual somatic (body) and mental realizations are below their potential realization”.

On the account of this, he went further beyond the limited assumption to theoretically, conceptualize and empirically clarify that violence is “defined as the cause of the difference between the potential and actual, between what could have been and what is. To him Violence is that which impedes the decrease of the distance. Thus, if a person died from tuberculosis in the eighteenth century it would be hard to conceive of this as violence since it might have been quite unavoidable, but if he dies from it today, despite all the medical resources in the world, then violence is present according to our definition” (Galtung, 1969).

In other words violence occurs in a situation where the possibility of averting impediment to its escalation are apparent but those responsible to do so are not willing to take deliberate responsibility. This can be termed, “shunning the process of conflict resolution mechanism”. Shunning process in conflict resolution is the deliberate refusal to resolve a conflict in spite of the available instruments at one’s disposal. This has to do with attitudinal disorientation and institutional breakdown in spite of a level playing field.

## **The Concept of Electoral Violence**

The concept of electoral violence is comprised two different concepts in one, which include electoral and violence. Here, the two concepts are defined. The word electoral in the view of Bamgbose (2011) is the process involved in the conduct of elections either at the public or private level. He further stated that electoral process at the public level is the process of planning and conducting elections to choose representatives of the people in public offices of governance such as the executive, legislative and judicial arms of government at state and national levels. Electoral process at the private level includes all the processes involved in the successful conduct of elections into other types of groups other than those of government such as associations and clubs. Thus, he concluded that electoral violence depicts acts of aggression, thuggery and other similar acts that are displayed in the course of the electoral process.

Ladan-Baki (2016) states that electoral violence during general elections include the snatching of ballot boxes to rig and manipulate election results, causing pandemonium in polling stations to hinder voters from voting, beating up of electoral officers and sometimes killing same in the process when weapons such as guns and cutlasses are used during the elections. Balogun (2003) sees electoral violence as any form of violence that arise at any stage (pre, during and post-election) from differences in opinions, feelings and engagements of electoral processes.

Igbuzor (2007) defines electoral violence as: ‘any act of violence perpetrated in the course of political activities, including pre, during and post-election periods, and may include any of the following acts: thuggery, use of force to disrupt political meetings or voting at polling stations, or the use of dangerous weapons to intimidate voters and other electoral process or to cause bodily harm or injury to any person connected with electoral processes’. Electoral violence is one major problem that has affected Nigeria’s democratic sustainability and achievement of good governance. Absence of

proper democratic institutions militates against the sustainability of democracy in Nigeria.

## **History of Election Violence by Political Parties in Nigeria**

History of elections in Nigeria from the period of political independence from the British colonial masters, till date is embedded on violence. The British colonial administration left behind several destabilizing policies that affected not only the nature of governance but some strange political relationships between and among the ethnic groups. As such, the ethnic groups relate with each other on grounds of suspicion and conspiracy. Therefore, virtually all elections that were conducted in Nigeria were definitively violent, often making the state ungovernable. The only periods that could be regarded as violence free were elections conducted under the tutelage of the military in 1979 and 1999. This was because the military would not tolerate any act of violence neither could the politicians allow it, in order to avoid a situation where the military might renege in returning power to civilians. The military may cling to power on grounds that the politicians were yet to demonstrate political maturity to rule. Thus, electoral violence is historical to the instrumentality of the political class.

The collapse of the Nigerian first republic in 1966 was precipitated by electoral violence of 1964 and 1965, (Falola, 2003) in Western Nigeria but reinforced by coincidental and reactive crisis taking place in the North, in particular the Tiv crisis of 1963 and 1964; as well as the controversial 1963 census. According to Anifowose (1982) the official figure of the death in the 1965 election was about 153 people, out of which police killed 64 in direct confrontation, while the unofficial figure was speculated up to a total of 2,000 deaths.

The second republican era that started from 1979 to 1983 when another coup took place was another era of serious political violence especially with the 1983 election which gave Alhaji Shehu Shagari what the ruling party, National Party of Nigeria (NPN) referred to as

“landslide victory” but General Danjuma termed it “gunslide victory”, depicts the level of how violence was used to win the election. In Ondo state the Federal Electoral Commission (FEDECO) declared Chief Akin Omoboriowo of NPN as the elected Governor. However, a counter announcement was made over the state radio by the Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) pronouncing Adekunle Ajasin as the true winner. Sokoto (2011) states that the later allegedly went round Akure, the state capital in an open van “calling on his supporters to come out and defend their votes”.

Press conferences and radio broadcast by Chief Bola Ige in Oyo and Sam Mbakwe of in Imo state threatened that “if NPN went ahead to rig that election as planned the wives of those who helped them will become widows and their children orphans”. Indeed both Oyo and Ondo states experienced monumental violence that eventually led to the collapse of the second republic.

The weight of rigging in the 1983 election was so devastating that there were not only calls for its cancellation but the moves towards confederation (Osaghae, 2005). Meanwhile there began a second phase of military interregnum in 1983 which lasted till May 1999. During this period Nigeria experienced some military coups and counter coups. However, efforts were made to organize elections to return the country to civil rule.

The most feasible one was the 1993 elections which were fundamental to the quest of Nigerians for liberal democracy. The military leadership under General Ibrahim Babangida however annulled the elections adjudged the most free and credible election in Nigerian political history. The election was conducted peacefully but the reasons for the annulment which Nigerians are yet to be told, precipitated the post-election violence (Yoroms, 1994).

Again, in 1993 Nigerians began to move back to their home state of origin for fear of impending war as they did in 1967 during the civil war. There were also the 1964 and 1965 elections that led to the western regional crisis. Giving the impending doom, Babaginda

decided to hand over power to an interim government headed by Chief Ernest Shonekan, Abiola's kinsman from Abeokuta, Ogun state.

This arrangement however did not avert the doom as the Interim Government was declared illegal. The outcome of which General Sani Abacha exploited and upturned the Interim regime and took over power in military styled coup. In the process, Nigeria experienced for the first time serial bombings, killings and threats to life and property. Nevertheless, General Sani Abacha began a series of transition programmes that would have led to his transmutation to a civilian president but was interrupted by death in 1998. At the time General Abdulsalami took over power after the death of General Sani Abacha, it was not possible for the military to hang on to political power in spite of options given to him including extension of tenure to cushion the turbulent environment before election. Therefore Abubakar began a quick-fixed transition programme which led to the election of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo that opened up Nigeria's Third Republic on the 29th May 1999.

Unlike the 1979, the 1999 elections were conducted presumably in a peacefully atmosphere as it was done under military supervision. However subsequent elections conducted by Obasanjo in 2003 and 2007 were fraught with serious irregularities and violence. It could be recalled that immediately the military left the political stage, Nigeria began to experience several ethnic and religious conflicts earlier suppressed and bottled up by the military. According to the records of Human Rights Watch between 1999 and 2011 more than 157,000 people died in communal conflicts, political and sectarian violence since the return to civil rules in 1999 (Human Rights Watch, 1999, 2011).

### **Political Parties as Catalyst for Electoral Violence in Nigeria**

Political parties can sow the seed of political violence in many ways. Sometimes they enact certain laws or use state power to monopolise the political space. The process of choosing flag bearers in different political parties makes it inevitable for violence to occur. Political

parties most of the times impose candidates on the party members as against the party constitution which stipulates the use of primary election to select the party's flag bearer. When this is done, those who are not in the camp of the chosen will do everything possible to frustrate the candidacy of the chosen flag bearer thereby creating room for electoral violence.

During the period of the 1999 election, it was clear that the former president of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo was in prison prior to the election. He was not among the people who formed the People's Democratic Party, neither were the party formed on his behalf while he was in prison. In 1998, the PDP in its first presidential primary election held in Jos, Plateau State, North Central of Nigeria nominated him, who had just been released from detention as political prisoner as the presidential candidate in the elections of February 1999. In this regard those who formed the party were ostensibly not happy because his candidacy was imposed on them. Such situation could breed electoral violence among the party members.

The PDP was the ruling party from 1999 to 2015. It obviously used all methods possible to perpetuate itself in power. According to Albin-Lackey (2007) during the general elections in April and May 2003, Human Rights Watch stated that "at least one hundred people were killed and many more injured. Majority of serious abuses were perpetrated by members or supporters of the ruling party, the PDP". The Nigeria Watch database confirmed that the PDP was the main party involved in political and electoral violence in 2007, as its followers were to be found in 73% of the total number of fatal incidents reported. Between 2006 and 2014, the PDP was to be found in 474 electoral violence incidents out of a total of 915 extracted from the database, representing almost 52% of incidents (Shamsudeen, 2015).

The youth wing of all political parties are 'combat-ready' thugs who are ready at any time to unleash mayhem on the opposition parties, should they try to do anything that will jeopardize the interest of their

political parties. Thus we hear that PDP and APC, or APGA or any others party's youths/thugs clashes with one another during political rally. The truth is that the party leaders have instructed their members/youths/thugs to resist by whatever means any activity of the opposition that will place their party at disadvantage in the election. Thus they boys were acting on the order of their pay masters. For instance, on November 2019, the Guardian Newspaper reported that some members of the People's Democratic Party were attacked on Wednesday allegedly by members of the All Progressives Congress at King Koko Square in Nembe, Bayelsa State. The attack was said to be in retaliation of an alleged attack by PDP members on APC members on their way to their party rally at Igbogene town in Yenagoa LGA in the State (Guardian Newspaper, November. 2019). This is a clear attestation that violence begets violence, thus political parties indulge in electoral violence in order to retain power in government.

Again, opposition parties in Nigeria have been at the forefront of electoral violence as they are prone to resort to intimidation, in order to compensate for their lack of base support. They always claim the election was never free, fair and credible. They are also quick at contesting election results in the court, hoping to use whatever means at their disposal to get the result reversed in their favour or be out rightly cancelled. They mobilize their members to protest against election results which are not in their favour. The protests always results in violence as thugs usually hijack the opportunity to loot properties of both government and individuals. For instance the election protest in Kano on May 2007 left more than 100 people dead, (Human Rights Watch, 2011). The youths cannot organize such a protest without the prior knowledge of their party and the party cannot deny being responsible for any unlawful acts committed by her youth wing.

Recall that in April and May 2011, scores were killed as a result of the statement credited to the main presidential election opponent, Muhammadu Buhari, if he loses the election. According to him, if what happened in 2011 should again happen in 2015, by the grace of

God, the dog and the baboon would all be soaked in blood (Premiumtimesng.com). This type of statement is not healthy for democracy as election is a game of win and lose. Human Rights Watch reported that approximately about 800 people were feared killed after that election, and the protests was heavily masterminded by the main opposition party on the allegation or claim that the election results were rigged.

Political parties promotes political violence directly or indirectly by sponsoring violence directed at supporters of opposing parties. For instance, there are indications that, in order to ensure that general Muhammadu Buhari was declared the president of Nigeria in 2011, the CPC, and the northern elements along tribal lines, unleashed violence on the people, leaving about 800 people dead. (Human Rights Watch, 2011). This was in a bid for the CPC to ensure victory for their party and candidate and control the government of Nigeria. Similarly in Anambra state, during the governorship election in 2007, the PDP candidate Chief Andy Uba recruited thugs who happened to be cult members and they were responsible for rigging that election in his favour with total number of vote cast more than the total number of registered voters in the state during the election (Sahara Reporters, 2007).

The formation and existence of political parties based on ethnicity remain strong in Nigeria. During the first republic, most of the parties was formed on ethnic basis and some parties were bold to take tribal names such as the Northern Elements Progressive Union, Northern People Congress, Middle Belts Democratic Front, United middle Belt Congress, Lagos United Front and the Niger Delta Congress (NDC) (Anyaele, 2003, Okereke, 1997) while some are formed and led by tribal leaders with followers usually from the same tribe as the leader. Thus, the action group was formed and led by Awolowo and S.L Akintola with members from the west, and NCNC which has a more national outlook was formed and led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, an easterner and based in the east (Onwudufor and Ughaerumba, 2017). From the above, it means that a tribe or ethnic group that is larger than

all others and has ethnic or tribal party will control the government if supported by its tribesmen.

On the other hand, if the tribal party lost election and decides to use violence to reclaim its mandate, it means the entire tribe or ethnic group will unleash its mayhem on other tribes thus committing post electoral violence. Coalitions and alliances were also used by political parties to ensure victory in elections. Unfortunately, coalitions were not helpful in bringing an end to ethnic politics which the emergence of political parties with tribal support had created. Thus, Ekemam, Ogonor and Udeaba (2013) argues that one of the major features of political parties that emerged as precursor's to independence was their ethnic colouration. Even the alliance/coalition of tribal parties were viewed with suspicion. For instance, it was because of ethnic/tribal sentiments that the action group and the NCNC could not combine to control the central government (Onwudufor and Ughaerumba, 2017). This sentiments cost them their opportunity and gave it to the NPC to perpetuate its domination of the country.

The tribal and regional nature of political parties and politics in Nigeria, robbed her politicians of true national consciousness. Thus they see themselves first as Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo, then secondly as northerners, westerners and easterners and finally as Nigerians. This made the political parties and their politicians to pay more allegiance to their tribesmen and ensure that their tribesman is in the helm of affair. It is because of this sentiments that the northerners has continue to clamour to be in power whether person in charge is qualified or not. Their main concern is that a northerner is in charge, and this has led to political violence within the party, between oppositions and finally between tribes as each tribe seeks to produce the leader of the party, governor or president.

### **Incidences of Election Violence in Perpetrated by Political Parties**

Elections in Nigeria since independence is replete with violence. The violence could be pre, during and or post-election violence. Some of

this violence are perpetrated by political parties directly through their agents, youth wings, hired thugs or by aspirants who want to win the election by other means (Kanu & Obiefuna 2019). As a result of this unbridled quest for power, political parties do not care about the reputation or the ideology of their party but that they may control power and control it more abundantly. This explains the reason why several incidences of political cum election violence are triggered by political parties. During the 2007 governorship election in Rivers state, one opposition party agent in Ikwerre local government was dragged from the car of two journalists who was interviewing him and beaten unconscious after alleging that the PDP was rigging the tabulation of results in his area (Human Rights Watch, 2007). Police and state government officials standing nearby did not intervene probably because it is none of their business or they were acting on the orders of their pay masters. Those who beat up the young man were probably PDP thugs who were in a mission to ensure the victory of the PDP by all means.

The 2019 gubernatorial election in Rivers state was a good example of what former President Obasanjo called a do or die affair (Suberu, 2007, Alemika, 2011). **The 9th March poll was a frontal conflict** between incumbent Governor **Nyesom Wike** of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) and his former friend, **Rotimi Amaechi**, who is Wike's successor and Federal Minister of Transport in the ruling All Progressives Congress (APC). Shortly before the election, **a Supreme Court ruling** barred the APC from fielding candidate in Rivers gubernatorial election. But former Governor Amaechi of APC took it upon himself that it is better that an insignificant party wins the election rather than the PDP. Thus he aligned his controlled APC with a virtually unknown candidate of the African Action Congress (AAC) Biokpomabo Awara. This backing of Amaechi brought a lot of negative results with it. **Soldiers took over the streets in Rivers** and there were acts of vote buying, ballot-box snatching and voter intimidation that resulted to the death of five people. A lieutenant, soldier was killed at Abonnema, headquarters of Akuku Toru Local Government Area, while a chieftain of the All Progressives Congress

(APC) and former Chairman of Andoni Local Government Council, Chief Mowan Etete, was killed alongside his elder brother and cousin in Asarama (Thisdaylive, 2019) while one Ignatius was shot dead at Ajakaja in Andoni by suspected thugs.

Also, an unconfirmed number of persons believed to be members of the People's Democratic Party (PDP) were killed following the eruption of violence before the commencement of accreditation and voting in Asari-Toru, Akuku-Toru and Degema Local Government Areas of the state. This is a clear indication that the violence was the making of political parties. The obvious is that the APC chieftain and his relatives were killed by the PDP thugs while the PDP members were killed by APC thugs.

Thus, election violence became the order of the day in an election between members of the same state whose major aim would have been to ensure peace and development for every member of the state irrespective the political affiliation. Party sponsored violence abound in almost all the states in Nigeria in the form of rigging, ballot box snatching, harassment, intimidation and assassinations. It is as if violence is a legal weapon by politicians to win election in this part of the world.

Again, assassination of political opponents is rife in Nigeria politics with either party members assassinating their co-contestants or opposition parties assassinating their major contenders in a bid to give smooth landing for them in the absence of such strong contenders. For instance in Ekiti state, during the 2006 gubernatorial election, political opponent like Dr. Ayo Daramola (PDP gubernatorial candidate) was assassinated on 14 August 2006 while Chief Funso Williams (PDP gubernatorial candidate in Lagos State) was assassinated on July, 2006. Thus, high-profile candidates began to apply for police protection. There was also bombing of the home of Senator Patrick Osakwe in Delta State on 24 November 2006 and another bombing of the houses of two Delta state House of Representative aspirants, Ndudi Elumelu and Theodora Giwa-Amu (Vanguard 7 April 2007).

## **Why Political Parties Orchestrate Election Violence**

Politics, political parties and election seem to mean something different to Nigeria politicians. It is viewed as the fastest and easiest way of becoming wealthy as far as Nigeria is concerned. From independence in 1960 till date, Nigeria politicians have construed election, politics and political parties as all that matters in life as it guarantees money, power and security. What is more, politics makes you command respect in the Nigerian contest. That is why their slogan is always, till death do us part from politics. They see politics and election as a do or die affair and that if one is left behind in any political space, he is gone politically and will never rise again, hence the continued struggle to remain relevant in politics until death come knocking.

Since the notion of every politician in Nigeria is that winner takes it all, it behoves them to be the winner that will eventually take it all. Every politician wants to be a leader while none wants to be led. Thus every opportunity of leadership that comes on any ones way, it is hoped will never slip from him until death. This explains the reasons why politicians and political parties indulge in violence in order to maintain stausquo to the detriment of the led. The notion of democracy is that power belongs to the people. In Nigeria power belongs to politicians and once elected, they are above the law, the electorate and the state. They bend the constitution at will and frustrate any genuine effort to make the state work.

The first republic political parties initiated political cum election violence in a bid to control the state. Anyaele (2003) opines that in readiness for the 1964 election, all the political parties in the country polarized into two gigantic alliances. This alliances was to ensure that they win the election and control the state. Thus the National Council for Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) and what was left of the already battered Action Group (AG) and the Northern Progressive Front (NPF), made up the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) joined together and formed the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) and led by Dr.

M.I Okpara while the Northern People's Congress NPC, NNDP, the Mid-Western Democratic Front (MDF), the Niger Delta Congress (NDC) and the Dynamic Party (DP) formed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) and led by Sir Ahmadu Bello. This quest to control the government made them to, during the electioneering campaign employ all sorts of crude and obnoxious methods as campaign strategies. There was also cases of irregular nomination of candidates for the election and other vices such as intimidation, thurgery and kidnapping in the northern and western regions.

Supporting the above assertions in the case of Nigeria politicians, Professor Billy Dudley observed that in Nigeria, the shortest cut to affluence and influence is through politics. Politics means money and money means politics ... to be a member of the Government party means open avenue to Government patronage, contract deals and the like". The implications of this are as follows: prebendal politics, in which political office is sought primarily for the aggrandizement of self, family members, associates and cronies, tend to become a preoccupation of the vast majority of the politicians and electorates; patron-client relationship becomes entrenched in the polity and economy; the logic and desire to belong to government party undermine the sustainability of viable opposition in the political system; instrumental use of violence by both ruling and opposition parties as instrument of retaining or capturing power at elections independently or in contempt of electoral choices of the citizens at the poll (Dudley, 1961 cited in Bidemi, 2014)

Furthermore, Billy (1965), opines that once the politicians recognize or know "the profitability of having power, the party (and the individual members) naturally uses the same governmental machinery to stay in power. The leadership becomes a self-recruiting oligarchy and no self-recruiting oligarchy has been known to tolerate opposition to itself". In the circumstance, violence becomes instrument for seeking, gaining and retaining political power. The implication of the above is that political parties and politicians as well as political investors and other major financiers of the political process for individuals seeking political office expend huge sum of money on the

electoral process with expected return. Thus, no amount is too much to use in instigating electoral violence, including terminating the lives of opponents and valueless youths, provided their investment will generate profit for them and ultimately bring them closer to the corridor of power and to help secure their investments.

### **Effects of Electoral Violence on Democratic Stability in Nigeria**

Electoral violence has caused a lot of harm to the democratic stability in Nigeria. An uncontrolled electoral violence has the potentials of truncating democratic stability in a country. One of the consequences of this, is truncating the good will of the electorate at the elections. It may lead to a situation where leaders that emerge, are elected by the minority because the majority that has fears for their lives will not go near the electoral process (Amaka, 2005). More so, large scale electoral violence has adverse effect on democratic stability because it negates the essential purpose of elections as a popular basis for government, for instance; a government which by electoral violence sustains itself in power against the wishes of the majority of the electorate lacks the legitimacy or the moral authority that popular mandate bestows (Ezeani, 2005). This is why some leaders/political parties have refused to implement any meaningful development in certain states, geopolitical zones, constituencies and wards because they felt that those areas did not give them any significant support during election.

Nigerian politics for example has always been characterized by violent conflicts even in the colonial period where state repression was a certainty. The women's riots of 1929, the Egbo uprising of 1931, the general strike of 1945, the Enugu Colliery Strike of 1949 and the Kano Riots of 1953 are cases of violence in Colonial Nigeria (Anifowose, 1982). In the early years of independence the prospects of violence reared its head in the Western Region and the Middle Belt. The violence that ensued ultimately led to the collapse of the first Republic (Anyaele, 2003).

Electoral violence has created room for the emergence of incompetent persons who occupy vital political positions made possible by some political opportunists. The fact that such people are mediocre, they cannot deliver the dividends as expected by the masses. It is also important to note that due to political violence, some of the best brains in political and economic management are not in governance as a result of victimization, while others were brutally eliminated as was the case of Chief Bola Ige or rigged out as in the case of chief MKO Abiola.

## **Conclusion**

Political parties in Nigeria are still very far from practicing the very norms of political parties the world over as a means through which one government transits to another peacefully. Nigeria political parties has no ideological base and cannot boast of given the citizens robust and effective representation. This is why they move from one political party to another only to ensure they retain power and occupy political space. Political parties here are only a platform or gate way for dubious politicians to cling to power and exploit the people. There is no single party or politician whose has the interest of the country and the masses at heart, and that is why their only interest is to win election and control both the political and economic structure of the country.

It is as a result of the foregoing that election violence has become a legal weapon for them as a means of achieving their political mandates to the detriment of the masses. The politicians and their political parties recruit thugs, empower their youth wing to cause mayhem and destabilize the system if the election or the process is not in their favour. That is why some political fellows and opponents are kidnapped, maimed and killed before, during and after elections in order for them to become relevant in politics. Those politicians we support and wish to die for has their kits and kins based in abroad, with good education, job and security while they neglect our education system, health system, security and other social infrastructures that helps the ordinary citizen to survive.

If the politicians has the interest of the masses at heart, why is Nigeria still having epileptic power supply, bad road, poor education facilities, bad or no health facilities and the likes, rather their interest is only to cling to power perpetually. The thugs, cult members and others they use to perpetrate violence has none of their children among them. Instead they provide their children with security or better still send them abroad during electioneering period for their safety while they adopt the helpless poor youths and entice them with peanuts only to expose them to danger and cut short their youthful glory.

It is so painful to see political parties with both learned, intelligent and technocrats wallowing in abject senselessness with no clear cut objective of what they want to achieve for those they represent. Lawyers, medical doctors, academics and technocrats once they venture into politics, transforms into political imbeciles and expunge their sense of reasoning and begin to act like ‘one of them’ with the caveat that if you can’t beat them you join them. Why not make a difference with all the experiences and bring the needed change which the citizens yearn for. Election violence increases by the day in every election as if violence is the only method available for political parties and politicians to win election in Nigeria.

We therefore, suggest that to minimize the rate of political parties involvement in election violence, there is need for electoral reforms that will inculcate new provisions as a way to checkmate electoral violence and prosecute political parties, their agents and politicians or candidates who perpetrate or sponsor electoral violence. If this is done we believe that political parties will call their politicians and agents to order to follow due process and avoid violence since any violence traced to any political party will cause them dearly.

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## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **COVID-19 INDUCED HATE SPEECH AND AUSTIN'S SPEECH ACT THEORY PERSPECTIVE: IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE BUILDING**

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#### **Executive Summary**

*Hate speech has become a matter of grave concern globally. It has continued to generate defamatory and stereotypical language which has perverted various platforms of information dissemination especially the social media. As the world is currently battling the COVID-19 pandemic, a lot of information on it is being disseminated via online platforms. Based on the COVID-19 'infodemic', a lot of hate speech has emerged and language use has come to be at the centre of it all. Such use, from the Speech Act Theory perspective, elicits actions and reactions which most times are detrimental to people's harmonious existence. Using Austin's and Culpeper's models of Speech Act and Impoliteness Theory, respectively, this study analysed various data on COVID-19 related information shared on the social media to determine the level of toxicity of language use, and the effect on peace building amongst nations, Nigeria inclusive. Amongst other findings, this paper discovered that communications on the social media, in reaction to COVID-19 issues are laden with hate speeches which have given rise to instances of violence, unrest, stigmatization*

*and racism against the target people. It recommends, amongst other things, that all social media/online platforms should put in place strict guidelines for users, in its fight against hate speech. It also advocates the inclusion of language and communication arts as a course of study in the tertiary education curriculum.*

**Keywords:** Language, communication, hate speech, social media, covid-19 and peace building

### **Background Information**

On the 31<sup>st</sup> of December, 2019 the world woke up with a new wave of disease at her hands, the 2019 novel corona virus (also named Covid-19 by WHO on 11<sup>th</sup> February, 2020), which later became a pandemic. It was first discovered in Wuhan, Hubei province of China and is believed to belong to the sister clade of the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) virus. The virus has practically brought the world to her knees. It spared neither world powers such as the USA, UK, Italy etc, nor the developing nations such as Nigeria, Ghana, Madagascar etc. Just like a wildfire and to the chagrin of respectable world leaders, the disease has continued to ravage the human system, take lives, cripple economy, close borders, ignite political tension, widen social relations, cause scientific and medical confusion, closed schools etc. It literally brought the world to a standstill. There became total lockdown of activities! The way and manner of its modus operandi beats the human comprehension and elicited questions on its possible origin, whether it was natural or manufactured.

Nations are asking questions, world powers are perplexed, scholars are reading and scientists are researching. All of these have a common goal of demystifying the supposedly existing mystery surrounding COVID-19. Exciting about them all is that there are accusations that the disease must have been manufactured in its country of origin (China) by their scientists'. In addition, questions are asked on the proper handling of information about its discovery and its virulent nature. The WHO seems to be at the centre of it, having been accused

to be in complicity with china. Consequently, there were accusations on whether COVID-19 was actually manufactured or natural. The media outfits did well to capture and document events as they unfold. People gave various interpretation to the to various news items. They took their reaction & outburst to the social media.

A cursory study of these reactions reveals that the gains of language use have not been properly harnessed by the interlocutors. To release pent-up emotions and frustrations, derogatory and toxic comments have been directed to China. The handlings of it by various nations have also been generating hateful accusations. The social media such as Facebook, Whatsapp, Twitter, etc. are replete with these inciting comments which are threat to the existing peace in and amongst nations. Language has come to be at the centre of this because it is a tool for such communication. More so, some of the pieces of information circulated via these media outfit could be classified as “infodemic” (unverified and false information). The “infodemic” has led to toxicity in language use which is capable of disrupting a nation’s peace building process. They constitute data for hate speech as aspersions are being cast on China. Part of the ‘infodemic’ has it that COVID-19 is man-made, not natural orchestrated by the communist China. Little wonder it has been derogatorily labelled the “Chinese Virus” by Trump (Twitter-@realDonaldTrump) and the “communist virus” by the anti-Chinese government narrative (Kozłowska, 2020). Since language is core to communicating these feelings, there abound rich resources therein for investigative studies.

One of the tenets of academic investigations from the arts and social science perspective is to engage in objective enquiry into the philosophical as well as pragmatic underpins of events of particular concern. They are studied and explained through concepts, theories, experiments as well as ideologies with the aim of achieving set objectives. To this end, this research seeks to draw from the rich sources of data on COVID-19 communications on the social media to analyse toxic comments which are identified as hate speeches. Using Austin’s model of speech acts and Culpeper’s model of (im)politeness

as theoretical lens, the data would be examined to verify how they constitute instances of impoliteness. It seeks to argue that such improper language use in its perlocution acts has dire implication on peace building of any nation, especially Nigeria.

The objective of this study therefore is to identify toxic comment generated on social media discourse on the COVID-19 pandemic. They would be analysed and thus adjudged hate speech, using the mentioned theories, to portray their possible implication on peace building.

### **Language competence in a social discourse/ context**

Given the vital role of language in peace building of a nation, it is appropriate to understand the required level of competence in its use in any social discourse. Language is structured for and by communication, and as such it is indispensable in every discourse, whether it is as a sign language, Meta language or human language, its use is for communication. It is used in various ways, for several intentions and at different context to achieve effective communication. Language is used for communication and Communication is made possible through language, therefore, they are intertwined, hence will be used interchangeably here. It is therefore pertinent to also point here that the use of language competence in this study also refers to communicative competence (hereafter known as CoC).

The notion of language has been defined by various scholars according to the perceived function it performs. Some of them are limiting or encompassing while others are abstract rigid. Very important to this study, is that given by the International Language Services Translation. The ilstranlation (2020) defines language as “a distinctly human activity that aids in the transmission of feelings and thoughts from one person to another”. This means that human feelings and thoughts are communicated via language. Be it as it may, one important fact that cuts across all definitions of language is that language is used for communication. It is the primary means of communication for humans. This entails that language and

communication are inseparable. Again, Lucey, quoted in Adedun (2010:3) defines communication as involving the “interchange of facts, thoughts, values, judgments and opinions”. This is also beneficial to this study because it brings to fore the fact that speakers’ opinion, perception, interest and judgment on key issues are expressed during communication.

Furthermore, communication is also described as “an act of interchanging ideas, information or messages from one person to another, via words or signs which are understood to both parties” (Ilstranlation, 2020). The above definition stipulates that communication makes way for exchange of feelings and messages, and such ensures cooperation amongst users. Having said that, we should note that language is made functional when it is used to achieve the desired aim of communication. Communication is usually done to achieve such purposes as information dissemination, enlightenment, requests, command, admonition, persuasion and most importantly to foster sustainable relationship among human beings. And they are all achieved using language. Hence, this important aspect of language breeds peace and stability at any given time. Language is used to maintain peace, in other words, if not properly used can promote chaos. This brings to fore the notion of language competence also referred to as communicative competence (CoC) in this study.

The term CoC is credited to Dell Hymes, an American sociolinguist in 1966 in contrast to Noam Chomsky’s linguistic competence (1965). The concept is defined by Hymes (1972) as “the ability to communicate in everyday situation and includes both structural and functional aspects of language”. The author posits that it also “includes the knowledge of grammar, vocabulary, rules of speaking and responding, and use of language appropriately in different context”. For Hymes, CoC primarily involves knowing what to say to whom in what circumstances and how to say it. However, he posited that it includes knowledge of linguistic performance, which basically involves language function and use; as well as linguistic competence

which involves grammaticality, language forms and structures.. One of the above facts stipulates that interlocutors must use language appropriately, and such ensures peace. Language is indeed crucial in determining the course of communication in a social discourse.

Otagburuagu's (1995:7) CoC typology reveals that speakers should make right choices to generate intended meaning. It suggests the use of language appropriately to suit discourse contexts. More so, for Holmes (2013:440), language competence involves the "adapting to the sociolinguistic rules for speaking in a community". This takes cognizance of the appropriateness of language use in various social contexts. A speaker should possess language competence to ensure peace and harmony. In addition, Yule (1995:197) also talks about sociolinguistic competence as a component of COC which refers to the ability to use language effectively while taking into consideration the social as well as cultural context. The understanding of CoC is influenced by works in related fields of speech acts and pragmatics. Due to speech act functions of our utterance in a social discourse, speakers must possess the knowledge of the required politeness for social cohesion in different contexts. Therefore, for effective communication, great competence must be employed while using language. This is why Ahumaraeze and Nwachukwu stated that "language constructs the way we think and the way we act" (2016:78), and thus great care must be exercised in its use to breed peace.

Be that as it may, one discovers that the trend in social media is one that reveals a negative use which language has been put to. Language as used herein is replete with toxic comments and statements which are considered as hate speech. This anomaly in language use has generated concerns for researchers. To the language scholars, it elicits questions on where lies the competence of language use as buttressed by Yule, 1995, Otagburuagu, 1995, Holmes, 2013 and Hymes, 1972, Ahumaraeze and Nwachukwu, 2016.

Competence in language use in a social discourse promotes the 'howness' in the use of a language. However, users are constantly violating this principle through unguarded comments which are

inimical to the peace building of a nation. To an African, language is culture and context specific. By implication culture and context comes to bear when using a language. The Igbo culture (Igbo – a tribe in eastern part of Nigeria) would say- “Onye ire oma ga enweta udo, nwetakwa ihe o na acho” (He, who is courteous in the use of his tongue – language, will have peace and also obtain any favour he seeks). This further buttresses the fact that language competence in a social discourse is very key to progress and peace building process of any individual, society or nation. Politeness of interlocutors is a tenet of language or communicative competence which therefore must be ensured in any interaction.

### **Hate speeches on the social media: An overview**

This section reviews definitional and empirical studies on the concept of hate speech with reference to its use on the social media. The social media has become a platform that aids the quickest and fastest spread of communication with the speed of a lightening. It has fostered good relationship amongst families and friends. It has also reconnected lost friends and also helped to form new ones. Above all, it has made information dissemination easier, faster and with a wide coverage. The social media is a virtual community where everything relating to life and relationships are lived out. There are many platforms of social media where all these are possible. Cohen-Almagor (2015:29) defines social media platforms as those “internet based application that enable every individual to share contents such as ideas, photos, audio and video files, etc”. Again, Sangsuvan (2014:721) sees it as that “group of internet-based applications built on the ideological and technological foundations of web 2.0 and that allow the creation and exchange of User Generated Content”. Such platforms include blogs such as Twitter & Instagram; content communication such as YouTube; networking sites such as Facebook and Whatsapp. Amongst these, the Facebook and Twitter enjoy the highest number of users, just as Joseph (2012:147) asserts, they are “among the most popular with billions of users”.

Information dissemination and relationship building on the social media is done using language. In as much as it provides avenue for these, however, it has been noticed recently that language use therein are eliciting actions which are capable of disrupting the peace building of any nation. Just as Brittan and Larry (n.d ) opined, some of the interactions on the internet are used “to demean, insult and abuse”(1) Globally, defamatory and stereotyped language has perverted the social media platforms. It constitutes what is globally identified as hate speech.

Hate speech has been in existence, Bleich (2011) has it that its emergence as a public concern dates back to the events of the 2<sup>nd</sup> world war. However, it has become a matter of grave concern since the advent of the social media in this 21<sup>st</sup> century. Brittain and Larry ( n.d ) in their study defined hate speech as being “*more than just harsh words*”. They said it can be a” form of expression intended to vilify, humiliate or incite hatred against a group or class of people” (1). More so, they opined that “it can be communicated using words, symbols, images, memes, emojis and videos”, which could “occur offline or online or both”. (1) In their recommendation, they proffered that educators should lead by example in showing their students how not to use hurtful words. They also commended the implication of digital citizenship curriculum which started in elementary school S1 continuing in high school.

For katarzyna (2018), hate speech is defined as “an expression of hostility towards individual or social groups based on their perceived group membership which can refer to their race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, disability, gender or sexual orientation” (2). Again, the above authors quote the council of Europe in their definition of hate speech as “all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin” (2). The reality

in the above is that the social media is constantly under exploitation as a platform for racism, xenophobia, etc.

Another interesting observation of hate speech is that, by the United Nation (UN). The UN understands hate speech as “any kind of communication in speech, writing or behavior that attacks or uses pejorative or discriminatory language with reference to a person or a group on the basis of who they are, in other words, based on their religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, colours, descent, gender or other identity factor”(2019:2). They posit that hate speech can be demeaning and divisive, thus, they decided to play active part in addressing the issue around the world. In a five paged document titled “United nations strategy and plan of action on hate speech” and signed by the UN secretary – Anthonio Gutteres, on May, 2019, it is maintained that “*hate speech is a menace to democratic values, social stability and peace*”. (1) Part of the UN’s key commitment is to “recognize, monitor, collect data and analyse hate speech trends” with the view to engage “with new traditional media to address hate speech narratives and promote the value of tolerance” (4), amongst others.

The concept of hate speech in many researches has various interpretations and connotations due to context and objectives of study. In line with the others, this study would refer to hate speech as all manner of online or offline expressions both in linguistic and non-linguistic forms made to incite, induce or justify intolerance and hatred, which are capable of destroying the peace building of a nation. Hate speech also is looked at here as those speech acts which insult the sensibility of individuals or groups based on their ethnicity, religion, gender, disability, association and literacy level. More so, it refers to any speech act capable of causing hatred, violence, insecurity, dehumanization and breach of peace building of any nation.

From the foregoing hate speech is seen as an evil wind which blows no one any good. Just as Gelber and McNamara in their 2016 study on ‘evidencing the harms of hate speech’ discovered, hate speech causes

the following types of harm on its targets. Such include, “unfairly ranking target persons as inferior, risk of self-esteem destruction, silencing the victims, harms to dignity, making onlookers to believe negative stereotypes that would make them carryout harmful conflict, discriminatory behaviour, restrictions on freedom of movement and association, etc” (5)

## **Theoretical Framework: Austin’s Model of Speech Acts and Culpeper’s Model of Impoliteness Theories**

### **Austin, J.L’s Speech Acts Theory**

The speech act theory is a theory propounded by J.L Austin in the series of Williams James’s lecture he presented at Harvard University in 1955. The basic of the theory is ‘**How to do things with words**’, which is also the title upon which the series was published in 1962. Through this theory, Austin posits that people make utterances where they state facts; make predictions, accusations, requests or promises; issue order or give advice. Such utterances are made to elicit actions and reactions. It holds that words are not used to convey information only, but are also used to initiate and carry out actions, sometimes actions which have dire implications. To the philosopher, language is considered as a sort of action, more than a medium to convey information. In other words, the theory postulates that for every speech made, there is an act elicited or performed. Austin explicated his idea through the philosophical triad of locution, illocution and perlocution.

A locutionary act according to Austin (1975:92) quoted in Osisanwo (2003:58) entails the meaning which is derived through phonemic components of an utterance. Simply put, it refers to the meaning inherent in any utterance performed by a speaker. While an illocutionary act is the effect which the utterance of a speaker has on the listener. Technically put, an illocution is non-linguistic acts performed upon the understanding of a linguistic act or a locution. For instance, the utterance ‘shut the door!’ uttered by a speaker, is a locutionary act. Its **interpretation** as a command or request which requires the listener to close the door is considered to be an

illocutionary act. When the listener closes the door, he has performed a perlocutionary act elicited by the illocutionary force of the utterance. This is to say that a perlocutionary act is an action which a listener performs upon the interpretation and understanding of an utterance. To illustrate more, let us take a look at this example: Speaker A says to speaker B – ‘You Ghamas are infidels.’

The above utterance is a locutionary act, which is the act of speaking. If speaker B understands and interprets the statement as an insult on his religion, an illocutionary act has been performed. And when speaker B then chooses to engage the speaker A in a duel, the combat is said to be a perlocutionary act elicited by the utterance.

Therefore, Speech act theory analyses instances where language is used in a communication to perform various acts which in turn elicits or is capable of eliciting reactions. A speaker through an utterance might be advising, informing, requesting, asserting, insulting, admonishing, predicting, etc., and any of this is expected to elicit an appropriate reaction referred to as a perlocutionary act. It is pertinent to note here that sometimes the interpretation (illocutionary act) given to an utterance is culture and context specific.

### **Culpeper's Impoliteness Theory**

Impoliteness theory is a theory propounded by Culpeper, Jonathan, with its preoccupation on how impolite linguistics and non-linguistics practices can lead to face-damaging, face aggravating of an interlocutor. The theory was incorporated into language scholarship in 1977. Researchers such as Culpeper (1996, 2008, 2011, and 2015), Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (2003), Rudanko (2006) & Bousfield (2007, 2008) have made significant impact on the area. Culpeper's point of view on impoliteness will be vital to this study. To this scholar, impoliteness is ascertained in a communication where it is the intention of a speaker to damage the face of the listener during communication. Impoliteness is defined by Culpeper (2015) as the “communicative behaviours that attract negative evaluations in

context and course”. Furthermore, Culpeper (1996; 2008) sees impoliteness as that linguistic behaviour which is aimed at attacking the face of another. His model of impoliteness presents these impoliteness super strategies which threatens the face of an interactant. They include: bald on-record impoliteness, positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness, sarcasm or mock impoliteness, off-record impoliteness and withhold impoliteness. The principles of the first three strategies would be adopted in this study as analytical lens.

Bald on record impoliteness is a situation where a speaker uses a direct, clear and unambiguous impoliteness strategy, be it linguistic or non- linguistic to threaten the face of another speaker where face is relevant. While positive impoliteness entails a situation where a speaker uses impolite strategies aimed at damaging a receiver’s positive face want. Positive face want means the desire to be appreciated and talked good about during a social interaction.

The impolite strategies amongst other strategies include:

1. The use of taboo words – swear, abusive or offensive words, or profane language.
2. To call the other names as well as using derogatory terms or names labels against them.

Finally, the negative impoliteness is a situation whereby an interactant uses strategies designed to damage the addressee’s negative face wants. Negative face wants of an interlocutor means the desire of the person to be free from all forms of imposition or force to coerce one into a perceived action. It also includes impolite actions which frightens ridicules or associates an addressee with negative things. One of its output strategies vital to this study is the strategy of frightening and instilling a belief that action detrimental to the other would occur.

Impoliteness is achieved whenever a face of an individual is threatened, association is threatened and enhancement is also

threatened. It is otherwise known as a face threatening act perpetuated by the speaker or by the listener in response to a speaker's language use. Impoliteness theory is interdisciplinary, just as Kuntsi (2012) states that impoliteness in its interdisciplinary nature cuts across research fields such as media, psychology, conflicts studies and sociology.

Culpeper's Impoliteness theory just like Austin's Speech Acts is context and culture specific. This is to say that most times, the context or cultural background of the speakers determines what interpretations to be given to utterances. In harmony with this, for the social media, what might be termed impolite as well as the expected perlocution depends on the cultural, contextual, philosophical or ideological stance of the speakers. This study would therefore, tap into the rich tenets of these two theories to reveal the appropriateness or inappropriateness of language use from the comments emanating from COVID-19 pandemic discourses. It would also reveal the possible perlocution effect of such utterances on peace building of any nation, Nigeria inclusive.

### **Discussion of Data**

As the COVID-19 is currently raping the world of its will to survive amidst already existing health, economic and political harsh realities, another wave of disease has been induced through it on the social media. This new wave of disease is in the form of toxic comments, which is equally threatening the existing peace amongst nations. Language competence has been mis-used in reaction to series of 'infodemic' and misinterpretation of the possible origin, and handing of the rising cases covid-19. In reaction and response to covid-19 related issues, people practically fulfilled Austin's philosophy of 'how to do things with words'. Generally, to speak or use a language is to perform speech acts. The acts are meant to follow the dictates of language competence so as to ensure harmonious existence in a society.

However, it has been discovered that communications on COVID-19 events have sparked off series of comments, reactions and actions. Language use in all these has reflected hatred and bitterness felt by the users. There is so much impoliteness of language dictated amongst the related communications on the social media. The result could be nothing other than stigmatization and violence against the target group or persons. Let us take a cursory look at the president Donald Trump of the USA controversial tweets on the social media. On the 16<sup>th</sup> of March, his twitter handle @realDonaldTrump has it that – “the United States will be powerfully supporting those industries like air lines and others that are practically affected by the ‘Chinese virus’”. More so, in another tweet, in response to Cuono, @realDonaldTrump wrote “Cuono wants ‘all states to be treated the same’, but all states are not the same some are been hit by the ‘Chinese virus’...”. Similarly, Trump was also reported by euro news and DFRLab to have retweeted one of his Twitter handle followers who called the virus a ‘Chinese virus’. More so, in fulfilling a locutionary act, @realDonaldTrump also tweeted on May 28, 3:34pm saying “all over the world, the corona virus, a very bad ‘gift’ from China, marches on. Not good!”

Some of the reactions to this tweet are as follows: @errol/webber for congr – “we can’t let china get away with this” (28<sup>th</sup> may). @awn Micheal, PhD, tweeted – “china must pay for what they unleashed on the world, so that this never happens again!” @Dawn Michael, PhD- “China not only was irresponsible in allowing the virus to get out of the lab, but once it spread(sic) they did not inform the world and that is unacceptable”. Then, @Luke bryans, on 28<sup>th</sup> May, tweeted “Yes! It came from China! \*\*ChinaLiedAndPeopleDied\*\*”. It is pertinent to note here that tweets from @error/webber, @Dawn Michael threatened the negative face want of the addressee, just as Culpeper’s negative impoliteness strategy stipulates.

There were lots of chain reactions following this Trump’s tweet. Some aligned with him while others raised concern on the implications of such use of language on harmonious living. The majority are in agreement, though. One of them is from the twitter handle

@intymedia whose response is “thank you Mr Trump! This ‘virus’ made in China! It is a Chinese virus”. While @cody84 tweeting on 17<sup>th</sup> march asked if Trump was “trying to start a hate movement so that we can have a war to bring us out of the depression like WWI? These responses reveal that Trump has not harnessed the rules of language competence in his comment. His level of impoliteness and use of defamatory labels against China has yielded illocutionary acts through the evoked feelings of prejudice and resentment against China in the ensuing tweets. In reaction to the fire of hatred ignited by this, Geng Shuang, the Chinese foreign minister spokesperson tweeted that such hurtful comment amounted to China’s stigmatization. Similarly, Major Bill de Blasio of New York said that such statement was tantamount to “fuelling more bigotry” especially at the Asian-Americans, (BBC News, 2020). While @ajRAFAEL also tweeted “...and I hate to bring more attention to the fact that he said ‘Chinese virus’.... but I’d like us to continue to look out for our Asian brothers and sister who are experiencing attacks against them because people are assuming they have the virus because they are Chinese”.

Again, according to an analysis from the Atlantic Council’s Digital Forensic Lab (DFRLab), the US republican representative Paul Gosar had tweeted on March 8 referring COVID-19 as ‘Wuhan Virus’. While the republican house leader Kevin McCarthy on March 9, also used the term ‘Chinese Virus’ in his tweet. It was further gathered by the BBC News (2020) that Michael Pompeo, the US secretary of state repeatedly referred to the virus ‘Wuhan Virus’.

The description of the novel coronavirus as the ‘Chinese virus’, the ‘China virus’ and the ‘Wuhan virus’ are examples of offensive language according to impoliteness strategy, used by these speakers. The tweets are analysed here as performing Austin’s locutionary act. They are statements made by these speakers which revealed defamatory words against China. They are instances of bald on record strategy of impoliteness. Furthermore, the series of re-tweets of the derogatory labels against China, against the Asian community shows

the respondents agreement and alignment with the US tweets on the claim that China manufactured the coronavirus as a form of third-World War weapon against the world. The traffic such use of offensive labels generated is captured in DFRLab's analysis report which posits that the re-tweet of the terms 'Wuhan Virus', 'Wuhan Coronavirus', 'China Virus' and 'Chinese Coronavirus', which were relatively non-existent, became re-tweeted about 24,049 times just within an hour of the Paul Gosar's March 8, tweet at 9:08 pm. Quartz analysis of data from Crowd Tangle, a social media monitoring tool owned by Facebook also has it that there is "a similar rising trajectory in mid – March for terms like 'China virus', 'Chinese virus' or 'Wuhan virus', on Facebook" , (Kozłowska, 2020).

Still on the traffic generated by the top US men's tweet, Aljazeera found more than 72,000 and 10,000 post with the tags 'Wuhan virus' and 'Kung flu' respectively , while a Chinese-owned app TikTok as at Saturday, April the 14 has a record of 110 million views of similar posts tagged Chinese-corona virus. For Aljazeera, 'Kung Flu' label was found within march alone, noting that it is possible the number is higher considering the variations of the phrase used across the site. The foregoing brings to fore Austin's concept of illocution. An illocutionary act refers to the effect an utterance has on the receiver. It also implies the feelings evoked by a speech or an utterance. This analysis posits that there seems to be a general feeling of agreement by all those who re-tweeted the various corona virus labels to the fact that china is indeed responsible for inflicting the world with corona virus. They are analysed here to be saying that china manufactured the disease, thus manifesting the illocutionary force of the speech acts theory. According to Culpeper's bald on record and positive impoliteness strategy, these discriminatory and stereotypical language labels of Covid-19 are unambiguous and by implication are direct uses of offensive language against China. Reiterating, they evoked the feelings of hatred and belief in the culpability of China in the accusation, and this is analysed here as illocutionary act taking place.

A perlocutionary act is the consequence or result evoked by the interpretation of an utterance. In a research x-raying the current trends and challenges of language use on the social media, Agwuocha (2019) opined that if destructive language use on the social media is not checked, the perlocutionary act might be in the of violence or war. True to the above author's findings, the analysis here has justified such postulation. The data analysed here reveals that the impolite use of language against the Chinese nationals elicited several perlocutionary act. One of them is that it resulted in the stigmatization of the Asian communities. Reports have it that it also resulted in violence against the Chinese all over the world. For instance, the Euronews reported on March 20 that Trump's constant reference to the 'Chinese virus' have already sparked off xenophobia in Asian communities. There has been anti-Asia hate which has continued to spread online amid Covid-19 discourses. (Macquire, 2020). Kozłowska (2020) similarly has it that several countries have reported violence towards Asians since the corona virus began spreading. For Bloomberg News, there has been "fuel added to fire with Beijing" since Trump's 'Chinese virus' tweet. To worsen the matter, the Vanguard newspaper (2020), reported that there is even a video on Skynews Australia with the title- "China wilfully inflicted Coronavirus upon the world", which it gathered to have sparked off "toxic and hateful" comments reaching over '5k comments' (Five thousand comments).

From the foregoing, it is obvious that the impolite use of language in Covid-19 communications has threatened and is threatening the face want of the interlocutors from this particular region, nation and race. It has violated their desire to be talked good about and be appreciated as unique and good people in such social interaction. It has induced hate speeches against this target audience. Just as the vanguard newspaper, quoting the tech startup report states that "the Coronavirus outbreak has led to a 900 percent uptick in hate speech towards china and Chinese people on Twitter". Through this, the peaceful coexistence

between China and USA and also China and the rest of the world has been threatened,

Coming down to Nigeria, it is also discovered that hurtful comments are trending on the social media following communications on events around the Coronavirus pandemic. For instance, a tweet from the Federal Ministry of Health Nigeria on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February, through the twitter handle @Fmohnigeria, on the confirmed index case of COVID-19 in Nigeria generated series hate speeches. Responding to the tweet by @Fmonigeria on the COVID-19 index case in Nigeria, @naija..., on the 28 of February tweeted- “.....turns that it’s an Italian that brought this virus to Nigeria, our useless @FAAN official and Ministry of Health didn’t realize that Italy already has a worse case of Coronavirus outbreak..., yet they allowed this guy into our country”. Also, @Sunday Lhino... responded- “what do you expect from unserious govt.”. And, @real\_gloria sarcastically responded- “Lai Mohammed said Nigeria has what it takes to tackle it, you remember? Watch him now; he will blame PDP for this”. In a response to @real\_Gloria’s tweet, @nigeria will be great, yet another twitter account, tweeted- “that mna (man) na fool, I hope he will be among the beneficiary”.

The above tweets are laden with sarcasm and derogatory remarks capable of inciting hatred and lack of trust and belief one’s government. In line with Culpeper’s model of Impoliteness theory, @paldron use of a direct, abusive and derogatory label- ‘useless,’ against Italy is considered highly impolite. The twitter account has it that “Italy has proved itself to be useless. It should be a country in Africa”. Besides, a derogatory remark has also been made against Africa, which Nigeria is part of. An illocution act of asking if Africa is made up of useless countries has been initiated. Therefore, @gosh\_12 referred to @paldron as an imbecile, questioning what right the person has to talk to Africans in that way. Precisely, @gosh\_12 tweeted - “Such imbecility, Africa is better than your country, your people are idiots, worse than Africa”.

In addition, the Coronavirus has been labelled 'Almajiri Virus', just as the case with the 'Chinese Virus'. The 'Almajiri'/ 'Almajirai' (singular/plural) is a system practiced in the northern part of Nigeria where children are literally abandoned in the care of an Islamic teacher for an Islamic education. As a result of 'Almajirai's cluster accommodation, they were easily infected by the virus in a large number. This study therefore discovered tweets referring to the Coronavirus as 'Almajiri' virus. For instance, @teniolu tweeted- "their government should not import those 'Almajiri virus' to our state or else....". The 'Almajirai' became a symbol of Coronavirus and thus were stigmatized and rejected even by their states of origin.

The above analysis revealed the new dimension of hate speeches and how it is creating a divide in nations and amongst nations, threatening the existing peace therein. As Culpeper's impoliteness theory suggests, any language use should be devoid of profane usage, abusive and offensive words which are capable of threatening the positive face want of an interactant in any discourse. Apart from threatening the face of an addressee, Austin's Speech Act theory as already explicated shows that for every locutionary act of utterance, there is an induced illocutionary effect on the receiver. The analysis of all the hurtful comments, derogatory and defamatory remarks against the target audience which sum up to be termed hate speeches. They are instances of locution which sparked of illocutionary effect of hatred. Their perlocutionary act lead to several Almajiri stigmatization as well as anti-Asian violence and stigmatisation, and has equally pitched China against the world.

## **Conclusion**

The issue of hate speech especially on the social media has been a matter of great concern. But, with the emergence of Covid-19, it has taken a drastic turn as it has been discovered in this study to have already instigated violence and stigmatization against a particular people, posing a threat to the existing peaceful co-existence amongst nations. The 2019 novel Coronavirus lesson has exposed what harm hate speeches are capable of causing. It has given the growing concern

for online/social media hate speech a new dimension. The implications on peace building amongst nations are glaring as has been explicated through the analysed data. Although they are discourses online, the data analysed here as hate speeches however, have shown that they are capable of causing offline harm which are inimical to the peace building process of any nation. Their implications are on the rising anxiety, fear and insecurity amongst the target group, in this case, amongst the Asian community as well as the Almajirai community. While there is resentment, dehumanization, negative stereotyping, stigmatization and violence from the rest of the world towards these people. These have pitched nations and tribes against one another thereby inhibiting any possible peace building processes. All these implications are as a result of lack of communicative competence amongst most of the social media speakers of the English language. Given the role and indispensability of language in any society, be it virtual or physical society, there is the need to assess and comprehend its implications on existing interpersonal relationship in any context before it is used. Any language use capable of endangering interpersonal relationship as well as peace building of a nation should not be used. In other words, communicative/ language competence should be effectively utilized for the surviving peace of any society and nation especially in this era of social media revolution, giving the coronavirus lessons learnt.

### **Recommendation**

Going by the revealed consequences of Covid-19 induced online hate speeches; this study thus recommends the following:

- Language and communication arts should be taught as a Course in the language departments as well as the General Studies Units of all tertiary institutions. While language literacy in the social media and communicative competence should be composites of the course.
- Secondly, administrative managers of all social media platforms should be mandated to put in place measures to ensure that hate speeches are not allowed to go viral. Some of the measures could be removing offensive contents and giving

warning labels to users who post such. Then, upon consistent receipt of warning labels without change, such accounts can be blocked from access to the site.

- In addition, there should be constant sensitization on every platform by the administrative group on the need to be courteous in every social discourse.
- Finally, digital literacy should be incorporated into the senior secondary school curriculum.

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## CHAPTER NINE

# A PHILOSOPHICAL REFLECTION ON THE GAME OF POLITICS AND HUMAN INSECURITY IN AFRICA

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### Executive Summary

*Human Insecurity remains a global problem and the subject matter of politics represents a significant and interesting arena among people all over the world. It has remained a part and parcel of human societies and human relations since time immemorial. We have politics everywhere we have human beings but politics has deteriorated into an instrument of war and death hence it is the greatest challenge to human insecurity in Nigeria. The implication is that people are grappling with nation bleeding as a result of the criminalization of politics. The criminalization of politics stems from the activities of political parties and politicians and the evidence of this criminalization include high spate of political assassinations, arson, maiming and killing of innocent citizens through different forms of political violence. The paper argues that, the problem of human insecurity would be solved if we come to understand politics as a holy game and not a dirty game. In order to achieve this, critical analysis and expository methods will be adopted as research methodology in the work.*

**Keywords:** politics, Human Insecurity, security, Nigeria.

## **Introduction**

Human insecurity is a global problem and the Nigerian society is today characterized with insecurity as lives and properties are no longer safe or secured as there is destruction of lives and properties. In the words of Adeleke A., “ordinary citizens as well as the nation’s economic resources are at the receiving end of this wanton destruction”. This is manifested in the series of arm robbery, bombing, communal clashes, herdsmen menace, kidnapping etc. For most people today, a feeling of insecurity arises from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Insecurity is usually associated with bad politics which has taken various shapes and face in Africa, specifically across the six regions and thirty states of Nigeria and has led to the loss of lives, jobs, properties and confidence in the state and security forces. Politics produce various social, economic and political realities (war, religious turbulence, evil, social inequality, underdevelopment, insecurity) etc. Some politicians resort to violence because they lost elections. Others resort to kidnapping and assassination. The end product of these acts is catastrophic. They include destruction of economic activities, insecurity and disruption of social settings. The people engaged in those activities or the criminals are being sponsored by politicians. The ubiquitous patronage by our politicians is a root cause of Nigeria’s political and economic crisis and has lost it’s monopoly on violence. The political undertone or the activities of politicians has resulted in a country with vast crude oil reserve and other natural resources condemning it’s people to a life of hunger, poverty, misery, hopelessness and insecurity.

A critical look at the Nigerian contemporary society shows that since the beginning of the forth republic, citizens has been afraid of their lives due to the numerous insurgencies in Nigeria. Nigeria has been battling with transnational crimes which pose serious threat to national security , ranging from drug trafficking, money laundering, illegal arms trafficking, smuggling of all kinds, theft , advanced fee fraud(419), kidnapping and many more.

Thus, Nigeria has become a polity which poses a constant source of insecurity for the populace. This can be seen in the porosity and vulnerability of her (Nigerian) security agencies to extremist fundamental groups, such as the boko haram, causing mayhem and havoc to both innocent lives and properties. Instances of human insecurity abounds in Nigeria, example the kidnapping of the CHIBOK GIRLS in Borno state, the murder of Ismal Sirajo, the then Area commander in charge of Bama (ACP). Another case of challenge of insecurity situation is the Jos crisis of 2016. This came about when Alhaji Kabir Mohammed employed some youths to help him reconstruct his house and other groups came and stoned them. This crisis led to the killing of over 200 people mostly women and children in three villages near Shendu District of Jos South local government Area of plateau state by suspected Fulani herdsmen on reprisal attack. Many blamed the Fulani herdsmen killings on president Buhari, saying that he feels less concerned about it and he is not running the country according to the dictates of the democratic principles in the Nigerian constitution of 1999 which states that the security and welfare of the people shall be the primary purpose of the government. Notably, wilful attacks on innocent citizens and public infrastructures in Nigeria, whether undertaken by known radical islamist groups or politically hatched unknown faceless groups are fast becoming headline news on local and international media with damaging consequences on her national image.

As regards this, Olabanji and Ese (2014) argued that the chronological reflection of security challenges in Nigeria can be traced to the early years of military rules when large quantities of arms were imported into the country for the use of the military, during and after the Nigerian civil war, some of which got into the hands of civilians. Soon after the civil war, these arms were used by civilians and ex –military men for mischievous purposes such as armed robbery, hence, armed robbery, kidnapping, Boko Haram , terrorism and hired assassins are major security challenges facing Nigeria. In the south-south kidnapping, militancy, armed robberies have taken over while in the south east, kidnapping, communal clashes and agitation for secession

are on the increase. In the south western part of the country, it is mainly kidnapping, cult rivalry, arm robbery. In the North, it is the crisis of herdsmen, Boko Haram, terrorism etc.

Indeed, the observed trend in Nigeria indicated a deviation from the norm as politics and politicians have acquired definite characters over the years, such as criminalisation of politics, a pathological orientation and a penchant not to abide by the rules, all of which from all intent and purpose are antithetical to the goals and aspirations of a democratic society. Politicians and political leaders put weapons in the hands of the masses, especially young jobless men, to use and unleash mayhem on their fellow citizens and political opponents. Hence, the alarming level of insecurity in Nigeria fuelled the crime rate and terrorist attacks in different parts of the country leaving unpalatable consequences for the nation's economy and its growth. However, despite the efforts by government to tackle the problem of insecurity in Nigeria, the problems still persists. The Government (federal and state) have set up and inaugurate various security outfits, peace corps, joint task force as well as engaged in series of dialogues with agitators but with little or no significant success in aggregate terms.

### **Politics**

The term politics originated from the Greek word *polis* which refers to a political community or city. The Greek concept of politics refers to a process by which human beings debate matters concerning the polis (the political community) and take actions in an attempt to realize the public interest or the common good. Ordinarily, politics is about the management and allocation of resources for the benefit of the greatest number of people in any given society. It has also become part and parcel of life and it has been adopted as a vehicle for development and integration.

But today the word politics means so many things to different people. For Chikendu (2002) it has acquired various connotations and denotations. To the ordinary man in the street "politics is a byword for crafty behaviour, bargaining, angling, scheming and manoeuvring

for advantage”. According to David Easton (1971) , politics is the authoritative allocation of values for society. Harold Lasswell (1930) on the other hand conceptualise politics ‘ ‘ as who gets what, when and how’’. Robert Dahl (1976) viewed politics as any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves to a significant extent, control, influence, power and authority. For Okoli and Okoli (1990), “To most Nigerians, the word politics or political holds no charm, no special appeal. If anything, it connotes deceit, graft, double talk and all that is evil. It is a term devoid of honour and respectability. In short, politics is regarded as a dirty game to most people in Nigeria. However, to some others, it is a good and interesting game”. Politics is all about attempt by man to dominate or overshadow his fellow men in order to achieve some predetermined objectives. Hence, the unifying factor in all these perceptions is the fact that they all stress out the role of power and authority in decision making and human relationship in every political system.

### **Insecurity**

Human insecurity as a concept was first propounded by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in her human development report 1994. The UNDP developed the concept of human security to encompass not just the achievement of minimal levels of material needs but also the absence of severe threats to them of an economic or political kind. The concept of insecurity connotes different meanings such as absence of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty, lack of protection and lack of safety. According to free dictionary.com (2012) insecurity is a state of being subject to danger or injury, a condition of being susceptible to harm or injury, the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety. According to Galtung, human insecurity is caused by violence, which can be direct or indirect. Here violence is ‘ ‘..... harm done to human beings as a process , working slowly as the way misery in general and hunger in particular erode and finally kill human beings. Human insecurity according to Sen (1999) is concerned with reducing and when possible removing the insecurity that plague human life. According to Beland (2005) insecurity is a state of fear or anxiety due to absence or lack of protection. Achumba et al (2013)

defines insecurity from two perspectives, firstly, insecurity is the state of being open or subject to danger or threat of danger, where danger is the condition of being susceptible to harm or injury. Secondly, insecurity is the state of being exposed to risk or anxiety, where anxiety is a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some misfortune. Insecurity implies a breach of peace and security, whether historical, religious, ethno regional, civil, social, economic and political that contributes to recurring conflicts and leads to wanton destruction of lives and property. It could be anything that portends fear, uncertainty, and which constitutes danger to the ability of an individual, group or state to ensure adequate protection of lives and property.

On the other hand, security means freedom from danger to life and property, freedom from threats to a state's capacity to protect and develop itself, absence of certain tendencies which could undermine the internal cohesion and co-operate existence of a state. In the understanding of Nwagboso (2012), security is seen as the act of being safe from harm or danger, the defence, protection or preservation of values and the absence of threats to acquired values. Security is about survival and condition of human existence. Security also exists when people live together in a certain environment without disturbance or violence.

By way of grammatical construction , insecurity could conversely be seen as the antithesis of security and has attracted such common descriptions as want of safety, danger, hazard, uncertainty,, want of confidence, state of doubt, inadequately guarded or protected, instability, trouble, lack of protection and being unsafe and others. These definitions of insecurity underscore a major point that those affected by insecurity are not only uncertain or unaware of what would happen but they are also vulnerable to the threats and dangers when they occur. When insecurities overlap, they can grow

exponentially spilling to all aspects of people's lives ,destroying entire communities and crossing national borders.

### **Causes of insecurity**

The causes/source of insecurity in the country are numerous and cannot be blamed on one part of the system alone. They vary from the government to the security agents down to the people in the society. The causes of insecurity as identified by Umaru, Pate and Haruna (2015) and Olusegun (2016) includes: ethno religious conflicts, politically based violence, systematic and political corruption, economic-based violence, inequalities, unemployment, poverty, organised violent groups, weak security system, porous borders and terrorism. Also, Uhie and Ewetan (2014) opines that one of the major causes of insecurity in the country is the failure of successive administration to address challenges of poverty, unemployment and inequitable distribution of wealth among ethnic nationalities. Sometimes the causes of human insecurity are directly incited by the globalisation of western values. Hence, the pressures unleashed by global forces in the form of liberalisation, privatisation, debt and globalisation undermine Africa's development in general and insecurity in particular. Robinson M.(2015), in her analysis of human insecurity ,notes that the twin concept of disempowerment and marginalisation are at the heart of the problem. She contends that the underlying causes of practically all human insecurity are absence of the capacity to influence changes at a personal or community level, exclusion from voting or participating in local or national decision making and economic or social marginalisation. Edem (2000) also made a supporting statement when he opined that a constant source of insecurity in Nigeria amidst the incessant bombings and terrorist acts of Boko Haram is influenced by military, economic, political, and social factors. Other factors include:

**(a) Leadership Style:** The current leadership of President Mohammed Buhari has displayed a kind of leadership that is politically violence prone. Political leadership when abused can lead

to violence and insecurity. The winner take it all pattern of leadership in Nigeria is already a source of worry. As a result, lives and properties have been lost due to misunderstanding between politicians who struggle to control each other. Party conventions have turned into theatre of war where heavy and light weapons are already in use because of political ambitions.

**(b) Porous borders:** The issue of porous borders has been a serious form of insecurity in the country. The security operatives who are deployed to areas for the sole purpose of maintenance of law and order are bereft of the goings on around their assigned areas thereby exerting porosity on security details, as such timely interventions and interception of criminality is highly elusive thus giving the criminals field day in their activities. In Nigeria, there are a lot of illegal immigrants (Boko Haram) in the country who are involved in criminal activities. Some are of the view that members of the Boko Haram sect are non Nigerians, they are immigrants from neighbouring border countries like Niger etc

**(c) Youth unemployment:** insecurity arises with unemployment and poverty because unemployment leads to loss of income which affects the people's ability to pay their bills and provide basic necessities for their households and other relatives. It is because of the insecurity posed by unemployment that advanced countries make social security payments to the unemployed to keep them off the streets until they get jobs.

**(d) Poor condition of service:** internally cumulated factors usually experienced by the security agents, like lack of resources, poor government support, poor condition of service, lack of appropriate and adequate training and ill-equipped workforce makes them to succumb to the whims and caprices of the politicians who act as their godfathers.

### **Politics and Human Insecurity in Nigeria**

The political structure and governance in Nigeria have been distorted since political independence in 1960, first by colonialists, second by

the ethnicised political class and thirdly by military politicians. The political institution has been characterised by political violence, corruption, human right abuses and other forms of social and political misdemeanour which are clear attestation of immorality and injustice in our political culture. The implication is that politics which was supposed to be a vehicle for ascent to power, has caused far more destruction than perhaps any other institution in Africa. The usual experience in Nigeria is called ‘garrison politics’ in which force, intimidation and manipulation of results are used to impose unpopular individuals on the people. Edem (2010) captured it well when he said that the Nigerian state is a confluence of nationalities made up of unreasonable people (politicians) associating involuntarily in the pursuit of uncommon interests. Nigeria’s failure presents us with one of the most ignoble manifestations of this dance of death called politics whose corrosive effect is shattering our communities.

Furthermore, the flawed elections, non-transparent party primaries, corruption, intimidation, impunity, violence, assassinations, disenfranchisement and helplessness of the electorate were all possible because the rentier Nigerian state had been hijacked or captured by an unrepentant political class and state elite bent on satisfying their interests and not that of the people. Political crises in Nigeria has assumed a volatile dimension leading in some cases to clashes between the rival political groups, killing and maiming, destruction of properties and assassinations in the name of politics as a do or die orientation. The political class see politics as access to power and their involvement in politics as an investment which must yield some material benefits; hence, it is nothing but pathology for realisation of individual self interest. The political centre has been captured by entrepreneurs of the state corporate interests and the accountancy firms and political gangsterism has become the predominant practice in such a framework.

Today in Nigeria, money politics, vote buying, godfatherism and share the cake formula has become regular household phrases and slogans portraying moral decadence of politicians. The Nigerian politics and the conduct of elections in more recent times in Nigeria has been

characterized by impunity, violence, thuggery, rigging, witch-hunting and this increased the rate of political assassination in Nigeria.

Hence, Adamu and Rasheed (2016), noted that the 2011 post- election violence in the northern part of the country which rendered many Nigerians homeless and properties worth millions of naira destroyed, points to the many cases of insecurity challenges caused by electoral violence. The quest for power has blind folded politicians that they have adopted the Machiavellian principle of *the end justifies the means*.

Unfortunately, the Nigerian state is where political power is seen as a means to primitive accumulation, in which the ruling class see political power as a means of economic breakthrough, and also the best avenue to amass wealth for generations unborn, not minding the prevailing conditions of the people they are governing. The absence of justice and morality in Nigerian politics is the reason for the absence of good governance and the presence of bad governance. Mao Zedong declared that politics is war without bloodshed but unfortunately he did not live long enough to see that in Nigeria, politics is real war with bloodshed and destruction. In fact, all the left handed tendencies in the Nigerian society have political undertone. That is to say that politics is the greatest threat to human insecurity.

### **Solution**

To overcome the issue of human insecurity:

- (a) there is a need to re-orientate and re-socialise the people especially public office holders.
- (b) There should be a total revamp of all the paraphernalia of the Nigerian security sectors and there should be border community mechanism to strengthen border and interstate collaboration among security intelligence agencies.
- (c) Emphasis should be placed more on monitoring illegal migration, small arms and light weapons interdiction and greater exchange of information.
- (d) Job creation and skill acquisition will reduce insecurity, it is therefore recommended that policies that will ensure the immediate

creation of jobs, acquisition of specialized skills , infrastructure and industrial growth be put in place so as to complement the short term security measures.

(e) The national orientation Agency should partner with civil society organisations and the media to mount enlargement and value reorientation programmes to help dilute extremist orientations and entrench the culture of peaceful coexistence in our politicians.

(f) There is need for regional intelligence gathering and community dialogue so as to develop appropriate strategy relevant to each community and region in order to tackle conflicts and security challenges effectively.

## **Conclusion**

It will be novel and beautiful for modern military equipment suitable for counter terrorism to be provided for the brave and gallant Nigerian security officers to save the country from further embarrassment. Again, there is an urgent need to reform the political framework. This will reduce the level of insecurity imposed by politics and also the basic structure of our state will benefit positively.

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## CHAPTER TEN

# PEACE LINGUISTICS: IMPERATIVES FOR ESCAPING FRICTION AND PEACEBUILDING IN SOCIAL INTERACTION

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### Executive Summary

*Peace seems to have become humanity's most sought after desire and value in our dispensation given its elusive nature. Friction, conflict and chaos have continued to have their toll on humanity. This trend has been fueled by the acts of individuals, even the verbal/ language acts, which have increasingly become violent. In social interactions today, language is often marked with disharmony and communicative violence evident in the use of aggressive, offensive and dehumanizing constructions that have the potentiality to harm and, by extension, escalate friction and conflict. It is in line with the foregoing that this paper examined peace linguistics' imperative for escaping friction and building peace. Peace linguistics advocates for the prevention of communicative aggression, creation of harmony and promotion of peace using language principles and applications. The study adopted the cooperative principles of Grice (1957) and Culpeper's (1996) model of impoliteness as working frameworks. The researcher also hinged the study on corpus linguistic approach as data were sourced from social media interactions and used to investigate how language can deconstruct and how it can construct and*

*foster peace. The paper identified that since communication and language [its vehicle] are what human life revolves around, language could, thus, be used to champion peace building when it is used constructively and made to possess human dignifying attributes. The paper posited that the tenets of peace linguistics which include effective use of language, harmonious exchange, humanized constructions and communicative peace should be adopted in social interactions. Recommendations were made on the need to escape friction, prevent conflict and strengthen peace through humanizing language performances.*

**Keywords:** communicative violence, friction, peace, communicative peace, peace linguistics, peacebuilding.

## **Introduction**

Linguistics, the scientific study of language, is a field that is ever current given its focus on man's means of interaction and social involvement. Linguists have continued to explore its branches of psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, historical and computational linguistics as they affect man's cognitive tendencies, man's language use and its intersection with society, man's application of language to real life situations, man's application of computer science to linguistic studies and man's documentation of language change over time. Whitla (2010) opines that linguistics studies many aspects of language like the sound systems, conversational interactions, uses men put language to in social situations, relationship of language to the functions of the brain, how languages develop and change and how machines can store and produce language. Language, which occupies the center space in linguistic studies as man's tool for interaction and for carrying out social actions, has also received no less attention. For Gomes De Matos (2005, p. 2), language is "the complex cognitive or mental system of symbols shared by all humans everywhere and used for

communicating intra and interpersonally through spoken, written or sign languages”. This definition highlights the following indices of language: it is a system of shared symbols, it is cognitive, it is a communication tool and it has channels of use.

Deducible from the foregoing is the communicative import of language. Language functions in communication as a tool for information dissemination and for the building of interpersonal relationships (LeBlanc, 2011). Language use is one area that has witnessed increasing waves of researches in recent times as it crisscrosses the subfield of applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Applied linguistics according to Gomes de Matos (2016, p. 161) is “an interdisciplinary field that addresses an increasing variety of language-based context, language policy... and language use”. Sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society with focus on how language is used by individual speakers and groups of speakers in social interaction (Wardhaugh, 2016, p. 10) while pragmatics “studies the factors that govern our choice of language in social interaction and the effects our choices have on others” with particular focus on humans as language users and their language production in context (Crystal 1999). The researcher deems it necessary to state that this research has beamed its searchlight on language use and its dualistic tendencies of constructivism and destructivism.

It is pertinent to point out that knowledge of language does not end at knowing the abstract formal system that characterizes a language. One should also be aware of the sociolinguistic and pragmatic indices that characterize language use. A language user who knows his onions should get familiarized with the relationship between language and society and how to communicate in appropriate contexts and situations. This brings us to the competences one needs to imbibe to be able to function well in language acts. Linguistic competence propounded by Noam Chomsky accounts for the correctness and grammaticality of language as a rule governed phenomenon. From the Chomskian notion of competence, other forms of competencies have

evolved to account for the complexities in language use. The communicative competence moves beyond Chomskian correctness and grammaticality to look at appropriateness in language use. For Canale and Swain (1980, p. 165) cited in LeBlanc (2011, p. 25), communicative competence entails that following the rules of the language, users communicate according to social expectations in situational contexts given that language cannot be divorced from its social realities and responsibilities. This involves choosing the right words to convey appropriate meaning. Canale and Swain (1980) also identified the sociolinguistic competence which accounts for the appropriateness of utterances in relation to the socio-cultural context and, the strategic competence which imbues a language user with the ability to consciously plan language use.

The survey of these competences is important to the thought process development of this paper because they will account for proficiency in language use as Andrew (2001, p. 30) has noted that language proficiency includes sociolinguistic, strategic and communicative competencies. One who has acquired these competencies plans one's language use harmoniously while lack of acquisition of these competences leads to improper language use, language devoid of harmony and capable of sparking off friction and conflict.

As has been hinted earlier, communicative competence focuses on appropriateness in language use which includes choosing right words to reflect socio-cultural linings, recognizing the purpose of communication, recognizing participants and the meaning they have brought into the communication process and striving for a cooperative exchange. Failure to put such things into consideration results in a failed and unharmonized exchange. This must have informed Gomes de Matos' (2001) definition of communication as an act of sharing which is capable of bringing about harmony or disharmony. In a bid to ensure that language is devoid of disharmony, Gomes de Matos has propounded the notions of peace linguistics which he projects as an advocacy for peaceful language use and communicative peace which he sees as an offshoot of communicative competence which is an

advocacy for communication to be made more peaceful (Gomes de Matos, 2008, p. 341).

### **Statement of the Problem**

In this twenty-first century, there are increasing and cyclic waves of friction, bitterness and conflict globally and these have invaded our language acts. The human emotion of compassion seems to have lost in the lopsided competition with the negative emotional outflows like conflict. Schilling (2011, p. 14) must have had this in mind when he asserts that “conflict and misunderstanding hold sway in many human encounters as socio economic pressures build up tension in social setting”. Today, there are clashes of interest and rancor globally and these have infiltrated into our language use. This is because language cannot be divorced from the society where it engages to influence social structures which also influence its (language) structure (Wardhough, 2006, p. 10). This sociolinguistic perspective holds validity in our time because, as the world is increasingly heating up, linguistic productions are becoming less compassionate and more violent. This brings us to the problem this study has set out to investigate, the use of language to cause friction and perpetuate violence. Linguistic violence occurs when language is used in dehumanizing forms. Gomes de Matos (2001) has noted that language use can either bring harmony or disharmony depending on the level of responsibility a language user exhibits in communication. To this author, one can communicate responsibly to create harmony (friendly and respectful communication) or irresponsibly to create disharmony by the use of offensive, impolite, aggressive and insensitive language. Once the later happens, friction ensues because of its potentiality to spark friction, create distance and defensiveness and usher in an era of conflict. Thus, the problem of language violence and its aftermaths are what this paper studies with a view to proffering solutions. It is pertinent to point out that this research not only seeks to establish the link between linguistic violence and impoliteness and their role in causing friction and thereby leading to lack of cooperation in communicative exchange. It also captures the role of peace linguistics in calming every storm. Thus, its contribution to existing knowledge is

that impoliteness and linguistic violence breed disharmony which stalls cooperative exchange while peace linguistics balances the equilibrium.

### **Purpose of Study**

This study is aimed at investigating linguistic violence as causation to friction in social structures and interactions. Schilling (2011, p. 202) has noted that violence consists not only of actions, structures or systems that cause physical or environmental damage but also of attitudes and words that cause psychological and social damage. Freidrich (2012, pp. 17-18) has opined that language can be employed as an instrument of harm. He goes further to say that the scale needs to be tipped in the opposite direction by the reinforcement of the humanizing uses of language that espouse respect for human dignity which in turn helps us develop a non-killing mentality. Freidrich's postulation brings us to another factor that the study aims to advance, the non-killing and non-violent properties of language in order to cushion the effects of linguistic violence. Having known the effect linguistic violence can have on the psych of individuals, the study projects non-violent communication as an alternative. Non-killing linguistics, just like peace linguistics, focuses on language use for peace making while non-violent communication highlights the language of compassion. Gomes de Matos (2014c) and Resenberg (2003, p. 8) who are proponents of these concepts are much aware that language principles and applications can also be used to quell the evil effects of linguistic violence. For Gomes de Matos, non-killing linguistics, henceforth NKL, is the employment of linguistic principles by language users to prevent acts of communicative violence and killing. Rosenberg, on his own, projects non-violent communication, henceforth NVC, as an approach that encourages exchanges that focus on shared human values needed to increase goodwill and to resolve differences peacefully. Thus, this study aims not only to investigate the effects of linguistic violence but to also highlight the importance of peace linguistics and its offshoots of non-killing linguistics and non-violent communication as parameters for escaping friction and for peace building.

## **Research Questions**

The following question were formulated to guide the society

1. Does violence emanate from language use?
2. What are the manifestations of linguistic violence?
3. Can language principles and applications be used in fostering peace?
4. In what ways can language be used for peace building?

## **Significance of Study**

This study is significant in more than one ways. In the main, it will reveal the dualistic applications of language use: for violence and for peace. By juxtaposing the effects and gains of these dual applications of language, it will make language users become more aware of their linguistic choices and their applications in social communicative interactions.

## **Conceptual Review**

This section is a copious survey of the concepts that populate this research. As the study investigates peace linguistics' imperative for escaping friction and for peace building in social interaction, peace linguistics, its parent concepts like language and communication and its offshoots of communicative competence, communicative peace, non-killing linguistics and non-violent communication need to be explicated, drawing signposts of their potentiality in escaping friction and in peace building.

Language and communication are concepts that enjoy a relationship of connectivity and are man's tools for social actions, engagements and exchange. Language drives communication which in turn enriches it. The two concepts have also received variants of definitions that have revealed their nature and function. Language is a rule governed symbolic system that enables users to generate meaning and also to define reality (Trembolen, 1995 in Dada, 2010). Merriam - Webster Online Dictionary defines communication as "an act of transferring ... a process by which information is exchanged between individuals

through a common system of symbols, signs or behaviour”. This definition highlights the functions of language in communication. Thus, language functions as a tool for information exchange and the coordination of the realities of life through processes and space provided by communication. In language use in communication, interactants pass across messages which are expected to be understood, acted upon, and feedback sent to complete the cycle. Communication becomes effective when this cycle is completed. There is a breakdown if the process remains incomplete or when linguistic choices mar the flow of the message or the rapport that exists between the interactants.

The foregoing highlights the view of language as dual-edged, which use either creates rapport or destroys shared values depending on the choice of linguistic items. Language is a social interactive tool and should have norms of use. First and foremost, a language user must acquire competences in the use of language. These competencies, ranging from sociolinguistic, communicative to strategic, provide the mental and psychological apparatus for proper and appropriate language use. Gay (1988) thinks on the board in his assertion that language, as an institution, can do violence that is psychological and that linguistic violence occurs when we are both psychologically and socially hurt by words. In order to escape friction and make our language use violent-free, the notions of peace linguistics and communicative peace are advocated.

Peace linguistics, henceforth PL, is an interdisciplinary approach to language study that advocates for peaceful language use. Having witnessed the increasing waves of linguistic violence, Gomes de Matos propounded the notion of peace linguistics and has remained an advocate of this, churning out countless publications on the concept. According to him, aspects of language and peace can be woven into an applicable form in human communicative interaction (Gomes De Matos, 2005). Definitively Crystal (1999, pp. 254-255) asserts, “peace linguistics is a climate of opinion which emerged during the 1990 in which linguistic principles, methods, findings and applications

were seen as a means of promoting peace and human rights at a global level ... to foster language attitudes which respect the dignity of individual speakers and speech communities”. For Curtis (2018a, p .12) “peace linguistic is concerned with the applications of the insights gained from the [scientific] study of language to practical problems such as how to help bring about world peace”. Gomes de Matos (2018, 2014a) lending voice in furtherance of this discourse asserts that PL attempts to create conditions for language users to communicate peacefully as peace is a new awareness in language education.

This brings us to the notion of peace in language studies. Linguists like Gomes De Matos, Richard and Rogers (2011) and Freidrich (2007) have proposed the integration of peace into language education. LeBlanc (2011) submits that the peace linguistic approach finds itself in peace studies which is the United Nation’s response field to the pressing need for peace after World War II. Richard and Rogers see PL’s emergence as a response to the need assessment by linguists to address conflict and violence through language while Friedrich points out that peace education focuses on conflict resolution and peace cultivation using language.

PL is, thus, an emergent approach to conflict resolution, born out of the need to curb linguistic violence which seems now to exist on a large scale. Its basic message is using language not only as an ordinary tool for exchange but as a tool for communicating peacefully. It maintains that certain types of language spark off violence by creating hurt (hurtful/ harmful language) and Gomes De Matos (2006, p. 160) has isolated “verbs of violent communicative act’ that abuse, humiliate, oppress, disrespect and stigmatize as demeaning words that show how language can spark off a state of violence. Gomes de Matos (2000, p. 341) maintains that “human beings’ right to peaceful and just life should be matched by a corresponding human responsibility to communicate peacefully”. This assertion seems to be in tandem with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization’s (1996) report’s adoption of a universal Linguistic

Human Rights which demands that linguistic communities worldwide be rallied around the belief that “language as an essential vehicle for identity and cultural expansion is inseparable from the peace and intercultural understanding”.

The foregoing typifies that responsible language use can create pathways for acceptance, understanding and escaping friction in social communicative interactions. Also deducible is the underlying peace potential of language. Thus, Gomes de Matos (2002) has given the injunction that language users be educated “not only to talk about peace in their communication acts but to communicate in peaceful ways” and that communicative peace should be seen as a “deeper dimension to communicative competence”. PL is, thus, an advocacy that language be used to “promote peace” by incorporating the values of “human rights, justice and peace into one’s array of core values” (Friedrich, 2007, p. 50). Gomes de Matos (2006) has proposed the notion of applied peace linguistics as an offshoot of applied linguistics. Since Applied Linguistics investigates and proffers solution to language-based problems, Applied Peace Linguistics emerged with the aim of providing conditions for teaching language users to use language peacefully so as to escape friction. Applied Peace Linguistics, henceforth APL, focuses on how language can be applied in the pursuance of peace. APL is charged with a dualistic function. On one hand, it helps users to identity states of harmony, agreement, communicative dignity and communicative peace. Again, it functions to isolate states of disagreement and disharmony that culminate in communicative conflict, discord and contentions. Thus, APL charged with twofold responsibility probes these questions:

- What is a lack of harmony marked by communicative hostility?
- What vocabulary and phraseology does a person rely on when arguing, quarreling or bickering?
- What communicative exchanges involve disagreement and conflict?
- How do language users apologize the cause of humiliation?

- How do language users monitor, reward, rephrase communicative insensitivity or contemptuous rudeness?
- How do we make regretful acknowledgment of a communicative offense?
- How do we blame someone/ persons when we consider them responsible for a misdeed or failure: do we treat them with communicative dignity? (Gomes de Matos, 2014)

These questions and the answers they generate basically summarize peace linguistic application. Deducible from them are the notions of communicative hostility or aggression, communicative insensitivity, communicative offense, communicative dignity and communicative harmony. In the application of language, a user needs to know the import of his language use (vocabularies and phraseologies) on the receiver. One can be communicatively hostile, aggressive and insensitive with his choice of words and this leads to communicative disharmony. One's language use can also dignify others thereby bringing about communicative harmony. The foregoing is a pointer that language can be used to escape friction and avoid conflict when users know and apply certain principles and practices which Gomes de Matos (2012, p. 3) has termed "Principles and Practices of Conflict Resolution" which are approaches proposed to highlight the communicative life- improving force of peaceful language use embedded in these two concepts: communicative peace and communicative dignity.

PL has great imperative for escaping friction and for peace building because of its mantra of communicative peace, non-violent communication and non-killing linguistics. Friction and conflict in a communicative interaction come as an aftermath of irresponsible and incompetent use of language. Gay (1999) has isolated friction and conflict-causing linguistic choices to include hurtful language (racist comment), conscious, hurtful form of violence (aggressive) and harmful language (oppressive). Gomes de Matos (2006) cited earlier has identified verbs of violent communicative act as friction-causing and conflict escalating and Canale and Swain (1980, p.30) have stated

that in a bid to resolve emergent problems occurring from linguist violence, language users should be made aware of the difference between violent and peaceful language so as to make informed choices.

It is imperative to point out that in language use, peace is established when an exchange comes from the point of valuing the other as a human that has rights, feelings and needs. In the secular world today, there seems to be a dearth of peace, thus, it has come to occupy a focal position in the list of individual and national aspirations. Peace has continued to receive unabated attention because of its dynamics of ousting conflict and violence. Peace literally means the absence of all forms of violence. Schilling (2011, p. 20) states that peace is a process, a struggle to transform violence as it “describes the unfolding of conflict in a constructive way”. Schilling goes further to say that peace does not mean the total absence of conflict and exists where people interact non-violently and manage their conflict positively, paying attention to the needs of others. She noted that peace could be negative (absence of war, direct violence and conflict at all levels of human engaging activities) or positive (absence of indirect and structural violence) which makes for bridge building between conflicting parties which, in turn, translates to building a culture of peace.

Building bridges to curb violence among/ between conflicting parties is known as peace building which is a process of intervening in conflicts and maintaining peace. Schilling (2011, p. 29) sees the term as including processes like peacemaking (interactions designed to end hostilities using non-violent dialogue to reach peace agreements) and peace-keeping (monitoring and enforcing agreement). Peacebuilding, no doubt, is a process that is interventive for it seeks ways to move beyond conflict to induce a culture of peace.

How then can peace linguistics help in escaping friction and peacebuilding? Linguists Gomes de Matos and Friedrich and psychologist Rosenberg seem to have handed down non-negotiable

ways in their communicative peace, non-killing linguistics and non-violent communication chants. In 1984, Marshal Rosenberg, a psychologist propounded the notion of non-violent communication where he proposed that a language of compassion be used in all communicative interactions. NVC focuses on ways of interaction that do not impede the communication flow required for information exchange and the peaceful resolving of differences (Schilling 2011, p. 202). Rosenberg (2003, p. 18) notes that NVC focuses on shared human values and needs and encourages language that increases goodwill against those that contribute to resentment or lowered self worth. Analyzing with the giraffe against the Jackal, Rosenberg used body parts to symbolize NVC thus:

Heart – emotion and empathy; focusing on needs and feeling

Height – ability to look into the distance -- keen and sensitive awareness of future possibilities.

Long neck – symbol of vulnerability as well as affection-attracting. Rosenberg (2005) (2006) has noted the role of empathy in NVC while noting how participants in an exchange can communicate:

- Use a list of feelings – affectionate, cheerful, and loving.
- Do not use authoritative words.
- Listen empathetically by focusing on speakers feeling and needs.

Gomes de Matos' writings all have bearing to the imperatives of peace linguistics in escaping friction and conflict and in peacebuilding. First, he coined the concept of communicative peace (1991b) that preaches that communication be done in constructive and in human-dignifying ways. Gomes de Matos (2006) projects the use of humanizing language that is friendly, responsible, sensitive and compassionate rather than using dehumanizing language. Gomes de Matos (2005) has, in furtherance of the foregoing, listed the functions and principles of a peaceful language user which are imperatives in peace building in these injunctions:

### **Dignify your dialogue by**

- addressing others with respectful language and optimistic vocabulary, by disagreeing through empathetic language,
- using positivizers (adjectives and verbs that enhance positive values on people),
- convincing others cooperatively,

**Honour humanism and foster humanization by**

- avoiding verbal harm and humiliation,
- applying justice and peace in communication acts,
- rephrasing potentially dehumanizing language.

**Act as a peace patriot by**

- promoting a passion for peace especially in aggressive contexts,
- being a peaceful bridge person between persons and groups
- letting your communication contribute to a culture of peace.

These can only be achieved if the tenets of Gomes de Matos and Friedrich's (2012) non-killing linguistics and Gomes de Matos, communicative peace are imbibed. NKL emerged as an offshoot of PL which aim is to apply the principles of linguistics in helping users prevent acts of communicative violence and killing (Gomes de Matos, 2014c) and to communicate life improving forces necessary for peace building (Gomes de Matos, 2012). Knowing full well peace linguistics' imperatives for escaping friction and for peace building, Gomes de Matos postulated in his numerous writings the following:

- Language should perform peace building, supporting and sustaining functions.
- Users of language should interact constructively in character elevating ways.
- Languages should be learned and used for human life-improving purposes.
- Language users should nurture communicative compassion.
- Users of language should prevent acts of communicative aggression.
- Interactants should communicate cooperatively and peacefully.

The foregoing has made certain establishments. Language use can lead to friction and conflict when it is not humanized. Language can also be employed constructively when it is imbued with humanizing tendencies. It is the constructive use of language that ousts friction and makes for peaceful and harmonious co-existence of individuals.

### **theoretical Framework**

This study adopted Culpeper's (1996) Impoliteness Model and Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principles as working frameworks. These approaches were chosen given their capacity to highlight areas of friction and conflict in communication.

### **Culpeper's Model of Impoliteness**

Impoliteness is a linguistic theory that hinges on face-damaging linguistic and non-linguistic acts. Impoliteness is juxtaposed against Brown and Levinson's (1978) politeness theory that sees politeness as face-saving linguistic acts. Impoliteness, just like politeness, has been given various definitional conceptualizations but this researcher focuses on Culpeper's view that sees it as all communicative behaviours intended to cause the "face loss" of the hearer. It includes all face threatening acts directed at the hearer which in turn affects the speaker through response. Impoliteness is an act that is face-aggravating or face-damaging in a particular context. Context here is important because what is face-damaging in one context could not be in another. There are many models of impoliteness since it was first introduced in language studies in 1977. Linguistics like Hickey (1791), Culpeper (1996) and Bousfield (2006) have continued to research and further its use. Culpeper has continued to churn out works on impoliteness (1996, 208, 2011). Culpeper's model of impoliteness manifests in communicative interactional settings where speakers, through their language, act intentionally to damage the face of the hearer. Culpeper states that impoliteness and its sister, rudeness, are inappropriate in interactional exchanges, thus, they are negatively marked concepts. Culpeper (2008) stresses that all behaviours, linguistic or non-linguistic, that are intentionally used by a speaker in

a communicative interaction to damage the face wants of other participants are said to be impolite. To him impoliteness is intentional while rudeness is unintentional.

Culpeper (2011) sees impoliteness as a multidisciplinary concept which has bearing with almost all humanistic disciplines – sociology, psychology, media and conflict studies. Culpeper (2006, 2008) postulated two categorical divisions of impoliteness -- inherent impoliteness and mock impoliteness or banter. Inherent impoliteness, according to Culpeper, are those acts that are innately face-threatening regardless of context, while those that are superficial and not intended to insult are called mock impoliteness (Culpeper 1996). Again, Culpeper has outlined five impoliteness strategies which include:

- **Bald on record** – where acts are clear and direct where face is relevant.
- **Positive impoliteness** -- use of strategies designed to damage addressee's positive face wants.
- **Negative impoliteness** - strategies used to damage addressee's negative face wants.
- **Sarcasm or mock impoliteness** – use of politeness strategies that are insincere.
- **Withheld politeness** -- absence of politeness work where it would be expected- showing concern to someone in need (Culpeper, 1996, pp. 8-9).

Culpeper (2011) has also isolated types of withheld politeness to include:

- **Affective impoliteness** -- when a speaker makes obvious his anger towards the hearer in a discursive interaction which in turn creates a negative atmosphere.
- **Coercive impoliteness** - manifests when speaker demonstrates power over hearer through use of command and imperatives.
- **Entertaining impoliteness** – manifests in speaker making jest of hearer to gain amusement. Culpeper, looking at the concepts of positive and negative impoliteness, has put forth their strategies of output and manifestation.

His positive impoliteness output strategies include:

- Snub, ignore and fail to acknowledge the other's presence,
- Exclude the other from activity,
- Disassociate from the other - deny common ground,
- Be disinterested, unconcerned and unsympathetic,
- Use inappropriate identity makers,
- Use secretive and obscure language – jargon,
- Seek disagreement - select a sensitive topic to make the other feel uncomfortable,
- Use taboo words - swear abuse,
- Use profane language ,
- Call the other names,
- Use derogatory nominations.

Also, his negative impoliteness output strategies include:

- Frighten the other – instill fear that a detrimental action will occur,
- Scorn, ridicule – emphasize your relative power, belittle the other,
- Invade the others space literally – come closer than necessary by asking intimate questions,
- Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect,
- Personalize using I and you,
- Put the other indebtedness (vulnerability) on record.

Impoliteness and power have been seen to have a relationship of interconnectivity as relative power is seen to manifest in impolite acts. Power is wielded by those who are highly placed in different fields over others to influence and limit them. Culpeper (1996, p. 354) links power with impoliteness when he asserts that, impoliteness is more likely to manifest when the speaker is more powerful than the hearer. As power relations are determined by access to valued resources (status, wealth, jobs), a speaker who is highly placed tends to exhibit impolite acts more freely because he is capable of limiting the less powerful participants' ability to retaliate.

Bousfield (2008, p. 150) echoes Culpeper's position that a person who manifests impoliteness creates and reactivates some aspects of his relative power. The researcher has chosen this model because, in discursive acts involving quarrels and showing difference in power relations, impoliteness can occur although Culpeper did not make the former explicit, a perceived seeming shortcoming of this theory.

### **Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principles**

This is another theory the study hinges on. CP is a communication principle that describes the level of achievement of conversational interactions. In communication, speakers (S) and hearers (H) engage in exchanges that are expected to be cooperative, where hearers are expected to associate speakers with such intentions by cooperating in the exchange in order to arrive at mutual understanding. Grice's postulations about cooperation in interaction are subsumed in these four maxims.

#### **QUANTITY**

- Make contributions as informative as is required for the current purpose of exchange.
- Do not make it more informative than is required.
- Provide only necessary information.

#### **QUALITY**

- Do not say what you believe to be false.
- Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

#### **RELATION**

- Be relevant.
- Maintain the focus of the conversation -- do not veer off from the main topic.

#### **MANNER**

- Be brief and orderly.
- Avoid obscurity of expression.
- Avoid ambiguity.

Grice has noted that these maxims are not always adhered to in a discursive exchange. They could be violated, flouted, infringed on or opted out of. Our focus here is on flouting, which occurs when participants deliberately cease to apply the maxims because they want their listeners to infer the hidden meaning behind their utterance; the meaning they implicate by their utterance. This theory was chosen to draw out evidences of uncooperativeness in interaction that are friction-causing.

### **Methodology**

The study is corpus linguistic based and followed the descriptive analytical model. The data analyzed in this research were gotten from the whatsApp page of a network business group. The data were analyzed qualitatively using the peace linguistic tenets, Grice's Cooperative Principles and Culpeper's impoliteness model.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

Background: this data was gotten from a group whatsApp page where a woman asked for monetary assistance during this Covid-19 lockdown. It is pertinent to point out that the researcher used the raw data as it is, hence, the non-adherence to grammar rules in the constructions. However, translations were provided for some of the social media coinages and contractions.

### **Discussions and Analysis**

The research has isolated linguistic choices that are impolite and face-damaging.

### **Use of Bald on Record Impoliteness**

These are statements that are insulting and directly attack the face of speaker.

- b. The truth remains that you can take a dog to the river but you cannot force it to drink.
- b. This ur [your] mindset that's y [why] u [you] find urself [yourself] in this kind of situation begging to eat.

### **Qualitative Analysis**

These statements by speaker B to speaker A are insults and direct attacks on her person and are, thus, face-damaging.

**Positive Impoliteness:** These are strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants where positive face is the desire to be appreciated in social interaction. Output strategies for positive impoliteness include:

#### **Ignore the Other**

- A. I will join but I [I] hv [have] to eat before investing.
- B. You should have put down that little you have before lock down by now, every ten days u [you] will be sure of something no matter how small.

### **Qualitative Analysis**

In these conversations, B ignored the issue raised by speaker A and chose to tell her how beneficial joining the business is.

#### **Disassociate from the Other**

- A. Please member's [members]of this group, I need help financially. Me and my kids need to put food on our table. please somebody help.
- B. You have chosen just to remain an observer since you were added holding tight to the seed you were supposed to sow [money you were supposed to have invested] and expect yield or rather you used your seed for your priority.

### **Qualitative Analysis**

These strings show that the interactants do not have a common ground to agree. These strings also flout the maxim of relation because what B said is not related to the idea A expressed.

**Exclude the Other from Activity:** Not found within the corpus  
**Be disinterested, unconcerned and unsympathetic**

- A. I will join but i [I] hv [have] to eat first before investing

B. You have to change your mindset eating first before investing.  
I sorry for thee [I pity you].

**Qualitative Analysis.** In this exchange, B was unconcerned and unsympathetic towards A.

**Use of inappropriate identity markers.** Not found in the corpus.

**Use of obscure, secretive language.** Not found.

**Seek Disagreement:**

C: u [you] shouldn't talk to anyone like that. are u [ you] trying to mock her? all fingers re [are] not equal .we should be careful of what we write n [and] post. if u [you] can't help, kindly shut ur [your] mouth and dont add to her problems . even d [the] so called rich ones/investors like u [you] re [are] crying harder behind d screen

E: My brother these words are not welcomed either. If you need to correct someone not with abusive words. Pls [please] try and render apology to him you might do it here or in his private chat. One lov [love]

C: apology on what pls [please]?

**Qualitative Analysis.** In these strings, C disagrees with E that he has used words that should warrant an apology.

**Use of taboo words.** Not found.

**Call the other name.**

C. even d [the] so called rich ones/investors like u [you] re [are] crying harder behind d screen.

B. The truth remains that you can force a dog to the river but you can not force it to drink.

**Negative Impoliteness:**

These are strategies designed to damage the negative face wants of individuals in a discursive interaction. They include:

### **Frighten**

D. Don't forget that table turns around [Do not forget that conditions change over time].

**Qualitative analysis.** Here, D tries to warn people about their attitude by telling them that tables can turn and they find themselves at the receiving end.

### **Condensed Scorn or Ridicule.**

B. The truth remains that you can force a dog to the river but you can not force it to drink.

B. This your mindset that's y [why] u [you] find urself [yourself] in this kind of situation begging to eat [begging for alms].

**Qualitative Analysis.** These statements by B clearly ridicule speaker A.

**Invade the other's space.** Not found

### **Explicitly associate the order with a negative aspect.**

A. I will join but i [I] hv [have] to eat first before investing

B. This your mindset that's y [why] u [you] find urself [yourself] in this kind of situation begging to eat [begging for food].

C: u [you] shouldn't talk to anyone like that. are u [you] trying to mock her? all fingers re [are] not equal .we should be careful of what we write n [and] post. if u [you] can't help, kindly shut ur [your] mouth and dont add to her problems . even d [the] so called rich ones/investors like u [you] re [are] crying harder behind d [the] screen

E: My brother these words are not welcomed either. If you need to correct someone not with abusive words. Pls [please] try and render apology to him you might do it here or in his private chat. One love.

**Qualitative Analysis.** B and E associate A and C respectfully with the negative aspects of begging and abusing.

### **Put the Other's Indebtedness on Record.**

A: I will join but i [I] hv [have] to eat first before investing

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B. This ur [your] mindset that's y [why] u [you] find urself [yourself] in this kind of situation begging to eat. U [you] have to change ur [your] mindset....eating eating first before investment. I sorry for thee [I pity you]

---

**Qualitative Analysis. Speaker B** magnifies A's vulnerability by his statement.

**Sarcasm or Mock Politeness** - Use of politeness strategies that are insincere.

F: The truth is that there is no amount of money one can keep for feeding without any source of adfition [addition] to it that will ever be enough. However, I believe that most of us must have learnt one thing or the other at this period. No one is to be blamed every situation has a message it passes across. It is well with all of us.

B. I sorry for thee [I pity you]

**Qualitative Analysis. These statements, though seemingly polite, are sarcastic and mock speaker A.**

**Use of Taboo Words** – swearing and using of abusive words

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C. if u [you] can't help, kindly shut ur [your] mouth and dont add to her problems.

**Withhold Politeness:** Absence of politeness work where it would be expected.

**a. Affective impoliteness**

B: What we do here is to teach and encourage everyone to engage into [in] a business that will put food on your table without stress and that we have been doing here excellently

well. The truth remains that you can force a dog to the river but you can not force it to drink. You have chosen to just remain an observer here ever since you were added holding tight to the seed you were supposed to sow [the money you were supposed to have invested] and expect yield or rather you used your seed for your priority.

**Qualitative Analysis.** This first turn of speaker B in response to speaker A's opening turn is devoid of any trace of politeness. Speaker A must have swallowed her pride to come up with that plea and in our culture, such a person in need should at least be comforted even when the help sought for is not granted.

**b. Coercive impoliteness.**

C. If u [you] can't help kindly shut ur [your] mouth and don't add to her problems.

Qualitative Analysis. Speaker C uses an imperative to cower Speaker B thereby making him to understand that the power he thinks he has to talk to Speaker A anyhow he pleases can also be wielded by another person over him.

**Cooperative Principles**

The researcher found out that there was no mutual cooperation in this data. Interactants never understood one another hence, there was no successful exchange. Some of the cooperative principles were flouted.

**Flouting of the Relevance Maxim.**

A: Pls [please] member's [members] of this group i need help financially. Me and my kids need to put food on our table.pls [please] somebody help

---

B: What we do here is to teach and encourage everyone to engage into [in] a business that will put food on your table without stress and that we have been doing here excellently we.

Here, A was talking about financial help and hunger, but B chose to focus on business investment. By so doing, his unwillingness to help is implicated.

**Flouting of the Manner Maxim.**

**A:** I will join but i [I] hv to eat first before investing

**B.** This ur [your] mindset that's y [why] u [you] find urself [yourself] in this kind of situation begging to eat.U [you] have to change ur [your] mindset....eating eating first before investment.I sorry for thee [I pity you].

---

Here, B needed to say that he cannot help but he obscured his lack of sympathy and rather talked ill or questioned the mindset of speaker A.

**Findings**

The analysis revealed that there was lack of cooperation in the discursive interaction which resulted as a result of the flouting of the manner and relevance maxims of Grice's cooperative principles. It is pertinent to note that the impolite choices were made because the interactants are not exposed to the tenets of peace linguistics which preaches the use of humanizing language as against demeaning language.

Thus, Gomes de Matos' (2014) human improving relevance of PL seen below was lost to them. CCC – communicate cooperatively and cordially. (constructively– *emphasis mine*).

MMM – Make your messages models of communication.

PPP – plan your prose/ poetic posters peacefully.

RRR – refrain from replying rudely.

AAA – Apologize right after addressing a person aggressively.

It was also revealed that the interactants lack communicative competence and, by extension, communicative peace which makes for appropriacy in language use with special focus on situational context.

This lack of knowledge is evident in their use of friction-causing, human demeaning expressions isolated below.

Speaker B. This ur mindset that's y u find urself in this kind of situation begging to eat. The truth remains that you can take a dog to the river but you cannot force it to drink.

Speaker C. If you can't help kindly shut up your mouth and don't add to her problems. even d so called rich ones/investors like u re crying harder behind d screen

**C:** apology on what pls?

C: There is no need for apology really. Ma'am [Madam] don't worry.

The study revealed that one of the interactants, Speaker E, seems to have been exposed to the tenets of peace linguistics, and, having known the effects of dehumanizing language use, he tried so much to influence others by telling them to adopt humanizing language and apologize in the invent of the use of demeaning language. This is evident in these extracts.

**E:** My brother these words are not welcomed either. If you need to correct someone not with abusive words. Pls try and render apology to him you might do it here or in his private chat.

**E:** read ds [these] pls [please] ....and tell me if ds [these] complimentary or mockery/insultive?

**E:** Your choice of words are not right.1. "Shut your mouth up"2. Even the so called rich/investors like you. If I may ask do you know this person in question? Even if you do those words are insultive.

Had speaker E's injunctions which resonant the human improving relevance of PL been adhered to by the interactants, the volume of friction in that exchanged would have been toned down and there

would have been cooperation which would have ushered in a peaceful exchange.

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### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

The thrust of this paper has been on peace linguistics and its imperatives for escaping friction and for peacebuilding in social interactions. Globally, friction and conflict have witnessed waves of increase due to issues like socio-economic pressure, religious intolerance and political bias. Thus, the need to temper down the heat from these foreseen cyclic, friction-causing and conflict escalating situations through language use from the peace linguistics perspective becomes imperative. The society revolves around and functions on the dialogic use of language and thus its continued peaceful existence depends hugely on language use patterned not in the notion of destructivism but on that of constructivism (Ahumaraeze and Nwachukwu, 2016, p. 82). Through data analysis, the patterns of destructive, demeaning and dehumanizing exchanges that are friction-causing and uncooperative were revealed to make peace linguistics a must for all as, its application by people of different creed and clime has the potentiality of reducing friction and ensuring peaceful and harmonious living. It is on this premise that the following recommendations were made:

- Communicative peace, a deeper dimension of communicative competence, should be introduced in the language classroom from the high schools as a compulsory course so that students will be taught while in school to be peaceful language users.
- Language users should learn the act of non-violent communication through non-killing linguistics so as to avoid acts of linguistic violence that are friction-causing. They should, rather, lift up souls with their life – improving language (LLL).
- Interactants should avoid acts of communicative aggression by humbling their hubris and exhibiting shared humanity in human communication (HHH).
- Interactants should engage in peacebuilding and, by extension, become peacemakers by using peaceful phraseologies.

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## **CHAPTER ELEVEN**

### **NATIONAL SECURITY AND CRIME IN ERA OF COVID-19 IN NIGERIAN MAJOR CITIES: BEYOND A LOCKDOWN**

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#### **Executive Summary**

*Security is the responsibility of every citizen of every country but security agencies are established by law to handle the security affairs of the country. Security becomes a problem and very precarious if an unplanned and unexpected threat occurs when there are no laid down laws to tackle them. When such events occur in a country like Nigeria without adequate procedures put in place to checkmate it, the nation suffers from different criminal activities which pose serious security issues. Nigeria is a nation populated with over 200 million residents with different multi-religious, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds affected by the ongoing global pandemic known as the coronavirus. COVID-19 as abbreviated by World Health Organization (WHO) is a highly infectious disease with a high mortality rate ravaging the population of the country of which the government-mandated a lockdown in the country to slow the spread of the disease. The pandemic*

*and forced dependence on nothing due to the lockdown further exacerbated people's already fragile egos and pushed them into an abyss of despair. Analysis of secondary data on the effect of the virus due to forced lockdown by the government showed that there was a considerable spike in crimes committed by both citizens and security operatives within major cities. The increase in such crimes like armed robbery, extrajudicial killings, and kidnapping, was propelled by a lack of governmental intervention to the plight of the majority of citizens of the country. The resultant effect was that it created a strain on the national security of the country. This work recommended for increased governmental intervention both for citizens and security operatives in the country. Also to implement relevant policies geared towards the future occurrence of a pandemic and checkmate the activities of security personnel.*

**Keywords:** COVID-19, crime, security, government, strain.

## **Introduction**

A society ill-prepared and ill-equipped for unforeseen and unprecedented attacks both from man-made and natural sources suffers devastating effects through such debilitating consequences as crime and crime-related activities. The effects are devastating especially as it leads to such consequences as criminal activities which affect national security of a country. Crime becomes synonymous with national security and citizens of a country live in fear of their lives and properties. Nigeria is a country that has witnessed a lot of instabilities starting from its independence in 1960 to the present pandemic. The country has been besieged by different political, economic, social, and religious uprisings both planned and unplanned. These insecurities have been caused by the different and unstable political and economic systems found within the country. One factor remains constant within all these and that is the prevalence of crime which instead of abating with new political power always increases. The present political

administration in Nigeria has been besieged by different criminal activities ranging from the nefarious activities of the Boko Haram sect to Fulani herdsmen, kidnapping, armed robbery, rape, arson, pedophilia which are undertaken by the criminally minded in the society. The activities have been caused by corruption, unstable economy, illiteracy, failure of the government to provide basic amenities for its citizens. Crime has now become the order of the day in Nigeria.

In modern times, crime is socially and legally constructed but for this paper, the legal construction will be used. In modern criminal law, the term crime does not have any simple or universally accepted definition because different societies view crime from different perspectives. For certain purposes, the statutory definition of crime is used which has both social and legal meaning. Crime is viewed as an intentional act or omission that is committed by an individual with no justification or defense which violates the criminal statutes of a given state, characterized as either a felony or misdemeanor and punishment ascribed for the act. Crime is viewed as a socio-political-economic act that is subject to the society that it is found in whether modern or ancient. So invariably crime is a byproduct of civilization because according to Emile Durkheim (1938) a little bit of crime is good for the advancement of society. The punishment which is adopted for crime is seen as a form of social response that has economic and political implications that is subjective to how developed or underdeveloped that society is. This is attributed to the wealth and impact of a nation because the wealthier the society, the higher the crime rates and vice versa, and the level of sophistication attributed to the crime and criminals. Crime is one of the sole contributors to the national insecurity of any country because it is a major security threat in whatever form it manifests.

The security threat to any nation or society comprises not only those conventional foes such as nation-states but is inclusive also of non-state actions, narcotics cartels, multinational corporations, and

nongovernmental organizations; some authorities include natural disasters and events causing severe environmental decay (Fjader, 2014). These security threats can also include manmade disasters of which the coronavirus (COVID-19) belongs to. National security becomes imperative with these security threats in the country. National security is the requirement to maintain the survival of the state through the use of economic power, diplomacy power projection, and political power (Fjader, 2014). Covid-19 as it is popularly known is a virus that originated from Wuhan, China in 2019 December with no known cure for now and imported into Nigeria by an unnamed Italian in March 2020 and after its inception into the country, the tide changed in so many ways in the country.

In the wake of the infectious deadly virus which had caused a pandemic in the whole world, individuals began responding contrastingly to it. The Nigerian society which was used to ‘suffering and smiling’ a popular adage by the late Fela Kuti became significantly affected negatively. The vivacious and energetic social orders in the nation albeit confronting a great deal of hardship due to the lingering of other financial and political factors found within the nation turned into a sad remnant of themselves. The situational changes became more poignant when the federal government mandated a lockdown in the whole country and limited social interaction by advocating for ‘social distancing’, ‘stay home and stay safe’ with no provision of palliatives for the majority of the country living below the poverty line. It amounted to a sense of obscure dread and trepidation in the populace because individuals who were characterized by daily interactions, visitation both at workplaces, market, and social avenues were now compelled to suffer in private their insecurities about the unknown. Resultantly, fear became exacerbated due to economic instability, job loss especially for a great number of the populace and those with menial jobs, and the worst of the fear was that of contracting the dreaded deadly virus. The virus in its inception into the country created previously unthinkable levels of desperation, suffering, and panic (Charles & McKinley, 2020) and

invariably contributed to the increase in criminal activities by both the governed and the governors.

### **Research Methods**

This research paper adopts different approaches which included analyzing the statute of law regarding pandemic in Nigerian society (of which there is none but in paper). The presence of such a case was looked at in trying to find ways of approaching it; unfortunately, Nigeria has not had similar cases of this magnitude before. Therefore, this work adopted secondary sources of data collection as a result of the risk of contracting COVID-19 and insecurity involved in seeking primary sources of data collection. Other rationales that necessitated the adoption of secondary sources were because of the high rate of crime and deviant behaviors associated with the lockdown in the country. These had lead to the loss of lives and properties of the citizens without any hope of getting succor from the government. Sources of secondary data used include; Books, Unpublished books, Journals, Newspapers, Websites, Blogs, and Government Records.

### **Conceptual Review**

#### **Crime**

Crime is a social problem, a social phenomenon that affects society in general. It varies according to the social milieu or context it is found in. It is a word that invokes trepidation and demands an expedited action whenever it is heard in society. The definition of crime varies in particular and different periods in society as well as in different countries of the world. "Crime is only assessed through criminal law, the fact that criminal law varies from country to country makes it known that crime is relative in nature" (Schur, 1969, p. 10). The reason stems from the fact that what one country posits to be a crime cannot be called so in another country. For example, having twins in Nigeria years ago was considered a crime while it was not so in England, also gays and lesbians are considered criminals in Nigeria in the 21st century while they are not in England. Accordingly, 'crime

does not exist, only acts exist, acts often given different meanings within various social frameworks' (Christie, 2004)

Criminologists have a consensus agreement that, crime be viewed as what societies by its laws posits to be a conduct that breaches the norms, social equilibrium, moral compass, of that society. In other to express censure, resentment, or criticism of the said act or conduct, the society exerts punishment on the offender and this is derived from the criminal laws guiding the society. Accordingly "crime is an intentional act in violation of the criminal code committed without defense or excuse and penalized by the state as a 'felony or misdemeanor' (more or less serious criminal acts)" (Tappan, 1947, p.100). In other words "the essential characteristics of crime is that it is behavior which is prohibited by the state as an injury to the state and against which the state may react at least as a last resort, by punishment" (Sutherland, 1949, p. 39).

Crimes are defined by two components which are act (*actus reas*), are the acts itself and circumstances that prompted such acts) and criminal intent (*men's rea*), relates to the mental state of the person that commits the act). The crime involves criminal intent which is defined by elements of purpose, knowledge, negligence, and recklessness as well as being classified into two different ways. Acts committed by individuals commit are divided into two: those that are considered to be evil acts themselves (*mala in se*) and those acts that are wrong because they are prohibited by law (*mala prohibita*) or grouped according to the seriousness of the act committed, (*felonies*) or as a petty act (*misdemeanors*). Crimes then are those acts which 'shocks the conscience collective' of people living in the society (Durkheim, 1960). An act is deemed criminal when society condemns, determines, and labels it as so and makes its law as it pertains to that society.

## **Security**

"There will be no development without security and no security without development" (Annan, 1995). Security is viewed from the above statement as freedom for states to develop to full potential

without having any activities both natural and man-made deterring from achieving the goal of freedom for all. This has led to the emergence of human security in the early 1990s brought about by the devastating effects of both natural and manmade disasters like HIV, Tsunami. Human security came to the limelight through the 1994 United Nations Development Project (UNDP) human development report which posits that ‘Security has been relocated more to a nation-state than the citizens and the legitimate concerns of ordinary people forgotten, for many of them, security symbolized protection, from the threat of diseases, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazard’ (UNDP Human Development Report 1994). This approach to security advocates for a shift from a state-centered approach to individualization of security in any country. The reason for this shift is on the assumption that individuals who constitute the state are better equipped in knowing the nuances of security breaches and how best to tackle it.

The types of security in Nigeria are; environmental security which aims to protect people from ravages of natural disasters, food security aims to provide access to food both physically and economically to citizens, economic security ensures equal employability and wages to all citizens, personal security works at protecting people from both external and internal factors that endanger life’s and properties, political security aims to protect the basic human rights and social justice of everybody living in the society and finally health security which involves maximum protection from pandemics and diseases. In a pandemic situation in Nigeria due to COVID-19, all these types of security are constantly violated.

Definition of a security warrants comprehensive analysis of the term especially as it relates to whom the security is meant for, how much security is needed, by what means is it to be achieved, what are the values aimed at, at what cost is it to the society and finally what is the time frame for achieving this security (Baldwin, 1997). Accordingly, a concept of security that fails to specify a ‘referent object’ such as ‘the

state’ or ‘the individual’ does not suffice because there are many states and individuals and their security interdependent (Buzan, 1984). Specifically, a better understanding of security can be deduced from the different theoretical schools in security and the tenets found in them. The idealist approach of security adopts and advocates for democracy in dealing with issues relating to security. It is based on the fact that security is achievable through non-violent and non-coercive means and this guarantees world peace. Realist approach advocates for the use of force, control, or threat to achieve maximum security. The pluralist advocates for the discountenance of state self-interest policies that are capable of undermining international security but for states to come together as one and have uniform security. Marxist is of the view that the state should be in control of the economy whereby private ownership of the property abolished. The reason for state ownership relates to the fact that it limits the selfish pursuits of individuals which will undermine security. Social constructivism looks at the ways to overcome fears related to security threats.

Security means a system whereby the lives and properties of individuals in a given state are guaranteed by those in the helm of affairs. The security of any state should advocate for order, protection, and stability as well as making provisions for a better society through effective policies geared towards the actual realization of such. This culminates in national security which is synonymous with the national interest, which emphasizes how the security policy subordinates any other interests to those of the nation (Wolfers, 1952). It then goes that the stability of both state and international security is hinged on the premise that in the maintenance of state security, citizens will be secured which invariably goes to maintain national security. It is understood that national security is shared freedom from fear and want, and the freedom to live in dignity (Prabhakaran, 2008). National security is best described as a capacity to control those domestic and foreign conditions that the public opinion of a given community believes necessary to enjoy its self-determination or autonomy, prosperity, and wellbeing (Maier, 1990).

### **Concept of COVID-19**

Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) is a novel strain infectious disease which is caused by severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus (SARS-COV-2) (Han & Yang, 2019). It first manifested in Wuhan China in December 2019 and has since spread globally, resulting in the ongoing 2019-2020 coronavirus pandemic disease (Chen, 2019). According to the World Health Organization (WHO) 2019, the virus initially spread through bats to humans through consumption and later spread between people through close contact often via droplets produced by coughing, sneezing, or talking.

The standard method of diagnosis according to WHO 2020, is by real-time reverse transcription polymerase reaction (RT-PCR) from a nasopharyngeal swab. Also, Chest CT imaging may be used for diagnosis in individuals where there is a high suspicion of infection based on symptoms and risk factors; however, it is not recommended for routine screening. The common symptoms include fever, cough, tiredness, aches and pains, nasal congestion, runny nose, sore throat or diarrhea, and experience shortness of breath. The time from exposure to onset of symptoms is typically around five days but may range from two to fourteen days. Some people become infected but do not develop symptoms, the majority of the cases progress from mild to viral pneumonia and multi-organ failure though 80% of sufferers recover from the disease without needing special treatment (WHO, 2020). The WHO declared the 2019-2020 coronavirus outbreaks a Public Health Emergency of International Concern (PHEIC) on 30 January 2020 and a pandemic on 11 March 2020. More than 2.5million are suffering from the coronavirus with over 160 million deaths in many countries across the six WHO regions of the world. As of the time of writing this paper Nigeria had tested 214,228, out of which 37,225 were confirmed positive, while the active cases were 21,091. However, on Tuesday 21st of July, 2020 NCDC recorded the number of discharged cases is 15,333 with 801 deaths.

## **Theoretical Framework**

In criminology, different theories can be used to understand crime and the contributing factors to high levels of crime in society. These theories are classified by their level of analysis. Some theories operate on micro levels-biological and psychological theories, while others on macro levels-sociological theories of crime. Conflict theory posits that due to the conflict found in the society due to class inequality, crime is bound to be used by those who feel that they have been marginalized by the elites of the society (Sellin, 1938). In Nigeria, this theory holds because the underclass feels that the government does not care about them especially in this COVID-19 by not providing adequate amenities to look after their welfare resorts to crime to achieve their aim.

Social disorganization theory is based on the belief that a society with decaying social structure has the highest likelihood of high crime levels especially if it has poor schools, vacant and vandalized buildings, high unemployment, and a mixture of commercial and residential buildings (Shaw & McKay, 1942). The individuals residing in such an environment when they look at the affluent sections of the society, they feel marginalized and thereby resort to crime to equalize. The COVID-19 has brought this to the forefront, because the wealthy made provisions before the lockdown of which the lower classes were not able to do so, and this creates fracas in the society.

## **Strain Theory**

This paper used strain theory to understand the high levels of crime during the pandemic (COVID-19). It does not only describe the behaviors of those involved in the criminal activities of the present but can be used to analyze certain criminal behaviors in other aspects of life. It can also be utilized for better It explains better especially in detail the reasons why individuals who commit a crime in the pandemic resort to so doing. This theory is attributed to Robert K. Merton in his 1938 article 'Social Structure and Anomie'. The argument was that anomie manifests when individuals have faulty

relationships between their cultural goals and the legitimate means of acquiring or achieving it.

It is also used to examine group differences in crime rates as it relates to inequality and ‘relative deprivation’. The suggestion of this is that social and economic as well as political inequality has a direct link to societal crime rates. This is noticeable in the crime rates found in different communities in this pandemic era in Nigeria. The level of criminal activities found in Lagos does not tally with the neighboring community of Ogun or Delta or Anambra communities. One of the major reasons stems from the fact that Lagos is very populated with different ethnic groups and cultures residing there with different perspectives, upbringing, educational qualifications, religious beliefs, and outlook in life. The Nigerian society fosters an ‘anything goes’ mentality (Messner and Rosenfield, 2007) when individuals are pursuing the goals and aspirations. For these individuals, failure to achieve success is deemed unacceptable as well as failure to be meaningful and represented in life and this has led them to crime.

The cultural goals which individuals aspire to are numerous and widespread but the problem of actualizing them depends on the social structure of the society. The social structure to those who belong to the underclass “restricts or eliminates access to approved modes of acquiring these symbols” (Merton, 1968 p. 680). This leads to what he called ‘structural impediments or obstacles’ which for him exists to make it virtually impossible to achieve legitimate means of wealth for those middle and underclasses which invariably makes it possible to achieve the wealth illegitimately through crime though it was sought for before legitimately. This is conversant with the middle-class and underclass who share the same cultural goals with the upper class for success but lack or have limited means of attaining them due to poverty, lack of education, inequality, bias, religious bigotry, and political subjugation. This creates what Merton called strain in the society towards creating anomie which is a state of ‘normlessness’ or chaos which translates to crime.

Strain theory uses five principles of adaptation of which three relates to the present situation found in Nigeria with the pandemic. The key to the manifestation relates to acceptance or rejection of cultural goals of success which is wealth through legitimate means. People who are committing these crimes during the pandemic in Nigeria are mostly the middle-class and the underclass who are trying to achieve wealth through illegitimate means because though they have accepted the cultural goal of success, but have no legitimate means of acquiring it. They can be classified as innovators because they are looking for new ways to acquire wealth and these are the armed robbers, thieves, drug dealers, and financial criminals. Some of the criminals found in these cities are those Merton sees as being the true aliens (because they have rejected the cultural goals and the legitimate means of obtaining wealth (Merton, 1968, p. 153). They are the homeless and the serious drug dealers found in every street corner in Nigeria. Also inclusive are the rebellious groups who are the political deviants trying to change the society to their liking. They adopt whatever means necessary to reach their chosen goal and they are the terrorist groups (Bokoharam and Fulani herdsmen) who use violence in an attempt to achieve their political goal.

Individuals who are committing these heinous crimes in the pandemic do so because they have been denied the legitimate means of acquiring wealth especially through the imposition of the lockdown by the federal government. Other factors that contributed to them resorting to crime and the break down in law and order are massive corruption in the society, poverty, bias, religious bigotry, favoritism, ethnicity, political thuggery, and most important COVID-19 which brought about a host of uncertainties for the underclass. Their current criminal behavior stems from the government's inability to cater to their basic needs despite administering lockdown in the whole society. The resultant effect which is a crime and crime-related activities shows how the middle-class and underclass who are denied the legitimate means of acquiring wealth daily resort to criminal activities to survive. For the present study, strain theory has been adopted

because it is the best suited as well as having the relevant perspectives required for the paper.

### **Problem Formulation**

There were already existing social problems witnessed in the country due to the economic deprivation situation but these were exacerbated by the COVID-19 anomaly. The social problems created by COVID\_19 relate to the magnitude of the crime and crime-related activities that were manifested in different cities across the country which had become commonplace. The federal government did not and was unable to put factors in place to checkmate the excesses of certain groups of people in society. Measures like palliatives ranging from relief materials like food, shelter, and other basic amenities were not put in place for those people who had no other means of survival due to their daily living existence.

The fear of contracting the disease further moved for individuals to become limited around the country for the fact that the virus had no cure presently. This brought about the rising, unprecedented, and brazen attacks by criminals of different guise who were determined to succeed by all means. Armed robbers with bold attitudes began to post messages to households and cities ‘advertising’ the day, time and manner of their visitations and what was required of the citizens to produce in other to make life easier for the two parties involved (1 million gangs). Other crime incidences like police brutality, extrajudicial killings, rape, kidnapping, insurgency, communal clashes increased, and made citizens of different communities begin to live in fear and trepidation.

### **Findings**

Nigeria is one of the most populated countries in the world with an estimated population of 200 million. The figure consists of citizens with diverse cultures, ethnic backgrounds, and religious upbringings. Major cities like Lagos, Ogun, Anambra, Abuja, Delta, Edo, and Borno witnessed unprecedented criminal activities during the

lockdown caused by the pandemic COVID-19. The pandemic had wreaked untold havoc on the fragile state of Nigeria and this triggered a lot of unrest and conflict in the country and the resultant effect was the increase in crime rates.

After the initial furor of the pandemic in the Nigerian cities, the rate of criminal activities declined due to the fear of the unknown but the lockdown contributed to the increase in criminal activities despite the fear of contracting the virus. The major reason for the lockdown was because the World Health Organization advocated for social distancing in order to minimize the transmission of the coronavirus. The pandemic brought about the closure of almost all infrastructure and businesses in society except for essential services like hospitals, pharmacies, and basic food markets. When people did eventually venture into the not-so-free world, it was solely for basic survival essentials like food and medicine and exercise (Marra, 2020).

The pandemic which COVID-19 is referred to became classified as a national security risk and was given the highest priority in the country. The problem with making the pandemic a top priority in Nigeria was that not enough resources were allocated to it in order to help the citizens. Subsequently, the minimal resources available were overstretched which led to crime agencies' inability to handle the unprecedented surge in the crime rates. Most of the agencies under the aegis of crime control like the police, army, navy, and corrections found it difficult to train and equip their staff for such emergencies. This brought a paradigm shift in the way the different criminal cases were brought and handled by the police.

The level of criminal activities had increased because poverty which is the main social milieu that prompts people to commit the crime had been exacerbated by the lockdown. Although violent crimes such as shootings, armed robbery, and kidnapping had been occurring at a slower rate, they still drove the waves of social dysfunction during the pandemic crisis (Martha, 2020). There were palpable increases in such nefarious activities as:

## **Armed Robbery**

In the wake of the pandemic, after the lockdown began in the country, armed robbery instances became a daily occurrence in so many major cities in Nigeria. Armed robbers became a menace to the citizens of the country in their different homes and those in the streets for essential services. Densely overpopulated Lagos was the highest hit with daily news filtering the airwaves of the fear and problems created by the dissidents. ‘One million Gang’ as they were popularly called were one of those gangs terrorizing the residents and they achieved this by creating fear with the posters of visitation and their numbers in carrying out the attacks. Different headline news related to increasing criminal activities in the country. For example Vanguard news of 12 April 2020, ‘COVID-19 lockdown: Armed robbers, miscreants on the rampage in the suburbs’ draws the vivid picture of the mayhem caused by the criminals around the country during the lockdown.

## **Cybercrime**

According to the BBC news report of 7 April 2020, cybercriminals were taking advantage of the COVID-19 pandemic to reap citizens off their hard-earned currency. The cybercriminals steal sensitive materials from individuals through their mobile devices or computers to perpetrate the act. They use different methods like phishing campaigns, relief packages, and impersonation of the victim’s friend or family. They send messages through social media like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, or emails whereby the victim is required to register, claim to be calling from their bank to for irregularities in their account or by them telling them to download an app to make transactions easier in the comfort of the homes. Sometimes they send messages to the victim claiming to be from WHO or Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) and once the victim clicks on any of the links sent, they will steal the person’s money or identity to further their nefarious activities.

## **Kidnapping**

Kidnapping is described as a forceful abduction of an individual by another or a group for the ransom which can vary depending on the aim or for death purposes. The rate of kidnapping increased in the wake of the pandemic according to reports from different news agencies in Nigeria. According to Punch news of 2 May 2020, kidnappers of three UNIPORT students apprehended. The three university students were kidnapped on 7 April 2020 but were later killed by their abductors. The kidnappers who were later apprehended led the police to the burial site of the kidnapped victims after the families had already paid their ransom. The female kidnapped victim was gang-raped by the assailants before being killed with the other two and buried in a shallow grave. In another news, in Cross River state, Mrs. Ekanem, a staff, and wife of one of the doctors of the University of Calabar Teaching Hospital in the state was kidnapped on March 10 2020 at the hospital's car park. Also in the news, two Nigerian professional football players Ekundayo Ojo and Benjamin Iyomade of Abia Comets club were kidnapped for ransom on 22 March 2020 and were later released with the help of the Nigerian police (BBC news 25 March 2020). These and many more reported and unreported news of kidnapping has littered the airwaves.

## **Terrorism**

Terrorism is the use of threats and violence to destabilize and create fear in the populace to achieve political gains. Boko Haram is one of the terrorist groups found in the world and residents in the Nigerian borders. According to the Global Terrorism Index, it had named the group as the world's deadliest terror group in 2013 and was designated a terrorist group by the United States of America in the same year. The group has been terrorizing the whole country since its inception in 2012, more so now that the pandemic has been ravaging the country. According to Aljazeera news of 10, June 2020, at least 81 people were killed at the Felo herding village in Borno state likewise on the 13th of June (three days later) 20 soldiers, and 40 civilians were equally killed in the same Borno state. These are some of the reported

cases through group had become more daring because of the lockdown in the country.

### **Extrajudicial killings**

An extrajudicial killing is viewed as an unauthorized and legal killing of people by government authorities. The police through the constitution of Nigerian has the responsibility of protecting lives and property. Their duties are the exact opposite of that proscribed by the law. The Nigerian police commits all levels of atrocities like bribery, extortion, brutality, in their bid to carry out their duties. Extrajudicial violence and killings with total disregard for the sanctity of lives are now synonymous with the Nigerian police. They summarily execute and torture people at random or those accused of committing a crime albeit more so in the era of the pandemic lockdown in the country. According to Vanguard news of 11 March 2020, Lagos state accounts for 38% of extrajudicial killings in Nigeria. During the curfew enforcement, according to the BBC news report of 24 April 2020, 'Security forces in the country had killed more Nigerians than the COVID-19'. The killings started with the murder of Joseph Pessu in Warri, Delta state which was because he flouted a stop and search order during the lockdown. The trend has become worrisome with different news highlighting the level of atrocious behaviors and inhumane treatment perpetrated daily by the police. In different cities of Nigeria, victims of police brutality recount their ordeals which ranged from flogging with hard objects to rape, sodomy, and molestation.

Other crimes like domestic violence, banditry, rape, and pedophilia were on the increase and became daily occurrences on the news during the lockdown. The high rise in crime rates witnessed by different communities put a strain on the maintenance of law and order in the country. Police stations became overcrowded and cases piled up with the stations most often refusing to handle new cases. In the wake of these problems, police brutality increased indiscriminately which made residents take up arms against those who had the duty of

taking care of their safety. Police and civilian confrontation became almost a daily occurrence with incidents reported from cities like Onitsha, Lagos, Warri, and the rest of the cities clustered around the country.

The high rise in such crimes can be attributed to people confined in the same place for long periods with no escape and no means of acquiring the necessities to make life worthwhile. Individuals dwelling in the different cities and suburbs of the nation whose daily survival was not guaranteed became unduly constrained and lacked survival instincts. The government of the country whose duty was to sustain the populace failed in carrying out their duties diligently. Consequently, the resultant effect was that some people took laws into their own hands to survive.

Mass delinquency of the citizens can become a trigger towards the higher level of crime witnessed during the pandemic. Mass delinquency triggers an inclination to aggressive behavior when the individuals assemble. The assembly of these individuals in the pandemic in anger and with entitlement mentality pushes for a revolutionary change in the affairs of their lives. They lose their sense of individuality in their bid for self-righteous acts in what is called 'deindividuation' (Zimbardo, 1969). These people, who have lost their individuality, commit crime at random and at will in the sense that they are trying to assuage their sensibility of righteousness against the atrocities committed against them by the ruling elite. They feel invisible because of the presence of crowds while they are committing crimes and they work as an entity. This is what makes them successful especially in the pandemic in carrying out successfully their nefarious activities.

The increase in crime is equally attributed to the attitudes of those imbued with keeping and maintaining the law, which are the security forces in the nation. Security agents became laws themselves and unleashed their menace on the unsuspecting populace. The reason can be attributed to unchecked corruptive practices practiced by them

which amount to the commission of different atrocities ranging from brutality, bribery, extortion, intimidation as well as the harassment of members of the public. The Nigerian public had somewhat become adaptive and immune to these deficiencies of the security forces but the increase in their activities during the pandemic led to retaliation by the masses. In Ohafia, Abia state and Onitsha, Anambra state, for example, policemen who were drunk killed indigenes of the mentioned communities and the indigenes retaliated by pouring acid, burning of cars, and police station which belonged to the security forces. The result amounted to more brutality and deaths unleashed on the masses by the police.

When cases of injustices are reported, the perpetrators of the crime were let off due to bribery and corruption found in the environment and this makes the society angry and apprehensive especially being denied their rights in the society. These can be explained with strain theory because people who have denied their rightful way of acquiring wealth and sustaining themselves during the pandemic, do so through illegitimate.

### **Summary**

In times of old, the government had the sole responsibility of sustaining individuals residing in different communities through the welfare system. Basic amenities like jobs, food, shelter, water were the sole responsibility of the government without the application of bias or ethnicities. The reverse is the case in modern times because corruption, tribalism, nepotism, had taken over the system to corrode it. Citizens of the country except the elites feel and bear the brunt of government's insensitivity to modern societal problems and some have become outcasts in their societies. This has led to an increase in criminal activities found in the country and has equally put a strain on the national security of the country. Initially, national security in Nigeria had greatly been affected by issues of Boko haram attacks, Fulani herdsmen, kidnapping, armed robbery, arson attacks on different sectors of human life, and the economy but 2020 brought

another wakeup call in form of coronavirus (COVID-19). Over the years, in the country, there had been serious advocacy for the improvement of measures through policies to tackle both the foreseen and unforeseen actions of man and nature but nothing has been done about it. The pandemic had brought to the forefront that the country had failed in the basic needs of protection of the lives and property of citizens. The fact that there are no laid down policies and procedures to it, though it had been made a top priority in a paper, unfortunately, there is no concrete evidence to show the feasibility of it. All these issues had made it almost impossible for security operatives to be trained in ways of tackling the resultant issues of such an outbreak especially the increase in crime and criminals. It then calls for changes in the country on ways to handle such acts when they occur in the future to reduce the effects it imposes on citizens barely surviving due to bad economic situations.

### **Recommendations**

The recommendations are that implementable policies be made which reflects on ways to tackle such outbreaks in the future. These policies should be reflective of the plight of masses in such cases to provide adequately for needs that will accrue in such situations. Religiosity and ethnicity should not be put into consideration in issues relating to the masses. There must be a humane face to those dealing with security in the country especially as regards their encounter with the masses. Dissemination of information relating to issues of such magnitude should be public knowledge on the procedures to follow. The welfare state should be revived and brought back to alleviate the suffering of the masses. Mass delinquency should be eradicated through the provision of basic education for all. The psychological evaluation should be mandatory in the recruitment of officers in the force as well as to the criminals themselves in ascertaining the reasons behind their behaviors. The objectives of law enforcement agencies and the criminal justice system should be in the rule of law not in bias and bigotry. Security should both the responsibility of the state and the people residing in the state to ensure. Security personnel should be trained adequately to tackle such situations and should be proactive

and diligent in carrying out their duties both in and out of season. All these are achieved through the collective efforts of both the masses and the leaders.

A better understanding of all these can especially as it relates to crime and deviant behavior in the pandemic can lead to a better productive society fit for all and sundry. A better understanding of the masses and the political leaders who work together for the betterment of the society can bring crime to the minimal which will become tolerable to all. The safety of the masses should be a top priority both from the ravaging effects of the pandemic, the criminals, and the security agents. And finally, there is an urgent need for the strengthening of different institutions most importantly the criminal justice system and health care services to discourage foreign medical tourism.

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