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Standing Up to Systematic Epistemic Genocide:
A Critical Reflection on Thomas Kuhn's Paradigmatic Relativism

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Abstract

In the midst of persistently corrosive power imbalances, the epistemic claims of the more powerful party can be easily imposed upon the weaker out-group. The resultant consequence of such a phenomenon is what I have called Thrasymachian-type epistemic claims, the flawed belief that might is right. This equally instigates grossepistemic genocide. Owing to gross injustice, Thrasymachian-type knowledge systems ought to be exposed and overcome to mitigate their morbid effects. Hence, the principal motif of this paper is to delimit the conceptual boundaries of epistemic genocide and propose a robust response to epistemic absolutism by a critical reflection on Thomas Kuhn's Paradigmatic Relativism. The key question here resounds as follows: what constitutes epistemic genocide and how can paradigmatic relativism of the Kuhnian type be a veritable tool for abating epistemic injusticẹ The research employs a method of critical inquiry, shedding light not only on the foundational concepts within Kuhn's framework but also expanding the discourse beyond conventional boundaries. By addressing the pressing issue of epistemic injustice and providing a framework rooted in paradigmatic relativism, this paper advocates for a fairer and more inclusive knowledge landscape, where diverse perspectives can coexist and foster intellectual progress harmoniously.

Keywords: Thomas Kuhn, Thracymachian-type, Epistemic genocide, Epistemic injustice.

Introduction

The Platonic claim that knowledge is justified true belief (Plato qtd in Cornford, 142) insinuates truth without contextual differentials. In fact, the epistemic claim *S knows that P* reveals an arbitrary oversight of the situated-ness of S, the fact that *S knows that P*, not as a solipsistic monad but as a being with the world (Heidegger, 154). The recognition of the social nature of S or S's historicity militates against the infamous distinction between the context of discovery and the context of justification rendered by the neo-positivists(Bonaventura de Santos *et al.* qtd in Hönig,412). Besides, when an oversight of truth-context dependence

compounds with power imbalances the consequence is deliberate dismissal of the knowledge system of the weaker out-group. But, "the epistemological diversity of the world is … as immense as its cultural diversity and the recognition of such diversity must be at the core … of the formulation of alternative forms of sociability" (de Sousa Santos *et al.*, 1). In order to offer a careful rendition of justice against epistemic absolutism, this paper expounds its major themes by first rendering a thematic framework through which Thrasymachian-type knowledge systems are defined, mirrors in on Kuhnian relativism and homes in finally on the need for dialogue as a veritable response to epistemic genocide.

Thematic Framework

Here, the thematic framework of epistemic genocide is cast in the mould of epistemic injustice. Milai suggests that 'epistemic injustice' refers to arbitrary distributions of epistemic authority, as well as exclusions from processes of collective meaning making, due to resilient group biases (2). In every circumstance where persistent group biases lead to the "over-privileging" of certain knowledge systems and the "under-privileging" of others there is a case of epistemic injustice. Miranda Fricker idenitifies two of such injustices: testimonial and hermeneutical. The speaker sustains a testimonial injustice "… if and only if she receives a credibility deị cit owing to identity prejudice in the hearer; so the central case of testimonial injustice is identity-prejudicial credibility deị cit" (28). Without the fair distribution of testimonial credibility, the speaker who suffers an identity misconception comes under scrutiny not on the basis of the content of what she pronounces but on the basis of who or what she is as a person.

Hermeneutical injustice refers to a gap in collective interpretive resources which puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences (Anderson 2). Epistemic hermeneutical injustice occurs as a result of the denial of one's capacity to make meaning of one's own social experience. Miranda Fricker homes in: "Let us say that when there is unequal hermeneutical participation with respect to some signiị cant area(s) of social experience, members of the disadvantaged group are hermeneutically marginalized" (154). The epistemic exclusion characteristic of hermeneutical injustice works out such that the collective epistemic resources available favour the epistemically powerful groups in society and disfavour the epistemically powerless groups (Posholi, 14).

Apart from Fricker's discussion on hermeneutical and testimonial injustice, Patin *et al.* have included two other forms: curricular injustice and participatory injustice. Curricular injustice is used to suppress and eliminate the creation of rival, alternative knowledges. This exertion of power denies an education that allows for diverse epistemologies, disciplines, theories, concepts, and experiences (Patin *et al.*, 5). With regards to participatory injustice, Patin *et al.* enunciate that: "A form of participatory injustice includes dismissive behaviours as an example of keeping someone "out-of-the loop," a situation defined as a specific form of ostracism" (6).

When taken *ensomme*, the result of all forms of epistemic injustice constitutes what de Sousa Santos has called epistemicide. He opines: "The destruction of knowledge … is what I call epistemicide: the destruction of the knowledge and cultures of these populations, of their memories and ancestral links and their manner of relating to others and to nature" (*Epistemologies of the South*, 1). The colonial matrix of power is most potently destructive in its

capacity for fragmentation and regimentation. By conceiving the world in dualistic terms, by identifying a privileged and enlightened in-group as against a barbaric and less enlightened out-group, the result is the silencing of epistemic claims of the underprivileged out-groups. Hence it has been underscored that: "… epistemicide happens when epistemic injustices are persistent and systematic and collectively work as a structured and systemic oppression of particular ways of knowing" (Patin *et al.* 2). Epistemicide severs the community wherein such injustices occur and are especially repetitive, creating fragmented cultures. Epistemicide is particularly woeful when the devaluing of knowledge systems targets the collective knowledge production capacity of an entire group of people who are related by some legitimate bond and who name themselves as a community consequent upon their shared bonds. Indeed, when the knowledge system(s) of a particular group of people is targeted and devalued in a persistent and incisive manner, the resultant loss of knowledge must come under the name of epistemic genocide. It is genocide because its onslaughts target a known group of people who are bonded by some sanguino-cultural factors.

Epistemic genocide, which results from the absence of epistemic justice, leads to gross cultural injuries not only on individuals but on entire groups of people, and not only on the present generation but on the future generations as well. The harm resulting from epistemic injustice includes the first harm (on the individual), the second harm (on the society at large) and the third harm (on the entire future). The third harm is therefore most serious in its aggravated form. The third harm involves, inter alia, "missing iterations of knowledge transfer caused by generations of epistemic injustice." (Patin *et al.*, 7)

At the centre of Kuhn's philosophy of science is the concept of paradigm. A paradigm is a basic conceptual framework which guides a particular research process (Dougherty, 211). It denotes the view point of a person or group of persons which serves as the basis for investigation and knowledge production (Dougherty, 212). In educational research the term paradigm is used to describe a researcher's 'worldview'. This worldview is the perspective, or thinking, or school of thought, or set of shared beliefs, that informs the meaning or interpretation of research data (Kivunja and Kuyini, 1). Every paradigm consists in four elements, namely, epistemology, ontology, methodology and axiology (Kivunja and Kuyini, 2). Epistemology includes the limits and extents of what can be justifiably called knowledge. Ontology examines the basic nature of reality and existence as a whole. Methodology has to do with procedures of acquiring knowledge; axiology with values, issues of right and wrong. From this backdrop it is clear that every paradigm has a far reaching consequence upon the nature of a people's body of knowledge. Because paradigms are not mere fixities but vary with time and space, every cognising subject must never be divorced from her [his] contextual reference. The notion of paradigm variation leads inevitably to the concept of knowledge relationality, what many prefer to name epistemic relativism. Bassey *et al.* relate that. We never look at the world or ourselves in a completely neutral way. This inescapable life condition powerfully impacts our modes of cognition and methods of analysis, which consequently opens us up to the recognition of relativism (134).

The realisation that the process of knowing is a social and complex process brings to the fore the import of a relativistic position which must be taken vis-à-vis hegemonic knowledge systems. The principal framework here must realise that

(1) epistemic justification is framework relative,
(2) there are many genuinely alternative, even incompatible, epistemic systems and,
(3) we cannot demonstrate in a non-circular way that our epistemic system is superior to any other.

The relativism here implied is not of an absolute form, but carries a fervour of "rebellion" against the tendency to universalize one knowledge system, and arbitrarily declare one paradigm as infallible and to be accepted by all. Hence relativism welcomes inclusion of other knowledge systems by refuting hegemonies.

Thrasymachian-Type Epistemic Claims within Historical Contexts of Epistemic Genocide

At this juncture, a very pertinent and novel question issues forth, to wit, what is a Thrasymachian-type epistemic claim¿ In *The Republic* Plato attempts a systemic definition of justice through dialogue between Socrates and a host of interlocutors. Principal in the opening lines of Book Iis the definition of justice rendered by Thrasymachus as the interest of the stronger party. It is Thrasymachus' conception of justice as the interest of the stronger which inspires what is here called Thrasymachian-type epistemic claims. Now, when is an epistemic claim said to be a Thrasymachian-type¿ The previous discussion on epistemic injustice has already opined that injustice occurs when there are arbitrary distributions of epistemic privileges. When the interest of the stronger overrides the judgment over what epistemic claims should be considered worthy of inculcation and transmission then we can talk of Thrasymachian-tpye epistemic claims. The truth of such epistemic claims resides not in the intrinsic nature of the knowledge claim but in the might of the endorser. The truth of a Thrasymachian-type epistemic claim lies in the whim of the enunciator. Where Thrasymachian-type epistemic claims abound, there are persistent issues of injustice against underprivileged groups.

From a historical perspective, quite a good number of situations of Thrasymachianism can be identified. During the era of European colonialism, colonial powers often imposed their languages, religions, and cultural norms upon indigenous populations (Smith, 50). Indigenous knowledge systems, languages, and practices were marginalized and sometimes intentionally erased in favour of the colonizers' ways of knowing (Johnson, 135). Also, forced assimilation of indigenous peoples in countries like the United States, Canada, and Australia, were inspired by Thrasymachian-type cases. Indigenous children were forcibly separated from their families and communities, placed in residential schools, and subjected to a Eurocentric education that sought to erase their indigenous languages, cultures, and knowledge systems (Brown, 93). Also, totalitarian regimes, such as Nazi Germany and North Korea, controlled information through censorship, propaganda, and the suppression of dissenting voices, forcing conformity to the state's narrative (Adams, 74). Furthermore, medical Apartheid constitutes cases of Thrasymachianism. Historically, marginalized communities, particularly people of colour have been subjected to unethical medical experiments and treatments without their consent. This imposition of medical knowledge without regard for the well-being or autonomy of these groups reflects a form of epistemic injustice (Adams, 74). Situations of language hegemony: the dominance of a single language in education, media, and official communication can marginalize speakers of minority languages. For example, the imposition of a colonial

language over native languages in many African countries can be seen as a form of epistemic injustice (Taylor, 120).

Kuhn's Paradigmatic Relativism

Prior to Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolution,* the positivists claimed that reality is objective and that through experimental procedures one can come to direct knowledge of reality. James Scotland elaborates in regards to positivism: "A tree in the forest is a tree, regardless of whether anyone is aware of its existence or not …When human beings recognize it as a tree, they are simply discovering a meaning that has been lying in wait for them all along" (11). The empirical outlook which influenced positivism quickly eased away in the face of Kuhn's historicism. The historical foundation of science, Kuhn believed, was important in talking about scientific progress (Kuhn, xiii). Here, he reasoned that scientific progress was not cumulative and objective in the sense in which the positivists conceived it. Rather progress in science is some sort of paradigm shift, a leap of faith. He defined that scientific progress involves three stages. The first stage which is the stage of prescience involves the near absence of a paradigm among scientists. The second stage which is that of normal science involves the introduction of a basic paradigm which guides the research and is the standard of demarcating science from pseudoscience. "Scientists work from models acquired through education and through subsequent exposure to the literature often without quite knowing or needing to know what characteristics have given these models the status of community paradigms" (Kuhn,46). The period of normal science sees the addressing of scientific puzzles under the auspices of the paradigm.

Now, when difficulties are encountered in the process of scientific research, scientists are wont to search for the error not within the paradigmatic framework but within the data. This may go on, with successive puzzles till grave damage is brought to bear upon the principal paradigm by crises situations. "The transition from a paradigm in crisis to a new one … is far from a cumulative process … it is a reconstruction of the field from new fundamentals, a reconstruction that changes some of the field's most elementary theoretical generalizations as well as many of its paradigm methods and applications" (Kuhn,82). At this point, then, the scientists may be forced to abandon the paradigm for a new one. The abandonment is not a rational process but simply an act of faith—a sort of conversion. Kuhn expatiates: "Led by a new paradigm, scientists adopt new instruments and look in new places … during revolutions scientists see new and different things when looking with familiar instruments in places they have looked before" (111).

The transfer of allegiance from one paradigm to the other introduces a completely new outlook on reality. Scientists begin to see more where they may have previously seen nothing. It is from this basic perspective that Kuhn's paradigmatic relativism emerges—to describe the fact that paradigms are basically incommensurable. In essence, there are no rational claims which can make one paradigm or world-view take a superior stance over and above another—all paradigms are equally good in their own right and allegiance is completely the outcome of a wilful decision and not that of the intrinsic commendableness of the paradigm itself. In this perspective Jimoh has opined that:

> For him [Thomas Kuhn], scientific theory is tradition-bound. The implication of Kuhn's project is that there are many systems of justification and each with its own standard of justification. By implication, rational choice between the various systems of justification is implausible. With his notion of incommensurability Kuhn developed this argument and provides (sic) the room for the interpretation that knowledge, truth, and rational certainty are meaningful only when contextualized (2).

The central idea of incommensurability implies that that there is no common ground for comparison between the theory chosen and its rival or alternative theories in a theory-choice. This implies that, it is not possible to understand one paradigm through the conceptual framework and terminology of another or rival paradigm because rival theories cannot be compared directly. In which case, we cannot make a rational choice as to which theory is better than the other (Kuhn, 3).

Kuhn's paradigmatic relativism which comes under the name of incommensurability immediately came under attack under charges of downplaying the firm foundation of truth. While it falls outside the precincts of this work to indulge in a study of these individual charges and Kuhn's own responses in the *Postscript*, it is necessary to observe that arguing for paradigm-dependent truth and knowledge does not necessarily mean that truth and knowledge are relative concepts. If knowledge is dependent on paradigm or contexts, it means knowledge is not "objective". If knowledge is not relative and yet it is dependent on contexts, it follows then that knowledge is a relation to context. The emphasis here is on the distinction between "relative" and "relational". The former connotes the way two or more concepts are connected and the effects and relevance they have and bear to one another, while the latter explains the dependency of one concept upon the other or the meaning of a concept being dependent on a given state of affair (Kuhn, 4).

Standing up to Epistemic Genocide: Dialogue and Consensus

Responding to epistemic genocide involves a rethinking of the propositional statement S knows that P, as well as an intentional conversion of heart. This implies that there be a deliberate and persistent attempt to acknowledge the fact that the S which knows a particular P, knows that P not as an isolated monad, but as a social entity whose life is dotted by culturally imbibed paradigms. Therefore, every epistemic claim is more or less born of a particular situation. Any attempt to impose or universalize a particular principle is itself a situation of grave injustice which inevitably leads to disastrous consequences on weaker out-group epistemologies. This involves the need to accommodate other ways of knowing within the broad spectrum of epistemic claims, not to relegate any form of knowledge to the background based on the standards of another knowledge system. The idea here is to recognise that P is not given piecemeal to the cognising S. With this in mind, there is the recognition that A's view of P may be different from B's view of the same P. Contextual and organismic differentials may imply that A and B, have different points from which they apprehend P. The fallout of this recognition is the need to adopt a new paradigm, to abandon the high altars of epistemic absolutism since

this always involves the imposition of A's view of P on B or vice versa. The recognition of plurality here is not to fall prey, deliberately, to epistemic confusions. On the other hand it is to come to terms with the fact that the world, as it is, is rich enough to accommodate many centres of cognition; many paradigms for investigating the world and diverse approaches to the human condition. This necessitates a true conversion of heart which Kuhn makes allusion to when he depicts the general characteristic of scientific revolution. It also implies, above all else, the recognition, that: "… scholarship is not just an intellectual exercise: it involves human beings doing work with other human beings on subjects related to the lives of human beings. We bring our full embodied and intellectual selves to this work as we engage in different ways of knowing and unknowing" (Patin *et al.*, 7).

Espousing an "ethics of care" implies reconceptualising the "other"—the out-group—as a legitimate source of and contributor to the collective pool of knowledge; it involves also the endeavour to offer everyone the opportunity to acquire the tools necessary for knowledge production within an open, inclusive and democratic society. This includes a sincere attempt at dialogue which recognises that the quest for the truth is the universal yearning of all only achievable in a society that respects the epistemic contributions of everyone. The claim for dialogue and even the exigency of dialogue is born out of the frustrations that emerge from the dehumanizing consequences of epistemic genocide. This exigency must be rooted in the recognition that all forms of epistemic injustice, far from being sacrosanct and infallible, are historical constructs whose genesis lies in power imbalances in society. Hear Paulo Freire:

> Dehumanization, which marks not only those whose humanity has been stolen, but also (though in a different way) those who have stolen it, is a distortion of the vocation of becoming more fully human. *This distortion occurs within history*; but it is not an historical vocation. Indeed, to admit of dehumanization as an historical vocation would lead either to cynicism or total despair (Freire, 44).

The epistemic plurality of the world—which appears as a threat to those who claim hegemony—remains a richness, a fountain from which people of different cultures define and redefine themselves. The total collapse of a people's epistemic pool of knowledge or shared beliefs, whether instigated by the more powerful grouping or brought about by the complicity of the disadvantaged themselves—creates a situation of identity-less selves. When a people are dispossessed of their basic onto-epistemic framework, it is not rare to find that they, like a body deprived of its soul, take up an almost "dead" existence in the world. Continually humiliated in their dejection, they are faceless and heartless individuals roaming the world in which they are perpetual beggars picking up the crumbs falling off the table of those who possess greater epistemic power. They have become the "dumping ground" for foreign knowleges, or perhaps if put nicely, they have become "experimental testing grounds" for imported knowledge claims. Recognition of this acidic consequence brings to bear a greater impulse for dialogue. Dialogue here implies the paradigmatic position which admits that people have a voice from which emerges a word by which they name the world. Thus it is important to admit that all groups of persons have the right to name the world from their own contexts and not from the

context of others. This intentional naming of the world is the sole guarantee that a group of people can interpret the world they live in and work continuously to transform it. Hence it is overtly true that:

> As we attempt to analyze dialogue as a human phenomenon, we discover something which is the essence of dialogue itself: the word. But the word is more than just an instrument which makes dialogue possible; accordingly, we must seek its constitutive elements. Within the word we find two dimensions, reflection and action, in such radical interaction that if one is sacrificed—even in part—the other immediately suffers. There is no true word that is not at the same time praxis. Thus, to speak a true word is to transform the world (Freire, 87).

The instrumentality of the word in the domain of dialogue as the veritable paradigmatic approach to epistemic genocide must be brought to bear in the recognition that veritable human relations imply an encounter of the *I* and the *Thou*, not *the I* and the *it*. The former favours a subject-subject encounter while the latter favours a subject-object encounter. The former is the practice of humanization while the latter is the practice of and consequence of dehumanization. In order to realise the fundamental quest for and call to humanization in *I-Thou* encounter, it is necessary to alter, in a radical fashion, the rhetoric of dualism to involve the rhetoric of inclusion. This involves a deliberate attempt to use the word in the search for truth; and the commitment to replace the tendency to "speak down onto" with the unrelenting effort to "speak with".The "speaking down onto" always implies an initial ideology of one who wields more knowledge, who must indoctrinate the one who is ignorant. It equally involves the denial to permit a situation of mutual exchange of epistemic claims—the sole direction of knowledge is from the one who knows to the one who is void of knowledge. The former is the saviour and the latter is lost and needing salvaging. Contrarily the paradigmatic stance of dialoguewhich gives birth to asituation of "speaking with"implies the readiness to accept the shared humanity of all those involved in the process of knowing. "At the point of encounter there are neither utter ignoramuses nor perfect sages; there are only people who are attempting, together, to learn more than they now know" (Freire,90). If there are no utter ignoramuses and no perfect sagesthen the right approach in the pursuit of truth is the recognition of the fact that every epistemic claim counts and must be given due concern.

The option of dialogue in the face of epistemic genocide within the framework of paradigmatic relativism is but an ideal stance, not an absolute one. For in situations where the avenues of dialogue are completely absent and where the consequences of crude epistemicide engender gross knowledge losses, the out-group must resort to disobedience(Mignolo, 22). The disobedience here implied issues from the recognition that: "… institutions no matter how efị cient and well-arranged must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust … justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others" (Rawls, 3). The endeavour against Thrasymachianism and epistemic genocide is therefore a struggle to reform institutions and systems which have been built upon the illegitimate foundation of epistemic absolutism that privileges a certain group of people over other groups (Mignolo, 8). It

is in this perspective that the struggle against epistemic genocide reaches its zenith—that of overthrowing the global power dynamics that have fractured the world. Mignolo:

> The shift I am indicating … is the beginning of any epistemic de-colonial de-linking with all its historical, political and ethical consequences. Why¿ Because geo historical and bio-graphic loci of enunciation have been located by and through the making and transformation of the colonial matrix of power: a racial system of social classi¿cation that invented Occidentalism…, that created the conditions for Orientalism; distinguished the South of Europe from its center (sic) (Hegel) and, on that long history, remapped the world as ¿rst, second and third during the Cold War. Places of nonthought (of myth, non-western religions, folklore, underdevelopment involving regions and people) today have been waking up from the long process of westernization. (3).

The colonial matrix of power notwithstanding, it is necessary to remain vigilant even in the process of establishing a radical paradigm shift of disobedience. The necessity for eternal vigilance must bring everyone to recognise that cases of the epistemic injustice permeate every society and constitute the constant danger wherever there are power improper fractions. The situation appears most concerning in areas where colonial influences have severed communities which were formerly living in concord.

> [The] European colonial boundaries have had profound effects, generally, negative on the history of statehood in Africa as they are generally responsible overtly or covertly for many inter and intra-state conflicts in the continent. This is because many of them were created without due consideration of the traditional state boundaries that pre-colonial Africa state-builders had made and sanctioned through different types of traditional diplomacy mechanism (Abwa, 2).

The temptation to recolonize and dominate the weaker grouping in the struggle for national unitiesin most former colonies sometimes engenders grave epistemic injustices with catastrophic consequences. The need for dialogue and continuous epistemic exchange challenges not only the imperfect epistemic interaction between the global south and the global north, but represents a persistent malaise which must be tackled at every level.

Conclusion

The principal objective of this paper has been to respond to the question: what constitutes epistemic genocide and how can paradigmatic relativism of the Kuhnian type be a veritable tool to abating epistemic injustice, everywhere¿ The result of discussions around epistemic injustice and epistemicide have resulted in the conception of epistemic genocide as the deliberate devaluing, killing and side lining of the knowledge systems of a particular group of people who are bound together by some sanguino-cultural factors. In the pursuit of a just knowledge landscape, this paper has illuminated the insidious threat of epistemic genocide,

wherein power imbalances permit dominant voices to impose their knowledge as normative, stifling the rich tapestry of diverse epistemic perspectives. These Thrasymachian-type epistemic claims, rooted in the notion that might equates to right, are a grave injustice to the inherent nature of knowledge itself. In response to this challenge, we turned to Thomas Kuhn's Paradigmatic Relativism, a framework originally designed to understand scientific revolutions, and found in it the seeds of a potent solution to the widespread problem of epistemic injustice. Kuhn's paradigm theory, when applied beyond its traditional scope, offers a way to navigate the treacherous waters of epistemic absolutism and its corrosive effects on marginalized knowledge systems. Our inquiry has underscored that the key to mitigating epistemic injustice lies in recognizing the arbitrary nature of dominance in knowledge, fostering inclusivity, and embracing the principles of paradigmatic relativism, through dialogue.

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'Good' in A Government:
Utilitarian Approach from the Sokoto Caliphate Scholars

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Abstract

Philosophical 'good' stands for the attributive **quality of a thing. This article, therefore, aims to showcase the quality envisaged in a government by the Sokoto Caliphate scholars. They** adopted the Islamic ways of regulating a settled society, reflected the early efforts to establish firm ethical structures to provide the bases of societal support, political legitimacy and political regime endurance in a philosophical tradition. Our research problem lies in the claim that religious texts are assumed to be the ultimate source of moral knowledge, and obedience to whatever is considered to be commanded by God would accordingly be the most highly regarded, basic virtue. We shall attempt to apply an analytical, though historical lens to **argue that the Sokoto Caliphate scholars explicate and defend a particular type of reasoning in ethics and that the systematic theory of practical justification that they developed to articulate what a good government is falls within the domain that is normally described as divine command ethics. Consequently, contemporary societies may desire to replicate the practice. The significance of all these is in the exposure of such domestic literature from within the African or even Nigerian area, which attests to the fact that the intellectuals within this domain have immensely contributed to the spread of philosophical knowledge.**

Key Words: Good, virtue, utilitarianism, government, **citizens**, infrastructure, divine command.

Introduction

Good, as an adjectival modifier of a noun is widely accepted as attributive (Blackburn, 2008:154): a good pen is so in virtue of different qualities from a good lunch. However, there is room to say that each gets the verdict because of some relationship to our desires. So, one of the traditional tasks of ethics is to say what that relationship is. A simple subjective proposal is made by Hobbes: 'whatsoever is the object of human's appetite or desire; that is it which he for his or her part calleth *good*' (*Leviathan*, i.6). However, we have to be more objective and note that 'the good' is used to denote the supposed final goal at which action must aim; an intrinsically

valuable state, classically identified with *eudemonia*, or some compound of happiness, virtue, freedom from care, and success.

Many approaches to ethics are centred on achieving what is good, although others are based on doing what is **right**. Giving priority to one goal need not exclude the other, but might shape its contents or limit how we pursue it.**Plato**, in the *Republic*, claimed that the good, while being the source of **being** and **knowledge**, is beyond conceptual **analysis**. **Aristotle (1901)** suggested that the good is that to which everything aspires, but argued that the word is used in many ways and belongs to each **category**. In this respect it is similar to what **Wittgenstein (1953)** calls a family resemblance notion.

On accounts of goodness, Cognitivist theory takes goodness to be a real property to which the term 'good' applies. Non-cognitivist approach claims that we construct what is good or use the term to express approval. For some ethical systems, goodness is reduced to one quality, like happiness or **pleasure** or satisfying **desire**. But G. E. **Moore (1903)**argues that goodness is a simple **non-natural property** that cannot be analyzed and is not subject to empirical investigation. It is indefinable and can only be grasped through **intuition**. Any attempt to define goodness in terms of natural properties is charged by Moore as committing the **naturalistic fallacy**. **Rawls**'s (1967) **thin theory of the good** provides a basis for his theory of **justice** by specifying those things that all members of society will want whatever else they desire. His **liberalism** allows different fully elaborated theories of the good to be sought by different members of society so long as they are pursued within constraints established by the theory of justice (Bunin and Yu, 2004:286-287).

The Good in Classical Utilitarianism and among the Sokoto Caliphate Scholars

The Sokoto caliphate scholars are advocates of the divine command theory. Interestingly, boundary lines between philosophy and religion, frequently certain are particularly not difficult to define in considering good government. But if we say that philosophy deals with ends whereas religion has to do with means, we have to recognize that the division between ends and means may be at times a convenient tool of analysis but is far from absolute. In utilitarianism, however, the good is a component of utility expected of a government as Bentham argues in the second and third paragraphs of the 'Principles of Utility', thus:

> The principle of utility is the foundation of the present work: it will be proper therefore at the outset to give an explicit and determinate account of what is meant by it. By the principle of utility is meant that principle which approves or disapproves of every action whatsoever. According to the tendency it appears to have to augment or diminish the happiness of the party whose interest is in question: or, what is the same thing in other words to promote or to oppose that happiness. I say of every action whatsoever, and therefore not only of every action of a private individual, but of every measure of government.
>
> By utility is meant that property in any object, whereby it tends to produce benefit, advantage, pleasure, good, or happiness, (all this in the present case comes to the same thing) or (what comes again to the same thing) to

> prevent the happening of mischief, pain, evil, or unhappiness to the party whose interest is considered: if that party be the community in general, then the happiness of the community: if a particular individual, then the happiness of that individual.
> (Bentham, 1781:15)

It is John Stuart Mill's theory of democracy as he developed it principally in his *Considerations on Representative Government*(1963) that fairly explains what Bentham's idea of good government means. That will be clear when we question Mill's two criteria for the 'goodness of government,' i.e., the protective goal: that it effectively utilize the qualities that are currently in existence in a polity; and the educative goal: that it encourage the improvement of those qualities in the future. Are these the proper aims of government¿ Ought government to engage in this educative function¿ Is government properly teleological enterprise or, rather, purely a night watchman lacking ends uniquely its own¿

Mill attempted to combine the values of participation and competence. Both principles satisfy in their different ways the criteria for the 'goodness of government': the principle of facilitating the protection of the interests of each citizen, and by improving the political intelligence of the citizens; and the principle of competence by providing skilled leadership to militate against the twin dangers of ignorance and sinister interests, and by contributing to the process of civic education. However, there is a natural tension between these two principles of participation and competence. It was Mill's contention that;

> (1) in an advanced society the wiser and better men have a claim to greater representation and authority, and (2) that in time, as citizens become more politically sophisticated through participation in the political process, the tension between the two principles would be reduced. (Mill, 1969:23-24)

Mill here modifies Bentham's moral neutrality between pleasures to the first claim that the clever are more represented in government. For Mill, pleasures could be distinguished qualitatively. And only some men, those who know both the mental and physical pleasures, could be adequate judges of this claim. From this moral claim which seems uncertain because it does not consider Platonic moral ontology, Mill moves to the contention that the wise have a legitimate claim to greater weight in the political process.

Our main interest in the above discussion is the argument about competence and participation from the utilitarian perspective of good government. This idea is entrenched in the Sokoto Caliphate scholar's ethics on leadership principles which stipulates the criteria for appointing judges and governors. In *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah*... Sheikh Uthman ibn Fodiye dwells much on the competence of those who should participate in government. His quality of such participants included fear of God, shunning the love of power, aversion to accumulate wealth, forgiving, keeping away from slander and rumour mongering, keeping away from backbites and flatters, keeping secrets etc. (Othman Vol. III, 2013:69-71). The important point to note is that while 'competence' to Bentham and Mills is rooted in utilitarian theory that of the Sheikh is rooted in the divine command theory.

At this point let us consider the ideas from J.S. Mill on moral (good) government as postulated in his criticism of the British government policies on Ireland. This is relevant here because Mill's argument against outdoor poor relief in favour of training the poor in simple and profitable agricultural practices is close and similar to Sultan Muhammad Bello's Sixth Fundamental in Principles of Leadership. It is evident that Mill in 1846 was concerned in part with the problem of the 'active personality' (Mill, 1861:9) as a necessary precondition to moral and political progress on the part of the Irish: economic reforms were intended to create the conditions by which the Irish tenants could raise themselves up to a position of 'moral independence', similar to the process which Mill envisaged for the working classes of England.

If the English working classes were to be educated into the moral habits of independence necessary for self-government, might not it be expected that Mill would have made analogous arguments for Ireland, especially in 1846, when the Famine coincided with his work on drafting the Principles of political economy. If Mill had resolved the problems posed by Tocqueville (Mill, 1861:104) concerning mass society by deciding to educate the future self-governing peoples of England, then surely the bulk of the Irish, who, after all, were citizens of the United Kingdom, were not to be excluded from the process.

Mill first denounced the principle of outdoor poor relief and then debated the merits of the two most popular remedies suggested for the Famine - the introduction of British farming practices and the fixity of tenure advocated by the Repeal Association (Zastoupil, 1983:709). He propounded a compromise solution which contained what he saw as the best features of the two proposals, but which also embodied the principle of 'moral development'. Mill's major objections to outdoor poor relief were several. It would destroy private industry and agriculture as the poor flocked to the easy money and easy or no work of outdoor relief: it would drain the capital of the tax payers as productive work decreased when the poor realized that money would come in whether or not they worked; and it would demoralize the peasants themselves. This last point was particularly significant for Mill, who insisted that the English must begin treating the Irish people as 'moral agents', influenced by motives, and who must be acted on by a system of 'moral government', and "not as creatures whom we can feed like pigs or turkeys, and prevent as easily from straying out of the bounds of the stye or poultry yard" (Zastoupil, 1983:709).

Bello, in *Kitab Usulu al-Siyasa*, has outlined how the citizens of the caliphate should be trained in farming, smiting, tailoring, butchery, carpentry and other economically viable professions (Bello Vol. II, 2013:266-267). The idea behind this is to make the subjects independent and useful to themselves and the society. Mill, as a social and political philosopher critically opposed the idea of extending the poor laws in Ireland to include outdoor relief. England had misgoverned Ireland for five centuries at the time, and to him such a proposal would eliminate the possibility of improving the Irish economy. The best option, therefore, was to train the poor so that they become economically independent of government relief (Zastoupil, 1983:709). Mill criticized the scheme for introducing into Ireland the British farming system of landlords, capitalist farmers, and hired labourers, mostly for the wholesale expropriation of the tenants which such would require. The costs to Ireland were simply too great. Such large-scale clearances would be an affront 'which no pretence of private right or public utility ought to induce society to tolerate for a moment' (Zastoupil, 1983:709). It becomes

clear that the political issue of moral improvement by a good government was one of Mill's major concerns in 1846. The same idea was nursed and exhibited by Sultan Bello since around 1802.

Functions of a Good Government according to the Sokoto Scholars

The Sokoto Caliphate scholars, trailing the classical Islamic philosophers, used the highest book of authority in the religion of Islam, the Qur'an, and the most respected narrations in the religion, the Hadith (sayings, actions and approvals of the Prophet of the religion), to explain life and its ethical principles (Ibrahim, 2019:108). The Qur'an is closely supported by the Hadith. For the fact that the Sokoto Caliphate scholars, especially the triumvirates of Uthman ibn Fodiye, Abdullahi ibn Fodiye and Muhammad Bello lived a practical life as religious and political leaders, some of their divine command theories of ethics centred on leadership. They explain the foundation and qualities of leadership which entails virtue, good conduct, justice, righteousness, and obligation (Ibrahim, 2023: 65-5). We shall attempt to apply an analytical, though historical lens to argue here that they explicate and defend a particular type of reasoning in ethics and that the systematic theory of practical justification that they developed to articulate moral ideas and principles falls within the domain that is normally described as divine command ethics. The Sokoto scholars derived their ethical principles and ideas from Islam. They, like the early Islamic philosophers in the example of Al-Farabi, identify features of bad governments and divide them into three broad types, thus:

(1) The governments whose citizens have no occasion to acquire any knowledge at all about divine and natural beings or about perfection and happiness are the ignorant governments.

(2) The governments whose citizens possess the knowledge of these things but do not act according to their requirements are the immoral governments.

(3) the governments whose citizens have acquired false or corrupt opinions about these things -that is, opinions that claim to be about divine and natural beings and about true happiness but in fact are not- are the governments that have been led astray, or the erring governments. (Abdullahi Vol. III, 2013:220)

These types of governments are opposed to good governance because they lack guiding principles. These are the types of governments whose citizens are occupied with attaining one or more of the lower ends which, according to Abdullahi, are six:

(1) bare necessities of life;
(2) wealth and prosperity for own sake;
(3) enjoyment of sensory or imaginary pleasure;
(4) aiming at being honoured, praised or glorified by others; and
(6) being free to do what one wishes.

(Abdullahi Vol. III, 2013:222)

Any good government aiming to have ethical citizens must have a good judiciary, which is part of the political function of the state. The scholars, therefore, have an all-encompassing ethical principle for this segment. Their concern ranges from responsibility to establish rights within the framework of the *shari'a* for the protection of persons, their honour and their possessions, to the establishment of the rule of law and the administration of only stipulated punishments. In Abdullahi's perspective, in a good government a caliph is appointed so that "people's rights and their laws might not be neglected" (Abdullahi Vol. III 2013:158). Functions pertaining to the actual mechanics of ensuring that justice is delivered have to do with certain *shari'a* policies, appointment of judges, their positions, choice of witness, and types of admissible evidence. Abdullahi outlines the method of judgement in these terms:

> Understanding how to judge rests on distinguishing the complainant and the defendant, as well as knowing (the nature of) claims and their kinds, as well as the kinds of response, involving acknowledgement, denial, and abstention; and involving working, in terms of giving person the chance to refute a claim; adjournment, respite (that is lack of haste, hence deliberate); deterrent punishment and keeping the object of the claim, as well as understanding oath, its characteristics, time and place, and how to magnify it, and the rules that are related to it. It also rests on understanding witnesses (or evidences), their stage, condition and kind, and (being aware of what should be) the behaviour of the accused and their reports (or records), as well as the things that are tied to the judgement in that regard and those that are not tied to it…
>
> (Abdullahi Vol. III 2013:182-183)

About a good government, the security front is also given attention in the ethical principles of the Sokoto scholars. The Sheikh's thoughts about defence, strategies and tactics are very clear in *Bayan Wujub al-Hijrah*. He ordered that every governor should strive to fortify strongholds and set up military station in every frontier. On this he quotes the Qur'anic instruction thus:

> *Against them make ready your strength to the utmost power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of Allah and your enemies*… Ch 8 Vs 60.
>
> (Othman Vol. III, 2013:*84*)

His interpretation of this is that the entire potentiality of mankind should be utilised for preparation, equipping and planning of defending the state. That it is prudent of the ruler not to underestimate his enemy, though he may be lowly, not to be heedless of him no matter how insignificant he might be, for the enemy is like fire. The aim is clear, it is understood, that victory depends on selecting the most capable leaders and careful choice of commanders and flag bearers. The first step, in defence, is for the commander to send his spies to the enemy's land to gather information, and to enquire about their chiefs, leaders and brave men, and to find out about their plans.(Othman Vol. III, 2013:121).

Abdullahi convincingly argues about intelligence gathering, for the establishment of agencies "to uncover the conditions of his enemies by trustworthy spies in all circumstances, be it that of sedition or safety so that nothing of their (enemy's) activities at all times should be hidden from him. (Abdullahi Vol. III 2013:164). Bello, however, shows that a good government should givemore attention to internal security. In his *Usul al-Siyasahhe* explains that it became known that without rulers who possess power a man will not be at peace in his house let alone outside, and it will not be correct to collect tax, war will not be correct, and the welfare of the people will be lost (Bello Vol. II, 2013:264). As such, citizens must be secured and should feel protected within the cities, towns and villages.

Welfare for citizens is critical to the functions of the state in the socio-Economic sphere. In fact, the Sokoto scholars make this the primary ethical function of a good government. Issues thrashed here by the triumvirates include education, problem of the indigent and children, economy, and infrastructure. The Sheikh stipulates state's arrangements for "the people to strive for the acquisition of knowledge by studying and teaching that knowledge," and procedures were also established by which "to set right the affairs of the needy" (Tukur, **2004**:57).

Commerce, infrastructure and human habitation are dominant in the ethical economic functions of a good government as marked by the principles of the Sokoto scholars. About commerce, The Sheikh stipulates that "the purpose of Muslims in their government is to introduce reforms ... and an example of this is to reform the markets". Abdullahi's position on upholding the community's temporal affairs, especially the commercial transactions and the markets and all that is necessary relating to them is clear in his instruction to the governors to break open lightweight or insufficiently cooked bread, and to order each bread maker to make a sign [stamp] of his name on his product. The government can also confiscate the measures of anybody "who tampers with scales and measures" and to confiscate the properties of, or expel "he who selects what comes to the market of food or any other commodities and buys that before or after it reaches the market so that he can hoard and sell them for excessive returns" (Tukur, **2004**:57).

Muhammad Bello also categorically stipulates the ethical commercial functions of the state. He includes in the way of deliverance of leadership the government's duty to:

> Train manufacturers and be concerned about professionals who are necessary for the well-being of the people. These include farmers, smiths, tailors, butchers, carpenters ... He should employ their services and post them to all towns and quarters.
>
> (Bello Vol. II, 2013:266-267).

The scholars delineate infrastructural ethics of a good government which include construction of roads and bridges, preparations of river crossings and boats, and the provision of water. Both Abdullahi and Bello make the maintenance of roads and protection of supply of water as the key issues. By relating the story of Umar ibn Khattab, the second Khalifa after the Prophet, going to fertilize a farm from which crops were made for alms to the needy and the episode in which he carried water for a poor mother of little children until she reached her

house, and placing her on salary, Bello indicated to the provincial governors of the caliphate the extent of their ethical administrative responsibilities in both agriculture and water supply, at least to the extent of utilising public resources for the benefit of the disadvantaged and the weak (Tukur, **2004**:57).

Another facet of the ethical economic function of a good government is financial management. Writings of the scholars which deal with legal, political and administrative affairs are replete with the importance of the treasury. Among the four ministers of the Caliphate government, the Sheikh appointed one as the *Sa'i* (in charge of tax), who shall discharge his duties and not oppress the subjects. In addition, the Sheikh devotes a whole section of this *Kitaab al-Farq...* to 'an explanation of the kind of treasury upon which the best interest of the community depends, and their expenditure.' He also gives the account of the expenditure of the public treasury. This he based on the writings of ibn Juzay, a classical Islamic philosopher (Tukur, **2004**:58). Abdullahi, on this matter, devoted a section of the second chapter of his *Dhiya al-Hakkam* to an exposition of the necessity to have "trustees to keep the treasury and to spend the fund for the purpose for which it was meant and scribes and accountant to take care of the tax." He also dwells on the need for appointing honest individuals to "take charge of the treasury and the allowances to be given to employees and the weak. Importance of a controlled audit by means of which the wealth of officials could be reckoned before their appointment so as to ensure that they did not use their positions to enrich themselves is also not left out (Tukur, **2004**:58).

The Sokoto scholars' use of divine command theory is a continuation of the Islamic tradition. By addressing the problem of destitute and children, economy, infrastructure and security, there emerged stability in the region after the change that came as a result of the reformation. Therefore, they were able to mediate between stability and change. This issue was raised by James Hayden Tufts in 'A Social Philosopher's Idea of Good Government' (1993:193).

Conclusion

The Sokoto Caliphate scholars in an attempt to establish a good government had paid adequate attention to issues which the contemporary societies are grappling with. From a religious theory, the divine command, they developed systems of justice, security, welfare, commerce, infrastructure, human habitation and financial management. They also identified trustees to keep the treasury and to spend the funds for the purpose for which they were meant. Most importantly, they appointed scribes and accountants to take care of the taxes collected, and controlled audit by means of which the wealth of officials could be reckoned.

In comparison to the classical British utilitarian philosophers, therefore, we are left with no doubt that while the they structure man for this world, the Sokoto Caliphate scholars, and other protagonists of the divine command ethics structure man for both this world and the hereafter. No wonder that the Islamic concept of 'good' includes what is the best in this world and what is the best in the hereafter. Thus, the highest benevolence a human can ask from God is the 'good'. In this context, the Qur'an shows that whoever concentrates only on 'the good' of this world will eventually loose 'the good' of the hereafter. But the best of mankind are those who concentrate on seeking for the two (Qur'an, 2:201).

Our study has shown that some societies have sought for the two goods and have achieved some level of utility in the values and virtues derived from religion. The Jewish writers like Jakobovits (1967) and Martin Fox (1990), and Christian priests like John Calvin and Martin Luther and Islamic classical philosophers like Imam al-Ghazali and al-Farabi have supported our claim that the divine command theory of ethics can be implored to inspire morality of individuals, groups and societies. Our conclusion, therefore, is that the historical and philosophical experience of the Sokoto Caliphate, which was established by Islamic scholars, and the religious teachings they implored in application of the divine command theory can consciencetise, influence and guide the spiritual and moral conducts of the present society. Consequently, governance could be good enough to provide for the basic needs of the citizenry.

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A Critique of William Kingdon Clifford's Notion of the Ethics of Belief

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Abstract

In his article titled "*The Ethics of Belief*", William Kingdon Clifford argues for a condition in which an ethical belief should be sufficient. He rejects a proposition that believing based on insufficient justification is always wrong; especially believing in something just because its outcome may be beneficial in the long run, is not a genuine belief. Ultimately, for him, a belief should not be judged but the action following the belief. This paper argues against Clifford's philosophical position that (I) belief is dogmatic (ii) the ethical perspective of justification of belief is insufficient (iii) not in all cases a belief needs an empirical evidence for its justification (iv) in epistemology, a belief can also be socially justified through rational inquiry (belief by reasoning) rationalism as against (belief by evidence) empiricism. The paper adopts analytical and critical methods of philosophical inquiry to show that the position already maintained by Clifford that; it is wrong always that everywhere and for anyone, to believe anything upon insufficient evidence and to establish that in epistemological parlance knowledge and belief is used co-referentially to construe the same meaning of justification. Hence, it is expected that this paper will defend the existing debate in epistemology that, rationality is a kind of ideal (belief) representing the highest excellence in intellectual and epistemological discourse and in defense of knowledge as *a priori* to belief.

Keywords: Rationality, Knowledge, Belief and Truth.

Introduction/Background

The quest on how we come to know something rather than nothing becomes more epistemological. Thus, an attempt to provide explanation through justification for this type of question is the major thrust of epistemologist. This position, informs John Keke's (Keke, 1) definition of epistemology or theory of knowledge as theory of justification. From Keke's view of what epistemology is all about, it can be deduced that there is a connection between knowledge and justification. Arising from this view, epistemology can, therefore, be construed as theory of the origin, nature and limits of knowledge. It is the branch of philosophy that

investigates the process of human cognition and all problems associated with its acquisition and justification. In other word, epistemology deals with how we know, what we know and the justification of what we claim we know. D. W. Hamlyn defines epistemology as the "branch of philosophy which is concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge, its preoccupation, basis and the general reliability of claims to knowledge" (Hamlyn, 9). In the process of knowing and justification in the external world, Kola Owolabi differentiates two major type of cognitive conscious of external objects namely; epistemological analysis of knowing and psychological analysis of knowing. He argues further that, "while the latter is interested in the description of the process of cognition employing the empirical method, the former investigates cognitive materials in order to apprehend and prescribe the appropriate means of understanding the external realities" (Owolabi, 50). That is, for P to cognitively know q, p must belief q and q must be true. The implication of the above is that, 'to know' cannot exist without a belief. Put differently, there is a closer connection between 'to know' and 'to belief' which shall be discussed forthwith.

Epistemology from the Socratic era was to reject the Sophists argument that, it is impossible to have objective knowledge. It, however, becomes the main objective of epistemologist to provide a ground for distinguishing objective knowledge from mere opinions (belief). In the same way, Clifford argument in his paper; *The Ethics of Belief* defines belief as mere opinion because of lack of evidence which this paper stand to refute. Putting this in view, Clifford pitch his tent of knowing (belief by evidence) in epistemological stance that, to lay claim to knowledge as truth, such knowledge must be evidently verifiable.

Every claim to knowledge presupposes a symbiotic relationship between the known (the epistemic object), the knower (the epistemic subject) and the process of knowing. The validity of the above relationship gives an edge to epistemology to be a study of nature and scope of our knowledge claim. That is, the evaluation of the presuppositions and bases of knowledge, and the scrutiny of knowledge claim (Mautner, 58). The traditional definition of knowledge, as deduced from Plato dialogue in *Thaetetus*, is a tripartite condition which has been mostly accepted and perhaps the commonest accepted definition of knowledge. The tripartite definition holds that knowledge is justified true belief. The purpose of the tripartite definition of knowledge is to provide an adequate account of what knowledge is. It claims that knowledge is a sort of belief, that, this belief is of something true, and that one must have a good reason for holding such a belief. The functional definition of knowledge holds that whatever will account for knowledge should be a belief, and the belief must be true. This position was later challenged by Edmund Gettier. Gettier's original counterexamples focused on undermining the so-called "justified true belief" (JTB) account of knowledge, which had been a widely accepted definition. According to JTB, for a belief to be considered knowledge, it must satisfy three conditions:

- Belief: You must believe a proposition.
- Truth: The proposition must be true.
- Justification: You must have good reasons or evidence for your belief.

Gettier's counterexamples showed that there are situations in which a person can have a justified true belief but still not possess knowledge. These counterexamples raised questions about whether the JTB account of knowledge was sufficient. Gettier's work didn't propose a "fourth condition" for knowledge; rather, it challenged the adequacy of the existing conditions. His counterexamples illustrated that there could be cases where someone's belief without evidence is justified and true, but, they do not have genuine knowledge because the justification is based on luck or accidental circumstances.

WILLIAM K. CLIFFORD'S *ETHICS OF BELIEF*: A SYNOPSIS

In Clifford paper, there are two opposing school of belief. (1) belief by evidence, and (2) belief by faith. It is apparent to note here that, Clifford is careful enough to argue that, belief by evidence is more substantial and rationally justified comparing to belief by faith. In an attempt to argue this further, Clifford uses two different cases to justify his positions. One, the ship owner is about to send a ship to a trip having fully aware that the ship is not in good condition, implying that the ship needs to be repaired. The ship owner opines that the ship has made so many voyages and always returning safely. Hence, he has a clear conviction that the subsequent trip will not be different from the previous one by his faith. To Clifford, if the ship sinks and death occurs as a result of his faith, the ship owner is guilty of the victims. From this case, Clifford argues that "the question of right or wrong has to do with the origin of his belief, not the matter of it; not what it was, but how he got it; not whether it turned out to be true or false, but whether he had a right to believe on such evidence as was before him"(Clifford, 1). From this argument, one can interpret Clifford's position that holding beliefs without sufficient evidence cannot be regarded as knowledge.

Two, Clifford makes use of suspicious professors of a certain religion who were unfair teaching their religious doctrines to children. They were accused of wrestling the laws of their country in such a way as to remove children from the care of their natural and legal guardian; and even of stealing them away and keeping them concealed from their friends and relations. Upon the investigation on the above subject, evidence shows that the accused (professor) was innocent. It will be note here that, Clifford's argument from the second case also affirms that holding a belief without sufficient evidence is absurd.

In response to Clifford's both first and second cases, Ebijuwa, in one of his lectures, entitled "*Faith, Reason and the Challenges of the Epistemic Claims: A Voice among Voices*" provides a rational argument for believing without evidence (S believes P) by giving a counter argument when he gave a counter case as follow;

> When we sleep at night, for example, what is the guarantee (empirical evidence) that we will wake up the next dayi̦ We ordinarily want to believe that because we woke up yesterday, it is most likely that we will definitely wake up tomorrow. Of course, many people who slept in the past believing that they would wake up the next day and never did, did not obliterate the fact of the reasonableness in believing in waking up. ((Ebijuwa, 12)

The implication from Ebijuwa's argument is that it is not in all cases that believing upon evidence can be infallible. In evaluating the above argument further, it necessary to note here that "to know" in epistemological discourse, are basically in two different views namely; rationalism and the empiricism. Rationalism is a method or theory in which the criterion of truth is not sensory but intellectual deduced (Aboluwodi, 10). That is, it a theory of knowledge that regards reason as the chief source of our knowledge claim. While, Empiricism is an epistemological theory that holds that knowledge/justification of the external world comes only or primarily from sensory experience. Having said this, it apparently to note here that the major thrust of this paper is to re-defend a position already made by some rationalists such as Rene Descartes, Baruch Spinoza, Gottfried Leibniz, etc that, knowledge base on evidence can encounter a pitfalls such as illusion, hallucination, etc in its justification. So, if Clifford argument is true, then, there is a problem with our tools of justification in knowing the truth via a sensory paradigm. For any knowledge to have truth validity, every claim to knowledge must have a secure foundation (Foundationalism) in which all other claims must depend. However, the position here is not to re-engage the traditional debate between foundationalism and non-foundationalism theses but to join a voice with Descartes' *"cogito ergo sum"*, St. Augustine *"Si fallor, sum"* and other contemporary rationalist philosophers who had used their methodic doubts to justify belief as a foundation for any epistemic claim.

Knowledge and Belief:
A Critique of William Kingdon Clifford - *Ethics of Belief*
In ordinary discourse, whether in traditional or modern societies, we normally make claims applying "know" and "believe" without considering the epistemological differences that exist between the two different, but related, concepts. In the traditional epistemic discourse, to know and to believe are used co- referentially and this is so because, there are three major approaches to the two concepts.

(1) The formulation of the definition of knowledge which has it subject matter in *Theaetetus*, courtesy Plato and Socrates.
(2) The scathing criticism of the definition by Edmund L. Gettier in his 1963 paper titled "Is Justified True Belief Knowledge¡"
(3) An attempt to overhaul traditional epistemology and all the discussions, theories and doctrines that have anything to do with the traditional conception of knowledge and belief.

The primary problem in epistemology is to understand what exactly knowledge is and the analytical appeal in western tradition of philosophy, which dates back to Socrates that necessitates the atomization of the concept into its basic constituents. However, there is a general feeling that epistemology started on a wrong footing in achieving this with the traditional account of knowledge. On a cursory look, the traditional account: justified true belief, is said to be taking too much for granted.

Gettier's argument convincingly shows that the conditions specified in the definition are necessary but not sufficient for knowledge (Moser, 157), thereby sending epistemologists in search of the fourth condition while others such as; (Chisholm) who argues that X is justified in believing that p, (or, equivalently, that X has adequate evidence for p, (Ayer) is of the opinion

that X has the right to be sure that p, etc would refuse to give Gettier's case a consideration that could have strengthening the three criteria embedded in the traditional account, either with the intention of making the three strong enough to repel any Gettier- like debilitating counter-examples or to diffuse the claim of insufficiency (Williamson, 28). By this, epistemologists mean two interrelated things. First is that, the belief is foundational to any significant conceptualization of knowledge. To be foundational here, is to form the basis upon which further explication rests. Two, to say belief is necessary is to claim that the definition of knowledge supervenes on belief. Here, to supervene means to be explainable by, or to be analyzable down to a particular concept. The definition of knowledge as supervenes belief explains that, we cannot define knowledge without reference to belief which forms its basic component. Ernest Sosa puts this assumption succinctly when he argues that; not everything believed is known, but nothing can be known without being believed (or accepted, presumed, taken for granted, or the like) in some broad sense. What additional requirements must a belief fill in order to be knowledge؟ (Sosa, 179)

Taking this as our background in interpreting William K. Clifford's *Ethics of Belief*; if the ship owner belief that the old ship will make up the journey based on the subsequent ones it had made; his argument can still be regarded as knowledge but not sufficiently justifiable. The implication of this condition is that; if 'S knows P' is taken as necessary and fundamental condition for knowing then, S believes that P is also a necessary condition for knowing though, condition entails. The evidence for this is that, the truism and the logicality of the rest conditions; that P must be true (truth condition), that S must be justified in believing P (justification condition) sufficiently justifiable.

It is apparent to note here that Clifford's argument will be counter intelligence to think that S knows that P, because S believes that P, but P is not true. Likewise, it will also be intellectually defective that S knows that P, P is true but S provides no ground upon which P is true. If we should ask Clifford what a belief is, his answer to this is that, belief is a mental state, just like hope and fear, but it incorporates propositional attitude. Clifford is honest enough to say that "being believed" implies being "… taken for granted, or the like, in some broad sense (Clifford, 2)." But we can still ask what informs that attitude, propositional or not؟ Myers- Schulz and Schwitzgebel put this concisely when they argue that; "the standard view in contemporary epistemology is that knowledge entails belief" (Schwitzgeble, 372). Proponents of this claim rarely offer a positive argument in support of it. Rather, they tend to treat the view as obvious, and if anything, support the view by arguing that there are no convincing counterexamples (Colin, 11). The implication of the foregoing is not only that in western traditional epistemology, knowledge entails belief but that belief is conceptually prior to knowledge.

At this point, one may attempt to critically examine the assumption that knowledge entails belief as against Clifford position and this is inevitable consequential end that belief is conceptually priory to knowledge. These two concepts- knowledge and belief seem oblivious of the generic nature of the two most important concepts in epistemology, and how this influences the propositional knowledge which is claimed to be the concern of epistemology. This side-lining, deliberate or unintentional, informs our interest in the nature of epistemic knowledge and belief with this hypothesis; could the generic nature of knowledge as a whole shed light on the supposed relation it has with belief and vice versa؟ What causal relation do the

many variants of knowledge have on the propositional knowledge and what causal relation do the many variants of belief have on true beliefị Is there any point of confluence between the generic stream of knowledge and belief to warrant the substitutability of true belief with epistemic knowledge noted by some notable epistemologists as permissiblẹ Probing into above questions provide a rational evidence that a belief can be knowledge if and only if it is based on the justification of the past experience. So, if the ship owner beliefs that the ship can make the voyage without examine it then, his belief is sufficient. To this, we can agree with Ebijuwa's argument that, "if the ship owner truly believe that his ship was good, he would have no reason to have it examined. Indeed, the examination would suggest that the ship owner actually had some doubt"(Ebijuwa, 13). To support the above argument for instance, if I know P is q, I cannot at the same time believe that p is q and if I believe it, I cannot at the same time know it.

In William Clifford paper, there are two conditions of knowing the truth namely, when the truth has greater number of benefits to people with sufficient evident and when the truth cause harm to the greater number of people based on insufficient ground of evident. If the ship sink because of the insufficient evidence of the ship owner then, the ship owner is responsible for the death of the victim. But let us assume that the ship owner has sufficient evidence that the ship will embark on the journey and return safely but, the ship sink; who is responsible for the death of the victimsị A proposition/claim can have sufficient evidence as truth and yet, not benefit the greater number of people. Likewise, a belief may be held without evidence and benefit the greater number of people. This according to P. H Pritchard when he argues that "when we know something we… know that our condition is one of knowing that thing, while when we believe something we… know that our condition is one of believing and not knowing…" (Pritchard, 288).

From the above, mere opinion can be justified when we believe without doubt, Pritchard argued further when he made inferences from basic set of propositions as follow;
1. If I think I believe X
2. I am almost sure I believe X
3. I surely believe X
4. I think I know X
5. I am almost sure I know X
6. I surely know X (Pritchard, 288).

The implication of the above inferences is that, if the ship owner belief that the ship will make the trip safely although, the evidence on ground is contrary yet, the ship owner does believe can be justified. In other words, all that is needed is that the believer or the knower has sufficiently good reason(s) for whatever he or she claims to know. Good reasons according to Sogolo means "empirical evidence (direct or through testimony) or even some *a priori* that are logically deduced inference" (Sogolo, 76). The relationship that exists between the ship owner's belief (belief by faith) and the contrary is that the former entails the latter.

Conclusion

The paper has discussed the concept of epistemology from the time of Plato and which later slandered by Edmond Gettier. In Western epistemology, there are two different theses about a discourse on knowledge and belief. The first thesis is on the premise that knowledge and belief are two different entities. This thesis is well strengthening by Laleye when he argued that; the gulf between knowledge and belief is wider, at least in western philosophy when compared with African philosophy. Knowledge always involves belief but the converse does not hold, again knowledge is construed to be true based on conclusive evidence while belief is often based on assumptions in western philosophy (Laleye, 121). This thesis pictures Clifford argument in his paper. The fact that, a ship owner believes that his ship will make the next voyage upon the previous one it had made cannot be justified as sufficient evidence which can be termed as knowledge. It becomes an epistemic issue from this thesis whether what determines knowledge is foundationally a belief. The second thesis is knowledge - a priori to belief. Timothy Williamson, in his paper titled *Tennant on Knowability* was not certain either there is a difference between knowledge and belief but he later submitted that knowledge entails belief. He says, "belief is not conceptually prior to knowledge but nonetheless asserts that knowledge entails belief" (Williamson, 389). Thus, this second thesis is discussed in this paper where our discussion defended knowledge and belief as two sides of the coin. Our submission in this paper is to justify the proposition that "to know" and "to believe" is used co-referentially. That is, not in all cases could a belief has evidence before it becomes knowledge as espoused by Clifford rather, experience also can form our basis of belief and this can equally be categorized as knowledge. This position is well put in African epistemology when Sogolo argues that, "if you ask a traditional African why he thinks that witches exist, you are likely to get two answers purported to be conveying the same meaning either "because I know that witches exist" or "because I believe that witches exist" (Sogolo, 76).

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A Rawlsian Intervention on Ethnicity, Social Justice and Development in Nigeria

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Abstract

Development and social justice are issues that have held the interest of social philosophers in our contemporary society. This is because the path to development cannot be forged successfully in an atmosphere of conflict or strife which is usually a product of injustice. Violent protests, clamors for secession, revolutions, ethnic clashes and riots are all too common in modern societies and scholars have linked them to the desire for change of the status quo in societies that have been characterized by injustice and other social vices. Nigeria is ridden with many if not all of these problems and most of these social ills can be linked to social injustice. Being a multi ethnic society, many of these problems have taken a complex dimension. How then can multiethnic societies like Nigeria ensure social justice? How can social justice contribute to national development in multi ethnic societies? This paper traces the roots of these social ills witnessed by the Nigerian state and argues that Nigeria's development can only be achieved if our understanding of ethnicity is redefined. A multi ethnic society like Nigeria needs to find a means to reform its citizen's attachment to ethnicity and also to ensure fairness in the distribution of social goods among the various ethnicities within her boundaries. This paper proposes the adoption of John Rawls' concept of social justice as a guide to ensure the practice of true social justice. Using the method of analysis, it proposes Rawls' original position and veil of ignorance as a solution to the problem of social injustice in Nigeria.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Development, Social justice, Nigeria, John Rawls,

Introduction

Nigeria is a nation that has a rich and diverse ethnic composition. There are over 250 ethnic groups in Nigeria, and each of these groups has its own distinct language, culture, and traditions. Our diversity has contributed to both the vibrancy of the country and has also created the numerous challenges that Nigeria has faced in achieving social justice and sustainable development. Understanding Nigeria's history is important in understanding the

dynamics of ethnicity, social justice, and development in the country.Through the course of herhistory, Nigeria has experienced colonization, independence, ethnic clashes, political instability, and economic inequality. The colonial administrationcreated Nigeria througharbitrarily drawing up borders that brought different ethnic groups with different cultures, religion and ideologies together andthis has had lasting effects on ethnic relations. The colonial administration's divide and rule policy exploited divisions among ethnic groups to maintain control, which further worsened ethnic rivalries and mistrust. The arbitrary drawing of borders and the imposition of colonial administration fueled tensions among Nigeria's many ethnic groups.HerIndependence in 1960 marked the beginning of Nigeria's journey as a sovereign nation, but it also brought with it challenges in managing ethnic diversity and fostering cooperation for national development.After independence, Nigeria faced ethnic crises, especially between the dominant ethnic groups competing for political power and resources. The Biafra secessionist movement in the late 1960s, resulted in a devastating civil war and clearly showed deep-seated ethnic divisions and the challenges of maintaining a unified nation. Attachment to our ethnic groups was made worse by the failures of successive governments in Nigeria to foster a patriotic spirit in her citizenry. Many Nigerians are attached to their ethnic group and identify, socialize and even marry according to such affiliations. This attachment can be traced to the failures of Nigerian leaders both past and present to live up the expectations of the masses. Politicians have also capitalized on these divisions and ethnic sentiments to feed their political ambitions to the detriment of the patriotic spirit which should be built in Nigerians.

The political terrain of Nigerian has become more complicated because of its multiethnic nature and the political intrigues surrounding power sharing. Zoning political power to the various regions was an attempt to ensure that all sections of the country have equal access to political power, but such arrangements have been criticized for not also ensuring equal power sharing among the major ethnic groups. Even in a democratic nation like Nigeria, elections are not free of such ethnic sentiments. These ethnic sentiments and attachmentto tribe and region has led to many problems which fed the already existing problems of corruption and underdevelopment. This paper is concerned with the interplay between ethnicity, social justice and development in Nigeria. It sets out to identify the relationship between ethnicity and social injustice and identifies the ways that this has contributed to the underdevelopment of the country. It proposes the adoption of the idea of social justice in the philosophy of John Rawls to address this problem.

Ethnicity and the problem of social justice in Nigeria

Ethnicity according to the Merriam Webster online dictionary is defined as being a member of a specific ethnic group with common traits and customs and a sense of shared identity(www.meriam-wenster.com/dictionary/ethnic).Persons from the same ethnic group can have a common language, eating habits, mode of dress. etc. Nigeria is home to a diverse range of ethnic groups, making it one of the most ethnically diverse countries in the world. The major ethnic groups in Nigeria include the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo, Ijaw, Kanuri, Tiv, and many others. Each ethnic group has its distinct language, customs, traditions, and social structure. This diversity enriches Nigeria's cultural fabric but also presents challenges in

achieving social justice and development.

Ethnicity plays a significant role in shaping social and economic disparities in Nigeria. Certain ethnic groups have historically held more political power, economic resources, and social privileges, while others have been marginalized and disadvantaged. For instance the Fulani have dominated politics in the North to the detriment of the Hausa and other minority tribes. This has resulted in unequal access to education, healthcare, employment opportunities, and basic services. Discrimination and prejudices based on ethnicity contribute to systemic inequalities in Nigeria. Ethnic disparities in income distribution, poverty rates, and access to resources increases social injustices and hinder the overall development of the country. The interplay between ethnicity and social justice in Nigeria is evident through various social justice issues which include:

(a) **Power sharing:** Nigeria's political landscape is marred by the practice of ethnic politics leading to division and an unequal distribution of power among ethnic groups. In the north, the Fulani's have always dominated and controlled politics in the region, the minority groups in the north have been sidelined in politics which also means being sidelined in control of economic power. The South-East has also been sidelined in national politics and the region has suffered neglect from government at the center for years. Inadequate representation of marginalized ethnic groups hampers inclusive decision-making and will perpetuate social and political exclusion. The Nigerian politicians always play the ethnic card during campaigns and elections

(b) **Allocation or distribution of resources:** Ethnicity influences the distribution of resources, such as land, oil wealth, and infrastructure development. Even political appointments and job appointments are also made on ethnic sentiments. Inequitable resource allocation can exacerbate ethnic tensions and hinder overall development and social justice.

(c) **Ethnic conflicts and violence:** Ethnic tensions have been a catalyst for conflicts and violence in Nigeria, leading to loss of lives, displacement, and destruction. These conflicts disrupt social harmony, impede development, and further marginalize vulnerable communities. The herder/farmer in the North central has hit the nation with death toll of 2500 people (in 2016 and counting).(crisisgroup.org/westfric/nigeri/252-herder-agaainst-farmers-nigerias-expanding-deadly-conflict)The existence of several IDP(Internally Displaced Persons) camps in the country attests to the problem to ethnic clashes in the country.

(d) **Marginalization and minority groups:** Ethnic minority groups often face discrimination and marginalization, with limited access to resources and opportunities. In Nigeria, the majority are the ones with a shot at access to power and control of state resources, since the inception of democracy in Nigeria, power has mostly rotated between the North and the West, the East and other larger minority groups have not had access to the seat of the president. This undermines social justice and contributes to the perpetuation of inequalities. Many of these minorities do not have equal access to the distribution of social goods in the state and are usually impoverished and neglected at both state and federal level.

Addressing these social justice issues requires comprehensive interventions that recognize and address the impact of ethnicity on societal inequalities. By understanding the implications of ethnicity for social justice, policymakers can develop targeted strategies to promote equity, inclusivity, and sustainable development in Nigeria.

Defining Social Justice

According to Mona Khetchen, there is no generally accepted definition of social justice. The contemporary understanding of this normative concept has its root in political philosophy. but different disciplines – including sociology, social psychology, law and jurisprudence, and human geography, among others – have contributed to its theoretical underpinnings and to defining its fundamental elements(1) David Miller links social justice to "the manner in which benefits and burdens are distributed among persons, where such qualities and relationships can be investigated(19)Runciman considers the problem of social justice to be that "of arriving at an ethical criterion by reference to which the distribution in societies may be assessed(37)A more elaborate definition is provided by William Galston, who defines social justice as follows:

> "…the appropriate assignment of entities to individuals; appropriateness encompasses both the relation between some feature of entities and individuals under consideration and the relation between those entities and possible modes of assignment. The domain of entities may include objects, qualities, positions within a system, or even human beings(5).

John Rawls' notion of social justice

Rawls' theory of social justice set out to ensure a socially just distribution of "primary social goods". For him, these social goods are "things that every rational man is presumed to want". These, according to him are rights, liberties, opportunities, income, wealth and self-respect.

Rawls associates justice with fairness ("justice as fairness") and defines the "primary aim of justice to be the basic structure of society, or more exactly, the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation.(2) Rawls stresses that justice as fairness in society involves "a fair system of cooperation between free and equal persons". To him, this is the most basic and intuitive idea implicit in the political thought of democratic societies.(7)

a. **The Original Position and Veil of Ignorance:**

The original position and the veil of ignorance are the two components of Rawls' theory that promote fairness and impartiality in the distribution of societal goods and opportunities.

The original position refers to a hypothetical scenario in which individuals come together to establish the principles of justice that will govern their society. In the original position, "men are to decide in advance how they are to regulate their claims against one another and what is to be the foundation charter of their society (9) Participants in social cooperation choose together, and in one joint act, the principles under which to assign basic rights and duties and to determine the decision of social benefits; in order to ensure that no one is advantaged or disadvantaged on the ground of natural chance or the contingency of social circumstances. The

original position is, one might say, the appropriate initial status quo, and thus in this situation, the individuals operate behind a "veil of ignorance," this means that they do not have any knowledge of their specific attributes, such as their social status, wealth, talents, or ethnicity. This ignorance allows these individuals to perform the task of creating just principles impartially, without being influenced by their own self-interest or biases. The veil of ignorance is to ensure that these individuals will design a society that is fair and just for all, as they do not know which position or status they will ultimately occupy.

b. **Difference Principle and Fair Equality of Opportunity**:

The difference principle and fair equality of opportunity are instrumental in achieving social justice within Rawls' theory. The difference principle suggests that social and economic inequalities should be structured to benefit the least advantaged members of society. This principle allows for inequalities in wealth and income, as long as they contribute to improving the well-being of the most vulnerable individuals. It emphasizes the importance of addressing systemic inequalities and reducing disparities to create a more just society. He posits:

> People would prefer a situation that they have equal rights with others, a situation giving them as much basic liberty as possible as those others would enjoy, people would want social burdens or inequalities to be arranged in such a way that they will be to everyone's advantage that is, spread to all offices which are open to all(Njoku 451)

Fair equality of opportunity is another crucial aspect of Rawls' theory. It advocates for a society where individuals have equal access to education, employment, and other opportunities necessary for personal and social advancement. By ensuring fair equality of opportunity, individuals have a genuine chance to pursue their goals and talents, regardless of their social background or ethnicity.

Ethnicity, Social Justice and Development in Multi-ethnic Nigeria: A Rawlsian Intervention

The problem with Nigeria is not lack of programs or policies but the problem of having the will to enforce or practice these programs effectively to the benefit of the masses. Odinioha rightly argues that "it can be recalled that Nigeria has never lacked or been in short supply of good policies or reforms; the problem has remained her inability to convert them to tangible, usable and quantifiable results"(139)

Rawlsian social justice grounded in principles of justice, have the potential to transform the socio-political landscape in Nigeria. By implementing policies and practices aligned with Rawlsian principles, Nigeria can strive towards reducing ethnic disparities, promoting inclusive development, and fostering social cohesion. Assessing the potential impact of Rawlsian thought will provide insights into the feasibility and effectiveness of such interventions in Nigeria. Ensuring social justice in a multiethnic society like Nigeria is the one is the best ways that Nigeria can fight many of the ills that are prevalent in the society today.

Rawlsian principles have significant relevance and adaptability to ethnically diverse societies like Nigeria. The theory's emphasis on fairness, impartiality, and equal opportunity

aligns with the aspirations of promoting social justice and harmony in multicultural contexts. In a diverse society like Nigeria, applying Rawlsian principles can help address the ethnic disparities and inequalities that hinder social progress. By considering the original position and the veil of ignorance, policymakers can design institutions, policies, and practices that are fair and impartial, taking into account the needs and perspectives of all ethnic groups.

Moreover, the difference principle can guide the allocation of resources and opportunities in a way that will benefit marginalized ethnic groups and reduce inequality. Fair equality of opportunity will ensure that individuals from all ethnic backgrounds have equal access to education, employment, and public services, creating a more inclusive and just society.

While implementing these principles in multi ethnic societies may present challenges, such as addressing cultural considerations and communitarian critiques, the principles provides a theoretical framework to promote social justice and foster cooperation among diverse ethnic groups. Adapting these principles to the Nigerian context can contribute to sustainable development and social harmony by addressing ethnic disparities and promoting equitable opportunities for all individuals, regardless of their ethnicity.

Addressing corruption is essential for achieving development and promoting social justice in Nigeria. Rawlsian principles emphasize the importance of fairness, transparency, and accountability in the distribution of resources. Corruption undermines these principles by diverting public funds and resources away from their intended purposes, perpetuating inequality and hindering development. Corruption breeds injustice and it thrives because of the weak resolve of the government to ensure that the citizens of the country enjoy the social goods in the country equally. The situation where a few government officials or people from particular ethnic groups have access to the wealth of the nation is worrisome. This has left the masses out of their share of the national wealth and has led to mass poverty and mistrust among the many ethnic groups in the country. By combating corruption, these interventions contribute to a more equitable distribution of resources, enhance public trust, and create an enabling environment for development and social justice

Sustainable economic policies are vital for promoting inclusive growth and reducing disparities. Rawlsianprinciples can advocate for economic policies that prioritize the well-being of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in society. This can include measures to promote job creation, support small and medium-sized enterprises, and invest in sectors that have the potential to benefit marginalized communities. By focusing on inclusive economic growth, aim to reduce poverty, enhance income distribution, and create opportunities for upward mobility. Sustainable economic policies contribute to social justice by ensuring that the benefits of development are shared equitably among all ethnic groups and social strata.

Mass poverty is also one of the products of social injustice. According to Odinioha G., Nigeria needs to show more seriousness and sincerity in her fight against poverty because eliminating or reducing poverty cannot be achieved just by giving citizens either raw or cooked rice during electioneering campaigns, but by creating enabling and equal environment that will guarantee citizens' affordability of basic needs of life.(140-141)The danger poverty poses in national development is immeasurable and colossal. In fact, living in a state of abject poverty makes it near impossible for citizens to meaningfully participate or engage themselves in the society and develop the capacity to leave a self – determined life. He further posits that ensure

that access to education, labour market inclusion, social cohesion, health, intergenerational justice are ways to ensure the social justice is made a reality in Nigeria.(139)

Ethnic conflicts and struggles for the control of national resources among Nigerians is another matter than can be reduced if there is social justice. When some ethnic groups are marginalized to the benefit of others in terms of distribution of national resources, there is bound to resentment and mistrust among them. When the different regions in the country do not equally feel the presence of the government, there is bound to be resentment and agitation against such perceived marginalization. When government makes appointments based on ethnic loyalty in a multiethnic country, it is a clear indication that there is no social justice in such a state because such appointments under Rawlsian principles should be open to all and not only one or a few groups.

The existence of secessionist groups, terrorist and militant groups in Nigeria, are mostly as a result of perceived injustices. The creation MEND (movement for the emancipation of the NigerDelta) was as a result of the injustices meted on the people of the Niger Delta where they were cut out of the benefits of the oil that has destroyed their natural environment and created poverty in the region, yet the nation and her rulers feed fat out of the suffering of the people of the Niger Delta. The creation of MASSOB and IPOB is also a reaction to the perceived neglect of the eastern region by the federal government. Such grievances and general bad blood between citizens only reflects that social justice is lacking to a great extent in the state.

Infrastructure development plays a crucial role in ensuring equitable access to basic services, such as healthcare, education, water, and transportation. The government needs to prioritize infrastructure development in marginalized areas, including those predominantly inhabited by disadvantaged ethnic groups. By investing in infrastructure projects, such as road networks, schools, provision of electricity, hospitals, and clean water facilities, these interventions can bridge the gap between different regions and ethnic communities. Access to basic services improves the quality of life, promotes social justice, and facilitates development by providing equal opportunities for all.

Towards Building a Just Multiethnic Nigeria

Osi posits and rightly so that "the form of a society's basic structure has profound effects on the lives of citizens, influencing not only their prospects but more deeply their goals, their attitudes, their relationships, and their characters. Since leaving one's society is not a realistic option for most people, one cannot say that citizens have consented to the arrangement of their institutions by staying in the country.(201) It therefore important that firms steps be taken to ensure that the society's structure be set in a way that it can ensure social justice.

The first step towards building a just and fair Nigeria is a reorientation of the mind on Nigerians concerning ethnicity and the importance of adopting a patriotic spirit toward Nigeria. But this will not be possible if there is no change in the country. It is important that the government lives up to its duty to provide the basic amenities that it should to its citizens. If the masses do not feel the impact of the government in their villages, cities or towns, then they may not feel that they should have any allegiance to a country that does not care for its citizens. This can only happen when the government shows commitment towards building a just society by the kind of policies and laws that they make. When Nigerians feel the impact of government in

their lives evidenced by better standard of living.

The current situation in Nigeria where many Nigerians are living in IDP camps across the country give an example of how ethnic attachments and sentiments can breed injustice. Many of these displaced people have been displaced from their homes and lost many family members to bandits and gun wielding herders, but they have no hope of getting justice for their lost family members. These gruesome invasion and murders have been going on for some time but the government seems uninterested in their plight. How can such persons be patriotic or feel any sense of duty to a country that has not shown any sense of duty towards them̦ There has been no punishment for those who carried out such horrible attacks and murdered scores of people and there seems to be no commitment from the government towards resolving the situation and returning displaced persons to their ancestral lands.

A multiethnic state like Nigeria will not develop when there are constant ethnic clashes and violent outbursts and where there is mistrust and lack of cooperation among its citizens. When those in power use the mechanisms of the state to advantage of their own ethnic group, it makes the members of the other ethnic groups second class citizens in their country. If the machinery of the state is employed by those in power for the benefit of their own ethnic group, there will be abuse of power, human rights violation and inequality. This will only lead to resentment, resistance and breed more conflict as seen in Nigeria today. The country will also not make reasonable progress socially, economically, politically, etc. when its citizens are constantly at war with each other.

The government needs to ensure that there is social justice and they owe it to their citizens to ensure that their rights and benefit or privileges are not denied. Gil rightly argues that social justice is a creation of the government in power, just societies are characterized by equality of citizens, liberty of citizens, individuality if citizens, collective orientation and mutualism, cooperation while unjust societies are characterized by inequality of citizens, domination and exploitation, selfishness and individualism, disregard for community and competition.(138) Osi rightly argues that

> The survival of any nation, it has been argued, depends to a large extent on the leadership and how well they manage the social structure to the satisfaction of the people; that is, the good they bring to bear on the people of the nation. No nation can survive if her citizens wallow in abject poverty, especially, if such a nation is identified as having the potential human, material and natural resources that could guarantee greatness. (201)

Government therefore has a great role to play to ensure social justice in the state. Government must therefore:

a. Ensure that anti-corruption agencies like EFCC and ICPC are independent and transparent. Anti-corruption measures must be put in place especially for government office holders to ensure accountability at all levels of government and society. This can be achieved through the implementation of transparent and efficient governance systems.

b. Engage diverse stakeholders, including community leaders, religious groups, civil society organizations, and marginalized groups, in the design and implementation of

interventions. This will enhance the legitimacy, acceptance, and effectiveness of social justice initiatives.

c. Implement sustainable economic policies that will promote inclusive growth and reduce disparities. Such policies should be made to ensure that those who are disadvantaged can benefit from them. Many poor people do not have access to many government economic programs because of bureaucratic bottlenecks and also government agents that hijack such programs for their benefit and for their friends and family. This can involve supporting small and medium-sized enterprises, creating job opportunities, and investing in sectors that benefit marginalized communities.

d. Ensure massive infrastructure development so that all citizens can feel the impact of government and enjoy the benefits of being members of the society. There should be uniform development, some sections of the state should not be abandoned to the benefit of others. Infrastructure development should be felt in marginalized areas, ensuring equitable access to basic services such as education, healthcare, and transportation.

Conclusion

Social justice is not merely about the distribution and redistribution of government services and material goods. Nor is it the mere purview of social policies and social protections systems. Social justice is a collective social responsibility that needs to be instilled in all government policies and actions at all levels as well as in the actions of the private sector and civil society organizations, the media and educational organizations. By applying Rawlsianprinciples Nigeria has the potential to address the challenges posed by ethnicity, promote social justice, and achieve sustainable development. By prioritizing fair equality of opportunity, redistributive justice, and social cooperation, Nigeria can foster a more inclusive society where all individuals, regardless of their ethnic background, have equal opportunities to thrive and contribute to the nation's progress.

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A Philosophical Analysis of the Basis of Morality in the African thought System

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Abstract

The question of the basis of morality remains one of the problems in the African thought system as there exist various arguments for diverse factors, such as; religion, humanity, rationality, and consequentialism, among others, as the basis of morality in Africa. This paper aims to philosophically evaluate these suggested factors as the basis of morality and to support the basis of African morality as human welfare. The focus here is placed on the well-being and survival of humans which is referred to as the humanistic orientation of the basis of morality. To achieve the aim of this study the methodology employed is a conceptual analysis and critical analysis, to analyze and critically consider other various arguments that are concerned. Using this method, it is gathered that the basis of morality is not religious but more of a humanistic basis. Also, a relationship is established between the concept of humanity, religion, and society, this relationship is argued to be interwoven and that is impossible to ignore. With the consideration of Gyekye's and Wiredu's ideas of the humanistic basis of African morality, it concludes that African morality is founded on humans as its priority. That is, it supports the humanistic basis of morality, over the other factors stated above, but with an idea of the existence of a relationship that exists between these factors and morality.

Keywords: African, Morality, Humanism, Analysis, Thought System

Introduction

One of the arguments that have succeeded in receiving attention concerning the concept of morality in African society is the question about the basis of the morality that exists in African society, that is, questions have been raised about the foundation, the basis, and the origin of the concept of morality amidst the Africans scholars. Various arguments have been critically brought up to defend diverse standpoints of the origin of morality in the African thought system. According to Wiredu (1998:92) "Any society without a medium of morality must collapse", this then suggests that no society can survive without an instrument of morality, so from this statement, one can infer that Africa as a society has survived this long because of the existence of a medium of morality. The question then is; what is this morality built onị Or what is the basis of the morality of the Africansị And this is one of the aims of ethics, to research what morality is based on. Whenever concepts that are concerned with ethical ideas are discussed, the central issue tends to be the ability or quest to answer the question, 'why be moralị' To achieve the aim of this research work, we must have a well understanding of what morality is, discussing based on morality in the African thought system. 'African thought System' used in this work refers to the idea of African philosophy, that is, the way of thought of the African people.

For many philosophers such as; Bolaji Idowu (1962), John Mbiti (1969), and others, African morality is based on their idea and knowledge of religion. Both ideas are focused on the values of human life, as the theists contend that there is an unquestionable link between morality and religion. As much as there are arguments to support the concept of 'religion' as the basis of morality in Africa, there are other arguments and scholars, that argue in opposition to religion as the basis of African morality and suggest that African morality is built on factors like humanity, communality, rationality, among others. These scholars include; Wiredu (1992), Oluwole (1985), and Balogun (2018) among others. They deny the religious basis of morality of the societies they studied in African communities and thereby came up with other factors as the origin of morality in these African communities. For instance, according to Wiredu (1992:23), "The Akan moral outlook is thus logically independent of religion".

As a result of the diverse views and opinions of these scholars, there exists no definite conclusion on the basis of the morality of the Africans. This research work, therefore, will focus on African morality in their thought system. This will be done by considering diverse arguments and opinions as regards the basis of the concept of morality in the African thought system that has been postulated by other scholars, to arrive at a definite conclusion.

The Concepts of Ethics and Morality

Morality means principles or code of conduct that guides social conduct and norms. Morality dictates what is right or wrong. According to Wiredu 'morality is simply the observance of rules for the harmonious adjustment of the interest of the individuals to those of others in the society' (1992:306). Morality handles standards and regulations of right conducts in a society. While ethics comprises systems or theories of moral values and principles concerned with what is good or bad, and moral and immoral. Ethics aims towards the setting of moral principles guiding individuals in a society. Ethics scientifically evaluates, examines, and analyses these moral principles, as accepted as right or wrong. Ethics serves as a guideline to

judge people's actions and behaviour in society. Ethics studies morality. According to Haxhi (2021:12), "While ethics and morals might seem to be synonymous terms, the difference is that ethics relates to individuals, while morality relates to social conduct". But both terms will be used interchangeably in this paper.

In any organization of human beings, it will be impossible for a harmonious interaction of people socially, if the sense of what is right or wrong is not imbibed in people. Morality does not only focus on the individual but largely on the society also. This is because, to have harmonious interaction in the society, the welfare of others in the society is to be a concern as important as that of the individual.

Morality can be said to be socially constructed. It is in existence as a result of the need that arises in the society to protect the lives and the interest of all the members of the society. This aligns with Pettman's line of thought when he stated that;

> Morals are social products, held out of habit and self-interest to be sure but motivated also by emphatic urges like love and a sense of what is right and due. Human beings learn or prefer particular ways of relating to each other and standards by which to assess their relationships and to endorse or censure what appears to be sociable or antisocial acts, as part of the general educative process whereby then assimilate expectations of how the world is meant to be (1979:19).

Morality, therefore, sets standards and ways expected for humans to relate and assess their relationships with others in the society. They are set out of self-interests but also the consideration of the relationship that exists with others in the society. These moral values are developed and adopted to achieve harmonious interaction which is the goal of every society, the moral values adopted includes; honesty, love, and truthfulness among others. These moral values are the results of the expectations created on how the world ought to be.

Man is known as a rational being, therefore, he possesses the ability and rationality to qualify an action as right or wrong, good or bad, moral or immoral, but in man's quest to use his rationality to decide all these, there is a form of divergence that exists among humans in the agreement of what is moral. The concept of morality has been subjected to various subjective views, although this diversity exists mainly in the agreement of what is wrong or right. And this diversity is caused by various factors, such as; culture, religion, and beliefs, among others. For instance, what is morally accepted varies from culture to culture, as what is morally acceptable in *Yoruba* culture in Nigeria may vary from what is acceptable as a morally acceptable act in *Zulu* culture in South Africa.

Although morality does not share the same principles everywhere, there exists a sense where morality is universalized, this, therefore, presupposes primarily that all human societies have a sense of right and wrong that guides their everyday existence and interaction with one another. In this sense P. J. Nel (2008:37) wrote that "Although this thought structure may vary between groups and societies, recognisable universal traits are noticeable".

An Understanding of Ethics and Morality in Africa

Some foreigners have held wrong perceptions towards the existence of morality in Africa, as they concluded that African lack knowledge of morals, Temple (1952:57) for instance said, "Africans do not distinguish between what is good and evil……. they are devoid of moral consent or universally accepted ethical norms". However, Wiredu (1998) stated that every existing society that lacks morality will crumble. It is, therefore, safe to admit that Africa has a medium of morality since it has survived this long and is yet to collapse.

African ethics is defined by Omoregbe (1993), as a science concerned with the question of what is wrong and right in human behaivour with the African mindset. African ethics, therefore, is portrayed to be scientific because it evaluates, examines, and questions the human behaivour, the code of conduct, principles, and moral ideas; it analyses the nature of these moral ideas and also examines the reasons why they are right or wrong. African ethics can be said to be a character-based ethics that asserts that the most foundational quality in an individual's moral life is his/her character. The Yoruba for instance sees *Iwa* (character) as the most important moral concept. A person is morally evaluated according to his/her *iwa*, whether good or bad. It is, therefore, focused on individuals' behaivour and character. For Ozumba (1995), what is called African ethics is a result of African religious beliefs, this position is accepted and supported by some other philosophers as well as theologians.

The existence of diverse cultural groups and societies in Africa must not be ignored, which suggests the existence of various ethical principles, but it is worthy to note that moral value is placed on the human factor. To maintain social order and self-actualization, human beings are centered upon. Regardless of how the moral principles are formulated, they are all aimed at the peaceful existence of man and other humans in the society. Morality in every existing society, of which Africa is included, exists as a system of rules and practices to maintain social order and enhance the individual's process of self-actualization. Self-actualization becomes the goal that every society seeks to achieve and to achieve this self-actualization, Africans thereby make use of the tool of morality and strive to also attain the maintenance of social order.

According to Wiredu (1995:18), African ethics is the observance of rules for the harmonious adjustment of the interest of the individual to those of others in the society. African ethics guides human behaivour in a way that it is evolved around one's self-actualization and relationship with others and the society. African ethics seeks to enhance the cordial survival of members of the society through the systematic alignment of their various interests, that is, African ethics sought to align individual interest with the interest with the interest of other members of the society. Therefore, it can be assumed that the idea of African ethics resolves around, the idea that man cannot survive alone, it is not about 'me' but 'us'. 'Ours' in terms of the communal spirit that strives as the central matter among Africans. Bujo (2001) formulated: *Cognatus Sum, ergo sumus* [I am related; therefore, we are] in other to communal embeddedness and societal being. Therefore, it is proven that African ethics priorities the communal spirit, this means that, it exists in a manner that each member of the society contributes to the welfare and survival of the community, thereby only seeks for the good of the community, and avoiding anything that can cause harm or anything dangerous to the community. It's no doubt that African ethics have been influenced by various factors, and it should be acknowledged that these factors have played vital roles in the existence of the moral systems of Africans.

Although a majority of the ethical tenets or principles in African societies are orally preserved and passed down from generation to generation, it still doesn't destroy the existence of ethical principles in Africa. These ethical principles are in turn divided into two major forms, which are; the positive principles, which are expected to be adopted by every member of the society, and negative principles, which should be avoided by every member of the society, both forms of principles are expected to guide the members of the society on the right actions to adapt and the wrong actions to avoid for their sake and the sake of the other members of the society. The positive principles according to Ayantayo (1999), include; justice, gratitude, honesty, loyalty, kindness, hard work, and fidelity to one's duty. Brandt (1961) also listed the negative principles as; oppression, hatred, exploitation, falsehood, irresponsibility, and many social vices. These principles are seen to be socially constructed towards the relationship of man, by guiding the behaivour of man. They are used as the basis of the judgment of every action performed by any member of the society.

The Suggested Basis of African Morality

Various factors have been argued for and against as the basis of morality in Africa. Below these arguments are well considered, to have a proper understanding of the foundation of African morality.

Religion as the Basis of Morality in the African Thought System.

The idea of religion is a fundamental issue in philosophy, right from the ancient period till the present period, it is a concept that cannot be crossed out of existence. Religion, to Africans, plays a vital role in all areas of their life, such as; their political, and social lives. To the extent that it is believed and argued that, religion answers the question of, what the moral life of the Africans was founded upon. This suggests the idea of religion as the basis of morality in Africa. Religion is a worldview that comprises beliefs, that relates to the existence of a supernatural power, which makes it metaphysical in nature. Religion places these supernatural powers above humans, as the beliefs are shaped and decided by supernatural beings. Religion is mostly seen as a social-cultural concept that designs the believer's behaviour, practices, beliefs, worldviews, morals, and all that generally relate humanity to the supernatural. In Africa, religion is a system of belief that does not exist distinctively from the cultural practices, it is rather viewed as a more holistic understanding of the dimensions of life. Religion creates a more spiritual way of understanding and approaching life, as religion is based on a system of beliefs or the other. Religion is a holistic way of viewing reality, that is, our daily experiences. It is for this reason that P. J. Nel (2008:37) mentioned that "Religion is culture and vice versa". Religion is hereby seen as synonymous with culture as religion is also a way of life in itself, this is because they both share the same attribute which is they deal with the way of life of people.

Mbiti, who is one of the proponents of this argument, holds that African morality is based on the idea of religion and the intervention of the Supreme Being. This is made evident when he states that "God gave the moral order to people so that they might live happily and in harmony with one another" (Mbiti 1977:36). This implies that to Mbiti, morality originated from God and then passed it to humans. This implies that God created the moral order and gave it to man. God is therefore responsible for the existence of moral order, so any action that is against this moral

order is considered a sin against God. It is no longer an argument that Africans are a notoriously religious set of people, so it becomes very difficult to separate religion from all other areas of their lives, as religion permeates into every area of life. Religion is believed to have probably the greatest influence on African's way of thought and way of life. To Africans, the God factor plays a great role in determining what is right or wrong in the community. Mbiti, therefore, holds that religion justifies moral values and beliefs. It is believed that in the traditional life of the Africans, there were no atheists as every African naturally believes in the existence and power of the Supreme Being. They are recorded to be a very religious set of people, so being religious was viewed as a general attribute of Africans.

Africans are first categorized by their traditional indigenous religion, which has been passed from one generation to another. It is a religion that is not written down nor does it have a specific founder, unlike other religions like; Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, among others. The existence of the African traditional religion can be traced to the existence of Africa itself. It is as old as Africa's existence. It existed before the introduction of the other religion, which can be regarded as foreign religions such as; Christianity, and Islam, and most of the moral laws in Africa are believed to have been constructed regarding the Supreme Being in this religious context, that is, the being worshipped in this traditional religion.

Udeani (2008:59) further mentions, religion, and morality cannot be separated from each other because there exists an intrinsic connection and unity between them in African societies. Life, morality, and religion are considered to be interwoven concepts, which are difficult and almost impossible to separate. It can then be said that tradition and morality are merged with the religious beliefs of the African people. This remains the basis of the argument for religion as the foundation of morality in Africa. Thereby, the religious belief of the people formed most of their moral values and ideas.

Also, in Bolaji's *Odumare: God in Yoruba Belief* (1969:18), he argued that:

> our view is that morality is the fruit of religion and that, to begin with, it is dependent, upon it. Man's concept of deity has everything to do with what is taken to be the norm of morality.

This suggests that what is referred to as morality in African society is gotten from African's idea of the deity. Morality to him is a product of religion and cannot be separated from the conception of that supernatural being. Religion forms the way of life of Africans and it serves as that which African ethics also depends on. Human nature then comprises a part that knows what is right separately from what is wrong, which is believed to be from God's decree. God is responsible for the conscience of man. This addition of the God factor, suggests that religion is part of human life and nature. Morals then come from God, that is, God dictates what is good and what is bad. What then is morally approved by God or the deity is to be right and vice versa.

Humanity as the Basis of Morality in the Africa Thought System

The quality or state of being humane. Humanity is placing humankind at the center of all decisions, that is, every decision or action will be made with consideration of its consequence on humankind. The arguments for humanity are seen as a form of critique against religion as

the basis of morality. The prominent scholars of this perspective argued mainly that the moral concepts, ideas, and theories in African society are independent of supernatural powers but they are believed to have originated from the humanistic conception. They argue that what is classified as good or bad is determined by the consequences of the actions on human well-being and interest. Acts such as; generosity, justice, actions that produce happiness, that produces peace, honesty, love, respect, etc. are hereby classified as good acts.

This explains that actions that foster the interest and the welfare of humanity are good but those that threaten the welfare and interest of humans are bad.

Wilson (1971:98) in his observation about African morality said: "the basis of morality is the fulfillment of the obligation to kinsmen and neighbors and living in amity with them". In African conception, moral values, therefore, originate from the basic existential conditions in which human beings organize and conduct their lives in their desire for harmony. African morality is fashioned and molded according to the people's comprehension of human nature, the nature of human society, human relations, human goals, and the meaning of human life with its emotional features.

Wiredu maintains that;

> in traditional Africa what is morally good is conceived to be what is decent
> for man, what brings dignity, respect, contentment, prosperity, and joy to
> man and his community. And what is morally bas is what brings misery
> and misfortune and disgrace (1998:100).

This suggests that every idea of African morality is founded in concern with human welfare and well-being. This is, at times referred to as the anthropocentric basis, as it places man at the center of consideration for moral values. According to Bewaji, "the wellspring of morality and ethics in African societies is the pursuit of a balance of individual, with communal well-being" (2004:39). This suggests that human rights are being protected by morality and ethics, as this is the reason for their existence. To safeguard the survival of humankind, therefore, morality came into existence. The value of human life comes before other concerns.

The above-mentioned scholars, therefore, assert that humanity is the value and center of all that is good and moral. It should be stressed that it is not the place of gods that is being concerned but the place of humanity that is emphasized in the basis of morality. Gyekye (1995:32) asserts that "morality in traditional African societies is essentially social, arising out of the relations between individuals. This means that if there is no such thing as human society, there would be no such thing as morality". This suggests that morality exists only because of humanity's existence. African morality is dependent on humanity. Moralities in African societies are formed based on their understanding and knowledge of the nature of society, human aspirations, interactions, and human value of human life.

Rationality as the Basis of Morality in African Thought System.

This can be seen as another critique of the religious foundation and the humanistic basis of African morality. This suggested basis of the foundation of African morality is characterized by the ability of man to reason. This can be drawn from the meaning of rationality, which is

defined as a state or quality of being reasonable. Oluwole (1985) argues for rationality as the basis of African morality. This argument was mainly based on the proverbs, folklore, and norms of the Yorubas. To *Oluwole*, the acceptance and worship of gods are not enough to conclude that Yoruba morality has a religious basis. She tries to differentiate between accepting religion as the basis of African morality and accepting that religion may be a form of influence on their moral ideas. The goods to her sanction moral concepts not because they possess divine attributes or nature butt because they are essentially right or wrong in the Yoruba society.

Morality in the Yoruba society is considered a social institution that focuses on setting and formulating ideals and moral concepts men are to live by. The rationality of these ideals can be seen in the proverbs, folklore, and norms of these people. This suggests that the idea of Yoruba norms being referred to as divinely originated ideas is questionable. To further understand this perspective, some quotes/proverbs in the Yoruba social institution will be considered:

"*Ika ko ye omo eniyan*"
Wickedness is abominable to man.

"*K'a s'otito ka ku, o san ju ka s'ebi ka was laa ye*"
It is more honourable to die for the truth than to live for fraud.

"*Aja esin o mode*"
A dog born a year ago does not know how to hunt, which means, one learns from maturity and experience.

This suggests that the moral norms of the Africans are formulated by their rational ability and we can ascertain that a wicked person is a person without good character (*iwa*) while a good person has honest and good character. Using the proverb, *bi a ba begi ni igbo, a fi oran to ara eni wo*, which means '*whenever one acts, one must imagine oneself in the position of the receiver of that action*', we can affirm that even without the god factor, the people are rational to justify their actions. The above relates to the norm, referred to as the golden rule 'do unto others as you wish to be done unto you'. The important distinction is between proving the existence of the gods and rationally justifying the assumption of an empirically non-provable existence made to play a theoretical role at a point when all relevant facts provide no demonstrable direct solution. This, according to Oluwole (1985), is the all-important distinction that most authors fail to draw when they describe African morality as religious. Once we draw clear distinctions between the different rules of behaivour in societies, we will discover that the moral system of the Yorubas' is a secular one. From her argument, it is drawn that Yoruba morality is a philosophical system and not a religious system. Morality is hereby a system of evaluating human actions and behaivour and has to do with the reasoning capacity of man.

Consequentialism as the Basis of Morality in the African Thought System
The major claim of this perspective is that the African moral system possesses a consequentialist basis. The prominent scholar in this orientation is Balogun (2018) in his article, *The consequentialist foundation of traditional Yoruba ethics: an exposition,* argues that the culture

and moral system of Yoruba society is grounded on the consequentialist basis consequentialism refers to the concept of the end justifies the means which is well known in the western discourse of ethical theories. This can also be referred to as the teleological basis of African morality. According to Balogun (2018:38), Yoruba morality focuses on the result of the action or inaction of moral agents. This means that the consequence of an action serves as the basis of its rightness or wrongness. Therefore, the approval or condemnation of an action in the Yoruba society is based on the observation of its beneficial or harmful consequences, which portrays the difference between good or bad, right or wrong.

This orientation places *iwa*, which means character as an important concept in the Yoruba moral system. And in our quest to properly understand the place of *iwa* in the Yoruba moral universe, it is instructive to consider the role of *esan*. *Esan* may be interpreted as vengeance or retribution but for better understanding, *Esan* is seen as 'comic justice'. *Esan* is that which a moral agent receives as a consequence of his/her moral actions. This suggests that *esan* may be positive or negative. This can be seen in their proverbs that say; *rere ati ika, ikan ko ni gbe* this means 'good and bad, none shall be lost', that is, everyone will receive rewards. The Yorubas can be seen then to believe in 'what a man sows, shall he reaps'. This clearly states that people do what is right because of the consequences attached to it and avoid wrong deeds because of the consequences of such.

The consequentialism in this context is not motivated by the western idea of the end justifies the means. The Yorubas do not differentiate between the means and the end, as they believe that the means are wrong, and the end cannot be right. The classification of an action as morally right or wrong is greatly influenced by the consideration of the consequences of such actions. If the consequences of an action are good, the action is considered to be morally acceptable, if otherwise, it is regarded as morally undesirable.

An Analysis of the Basis of African Morality as Human Welfare

After proper consideration of the suggested basis of morality, this work chooses to support the basis of morality in the African thought system as humanistic over other suggested basis. Arguments for the support of the Humanistic to the other factors as the basis of African Morality are discussed with major consideration of Wiredu and Gyekye's arguments, although there will be a reference to other scholars. It should be noted that 'humanism' in this concept is viewed with consideration of the previously suggested basis, this is because all the argued basis are discovered to be interwoven as they share the same purpose and goal, which is protecting human welfare. The idea of 'humanism' as the basis of morality cannot be discussed without reference to the communalistic relationship that exists within the Africans, the religious perspective of the Africans that compelled them to be moral, the rationality that leads to the development of morality and the consequentialist perspective of African morality. The major argument is that the basis of African Morality is not dependent on supernatural powers, but rather it is conceived with the man as the center of concentration. Morality in every existing society came into existence from the quest to differentiate between what is right and wrong in other to attain a harmonious existence of humans in society. It should be noted that it cannot be denied that all the suggested factors influenced the basis of African Morality.

Wiredu and Gyekye made use of the *Akan* culture from Ghana to argue against the popular notion, that African Morality is religiously based. They belong to the school of thought that holds that African morality is based on the survival of humans and their relationship with others. They both held the belief that morality in Africa was constructed out of the concern for human welfare and interest above all other factors. This means that the results of the actions of humankind determine its moral value. Wiredu (1998) denied that morality in Akan is based on any form of 'super naturalistic' power to any extent and this has been argued as true in a lot of societies in Africa, although religion cannot be separated from the moral life of the Africans, which is why it was concluded that African morality is based on religion, as a result of the general notion of Africans being a notoriously religious set of people.

The Notion of Humanism

The quest for morality is more concerned with the survival of humanity. This term humanity is also referred to as humanism and for conceptual understanding, humanism will be used more often. *The Humanist Magazine* presents an explicit explanation of what Humanism entails, that is;

> Humanism is a rational philosophy informed by science, inspired by art, and motivated by compassion…. Free of supernaturalism, it recognizes human beings as a part of nature and holds that values – religious, ethical, social, or political – have their source in human experience and culture. Humanism thus derives the goals of life from human need and interest rather than from theological or ideological abstractions and asserts that humanity must take responsibility for its destiny. (2021:1).

From the above explanation, it is clear that humanism is focused on the affirmation of human beings and that all values have their origin in human existence. Humanism is, therefore, a philosophy of life that considers and focuses on the welfare of humankind above the welfare of a supposed God or gods as of paramount importance. It emphasizes empathy and kindness towards humanity. It is a philosophy that is independent of theism or the influence of supernatural ideas and aims toward living a good life.

In Africa's cultural context, humanism is the doctrine that takes human welfare, interests, and needs as fundamental. It is not just an anthropological term but also a moral concept that considers the relationship between members of the human community. It motivates and justifies actions that affect other humans positively. This constitutes the basis of morality in the African thought system, from which other moral values derive their justification. It promotes human welfare, happiness, and safety. Gyekye defines 'humanism' as "the doctrine that sees human needs, interests and dignity as fundamental, thus constitutes the foundation for Akan morality" (1995:143), identifies the human interests and dignity as the most essential in the constitution of morality in the African Morality, using Akan as the case of study. It is impossible to meaningfully and sufficiently discuss morality unless necessary reference is been made to humanity, specifically human needs, interests, and dignity. These are the foundational property of Morality, which makes it sufficient to infer humanity as the foundation of morality

in Africa.

Wiredu also provides an explanation of 'humanism' as the claim that "it is a human being that has value" (1992:194). Therefore, the source and basis of all kinds of value, including moral value (which is the subject matter of this work), lies in the human person. Man is the determinant of all forms of value that can be gotten and man is then placed as the end in themselves. Ethics is believed to be the expression of the perception of our common humanity, as this is the basis of the character and behavior of Africans toward others in society. The major consideration thereby is the value of humans, as humanity is considered to be a common attribute that we share.

Humanity and Society

It is fundamental to state that code of conduct, laws, and moral principles were made for one major purpose, which is the survival of humanity. The understanding of the necessity for these moral principles for the survival of humanity led to their existence. Since it is a fact that human beings cannot exist on their own, man needs other humans to survive in society, the focus becomes how a man can survive with other people in society. Just as *Aristotle* rightly asserted, "Man is by nature a social animal; an individual who is unsocial naturally and not accidentally is either beneath our notice or more than human. Society is something that precedes the individual." Man, therefore, needs to relate with others in society in other to survive and to ensure a peaceful relationship, there have to be rules and moral principles. This relationship can be referred to as mutual dependence. Also, an Akan proverb states 'A person is not a palm tree to survive alone,' which suggests the act of human interdependence that happens in a society, that is, man needs others to survive. This will bring in the communalistic basis of African morality.

In Africa especially, regarding Mentiki's *Person and Community in African Traditional Thought* (1984), it is safe to argue that, the community is prioritized over the individual. The interest of the community is therefore considered in every moral principle and decision to be made. An individual's existence is dependent on the existence of the community. The priority of the communal world is a necessity because individuals are part of this communal world. This gives us an insight into the relationship that exists between individuals and communities in Africa. But the focus remains on humanity and the survival of humanity in the world. Morality, therefore, doesn't exist because of 'the will of God but rather to protect the lives and the interest of people. This follows from Wiredu's statement that; "The will of God, not to talk of that of any other extra-human being, is logically incapable of defining the good" (1992:194), morality is not determined by this will of God. This led him to deny that the moral thoughts of the Akans specifically have a supernaturalistic origin, he says "in fact, I deny that Akan moral thought is 'supernaturalistic' to any extent" (1996:234).

It follows from the above that the traditional morality of Africans is not about obeying the will of a god or pleasing him, but rather about obeying the will of the community and the consideration of the well-being of human beings.

Discussing Wiredu's moral theory will be incomplete without referring to the idea of welfarism he held concerning African Morality. Welfarism is the claim that human well-being is prioritized above every other factor to be considered. He argues that every action of an

individual that can be accepted as good should seek the welfare of humans and society. This points out to us that the well-being of people in the community is the subject matter of morality. This was explicit in his saying "human well-being is an irreducible presupposition of all morality… every moral endeavour is a certain kind of quest after human well-being" (1996:64). Therefore, Moral concepts and principles are focused on the social conditions and concern of human beings, their needs, and interests in the relation to their communal existences.

Morality is based on the welfarism of humans in society, he believes that the Akan sayings are bet on prioritizing the interest of man when he states "Every Akan moral saying assumes the harmonization of interest as a means. These moral sayings aim at securing human's welfare as an end. Human's welfare is the basis of all moral venture" (1996:65). Protecting human's welfare is thereby the goal and end of morality in the African society, it, therefore, becomes that which every moral values are built upon. This orientation supports the idea that morality is anthropocentric, as it is concerned and centered on the man above all other considerations. Man is the subject matter of morality and without man, morality becomes useless. The peaceful coexistence of good acts leads to the development and progress of the African community while on the other hand, any acts of evil lead to the decadence of the African community, therefore, peaceful coexistence is sought after, which leads to the appraisal of good acts. In a nutshell, the Africans condemn anything that would hinder the peaceful coexistence of things and people in the community. It is, therefore, pretty clear that African ethics is a humanistic ethics, a moral system that is preoccupied and concerned with human welfare.

This leads us to a sense in which we can talk about the universality of morality, in other words, morality can be argued to share the same goal universally, which is that humans are the ultimate values of life and they are ends in themselves. Thereby providing us with acceptable goals such as; human happiness, human survival, human well-being, peaceful and harmonious society. Using Bewaji's (2004:43) statement 'the wellspring of morality and ethics in African societies is the pursuit of a balance of individual, with communal wellbeing', one can point out this sense of the universality of morality as it suggests the idea that morality in Africa is aimed at protecting human rights of all people and that no person must be left behind in terms fostering community life. This idea of morality advocates for the equality of every member of society.

The Relationship between Humanity, Religion, and Morality

Humanism as earlier stated holds the claim that African morality is independent of religion but that basis of morality is humanity-centered. It should be noted that although this research work rejects religion as the basis of African Morality, African Morality cannot be divorced from religion. There still exists a kind of inseparable relationship between religion and Morality. Taking religion away from African Morality is just like taking away the backbone of morality. Religion is believed to play a supportive role in the idea of morality. It has been stated severally that Africans are a notoriously religious set of people, it then becomes impossible to separate religion from their way of life. Therefore, even though the Africans do not consider God and other supernatural beings as the basis of their moral values and principles, nevertheless, they are ever aware of the powers of the supernatural beings and are ever ready to exploit their liberality for the promotion of human welfare, prosperity, and happiness.

One might be tempted to agree with religio-humanistic idea of Omatseye and Emeriewen (2006), that African Morality is both humanistic and religiously based, religion has been earlier argued to play a supportive role in morality achieving the goal of protecting humanity. Supernatural beings and deities are instruments used to compel people into abiding by these moral laws and principles, it has been made clear to us that Africans are a religious set of people, who are willing to do whatever the gods ask. And with the fear that has been created in the people they become willing to obey these rules especially to avoid doing things that are displeasing to God.

Africans hold a unique manner of the conception of man as the human person is seen as an inherently communal being. In the African thought system, the fact that a person is born into an existing community suggests a conception of the person as a communitarian being by nature, although it is not agreed upon by everyone it is a major feature of the African belief. Therefore, Africans do not think of themselves as discrete individuals, but rather as part of the community. There is a unified identity that is given to humanity, which makes every action about the existence of humanity in society.

Conclusion

Human welfare is the basis of morality in the African thought system. As Wiredu stated; "human well-being is an irreducible presupposition of all morality, every moral endeavour is a certain kind of quest after human well-being" (1996:65) every moral principle, idea, and concept aims at the well-being of humanity in the society. This is a nonreligious basis of morality. It should be also noted that it is indubitable to separate religion from the Africans, this then suggests that taking religion away from African Morality is just like taking away the backbone of morality. Religion is believed to play a supportive role in the idea of morality.

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Democracy and Leadership Crises in Africa:
A Historical Perspective

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Abstract

Democracy is generally seen as a form of government that is elected by the people and consists of the people and stands for the people. The leadership crisis often witnessed in most countries of Africa stems from lack thereof and/or outright understanding of the quiddity of democratic processes. This has brought about a huge difference between what democracy is and how it is being practiced in some African countries. This work attempts to highlight through historical analysis some of the African countries currently enmeshed in leadership crisis. The data is got mainly from secondary source. The work employs content analysis as research method. It is the contention of this work that leadership crisis in Africa will be a thing of the past if democratic principles are properly understood and applied by both the leaders and the citizens.

Key Words: Democracy, Leadership crisis, Africa, Historical perspective.

Introduction

From the time of French Revolution and establishment of American Republic, democratic values have been seen as the easiest route to achieving the common good of the highest number of people and development. Following the exit of colonial masters, majority of African countries subscribed and embraced democracy as a form of government. There are many definitions of the term democracy. Nonetheless, for uniformity the definition by Robert Longley is quite apt. According to him, "A democracy is a form of government that empowers

the people to exercise political control, limits the power of the head of the state, provides for the separation of powers between governmental entities, and ensures the protection of natural rights and civil liberties"(Longley). Democracy, as applied in this work, is that form of government in which people freely elect those that will be their representatives as far as governance is concerned. However, over the years, it has been observed that most of the African leaders are unaware of what democracy is or have chosen to practice another form of government in the name of democracy.

The questions begging for answers here are: Is democracy as practiced in Africa different from democracy in other continents of the world¿ Are there effects to the concept of democracy as perceived in Africa¿ What is the correlation between democracy and leadership crisis in Africa¿ These are some of the questions this work will attempt to answer. The data will be gathered from secondary sources. The content analysis research method will be adopted. The work will proffer some solutions by way of recommendations. It is the contention of the work that there is urgent need for sustainable democratic order in Africa to curb incessant leadership crisis.

Perception of Democracy in Africa

There is hardly any leader in Africa that does not seem to possess Machiavelli's brand of political ideology and exhibits it as blacks. African leaders seem to hate to hear the truth from their subjects but rather gloat with joy and merriments to hear words of praises from them even when they are writhing in pain. Wickedness and selfishness occupy African leader's minds, and the urge to be the only man standing in their immediate environment, as well as the only tree which birds perch, is always their primary concern.

Africa, as a continent of about 54 countries, operates a kind of democratic government which is not practiced anywhere in the world and may not be practiced still under the name except in the utopia speculation of Machiavelli. Politically, the continent is divided into five sub-regions (four of which fall underthe regions are Sub-Saharan part of Africa), namely: North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, and the South Africa.

Democracy as practiced in Africa is not far from Sheldon Wolin's Democratic analogy. In his book titled "*Politics and Visions*" he says that the difference between democracy and Machiavelli's politics is only semantic, perhaps he had the black continent of Africa in mind. Democracy in principle just like Machiavelli's politics, operates governance with absolute control and power. Its absoluteness was hatched by the consistent desire of man to exploit the institutionalized rule in order to rise to the top for his selfish and private goals. In his words, Wolin writes:

> According to that view, democracy with its claims about majority rule, the will of the people, and popular sovereignty, elevates the will of the collectivity to the supreme political value. Building on that presumed parallel, one scholar proceeded to invent a new, and ominous regime form, "totalitarian democracy" and endowed it with a genealogy stretching back to Rousseau's General will paradoxically, in the aftermath of World War II, in which democracy had been depicted as the exact of totalitarianism,

totalitarianism was now being depicted as a version of democracy. Totalitarian democracy then was a critical construction, reflective of a deep suspicion of collective action (521).

Democracy has diverse meaning for different countries; to some countries, it is government of the people by the people and for the people while to some other countries, it is government of the people by the few and for the few, yet to another group of countries, it is government of the few citizens by the few citizens and for the few citizens. The first definition explains the way democracy is perceived globally, with the people determining who governs them amongst themselves at the polls devoid of intimidation and deprivations. This represents the global standard and it is rarely practiced, even in America which most African countries see as their political role model. Some of the American presidents were selected by few people through the Electoral College, which was a body of people empowered by the constitution to vote for the President and the Vice President. This does not represent the wishes of the population because the tendency to manipulate the system was glare. Democracy here was distorted since the majority garner of votes was not purely that assured by the winner (Nelson). This still narrows America's democracy to have the same form of government in which the selected few are given power to select who rules the people. America's Presidential election of November 8th 2016 which produced President Donald Trump was not through popular majority votes; the opponent Hilary Clinton from the Democratic Party had the majority votes but lost the election through the criteria they had been known for. In real democratic society, going by the definition, the people which comprised the plebeians and the nobles have equal stake in the government, the nobles who may be fortunate to be leaders cannot make decisions without seeking the opinions of the plebeians who voted them to effect full representation.

Agreed that it is government of the people by the people and for the people, still the governance of the country which embodies the people, is always in the hands of the few, these few people emerge from among the majority on representative capacity and more often carry the wishes of the people. This is not exactly the same in Africa, the elected representatives see themselves as business men on private investment, once they were elected; they abandon the people and exploit the apparatus of governance to favour themselves in order to recoup their expenses and make profits.

As long as human nature remains glued to the desire to have all the good things in life for private comfort, which concept is predominant in Africa; the contents of the constitution in a democratic institution shall always be compromised and distorted to streamline private aggrandizement. What Africans parade as political leaders are mostly business men who venture into politics only to make personal profits and not to effect development in the society.

Historical Excurses into Totalitarian Democracy in Africa

It was indeed the power tussle between Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and President Joseph Kasa-Vubu that engineered crisis in 1960 (Urquhart) after the Belgian government granted the republic of Congo political independence, it was not the Belgian government who orchestrated the crisis; it was the squabble to amass wealth through the siphoning of the country's treasury. The two political leaders were not in conflict over the interest of the masses,

it was because of their unquenchable avariciousness. The crisis which lasted for about sixty months introduced a new political ideology in Africa hence it marked the genesis of Military involvement in government politics in the entire African continent (Olivier). Personal aggrandizement overwhelms the willingness by the leaders to stampede the African land with infrastructural development.

African leaders lack maintenance cultures whenever it concerns structures put up by the government for the interest of the masses and that was why Africa is rated as a wealthy continent endowed with selfish and greedy leaders. Education to African leaders does not mean avenue of acquiring knowledge for renaissance and reformation purposes, it means the acquisition of tricks to stay put in power and appropriate the common wealth for private comforts. However, it is not all African countries that practice full democratic government, there are still some who are ruled by Monarchical government and countries like Morocco, Swaziland and Lesotho have kings as their political rulers, though Morocco and Lesotho operate constitutional government but Swaziland king wades absolute powers (Middleton, 108).

During the pre-colonial era, Africa was seen as a fertile ground by the imperialists and thus became a battle place for the European capitalists who explored all the shores of Africa without resistance (www.sahisitory.org.za). It is no longer a new story, even amongst the younger generation that the distortion of development in Africa today was orchestrated by the imperialists, it is no longer new story that most selfish and egoistic leaders of African countries parade today were the favourites of some of those imperialists who professed to have left the shores of their captives many years ago. They left, yet they still detect who will be the leader and the ethnic group that will produce the said leader thereby introducing another phase of neo-colonization.

This is the scheme which China is currently using to penetrate Africa. It will not appear surprising if in quite no distant time, there be a condition by the Chinese government, who professed to be genuinely raising funds for most African countries for infrastructural development, now if they insist that Chinese language be taught in schools of those countries they are providing financial assistance. With their population rapidly growing and their economy growing too, they target to create People's Republic of China in all the countries of Africa where they will control their economies and detect what happens. This situation is presently noticed in some countries like South Africa, Kenya, Nigeria, Angola, Ghana, etc, bulk of their investment is in Nigeria and Angola; other countries have regulations in their dealings with China (Olayiwola, 27).

Elections to various offices in African countries which operate democratic government always appear like war battle and it was full of intimidation of the opponents. Most political leaders prefer to apply the use of violence and malpractice of any kind to win election, what matters was to win election and remain in power no matter the method. Sometimes they corrupt the legislators with financial enticement into the enactment of law that will approve of their stay in the office beyond the constitutionally approved tenure of office. President Paul Biya of Cameroon, for instance, has been in the office as the President of Cameroon since 6th November 1982 when he took over power from President Ahmadou Ahidjo (Freedom House).

Paul Diya has observed all the processes of elections since he became the President and had contested all the elections conducted with the government apparatus and won all through intimidation. President Laurent Gbagbo of Ivory Coast rather plunged the country into another phase of civil unrest in his quest to remain in office after being defeated in November 2010 presidential elections by President Alassane Quattra (Agnero). President Yahya Jammeh of The Gambia, in 2017 created political tensions in the Gambia by his refusal to agree to the verdict of the Gambia people when he lost the presidential election (which the electoral body conducted on the 1st December 2016), to the opposition leader President Adama Barrow. As has been the culture of African political leaders, President Yahya Jammeh who had ruled The Gambia for 22 years attempted to influence the Supreme Court to annul the result of the election in order to warrant him to remain in power (bbc.news).

This was however resisted by The Gambia opposition groups, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), African Union (AU) and other International Committee of Nations, and on 21st January he was forced out of office and later proceeded to live in Equatorial Guinea. Africa's politicians hardly capitulate to the pressure of leaving office even in old age and on the hospital bed, they still want to rule their countries. Therefore, democracy and the phase two was totalitarian democracy where the president rule with absolute power and only retires on death. Popular democracy which is the global standard has metamorphosed or evolved to totalitarian democracy in Africa.

Exposition of Totalitarian Democracy in Africa

Many countries in Africa today practice what they think is democracy. Of course, by structures it is democracy; but at the surface, it is not democracy. In Africa, democracy is mitigated by the desire of the leaders to remain in perpetual power without recourse to the provisions of the constitution. Some of them severally had attempted to fuse democratic tenets together with the tenets of monarchy by subjugating the traditional institution to be a component of democracy. They regulated the religious rulers and the high class monarchy institutions whose existence dates back to the medieval era.

Totalitarian democracy is the corrupt version of democracy; it is a leadership without the people that gave vote to it. Many African countries had in the past, through one way or the other engaged in the arbitrary use of power against the citizens. Countries like Congo Democratic Republic, Liberia, The Gambia, Ivory Coast, Sudan, Libya, Mali, Egypt, Kenya, Cameroon, Uganda, Angola, etc had all at different times practiced totalitarian democracy. They had had leaders who had used absolute powers and imposed draconian laws to the citizens.

President Mobutu Sese Seko ruled what is today known as Democratic Republic of the Congo for 31 years and would had continued, had it been that he was not forced out of the office with the help of pressures from the international community. He was a despot who used absolute powers to his citizens all these 31 years and in most cases, amended the Congolese constitution to suit his personal desire. During these years, President Mobutu Sese Seko could not effect any infrastructural development in the Democratic Republic of Congo; rather he brought the country back to as it were, about sixty years ago.

His successor, President Laurent Desire Kabila on his own part, tried to reorganize the democratic structures of Congo which the long years of totalitarian democratic government of

President Mobutu Sese Seko disorganized. President Laurent Kabila was in the process of the reorganization, assassinated by one of the Presidential guards on the 18th of January 2001, according to Wikipedia. His son, President Joseph Kabila succeeded him and ruled for 17 years. He also took the same steps which President Mobutu Sese Seko took while in the office.

The major factor that contributes to the sustainability of totalitarian democracy in Africa was due to the fact that African political leaders are power gluttons and prefer to die while in the office to being addressed as ex-presidents while another president sits to oversee the affairs of the country. Samuel Doe of Liberia could not had met strong resistance from the people of Liberia if he had not chosen to violate human rights through the enactment of Decree 88A which restricted the citizens from freedom of expression and from holding protests. He also tried to elongate himself in the office as the Liberia's Head of State and the Democratic President by assassinating his notable opponents who were the supporters of the assassinated President William Tolbert and were likely going to challenge his inhuman policies. It also gave Charles McArthur Ghankay Taylor the leverage to form a guerrilla force called, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) which penetrated the Government House in 1989 to take over the government but met strong opposition from the rival group. Charles Taylor in this process, created tension and crisis which metamorphosed to war in Liberia that lasted for seven years.

Leadership in Africa, whether democratic or monarchy always apply brutality as the only means to usurp power. It has become a common feature in Africa that every election whether Presidential or Legislative, shall be done by the use of force and intimidation. It portrays that the African political leaders do not have the development of African continent in mind instead, their selfish interest and the interest of the imperialists who regretted relinquishing power and the economic resources abundantly scattered all over Africa. Borrowing from Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu's book titled *Because I am involve*d", "For Nigeria to be great, those who aspire to lead must bear in mind the fact that they are servants and as such cannot ever be greater than the people, their masters" (58). Ojukwu saw the way Nigerian politicians jostled for power and did everything at their disposal to have it. He tried to remind them that they are public servants and their entitlements come from the people.

For Africa to develop and compete with other continents of the world, African leaders should change their views about politics. The leaders should see themselves as servants of the people who were elected to work for the people. The idea of staying in power for a long time and probably dying while in power should be discarded. Africans need political orientation and the politicians need to reposition African Continent politically to align with the political democratic principles which is a global blueprint. A typical instance of leadership glutton in Africa is Zimbabwe under President Robert Mugabe, who ruled for 37 years, and died few years later, after being deposed. The former President of Angola, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos exploited the country's constitution and spent 38 years as the Angola's President (Redverse).

President Paul Kigame of Rwanda was not an exception; he became the President of Rwanda since 24th March 2000 and has been in power till today, the same thing applies to President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, he has been the leader of Uganda since the collapse of Milton Obote regime in 1985, it invariably means that he has been ruling Uganda since 35 years without much human and infrastructural development. President Omar Al Bashir, who ruled

Sudan for 30 years, from 1989 to 2019, could not relinquish power when the Sudanese people protested for his constant abuse of human rights, intimidation, killings of political opponents, abuse of the democratic processes, and the general misrule of the economy.

President Muommar Gaddafi of Libya ruled his country for 42 years with draconian laws which he applied with stringent brutality, even when the foreign allied forces indicated interest to change leadership and advised him to step down and free his people, he refused and preferred to be a dead President than to be captured alive, President Omar Bongo, the former President of Gabon also ruled for 42 years, from 1967 to 2009, he would have remained the President of Gabon till date if he had been alive. The same fate befell President Gnassingbe Eyadema of Togo Republic, a small West African country. Eyadema ruled his country for 38 years, upon his death in 2005; his son was named the new President of Togo which position he still holds till date, thereby making the country's leadership a hereditary one.

The Egyptian Hosni Mubarak took over the leadership of Egypt in 1981 after the assassination of President Anwar Sadat. He ruled Egypt for 30 years in the midst of unemployment, torture of political opponents, imprisonments without court trials (bbc.com). According to the latest BBC News, President Mubarak during his reign usurped absolute powers and in a gradual form became so autocratic. He followed with keenness all the vices of totalitarian democracy thus he succeeded to hold the people sway for 30 years. He resigned as the President in 2011 when the citizens passed a vote of no confidence on him which sprang up protest and agitation that he should vacate the office.

Tunsia was no exception to this concept of totalitarian democracy, President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali adopted the tenets and ruled Tunisia for 23 years, and he was at first appointed by President Habib Bourguiba as the Prime Minister. According to the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, President Bourguiba established totalitarian democracy in Tunisia during his 30 years reign. Ben Ali's autocratic government suffered the same political turmoil that also ravaged other North African countries which was orchestrated by the citizens who suddenly woke up from slumber to challenge the constant abuse of human rights and the persistent slaughter of the innocent protesters by the government. President Ben Ali made several attempts to assure the citizens that he was regretting the death of the innocent protesters and he was going to carry series of reform in the governance to alleviate poverty that have stricken the people, and create employment opportunities to the citizens and vacates office in 2014 at the end of his tenure, but the people who were determined insisted that he should resign and vacate office by making the crisis more intense. He, therefore, bowed to the pressure in January 2011 and resigned and fled to Saudi Arabia.

President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo of Equatorial Guinea sees his country as his family's sole property, he took over from his uncle, President Francisco Macias Nguema in 1979 through the use of force and has been ruling the country since then (Sanches). In 2012, he made his son, Teodoro Nguema Mangue, from his first wife, the Vice President which institutionalized hereditary leadership in Equatorial Guinea. The country, though, very rich is autocratically governed by one family since its independence on the 12th October 1968. President Teodoro Obiang Nguema has, devoid of interruption, ruled Equatorial Guinea for 40 years without the country being developed in proportion to the level of her riches. He was the true picture of Machiavelli's "Prince" who ruled his principality with absolute power and

draconian laws. With the turn of events, Presdient Teodoro has made himself the life President of Equatorial Guinea as he has positioned his son to take over from him.

President Blaise Compaore who ruled Burkina Faso for 27 years, was also a typical example of African Totalitarian Democrat, he was said to be a trusted associate of Thomas Sankara, and he was also believed to be the mastermind of the coup in 1987 that resulted to the murder of Thomas Sankara the then leader of Burkina Faso (). Compaore severally manipulated the constitution of Burkina Faso through the assistant of the legislative and the judicial arms of the government to usurp absolute power. He became the Military leader in 1987 after the assassination of Thomas Sankara, and in 1991 he retired and contested the presidential election in the midst of controversy because the opposition parties boycotted the election on the allegation that the system by which he became president was unlawful. The Burkinabe constitution stipulates two tenure presidency of five years each. But President Compaore bent the laws and contested for five consecutive tenures. His refusal to relinquish power ignited political crisis in 2011, the period the Arab spring that rocked almost all the countries in North Africa, commenced. The heat relapsed through the assurances and reassurances by President Compaore that he was not going to participate in the next election. When in 2014, it became clear that he was warming up to contest, the crisis resurfaced and was more intense than that of 2011, he then resigned from office and fled from the country.

It is always survival of the fittest in Africa as no one who gets into power likes to relinquish it. It is obvious that all these rulers mentioned, who usurped absolute powers and subjected their citizens to hardship through misrule and misappropriations of the common wealth, did not stay in power all these years out of the People's volition, they used violence and the manipulation of the standing rules and the electoral system to remain in the office. They shutdown the mouths of the opponents with draconian laws, and made the more resistant ones to flee into exile.

Totalitarian democracy operates without the rule of law; legislative institutions and the judicial body were noticed merely at the surface level, but structurally, and by implementation, they were always compromised. These were seen as parts of the apparatus the tyrants used to prolong their stays in office. Sometimes one wonders whether it was only one arm of government which presidential system of government in Africa operates with; or maybe, the other two arms exist for the benefit of the executive arm and not for the masses. Majority of the political actors that aided tenure elongation and the evolution of totalitarian democracy in Africa oftentimes are abetted by the judiciary through arbitrary court orders and inchoate laws made by the legislators.

Recommendations
1. Those aspiring for leadership positions in Africa should eschew any form of greed and corruption.
2. Leadership is a serious enterprise, therefore, only credible and competent individuals should be allowed to lead.
3. Democratic tenets and values should be explored to its fullest in order to gain from democratic dividends.

4. Strong institutions should be put in place to ensure that democratic ethos are upheld by both the leaders and citizens alike.

Evaluation and Conclusion

Based on the foregoing, it is substantially evident that totalitarian democracy has negatively affected virtually all aspects of governance and development in Africa. Given the plethora of corruption witnessed on daily basis in most African countries, it is obvious that the political leaders have always perfected plans to perpetuate themselves or cronies in office, ostensibly to cover their atrocities. As a result, the citizens are at the receiving end because nothing seems to be working.

Most countries that were former third world countries and got independence from their colonial masters at almost the same time with most African countries; even with limited natural resources are doing excellently well in infrastructural development and human development indices. These are possible because their leaders are not connected with narratives of corruption, maladministration, nepotism, mismanagement, policy somersaults and gross abuse of power. Democracy remains the easiest and shortest route to meaningful development because it involves the collective participation of all the citizens.

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Nnamdi Azikism's Neo Welfarism and the Quest for Method in African Philosophy

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Abstract

The need to demarcate African philosophy from other philosophies compounded the problem of methodology in African philosophy. This quest for demarcation between what should count as African philosophy or not African philosophy inevitably led to the disagreement on the question of method in African philosophy. Most African philosophers wrestled with the ethnological pretensions of Africa philosophy in the hands of the pioneers of African philosophy such as Fr. Tempels. They either defended or rejected ethno-philosophy with the aim of projecting a method for African philosophers. This brings into question whether there is a distinct way of philosophizing in Africa. This has led to the several methods in African philosophy: conversationalism, consolationism, hermeneutics to mention but a few. This work examines Nnamdi Azikiwe's neo-welfarism as a way of resolving the problem of method in African philosophy. While adopting the method of critical analysis this work argues that the multiplicity of methods in African philosophy should not be seen from its negative sense. Rather, African philosophers could apply any philosophical method(s) in doing African philosophy. It is the systematic reflection on African existential issues that makes a piece of work African philosophy and not the method applied.

Keywords: Neo-welfarism, African philosophy, method, ethno-philosophy

Introduction

One of the current yearnings of Africans especially Nigerians borders on how to ensure their daily needs are met. To be sure, people all over the world want good roads, stable electricity, education, functional health care and more importantly food and shelter. Although these needs can be achieved through several means, most people expect the government to provide these basic amenities. When government fails to provide these basic amenities, it is seemed to be perverted and revolution is bound to happen. The need for a political ideology in Africa which is African, of African origin and that will be domesticated in Africa by recognizing the uniqueness, peculiarities and methods of African philosophy is hinged on the struggle and perception of the activities of the Whiteman in Africa and the activities of the forerunners of African philosophy upon whom the contours of African philosophy is drawn.

Most African scholars are quick to argue that the underdevelopment that bedeviled Africa up till this day is as a result of the coming of the Whiteman to Africa and the inability of African philosophy to meet with the existential realities of African society as a result of philosophical universalism instead of African philosophy to adopt a method which is uniquely African. This brings into question, whether the Whiteman did not colonize China, India and other nations of the world who have since kick started the engine of development and growth in terms of the present GDP indices of their countries. How come it is only Africa that still blames the Whiteman for its underdevelopment, lack of progress, shackles of poverty and lack of political foresightedness after about seventy years of self-determination or independence¿ What of the case of Ethiopians that fought the Germans to a standstill and rejected colonization¿

The struggle for political freedom, separation, independence or "taking our destinies into our own hands" as Nkrumah puts it, clouded the views of most African leaders on the need to project and propose a political ideology for Africa after independence. To be sure, immediately the Whiteman was overthrown and evicted from their tents in Africa, there were conferences, symposiums and colloquiums in Dakar, Addis Ababa, and Martinique etc. which were aimed at determining the political ideology that the new Africa is to take. Young scholars who were trained in Western universities came bearing thoughts and ideas such as 'Consciencism, "*Ujamaa* Socialism," Zambia Humanism' etc.

Again, almost all writers agreed that there was something categorically wrong with capitalism and as such opted for socialism. This shows the influence of Marxist ideology trending at the time. Indeed, African political philosophy is a reactionary movement to the discourse and image of Africa posed by their erstwhile colonizers. Colonialism painted an image of Africa that is bad, dark, inferior and negative. This depiction of Africa which was justified both in anthropology, religion and philosophy pictured Africa as a continent without history. Levy Bruhl, Hegel, Immanuel Kant, David Hume and others jointly agreed that Africans were inferior beings before the Whiteman. Hegelian thesis even went further to deny Africa of humanity, civilization and creativity. Thus, African thinkers were left to wrestle with issues of decolonization, psychological trauma, identity crisis, personality question, poverty and developmental agenda.

It is the attempt to respond to this logocentric backward reading philosophy that prompted negritude both as a cultural philosophy and a political movement. The philosophical movement, negritude, was bound to happen, over the years Africans have been denied their identity, history and humanity, thus negritude was an attempt to liberate, emancipate and catapult the African being into the future without fear of inferiority and subjugation before the others. Its cultural current flew from Aime Cesaire's poem "The Return" and the political flavor

or undertone was espoused by Senghor. However, Senghor's assertion that "reason is Hellenic and Emotion is Africa" brings to question the genuineness of his quest and the extent to which he has been able to free himself from the apron strings of his teachers and breeders. His assertion is self-defeating and Jean Paul Sartre was quick to identify Senghor's negritude as antiracist racism. Perhaps, Wole Soyinka's diatribe that a tiger need not proof his *tigritude* shows that the reactionary extremes of Senghorian negritude is laughable and one cannot ignore the inherent "modus ponens logic" - If he criticizes racial difference then he believes in racial differences – he criticizes racial differences – then he believes in racial differences p) q; p therefore q. Senghor and his disciples believe that black is beautiful, African is the origin of Western history, Africans are superhuman. These views are extremists in orientation. Negritude's position should have read, in response to black is ugly, that it depends. And that Africa also has history (instead of Africa is the originator of Western history) as espoused by Cheik Anta Diop. His assertion that "reason is Hellenic and Emotion is Africa" brings to question the genuineness of his quest and the extent to which he has been able to free himself from the apron strings of his teachers and breeders. His assertion is self-defeating and Jean Paul Sartre was quick to identify Senghor's negritude as antiracist racism. Perhaps, Wole Soyinka's diatribe that a tiger need not proof his *tigritude* shows that the reactionary extremes of Senghorian negritude is laughable and one cannot ignore the inherent "modus ponens logic" - If he criticizes racial difference then he believes in racial differences – he criticizes racial differences – then he believes in racial differences p) q; p therefore q. Senghor and his disciples believe that black is beautiful, African is the origin of Western history, Africans are superhuman. These views are extremists in orientation. Negritude's position should have read, in response to black is ugly, that it depends. And that Africa also has history (instead of Africa is the originator of Western history) as espoused by Cheik Anta Diop.

There are also those who believe that reaction to the Western discourse onAfrica need not be so subtle, they argued that violence is an affirmation of one's freedom and a route out of the inferiority complex posed by the Whiteman. Frantz Fanon's surrealism and suggestion of violence being a cleansing force which will free Africans from inactiveness and restore self-respect is also dead on arrival given that Fanon's analysis and prophetic vision of the African psyche fails to accept that when it comes to brutal strength and technological advancement in terms of war arsenals, the Whiteman has the lion's share.

Another reaction to the derogatory image on Africa took the form of resistance movement such as intellectual discourse (The Pilot Newspaper); guerilla warfare (Mau-Mau uprising) and despites these resistance at different fronts (especially the Tanzanian resistance of the Germans), the Whiteman through warfare, invasion and armed with science and technology raped Africa of her resources. However, when independence kicked us in the face symposiums and conferences were organize to discuss the way forward for Africa. In one of such conferences in Kampala,in 1962, Nyerere searched for a name for African political system which will be radically demarcated from the Western political discourse. His coinage of *Ujamaa*socialism did not help so much. First, does prefixing socialism with *Ujamaa* make it African̦ Socialism is socialism and it is a Western political arrangement. Socialism whether in 'ujamaa' attire or in the Marxist sense of it brings about classification of people. But little wonder that Nyerere argued that class system is alien to the African. Perhaps class system existed in Africa prior to western invasion and occupation of Africa.

Indeed, there are other notable political philosophers in Africa such as Jomo Kenyentta, Kenneth Kaunda, Kwame Nkrumah etc. The ideas of and life of Kwame Nkrumahfor example, demonstrates the focused of African political philosophers of his time.For him, the key word is revolution and this again he got from his reading of the history of philosophy in general and Marxism in particular. He rejected capitalism as a colonial tool and proposed *Consciencism*as a philosophical statement which recognizes and marries the three segments of Africa after independence. Nkrumah's position has been criticized by Chuba Okadigbo for its atheistic tendencies since it is anchored on materialism. It has also been rejected as a copy-cat philosophy since he tilted towards the Eastern bloc. More embarrassing was his attempt to erect his political ideology on still debatable metaphysical theories of materialism and idealism.

Nnamdi Azikiwe's political ideology should be understood within the context of Nkrumah's *Conciencism,*this is so because, while Nkrumah attempted to reconcile the three vexing segments in African society such as the Judeo Christian influence, the Islamic invasion and African traditional values, Azikiwe attempts to blend the core values of these elements into what he called Neo-Welfarism. What then is neo-Welfarism and how does it serve as an authentic method of doing African philosophyị First what is a methodị Any attempt at problematizing the issue of method in philosophy brings to question whether there is only one authentic way of doing philosophy in general and African philosophy in particular.

The Question of Method in African philosophy

According to Bruce Janz, a method is a way of reasoning and aiming at truth.In the case of African philosophy, it should be understood within the backdrop of reasons inability to exercise itself as a result of external influence. (Janz, 2018:1) The issue, as he correctly pointed out, started with the assumption that African philosophy has to demonstrate that it is truly African and truly philosophical and as such a unique method is imperative. Ngugi wa Thiango' sees the import of a method in African philosophy as a process of clearly colonial structures, "decolonizing the mind" as he puts it, so that a truly African philosophy can commence. (Janz, 2018:2).

Another sense of method was given by Simon Mathias Makwinja. He surveys some prominent anthologies and works in African philosophy and found most of them wanting. He opined that African philosophy must "give directions to specific substantive provisions" something which he thinks has rarely been done. (Makwinja, 2018:93). For Lucky Uchenna Ogbonnaya the question about method can be tackled within the discourse of Jonathan Chimakonam's quest for "logic criterion" in African philosophy. Ogbonnaya wrestled with the weighty issue of logic and ontology, which is priorị He attempted to demarcate between what he called African philosophy, false philosophy and pseudo philosophy. African philosophy, for him should be built on African ontology and not the reductionist or Absolutist ontology of the West. Method, for him, is the determination of what counts as African philosophy, not the way of doing African philosophy. Method becomes in the hands of Ogbonaya, both a process of demarcation and a way of establishing identity. It's the order of priority for thinking in African philosophy. He argues against Chimakonam's idea that logic must come first and in so doing maintains that there is a cultural basis for thoughts. (Ogbonnaya,2018:113)

Jonathan Chimakonam on his part takes on philosophical universalism by advocating conversational philosophy. Conversationalism as a method has its root in, among other places, phenomenological and hermeneutical method. For, philosophical universalism has held African philosophy back by always implicitly or explicitly requiring that it looked to European

models of thoughts. Particularism is not even a viable option since it has its own set of problems. The only viable option is conversational philosophy. He conceived conversation as a quasi-dialectic process which includes both thesis and antithesis as part of its movement. The thinking that these afford is rooted in revisions of questions and answers, as each is exposed to new conditions and new information. The tenets of conversationalism include:

1. Re- Tracement (a move away from attempting to represent collective African thoughts and towards asking new questions that can open up new vistas of thought)
2. Re- Engagement (finding new forms of encounter with otherness)
3. Re- leasement (allowing reason to find its many voices)
4. Unfoldment (the result of the previous three, a move towards the new rather than simply reaffirming what we already believed
5. Coverance (attending to areas that have not received sufficient attention in African philosophy)

Jaz succinctly captures the discourse when he said the problem of methods in African philosophy as we have been discussing is a way of clearing impediment to understanding and those impediments are largely understood in terms of past regimes and earlier practices within African philosophy. It is also a project of demarcation and identity. Another side of the debate is the work of Ada Agada, *Consolationalism and comparative philosophy: Beyond Universalism and Particularism*. In this work and other works, Agada attempted a defense of the whipping boy, ethno-philosophy. For him, ethno-philosophy is "one true particularist perspective which very early described the trajectory of African philosophy"(Agada) Agada favoured the particularist position despite the objection leveled against it by universalists such as Paulin Hountondji, Marcien Towa, Peter Bodurin, Bernard Matolino, Theophilus Okere, and others. Ethno-philosophy was found wanting in analytic rigor given that it was a collective philosophy which assumes some level of unanimity by the universalist. In response to these criticisms Agada avers that the radical critique of ethno-philosophy is a result of what he described as "impatience with the slow evolution of African philosophy." (Agada, 2022; He introduced consolationism as system-building project of African philosophy and as a pathway to transcending the universalism and particularism conundrum.

Obi Oguejiofor on his part examines Theophilus Okere's ethnological method of African philosophy which according to him, is tasked with studying the philosophy of so-called primitive, archaic or traditional people. Oguejiofor sees the objections Hountondji leveled on ethno-philosophy in *African Philosophy: Myth and Reality* as cogent because for him African philosophy is not to be exhumed from the debris of the past traditions but belongs to the future just like African science(Oguejiofor, 2005:70).He argues in support of Okere's hermeneutical method in African philosophy and even attempted to defend negritude from the charges of ethno-philosophy. Oguejiofor argues against that Marcien Towa's proposition that philosophy is not given in all culture as in the case of Judaism and Islamic cultures which are anti-philosophical. Towa argues that Ethno-philosophy is guilty of what he called methodological confusion. It begins by asserting the existence of traditional African philosophy, but then goes on from there to engage in defending African philosophy that it has succeeded in exhuming. A turn that Towa considered to be philosophically unorthodox.

Towa's problem with Ethno-philosophy is that it fails to follow a proper philosophical method. Philosophy for him begins with the decision to submit all cultural and philosophical heritage to implacable criticism. Peter Bodunrin on his part, argues that genuine philosophy must be clearly stated and clearly and consciously argued. Ethno philosophy fails on all three

counts and that is largely due to its inventors. It's in the works of anthropologists, Sociologists, ethnologists and philosophers who present the collective worldview of African people their myths and folklores and folk- wisdom as philosophy. It must be stated at this juncture that Ethno-philosophy has been seen from the lenses of its opponent (Oguejiofor, 2005:72). In fact the authors of the texts in African philosophy must be an African and must categorically state that their works are philosophical(Hountondji, 2022:27-33).

Joseph Omoregbe's view is distinctive because it evolves in three stages. The state of wonder, that is attendant on man's contact with this world, the stage of questioning that follows the initial wonder and the stage of reflection on answers to question. It was in the light of this critic that Okere rooted for hermeneutic.Broadly speaking, hermeneutic means interpretation and it has a long History of philosophy. Using the works of Paul Ricoeur and M. Heidegger, Okere argues philosophy is the work of untainted or pure reason and it is not confined to any region or people. His work is an indictment of ethno-philosophy as well as an attempt to show the way that African philosophy popularly so-called must follow the path of hermeneutics of African culture. It's because the writers, he critics do not take proper account of the nature of philosophy that they erred in presenting as African philosophywhat for Okere is not philosophical at all. Philosophy may not have any definition that enjoys unanimity of agreement, nevertheless, for Okere it is a hard core of content which should not be neglected. It carves out its niche from such cultural phenomena as myth, religion, ideology, proverbs, poetry etc. The critique of Okere is first directed against Placid Temples *Bantu Philosophy*and its theory of vital force and little wonder that most critics overlook the context and circumstances which birthed *Bantu philosophy* in the first place.

Another sense of understanding the problem of method in African philosophy borders on the debate of the language question in African philosophy. Given the indeterminacy thesis of W.V.O Quine as espoused in his 1969 masterpiece *Word and Object* it became clear that our translations of African conceptual idioms from which most of what we call African philosophy is derived has been found wanting of meaning. This led to the attempt by scholars such as Kwasi Wiredu to mention one to opt for what he called conceptual decolonization as a pathway to authentic African philosophy. He provided us with a catalogue of some concepts which must be domesticated if we are to have what he called authentic African philosophy. This is to ensure that we do not superimpose western categories of meaning on Africans.

Thus, philosophers in Africa must interrogate the Western encrustation of these concepts before using them in Africa philosophy. This method of doing African philosophy will guarantee what he called "authentic African philosophy." Quine's work coupled with Wiredu's proposal suggests that there is need for linguistic turn in African philosophy, an African analytic philosophy. There are also scholars who are not too conversant with some of these methods or have some reservations about them. Hence, they opted for eclecticism, complimentarism etc. Given this discourse on method and the inability to come to consensus as to which method we are to employ in the discourse of African philosophy, let us examine Nnamdi Azikiwe's neo-welfarism as an authentic method in African philosophy.

What is Neo-Welfarism?

According to Kwame Nkrumah there are three classes of students who went to study abroad, the first class is those whose study alienated them from contact with their roots. These students became prone to accept some theory of universalism. The second class were those whose training was "obvious that the degree of national consciousness attained by him was not of such an order as to permit his full grasp of the laws of historical development or of the thorough-going nature of the struggle to be waged, if national independence was to be won." (Nkrumah, 1964: 3-4) The last class is the class of the free men who sought knowledge as an instrument of national emancipation and integrity. Nnamdi Azikiwe (1904-1996) was in this class. He had his early education in Nigeria before migrating to the United States.

There are basically two readings of Azikiwe, the earlier and the latter. The earlier or young reading of Azikiwe pictured him as a political activist, this left wing reading critically analyzes his days as a supporter of the separationist movement otherwise known as Biafra. He latter dissociated himself from this movement and canvassed for one Nigeria. He was a member of the now defunct Nigerian People's Party.

The latter reading of Azikiwe, the right wing movement holds at its core the theory of neo-welfarism. Neo-welfarism as a philosophical statement is an attempt to harvest the good elements of capitalism, socialism and welfarism. For Azikiwe, neither capitalism, nor socialism or welfarism has the sufficient ingredients to foster progress and development in Africa, since each of them addressed a minute aspect of human needs. (Ejiofor, 1989). Thus, if we are to have an authentic African political ideology we must keep an eye on African ontology with special interest on the holistic nature of man. None of these three political ideologies addressed the entire nature of man. This is to say that each of the doctrines is necessary, but not sufficient since each addressed a special aspect of human nature.

Welfarism addressed man's needs for basic amenities in the society but fails to see that man must work if his needs are to be met. The anti-property beliefs of the socialists set them at war with Azikiwe. While Capitalism on his part is alien to the African soil as it abhors African roots of brotherhood For Azikiwe, Africans have pragmatic political ideology even before the arrival of the Whiteman and this political ideology is not devoid of the tenets of 'capitalism', 'socialism' and 'welfarism.' Azikiwe posited that these three political ideologies are not entirely bad. What is needed according to him is for an eclectic-pragmatic harmonization of these systems by combining what he believes to be the good elements in each of them. (Azikiwe, 1980; Ejiofor 1989; Mbakwe 1989).

According to Godwin Okaneme, in his work titled Ideology for Nigeria: Socialism, Capitalism or Welfarismị Azikiwe was of the view that neither capitalism, socialism, nor welfarism can liberate Africa, from her present quagmire and that it is an undeniable fact that a suitable socio-political philosophy of a people must be strongly rooted in their culture. (Okaneme,119). Azikiwe believes that we should look at those good elements that will work with the African existential realities. The product of this blending, in the absence of any other name is what he suggested to be called 'neo-welfarism.' Azikiwe defines neo-welfarism as

an economic system which blends the essential elements of Capitalism, Socialism and Welfarism in a socio-economic matrix, influenced by indigenous Nigerian mores, to enable the state and the private sector to own and control the means of production, distribution and exchange, whilst simultaneously enabling the state to assume responsibility for the social services, in order to benefit the citizens according to their needs and officially specified minimum standard, without prejudice to participation in any aspect of the social services by voluntary agencies, (Azikiwe 1980: 4).

Nnamdi Azikiwe wanted a detribalized nation. Ikechukwu Anthony Kanu succinctly captures the foundational structure and pillars which Azikiwe builds as neo-welfarism, they includes i. Spiritual Balance ii. Social Regeneration iii. Economic determinism iv. Mental Emancipation and v. Political Resurgence (Kanu, 2010: 178-189)

In the above discussions, one can see that Azikiwe's method in neo-welfarism is similar to Kwame Nkrumah's method in *Consciencism* given that they both are electic and pragmatic in nature. They both attempted to blend the good elements of previous doctrines. We can even argue that Nkrumah's Judeo-Christian infusion into Africa is capitalism, the Islamic invasion of Africa is socialism and African traditional values are purely welfaristic in nature. Hence both scholars attempted to blend the good elements of these three segments in the society after independence. Then again, just as *Consciencism* is charged with atheism and other objections, Neo-welfarism is not without its critique. Some of the objections leveled against it include that although it is an all-encompassing eclectic doctrine which aims at achieving good practical end, he did not spell out the good elements in the various doctrines which we are not blend. Okaneme argues that Azikiwe failed to make a distinction between mixed economy and neo-welfarism.

Neo-Welfarism as Authentic method in African philosophy

Is Azikiwe's theory of neo-welfarism an authentic method of doing African philosophyị Azikiwe's method of discourse, according to Polycarp Ikuenobe, Azikiwe's involves mental emancipation in re-educating Africans to adopt scientific, critical, analytic, and logical modes of thinking. He noted that

Azikiwe argues that development must involve changing African's intellectual attitudes and educational system… Western education, through perpetuating negative stereotypes and engendering 'colonial mentality' has neither fostered critical and scientific thinking, nor enabled Africans to develop self-confidence, and the critical examination of superstitious belief that have hindered Africa's development(Ikuenobe, 2018:50).

Polycarp Ikuenobe's aim is to show that Azikiwe's ideas have been recaptured by African philosophers like Bodurin and Wiredu, regarding their critique of aspects of African tradition and prescription for how African philosophy can contribute to development. This is to say that Bodurin and Wiredu approach existential issues in African via the lenses of Azikiwe. To be sure,

the salient method of Azikiwe's neo-welfarism include inter alia analysis, pragmatism, eclecticism and hermeneutics. Azikiwe tried to understand and resolve the problems of leadership, tribalism and underdevelopment in African through a careful analysis of the African psyche. He critically analyzes the existential realities in Nigeria and argues that detribalization is the first step to progress and development.

Then again, how did Azikiwe arrive at neo-welfarism as a political theoryị Azikiwe attempted to blend the good elements of socialism, capitalism and welfarism and this process is the cardinal aim of eclecticism – a process which requires bringing diverse ideas together. This method of doing philosophy has roots and branches in consolationism and conversationalism. Finally, it should be said here that Azikiwe was a pragmatist to the extent that he opted for a philosophy which is applicable and workable in an African soil. The principle of workability of neo-welfarism is seen in mixed economy which Nigeria is operating today. Azikiwe believe that socialism, capitalism and welfarism with their objections cannot resolve the problem of political ideology in Africa. It is only a blend of the good elements in three doctrines that will usher in progress and development in Nigeria in particular and Africa at large.

Conclusion

There is no one method in philosophy. In Western philosophy alone, the methods ranges from critical analysis, phenomenology, hermeneutics, etc. and the method employed in carrying out a research does not necessarily provide a continental demarcation, although it might to some extent allude to a boundary of disciplines. For example, the method employed in philosophical research might be applicable in the engineering faculty. There is no continental philosophy that has a single method. In the West the multitude of methods has provided the researchers with diverse opportunities and options to proceed on their research. Hence, there is no need for African philosophy to have just one method. All the methods suggested are valid as long as they have something reasonable to offer. The superfluous demarcation between what should count as African philosophy and non-African philosophy on the one hand and the insurmountable quest of identity is a pointer or reason for the search for a single method in the discourse of African philosophy. In as much as an author uses a method in philosophy in understanding the African predicament and existential reality, it is philosophical and African philosophy. The author needs not be African. Thus, on this definition, the works of Tempels and others qualifies to be African philosophy and to be discussed in African philosophy classes and lectures. However, the worth, accurateness and validity of his claims are subject to debate.

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Cosmopolitanism and Statism in Global Justice

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Abstract

There remains a high interest in the clamour for global justice as a result of the sharp contrast between the well-off and the badly worse-off of the world. According to World Bank, there is high level of inequality in the world such that several people across the length and breadth of the world are reduced to perpetual extreme poverty with enormous consequences such as lack of basic human necessities that manifests in low life expectancy, social exclusion, poor health, illiteracy, and avoidable reliance on others. This is notwithstanding the soaring increment in global average income. It is against this backdrop that different global justice theorists in a bid to proffer solution to these humanitarian crises argue if justice is possible on the global stage or not. The cosmopolitan proponents argue that justice is possible on the global stage because of the global interdependence and connectedness through technology while those in the statist camp disagree that justice is only possible within a state because political legitimacy is domiciled within a state. Hence, the aim of this paper is to explore the views of both the cosmopolitans and statists on global justice with particular focus on Thomas Nagel and Charlse Beitz, on expanding the frontiers of global justice. The paper employing analytic and evaluative methods of philosophy argues that the issue of justice has gone beyond the outdated statist conception of justice to the global arena and while there is need for reforms of international organizations like IMF, World Bank, World Trade Organization.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism, Statism, Global, Justice, Reform.

Introduction

Questions of **distributive justice** are questions about how we should distribute the benefits and burdens of social co-operation across society. Some theorists such as John Rawls, believe that currently, the poor have more than their fair share of the burdens whilst the rich have the lion's share of the benefits Roberts and Sutch 181. Other theorists such as Robert Nozick claim that there is nothing necessarily unjust about poverty whilst redistribution to combat that poverty would place illegitimate burdens on the wealthy. These questions are important political questions rather than just economic ones for two reasons. Firstly, they are political because the distribution of resources concerns the state. Not only is the state often the agent that distributes benefits and burdens in the form of education, health services, police, courts and taxation, but the property rights and entitlements this distribution creates are backed by the coercive power of the state. Anyone who claims that inequality in resources is justified is usually also claiming that the state should protect the unequal property rights through the police and judicial system. Anyone who claims that a redistribution of resources is necessary in the cause of equality is usually also claiming that the state should tailor its taxation and spending plans to achieve this. Secondly, this is not just a question of economics, because the impact of inequality can be devastating for people's lives. Poverty leads to immense suffering and the knowledge that society is standing by and letting one suffer may also encourage one to think of oneself as a second-classRoberts and Sutch 181. Hence, this paper takes a critical look at the varied arguments from both cosmopolitanism and statism in the global justice discourse.

Global Justice Cosmopolitanism and Statism

Global justice is a theory that deals with the concern of just distribution of burdens and benefits across the world with specific focus on the value of the individual as against the ethnic group, community and state, the institutions that are needed to make such just distribution possible. Global justice as a theory is founded on two principles liberty and equality. There are two major camps when discussing global justice cosmopolitanism and statism. It is under these two camps that different philosophers make their points as regards global justice. According to Sebastiano Maffettone, there are two perspectives on Global Justice: first, the grounds for determining justice or grounds of justice. This perspective focuses on the relational and the non-relational grounds of justice Maffettone 126-127. Second, these grounds for determining justice have to do with the limit or the scope of justice. There are two opposing notions in this regard: cosmopolitanism and statism Maffettone 126-127.

The relational perspective emphasizes on the vertical and horizontal relationship that citizens of one state or country share with themselves Maffettone 126. Maffettone puts it quite distinctly when he asserts that it is associative, it is a member-based approach Maffettone 127. Any subject or agent of justice that lives within such relationship, that is associated with that relationship, and that is connected to other subjects and agents in that relationship has obligations and rights within the limits or jurisdiction of that relationship. Accordingly, within the relationship, the subjects and agents who are connected have duties toward one another and right-claims against one another; but have neither duty toward nor right-claims against the *non-related. Contrariwise,* outside the relationship, the *non-related* have neither duties toward nor right-claims against the *related.*

The conception of justice in the non-relational perspective is not based on any form of relationship between the citizens of a country Maffettone 127. Any subject that is not linked to that relationship neither has obligation nor right *per se* within the limits or jurisdiction of that relationship. Furthermore, non-relational conception of justice is based on the human basic needs Maffettone 127. For Maffettone, the non-relational approach is cosmopolitan in nature while the relational approach can be statist and cosmopolitan.

Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism as one of the major camps in the global justice discourse can be historically traced back through scholars such as Kant, Grotius, the Roman philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius, Cicero and other Roman and Greek Stoics to the Greek thinker Diogenes of Sinope **Delahunty 12-08**. This clearly shows that it did not start in contemporary times. However, the present-day restoration of cosmopolitan thought resurfaces from and is entangled with the extensive cultural developments we consider under the heading of "post-modernism;" with the political swings that have taken place since the disintegration of bipolarity at the end of the Cold War (and, thereafter, of unipolarity after the Second Gulf War); and with the economic changes we call "globalization"**Delahunty 12-08**. The dominant influence of cosmopolitanism can be calculated by the extent of its grip on present-day transnational elites **Delahunty 12-08**. Having made this point on the history of cosmopolitanism, what then is the nature of cosmopolitanism̦

Contemporary cosmopolitanism has an ethical or individualist characteristic and an political or institutionalist feature Goldsmith **12-08**. On the first point, cosmopolitanism accentuates the moral concern of our duties to individuals as such over obligations of any other kinds, including any supposed duties we owe to the collectivities or groups to which we happen to belong Appiah **12-08**. For a cosmopolitan proponent who holds this view, "the ultimate units of concern are human beings, or persons – rather than, say, family lines, tribes, ethnic, cultural or religious communities, nations, or states"Pogge **12-08**. On the second point - institutional level, cosmopolitanism may present both a description of what it sees as current global trends and a range of remedies for dealing with those trends.

Maffettone accentuates the two forms of cosmopolitanism when he avers that, non-relational cosmopolitanism promotes the global moral obligations of the subjects and agents of justice while relational cosmopolitanism asserts that the challenge of inequality has to be properly solved from the level of the individual. This is based on the reasons that injustice has to do with the intricate relationships that exist between individual persons who are citizens of the world Maffettone 128.

Relational cosmopolitanism argues against statism by asserting that the domestic basic structure is akin to the global basic structure; their arguments is based on the institutional argument "that there is a network of global structures which are able to create obligations for people and that are not so different from the obligations whose nature we usually associate with the State"Maffettone 131. Contrariwise, relational statism does not express any optimism about global justice even though it gives a nod to the soundness of certain human rights and the credibility of humanitarian reasons to aid the extremely poor in the world Maffettone 129. According to relational statists, it is unacceptable to conceive of international relations as

having to do with the relationships that exist among individuals rather than states. This is hinged on the fact that states are the basic institutions of our world, hence we have to concentrate on the states in our discourse on justice and injustice in the world Maffettone 128.

On the grounds of justice, there also exists a dichotomy between legal and moral cosmopolitanism apart from the distinction made above on relational and non-relational cosmopolitanism. Legal cosmopolitanism argues based on "a concrete political ideal of a global order in which all persons have equivalent legal rights and duties, that is, are fellow citizens of a universal republic"Pogge 49. Moral cosmopolitanism contrariwise defends "that all persons stand in certain moral relations to one another; we are required to respect one another's status as ultimate units of moral concern"Pogge 49.

The strongest criticism made against legal cosmopolitanism is that it is committed to a universal republic – a world government which "would either be a global despotism or else would rule over a fragile empire torn by frequent civil strife as various regions and peoples tried to gain their political freedom and autonomy"Rawls 36. Based on this, legal cosmopolitanism is taken to be a view that is not realizable and intellectually indefensible. However, the conception of legal cosmopolitanism in international law and political science is not taken to be utopian based on the fact that it is not geared towards achieving a world government. There are two aspects of moral cosmopolitanism: interactional moral cosmopolitanism and institutional moral cosmopolitanism. Pogge postulates that institutional moral cosmopolitanism gives indirect responsibility for the fulfillment of human rights to institutional schemes while on the other hand, interactional moral cosmopolitanism gives "direct responsibility for the fulfillment of human rights to other individual or collective agents"Pogge 115.

In respect of interactional cosmopolitanism, those who owe others the duty to undertake obligations must first be human beings and have to be in a position to be able to do their duties. In this regard, "human right(s) …will be right(s) whose beneficiaries are all humans and whose obligors are all humans in a position to effect the right(s)" Luban 209. More so, in the structure interactional cosmopolitanism, "human rights impose constraints on conducts" however, in the structure of institutional cosmopolitanism, human rights "impose constraints upon shared practices"Pogge 50-51. Pogge asserts that institutional and interactional cosmopolitanism are not mutually exclusive notwithstanding the obvious difference between the two; this shows that the two can be combined.

This combination can be seen in Pogge's reference to the work on Rawls, even though Rawls is not a cosmopolitan. Beginning with what Pogge considers as institutional cosmopolitan arguments, Rawls argues that there is, "a natural duty to uphold and promote just institutions"Pogge 50. Subsequently, combining this with what Pogge considers interactional cosmopolitan argument, Rawls also argues that, there are different types of natural duties which are not dependent on shared institutions. These natural duties are as follows: the duty of mutual assistance, the duty of the avoidance of harm and brutality, the duty of the establishment of just institutions where they are lacking, and so on Pogge 50.

Statism

Statism is the second camp as regards the issue of global justice. Its arguments border on the fact that compatriots, family, friends owe obligations of justice to their fellow compatriots because they share similar political and constitutional membership. Egalitarian theorists argue that equality, issues of reciprocity, fair terms of cooperation and coercion oblige us to pay more attention to the interest of the compatriots Blake 257-296. One of the proponents of this view is John Rawls. John Rawls is considered under statism because of his obvious statist views:

Firstly, Rawls personally shows the difference between cosmopolitanism and statism in *The Law of Peoples* wherein he posits that cosmopolitanism fundamentally deals with individuals' well-being and how to make the lives of the worst-off individuals in the world better-off. However *The Law of Peoples* is not concerned with the justice and order of well-ordered peoples Rawls 120. To further show that Rawls' views are statist in nature Beitz on a second note, avers that, Rawls' *The Law of Peoples* is the most refined work on social liberalism in the global justice argument Beitz 669-696. Even though Beitz did not use the term statism, what he means by social liberalism is statism. From his definition of socialism liberalism is the same with statism. According to Beitz, social liberalism opines that the international system is made up of states; hence, international relations principles can only be applied to states. And international relations principles are only valid in connection with the interests of statesBeitz 678.

 Subsequently, Beitz holds that cosmopolitan liberalism is the most prominent alternative view to social liberalism. What he means by cosmopolitan liberalism is cosmopolitanism. In furtherance of that thought, Beitz asserts that cosmopolitan view is akin to social liberalism because it is logically consistent with a world that is made of states but it does not give states any moral right over individuals. More so, he claims that cosmopolitanism is not made up of peoples as Rawls would conceive it; instead it is made up of individuals Beitz 678. As a result of this, cosmopolitanism is of the view that international relations principles should only apply to individuals and be justified based on the interests of individuals Beitz 678.

Thirdly, Beitz notes that that Rawls' *The Law of Peoples* leans towards recognizing peoples as independent moral agents, while cosmopolitanism recognizes individuals only as moral agents and not the states. For Beitz, this a major point of difference between the two Beitz 678. Fourthly, Nagel asserts that, "If Rawls is right, perhaps there can be something that might be called justice or injustice in the relations between states, but it bears only a distant relation to the evaluation of societies themselves as just or unjust: for the most part, the idea of a just world for Rawls would have to be the idea of a world of internally just states"Nagel 115.

Fifthly, Nagel makes case for two forms of global justice: cosmopolitanism and political conception which means statism. "Unlike cosmopolitanism, the second conception...is exemplified by Rawls' view." In Rawls' view, the existence of sovereign states "is precisely what gives the value of justice its application, by putting the fellow citizens of a sovereign state into a relation that they do not have with the rest of humanity"Nagel 120. On this note, Nagel holds that this notion of global justice has the same stand with that of Hobbes who asserts that kind of justice can only be applied in a state, since justice does not exist outside the state Nagel 121-122.

According to Beitz and Pogge, just as the state is a medium for social cooperation that is how the international system is a medium for social cooperation because of how far the world has gone globalized and interconnectivity has increased astronomically. In other words, the

basic structure that exists in the domestic stage does exist on the global stage. On this note, the way the domestic basic structure aids protection of the rights of individuals at the domestic level that is how the global basic structure makes sure the rights of individuals are globally respected.

Based on the explanations above, it is apt to assert that Beitz and Pogge in their cosmopolitan views conceive the whole world as a global basic structure. Pogge supports this view when he notes that, all cosmopolitan positions share similar attributes: individualism, universality and generality Pogge 114. Individualism holds that "the ultimate units of concern are *human beings* or *persons*"Pogge 114. Universality asserts that "the status of ultimate unit of concern attaches to *every* living human being *equally*"Pogge 114. Lastly, Pogge notes that generality is simply the idea that everyone is an ultimate unit of concern for everyone Pogge 114.

However, Nagel as proponent of statism makes the case for two forms of global justice: cosmopolitanism and political conception which means statism. According Nagel, in Rawls' view, the existence of sovereign states "is precisely what gives the value of justice its application, by putting the fellow citizens of a sovereign state into a relation that they do not have with the rest of humanity"Nagel 120. On this note, Nagel notes that this notion of global justice has the same stand with that of Hobbes who asserts that such kind of justice can only be applied in a state, since justice does not exist outside the state Nagel 121-122.

Beitz on the other hand asserts that just as the state is a medium for social cooperation that is how the international system is a medium for social cooperation because of how far the world has gone globalized and interconnectivity has increased astronomically. In other words, the basic structure that exists in the domestic stage does exist on the global stage. On this note, the way the domestic basic structure aids protection of the rights of individuals at the domestic level is how the global basic structure makes sure that the rights of individuals are globally respected. Based on the explanations above, it is apt to assert that Beitz in his cosmopolitan view conceive the whole world as a global basic structure.

Nagel argues that the only thing that is possible on the global stage is acts of charity and not any act of obligation to ameliorate global poverty. Nagel accentuates the fact that the well-off have no obligation to give aid to the worse-off or that the worse-off have any right to be aided by the well-off. Nonetheless, Beitz avers that distribution of wealth is a duty and obligation that the well-off owe the worse-off of our world. In this regard, he proposes international distribution principle which he derives from Rawls' difference principle. Based on that, he advocates for distribution of proceeds and wealth from natural resources to help the situation of the world disadvantaged. He added that, in case when states do not have their deserved allocation of the advantages of natural resources they can result to war in order to achieve their goals. Such a war according to Beitz is not unjust.

Positive Lessons from Thomas Nagel's and Charles Beitz's Views on Global Justice

Nagel and Beitz argue for a form of moral cosmopolitanism, suggesting that individuals have moral obligations that extend beyond their immediate communities or nations. This view promotes a sense of global responsibility and solidarity, which can be seen as a positive step toward addressing global injustices. Nagel and Beitz acknowledges the increasing

interconnectedness of the world due to globalization. This recognition highlights the importance of addressing global issues collectively and underscores the need for ethical considerations in global decision-making. Nagel's skepticism of parochialism, or excessive attachment to one's own group or nation, can be seen as a positive standpoint. It promotes individuals and societies to critically examine their biases and consider the interests and rights of people worldwide.

Nagel's and Beitz's theories of global Justice have deepened the level of awareness of so many people globally about the seriousness of global poverty. Beitz on his own part brought about a new dimension to the concept of global justice. He took it from the point of statist level which John Rawls left it to global dimension. Beitz emphasizes on negative right and duty while Nagel highlights more of positive duty.

Criticisms on Thomas Nagel's and Charles Beitz's Views on Global Justice

In the work of Beitz, he overrated the uneven distribution of natural resources as the cause of global poverty Sonderholm 366–391. In fact; he paid too much attention to the global causes of poverty thereby neglecting the causal roles played by the worse-off countries and their citizens. There is the challenge of resource curse the state of affair whereby states which are rich or endowed with abundant natural resources are poor and their poverty state is directly or indirectly connected to their wealth in natural resources and extreme corruption that have resulted in extreme underdevelopment in Nigeria. As for Beitz's proposal of resource distribution principle which he suggests should be based on population size seems to be a very weak and inefficient suggestions since that would be subject to abuse in different ways. He understands it in this same way by admitting that it will be a complicated challenge to use population size as basis for the distribution of resources.

Nagel's views are too narrow and fail to adequately address the complexities of global justice. His overemphasis on individual moral responsibilities and without taking into consideration structural and systemic issues that contribute to global injustice are serious weaknesses in his global justice views. Nagel's global justice view lacks a comprehensive theory of justice that can guide decision-making on global issues. His approach lacks a plain set of principles or guidelines for determining what is just or unjust in a global context. Nagel's views are sometimes faulted for not adequately addressing economic inequality on a global scale. Nagel's does not provide a robust framework for addressing the immense disparities in wealth and resources among nations. Also, Nagel's approach does not sufficiently account for the cultural, historical, and contextual factors that shape global injustices. To a great extent, his point of view is excessively abstract and lacks a detailed understanding of real-world global issues. More often than not, Nagel's work is more focused on pointing out philosophical problems related to global justice rather than providing practical solutions or policy proposals.

Nagel proposes charity as the way to deal with global poverty, unfortunately this proposal has serious challenges first, charity may benefit the state rather than the needy. Neil Levy has argued that charity can be self-defeating if it allows the state to escape some of its responsibilities. Large-scale philanthropy to support 'essential services' is wrong: Charity to support essential services is bad because it switches provision from government to charity, rather than increasing benefits to the needy. ...large-scale philanthropic activity carries with it

serious risks of changing the balance of funding from the public to the private sector, thereby exposing those most in need to the vicissitudes of the market. To the extent that private funding of essential services becomes the norm, the vulnerable become the recipients of (at best) uncertain aid, which is liable to fluctuations and constant reduction. Second, charity may or may not become a substitute for real justice. The idea is that charity is wrong when it's used to patch up the effects of the fundamental injustices that are built into the structure and values of a society. Charity, from this viewpoint, can sometimes be seen as actually accepting the injustice itself, while trying to mitigate the consequences of the injustice. Reinhold Niebuhr held that philanthropy combines genuine pity with the display of power and that the latter element explains why the powerful are more inclined to be generous than to grant social justice. Niebuhr thought that a powerful person's donation to charity was a display of his power and an expression of his pity. And Niebuhr added that, his generous impulse freezes within him if his power is challenged or his generosities are accepted without suitable humility Bbc– Ethics - Charity Arguments against charity. Furthermore, governments and some charity organizations sometimes attach conditions to gifts of aid.

It is necessary to note that Nagel's and Beitz's proposals acts of charity or assistance to the worse-off and Resource Distribution Principle (RDP) which advocates for resource disbursement to the global poor cannot solve the intractable problem of extreme global poverty in the world because they both run contrary to the theory of productive justice which holds that resources to be distributed to the global poor should first be produced by everyone in order to ensure equity and fairness amongst all instead of violating the rights of entitlement of those who have produced the available resources. What then is the way-forward that will encourage production and ensure that distribution of burdens and benefits are is justly done Before addressing the way-forward, the question of the impossibility of justice outside the state as claimed by the statists is an outdated argument because of the level of interconnectedness and interrelation that have been made possible through technology. The world is now a global village; also, there are now several international organizations like International Monetary Fund IMF, World Trade Organization WTO, and so on gradually carrying out the activities of sovereign states on the global stage.

Institutional Reforms as a Way Forward

The need for institutional reform is based on the fact that global institutions like IMF, World Bank, WTO were organized to favour the domestic interests of rich and powerful nations. Furthermore, the international actors multinational corporations, international agencies, regional organizations, and NGOs, practices and rules have great impacts on the internal workings of national or domestic societies and global markets. For instance, the resource privilege and borrowing privilege which the global institutional order grants corrupt leaders of developing countries have negative impacts on the development of such countriesPogge 20. This will help address partly the international causes of global extreme poverty while the second which is both political and economic in nature, is geared towards addressing certain domestic causes like corruption and poor economic planning that breed underdevelopment and extreme poverty.

Conclusion

It has been emphasized in this paper that there has been high level of clamour for global justice due to the sharp contrast between the well-off and the badly worse-off of the world who are reduced to perpetual extreme poverty with enormous consequences such as lack of basic human necessities that manifests in low life expectancy, social exclusion, poor health, illiteracy, and avoidable reliance on others. It is against this background that different global justice theorists in a bid to proffer solutions to these humanitarian crises argue if justice is possible on the global stage or not. The cosmopolitan proponents such as Beitz argue that justice is possible on the global stage because of the global interdependence and connectedness through technology while those in the statist camp disagree that justice is only possible within a state because political legitimacy is domiciled within a state. Consequently, it has been argued in this paper that the question of the impossibility of justice outside the state as claimed by the statists is an obsolete argument because of the level of interconnectedness and interrelation among states and individuals across the world that have been made possible through technology. The world is now a global village; also, there are now numerous international organizations like International Monetary Fund IMF, World Trade Organization WTO, and so on gradually carrying out the activities of sovereign states on the global stage. Furthermore, it has been argued in this paper that Nagel's and Beitz's proposals as proponents of statism and cosmopolitanism acts of charity or assistance to the worse-off and Resource Distribution Principle(RDP) which advocates for resource disbursement to the global poor cannot solve the obdurate problem of extreme global poverty in the world because it runs contrary to the theory of productive justice which holds that resources to be distributed to the global poor should first be produced by everyone in order to ensure equity and fairness amongst all instead of violating the rights of entitlement of those who have produced the available resources. Accordingly, there is need for global institutional reforms to reduce global extreme poverty.

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William David Ross on Prima Facie Duties: Implications for Business Ethics in Nigeria

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Abstract

This essay examines David William Ross's *Prima Facie* Duties and its implications to business ethics in Nigeria. In his ethical theories especially as it is formulated in *The Right and the Good and the Foundations of Ethics, Ross presents a blend of both deontological and teleological ethical theories. Ross argues that there are several prima facie duties that we can use to determine what, concretely, we ought to do. These duties according to him are binding and obligatory, other things being equal, that is, unless it is overridden by another duty or duties. Thus, Prima Facie duties directly guide us to choose our actual duty, what she should do here and now, in the particular case at hand.* These duties according to Ross are intuitively self-evident and context-sensitive. For him, it is the circumstance which decides the duties that are more or less incumbent on the actor. *In contrast to Kant deontological ethical theory, Ross argues that Prima Facie Duties are not absolute but conditional. However, he equally rejects the teleological ethical theory on the ground that the consequences of some acts are the only one remarkable criteria for evaluating the moral worth of the act. Through the method of critical and textual analysis, this essay attempts to apply the principles of Ross ethical theories to the business situations in Nigeria. These principles are considered by me to be the* most essential and concrete in addressing moral issues involving employees and employers and business conditions in Nigeria. This is because, business ethics has become a challenge for training and informing employees and employers to ensure that they make not only economical but also ethical decisions regarding their profits. The paper concludes that Ross' ethical theory will create a very positive impact when applied to the business world.

Keywords: Prima facie duties, Business Ethics, Deontological Ethics, Utilitarianism.

Introduction

The reason why human beings should act morally has remained a burning question in moral philosophy and in the studies of human affairs. Several attempts have been made by scholars to answer the question of the proper ethical standard to adopt at a particular situation of ethical dilemmas. The challenge of acting morally gets tougher in the business world where the goal is organizational success at all costs. Hence, it is the task of moral scholars to probe for thought and character-enriching theories and teachings which will serve as a guide to decision-making both in personal and organizational affairs.

The quest for an acceptable moral principles has been a long one dating back to the pre-Socratic philosophers. The Sophists were the first to probe into the issue of human morality. Protagoras for example proposed ethical subjectivism when he affirmed that "man is the measure of all things, of what is, that it is, what is not, that it is not" (Njoku, 12). Morality was seen as a matter of convention. This idea might have been influenced by awareness of cultural diversity acquired through the sophists' wide and varied travels. The sophist claims that what we call morality, justice, virtue, right, wrong, good, bad are just sets of human convention which varies from place to place and from individual to individual. For them, nothing is objectively right or wrong, good or bad and as such the society determines what should be the right ethical standard at every point in time.

Socrates challenged the subjective understanding of the concept of morality by the sophists. Socrates believes that the society cannot set the standard for morality. Morality according to him a subject of one's inner conscience which dictates to him what is right and wrong, and reason gives us the ability to distinguish right from wrong action. Socrates goes further to argue that happiness comes from acting in accordance with our conscience. To this end, Socrates argued that to know the good is to do it. In other words, knowledge is a virtue, while ignorance is a vice.

Aristotle emphasized the role of virtue in the in the attainment of the good life. According to Aristotle, every action tends towards an end, and this end to which it gravitates is its good, however, some goods are subordinate to other goods as a means to a higher, ultimate, final or over-all-good (Aristotle, 1985). The highest good and the end toward which all human activity is directed is happiness, which can be defined as continuous contemplation of eternal and universal truth. One attains happiness by a virtuous life and the development of reason and the faculty of theoretical wisdom. For this one requires sufficient external goods to ensure health, leisure, and the opportunity for virtuous action. Moral virtue is a relative mean between extremes of excess and deficiency, and in general the moral life is one of moderation in all things except virtue. Virtuous acts require conscious choice and moral purpose or motivation. Man has personal moral responsibility for his actions.

In his moral philosophy, Thomas Hobbes exalted the dominant role of emotion in moral decision making when he asserted:

> that which a man desire, they are also said to love; and to hate those things
> for which they have aversion.... But whatever is the object of any man's
> appetite or desire; that is it, which he calleth good: And for the object of his
> hate, and aversion, evil.... For these words of good, evil, and contemptible,

> are ever used with relation to the person that useth them: There being
> nothing simply and absolutely so…[all spellings and punctuation are
> same as in the original] (Hobbes, 119-120)

Hobbes' claim is in line with those of the Sophists who relegated morality to the background of individual preference with a total rejection of objective moral norms. Similarly, Bernard Mandeville argues that morality is a deliberate invention of man to cover their failings and pretend to act from the principle of social virtue. For Mandeville like Hobbes, the essence of morality is to render men useful to each other. David Hume is of the view that morality is a societal invention for its use, hence it is relative to each society. Hume (1978) went on to reject the place of reason in morality, and that we cannot have objective moral norms.

The teleological and deontological ethics are two opposing ethical theories that tries to determine the moral rightness or wrongness of an action. Teleological ethics is a theory according to which the rightness of an act is determined by its outcome or consequences. Thus, a teleologist would attempt to comprehend the purpose of something by examining its results. He will deem an act good if it produces good results and another action bad if it produces bad results. They accept utility as the basis for any moral action. Jeremy Bentham is often associated with the teleological ethical theory. On the principle of utility, Bentham argues:

> The principle of utility is a morally right principle of action for every
> situation which may also be described as the greatest happiness principle,
> in that it asserts that the only morally right and proper goal of an action is
> to achieve the greatest happiness of all individuals whose interest is
> affected by the actor (Bentham 1)

Deontology on the other hand is an approach to ethics that focuses on the rightness or wrongness of actions themselves, instead of examining its consequences or any other considerations. Thus, this is a non-consequential theory as the decision of whether an act is good or bad does not depend on its consequence. Here, action drives the moral decision. The most prominent deontologist is the German philosopher Immanuel Kant. The test he formulates to decide whether an act is intrinsically wrong is based on the intellectual requirement of logical consistency. Kant formulated an ultimate moral standard, he calls "the categorical imperative". According to Kant, only a categorical imperative can work as the ultimate principle of morality.

In contrast to the above two traditional normative theories, Ross charted a middle path between them and argues that the morality of an act does not have an *absolute foundation, nor does it depend on the consequences.* For him, it is the circumstance which decides the moral rightness or wrongness of an action. For him, it is the circumstance which decides the duties that are more or less incumbent on the actor. Ross is thus lead to claim that an act owes its positive or negative value to the nature of its motive, and not to its rightness or wrongness. Accordingly, whether an act is morally good or bad does not derive necessarily from its rightness or wrongness, without knowing the reason for doing it. The knowledge of agent's reasons becomes relevant for determining the morally goodness or badness of his act, given that the value of an act and the moral status of the motives are two different things. This essay

therefore sets out in this light to examine the various *prima facie* duties as demonstrated by Ross in an attempt to work out a viable moral principle for business conditions in Nigeria.

Ross' Rejection of Kant's Deontology and Jeremy Bentham's Ideal Utilitarianism

Several scholars have argued that Ross's ethical theories and particularly his theory of *prima facie* duties was heavily influenced by Aristotelian ethics. In fact, Ross's ethical theories echoes Aristotle's *phronesis*. Aristotle argues that the two conditions necessary for an action to be a moral good one is the motive and the role of practical reason. Ross interpreted Aristotle's motive of an act as it is contained in Aristotle's *Poetics* thus:

> Aristotle here lays his finger with precision on the distinction between the
> two elements involved in a completely good action – *(a)* that the thing done
> should be the right thing to do in the circumstances, and *(b)* that it should
> be done from a good motive. (Ross, 1995: 203-204).

By engaging in the Aristotelian assessment of the agent's motives, Ross revises the Kantian notion of duty which makes the sense of duty the (only) motive from which one ought to act, (one's duty is to act always from a *certain* motive, namely the sense of duty) and the utilitarian theory which erroneously "holds that the motive of any kind is included in the content of duty. (Ross, 2022, 5, 6). Ross is therefore led to the conclusion that an act owes its positive or negative value to the nature of its motive, and not to its rightness or wrongness. Secondly, Ross response to the Aristotle's role of' practical wisdom' is equally significant to his critique of both the deontological and teleological ethical theories. For Aristotle, the role of practical wisdom can make us able to grasp the details of particulars at a direct apprehension of it. And that this can be found in those who have had a certain experience of life even if they cannot formulate general principles is a testimony that good is a kind of 'common sensible'. This is why Cecilia Tohăneanu asserts that:

> For, according to Ross, while much of stringency belongs to the duties of
> "perfect obligation" (keeping promises, repaying debts and so on), the
> final decision on what ought to be done still rests for him, as for Aristotle,
> on direct apprehension or perception (114)

Ross' rejection of Kantian universalism and his conviction that it is the rightness of particular acts that is apprehended when people decide what to do and not the sense or content of duty as claim by both the deontologist and the teleologist places Ross against Kantian ethics and fits him properly as a moral intuitionist. Ross' intuitionism is in the rationalist, common Sense tradition. "Intuitionism is the epistemological view that some moral truths can be known without logical inference or systematic thought; such truths, it is argued, can be known *directly* either through a "moral sense" (the empiricist view) or by means of non-empirical a priori knowledge (the rationalist view) (David, nd)." Micheal Huemer uses the term in a fashion similar to Ross when he contended that, Reasoning "sometimes changes how things seem to us. But there is also a way things seem to us prior to reasoning; otherwise, reasoning could not get

started. The way things seem prior to reasoning we may call an 'initial appearance'. An initial, *intellectual* appearance is an 'intuition'" (Huemer, 2005, 102).

Kant characterized Intuition as perception not mediated by reason or logic. It is a way of knowing immediate perception rather than by an intervening process of reason, analysis, or logical consideration.

For Kant, any action that cannot be universalized as a moral code for action is always wrong. For instance, in Kantian ethics, lying is always wrong even if it was used to save a life (Kant, 1997). Ross rejects this way of thinking about moral principles. In line with common sense, Ross permits lying in certain situations (Ross. 2002, 25), for instance, when the *Prima Facie* duties of that circumstance permit us to lie, for example, a case in which one lies to prevent a murder by a would-be murderer inquiring about one's friend's whereabouts. This oversimplification of Kant's deontological ethics is due to his insistence that the rightness or wrongness of an individual act can be inferred with certainty from its falling or not falling under a rule capable of being universalized. Kant ignores the relevant factors of a circumstance which may make for an exception like in the murder example we pointed out above. Ross pointed out that in certain instances, it is the circumstance which determines the rightness of what we should do, that is, the context determines the *prima facie* duties which are more or less incumbent on the agent (Ross, 2002, 7).Kant's system is super-abstract, and absolutist in character to this end, Ross writes:

> The whole method of abstraction, if relied upon, when used alone, to answer the question 'What ought I to doį ', is a mistake. For the acts we have to choose between, say the telling of the truth or the saying of what is untrue, in some particular circumstances, or the keeping or the breaking of a promise, are completely individual acts, and their rightness or their wrongness will spring from their whole nature, and no element in their nature can safely be abstracted from. To abstract is to shut our eyes to the detail of the moral situation and to deprive ourselves of the data for a true judgment about it. . . . But then universalizability, as a shortcut to knowing what is right, has failed us. For it is just as hard to see whether a similar act by someone else, with all its concrete particularity, would be right, as it is to see whether our own proposed act would be right (Ross, 1951:33-34).

The main reason of his discontent with Kant's ethical theory is its notion of right acts as intrinsically valuable, which means that the value of acts is deducible from their being right or wrong. Hinting at this theory, Ross claims the following:

> […] In so far as a right act has value, its value is not intrinsic. […] if we contemplate a right act alone, it is seen to have no intrinsic *value*. […] Whatever intrinsic value, positive or negative, the action may have, it owes to the nature of its motive and not to the act's being right or wrong; (Ross, 132-133)

Accordingly, Kant would have wrongly reduced all valuable motives to a single one, namely, the good will. By doing so, his deontology would have simplified the moral life which, in Kant's view, would reside in a "contest between one element which alone has worth [i.e., the good will] and a multitude of others which have none." Furthermore, Ross is convinced that utilitarianism, in its turn, has also simplified the moral life by thinking of the benefactor-beneficiary relationship as the only morally significant. In so doing, the utilitarianists were misled in merely equating the positive or negative value of actions with their goodness or badness.

As the saying goes, you do not throw away the child along with the dirty water, Ross acknowledges that although the method of abstraction is a necessary part of the true method of judging right or wrong, however, it cannot be relied on as the only way(Ross, 1951). The true method, according to him, is a process of minute and careful analysis and "successive abstraction," and if at any level in the abstractive process "we come across a feature of the proposed act that is prima facie wrong, then Kant is right in holding that no gain to our own convenience will make the act right" (*Ross*, 1951:35). In the end, despite his criticisms and reservations concerning Kant's ethical system, Ross winds up with an endorsement of both Kant and his deontological theory:

> Kant's doctrine has both theoretical and practical value in insisting ruthlessly on the need for sensitivity to every questionable feature of a proposed action. It is his own moral sensitiveness, and his insistence on sensitiveness in others, that makes him, to my mind, the most truly moral of all moral philosophers. (*Ross*, 1951:35)

Consequently, Ross rejected the Ideal utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham and Thomas Moore. For the ideal utilitarian, an action is right if it produces more good than could have been produced by any other action open to the agent given the situation (Ross, 2002: §7). This kind of morality is consequentialist because it bases the rightness of an act on the consequence of such an act. While the ideal utilitarian's claim may not be entirely wrong, Ross (2002: §2) pointed out that, "As soon as a man does an action *because* he thinks he will promote his own interests thereby, he is acting not from a sense of its rightness but from self-interest." For Ross, our actions are made right or wrong based on their conformity to certain *prima Facie* duties, and not just the good which is consequent of our choosing to act in a certain way.

For Ross, Ideal utilitarianism is reductive and simplifies our relationship. It does not take into account the complicatedness of human relations and its attendant duties and obligations to one another. Utilitarianism holds that "in effect, the only morally significant relation which my neigbours stand to me is that of being possible beneficiaries by my action" (Ross, 2002: §7). This claim is counterintuitive. This is not the only significant relation which my neighbour stands to me, hence he asserted that they also:

> stand to me in the relation of promisee to promiser, of creditor to debtor, of wife to husband, of child to parent, of friend to friend, of fellow countryman to fellow countryman, and the like; and each of these

relationships is the foundation of a *prima facie* duty, which is more or less incumbent on me according to the circumstances of the case (Ross7).

Ross is also opposed to Ideal utilitarianism for its ignoring of the place of duties in human relations. For instance, when I break a promise, I feel justified if my doing so helped to prevent a disastrous outcome, or brings relief from distress say, for a victim of an auto crash. For the utilitarian, the reason for choosing the latter action instead of keeping a promise is because my act of preventing a disastrous outcome or relieving distress will bring about more good into existence. Ross contends that this claim of the utilitarian fails to do justice to the character of duty in human relations. On the contrary, the act of breaking a promise in order to prevent a disastrous outcome or relieve distress is justified on the ground of our *prima facie*duty of preventing disastrous outcome or relieving distress besides the duty of keeping/fulfilling a promise, and my actions to prevent disastrous outcome or relieving distress in the situation is more of a duty than the duty of keeping promise (Ross 5).

William David Ross on Prima Facie Duties

Even though Ross was quite critical of deontological and consequentialist ethical theories, his *prima facie* duties is in part a compromise between these traditional theories. In fact several author have argued that Ross' theory of *prima facie duties* might suggest that deontology and utilitarianism would likely be reconcilable. This is why Ross is sometimes considered to be a pluralist deontology. The fundamental concept of Ross's pluralist deontology is the distinction he made between "*prima facie* duty" or "conditional duty", and "duty proper", or "actual duty"; the latter is sometimes called "absolute duty" or even "duty *sans phrase*" (Ross 19, 20, 28). But what does Ross means by '*prima facie* duties. For Ross, this concept is misleading in the sense that people might think that there would be some duties which on further reflection might appear not to be real duties. But Ross considers this to be misleading as his conception does refer to duty in the objective sense of it. The second misconception stems from the fact that *prima facie* duty does not seem to be duty at all. This has led some scholars to call Ross *prima facie* duties 'principles' or 'rule'. Ross in fact argues that what he meant by duties are those features arising from the nature of a situation in virtue of which an act is one's duty, thus showing what should be done in that situation. In response to the two misconception of the concept of duty, Ross maintains:

> […] Strictly speaking, we want not a phrase in which duty is qualified by an adjective, but a separate noun. [In the second instance, Kant debunked the misconception thus]whereas what I am speaking of is an objective fact involved in the nature of the situation, or more strictly in an element of its nature, though not, as duty proper does, arising from its *whole* nature. (19)

A prima facie duty is a duty that is binding (obligatory) other things equal, that is, unless it is overridden or trumped by another duty or duties. Another way of putting it is that where there is a prima facie duty to do something, there is at least a fairly strong presumption in favour of doing it. Ned Markosian considers it as "an *overridablemoral reason*, either to perform an action

of a certain kind, or to refrain from performing any action of a certain kind (2). An example of a prima facie duty is the duty to keep promises. "Unless stronger moral considerations override, one ought to keep a promise made."

By contrast with prima facie duties, our *actual* or concrete *duty* is the duty we should perform in the particular situation of choice. Whatever one's actual duty is, one is morally bound to perform it. Prima facie duties relate to actual duties as reasons do to conclusions of reasoning. Ross stresses that a *prima facie* duty is entirely real and self-evident, though it is always contingent on circumstances and never absolute. Ross identifies seven distinct *prima facie* duties, namely:

1. Fidelity: We should strive to keep promises and be honest and truthful.
2. Reparation: We should make amends when we have wronged someone else.
3. Gratitude: We should be grateful to others when they perform actions that benefit us and we should try to return the favour.
4. Non-injury (or non-maleficence): We should refrain from harming others either physically or psychologically.
5. Beneficence: We should be kind to others and try to improve their health, wisdom, security, happiness, and well-being.
6. Self-improvement: We should strive to improve our health, wisdom, security, happiness, and well-being.
7. Justice: We should try to be fair and try to distribute benefits and burdens equably and evenly.(21-22)

Now, according to Ross, we regularly face conflicting *prima facie* duties. How should we approach a conflict of this sort¿ Ross claims that what we are about to do in such a case is to carefully reflect about the situation in order to decide which of these *prima facie* duties is more obligatory, i.e., the duty incumbent to us. Put it differently, we are recommended to balance the conflicting *prima facie* duties depending on their importance (stringency) in that specific situation, and to fulfill the duty that we think to be the most important (stringent) for us in those circumstances:

> When I am in a situation, as perhaps I always am, in which more than one of these *prima facie* duties is incumbent on me, what I have to do is to study the situation as fully as I can until I form the considered opinion (it is never more) that in the circumstances one of them is more incumbent than any other; then I am bound to think that to do this *prima facie* duty is my duty *sans phrase* in the situation. (Ross 24)

Suppose you observe an elderly neighbor collapse with what might be a heart attack. You are a block away from the nearest phone from which you could call for help. A child's bike is close at hand and no one but you and the collapsed elderly person is around. One or more duties seem to say "take the bike and go call for help," while others seems to say "taking the bike is wrong."

On the "don't take" side are justice and non-injury (it seems unjust to the owner of the bike and an injury to him or her). On the "take" side lies harm-prevention. It is widely known that people die from heart attacks that are not treated quickly. (Note that this seems to be a case of harm-prevention rather than beneficence in the strict sense.) The solution might be to recognize that in this circumstance, harm-prevention takes priority over what on the surface looks like injustice and injury. So the *actual duty* is probably to take the bike and get help. Besides, it should not be difficult to make up the temporary bike loss to its owner, that is, there might be an *actual duty* of reparation.

The point is that prima facie duties by themselves are often not enough to determine what we should do. We have to see which prima facie duties have priority in the situation we face, and which do not. It is evident that Ross is not attempting to list our moral obligations to each other, rather, he wants to systematize them. None of the *prima facie* duties is superior to the other. In fact, for him, the hierarchy of a *prima facie* duty is determined by context and circumstance, while individual cases should be treated accordingly. For instance, the promise to attend a birthday party doesn't carry the same moral weight as a duty to relieve accident victims from distress. Hence certain duties seem likely to take precedence over and tend to over-rule others.

The Implications of Ross' *Prima Facie* Duties to Business Ethics in Nigeria

Before we lunch ourselves into this discussion, it is important we access the merit of our discussion by defining the concepts under review. The first is ethics. Ethics is a branch of philosophy that studies values in the realm of human conduct. As a normative science of human conduct, ethics is concerned with the way things ought to be done. It deals with how human beings ought to behave in the society (Omoregbe). Business ethics on the other hand, is the study of business situations, activities, and decisions where issues of right and wrong are addressed. According to Rogene Buchholz, business ethics refers to right or wrong behaviour in business decisions. (173)The next question that calls to mind at this juncture is if there is any relationship between business and ethicsị The debate between business and ethics has long been a very protracted one. There are three schools of thought with regards to this relationship. The first is what is called the separatist view which argues that the only goal of business should be profit maximization; and that ethics and morality plays no part in business conduct. The second opposed view is the Unitarian school which argues that business and morality cannot be separated and business must play by the rules of morality and ethics of the community which guides the activities of the community. The third perspective is the integration school which sought to integrate ethical behaviour and business in a new era called Business Ethics. This View states that business is an economic entity and it has the right and the need to make profits, but, it must also discharge its obligations to the society where it exists and operates.The increasing need for business to operate according to some sets of codes and standards dates back to the 1970s (Asira & Ogar, 23) when corporations discovered some unethical behaviours and conducts among themselves. To cushion this effect, business corporations developed social responsibility programmes. The subject of business ethics primarily exists in order to provide us with some answers as to *why* certain decisions should be evaluated as ethical or unethical, or right or wrong. Business ethics helps to improve ethical decision making by providing

managers with the appropriate knowledge and tools that allow them to correctly identify, diagnose, analyze, and provide solutions to the ethical problems and dilemmas they are confronted with. It seeks 'to improve the human condition' by helping us to understand more about the causes and consequences of business malpractices that have the potential to inflict enormous harm on individuals, on communities and on the environment. Granted that the relationship between business and ethics is cordial, the question is, what are those principles or what Ross calls *prima facie duties* that are quite fundamental to the practice of business in Nigeriaị If we take a close look at Ross' *prima facie* duties, we will come to understand that they readily apply to business conditions in Nigeria. These principles are not going to be applied or discussed in no particular order.

One of the most fundamental *prima facie* duties of Ross is the duty of fidelity. Ross argues that all things being equal, one should as a matter of necessity be faithful to one's promise. This duty is similar and vary *adrem* to a very fundamental principles in business ethics called the principle of loyalty. If we stretch this principle further, we may find out that within the confines of loyalty is also gratitude, beneficence, non-maleficence, promise keeping and trust which are all of Ross' *prima facie* duties. Employee loyalty to the company is an important issue in the broad concept of business ethics. This is the loyalty or faithfulness (fidelity) of an employee towards the philosophy of the company where he works and towards their employer. However, and according to (**Burcea,** & **Croitoru,** *2014*), two problems easily come to mind when we talk about employee loyalty. The first one has to do with the ethical perspective of the duty which the employee owes to the one who pays him and the value of the company. This problem centres on the limits of this loyalty. The second problem deals with expectations from an employer who is considered extremist. This endorsement of a normative connection between duty and action is made explicit by Ross when he contended that:

> I suggest *'prima facie* duty' or 'conditional duty' as a brief way of referring to the characteristic (quite distinct from that of being a duty proper) that an act has, in virtue of being of a certain kind (e.g. the keeping of a promise), of being an act which would be a duty proper if it were not at the same time of another kind which is morally significant. (Ross, 2002: §8)

This suggests that *prima facie duty* is either necessary or sufficient or both necessary and sufficient for proper action. When a subject faces a decision on which action to execute, the choice is likely to depend on a certain relation - promisee to promiser, creditor to debtor, employee to employer -which they stand to one another, and the circumstance determines which *prima facie* duty which is more or less incumbent on the actor.Also, our justification of the choice of an agent's action in any given situation is often premised on the ground of the duty which common sense tells us is more incumbent at that particular time. For instance, an employee has a *prima facie* duty to protect the trade secret of his employer, however, if this employee discovers that the trade secret of the employee has been exposing the public to a health hazard with the ingredients of their product, then Ross tells us that the duties of beneficence - to do whatever we can to improve the condition of others, and the duties of non-maleficence - to avoid injury to other, are more incumbent on us hence, the employee has a

prima facie duty to expose the trade secret to the public. This attitude informs our censorship or approval of certain actions in a business environment. The circumstance of an agent may warrant action by, selecting the incumbent *prima facie* duty appropriate to the practical situation of the agent within a business environment. In evaluating such action, we find it plausible to call the action or how the agent should have acted appropriately, given the circumstance. To this end, we conclude that loyalty becomes essential in the business process and the employee must be loyal to the company, except for extreme situations, which are illegal or can be considered unethical.

Integrity is another very important element in business ethics. In business, honesty is considered an indispensable value hence, "there is a need for a type of business development that brings into picture the proactivity of the manager or employee, becoming a promoter of ethical values, not only a skillful character who manages to figure things out without being caught or without being accused of an illegal or immoral crime" (**Burcea,** and **Croitoru,** *142*). In this context, integrity reflects the individual's concern for moral value and honour. It is the opposite of hypocrisy. Hypocrisy represents a false attitude in interpersonal relations, the individual seeking to grab attention, favours, etc. (Enachescu 16). Integrity will therefore be associated with transparency and authenticity in the moral aspect of the individual. One may ask what motivates an individual in having integrity. Several opinions easily come to mind for instance, is it the danger of being punished when caught¡ Is it because the agent cares to protect his reputation¡ Or is it to save oneself from shame should the children and other relatives discover what he is involved in¡ (Kennedy, 72). To this, Ross will answer that we owe each other *prima facie* duties. Let us imagine a drug manufacturer, who goes about manufacturing substandard drugs which could cause harm or even cause death to patients. This manufacturer goes about to advertise how his/her drug is a big deal in the medical world, and how it is efficacious in treating a particular disease. Needless to say, this manufacturer does not have integrity, and he/she fails or chose to ignore that he/she has *prima facie* duties to the public. Morally significant *prima facie* duties prevent us from acting from an inclination to harm others. The duties which suffice here are; duties of fidelity—to keep promises, both explicit and implicit, and to tell the truth; the duties of justice—to ensure that goods are distributed according to people's merits; and duties of Non-maleficence—to avoid injury to others. When business owners understand that they stand in morally significant relation as employer to employee, as business owners to customers, as countrymen to countrymen, they will naturally act differently. These relations have *prima facie* duties expected from each party involved. Actions are right or wrong not because of their consequences but because of our duty or obligation. In line with this, Burcea and Croitoru argues thus:

> Moral integrity, as a fundamental value of business ethics, is not about external motivation like fear of punishment or tarnishing one's image in society and family. Integrity is an intrinsic value, a value that the individual does not develop because of an outer primitive element, but because of a culture of inner morality. It is something like "I do this because I cannot do otherwise", because it's all about a personal set of values, about education and accountability (142).

Consequently, a business environment is ethical when it strives to protect and promote the happiness, health and self-improvement of its workers. Some establishments are power drunk with making profit to the extent of neglecting the humanity inherent in the employees. Ross' *prima facie* duty of self-improvement warrants that we should strive to improve our health, wisdom, security, happiness, and well-being all things being equal. Justice demands that in a business environmental, employees be promoted and treated equally based on the merits of their claims.

Evaluation and Conclusion

William David Ross is considered by many to be one of the most important moral philosophers of the 20th century. Ross' theory of *prima facie* duties is viewed as a plausible version of Kant's deontology and ideal utilitarianism. Many scholars have argued that Ross pluralist deontology is an attempt to reconcile Kant's moral deontology and utilitarianism by overcoming their deficiencies. Ross rejects Kant's ethical theory for claiming that moral actions have fundamentally intrinsic values in themselves. On the other hand, he condemns ideal utilitarianism on the ground that they attempt to equate the positive and negative values of actions with their goodness or badness. This becomes an attempt to reconcile deontology and utilitarianism.

Ross might be somewhat right for advocating ethical pluralism on the condition that morality is not just about one single fact but a plurality of facts. Ross is thus said to have excelled in his moral principle by providing us with the method of how to approach conflicting duties in real life situations. According to Ishtiyaque Haji "the Rossian strategy of approaching to conflicting duties has the merit to be closer to, and reflect more adequately, the moral intuitions, or people's judgments when facing a nflict between their obligations."(14). According to Ross, we can suppose that the moral worth of an act is depending on the motive of the act. That is, the good will is the most important thing in the moral evaluation. Duties of a man are the very essential thing in the moral discourse. But, these duties could be in the conflicting position with each other. For example we could have a duty to keep a promise but in the same time we could have also a duty to protect somebody. When we are doing our moral decisions it is essential to weigh moral chances against the other, and evaluate what duties are the most compelling. As Ross put it, our deeds can be subsumed under many normative bunds of rules.

Ross concept of a prima facie duty is extremely important for business and professional ethics. It is difficult to talk about conflicts of duties or the obligations attaching on particular roles or offices without employing Ross's concept of prima facie duty. Nowadays we live in the world of multi values. How can a business manager apply Rossian thinking in his daily work̦ Business manager lives in the reality with many conflicting pressures. The demands of the stakeholders are always present in the decision-making situations. This implies that the contingency is the name of the game. For example, a business manager could have a duty to maximize owner's profits and in the same time he/she has a duty to not to harm employees by dismissing them.

One of the major criticism of Ross pluralist deontology is that while Ross claims to overcome and relax Kant's absolute constrains, he seems to accept the utilitarian verdicts. This criticism is made explicit by Francisco Orsi when he argues that the Rossian "view would be

somehow contradictory in that while Ross claims to reject ideal utilitarianism, his conclusion about the conflict of duties is the same as the utilitarian "verdict" (Orsi, 1).Another criticism Ross' moral theories facies is the fact that his moral theory lack some rigor. According to Cecilia Tohăneanu, this is certainly a price that a moral pluralist theory such as Ross's has to pay as against a monistic and supposedly a more systematic one. Given that the closer a theory is to the common-sense morality, the less rigorous it is.

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Eco-sensitive Conscience and the Global Environmental Crisis: A Case for Ecological Conscientization

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Abstract

The global environmental crisis has manifested itself in things such as climate change, global warming, deforestation, desertification, ecological terrorism and warfare, ecocide, environmental refugeeism, atmospheric and marine pollution, overpopulation, destruction of biodiversity, and so on. The crisis continues without any end in sight. While many theories and perspectives such as deep ecology, ecofeminism, eco-liberation theology, and eco-ethics of world religions have been proposed to help resolve the problems; there is still much that can be done. This paper proposes that in addition to what has been previously proposed there is a radical need to educate and form people to have an eco-sensitive conscience that is attentive to environmental issues and takes action to solve them. An eco-sensitive conscience is ecologically conscientized to act for transformative human actions that heal the earth not destroy it. Critical analytic and hermeneutic methods are adopted in this research to decipher the issues. The paper finds that there is a global environmental crisis raging on. The paper concludes that an eco-sensitive conscience can help in ameliorating the global environmental crisis.

Keywords: Ecology, environment, eco-sensitive, conscience, conscientization, environmental crisis.

Introduction

The global environmental crisis has caused or precipitated a lot of problems for humanity and the earth. During this crisis, problems such as environmental refugeeism, pollution, flooding, violent hurricanes unseen before now, depletion of the ozone layer, acid rain, deforestation, rise in global temperature, desertification, human-wildlife conflicts, droughts, famine, and so on have arisen. These have negatively affected both human lives and the natural environment. Many have died as a result of rising temperatures and depletion of the ozone layer, the struggle over scarce environmental resources has led to resource wars, massive flooding, and hurricanes that have devastated lives in the United States. Unless the global environmental crisis is mitigated or abated humanity stands the risk of being wiped out.

Environmentalists or environmental thinkers have proposed various theories for curbing the environmental crisis. Smith (iii) lists some of these theories including Arne Naess' deep ecology, Francoise d'Eaubonne's ecofeminism, and Aldo Leopold's Land Ethics. Eco-ethics of world religions, the eco-ethics of the Catholic Magisterium, Boff's eco-liberation theology, and social ecology. Various indigenous theories also exist including Afrobio-communitarianism, Hindu eco-thoughts, Buddhist eco-thoughts, and Native American eco-thoughts. As good as these theories may be no theory or system of eco-thoughts holds the total solution to the global environmental crisis. And no one theory can work in every regional or local context. Various theories have to be adapted to different local contexts.

Despite the different theories and implementation of some in different regions, the crisis goes unabated. This paper argues that no matter what theories or ideologies are implemented, people need to cultivate an eco-sensitive conscience. Without a truly deep altruistic concern for the plights of humans affected by the environmental crisis and other non-human lives such as birds, animals, and plants affected by the crisis, it is difficult to take action to save humanity and the earth. This is the fundamental reason this paper advocates for an eco-sensitive conscience. To achieve the aim of this paper, the paper shall look at the state of the global environmental crisis, examine what is an eco-sensitive conscience, look at how to form an eco-sensitive conscience and evaluate how this eco-sensitive conscience can help to mitigate the global environmental crisis.

Understanding the Global Environmental Crisis

Global refers to what embraces the entire globe. Global is worldwide or international. For the term, "environment" Mayhew (159) states that it is the whole surroundings inclusive of the natural environment (sea, land, soil, water their chemical constituents, physical properties, the climate, and all organisms), and the phenomenal environment (the changes and modifications made by human beings to the natural environment). Srivastava (3) writes that the natural environment is comprised of living and non-living things on Earth, while the built environment refers to areas that have been strongly modified by humans. The natural environment is made up of ecological units or systems in which plants, animals, birds, vegetation, and everything in existence on earth interact and interrelate. All things depend on one another for life and sustenance. The interaction and interdependence of all organisms in their environment is called ecology. And so often the term environment is used interchangeably with ecology. Both terms, environment or ecology, environmental or ecological shall be used interchangeably here.   The global environment is the environment of the entire globe or the entire earth. The global environmental crisis refers to the fact that the anthropogenic impacts on the earth and the problems associated with it are not just localized but are worldwide.

Oxford Reference (1) defines the environmental crisis as

> A term that is used to describe the sum of the environmental problems that
> we face today. Key contemporary environmental problems include the
> greenhouse effect and global warming, the hole in the ozone layer, acid
> rain, and tropical forest clearance. New dimensions to the environmental
> crisis include emerging threats and the global nature, rapid build-up, and

persistence of the problems. Whilst the problems appear to be largely physical (environmental), the causes and solutions lie much more in people's attitudes, values, and expectations.

Many factors have caused the global environmental crisis. They include factors such as the rise and dominance of scientific technology, overpopulation or growth in the human population, an instrumental utilitarian valuation of the earth, and the activities of mining and extractive industries. Population growth has certainly produced a grave impact on the earth and its resources. More human beings mean more houses have to be built and more industries to create goods and products for the needs of humans. This requires felling more trees and forests and using more land for agriculture and social infrastructures. While human beings should make prudent and ethical sustainable use of natural resources, this often is not done. Odira (5) writes that human beings should be blamed for the environmental crisis for many human beings are greedy and insensitive in the use of the resources of the world and this has led to climate change and the entire global environmental crisis. Odira (13) writes further that: "Climate change is one of the most serious ethical and political challenges facing the ecosystem and the human race in the twenty-first century." The effects of climate change include: "frequent wildfires, longer periods of drought in some regions, and an increase in the number, duration, and intensity of tropical storms." With the coming of the industrial revolution, the rise in technology, and scientific dominance, humans now have more ability to control the earth. Human activities such as manufacturing, mining, production, agriculture, consumption, etc. all create more carbon dioxide and other poisonous gases that cause the greenhouse effect. On climate change, the International Organization for Migration writes that:

> The human mobility implications of the climate and environmental crisis are profound. Every year, millions of people are displaced because of disasters. In 2022, disasters led to 32.6 million internal displacements, the highest ever record of internal disaster displacements (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre's Global Report 2023). According to the World Bank, without early and concerted climate and development action, over 216 million people could become internal climate migrants by 2050.

Another serious problem at this time of environmental crisis is the environmental degradation arising from oil exploration, exploitation, spillage, and mining activities. In the process of exploring and exploiting oil, oil companies most often are only concerned for their profits to shareholders and lack environmental corporate responsibility. They excavate and drill into people's farmlands, sacred lands, people's residential backyards, etc. They fell trees to make way for their vehicle and equipment. There is often oil spillage which they often blame on saboteurs. Writing on one of the consequences of oil spillage in the Ughelli community and by implication the rest of the Niger Delta., Anah (41) states that it negatively affects the ecosystems, destroys mangrove forests, depletion of the fish population, and leads to the reduction of the size of the rainforest. Oil spillage causes health and occupational hazards to the people who dwell in those areas and even to the oil workers. Ikeke (*Thomas Berry*) relies on the

work of Gutti, Aji, and Magaji to:

> … argue that oil exploration, which involves a series of mining procedures, often damages the environment. Petroleum exploration causes oil spills, extensive deforestation, loss of farmlands, loss of soil fertility, effluent discharge, and the pollution of rivers and streams. The point is that these negative effects come from poor maintenance of oil facilities or neglect of ethical principles in the process of prospecting for oil. No wonder Gutti, Aji and Magaji …affirm further that 'The oil and gas sector should ensure the integrity of their pipelines; follow the guideline policy of gas flaring and in times of oil spillage the best industrial technology employed to effect remediation.' (150)

While all the problems associated with the global environmental crisis cannot be mentioned plastic pollution should not be omitted here. There is a serious problem of plastic pollution. Millions of tons of plastic are produced every year worldwide. People buy and make use of plastic daily. These plastics often end up in the rivers and oceans of the world, where they become garbage and poison fish and other organisms in the environment. Regarding plastic pollution realize that: "Humanity produces more than 430 million tonnes of plastic annually, two-thirds of which are short-lived products that soon become waste, filling the ocean and, often, working their way into the human food chain"(United Nations Environment Programme *Plastic Pollutio*n).

These problems and many others that constitute the environmental crisis are happening frequently and their impacts are noticeable. On the impact of the global environmental crisis, the United Nations Environment Programme (*Nature Crisis*) states:

- Around 3.2 billion people, or 40 percent of the global population, are adversely affected by land degradation.
- Up to $577 billion in annual global crop production is at risk from pollinator loss.
- 25 percent of global greenhouse gas emissions are generated by land clearing, crop production, and fertilization.
- Development is putting animals and humans in closer contact increasing the risk of diseases like COVID-19 to spread. About 60 percent of human infections are estimated to have an animal origin.
- 100-300 million people are at increased risk of floods and hurricanes because of coastal habitat loss.
- Declines in nature and biodiversity at current trajectories will undermine progress toward 35 out of 44 of the targets of SDGs related to poverty, hunger, health, water cities, climate, oceans and land.

In light of the global environmental crisis, there is a need for continuous actions to mitigate the problems. This is why this paper argues for the formation of an eco-sensitive conscience.

What is an Eco-sensitive Conscience?

Sulmasy (135) writes that: "Conscience is defined as having two interrelated parts: (1) a commitment to morality itself; to acting and choosing morally according to the best of one's ability, and (2) the activity of judging that an act one has done or about which one is deliberating would violate that commitment." Another author writes that conscience is "the whole self trying to make judgements about who one ought to be and what one ought to do or not do" (Gula 356). Conscience is that innate sense of perceiving what is right and wrong, and it is your conviction of what is morally acceptable. For Lee (129), "Conscience can be spoken of as an ability, an act, or as the content of an act. Used to refer to an act, 'conscience' may refer to one's awareness of the rightness or wrongness of a concrete, particular act." From a Christian religious perspective, the Apostle Paul in his Letter to the Romans in chapter 2:14-15 in the Revised Standard Version, describes what conscience is as he states: "When Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves, even though they do not have the law. They show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them." The reality that there is a higher law embedded in the human person is attested to by the fact of people like Socrates, Thomas More, Joan of Arc, Martin Luther King Jnr, and Alexander Solzhenitsyn who prophetically resisted social evil to obey the conscience in them at the detriment of their lives (Fagan 226). Fagan (227) citing Lonergan says that the whole human person is a conscience driving towards the realization of transcendent values and authenticity is reasonable judgement and responsible decision-making. In every situation, every human being who is an adult or a person who has come to the use of reason is thinking about what is right or wrong. The person is pricked in his/her mind or heart and a person with a sensitive conscience is normally disturbed when he/she does what is contrary to what is right. This may not happen if a person has a dead conscience, an erroneous conscience, or a conscience that is not formed properly. The Vatican (428) enunciates that:

> Conscience is a judgment of reason whereby the human person recognizes the moral quality of a concrete act that he is going to perform, is in the process of performing, or has already completed. In all he says and does, man is obliged to follow faithfully what he knows to be just and right. It is by the judgment of his conscience that man perceives and recognizes the prescriptions of the divine law.

An eco-sensitive conscience as used in this paper refers to a conscience that is imbued with environmental values and is attentive to the plight of nature and acts to protect the environment. An eco-sensitive conscience is made aware of ecological or environmental issues and responds positively to those issues by fostering ecological protection. An eco-sensitive conscience is pricked in the heart over the harm done to planet Earth and its ecosystems. It is not only touched by environmental evils and hazards; it takes responsibility and acts for the

wellbeing and welfare of the earth. An eco-sensitive conscience is a conscience that is ecologically conscientized. It is imbued with a consciousness of ecological affairs, ideas, ideals, norms, values, and insights. Regarding the term conscientization, Motenro (296) writes:

> Conscientization is a neologism, coming from the Spanish word *conscientización*. It conveys the idea of developing, strengthening, and changing consciousness. It was created in the field of education, specifically of adult education, in the early 1960s, producing at the same time a new conception of consciousness. Brazilian educator Paulo Freire was the first to spread its use, although at the same time Alvaro Vieira Pinto (1961), a close colleague, was producing ideas very near to those Freire introduced in his first published work, *Education as Practice of Liberty*(1964, 1970 in its English translation). Freire provided the first definition of the concept of conscientization, linking it to social sciences, to participatory modes of practice, and to the concept of liberation as a daily task able to be carried out by any person.

Conscientization is the process of transformation of consciousness. Ecological conscientization or eco-conscientization is the process of becoming progressively aware of ecological matters, the issues regarding the variety of lives on the planet(biodiversity) and the responsibility to act in a caring manner towards all lives and ecosystems, not destroying or harming them. If human beings must make use of any aspects of the natural world it should be in a sustainable and ecologically civilized manner. This raising people's consciousness of making them aware of the ecological challenge is equivalent to forming their consciences regarding knowing what is right or wrong about the environment. A conscience becomes eco-sensitive through ecological sensitization. Eco-sensitivity is not an end product but a continuous process of ongoing or further education concerning environmental duties. In this sense, an eco-sensitive conscience is ecologically conscientized. In this paper, the two terms, "eco-sensitive conscience" and "eco-conscientization" are seen as synonyms. In his definition of conscience, Pazhayampallil (198) notes that "Conscience then is the judgement that a person gives of himself with regard to his way of acting. It is to act with knowledge (*cum scientia*). Here we are speaking of knowledge that is involved in morality, not the knowledge whether water is cold or not."   Conscience has then to do with moral knowledge. The terms eco-sensitivity, eco-sensitive conscience, and eco-conscientization all involve the process of raising awareness about ecological issues so that human beings will act as moral agents for the good of the environment. It is not simply acquiring knowledge about the environment. It is also a question of acting within a moral framework regarding one's actions towards the ecological systems of the planet.

Towards Formation of an Eco-sensitive Conscience
Even though conscience is intrinsic and innate in every human being, conscience needs to be formed and educated. Your sense of right and wrong develops as you are socialized into the

mores and ethics of society. As Gula (356) states: "The goal of forming conscience is to commit one's freedom to what is right and good so that, in judging and acting, one identifies with what one does. The moral decision becomes a commitment of the self to value." In the same place, Gula (357) argues that: "Following conscience requires that one searches for truth, discerns what is right and good, and then acts according to what one understands that truth to be. In this way, following conscience is being true to the call from the 'core and sanctuary' of one's heart where one is 'alone with God'." In every society, there is a standard of morality. You cannot just do what you feel or think is right. There will be confusion in society and society will result in anarchy if each individual was to just do what he thinks is right without paying attention to the common values of society. It is not everything that one thinks to be right that is right. To think that mass suicide by members of the Peoples Templein 1978 in Jonestown is right is to operate from an erroneous conscience. Recently in Kenya under the so-called guidance of a pastor, many people are said to have committed suicide in a cult-like manner. The people who accepted mass suicide as a way to die and go to heaven were wrong and had an erroneous conscience. One who is aware of his/her erroneous conscience should not follow it. Many terrorists who think killing people is right are suffering from an erroneous conscience.

The formation of conscience, as Gula (356) writes is a communal issue. The human person is a social being. You are not in existence to live as a solitary being. You are a being with others. It is through others that you are formed. You are born into society and society shapes you. Society and the different mentoring communities or agencies have a big duty in the formation of your conscience. Every human being must form his/her conscience. You inform your conscience by consulting resources on moral wisdom, communal or corporate counsel, the Bible, and Christian tradition (Gula 357). It is true that for someone who is not a Christian, the sources the person will consult may be different from that of the Christian. Somebody may suffer from an erroneous conscience, but that error is grievous and the person is culpable if the person refuses to enlighten himself/herself. Vatican II Fathers (16) states that: "Conscience frequently errs from invincible ignorance without losing its dignity. The same cannot be said for a man who cares but little for truth and goodness, or for a conscience which by degrees grows practically sightless as a result of habitual sin." The formation of conscience is so important that Hahn (160) writes that: "Conscience…must be formed through experience and critical investigations of the courses of moral wisdom. A person who follows the dictate of conscience can still commit wrong acts if the conscience itself is misinformed."

Since the formation of conscience or the education of conscience is important, it is when conscience is formed that it becomes sensitive to the issues it is informed about. What is not brought to the awareness of conscience, may not be within its province of judgement. Remember that there was a time in human history for instance when slavery and various forms of human trafficking were acceptable. People did not feel any repugnancy in practicing it. But as human civilization progressed, people became aware that slavery was evil and wrong. People's conscience become enlightened to the evils of slavery and how it offends against human dignity and worth. The emergence of environmentalism in the late 1950s and early 1960s raised people's conscience and awareness of the evils that human beings are perpetuating against the earth, the devastation caused by the use of agricultural chemicals, deforestation, desertification, plastic pollution, etc. For thousands of years, indigenous communities the

world over were already aware and sensitive to environmental issues. The environmental formation of the conscience requires environmental education. The United Nations (5) writes thus:

> Education in environmental matters, for the younger generation as well as adults, giving due consideration to the underprivileged, is essential in order to broaden the basis for an enlightened opinion and responsible conduct by individuals, enterprises and communities in protecting and improving the environment in its full human dimension. It is also essential that mass media of communications avoid contributing to the deterioration of the environment, but, on the contrary, disseminate information of an educational nature on the need to protect and improve the environment in order to enable man to develop in every respect.

It should be clear that conscience cannot be formed without education. By education here this paper is not only referring to formal education, but all socialization processes, including rites of passage, town hall meetings, etc. People's conscience or consciousness needs to be made aware of the harm humans are doing to the earth to the detriment of their lives and ecosystems. In this regard, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and United Nations Environment Programme (UNESCO-UNEP) (3) states that:

> The goal of environmental education is to develop a world population that is aware of, and concerned about, the environment and its associated problems, and which has the knowledge, skills, attitudes, motivations, and commitment to work individually and collectively toward solutions of current problems and the prevention of new ones.

What this paper is canvasing for as eco-sensitive conscience or eco-sensitive conscientization or ecological conscientization can only come through a dynamic transformative and transgressive environmental education to advocates against destructive human actions that destroy the earth and its ecosystem. It is an education that forms the conscience to be sensitive to environmentalism. This type of education is more than the acquisition of information, skills, and techniques. It involves the transformation of attitudes, motivations, and inner habits.

It is imperative to state a word here on how this eco-sensitive education can be carried out. An eco-sensitive conscience requires formation. It does not just happen. Nobody is born with an in-depth knowledge of environmental knowledge and habits. People have to be schooled in it. From an early tender age, parents and society in general have to begin to impact their children with creative positive knowledge about the environment and how to care for it. Society should not wait until people become adults before they are taught environmental care. It is the duty/responsibility of all socializing agents to teach environmental care by helping people develop an eco-sensitive conscience. Society should be deliberate in doing this. Political society through governmental policies create educational curriculum for formal schools that are attentive to these issues. They should help to foster in non-formal settings ways that

environmental consciousness can be imparted. All mentoring social agents have duties in this regard whether they are religious institutions, traditional institutions, non-governmental organizations, etc. There should be frequent organization of conferences, seminars, workshops, and classes on environmental issues. Scholars, lecturers, and all teachers as much as they can should be encouraged to write about environmental consciousness in journals, books, books of readings, and on all social media platforms. The role of the conventional mass media is indispensable in this regard.

An Eco-sensitive Conscience and the Global Environmental Crisis

It should become clear from understating the important role of conscience that an eco-sensitive conscience is critical and crucial to rising to the challenges of the global environmental crisis. Since conscience helps human beings to form a sense of what is right and wrong, and calls human persons to do what is right; it becomes necessary that the person is formed in environmental matters. There are many environmental harms that people cause to the earth and the ecosystems, and also directly or indirectly harm humans. Not all human beings are aware of the wrongness of these harms. Many people see nothing wrong in felling trees, polluting water, building on natural waterways, dumping garbage on the streets and roads, driving cars emitting dangerous carbon monoxide for they failed to repair their cars, destroying the habitats of animals and birds, etc. Some people see nothing wrong in wasting food in a world in which many people are hungry and suffering from poverty.

The human person needs to be formed with a deep awareness and conscience regarding the global environmental crisis. It is difficult to take responsibility for what you are not aware of. Amidst the global environmental crisis, people must inform themselves about the environment. Society and government must inform the citizens of their environmental duties and obligations. It is difficult to make the right decisions about the environment when one is not properly informed about the environment. Hartwig (271) writes that a person who lacks a good and proper or inadequate moral education is likely to make erroneous moral judgements. The human relationship and responsibility towards the environment are moral questions. It is not only human beings who are occupants of this planet. Ikeke (*Ethical Responsibility*113-114), Ikeke (*Ecosolidarity 1*) and Ikeke & Obiunu (*Education for Ecological Citizenship*26-27)have highlighted the role of an education that is sensitive to the ecological crisis that will enable humans to act responsibly in conserving the earth.

Neither the environmental crisis nor the problem of climate change can be resolved without a change or transformation in the minds of the people. People's beliefs and viewpoints affect how they relate to the earth. For someone who simply sees the earth from a utilitarian perspective, the person cares little or nothing about what happens to the earth. The earth is simply there for human use. Odira (5-6) rightly argues that: "Saving the earth is not about side-show projects; it is about our attitude towards the environment, Attitude is what we need to change through the formation of conscience, In this area, all stakeholders will play unique roles, both as a team and as individuals." This is where an eco-sensitive conscience comes into play. If people don't see what they are doing to the earth such as causing the depletion of the ozone layer, climate change, deforestation, etc as harmful to both the planet, its peoples, and ecosystems as moral evil or wrong; they will not even initiate change to stop such behaviours.

An eco-sensitive conscience is the transformation of minds, hearts, and attitudes to imbibe positive and healthy environmental values and to put them into practice. Odira (29-30) states that ignorance, an I don't care attitude, a lack of goodwill, and a lack of a healthy attitude towards nature are enemies of the environment; and overcoming all these is cardinal. Ikeke (*Climate Ethics* 205) realistically states that: " Combating climate change requires more than knowledge of scientific facts and public policy, there is a need for climate ethics and ethically reconstructive human behaviours that act for climate justice."

Conclusion

The paper has examined the need for cultivating an eco-sensitive conscience. The process of doing this can also be called ecological conscientization or eco-conscientization. It is raising people's consciousness to be aware of environmental issues and the earth's plight for them to act for environmental or ecological protection. The paper defined what an eco-sensitive conscience is. It also examined the global environmental crisis. It showed vividly that people can only act concretely for environmental care when they are aware of the ecological problems. It is imperative then that all social agents should act to promote education for an eco-sensitive conscience. When this is done, it will help to serve a better plant that is sustained ecologically.

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Audience Listenership Preference of Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria

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Abstract

This study examined audience listenership preference of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State. The study deployed the survey research method while the questionnaire was the data collection instrument. The major objectives of this study were to: find out the particular programmes that audience prefer to listen to on private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State; find out the private radio station that audience in the State mostly prefer to listen to; and to identify other broadcast-related factors that influence the preference for private radio stations among radio listeners in the State. By using the multi-stage sampling procedure in reaching the respondents with the instrument, the researchers collected opinionated data from 400 respondents spread across the three senatorial districts in the State. The opinionated data collected were coded, synthesised, collated and analysed in simple percentages using charts. The hypothetical constructs of the study were tested using the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation of Co-efficient statistical tool. Based on the analysis of data in the study, it was found that 57% of the audience listened to the private radio stations in the State on a daily basis with 40% of the audience mostly

preferring to listen in the morning. Though the audience express their preferences for diverse programmes on the radio stations, greater percentage preferred News update/Commentary (12%) while *Comfort 95.1 FM* (54 [14%]) was the most preferred radio station by audience in the State. It was also found that the private radio stations' language of expression on air (15%); quality/fidelity of their radio signal reception (14%); local news coverage (13%); engaging radio hosts/AOPs (12%); variety of programme genre (11%); recommendation from other listeners (11%); and sense of community involvement (10%) were the major factors that influenced audience listenership of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State. It was recommended that private radio stations in the State should produce and air programmes that cut across the demographic, psychographic and psychosocial divides of the diverse nature of audience palpable in the State.

Introduction

Radio is a powerful tool of mass communication (Mu-azu & Shivram, 2017). For decades, radio has made significant impact in information dissemination across the diverse strata of the society. Its unique features of audio-dexterity, conversational tone, simplicity of language, affordability, cost-effectiveness in ownership and maintenance of its receiving set, flexible access to contents, portability, mobility, and ubiquity have made it audience's delight in consumption of mass-mediated messages. Baran (2004) calls it the 'blind medium'. This is attributable to its vivid illustrativeness in creating sparks and imageries in the subconscious of its listeners by attempting to use mere sound to concretise ideas expressed for believability to be achieved.

The descriptive treat radio brings to telling stories of social, political, cultural, economic or religious events and realities have made it a veritable medium for information, entertainment, education, socialisation, mobilisation, consensus-building, and public opinion formation. Radio does these through the diverse categories of contents (programmes) it made available for public consumption. The nature of radio contents are dynamic and uniquely tailored to the dynamic nature of the target audience. It is the dynamism that radio brings to bear that made it a metaphor of an audio magazine.

Hence, on a typical radio, there are differently unique contents for differently unique set of audience. The uniqueness of radio in content delivery has widen its significant reach and impact on the population as it effortlessly provides a greater number of people access to socially-conscious/relevant contents on a daily basis. It is through such approach that radio has become an effective medium for communicating with diverse audiences, especially, in remote and rural areas with limited access to other forms of media. Radio penetrates social, political, economic, cultural and religious strata of a given society with its programmes and does not discriminate against its audience on the basis of economic power because it is relatively cheap to access compared to other media forms. Because of its penetrating power, it has been

characterised as the most available of all modern technology of mass communication (Abuku & Iorngurum, 2017).

While radio programmes cover a wide range of topics from news/current affairs, music, drama, to educational supplements, radio broadcasting has continued to play a significant role in Nigeria's contemporary society. Most importantly is its critical role in shaping public opinion, building consensus, setting public agenda, influencing political discourse, fostering cultural identity and providing respite to the audience's daily (harsh) realities, boredom or monotony.

Radio broadcasting in Nigeria has evolved significantly since its debut in 1932. The significance lies in its power and ability to connect with people on a personal and emotional level, creating a sense of intimacy and building of community of interest. Going by the onslaught of deregulation of broadcast media in 1992 and the sporadic emergence of private radio stations, the diversity of radio programming has expanded, allowing broadcasters to tend to specific interests and preferences of their audiences.

The situation is exacerbated in Akwa Ibom State where, before 2010, had few private radio stations in operation. In 2023 (within a period of thirteen years), there has been an upward trend in private radio ownership and operation in the State. Available statistics, informed by personal observational analysis, shows that the tally in private radio ownership and operation has risen exponentially to 14 private radio stations. With this development, private radio stations in the State have brought to the radio broadcasting landscape, a new wave and an era of intensive competition in radio programming and diversity in programme delivery at the expense of the radio listeners in the State. Thus, this study aims to investigate audience's listenership preference of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State.

Statement of the Research Problem

Radio broadcasting in Nigeria has witnessed a significant transformation since the deregulation of the broadcasting industry in 1992. The proliferation of private radio stations has provided listeners with a wide range of options to choose from. This has heralded stiff competitions among private radio stations in a bid to hold the largest market share and stay afloat of the competitive curve. With high spirit of competition ingrained in the radio broadcasting landscape, private radio stations have learnt that providing programmes that appeal to larger part of the audience is the formula needed to solve the equation of competition. Having the largest listenership market share has economic value as stations will enjoy the patronage of advertisers.

To be audience-centric, private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State have stuck their necks and heads out to provide audience with programmes of appeal. This include using diverse programming strategies, formats, schedules and contents. A cursory observation of private radio stations in the State reveals their uniqueness in programming as they tend to cater to different niches of the market, offering a variety of programmes ranging from music, news, sports, commentary, drama, talk shows, interviews, panel discussions, entertainment, etc.

Consequently, the influence, impact or effects of the diverse programming strategies, formats, schedules and contents engaged by private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State on the listenership preference of the stations cannot be ascertain with empirical evidence. Hence,

there are gaps in empirical evidence and practical knowledge on the kind of influence that the programming strategies, formats, schedules and contents deployed by private radio stations have on the listenership preference of the stations. In view of filling these research gaps with empirical evidence and practical knowledge, this study sought answers to the following empirical inquisition: what is audience listenership preference of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State͏̣

Conceptual Review
Factors Influencing Private Radio Listenership in Nigeria
Private radio stations seem to have been self-informed that audience are the currency of radio commercialisation drive. Hence, to woo advertisers to their stations, there is need for them to convince advertisers that they are the delight of the audience. This is the motivation that drive private radio stations' quest to compete for the largest share of the radio listenership market. Having the largest share of the market puts a broadcast station at the edge of the competitive curve and places them at a vantage point of amassing large audience listenership base to their daily offerings which implies popularity and standing out from the crowd. This does not come on a platter; some factors interplay some of which are discussed as follows:

I. **Audience analysis:** An insight into audience's demographic, psychographic, and psycho-social characteristics gives private radio stations first hand research-based information, idea and knowledge of the kinds of radio programmes that the audience desire per time. Providing such programmes to meet audience's desire will nevertheless attract their attention to the stations broadcasting their desired programmes.

ii. **Programming strategies and schedules:** Knowing the proper time of the day that the audience a radio station targets will be disposed to the programme and the right approach to sustain their attention to the station's programming can boost listenership preference.

iii. **Audience-centric programmes:** For radio stations to attract large listenership to their stations, their contents (programmes) and the way they are offering them (programming/scheduling) must be appealing to the audience. Programmes must be audience-centric, that is, aligns with the needs, tastes, wants, desires and aspirations of the audience. Giving the audience what they want and how they want it makes them loyal to a particular station against others.

iv. **Professionalism:** By professionalism, what is intended is for a private radio station to do what it is known for in a more unique, experienced and finesse manner. There should be room for mediocrity.

v. **Quality of production:** The quality of radio programmes a private radio make available for public consumption will attract large audience base if it meets audience's perception of standard. High fidelity in sound production without objectionable interferences will be more accepted by the audience compared to substandard and noise-polluted programmes.

vi. Reach: Private radio stations with the farthest reach are more likely to attract wider audience base compared to the ones that are limited in reach.

vii. Penetration: By penetration, private radio stations should break the hegemonic, class, and barriers that may mar greater number of target audience from accessing (comprehending or appreciating) the programmes they are offering. Hence, programmes offered should be simplistic enough to penetrate the frontiers of illiteracy.

viii. Content relevance: Programmes offered should have social influence, that is, reputation for facilitating audience's social conditions by being able to help them address specific concerns. Entertainment programmes should relevance in providing respite and relaxation, information programmes should be relevant in exposing the audience to realities in society in order to gain knowledge, educational programmes should have the relevance to impart new ideas, etc.

Empirical Review

In a study conducted by Chioma, Solo-Anaeto and Jegede (2015), it was found that majority (96%) of the listeners were satisfied with the programming of *Inspiration 92.3 FM* which gratifies their needs and that the station's unique delivery as occasioned by the on-air-personalities (42%); house style (family oriented) (45%) and quality programmes (13%) were the major listenership attractions. The study also made the following revelations that: majority (70%) of the respondents were active listeners of *Inspiration 92.3 FM* because they tune-in on a daily basis; 14% of the respondents were of the opinion that programming on the station was nothing short of excellence; and that majority (70%) of the respondents were of the opinion that programming on *Inspiration 92.3 FM* was just fine.

In a study conducted by Oluchi & Hassan (2018), it was found that the audience preferred private radio stations that offer programmes that are specific to their interests. The audience were found to be motivated to listen to private radio stations whose contents and programmes were informative, and entertaining. It was also found in the study that private radio stations with tailored contents had a way of providing desired gratification to their listening audience. Ajaegbu, Akintayo and Akinjiyan's (2015) study revealed that audience preferred private radio stations that provide credible information. The study also noted that private radio stations were perceived to be more credible than public radio stations due to their independence and autonomy.

Theoretical Review

The theoretical expositions of the **Uses and Gratifications Theory** (UGT) and **Individual Differences Theory** provided the theoretical underpinning to the variables of audience listenership and audience listenership preference. The two theories were adopted on the basis of their potency in presenting a systematic view of the variables by attempting, through their tenets, to specify clear relationships among the variables and ordering them into intelligible patterns (Wimmer & Dominick, 2011; Udoakah, 2002). The Uses and Gratifications and Individual Differences theories are middle-range, sense-making and minimally powerful

media effects theories which put the audience members at the centre or heart of media processes and effects (Obong & Targema, 2023). Both theories collectively presuppose that the audience, often thought to be at the receiving end, are self-willed and socially-deterministic individuals who decide their pattern of usage of media contents and by implication, twist the nature of influence the media exert on them (Obong & Targema, 2023).

The idea that the audience are critical forces of media processes and effects are the central philosophical tenets of the Uses and Gratifications Theory (UGT) as credited to the seminal works of Elihu Katz, Jay Blumler and Michael Gurevitch in the 1970s. The theory turns attention away from media sources and message effects to audience uses of media contents (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009; Littlejohn & Foss, 2011).

According to the major tenets of the **Individual Differences Theory**, the audience of mass mediated messages do not respond, react, select, prefer, or consume media contents in uniform pattern but based on their individual differences. So, the reason why a certain listener prefers to listen to a particular radio station against other stations may just be based on the audience's individual perception of the station.

Within the Akwa Ibom State radio mediascape, it is implicative that all the listeners may not respond/react to, select, prefer or consume the contents of all the private radio stations in similar and uniform fashion but rather based on their individual interests, needs, desires, aspirations, perception and preferences. In order to meet the needs of these audience(s), private radio stations are expected to broadcast programmes guaranteed to be of interest to these diverse groups of target audience. 5

Objectives of the Study

The Major objective of the study was to investigate audience listenership preference of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State. The specific objectives of this study were to:

I.   find out the frequency of private radio listenership among audience in Akwa Ibom State;
ii.   find out the particular programmes that audience prefer to listen to on private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State;
iii. find out the private radio station that audience in Akwa Ibom State mostly prefer to listen to;
iv.   assess the level of audience's satisfaction of the programmes of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State; and to
v.   identify other broadcast-related factors that influence the preference for private radio stations among radio listeners in Akwa Ibom State.

Methodology

The survey method was deployed in this study and the questionnaire was the data collection instrument used in gathering opinionated data from listeners in Akwa Ibom State regarding their listenership preference of private radio stations in the State. Treadwell's (2011, p.122) viewpoint on survey as requiring the "putting of numbers on opinions" justifies the choice of the research method while Obong's (2021); Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen, and Walker's (2014); and Babbie's (2011) collective opinion of the questionnaire as the most suitable data collection instrument for survey research informed the rationality of adopting the instrument. The questionnaire was formatted using closed-ended items. By using the closed-ended format,
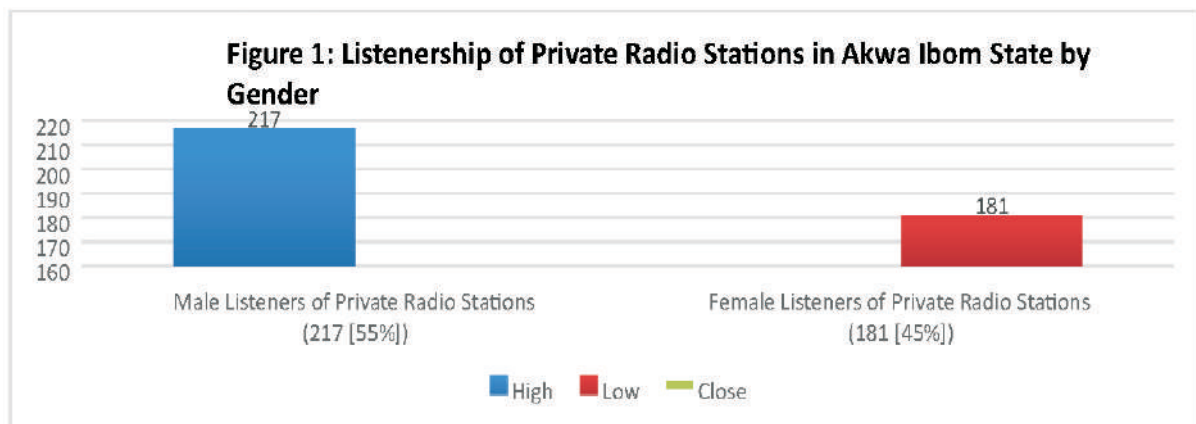
listeners in Akwa Ibom State were asked to select answers from among a list of options provided by the researchers (Ekanem, 2019). In formulating closed-ended questions, researchers took due diligence to ensure that the response categories were exhaustive and mutually-exclusive (Babbie, 2011). The closed-ended questions were used to ensure uniformity of responses and ease of coding as well as analysis (Ekanem, 2019). The reliability test of the research instrument was obtained by conducting a pilot study on simulated sample to spot gaps in the instrument. The results obtained from the pilot study was used to standardise the questionnaire. In this regard, the "Test-Retest Method" was used with an interval of two weeks and the correlation coefficient computed to gauge the strength of relationship yielded a value of .86 which indicated either strong positive association.

The population of the study comprised the projected figure for Akwa Ibom State residents as at 2022 which according to National Population Commission (2020), was put at 4,979,418. Using Taro Yamene's formula, a sample of 400 was determined from the population. To ensure wide representativeness of the sample, the residents in Akwa Ibom State were selected from the three senatorial districts in the State: Akwa Ibom North-East; Akwa Ibom South; and Akwa Ibom North-West Senatorial Districts. By using the purposive sampling technique, Uyo, Eket and Ikot Ekpene LGAs were selected respectively as subpopulations for the study on the basis of being the political headquarters of the three senatorial districts.

Equal representation for each of the sub-populations was ensured by deploying the Probability Proportionate to Size (P.P.S) sampling method in order to select a representative sample of the subpopulations to be administered the research instrument. After a systematic computation was done, the researchers arrived at the following percentages and representative sample for each of the senatorial districts: Akwa Ibom North-East (196 [49%]); Akwa Ibom South (112 [28%]); and Akwa Ibom NorthWest (92 [23%]).

To reach the respondents in the three senatorial districts, the researchers adopted the multi-stage sampling procedures at different stages of the sampling process. At the first stage, the cluster sampling procedure was used where the researchers treated each of the senatorial districts as clusters of interdependent units comprising residents of the local government areas making up the senatorial districts. The availability sampling procedure was later deployed in administering the research instrument to the respondents personally by the researchers. Out of the 400 copies of the instrument distributed, 398 were returned and found fit for analysis. This represented 99.5% response rate. The opinionated data collected by the researchers through the instruments were coded, synthesised, collated and analysed in simple percentages using charts.

Data Presentation, Analysis and Results

Figure 1: Listenership of Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State by Gender

Source: Field data, 2023

The analysis of data in Figure 1 shows that majority of radio listeners in Akwa Ibom State were males (217 [55%]). This is an indication that audience of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State were predominantly males.

Figure 2: Listenership of Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State by Age
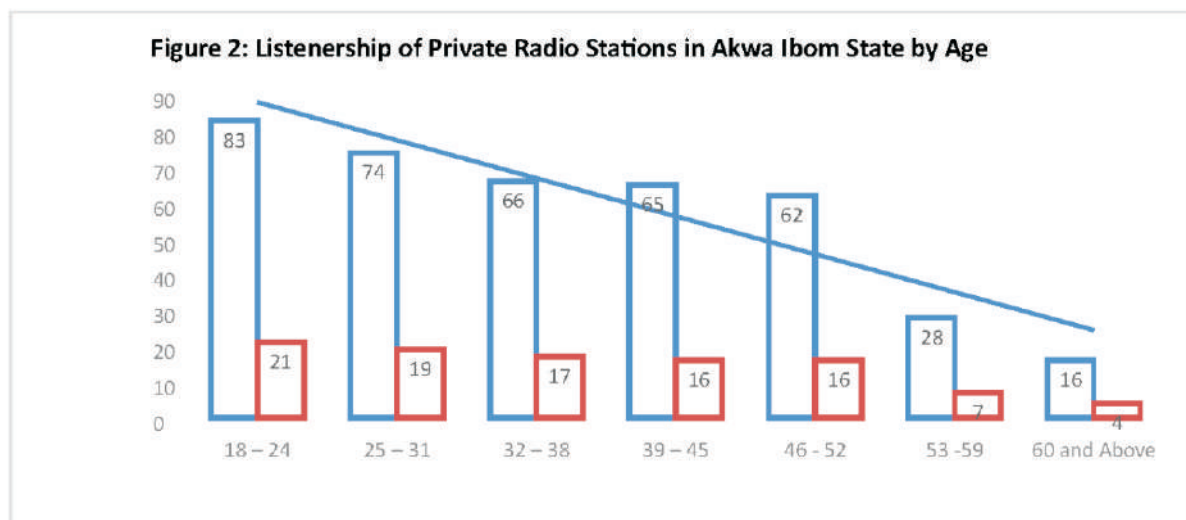
Source: Field data, 2023

The data analysed in Figure 2 suggest that audience from the age category of 18-24 (83[21%]) were the most active, vibrant and visible listenership group that attends to the broadcast programming and scheduling of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State. The analysis reveals a shocking trend that listenership of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State decreases with age.

Figure 3: Audience's Frequency of Exposure to Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State
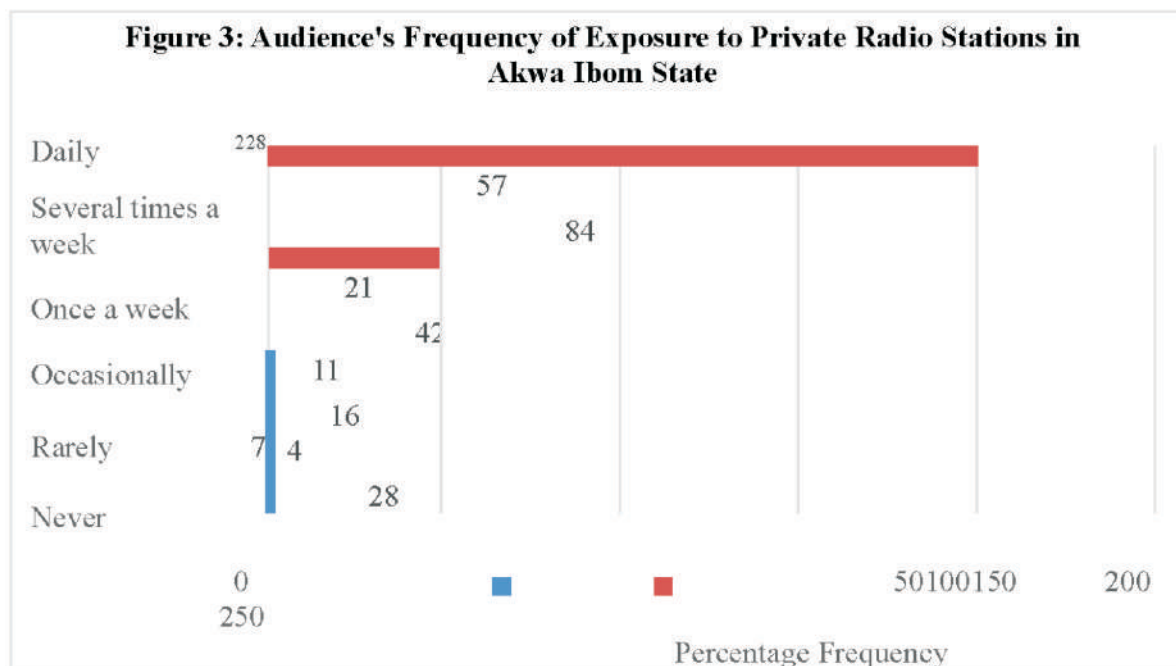
Source: Field data, 2023

The analysis of data in Figure 3 shows that majority of audience (228 [57%]) in Akwa Ibom State listen to private radio stations on a daily basis. This implies that audience in Akwa Ibom State have a daily exposure to the broadcast programming and scheduling of private radio stations in the State.

Figure 4: Audience's Preferred Platform of Exposure to Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State
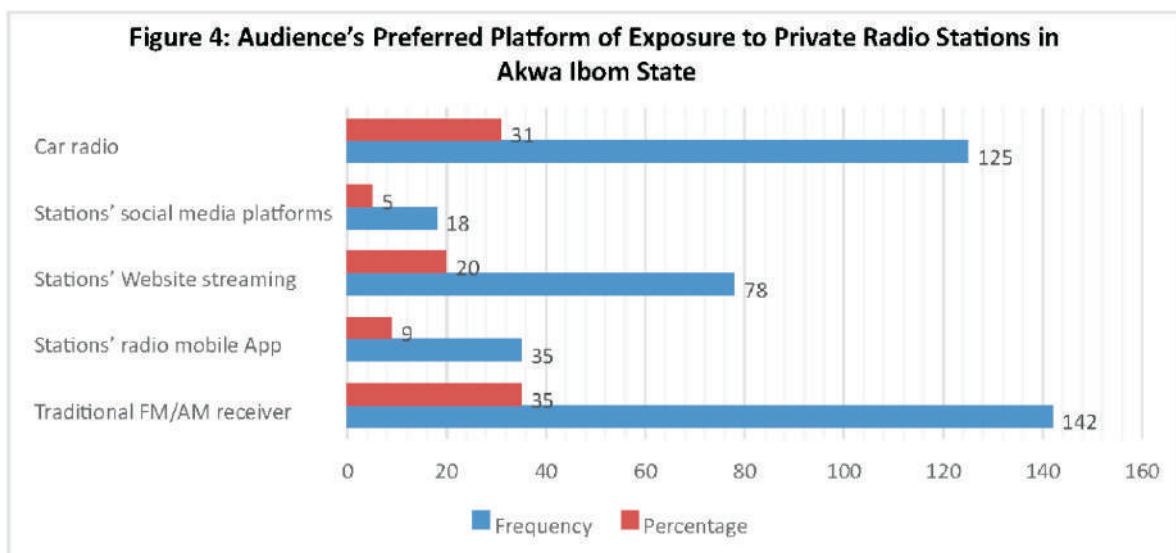
Source: Field data, 2023

The data displayed in Figure 4 reveal the diverse platforms in which audience in Akwa Ibom State access the contents of private radio stations in the State. Analysis of the data reveals that a greater segment of the audience gain access to the private radio stations via traditional receiving sets (142 [35%]).

Figure 5: Audience's most Preferred Time of Listening to Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State

Source: Field data, 2023

The analysis of data in Figure 5 indicates that a greater segment of audience in Akwa Ibom State mostly preferred to listen to private radio stations in the State in the morning (160[40%]) as against any other time of the day or week.

Figure 6: Audience's Responses on Satisfaction of Private Radio Stations' Programming as Core Variable Influencing their Preference of Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State

Source: Field data, 2023

The data analysis in Figure 6 shows that a greater segment of the audience (151[38%]) in Akwa Ibom State strongly agreed that their preference of the private radio stations' is influenced by the satisfaction they derive from the stations' programming. A cumulative analysis of affirmative responses shows that majority of 284 (72%) audience in the State agreed that their preference of the private radio stations' is influenced by the satisfaction they derive from the stations' programming.

Figure 7: Audience's Opinions of Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State Effectively Catering to their Preferences
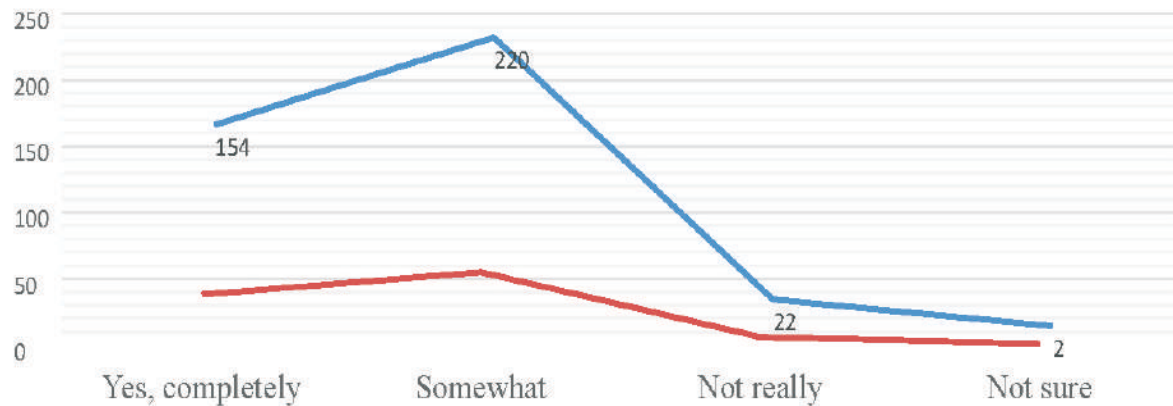
Source: Field data, 2023

The analysis of data in Figure 7 suggests that majority of 220 (55%) audience in Akwa Ibom State do not have a clear-cut opinion on whether or not private radio stations in the State cater to their preferences. This implies that the audience have no idea of the private radio stations serving the diverse interests, demands and desires of the listening audience.

Figure 8: Audience's Rating of the Level of Professionalism engaged by Private Radio Stations in Akwa Ibom State
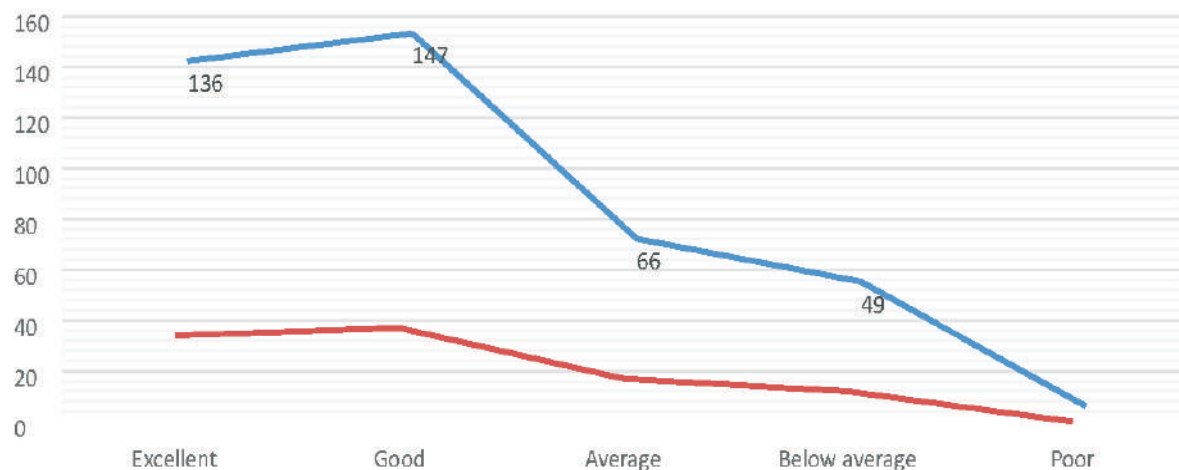
Source: Field data, 2023

The data analysed in Figure 8 indicate that a greater segment of audience (147[37%]) rated the level of professionalism engaged by the private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State as being good instead of being excellent (136 [34%]).

Discussion

Demographic data analysed in Figure 1 indicated that 55% of private radio listenership base in Akwa Ibom State were majorly male while female tag along with 45% of the listenership base. These data have informed a clear-cut idea that audience of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State were predominantly males. It can be said that listenership of private radio stations in the State are male-dominated. Some factors that account for this may be that the programming and scheduling of the private radio stations appeal more to the male audience that their female counterparts. It is from such perspective that it is insinuative to say that private radio listenership in the State is men's affair. Available findings in a study conducted by Adamu, Abubakar & James (2020) also revealed that majority of private radio stations' listenership were males.

In Figure 2, the analysis of data suggests that audience from the age category of 18-24 (83 [21%]) were the most active, vibrant and visible listenership group that attends to the broadcast programming and scheduling of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State. The analysis reveals a shocking trend that listene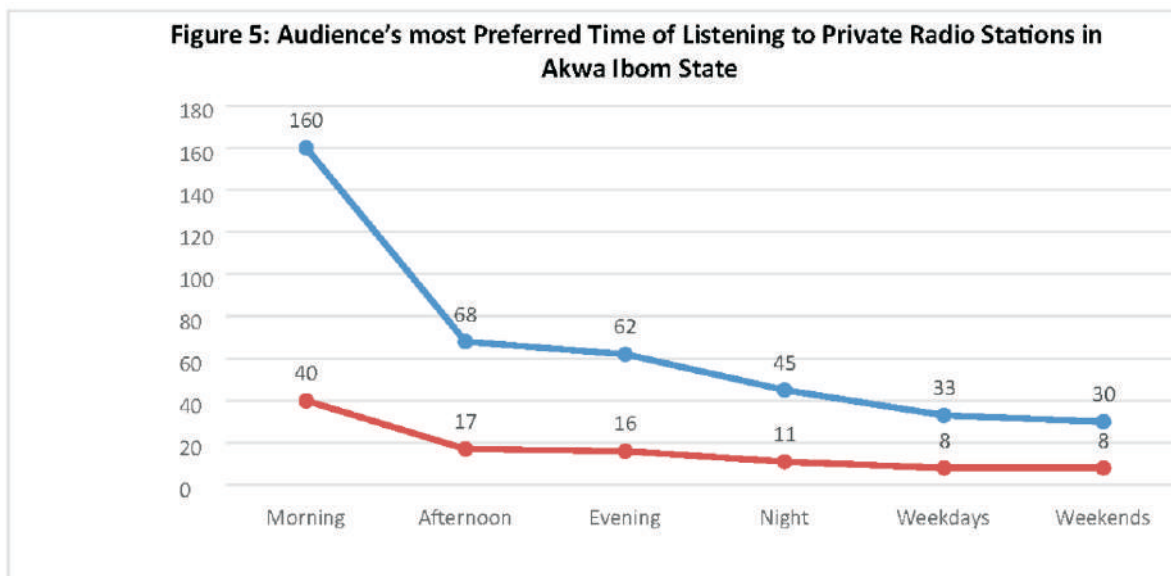rship of private radio stations in the State declines with increase in listeners' age. The data seem to indicate that the older the listeners are in age, the less they attend to private radio listenership. Hence, research evidences on the declining interests, concerns or desires to private radio stations as a result of audience's increase in age abound (see Figure 2). Thus, private radio listenership in the State seems to be the younger the audience's age category, the larger the listenership base. The findings in a study conducted by Adamu, Abubakar & James (2020) also revealed similar declining trend in private radio listenership with recourse to age. In the study, it was found that majority of private radio listeners in Bauchi were between the age range of 24-29. This confirms the results of the present study that most private stations' programming has youth appeal and flavour.

The analysis of data in Figure 3 shows that though all the respondents had exposure to private radio stations at their most convenient time, majority of them (228[57%]) listen to private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State on a daily basis. The result of the analysis implies that residents in Akwa Ibom State had a daily exposure to the broadcast progra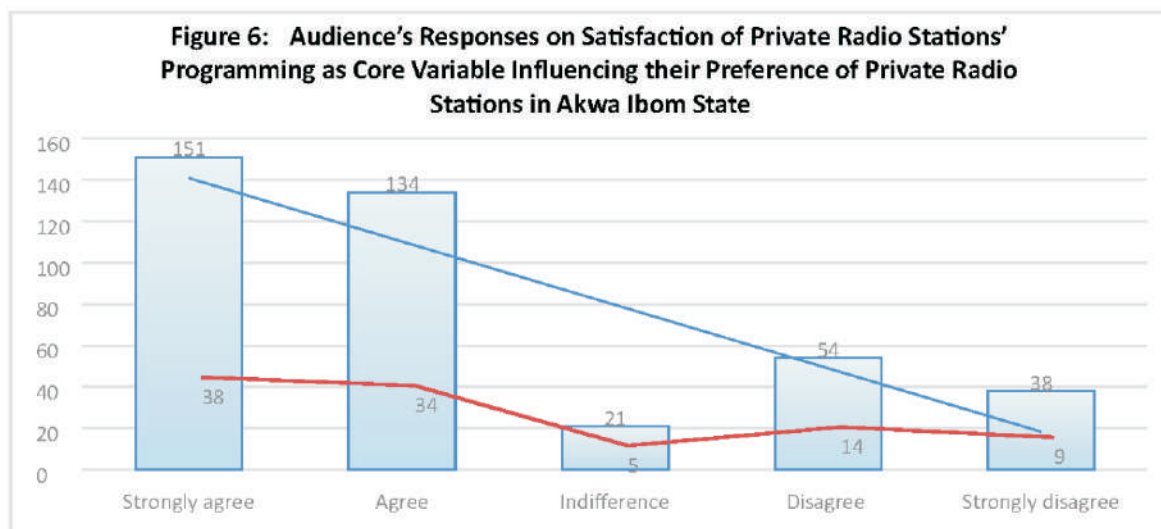mming and scheduling of private radio stations in the State. That audience have daily exposure to radio stations' offering was also found in a study conducted by Chioma, Solo-Anaeto and Jegede (2015). In the study, the researchers documented that majority (70%) of the respondents were active listeners of *Inspiration 92.3 FM* because they tune-in on a daily basis.

The data analysis and results in Figure 4 reveal the diverse platforms in which audience in Akwa Ibom State access the contents of private radio stations in the State. Analysis of the data reveals that a greater segment of the audience gain access to the private radio stations via traditional receiving sets (142[35%]) followed by car radio (125[31%]). The analysis suggests that novel receiving technologies/innovations such as streaming (78[20%]), social media platforms (18[5%]) and mobile applications (35[9%]) were not popularly utilised among the audience. This suggest that audience of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State did not follow the emerging trends in accessing radio contents heralded by the affordances of new communication technologies but were stuck to the traditional method of access.

The analysis of data and results in Figure 5 indicate that a greater segment of audience in Akwa Ibom State mostly preferred to listen to private radio stations in the morning (160[40%])

as against any other time of the day or week. The results also indicate a shocking revelation that even on weekends (30[8%]) which supposed to be a kind of resting period from the week's tediousness, listenership to private radio stations was in a state of decline.

The data analysis in Figure 6 shows that a greater segment of the audience (151[38%]) in Akwa Ibom State strongly agreed that their preference of the private radio stations' is influenced by the satisfaction they derived from the stations' programming. A cumulative analysis of affirmative responses shows that majority of 284 (72%) audience in the State agreed that their preference of the private radio stations was influenced by the satisfaction they derive from the stations' programming. Five percent of the audience were indecisive on the issue while a cumulative analysis would reveal 92 (23%) of the audience expressing negative responses.

The analysis of data in Figure 7 suggests that majority of 220 (55%) audience in Akwa Ibom State do not have a clear-cut opinion on whether or not private radio stations in the State cater to their preferences. This implies that the audience have no idea of the private radio stations serving the diverse interests, demands and desires of the listening audience (see Figure 7). In Figure 8, a greater percentage of the audience (147[37%]) rated the level of professionalism of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State as being 'good' while 34% rated the stations' professionalism as being 'excellent' (see Figure 8). This means that private radio stations were merely good in what they do and far from being excellent.

Summary of Findings

Based on the analysis of data and discussion of the results of the findings in line with research objectives, the following major findings were made that:

I.   Majority of the audience (228 [57%]) in Akwa Ibom State listened to the private radio stations in State on a daily basis. A greater segment (160[40%]) of audience in the State mostly preferred to listen to the private radio stations in the morning as against any other time of the day or week.

ii.   From order of higher to lower preference, it was found that audience in Akwa Ibom State mostly preferred the following programmes on the private radio stations: News update/ Commentary (12%); Music (11%); Radio drama (10%); Political programmes (10%); Talk shows/Discussion/Interview programmes (10%); Radio shows/Call-In Programmes (9%); Commercials (9%); Educational supplements (8%); Sport Updates (8%); Religious programmes (7%); and Traffic updates (6%). *i Comfort 95.1 FM* (54 [14%]) was the most preferred radio station by audience in Akwa Ibom State. By this preference, the station seemingly enjoys a 14% market share of the State's radio industry.

ii.   a greater percentage (36%) of the audience in Akwa Ibom State were somewhat satisfied with listening to private radio stations in the State while 41% were very satisfied while 38% of the audience strongly agreed that their preference of the private radio stations was influenced by the satisfaction they derived from the stations' programming.

iii   The major factors that influenced audience listenership of private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State was the private radio stations' language of expression on air (15%); quality/fidelity of their radio signal reception (14%); local news coverage (13%); engaging

radio hosts/AOPs (12%); variety of programme genre (11%); recommendation from other listeners (11%); and sense of community involvement (10%).

Conclusion

This study has opened vistas into the fact that private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State play significant roles in informing, educating and entertaining their audience. It has also revealed the level of competitiveness these stations have engaged in staying afloat the radio industry in the State. There is an implication that if these stations must remain in business, they must be audience-centric in their delivery and operation. Hence, the audience become the sole formula for balancing the equation of competition and survival in the radio industry palpable in the State.

It therefore becomes obvious that a radio station that is not committed to the needs, desires and aspirations of the audience is operating in obsolesce as the audience will not prefer to tune in. But a radio that commits to satisfying audience's diverse needs, tastes and desires as occasioned by their individual differences will enjoy the preference of the audience.

Recommendations

Based on the analysis of data and results obtained in the study, the following recommendations were made that:

I   Private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State should introduce programmes, programming schedule and strategies that would attract large listenership among women.

ii Programmes that appeal to the older population of the audience should be produced and broadcast on private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State.

iii Private radio stations in Akwa Ibom State should popularise their innovative platforms for accessing their programmes.

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An Examination of the Philosopher, Emmanuel Christus' (CIRCA 0-33 A.D.) Paradigm for Sociopolitical Leadership

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Abstract

This paper has the objective of projecting the philosopher, Emmanuel Christus' (Emmanuel, the Christ and Lord) ideas on sociopolitical leadership as model, both in theory and practice. There is no gain saying the fact that human sociopolitical, economic and environmental existence is fraught with numerous challenges. Several theories, in the past and present, such as democracy, socialism, welfarism, have been advanced to take care of these problems and challenges. In practice, the global human society has witnessed different types of leaders and their leadership tactics and ingenuity. However, it would appear that these theories and leadership tactics have not satisfactorily assuaged the universal clamour for a better human society, any more than they have initiated global peace, order and harmony. They orderliness which is noticeable in nature and creation, seems to be disrupted by gradual human actions, inactions and blunders. It is at the backdrop of this disorderliness that the necessity for search for a criterion (criteria) or principle (principles) of action, that would not only be intellectually refreshing, universally useful and globally appealing, was born. Thus, Emmanuel Christus' (Emmanuel, the Christ and Lord) paradigm shift in thought and action, in respect of sociopolitical leadership, recommends itself for our consideration as paradigm for the desired change in human relationship. For the proper treatment of the subject matter, I applied the philosophical methods of reflection, analysis, critical appraisal and normative prescriptions. It is hoped that my little efforts would be relevant to scholars interested in issues of leadership, contribute to literature in the area, as well as expand the vision and perception of the issues involved.

Keywords: Emmanuel Christus, Philosopher, Sociopolitical Leadership, Paradigm.

Introduction

The dearth of rightful leaders ("de jure" authority) and just governments ("de facto" authority) in the global human society is a recurrent sociopolitical phenomenon. Many societies have "de facto authority" (incumbent leaders/rulers), who are neither responsible to

their duties, nor accountable to the citizens whom they lead/rule. Some have "de jure authority" (rightful or duly elected leaders/rulers) who are either confused about or unwilling to apply proper principles that can guarantee meaningful changes and transformation, as well as establish stable peace and joy in the terrestrial domain. This lack of true and good leadership has affected all other areas of sociopolitical engagements, such as administration, management, governance and organization. Given this background, several authorities in sociopolitical philosophy, such as Plato, Machiavelli, Karl Marx, John Locke, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Dr. Julius Nyerere and Prof. P. O. Iroegbu, have tried to proffer both theoretical and practical solutions that can meet societal needs. Nevertheless, it does not seem their principles and praxis (practice) are good enough to guarantee permanent peace and justice in human, social and environmental relationship.

Permanent peace in sociopolitical sphere always looks a mirage, just as justice seems illusory. In my research on sociopolitical field, I came across Plato's recommendations for the Philosopher-king as an elixir. Plato contended that "unless the philosopher becomes king or the group of people now known as politicians apply themselves to the discipline of philosophy, the society will not know true peace and genuine progress" (Confer: Plato's Republic). From my vantage point as a Christian and relying heavily upon the veritable authority of the Bible and Christian sources, I have noted the Lord, Emmanuel, the Christ or Jesus Christ as the Philosopher that possesses such qualities and expounds such theories and principles that can conveniently and reliably guarantee a just, peaceful, progressive and happy human society. In his ingress into human history, he taught "the true knowledge of the hierarchical structure of beings in existence and their due and proper respects, which in turn, …ignites deserved attention to all individuals, things, occasions, events, situations and circumstances" (Nwankwor, in Ukagba 2013: 56).

Moreover, Emmanuel Christus (Latin) has taught essential principles that are capable of establishing sociopolitical orderliness, harmony, excellence and beauty, such as "love, forgiveness, justice, peace, unity, altruism, truthfulness, understanding, concern and accountability" (Nwankwor, in Ukagba 2013: 57). The trust of this paper is to highlight those essential ideas, concepts and principles, which Emmanuel, the Christ and Lord, emphasized for social, political and logical coherence, "unity of beings which in turns encourages comprehensive appreciation of their inherent and integral goodness in one Holy Divinity" (Nwankwor, in Ukagba 2013:58). These ideas and principles which he sowed are, no doubt, capable of standing sociopolitical leadership on firm and solid foundations. In the meantime, my endeavour is to justify some of the concepts I used here, the claims made, and the positions I took in the paper.

Who is Emmanuel Christus?

Emmanuel Christus (Latin) is the Lord Jesus Christ, the anointed son of God and "the image of the invisible God" (Col. 1:15), who came according to Christian sources to redeem humanity from the bondage of sin that originated from the disobedience of human progenitors – Adam and Eve. Emmanuel Christus is my choice way of addressing the Lord, Jesus Christ, to emphasize the fact of his closeness to humanity, and his anointing as Divine. From Biblical sources, Emmanuel, the Christ and Lord, possesses superb qualities that assures his authority

to define the principles that undergird sociopolitical leadership, as he is "the way, the truth and life" (John 14:16). His words and deeds, teachings and actions are very illuminating. "From His birth in a Bethlehem's stable to His death on the cross, He lived on this earth for less than forty years (reliable records place His entire earthly sojourn at thirty-three years), ... He never wrote a book, taught a seminar, or created a detailed outline for His disciples to follow... yet His followers today (over two thousand years after His physical death) number more than one billion, with billion more people joining every year" (Briner and Pritchard Printchard 1997:1). In fact, like the philosopher Socrates, he wrote no books, but became so very popular by his disciples.

The name, Emmanuel Christus (my preferred way of addressing the Lord, Jesus Christ) is a combination of Jesus Christ's two (2) popular names from the Biblical sources. The name Emmanuel which simply translates "God-is-with-us," was first announced by an ancient prophet, Isaiah to denote God's ever-presence with His people (Isaiah 7:14). In the whole Christian Biblical setup, the name, appropriately and properly identifies with Jesus, also called the Son of the Most High God (Luke 1:32). The ancillary name – "Christus" (Latin), simply means "the Anointed, a name given to Jesus: a Messiah," (Kirkpatrick 1983:2241), the historically expected "Deliverer" of the Jews. According to Old law, priests (Exodus 29:29; Leviticus 4:3), Kings (l 4)

Samuel 10:1; 24:7), and prophets (Isaiah 61:1) were supposed to be anointed for their respective offices..." (Mass, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia 19:10: Online Retrieved in 2013*). From these perspective, Christus (Latin) is also regarded as the supreme priest, the King of the Universe, as well as the highest of all the Prophets. Thus, Emmanuel Christus, in our present usage, simply signify the anointed Son of God whose authority in all fields of endeavour, especially in sociopolitical issues and discussions, may not be ignored.

Who is the Philosopher?

By the philosopher here is understood a lover of wisdom, a term got from Greek etymologies of the word – **philosophos;** "philos," friend – "phileein," to love and **Sophia,** wisdom. A philosopher, no doubt, is one versed in or devoted to philosophy, a lover of wisdom – where wisdom is understood as "the ability to make right use of knowledge" or the correct application of knowledge (Kirkpatrick 1983: 1499).

From a metaphysician perspective, a philosopher is "one who acts calmly and rationally in the affairs and changes of life" (Kirkpatrick 1983: 961). Philosophy (n) as originally understood is the "pursuit of wisdom and knowledge; an investigation of the nature of being; the knowledge of the causes and laws of all things; the principles underlying any department of knowledge …reasoning… etc. (Kirkpatrick 1983: 961).

However, when we talk about wisdom and knowledge, the Bible, one of the most ancient and reliable of all Books, contends that these come from the spirit of God Almighty, the creator, maker, or supreme course of the universe and all there is. The Bible also was firm in confirming that the spirit of "wisdom and knowledge" shall rest upon "the stump of Jesse," who historically has been traced to Emmanuel Christus, the Lord, Jesus Christ (Confer: Isaiah 11:1-3). Thus, from all perspectives, Emmanuel Christus, no doubt, is the philosopher par excellence.

What is Meant by Paradigm?

The word "Paradigm," simply means "an example" or "examplar." In more technical terms, the *Chambers Dictionary* defines "Paradigm" as "a basic theory, a conceptual framework within which scientific theories are constructed" (Kirkpatrick 1983:920). The word paradigm has two Greek roots "Para" which means beside or beyond and "deiknynar" which means "to show." When combined, the Greek word – "paradeigma – paradeiknynai" means "to exhibit side by side," while its French equivalent is "Paradigme." From this perspective, paradigm is an example or examplar when considered side by side other things, persons, or issues of like nature or characteristics. That is why the *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* of current English defines it technically or formally as "a typical example or pattern of something." In respect of Grammar, the Oxford defines it as "a set of all the different forms of a word" (Hornby 2010:1064). The same *Oxford Dictionary* went ahead to define "paradigm shift" (noun) as "a great and important change in the way something is or thought about" (Hornby 2010:1064). Emmanuel Christus is his revolutionary thoughts, actions and deeds, actually brought a paradigm shift in nature and understanding of creation, creatures and their principles in being and existence.

What do we Mean by Sociopolitical Leadership?

The word **Socio-political,** as I wrote somewhere, is the adjective of the compound words social and political, which in turn is derived from two nouns – "society" and "politics" respectively. "Society," as we intend to use it here, is an association of human beings and suggests the whole complex of the relations of man to his fellows. It consists of "the complicated network of groups and institutions expressing human association" (Appadorai 1975:13). Thus, when we mean society here, we do not just mean the state, (although it is no excluded), but we mean the entire gamut of man's relationship with fellow man in his divine terrestrial domain.

On the other hand, "Politics" as I use it here, is the act or science of managing and administering human affairs. It is as I noted elsewhere, "a science that deals with the intricacies and maneuverings in socio-political and economic existence and living" which by so doing, "tries to find out the ideal structure of human-environmental sustenance" (Nwankwor 2006:35). In politics, more than anywhere else; man is challenged to make optimum use of his God's-given rationality in solving or finding solutions to his existential questions and quandaries. That is why A. Appodorai defines politics as "the science concerned with the state and of the conditions essential to its existence and development," which also treats of "the foundations of the state and the principles of government" (Appodorai 1975:4).

However, Prof. Joseph I. Omoregbe has defined sociopolitical philosophy as "the philosophical investigation on how best society should be organized in order to provide man with what he needs…, to develop himself (and his potentials) and live a happy life" (Omeregbe, 2007: vi). This organization of the society, for effective productivity and maximum satisfaction, rests squarely with the leadership. A good and true sociopolitical leadership which should have at once "de jure" and "de facto" authority, should be capable of leading, directing, guiding, organizing, administering, managing, the complicated network of social groups, associations, institutions and establishments that form the horizon of human socio-environmental and existential sphere, propelling these to their fundamental objectives, goals, aspirations and ends

in life and existence. To prosper in this endeavour, the sociopolitical leadership must be imbued with Divine wisdom which is the focal principle and dynamic law of existential prosperity, happiness and longevity. That is why I reasoned elsewhere that "leaders determine the pace of progress, while the other citizens directs or dictate the way" (Nwankwor, 2008:69; Cat. Three, No. 373). Whenever and wherever there is true sociopolitical leadership and citizenship, the society prosper (Confer: Proverbs 14:34).

In this article, nevertheless, we wish to limit our focus on the socio-political leadership qualities or attributes and characteristics of the Lord Jesus Christ (whom we prefer to call Emmanuel Christus), with the aim of projecting them as paradigm and "sine qua non" for our contemporary leaders and leadership who have plunged the entire global society into existential jeopardy by their ignorance, corruption, ineptitude, inefficiency, lack of true vision and mission.

Emmanuel Christus' Authority and Qualifications for Leadership:

Emmanuel Christus is eminently qualified as a leader from all round perspectives. His authority to lead is from time immemorial and indisputable. As the Word of God (John 1:1) which took flesh and dwelt among us (John 1:14), Christ (the messiah and anointed son of God) is the incarnate love of God who was sent to grant man salvation and eternal life "for God so love the world that he gave his only son, so that everyone who believes in him might not perish but might have eternal life" (John 3:16). While proclaiming punishment on the serpent who tricked Adam and Eve (the progenitors of humanity) into disobeying their creator (God), God declared inter alia: "I will make you enemies, you and the woman, your offspring and her offspring. He will crush your head and you will strike his heel" (*Christian Community Bible*, Genesis 3:15).

This offspring of woman, who is to strike the head of the cunning serpent, is Emmanuel Christus. He is the wisdom of God in dealing with the disobedience of Adam and Eve. "For though, He had the nature of God, He did not cling to His equality with God; rather He emptied Himself, taking the nature of a servant. He became like men and appeared in human likeness. He was humble and walked the path of obedience all the way to death-even the death on the cross" (Philippians 2:6-8). His food, all through his earthly existence, was to do the will of God (John 4:34). The authority of Emmanuel Christus as Divine Socio-political Leader is evidenced even from the prophecy of his name. "Therefore the Lord himself will give you this sign: the virgin shall be with child, and bear a son, and shall name him Emmanuel" (Isaiah 7:14). This Emmanuel, God-with-us, shall possess the spirit of God, and therefore his regime shall possess the marks of true socio-political order and perfect harmony in the whole of creation which include: truth and honesty, justice and peace, love and reconciliation, knowledge and understanding, unity and progress, righteousness and prosperity, wisdom and truthfulness, freedom and security. The prophet Isaiah captures the essence of Emmanuel Christus' socio-political leadership thus:

> But a shoot shall sprout from the stump of Jesse, and from his roots a bud
> shall blossom. The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him: a spirit of counsel
> and of strength, a spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord, and his

delight shall be the fear of the Lord. Not by appearance shall he judge nor by hearsay shall he decide, but he shall judge the poor with justice, and decide aright for the land's afflicted. He shall strike the ruthless with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked. Justice shall be the band around his waist and faithfulness a belt upon his lips (Isaiah 11:1-5).

Emmanuel Christus justifies His name and qualification, as the paradigm socio-political leader, in His mission statement: "the spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring glad tidings to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim liberty to captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, and to proclaim a year acceptable to the Lord" (Luke 4:18-19).

But more than verbal or epistemological justification, Emmanuel Christus ontologically justifies his name and mission in deeds, actions, behavior, words, utterances and decorum. He went about doing good-alleviating the burdens of those sufferings and oppressed, offering grace and forgiveness to sinners and down-trodden, raising the hope and expectation of the sorrowful and marginalized, and providing protection and security to the helpless and defenseless. His incarnation has indeed marked the jubilee year of freedom from darkness, illusion and falsehood; it has brought unprecedented joy, peace and happiness; he has inaugurated a kingdom of truth, justice and honesty; He has introduced a new principle for the redistribution of natural wealth and resources; and indeed has given us the grace of remission of our debts, sins and burdens. Thus, from the "de jure" and "de facto" perspectives, the authority, authenticity and qualifications of Emmanuel Christus as the paradigm socio-political cum economic leader is incontestable. The cry of the masses who witnessed the years of His gracious earthly existence is: "He has done all things well" (Mark 7:37). Unlike most earthly socio-political leaders who present no credible credentials, authority and mandate for leadership, Emmanuel Christus possesses sterling qualities of good stainless character and discipline of a just administrator, as well as the Holy Spirit of a wise judge, counselor and manager. Within the shortest possible time limits and spatial boundaries, he has reorganized the entire universal realm in their proper, essential and existential focus and divine prerogatives. He neither stole nor forced Himself into office. He was not even willing to allow people (even His disciples) to expose Him or reveal His true identity or crown Him king. He would only assert his identity and mission in order to refute falsehood or correct a wrong impression thereby putting things in their proper perspectives. He remained silent most often, but this became very infections and affective.

Emmanuel Christus' Methods and Styles of Leadership
There is hardly a linguistic paradigm to capture the socio-political leadership methods and styles of Emmanuel Christus. If we may apply a feeble language, we may import the internet ideas of Transformational Leadership to give a dim description of this master, teacher and good shepherd of all-generational socio-political leaders. The internet source describes a transformational leader as one who:

> ...enhances the motivations, morale and performance of followers through a variety of mechanisms. These include connecting the follower's sense of identity and self to the project and collective identity of the organization; being a role model for followers to take greater ownership for their work and understanding the strengths and weaknesses of followers, so the leader can align followers with task that enhance their performance. (Online:En.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transformation… Retrieved: 7 Nov., 2014)

The ingenuity of Emmanuel Christus as the paradigm socio-political leader is displayed in His choice of followers, apostles and disciples, whom He would later hand over the task of organizing, building and pruning an assembly of faithful who are focused on learning and following the way to eternal life. In His list are people of different backgrounds, classes, sexes, orientations and professions, dispositions and temperaments. The wisdom of this vast array of choice of followers is to ensure equitable distribution, fair play, meaningful representation and justice. The goal is to enhance the motivation, morale and commitment of His followers in the pursuit of the Kingdom of God. Again, by identifying with people of all classes and professions, Emmanuel Christus gives them a sense of belonging, dignifies their labours, and authenticates their earthly existence as possible pathway to eternity. By His choice also, Emmanuel Christus criticizes the prevalent discrimination, separation and inequality that exist in human affairs. He, thus, prescribes unity in diversity, since all of us (human being), divergent as we are, share the same fatherhood in God, our divine creator.

Moreover, Emmanuel Christus' leadership styles include the introduction and definition of leadership as service. In His numerous works, teachings and actions, Emmanuel Christus shows that the primary duty of a socio-political leader is to be servant or minister for the led or citizen. His healing of the sick, curing the disease, raising the dead and driving away evil spirits that tormented individuals, are all invaluable services to humanity. Indeed, He is the philanthropist (lover of mankind) par excellence. His works makes it easy for us to understand some of his teachings such as: the good Samaritan as a real neighbor; the greatest as the servant of all; and whatsoever you do to the least of these little ones, that you do unto me (Matthew 25:40). He was later to practicalize in a drama-form, the servant-leadership ideology and theory by washing the feet of His Apostles. In his parting message to His Apostles, He told them to emulate Him by washing the feet of others.

Moreover, Emmanuel Christus' leadership is characterized by proper analysis and synthesis of issues. While he agrees with Thrasymachus in Plato's Republic that "justice is giving each man his own due," He emphasizes that the goodness of each individual is in relation to the collective affiliation to divinity. Thus, His direction of justice is towards universal application and global relevance in divinity. He once declared to people who were pointing to him in the direction of particulars or individual emotional concerns: "Here are my mother and my brothers. Anyone who does the will of God that person is my brother and sister and mother" (Mark 3:31-35). He believes that one qualifies for justice (divine, social, legal or personal etc.) by being right with God.

The servant who refused to do the will of the father initially but later (Matt. 21:28-32), is recognized as deserving justice on grounds of obedience. The dishonest steward who was

reported to be squandering his master's property, was commended for acting prudently in trying to be lenient with his master's debtors (Luke 16:1-9), the dishonest servant would receive justice of forgiveness (welcome into eternal dwellings), because in trying to gain favour from his master's debtors, he wrote off their debts to him. For once, at least, he exhibited human sympathy and warmth of heart. His clever or prudent action is considered as wise judgment which synchronizes with another of Emmanuel Christus' teachings: "Forgive and you will be forgiven" (Luke 6:37). Moreover, the repentant sinner who was crucified with Emmanuel Christus was forgiven and promised paradise on similar grounds of showing compassion, concern and mercy. This also corresponds with another teaching of His: "Blessed are the merciful for they will be shown mercy" (Matthew 5:7). The repentant sinner's merciful disposition on the cross is counted as a righteous act which qualifies him for justice of forgiveness and the favour of entering eternal paradise. In the main, righteousness for Christus and with God, is the foundation of justice (divine, social, legal, personal etc.), and not religious affiliations, socio-political leanings, party membership and loyalty, blood or biological ties, ethnicity, tribalism, god-fatherism, sex, kinship, "kpolakpo," material, paternal, maternal or fraternal connections. This righteousness incorporates in itself the idea of fairness.

The woman who was caught in the very act of adultery was to be stoned to death by the legal terms of the Old Testament (law). However, Christus, who came to give full meaning and interpretation of the laws, saw in the demand to kill the adulteress some basic injustice. First, the co-adulterer was not brought or mentioned; and secondly, the accusers themselves were, one way or the other, guilty. He gave them a puzzle which set the woman free from death penalty, and gave her an opportunity of repentance and making restitution for her sin by declaring to her: "go, sin no more." By this declaration, Emmanuel Christus shows total condemnation of sin in all its ramifications, criticizing the ungodly intention of death penalty, set at the background of injustice and unfairness.

Emmanuel Christus' socio-political leadership prescribes the methodology of inclusion and unity as He criticizes all exclusive, seclusive, segregative, separative and disunitive methods and ideologies. He has compassion and regard for all classes of people including children. He was indignant with his disciples for trying to turn the children away from being touched by Him. Opposing the attitude of the disciples he said: "let the little children come to me; do not stop them…" (Mark 10:13-16). Christus' actions contrast with the attitude of most socio-political leaders who are unconcerned about unemployed youths and general welfare of the young and children. Most socio-political leaders who have obstructing P.A.'s (personal assistants) like Emmanuel Christus' disciples, would, unlike Christus, be unconcerned, too busy, impatient and unwilling to give ear to the petitions of those in the lower rung of social ladder, not to talk of paying attention to their problems or attending to their needs (files inclusive) of their perceived enemies.

In place of global socio-political insecurity, anarchy and chaos, Emmanuel Christus came to inaugurate true peace on earth. He was born as prophesized "a prince of peace" (Isaiah 9:5-6), the angels sang at His birth – "glory to God in the highest and on earth peace to men of goodwill" (Luke 2:14). In a parting dialogue with his disciples he said: "my peace I give to you, not as the world gives…" (John 14:27). All earthly socio-political leaders and ideologies, put together, have not been able to articulate the conditions and criteria of true peace on earth which

Emmanuel Christus' thought. This inability to articulate the integral criteria of true peace is the cause of global insecurity, disorderliness and chaos. Emmanuel Christus' criteria and conditions, however, are integral in the sense that they meet all practical dimension of existential orderliness. The criteria incorporate the Holy Spirit as the active principle of love, mercy, forgiveness, justice, righteousness, goodness, unity and co-operation.

However, the inability to apply these principles integratively with the assistance of the Holy Spirit could engender disaffection, instability, misunderstanding, quarrelling, fighting, warring insecurity, disorderliness, anarchy and chaos which are direct opposites of peace, that is why Emmanuel Christus frankly informed his audience in Matthew 10:34-36: and Luke 12:51-53: "Do you think I have come to bring peace upon the earth, I have come to bring not peace, but the sword. For I have come to set "a man against his father, a daughter against her mother, and a daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and one's enemies will be those of his household"

(Matthew 10:34-36). But the most significant and impressive method and style of socio-political leadership which Emmanuel Christus introduced is the balance between freedom and authority. This indeed is His socio-political ingenuity.

Emmanuel Christus' Wisdom And Leadership Ingenuity on Authority and Freedom

The most significant wisdom and ingenuity which Emmanuel Christus introduced in socio-political field is in the area of authority and Freedom. Authority and freedom are in themselves very vast designates. The areas they cover are vast, ominous and transcendent. The terms apply in such contexts as: the natural and supernatural; the socio-political and socio-economic; the religious and cultural; the professional and the technical; the scientific and the philosophical; the moral and the psychological, just to mention but a few. In our present context, our discussion ought to be limited to socio-political authority and freedom, but given the unique figure of our treatment and the interlocking relationship that exist in considerations of the concepts of authority and freedom, we may, at times inadvertently, be making reference(s)to one or the other type of authority and freedom.

We need to point out "ab initio" (from the beginning) that all "authorities in authority" are mere participants in the creative freedom and wisdom which God endowed existence for the generative activity of "increasing, multiplying and subduing the earth" (Genesis 1:28). To comprehend the proper nature and goal of things in existence, God sent us His son, Emmanuel Christus, to guide us to the light of truth of socio-political order, "for God so loved the world that he gave his only son, so that everyone who believes in him might not perish but might have eternal life" (John 3:16). It is this authority to teach, direct, guide all to eternal life in God, their creator, that makes Emmanuel Christus' leadership unique and exceptional. Thus, though Emmanuel Christus has supreme and unlimited authority and freedom in socio-political and all other spheres, he decided to balance them to show us a model of living. When a test was put to Him on payment of taxes to the authority of Caesar, he puzzled them with the answer: "give to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's" (Matthew 22:21). In other words, as the tax was to be paid to Caesar with a coin bearing his insignia, so is Caesar supposed to bring all taxes paid to him, together with himself, to the authority whose insignia Caesar himself bore namely God, his maker and guarantor of authority. By this answer also, Emmanuel Christus emphasis

the importance of obedience and respect to temporary authorities, who are equally themselves expected to unreservedly honour and obey God, who granted them the opportunity and privilege of occupying their various positions. That is why St. Paul writing to the Romans admonished:

> Let every person be subordinate to the higher authority, for there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been established by God. Therefore, whoever resists authority opposes what God has appointed, and those who oppose it will bring judgment upon themselves (Zinkuratire, 2010:1905; Romans 13:1-2).

Be that as it may, it must be emphasized that obedience and respect to temporal authorities are in respect of what is right and never with regard to what is wrong. "So St. Paul, just as us, is certainly not encouraging a blind obedience even to dictators who have no respect for the law of God" (Zinkuratire 2010:1905 (Footnote); Romans 13:1). Christus overtly condemned the thinking and activities of the Pharisees, Scribes, publicans and other authorities in His earthly life who observed the letters of the Sabbath regulations, and other laws forgetting their real spirit and God's demand by those rules and laws. St. Thomas Aquinas in the summa Theologiae has enlisted about seven criteria for obedience to civil authorities.2 We must even note that a "de facto" authority, who is not elected properly, appointed or voted into office, "has no locus standi" (proper position/stand) of exercising power, and what is more, if he/she exercises such powers capriciously, irresponsibly or without respect to God and His laws. Even in the case of a "de jure" authority (those properly constituted), the thrust of their exercise of power should be in the direction of what is good, acceptable, and mature and in consonance with divine laws. Also in conflict situations we, just like the apostles of old (confer: Acts 5:29; 14:19), "must obey God rather than man" (civil authorities). Thus, unquestionable obedience is not necessarily to be given to temporal or civil authorities but to God, who is the Supreme authority in all ramifications of authority.

However, all authorities in heaven, on earth and underneath have been given to Emmanuel Christus (confer: 1 Cor. 15:24; Col. 2:10; 1 Peter 3:22; Jude 25). That is why "at (the call/mention of) the name of Jesus every knee should bend… those in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Philippians 2:10-11). As God, Emmanuel Christus is all powerful and all power proceeds from Him as supreme authority. By authority here is meant "a claim of legitimacy, the justification and right to exercise that power" (www.en.wikipedi.org/wiki/authority). Max Weber distinguishes three types of legitimacy in authority (viz: namely, rational legal, traditional and charismatic). It is amazing to realize that in all of these senses Emmanuel Christus is eminently qualified as *supreme authority*. However, Christus authority in our present context proceeds from his total obedience and unreserved submissiveness to the will of God, the Father, in all things and at all times. In like manner, all earthly authorities and ministers ought to emulate Christus in obedience and submissiveness to the will of God in all things and at all times and circumstances.

On Freedom

The concept of freedom, just like that of authority which we have perused, has many connotations and is used in vast fields including economy, religion, culture, arts, science, environmental and ecological studies, politics, philosophy, arts etc. likewise there are several authorities on freedom and their views differ extensively. In the socio-political sphere for instance, people have made distinctions of "freedom from" and "freedom to," individual/personal freedom and collective/public freedom. People also talk of freedom here in terms of independence and autonomy. There are so many diverse opinions that at times people call freedom, unfreedom, and unfreedom, freedom; such that the views are often miscontrued or even antithetical to one another. However, political freedom is a significant feature of democratic societies. "It has been described as a relationship free of oppression or coercion; the absence of disabling conditions of an individual and the fulfillment of enabling conditions; or the absence of lived conditions of compulsion, example economic compulsion in a society" (www.en.wikipedia /... Political Freedom). Political freedom, in this sense, guarantees the meaningful survival of an individual in social and political milieu. "Left wing political philosophy generally couples the notion of freedom with that of positive liberty, or the enabling of a group or individual to determine their own life or realize their own potential. Freedom in this sense may include: freedom from poverty, starvation, treatable disease and oppression, as well as freedom from force and coercion, from whomever they may issue" (www.en.wikipedia/.../Political Freedom).

Emmanuel Christus gave full meaning to the idea of freedom, just as He asserted that "you shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free" (1 John 8:32). In His healing miracles of different diseases and of those who were possessed and oppressed by different existential forces, as well as his physical and spiritual feeling for those starving of material food and the word of God, He demonstrated His assertion in His mission statement: "The spirit of God is upon me (Him) and it has anointed me (Him) to set the captives free" (Lk. 4:18). Christus indeed is the supreme Divine authority who came to balance authority and freedom. His supreme authority and freedom were not to oppress, subjugate, irritate, or tyrannize the less privilege and down-trodden, but to assist them, heal them, sympathize with them, give them new sense of belonging, and offer hope of existence as well as (give them) life in abundance. Here authority which terrorizes and used to be feared is brought to balance with freedom of the individual and society to choose and determine their existential goals and aspirations. Even though Christus wills that we choose the right and peaceful ways which are the true one He taught us. He, nonetheless, leaves us with the freedom to choose our own destinies. Thus, by these, He teaches us the true ways that leads to freedom indeed.

From Emmanuel Christus perspectives, we see the confirmation of Hannah Arendt's views that "freedom was historically inseparable from political action" (en.wikipedia/.../Political Freedom). Just as Hannah Arendt conceives the idea of freedom as "capacity to begin anew," "the freedom to call something into being which did not exist before, which was not given, not even as an object of cognition or imagination, and which therefore, strictly speaking, could not be known," (en.wikipedia/.../Political Freedom), so Christus handling of freedom was novel and emulative. His freedom meant bringing new innovations and ideas for socio-political order. His freedom also meant, both in political and social spheres, actions for the enhancement

and betterment of the human society. The old legalistic systems and mosaic legislations He viewed in their proper perspectives and spirit, not necessarily according to their wordings and letters. It is from this perspective that we can also appreciate His claims: "I am the way, the truth and life" (John 14:6). He indeed is the truth about things; and the way to the true nature of things, which leads us to knowledge of true things that liberates or sets free. In the political and social realms, He has set standards which lead to the truth that eventually sets free. In the socio-political sphere, He sets structures that can guarantee maximum security for minorities, as John Dalberg-Action would suggest. His action of freedom "pari-passu" authority is not autocracy, suppression or negligence. It is rather creatively novel as encapsulated in the idea of a lion sitting with a lamb and a small child playing with them (confer: Isaiah 65:25). So both theoretically (in His teachings) and practically (in His actions), Christus has wisely and prudently demonstrated that sovereign authority with its paraphernalia of power and influence can concomitantly co-exist with freedom of the individual, groups and societies in united action for the progress, development and creative enrichment of the human society and existential environment.

After all, some notable philosophers like Alasdair Macintyre reasons that freedom owes its existence to our "social interdependence with other people" (www.en.wikipedia/.../Political Freedom). Certainly, God who created man and noted that he needed a companion and helpmate, desired him to live in peace and unity, respecting the rights, privileges and freedom of others. That is why the political philosopher, Nicolas Kompridis, thinks that the pursuit of freedom in the modern era is motivated by two ideas of: autonomy or independence and the ability to cooperatively initiate a new beginning (confer: www.en.wikipedia/.../Political Freedom). Without freedom to choose and determine our goals, the life of man would be filled with boredom and monotony; and what is more, there would be no innovations and creativity. Emmanuel Christus gave credence to God's desire for man to be co-creator in His numerous support of man's liberation from oppressive forces and untoward circumstances as well as creating various enabling grounds and avenues for man's free exercise of his talents and potentials. Even in His choice of followers and disciples, he did not go for the already known and talented; He rather chose the unknown, the weak and the unrecognized to bring them to a dignified life of leadership. By His choice and development of His followers and disciples, Christus was saying that given enabling conditions, freedom, love and care, any human being can excel to optimum and that there is dignity and glory in all human labour. That is why certain kinds of artistic and cultural practices are identified as belonging to political freedom by people like Cornelius Cathoriadis, Anthonio Gramsci, Herbert Marcuse, Jacques Ranciere, and Theodor Adomo (Confer: www.en.wikipedia/.../Political Freedom).

But more importantly, Michael Foucault thinks that political freedom has to do with "power relations" or the power of action upon actions. That is why the supreme authority of Emmanuel Christus to teach the truth and the right is the greatest enabling condition of freedom from savagery, oppression and slavery. In His teachings and actions are the true editions for freedom of all kinds: "you shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free" (John 8:32). Indeed, there can be no better grounds of basing the theory and practice of authority and freedom in all their different connotations and applications than the impeccable teaching of Emmanuel.

Christus on love, mercy, righteousness, justice, forgiveness, unity, cooperation, communion, holiness, humility, obedience and submissiveness. These principles guarantee that authority cannot become autocracy, insensitive and greedy; any more than freedom can become license leading to anarchy, chaos and disorderliness.

Evaluation: Why Paradigm?

When in antiquity the venerable sage Plato in the mouth of his mentor Socrates, was confronted with the problem of characterizing the essential quality of an ideal or paradigm society or state, he was able through rigorous reasoning to arrive at justice. Plato's idea of justice is very bogus and incorporates what contemporary philosophers and thinkers have detailed into many parts to include: fairness, equality, brotherhood, integral humanity, "ibuanyi Danda ideology," orderliness, security, righteousness, unity, progress, patriotism, nationalism, freedom, independence and self-determination, self-reliance, socialism, communism, democracy, etc. When Plato was to be confronted with an even harder question of who should manage, control, organize, administer, or be-incharge of this his paradigm or ideal state, he (still through the mouth of Socrates) was even to puzzle his audience the more by the answers:

> The society we have described can never grow into a reality or see the light of day, and there will be no end to the troubles of states, or indeed, ... of humanity itself, till philosophers become Kings in this world, or till those we now call kings and rulers really and truly become philosophers, and political power and philosophy thus come into the same hands, while the many natures now content to follow either to the exclusions of the other are forcibly debarred from doing so (Plato 1974:263).

Since Plato's philosophical prophesy was made years ago, no state or society has been free from troubles because the adjuncts of the prediction has not been fully realized.

Plato's prediction implies that the philosopher-king or ruler must not only be learned and knowledgeable but possess the qualities of educationists and educators as a follow-up to attributes; in other words, they must be philosophers-educators as well. "The philosopher educator," as I reasoned elsewhere, "is a philosopher with a difference. He is a radical teacher who teaches in all ramifications with different signs, symbols and instruments of imparting knowledge, wisdom and understanding. The philosopher-educator... knows and has the knowledge of the intellectual, spiritual, moral, social, political, economic, cultural etc. needs of his age and the geographical pendulum of the generations past, present and future... The philosopher-educator has a divine direction and dimension in teaching the society, in that real teaching necessitates wisdom, knowledge, understanding, courage, persistence, perseverance, patience, meekness, impeccable discipline, as well as infinite docility to the sparks of the spirit (Nwankwor, in Ukagba 2013:52-53). From my research so far, Emmanuel Christus meets all these requirements of a philosopher and a philosopher educator.

In theory and practice, Emmanuel Christus has taught all that is necessary and sufficient for societal order, peace, progress and real happiness. The practical wisdom He taught is able to align the entire global society into a peaceful divine-community. The lucidity of His theoretical

expositions of truth and the fecundity of His wisdom is able to unify the entire universe, endowing it with perennial vivacity, prosperity and happiness. Indeed, the wisdom and conceptual ingenuity (both theoretical and practical) which He brought in the social and political realms are at once insuperable and sublime.

It is with limited knowledge and temporal insight that people like Machiavelli recommended insecurity, duplicity and dubiousness as guarantors of socio-political stability. It is lack of Christus-type of wisdom that Hobbesian "homo lopus homini" (Man is a wolf to man) is the order in global socio-political arena. It is because of lack of Christus-like discipline and decorum that Sigmund Freud's "libido-centred psychoanalysis" is pervading the mental psyche, conscious and unconscious actions (even those of apex socio-political leadership). It is superficial understanding of Emmanuel Christus thesis on love, unity (brotherhood) and peace that have led many to tie their socio-political shoes on temporal ideologies such as democracy, socialism, capitalism or even totalitarianism.

The different systems of government adopted by global societies have either not paid proper attention to or ignored the thesis of which Emmanuel Christus spent his life and Divine resources to expose. His doctrines on peace, unity, love, justice, mercy and forgiveness etc. are quite ample for the rejuvenation of earthly existence. That they are ignored or willfully misapplied is not a question mark on their paradigmatic sagacity. Christus' socio-political wisdom still remains the firmest foundation of establishing any enduring socio-political structure. The ingenuity He brought with His analysis of socio-political structures, criticism of existing socio-political status quo, prophylactic and therapeutic prescriptions for socio-political progress and His reflective insights into the ensemble of existence is quite unique and unparalleled. He is indeed the socio-political paradigm and the greatest lesson in leadership.

Conclusion

So far, ours is a little opening into the in-depth provisions God made for man, whom He intends to live socially and politically. No man could possibly unravel the profound wisdom and implications of God-with-us, Emmanuel Christus, who came to teach, direct and guide us in the right ways to socio-political happiness. Certainly, God, the *Summum Bonum (the Highest Good),* intends us to enjoy and he be happy in our social and political existence, which is a continuation of the communion of the saints celestially and terrestrially. Along the line, the cord of this perennial happiness was severed by man's inability to manage his freedom, both personal and collective. In the wake of this anomaly, disorderliness, difficulties and troubles set in Anarchy, chaos, callousness and greed, which God checkmated by giving man rationality, then become the order of the day. Man's inhumanity to man escalated to such alarming degree that God's merciful nature and sense of justice were provoked to action. Thus, the advent of Emmanuel Christus has ushered in refreshing interpretation and meaning to socio-political existence, which is capable of restoring perfect happiness in sociopolitical affairs.

He has brought a paradigm shift in the conception of sociopolitical authority and freedom; obedience to God and His will; He has taught and demonstrated that His food is to do the will of His Father, and therefore ought to be the food of all in authority. With God and His will as the focus of any authority, there can hardly be injustice, oppression, intimidation, suppression, marginalization, sectionalism, tribalism, nepotism, tyranny, subjugation and the like. A Divine-

focused authority and leadership, just like Emmanuel Christus,' is bound to be caring, loving, and sensitive to the plight of the led, sympathetic, altruistic, sincere, honest and truthful. A Divine-focused authority and leadership, with the theory and actions of Emmanuel Christus, should be able to provide for the unemployed, the less privileged and the helpless youthful citizens that are the future pride of the society.

Moreover, Emmanuel Christus has taught and demonstrated, in practice and actions, that He is the philosopher-educator **qua tale**. The assembling of His teachings throw more light to the proper order of things **ab initio (from the beginnings).** No one single ideology or even a combination of all existing ideologies can satisfactorily proffer lasting solutions to sociopolitical quandaries. But Emmanuel Christus has in one fell swoop taught the necessary and sufficient truths that can liberate man from all sociopolitical and existential shackles and bondages. From our research so far, Emmanuel Christus is, and remains, **the paradigm philosopher in sociopolitical Leadership** both in truth and essence, that resembles Plato's projections for the ideal state.

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Human Stem Cell Research:
Bioethical Potentials and Problematics

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Abstract

Research into stems cells has generated profound scientific insight and advancement in knowledge. Scientific advancement as well as biotechnological innovations in the area of stem cell research are bedecked with great potentials and profound challenges. In the light of the complex nature of the question and the multiple dimensions of bioethical challenges and potentials that are present, the work makes a turn towards the preferential option for the interdisciplinary methodology. The work pays attention to the question of cells in general. The work also pays attention to the specific issue of stems cells and the unique capability of stem cells for unlimited self-renewal and capacity for differentiation. The work also examines the diverse dimensions of potency with regard to stems cells. The work also pays attention to the distinction between embryonic stem cells, adult stems cells, and induced pluripotent stem cells. The work also examines the bioethical potentials with regard to stem cell research, especially in the field of regenerative medicine, cell-based therapies, gestational development, histocompatibility, and the processes of producing new pharmaceutical products. In the light of the contemporary relationship between science, biotechnology, medicine and the humanities, research into stem cells hold the promise of great potentials, and there are also profound challenges. It is of the utmost importance to pay attention to the bioethical potentials and challenges with regard to stem cell research, innovations and applications. The potentials are great and the challenges are equally great. This paper affirms the importance of research into stem cells. Research into stem cells continues to be promising, in the light bioethical challenge of the dignity of human life, this work in advocating for stem cell research also affirms that stems cells research should not engage in the destructive use of human embryos, it also affirms the importance of paying attention to issues of immune rejection, compatibility, and oncogenes. The goal is the promotion of the integrity of life, human wellbeing and flourishing.

Introductory Remarks

There has been tremendous scientific advancement in the contemporary world in relation to research on stem cells. This tremendous advancement offers great potentials as well as problematics. This work examines the question of human stem cell research, with particular attention to the bioethical potentials and problematics. In an attempt to develop the groundwork for greater intellectual appreciation of the question of stem cells, the work pays attention to the question of cells in general in order to arrive at some primordial insights. The work also pays attention to the specific question of the nature of stem cells as distinct from other types of cells. It acknowledges the unique qualities of stems cells in their capacity for unlimited self-renewal and capability to differentiate into specialized cell types. The work will also pay attention to the question of the diverse forms of potency that stems cells are capable of achieving, including totipotency, pluripotency, multipotency, oligopotency and unipotency. The work will also examine the question of different types of stems cells such as embryonic stem cells, adult stem cells and induced pluripotent stem cells. The work also examines the bioethical potentials with regard to stem cell research, especially in the field of regenerative medicine, cell-based therapies, gestational development, histocompatibility, and the processes of producing new pharmaceutical products. As part of the conclusions, the work affirms the importance of stem cell research, and advocates for the form of ethical research that does not involve the destruction of human embryos. The work also affirms the importance of paying attention to the wellbeing of the recipients of stem cell therapies especially in the light of challenges emerging from immune rejection, compatibility and oncogenes.

The Nature of Cells: Primordial Insights

The progress development of understanding demands that further knowledge develops on the basis of already acquired insight and knowledge. For a better understanding of the question of stem cells, it is important to pay attention to the question of cells in a broad spectrum. The primordial insight from biological studies indicates that, the cell is the quintessential independent unit in any living system. Cells are the fundamental units of being in living things. They constitute the simplest units, in the biological existential order, capable of existing as independent living systems. "Cells are the basic building blocks of all living things. The human bodiy is composed of trillions of cells. They provide structure for the body, take in nutrients from food, convert those nutrients into energy and carry out specialized functions" (National Library of Medicine, June, 24, 2020 https://medlineplus.gov./genetics/ understanding/ basics/cells/)

In his pioneering work on cell research, with the help of a microscope, Robert Hooke observed the dried section of the cork tree, and discovered multiple small chambers which he referred to as "cells." The simple discovery of Robert Hooke is at the primordial roots of modern developments in scientific study of cells and the biology of cell theory. The cell constitutes the basic functional and structural unit of all life forms. All living organisms are

composed of cells. In the human body cells are formed by the division of already existing cells, as a result of the genetic material contained in the cell. Basic physiological and chemical functions, which include reproduction, growth, repair, movement, communication, immunity and digestion, are carried out by cells. The two fundamental types of cells are, prokaryotic and eukaryotic cells. Haygot Education, 2020 (https://www.toppr.com/guides/biology/cellstructureandfunction/). "If we exclude viruses, all cellular life can be divided into two forms: eukaryotes, which have a membrane-bound organelle, known as the nucleus that contains the cells genetic material; and the prokaryotic life forms (bacteria and archaeans) that have no nucleus" (Jules J. Berman, "Eukaryotes in Taxonomic Guide to Infectious Disease," *Understanding the Biologic Classes of Pathogenic Organisms*, 2nd Edition, Science Direct, sciencedirect.com, 2019).

The primary focus for us in this work is on eukaryotic cells. Eukaryotic cells are cells with well-defined nucleus, enclosed within the nuclear membrane, and well-defined chromosomes are located in the nucleus of the cells and the genetic materials are contained in the chromosomes. The genes which are the basic physical and functional units of heredity, are made up of Deoxyribonucleic Acid, DNA. Deoxyribonucleic Acid, DNA is the molecule that carries information for the development and functioning of the organism. Deoxyribonucleic Acid, DNA is made up of two strands known as the double helix, tightly coiled many times around proteins that are called histones. The histones support the structure of the chromosome. (National Human Genome Research Institute, https://www.genome.gov/genetics/DeoxyribonucleicAcid)

As already indicated, the biological material for hereditary, is the DNA – Deoxyribonucleic Acid. Almost every cell in the human body has the same DNA. It is the DNA that carries the instructions for making all the structures and materials the body needs to function. Most DNA is located in the cell nucleus (where it is referred to as, *nuclear DNA*), but a small amount of DNA can also be found in the mitochondria (where it is referred to as *mitochondrial DNA* or *mtDNA*). "Mitochondrial DNA, is the circular chromosome found inside the cellular organelles called mitochondria. Located in the cytoplasm, mitochondria are the site of the cell's energy production and other metabolic functions. Offspring inherit their mitochondria – and as a result mitochondrial DNA – from their mother." (Lisa H. Chadwick, "Mitochondrial DNA," National Human Genome Institute, https://www.genome.gov/ geneticsglossary/ mitochondrialdna). **DNA is** the molecule that contains the genetic code for all life forms except for a few viruses. The DNA consists of two long, twisted chains made up of *nucleotides*. Each nucleotide contains one base, one phosphate molecule, and the sugar molecule *deoxyribose*. The bases in DNA nucleotides are *adenine*, *thymine*, *guanine*, and *cytosine*.

Genes which are the basic physical and functional units of heredity, are made up of DNA. In the human body, the genes act as instructions in the process of making molecules called proteins, which are basically large, complex molecules that play many critical roles in the body. They do most of the work in cells and are required for the structure, function, and regulation of the body's tissues and organs. Proteins are made up of hundreds or thousands of smaller units called *amino acids*, which are attached to one another in long chains. There are 20 different types of amino acids that can be combined to make a protein. The sequence of amino acids determines each protein's unique 3-dimensional structure and specific function.

In the nucleus of each cell, the DNA molecule is packaged into thread-like structures called *chromosomes*. "Chromosomes are threadlike structures made of proteins and a single molecule of DNA that serve to carry the genomic information from cell to cell." (National Human Genome Research Institute, "Chromosomes" https://www.genome.gov/genetis-glossary/chromosome)

Each chromosome is made up of DNA tightly coiled many times around proteins called *histones* that support its structure. In human beings each cell normally contains *23 pairs of chromosomes*, thereby forming a total of 46 chromosomes. Twenty-two of these pairs, called *autosomes*, look the same in both males and females. The 23rd pair, the sex chromosomes, exhibits a difference between males and females. Females have two copies of the X chromosome, while males have one X and one Y chromosome.

In relation to the cell and the nature of cell division, there are two types of cell division: *mitosis* and *meiosis*. Mitosis is simply the process of making new body cells. Meiosis is the type of cell division that creates *egg* and *sperm* cells- that is the germ cells. Mitosis is a fundamental process for life. During mitosis, a cell duplicates all of its contents, including its chromosomes, and splits to form *two identical daughter cells*. Since this process is so critical, the steps of mitosis are carefully controlled by a number of genes. When mitosis is not regulated correctly, health problems linked to unregulated proliferation of cells can occur. This can be benign or malignant. The other type of cell division, *meiosis*, ensures that humans have the same number of chromosomes in each generation. "Meiosis is a type of cell division that reduces the number of chromosomes in the parent cell by have and produces for gamete cells. This process is required to produce egg and sperm cells for sexual reproduction." (Nature Journal, "Meiosis" https://www.nature.com/scitable/definitions/meiosis-88). It is a two-step process that reduces the chromosome number by half—from 46 to 23—to form sperm and egg cells. When the sperm and egg cells unite at *conception*, each contributes 23 chromosomes and the resulting embryo will have the normal 46 chromosomes. Meiosis also allows genetic variation through a process of DNA shuffling during the course of cell division.

The Question of Stem Cells: Basic Clarifications

"Stem cells have unique abilities to self-renew and to recreate functional tissues" (National Institute of Heath, "Stem Cell Information," https://stemcells.nih.gov/). In multi-cellular organisms stem cells are primal cells that have the capability to renew themselves through cell division, together with the exceptional potential to differentiate into a wide range of specialized cell types.

> Unlike muscle cells, blood cells, or nerve cells – which do not normally replicate – stem cells may replicate many times. When a stem cell divides, the resulting daughter cells may be 1) both stem cells, 2) a stem cell and a more differentiated cell, or 3) both more differentiated cells. What controls the balance between these types of divisions to maintain stem cells at an appropriate level within a given tissue is not yet well known. (National Institute of Heath, "Stem Cell Information," https://stemcells.nih.gov/)

In many tissues in the human body stem cells serve as a form of internal biological repair system. When a stem cell divides, each new cell has the potential either to remain a stem cell or become another type of cell with a more specialized function. In this regard there are fundamental biological systems that ensure the stability of the stem cell population, through the processes of obligatory asymmetric cell replication or stochastic cell differentiation. The three basic types of stem cells are, embryonic stem cells, somatic stem cells, also known as adult stem cells and induced pluripotent stem cells.

Embryonic Stem Cells

Generally, embryonic stem cells are derived from the inner cell mass at the blastocyst stage of embryonic development. Embryonic stem cells possess the capacity for almost unlimited self-renewal, under the proper conditions, together with the ability to differentiate into any cell type within the body. (Ouyang, H., et. al, Eye Diseases and Stem Cells, in the *Encyclopedia of Biomedical Engineering*, https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-801238-3.00056-8).

Somatic Stem Cells

Somatic stem cells, also referred to as adult stem cells, are found in tissues and organs they have the capacity to self-renew and are also capable of giving rise to differentiated cell types of the organ or tissue, especially for the purpose of regenerating, repairing and maintaining the organs or tissues through the course of foetal life and postnatal life. The well-known types of somatic stem cells include, hematopoietic stem cells, mesenchymal stem cells, neural stem cells, epithelial stem cells and skin stem cells.

Induced Pluripotent Stem Cells

Induced pluripotent stem cells are adult cells reprogrammed to give rise to stem cells with pluripotent capabilities. The first recorded achievement of transforming adult cells into pluripotent stem cells was in 2006, thanks to the research work carried out by Kasutoshi Takahashi and Shinya Yamanaka, on mouse induced pluripotent stem cells. In 2012, Yamanaka and Gurdon were awarded the Nobel Prize for advancements made in research with regard to reprogramming of mature cells to become induced pluripotent stem cells. Induced pluripotent stem cells offers great potentials with regard to stem cell research. Induced pluripotent stem cells have also contributed to new investigative insights with regard to human diseases, regenerative medicine, improved pharmaceutical products as well as gene-editing technologies. (Megan Scudellari, "How iPS Cells Changed the World," *Nature*, 634, 310-312, 2016, https://doi.org/1038/634310a).

Part of the challenges with regard to the therapeutic use of induced pluripotent stem cells remain the challenge emanating from the problem of oncogenes. With the emergence of new insights and new frontiers with regard to induced pluripotent stem cells, many scientific paradigms have collapsed and new frontiers are opening up, with great potentials and profound challenges, including challenges in areas, such as fertility treatment, organogenesis, regenerative medicine, and in vitro gametogenesis, just to mention these few.

The Question of the Fundamental Properties of Stem Cells

All stem cells — regardless of their source —have three general properties: they are capable of dividing and renewing themselves for long periods; they are *unspecialized*; and they can give rise to *specialized* cell types. *Stem cells are unspecialized.* One of the fundamental properties of a stem cell is that it does not have any *tissue-specific structures* that allow it to perform *specialized functions,* however, unspecialized stem cells can give rise to specialized cells, including heart muscle cells, blood cells, or nerve cells, just to mention these few. Stem cells have the capacity for long-term self-renewal. *Stem cells are capable of dividing and renewing themselves for long periods.* When cells replicate themselves many times over it is referred to as cell *proliferation.* Through the process of differentiation, stem cells can give rise to specialized cells.

Stem Cells and the Question of Potency

In the area of stem cell research, potency generally refers to the capacity of the stem cell to differentiate into specialized cell types, and stem cells may be classified as totipent, pluripotent, multipotent, oligopotent and unipotent.

> Stem cells are unspecialized cells of the human body. They are able to differentiate into any cell of an organism and have the ability of self-renewal. Stem cells exist both in embryos and adult cells. There are several steps of specialization. Developmental potency is reduced with each step, which means that a unipotent stem cell is not able to differentiate into as many types of cells as a pluripotent one.
> (Zakrzewski, et al. *Stem Cell Research and Therapy*, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1186/s13287-019-1165-5).

Totipotent stem cells, are stem cells with total potency. Totipotent stem cells are formed from the fusion of the germ cells, the spermatozoon and the oocyte at the end of the process of fertilization. Totipotent stem cells have the potential to develop into embryonic and extra-embryonic cell types. The total potency of totipotent stem cells indicates the ability of a single stem cell to divide and produce all the differentiated cells in a living organism. Totipotent stem cells are capable of differentiating into all cell types, they are also capable of giving rise to virtually any tissue type and in most cases a complete, viable organism. Totipotent stem cells have the highest differentiation potential to form the embryo and the extraembryonic tissues. The zygote is a clear example of a totipotent stem cell and can differentiate into all germ layers. Pluripotent stem cells are closely related to totipotent stem cells but they do not have the total potency associated with totipotent stem cells, however, they can differentiate into nearly all cell types. They can differentiate into any bodily tissue, but they cannot develop into a complete viable organism. Pluripotent stem cells are capable of giving rise to virtually any tissue type but not a functioning organism. Multipotent stem cells can differentiate into a number of cells, but only those of closely related family of cells, they have less potential plasticity compared to pluripotent stem cells. Multipotent stem cells are capable of differentiating into a limited number of specialized cell types a good example would be the hematopoietic stem cells. Multipotent stem cells have a limited spectrum of differentiation potential. Multipotent stem

cells are less "plastic" and more determined and as such can give rise only to limited number of tissues. Oligopotent stem cells can differentiate into only limited number of cell types. Unipotent stem cells have the potency of differentiating into a specific cell type, together with the capacity for unlimited self-renewal, which distinguishes them from non-stem cells. (Antonio Casado-Diaz, "Stem Cells in Regenerative Medicine," Journal of Clinical Medicine, September, 2022, 11, 18:5460, doi: 10.3390/jcm11185460)

Bioethical Potentials And Problematics

Research on stem cells is advancing knowledge about how an organism develops from a single cell and how healthy cells replace damaged cells in adult organisms. This promising area of scientific research is also leading scholars towards investigation with regard to the possibility of cell-based therapies, often referred to as *regenerative medicine*.

> For many years, scientists have searched for ways to control how stem cells develop into other cell types, in the hopes of creating new therapies…The discovery that there is a biomechanical element to controlling how stem cells transform into other cell types is an important piece of the puzzle as scientists try to harness stems cells for medical use. *(National Institute of Biomedical Imaging and Bioengineering, "Tissue Engineering and Regenerative Medicine" https://www.nibib.nih.gov/scienceeducation/ tissue engineering and regenerative medicine).*

There is also research into the possibility of transforming somatic cells into stem cells, especially in the field of induced pluripotent stem cells or iPSC the exploration of the possibility of using adult stem cells for cell-based therapies has become a very active area of investigation in cell biology and regenerative medicine. The potentials offered by these line of research and innovation are important for a number of reasons, which include, the avoidance of the bioethical issue of the destructive use of human embryos, and the possibility of overcoming the challenges involve in compatibility. The use of mature stem cells from a particular individual, carries with it the advantages of overcoming the challenges of compatibility. However, it should also be noted that mature stem cells are not as viable or flexible as embryonic stem cells, secondly that the number of adult stem cells available are more limited than embryonic stem cells. But the further research also indicates that the plasticity and versatility of embryonic stem cells on the flip side also present challenges with regard to the problem of spontaneous accumulation of genetic abnormalities, uncontrollable growth and dangers of the possibility of tumour formation. (C. Allegrucci, C. Denning, H. Priddle, and L. Young, "Stem-Cell Consequences of Embryo Defects," Lancet 364 (2004): 206-208.). Contemporary research on stem cells offer great deal potentials especially in relation to regenerative medicine. The reprogramming of mature stem cells can become the bases for diverse forms of innovations in regenerative medicine. There is also the open potential for mature stem cells to exhibit the ability to form specialized cell types of other tissues, in the phenomenon known as transdifferentiation. "Transdifferentiation of mammalian somatic cells has been achieved in coculture or by manipulation of culture conditions." (Küntziger, Thomas and Collas, Philippe,

Transdifferentiation of Somatic Cells in Culture, https://www.sciencedirect/topics/medicineanddentistry/cell:transdifferentiation).

A great potential in using stem cells from an adult is that the patient's own cells could be expanded in culture and then reintroduced into the patient. The use of the patient's own adult stem cells would mean that the cells would not be rejected by the immune system. This represents a significant advantage as immune rejection is a difficult problem that may be circumvented with immuno suppressive drugs, and the challenges that may be presented by transplant rejection arising from the use of embryonic stem cells. **Embryonic stem cells from a donor introduced into a patient could cause transplant rejection.** And apart from the problem of transplant rejection, the use of adult stem cells indicates that research on stem cells could be carried out without the destruction of human embryos. The use of adult stem cells could potentially prove to be more efficient than embryonic stem cells. In the light of the dignity of the human person and the integrity of life, the destructive use of human embryos present serious ethical challenges. In the *Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals,* Kant, reminds us that: "Rational nature exists as end in itself…The practical imperative will therefore be as follows: Act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, never simply as a means, but always at the same time as an end (IV- 429). There are many ways in which human stem cells can be used in basic research and in clinical research. However, there are many technical hurdles between the promise of stem cells and the realization of these uses, which will only be overcome by continued intensive stem cell research.

Research into stem cells offers great potentials with regard to various forms of cancer and birth defects arising due to problems of abnormal cell division and differentiation. A better understanding arising from research into stem cells, may yield information about how such diseases arise and suggest new strategies for therapy. Research into stem cells also offers great potentials with regard to the development of new pharmaceutical products. Experimentation with new pharmaceutical products could be carried out on differentiated cells generated from human pluripotent stem cell. A further significant potential arises from research into stem cells programmed to differentiate into specific cell types. Innovative research in this area offers the possibility of renewable source of replacement cells and tissues for a wide range of therapeutic uses.

Concluding Perspectives

In the light of the contemporary relationship between science, biotechnology and medicine, research into stem cells holds the promise of great potentials, and there are also profound challenges. In the face of these potentials and challenges, it is important that medical faculties and research centres should pay attention to the innovative insights emerging from research into stem cells, especially in the areas of health care in general and regenerative medicine in particular. It is also of the utmost importance to pay attention to the bioethical potentials and challenges with regard to stem cell research, innovations and applications. The potentials are great and the challenges are equally great. This paper affirms the importance of research into stem cells. It also affirms the fact that it would be important ethically that research into stem cells should not involve the destructive use of human embryos, rather than the destructive use

of human embryos, great attention should be paid to the potentials as well as the challenges that mature stem cells present before us. Research into stem cells continues to be promising, the basic ethical challenge remains that it should not involve the destructive use of human embryos and that it should not cause harm to recipients of stem cell based therapies, especially with regard to the problems of immune rejection, compatibility and oncogenes.

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A Philosophical Notion of Jacques Maritain's Integral Humanism Vis-à-vis Human Person in Nigeria Today

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Abstract

Throughout the history of humanity, the question of what man is in relation to man's existence in the society has preoccupied man. To this, Jacques Maritain argues that many thinkers have erroneously taken an aspect of what constitutes the nature of man and called it a whole in their effort to understand man. Maritain argues that man has experienced different approaches to reality, such as capitalist, communist, totalitarianism and so on. These diverse approaches have themselves created many problems to man and his society. Maritain is known for his philosophical method; 'Distinguish to Unite.' This means that to understand man, we have to analyse and make distinctions. The task he argues will be incomplete unless the analysis is followed by synthesis. Maritain distinguishes man as an individual and as a person, united to form an Integral Humanism. Thus, to understand the nature of man, attention must be given to both man's material and spiritual poles. Hence, the notion of Integral Humanism in Maritain's Philosophy is a counter position to Anthropocentricism. It tends to render man truly human and to make his original greatness manifest by causing him to participate in all that can enrich him in nature and in history. This work tends to present an in-depth understanding of Maritain's notion of integral humanism, and how it addresses the problem of dehumanization and exploitation pertinent in our society. Often, man is seen as having no transcendental end, other than his temporal end. A typical example will be the situation in Nigerian society.

Introduction

The choice of this topic 'Integral Humanism' has been provoked due to the reality we are experiencing in our present society. This could make one ponder, how powerful could be the effect of thought that one would end up influencing the other with one's thought. Imagining our society proliferated with different ideologies as regards the nature, sacredness and dignity of the human person. How diversity seems to be the people's approach and regard towards human person. With regard to created beings, the being-ness of the human person calls for more and special attention, because the human person, as an individual being, is more renowned in his or her essence as well as existence.

Again, Nigeria has been plagued with corruption, exploitation, dehumanization and crisis of different forms of which their effects weigh heavily on the masses. As regards, the growing gap between the rich and the poor, the people contrive any practicable means (ethical or unethical) to ensure their well-being. This option throws great challenge on us, because the worthiness of human life has been trampled upon. Thus, there is a needto bring our knowledge a more practical and ethical means to restore the seeming lost dignity of the human person in our society. Maritain, with his notion of integral humanism, tries to address the act of exploitation and dehumanization that prevailed in his time.

Thus, the notion of integral humanism is as well relevant in our context, where human life is bartered upon as though a commodity; exploitation and dehumanization are at their peaks. Human life worth not more than cow, as such can be slaughter by anyone deliberately at any time. Most of the people have really lost the sense of 'what constitute the nature of a person.' This presents us with the need to consider Maritain's notion of integral humanism, because its goal is to restore man back to man's original state as a dignified being.

The Understanding of Maritain's Integral Humanism

A better understanding of this notion of integral humanism as Maritain presents it, would enrich the understanding of the human person and person's worth. In this way, people can be equipped with a thought system to fight against the act of dehumanization prevalent in our society, particularly in Nigeria.

Maritain's Integral Humanism
Personalism

The person is the most noble and most perfect being in all of nature (Aquinas, 1955, p.29).In Maritain's concept of personalism, he tends to analyze the root of man's individuality and personality. Man, as dignified being, has something in him that gives basis to his dignity. Based on this fact, Maritain makes a clear distinction between an individual and a person as constituted in one single entity (man).

According to D. Q. Mcinerny, Maritain is known for his philosophical method; 'Distinguish to Unite.' This means that to understand man, we have to analyse and make distinctions. The task he argues will be incomplete unless the analysis is followed by synthesis. Maritain distinguishes man as an individual and as a person, united to form an Integral Humanism. Thus, to understand the nature of man, attention must be given to both man's material and spiritual poles. Hence, the notion of Integral Humanism in Maritain's Philosophy is a counter

position to Anthropocentricism. It tends to render man truly human and to make his original greatness manifest by causing him to participate in all that can enrich him in nature and in history.

Man as an Individual and as a Person

In his effort to understand the nature of man, Maritain asserts that it is not easy to put a clear cut difference between the tradition of humanism and the wise thoughts of the ancient thinkers. He stresses the fact that the proper understanding of the human person must be based on the recognition of the supernatural aspect and the tendency of transcendence in man (Maritain, 1941, XII). On this, a critical mind would tend to say that for Maritain, the human person is not just a bodily being, but has a spiritual aspect which makes him a transcendental being; a being whose existence does not end with this world.

Maritain argues: "...since it is impossible to sever the tradition of humanism from the great wisdom of the pagans, we shall at least be on our guard against defining humanism by excluding of all reference to the superhuman and by a denial of all transcendence (Maritain, 1941, XII).He distinguishes the human person as an individual and a person. These two aspects of the human person are based on the two dimensions of which the human nature is composed—material and spiritual. Maritain confirms this when he says, one is an individual in virtue of being a material being; one is a person so far as one is capable of intellectual activities and freedom (Maritain, 1941, p.1).

Maritain is of the view that the individuality of the human person, which is derived from matter, is that part of the human person that is bound up with time, whereas, the personality of the human person is related to that aspect of man which subsists in this temporal world.

In Maritain's distinction of the human person, both as an individual and as a person, he has recourse to the Personalism of Emmanuel Mounier, who also made a similar distinction. Man, according to Mounier, is not just a material object; neither is man a pure spirit. He argues that he [man] can be neatly divided into two substances or two sets of experiences. Man is 'wholly body and wholly spirit. His concept of man is that man belongs to nature, yet man transcends nature; nature presents man with the opportunity of fulfilling his own moral and spiritual vocation and of humanizing or personalizing the world (Copleston,1975, 314).

Man a Being with Dignity and Right

The human person, according to Maritain, is a being that has something [in him] which breathes an air outside of time and a personality whose profoundest needs surpass the order of the universe. The existence referred to here is the spirit, which is also the root of man's personality, Maritain argues. It follows that man's possession of spirit distinguishes man from other beings and accords to man respect and dignity(Maritain, 1941, X).

For a better understanding of the nature of man, as a being distinct from all other existing beings, Maritain argues:

> When we say that a man is a person, we do not mean merely that he is an
> individual, in the sense that an atom, a blade of grass, a fly, or an elephant is
> an individual. Man is an individual who holds himself in hand by

intelligence and will. He does not exist only in a physical manner. He has super-existence through knowledge and love; he is, in a way, a universe in himself, a microcosm, in which the great universe in its entirety can be encompassed through knowledge; and through love he can give himself completely to beings who are to him, as it were, other selves, a relation to which no equivalent can be found in the physical world(Maritain, 1941, p.X).

The understanding here is that the human person should not be considered as a mere individual existing among other individual beings. The human persons are parts of the society, yet they are wholes in themselves as individual persons. We are dignified beings not based on our material aspect, but due to our spiritual participation in the divine nature of our Creator. In like manner, Maritain re-emphasises that man's personality is not partial, but it is total and independent. No matter how poor, foolish, naughty, crushed, a person may be, he or she is still a whole and subsists in an independent manner. Hence, to assert that man is a person is to say that in the depth of his being he is more a whole than a part and more independent than servile.

However, most people have dragged the issue of man's independence into the act of freedom in its absolute form. One can do whatever one wills without any recourse to anybody. This is not what Maritain meant by his notion of man's independence. His point is that man as an independent being is not necessarily an uncaused being; rather, it is a being that is master of itself(Maritain, 1941, p.15)..

Obviously, man's freedom is not the freedom of shifting of responsibility. Rather, it imposes on man unavoidable responsibility. Joseph Califano, on analysing the works of Maritain, argues that man is a person who refuses to surrender what is most beautiful about human nature; namely, that man like God is the author of his actions and that he is capable of creating his own hell by failing to have a genuine vision of his calling (Califano, 1988, p.160).

Let us consider this fact, freedom is something every man seeks, as such, no man should use his or her position in the society to suppress other people. Maritain argues against those who infringe on other people's freedom:

> A person is a unity of a spiritual nature endowed with freedom of choice and so forming a whole which is independent of the world, for neither nature nor the State may invade this unity without permission. God himself, who is and who acts from within, acts there in a particular way and with a supremely exquisite delicacy, a delicacy which shows the value He sets on it: He respects this freedom, in the heart of which nevertheless He lives; He solicits it, but He never compels(Maritain, 1941, 2).

In today's society, there has been confusion on the proper ideology to follow, which leads to misplacement of emphasis regarding the nature of man. It seems people tend to focus on 'who' a person is other than on 'what' a person is. People are respected based on who they are; as a president, governor, chairman, director, professor and so on. These titles become the yardstick

to ascertain one's dignity and right. Yet, it does not negate the fact that what determines our dignity as persons, is essentially based on 'what' we are—human persons.

Integral Humanism

Humanism is an ambiguous concept due to people's different approaches to life. It derives its value and implication from people's approaches towards their fellow men. This is when we say that humanism is either humanistic or anti-humanistic. Maritain acknowledges this fact, as he argues, it is clear that whoever uses the word brings into play at once an entire metaphysics, and that the idea we form of humanism will have wholly different implications according to whether we hold or do not hold that there is in the nature of man something which breathes an air outside of time.

In defining humanism, Maritain is careful not to exclude either reference to the superhuman or to deny man's transcendental nature. Through his philosophical method which McInerny calls distinguish to unite (Mcinerny, 2021, p. 156), Maritain, after distinguishing man as both an individual and a person with reference to man's spiritual and material dimensions, defines humanism as a synthesis of both dimensions of man.

However, integral humanism, as it applies to Maritain, is in contrast to the thoughts of some modern philosophers, whose doctrines hold that anything authentic must be anti-religious. Maritain refutes this view, he argues that for humanism to be authentic, it must be religiously inclined, that is .has its foundation in the recognition of the nature of the human person as a spiritual and material being—a being that has a relation to God—and morality and social and political institutions must therefore reflect this.

Thus, integral humanism does not consider the human person in a partial form, rather as an entity that has the material and spiritual dimensions unified as a whole. It considers man in a holistic form and gives reverence to what man is rather than who man claims to be. Humanism, as Maritain conceives, has in it [nature] nothing in common with bourgeois humanism, and is all the more human since it does not worship man, but has a real and effective respect for human dignity and for the rights of human personality.

It implies that integral humanism takes into account the pluralistic nature of the society that is people of different ideologies and beliefs living together. This is the practical situation of life in our society. Its aim is to explore the best in people, which will help them attain their supernatural end. Based on this, Maritain posits that the goal of his humanism is essentially to render man more truly human and to make his original greatness manifest by causing him to participate in all that can enrich him in nature and in history.

Nigerian Society and the present situation

We have come in touch with the Nigerian present situation; as a country plagued with an intense degree of religious crisis, corruption and whose youth are neglected despite their role towards the country's development. This situation leads to different forms of exploitation and dehumanization of the common people in the country by denying them their inalienable rights, justice and human rights in the society. Also religion has been used as means of killing due to difference in beliefs.

Nigeria could be categorized as one of the richest countries of the world, yet she is scourged by poverty. What a contrast. The truth of the matter is that the wealth of the country is in the hands of the few (the elites and the leaders), while the common people live in abject poverty.

Maritain's notion of integral humanism counteracts the present situation of Nigeria of which few people are regarded as more human than majority. According to Maritain's notion of integral humanism, "every man is a man by his essence, but no man is man by essence(Maritain, 1941, p. 67). This implies that no one should be regarded as less man than the other. We are all human beings and share the same dignity and rights. By this, he defines man as a composite of matter and spirit, who has something in him which breathes air outside time. This is the basis for our dignity as human persons.

As a result, the poor masses become the object of exploitation and dehumanization by the elites. This situation calls for urgent attention to sensitize the already influenced minds, which see nothing wrong with one making his way at the expense of others.

Religious Crisis

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with the current statistic of over 200 million people. The country comprises three major ethnic groups (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo) and many other minor ethnic groups. As a matter of fact, there are about 400 ethnic groups in the country. The people belong to three religious groups: African Traditional Religion, Christianity and Islam. The country is endowed with enormous resources, yet she is scourged by poverty. Nigeria is indeed a country of paradox (Kaigama, 2021).

Based on the country's diverse nature both on her ethnic groups and religious practices, the birth of Nigeria as an independent country proved a difficult one. There were tough and complex rivalries between the three major ethnic groups, who could not come to compromise over a single political party to lead the country, but were operating from their autonomous stand points (Meredith, 2006, P.75).

There was no proper integration among the people. This faction was more feasible in the northern region dominated by the Muslims. There, the southern immigrants, who were mainly Christians, were segregated by the Muslims. The Muslims even had separate schools for their children, "…where they were taught to regard southerners as 'pagans' and 'infidels' and forbidden on both religious and administrative grounds to associate with southerners (Meredith, 2006, P.76).

This situation of discrimination and rivalries in the country support the earlier arguments of Obafemi Awolowo and Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, who averred that Nigeria is not a 'Nation' in the sense of one language, culture and history. They are different groups of people living within the boundaries of Nigeria. Meredith asserts that in 1948 Balewa remarks, "since 1914 the British Government has been trying to make Nigeria into one country, but the Nigerian people themselves are historically different in their backgrounds, in their religious beliefs and customs and do not show themselves any signs of willingness to unite…(Meredith, 2006, P.78).

After the country's independence, the northern Nigeria has been torn apart by a series of religious crises between the Muslims and the Christians. These crises were first instigated by a group of Muslim militants, who advocated for more sharia laws in the northern parts of the country. In support of this, Muhammadu Marwa, in the 1980s, mobilized some poor youths into

series of upheavals; first in Kano, Yola, Kaduna, and Maiduguri, which claimed the lives of thousands of people. Again in 1982, a similar violence broke out in Kano. The Muslims spread anger over Christian's reconstruction of a church close to a mosque. After this, there were series of religious crises in the country, which continued to claim many more lives of people and the destruction of properties.

It is quite unfortunate that this period ushered in a number of crises, which the most recent one occurred in Jos during the celebration of *eid-el maulud*. The Hausa butchers instead of butchering cows turned their attention toward their fellow men. About twelve people were killed at the upheaval (Adinoyi, 2022).This fact of frequent occurrence of religious crisis has been of concern to many, but no one has been able to proffer a solution to prevent its subsequent occurrence. On this matter, Innocent Jooji asserts that:

> For the government of President Obasanjo the challenge is more awesome. In the last few months that this government has been in power, the nation has witnessed with horror more than 40 bloody conflicts with ethnic and religious undertones. From Niger Delta (Urhobo/Ishekiri) to Kaduna; from Ketu to Nasarawa and from Ife/Modakeke to Aguleri/Umuleri, eruptions have left massive loss of lives and destruction of properties in their trail. What no one has been able to come out with is a formula to prevent a repeat of the violence (This day Newspaper, 2002, 2).

It is clear that from 2020 till date the country has been passing through hell in the hand of the government and even by the citizens. There has been a lot of chaos in the society inflicted by herdsmen, boko Harams, kidnappers and other bandits.

Corruption

Corruption seems to be one of the challenges facing Nigeria as a country. It is a fact that the country is blessed with enough resources, yet she is scourged by poverty. Mahatma Gandhi says earth provides enough to satisfy every man's need, but not every man's greed (Gandhi, 2021).Indeed, Nigeria has got enough resources to meet the needs of her citizens, but corruption has practically hindered this objective.

The act of embezzling and stealing public funds has deep roots in the lives and history of Nigerians. It is not an act that sprouts up after the country's independence. Rather, it has been cultivated right from the colonial era. Many Nigerians thought government institutions were 'Whiteman's business,' a system which could be looted when necessary. It was considered as no man's business. Thus, stealing of public funds was not seen as something serious, more so, if the stolen funds were used for the benefit of the individuals and even that of the community. This ideology influenced the people's concept of state. The state was considered as Whiteman's institution, which anybody who has gained opportunity there is to cease the moment to enrich his or herself and the community. This attitude of mind prevailed even after the country's independence.

How could one steal what duly belongs to oneself. This has been the sad story of Nigeria right before her independence, which indeed has continued till date. Corruption, which is

prevalent in Nigeria, has permeated almost every facets of Nigerian society. According to Meredith:

> A senior civil servant summarized: You bribe to get your child into school; you pay to secure your job and also continue to pay in some cases to retain it; you pay ten per cent of any contract obtained; you bribe the tax officer to avoid paying taxes; you pay a hospital doctor or nurse to get proper attention; you pay the policeman to evade arrest. This catalogue of shame can continue without end (Gahndi,2021).

This statement seems to be the reality of life in Nigeria; most of the people see nothing wrong with one trying to earn a living at the expense of others. Nigeria, a country blessed with enormous resources, has majority of her population living in abject poverty. The situation gets worse daily, because the government seems to do nothing about it. As an effect, the gap between the rich and the poor continues to grow wider. This is a clear act of injustice, when resources are not duly shared.

Corruption has eaten deep into the lives of many Nigerians; as a consequence it spreads to all levels of government from the Federal to the Local. The leaders at their different jurisdictions try to milk dry the country's treasury just to enrich themselves. The Economic financial crime commission (EFCC) has been accusingthe National Assembly's members, past government, and other personnel for squeezing the country's treasury and yet contributed nothing towards the development of the country. These men and women earn a huge amount of money, which affects the country's annual budget. For instance, Ademolo Bello poses a question that:

> Why is each one of Nigerian 109 Senators earning a jumbo pay total $ 1.11 million a year in a country where many poor folks feed on less than $2 a dayị The Senate President and his deputy even gets more. While each of the 360 members of the country's House of Representatives also received their own jumbo salary package (Bello, 2020).

The sad thing about this situation is that these same lawmakers and the leaders of the country, who earn these huge amount …lack decency, public service commitment, and work ethics. They are insensitive to ordinary Nigerian's sufferings(Bello, 2020).

Human beings are indeed insatiable, the more they acquire, the more they aspire, even at the expense of others, looking at this further issue, the senate's rejection of the 2011 and 2021 budget of N1.2 billion, and 2.4 trillion from the office of the Secretary to the Federal Government, for the upkeep of the former Heads of State and their deputies (Josiah, 2021, 2).

The chairman of the committee on Federal Character and Inter-Governmental-Governmental Affairs, on receiving the budget asserts that his conscience would not allow him support or defend such budget, because it is unfair, with regard to the poor masses. While, Mr Taiye Haruna, who represents the Secretary General; Yayale Ahmed, says the budget is in line with the act recently passed by the National Assembly. Moreover, the budget is to cater for the needs of these former Heads of State. He posits that "a five bedroom housing accommodation was to be built for each… in any location of their choice with telephone services. And many

more benefits. Adeyemi opposed the budget. For him, these former leaders are in no need, whereas, the country is experiencing the challenges of unemployment, lack of drugs in our hospitals, scourges of poverty etc (Josiah, 2021, 2).This implies that the money should instead be used for these purposes.

One could imagine how selfish some of the country leaders are, who want to add wealth upon wealth on people who during their tenure squeezed dry the country's treasury, while ignoring the plight of the poor masses, who could not even afford three square meals a day. These leaders are indeed playing game. As such, when it is their turn, they will be granted the same benefits. This seems to be the logic behind the bill passed, by the National Assembly, for the upkeep of the former Heads of State.

The Plight of Neglected Youths

The youths are the most resourceful persons, who determine the development of any society, due to their youthful energy. Society is not to neglect this fact; as such the youths should be given the opportunity and rights to improve their well-being. In Nigerian society, the reverse has been the case. The youths are in the state of crisis. By evaluation, one discovers that the youths have contributed immensely to the national development, yet they are the most neglected, misunderstood, misused, exploited and abused in the society (Ehusani, 2002, 196).

The youths have been robbed of their rights and treated with contempt, mostly by the elites and the leaders, who selfishly have their own children well catered for in a safer society and environment. Education, which is seen as the best legacy to be offered to the youths, has been denied. They are faced with a destructive and a deplorable state of learning facilities and conditions. Exposed to this situation, most of the youths dropped out of school "…flatfooted, confused, effectively disoriented and utterly frustrated(Ehusani, 2002, 196).They cannot integrate properly in the society to face its different challenges.

This situation exposes the youths to different forms of unethical act, which end up influencing their behaviour; such as corruption commonly practiced by the adult generation, cultism, lure to materialism, fraud, drug addiction etc. The youths indulge in these acts not as a planned future life, but due to frustration. Consequently, many of them end up in the prison, where they remain in a deplorable and dehumanizing situation; even before, during and after their conviction. Sadly, these convicted youths are considered in the society as people, who are destined to their committed crimes of which nothing can transform them. Based on this, there is no rehabilitation programme given them. Instead, maltreatment and cruelty are seen as their lots. For those who could survive the condition; they come out of the prison hardened and toughened to still continue in their old ways (Ehusani, 2002,197).

Imagine, a country where there is no social provisions for the youth to meet their needs; what will be of the youthṣ Practically, they will device means to address their needs. This seems to be the Nigerian situation. Majority of the youths are driven into the streets, where they become liable to different forms of social vices, due to "…material problems or instability in the home, poverty, hunger, insecurity, abuse and violence from parents, displacement caused by clashes in the community, insufficient parental care, …unemployment of one or both parents, lack of (or limited) opportunities in education… (Fakoye, 2021).

These social issues have led number of youths into the street to seek means for their survival. Thus, street children or youth phenomenon is now a topic of debate in Nigeria. The phenomenon was rare in the mid-eighties. By the early 1990s, we had an estimation of 8000 of them and by 2023, it was reported that there were hundreds of street children spread over the city of Lagos alone. The phenomenon other than abating is escalating, due to the persistent climate of poverty in the country coupled with political mismanagement.

The youths are now victims of violence. They are exploited by the elites and most of our country's leaders use them as instruments and weapons against the societal peace, which leads to the damnation of their future(Ehusani, 2002, 198). What will then be of a country, which her future leaders are exploited, abused and damnedị

In October 2020 there was End sars protest by the youth and well-meaning Nigerians to restore the dignity of the human person which has been clearly pushed to dust and buried by poor government. Protest which is the right of citizens as enshrined in the constitution ended up with bloodshed and other atrocities especially 20th October 2020 where some youths lost their life.

Relating Maritain's Idea of integral Humanism to Our Contemporary Situation

In response to the type of situation we have in Nigeria today, Maritain's notion of integral humanism and body politic would be used to evaluate the present situation of life in Nigeria. He has a holistic understanding of man as a dignified being, who should not in any circumstances nor for any purpose be exploited or dehumanized. With this view, it could curtail if not eradicate the ill practices prevalent in Nigeria.

Nigerians seem to be living with the old concept of the state, they cultivated during the colonial era, that the state is a 'Whiteman's institution', which could be looted when necessity demands. This worldview has presented itself in different forms of unethical acts exhibited in the country through crisis, corruption, exploitation, dehumanization etc. These question the credibility of our leaders, if they are really doing their work or they are just there to gain advantage of the masses, whom they are governing.

Maritain understands the state (government) to be that part of the body politic that animates the affairs of the whole body and helps promote the common good of the society (Maritain, 1941, 73). This challenges the present state of Nigerian leaders, who are just there to serve themselves other than serving the people. As a contrast, Maritain argues that "the human person as an individual is for the body politic and the body politic is for the human person as a person. But man is by no means for the state. The state is for man." McInerny, in support of Maritain's view, argues that the state is the vicar of the people, because the people have ceded their right of self-governance to it, though not completely. This obliges the state to make decisions, which are guided by right reason to attain the common good of the society and not their individual interests. But should any official in the state abuse the authority and power vested on it by the people and become corrupt, the people have the full right to remove such leader from the state (Mcinerny, 2021, 157).

Maritain posits that the society consists of human persons, who in turn define its end. The end of the society is not based on the collection of individual or private goods, but the common good of the social whole (human persons), which is common to all members of the society. As

such, it should flow back to these individual persons, who constitute the social whole. They should all benefit from it. More so, the common good is not limited to only material needs of the people, it extends to integrity of life, good governance, good laws etc. It is something ethical and good in itself (Maritain, 1941).

Maritain, in his notion of integral humanism, does not consider man in a partial form, but as a being of which its material and spiritual dimensions are unified as a whole in one and single entity; man. Here, man should be respected and valued not based on who man is in the society, but based on what man is by nature; human person. This is why McInerny writes that, for Maritain, man should not be regarded as merely an individual in the society, rather as a person. "…it is when states begin to regard the citizenry exclusively as individuals, ignoring their more fundamental identity as persons, that social ills of the gravest kind are introduced (Mcinerny, 2021, 157).

Hence, Nigeria will attain a stable and peaceful state, only when her leaders are ready to assume their task, as instruments for the society to attain its end other than as exploiters, who try to milk dry the country's treasury for personal and selfish interests. Only when, they are able to transcend their instinctive drives, which push them towards self-acquisition, would they be able to see and regard the society as a community of persons. In this way, the common good would be regarded as the good of all. Then, Maritain's goal would be achieved because in his thought, he has proposed how men should coexist in the society despite their differences for their common objective (the common good).

On this, Maritain argues that "Justice is a primary condition for the existence of the body politic but Friendship is its very life giving form (Maritain, 1941, 71). With the sense of justice our enormous resources would be duly distributed and used in a way that they benefit all Nigerians. This will help minimize if not eradicate the act of exploitation and dehumanization prevailing in our society. Friendship on the other hand will help bring the diverse beliefs and ethnic groups in the country together. Because, what binds us will no longer be religion or faith or tribe, rather our common orientation towards the common good of our society, which itself is rooted in what we are; as human persons, not on who we are.

Conclusion

We have explored in some sense the present situation of life in Nigeria, which call for urgent attention. Nigeria is quite a complex country faced with enormous challenges. The country, based on her diverse composition; people of different ethnic groups, worldviews and behaviours, is exposed to different forms of unethical acts such as religious crisis, corruption, exploitation and dehumanization. These hideous acts jeopardize the peace and stability of life in the country.

Corruption splits the country into two unequal parts; few people living luxuriously well, while majority are living in abject poverty despite the country's rich resources. The leaders cease the opportunity to enrich themselves, while ignoring the plight of the poor masses. On the other hand, religious crisis is on its peak, people go about attacking and killing their fellow men all in the name of religion. The youths are also neglected and in some instances used as instruments to disrupt societal peace by the elites. This seems to be the agonizing situation of life in Nigeria.

The nature of man needs a holistic definition. This will help synthesize the different contrasting philosophies into one basic understanding of man; as a dignified being. Through this thesis, we have had a precised exploration of Maritain's notion of integral humanism. We do not claim to have exhausted his thought within the limit of this thesis. There are still many things to be discovered, but we believe that anyone, who reads this thesis would extract Maritain's message to us that man is a being, whose value and worth transcend all other creatures. He presents us a holistic concept and understanding of man. Man, he argues, is a composite of body and spirit as such man has something in him, which breathes air outside time. This, other beings do not have and it is what gives basis to man's dignity and rights. Based on this, man is not to be exploited or dehumanized, because man is worth more than being treated as a means to an end.

In conclusion, Maritain's integral humanism seems to lay the foundation for hisnotion of the body politic. It is man, whose nature defines the nature and goal of the society. The societal activities should accord and give reverence to man's worth and value. Maritain is not ignorant of the diverse nature of the society. He argues that it is the duty of the state to help the society attain its goal (the common good). The state should accept the diverse beliefs and worldviews that exist in the society, but not to approve any, for the sake of avoiding the greater evil; crisis, which would result in loss of life or lives and could cause the ruin of the society. In this way, the state should help bring the diverse groups into one single 'Friendship,' where all will be able to view things beyond their borders and consider things based on their common orientation towards the common good. Then, what unites us will no longer be religion or faith, but our common orientation.

Thus, we uphold Maritain's thought as areliable ideology to address the deplorable state of life in Nigeria. It is a situation, where some people earn their living at the expense of others, poverty is seen as the people's lot and some religious fanatics deliberately cease the lives of their fellow men all for the sake of religion. Maritain in his concept of man does not give room to any inhumane acts. He considers man objectively as a being, whose nature is not determined by time, culture, religion, faith, situation etc., but by what constitute man's being.

That man is a dignified being, as Maritain argues, is established. The question is how to implement this, in regards to the situation of life in our society. This leads us to a further reflection, which we present as an addendum to this thesis. We posit that the notion of man's dignity and worth as a person should not be conceived as a mere rational concept. Rather, it should be lived as a relational concept. Only in this sense can we speak of its practicality in our society.

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Language and Identity in Africa: A Philosophical Reflection

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Abstract

Language is the most essential invention of man. It is crucial to the creation of society and all human inventions are communicated, evaluated, accepted, or rejected through language. Interaction between individuals, groups, nations and continents is done through language. Language acts as the conveyor of ideas, values, beliefs, prejudices, knowledge, experience and culture. In a situation where language is manipulated to present a person, a group, a nation or, even, a continent in a favourable or an unfavourable light, it will go a long way in shaping such identity. In short, language moulds identity. Given Africa's history with colonialism, it is important to evaluate the extent to which the colonial language, here taken as the English language, has helped to shape Africa's identity. The study employs the method of philosophical reflection to interrogate and tease out how language affects African identity. This serves two critical purposes: one, to determine the extent Africa's identity is tied to the way language has been positioned to redefine her; two, to map out concrete steps to be taken in pushing for the review of the sovereignty of colonial language and its destructive effect on African identity. In all, the study concludes that there is a strong influence between language and African identity.

Key words: Language, Identity, Africa, Philosophy, Society

Introduction

The impetus for this study is that linguistic construction plays a key role in the definition given to person, thing, situation, nation and, even, continent. Words and the meaning attached to them heavily influence how anything is (mis)understood, valued or otherwise. In short,

language creates, distorts, protects and preserves identity. Given Africa's history with colonialism, it is important to evaluate the extent to which the colonial language, here taken as the English language, has helped to shape Africa's identity especially as it relates to Africans as black people. The study while acknowledging the diverse characteristics of the African continent, adopts Africa and black as equivalent terms. This is backed up by, at least, three important concerns. First, of the 54 countries in Africa blacks are in the majority. Second, the denigration associated with Africa and her people in the European mind is mostly tied to their representation as black people. Third, and most importantly, the main concern of this study is to interrogate the words associated with black in the colonial language and their impact on the African identity.

Philosophy as a discipline is employed both to understand the issues at stake and to provide effective direction on how to resolve the thorny problems. The role of philosophical reflection then, is to interrogate language and identity in Africa. Has the meaning given to black during colonial times as evil, ugly changed¿ What are the phrases attached to black and white in 21ˢᵗ century dictionaries¿ For instance, what do the words 'black humour' and 'white lie' do for their bearers¿ On the one hand, the word humour has the positive attribute of seeing things in a funny way and making others laugh but combined with black it becomes a joke that "highlight the unpleasant parts of human life" (*Longman Dictionary*168). On the other hand, the word lie is "to deliberately tell someone something that is not true" (*Longman Dictionary*1052) and as such is imbued with negativity. Yet when combined with white it becomes "a lie that you tell someone in order to protect them or avoid hurting their feelings"(*Longman Dictionary*2080). From this perspective, lie becomes an exercise in compassion: a quality that helps to define the best in a human being. What is the psychological import of these seemingly self-evident truths and how do they position their bearers first to each other and second in a public domain as mandated by modern day global society¿ An important task for the study, then, is to create the basis for resistance to dominant pejorative attributives attached to black as well as produce counter narratives for the reconstruction of African identity.

Conceptualising Language

Language, of all human inventions, has the licence to define, label, evaluate, and compare objects, things, people, nations, continents among others. It has the right and privilege to assign meanings, proclaim judgment and decide issues. Language is "the most dependable instrument of culture; it is a basis of identity, a means of expression, our window to reality" (Egbokhare2). In this wise, the "choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe" (Ngugi,*The Language of African Literature*…, 143). As such, depending "on their positive or negative impact, words can shape people's ideas about themselves, their aspirations, their conduct, and their learning abilities as well as portray them in a favourable or unfavourable light before others"(Okolo Reassessing the Impact of Colonial Languages88).

Language in this sense can be manipulated to present a person, a group, a nation or even a continent in a favourable light or otherwise; or may function as an ideological instrument by exalting a specific language, turning it into an instrument of domination and contributing to its

wide acceptance as the route to knowledge and sound education. The way language is employed in the treatment of issues which on first sight may seem innocuous are, in fact, what will converge to determine the place and respect such issues will occupy in world affairs, the nations that can contribute to it, the voices that will be heard and the degree of weight each voice should carry. For instance, is the word black and its connotative derivatives in the English language such as 'dirty', 'angry', 'bad', 'evil' innocuous or a careful and calculated effort to tarnish a people associated with that word given the high calibre of lexicographers needed to produce a dictionary and the importance of the English language in international profilingȩ Indeed, what is the function of connotation in languageȩ *Longman Dictionary* defines connotation as "a quality or an idea that a word makes you think of that is more than its basic meaning" (374).Altick submits that our "reaction to a word may be the cumulative result of all our experiences with the word and its referent" (149). Connotative language depending on the intent of the user can be "manipulated for selfish purposes"(Altick154). Colonialism will help to make this point clearer given that both its best and worst intention is aimed at dehumanising its victim. The connotative values contained in the following assertion by Lugardwill help position the point:

> We are endeavouring to teach the native races to conduct their own affairs with justice and humanity, and to educate them alike in letters and in industry…. As Roman imperialism laid the foundations of modern civilisation, and led the wild barbarians of these islands along the path of progress, so in Africa to-day we are repaying the debt, and bringing to the dark places of the earth, the abode of barbarism and cruelty, the torch of culture and progress, while ministering to the material needs of our own civilisation…. If there is unrest, and a desire for independence, as in India and Egypt, it is because we have taught the value of liberty and freedom, which for centuries these peoples had not known (43-44).

Here Lugard, by employing language suggestive of subhuman specimen prepares us for the future identity and fate of Africa and Africans in a multilateral world. In the face of such assertion it becomes possible, in fact easy as experience has shown, to forget that before "the colonizers came to Africa, there were well-established educational institutions, including universities" (Vakunta32). Vakunta lists the universities to include the Al-Azhar University in Egypt, the University of Fez in Morocco, and the University of Timbuktu in Mali. In addition, Egypt contributed the Great Pyramid at Giza and the Lighthouse of Alexandria to the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. Yet, this is a country, according to Lugard, that needed colonial intervention to know about 'liberty and freedom.' The absurdity of this helps to underscore the compelling and essential nature of the need to interrogate language and African identity.

Understanding Identity
The central role that identity is called to play among the values of the modern world makes its discuss pivotal in understanding social relationship, access or denial to cosmopolitan limelight and, even, the ranking of nations as developed (centreȩ civilisedȩ) and undeveloped (peripheryȩ uncivilisedȩ). Identity, of course, is not formed in a void; labels, categorisation

among others provide context for both its formation and execution. According to Pooleas "we learn to speak, we find ourselves already spoken for"(94). This is because both our national and our self-identity are tied to "the bed-time stories we are told, the songs which put us to sleep, the games we play as children, the heroes we are taught to admire and the enemies we come to fear and detest" (Poole 94). Achebe recounts how he always sides with the white man against the savages in the English books he read in school because he thought he "was of the party of the white man in his hair-raising adventures and narrow escapes. The white man was good and reasonable and smart and courageous. The savages arrayed against him were sinister and stupid, never anything higher than cunning. I hated their guts" (Achebe *The Education* 118).It will take maturity for him to realise that he was one of the savages and that language "can be turned from its original purpose into something useless or even deadly"(Achebe*Hopes*91) because "words have the power to hurt, even to denigrate and oppress others"(Achebe *There was a Country*58). Identity as such is an intangible concept, which nonetheless, governs and shapes our perception of things, situations and others and conversely direct and inform others' perceptions of us. Here the correlation between word, identity and perception become very evident; they inhabit a social space in which they decide how a person, group, nation and, even, a continent is perceived.

In all, identity derives its being through language. As such in any contemplation of identity, the cardinal role of the linguistic factor forces us to an awareness of the central and determining importance of the bond existing between language, in all its casts, limits and extensions, and identity, taken as the product and manifestation of language.

Language and African Identity

The sections on 'Conceptualising Language' and 'Understanding Identity' show the critical role language plays in identity formation. The focus here is to demonstrate the role of language in moulding African identity. Mutiso's observation, perhaps, best captures the nature of the long unpleasant relationship that has existed between the English language and African identity; specifically how the English language has been used to negatively redesign and market the African identity. According to him:

> Most Africans who were educated by Europeans remember the countless times they were told that they had never had any culture of their own and that their societies were barbaric; and they know how, finally, 'black' and 'dark', as applied to the continent and its people, became synonymous with bad (Mutiso 95).

All through colonial period, Africa and the Africans came under a barrage of descriptions as already noted. Even the contact with Africans is "as sane men would be before an enthusiastic outbreak in a madhouse" (Conrad 105). Writing on his school days, Ngugi recounts how children are punished for not speaking English in the school. The punishment range from three to five strokes of the cane on bare buttocks to carrying a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as "I am stupid"or "I am a donkey"and to fines, they could hardly afford. In addition, no student could pass the exam into secondary school who failed the English

language paper no matter how brilliantly he had done in other subjects. A classmate of his who had distinctions in all subjects, except English that he failed, was made to fail the entire exam. He became a turn boy in a bus company whereas Ngugi who had a credit in English and passes in other subjects was admitted into Alliance High School, one of the most elitist institutions for Africans in colonial Kenya (Ngugi *Decolonising the Mind*11-12). Here English is the determinant of who enters obscurity - the turn boy, and who gains prominence - Ngugi. Even a tiny reflection on this suggests that many "extraordinary *possibilities*", to borrow Aime Cesaire'smemorable phrase, may have been "wiped out"(62).But the damage is more profound. A stupid person apart from being incapable of making any worthy contribution cannot also make any sense of other peoples' invention; he cannot know what the relations of science, work, technology and human skill are. Ngugi submits that the "domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised" (Ngugi,*The Language of African Literature*…, 154).

The point is the telling and comprehensive effect and outcome of this socialisation not just for the African but for anyone who can communicate in English. It destroys the African identity given that identity is embedded in the language of its expression and it is to language that its full understanding can be appealed. But the more weighty concern is the generational chain link. Ngugi'sview helps to underscore this point:

> …communication between human begins is also the basis and process of evolving culture. In doing similar kinds of things and actions over and over again under similar circumstances, similar even in their mutability, certain patterns, moves, rhythms, habits, attitudes, experiences, and knowledge emerge. Those experiences are handed over to the next generation and become the inherited basis for their further actions on nature and on themselves. There is a gradual accumulation of values which in time become almost self-evident truths governing their conception of what is right and wrong, good and bad, beautiful and ugly, courageous and cowardly, generous and mean in their internal and external relations. Over a time this becomes a way of life distinguishable from other ways of life. … Values are the basis of a people's identity, their sense of particularity as members of the human race. All this is carried by language (152).

The subservient position of Africa derives from the construction of vertical relationship engineered through language by the colonialist as a political strategy. The calculated action to portray Africa in a bad light during the colonial period has continued to affect African identity. This has two vital implications. First, language going by Ngugi's submission is not confined to the past or the present but also extends to the future and in doing this it carries with it all the values embedded in it. This prejudice is central to all social interactions. It determines the arrangement, selection and interpretation of value placed on people. That is their worth, profile, dignity and acceptability is tied to how language represents them. A typical example is the type of reception accorded to Africans in multilateral world. Here the treatment meted to blacks during the evacuation of people in Ukraine at the onset of Russia-Ukraine war will

suffice. According to reports, Black people were prevented from boarding buses and trains at Ukraine's border with Poland. Akinwotu and Strzyzynska(2022) report that a Nigerian student, Samuel George, and his friends from Nigeria and South Africa, had the car they were travelling in stopped and vandalised when it was noticed that they were Africans. They had to trek to the border with Poland; a gruelling journey of almost five hours under a freezing weather. The magnitude of this becomes more chilling in the contemplation of the character of war; its close ties with certainty of death. In this sense, such treatment spells out clearly who is expendable and who is indispensable. Even the UN Convention that anyone who flees a conflict situation has the same right to safe passage in reality does not apply to Africans. Why is this so¡ Okolo provides an insight:

> …there are times a person may not know that he/she is thinking a particular thought because the thought has been implanted, distributed and marketed for that person. Such thoughts become part of things that are not stated, perhaps, because they cannot be stated but they are always there, influencing decisions. Such thoughts are often wedged in the sublime; below the threshold of conscious awareness, in the conscious-unconscious, denied expression and freedom to emerge, yet they drive decisions and outcomes (Okolo Understanding the Philosophy 191).

The Ukrainian police and Security personnel who discriminated against the Africans may well be victims of the way language has represented black people to them for over more than a century. How does a life time of being exposed to the knowledge that to 'blacken' is to say unpleasant things about someone, to defame one's character, to soil one's reputation and that 'whiten' is to become more white, that is to become pure, affect the mind and direct action towards the people associated with those words¡   The multicultural character of modern day societies necessitates a review on African identity.

Second, it denies Africans the right to participate in the basic rule of identity. According to Mieroop "people change in the course of their lives, enacting different identities." (184). To this Hall adds that "identity does not signal that stable core of the self, unfolding from beginning to end through all the vicissitude of history without change; the bit of the self which remains always – already 'the same', identical to itself across time" (17). Language, instead of helping to preserve equity, dignity and honour among its users is instead employed as a mark of clear distinction between those whose dignity and honour are sacrosanct and inviolate and those who deserve to have theirs trampled under feet. Language thus serves as a confirmation of an attitude rather than a vehicle for exploration of possibilities of meaning.

A Review of the Sovereignty of Colonial Language

A cardinal concern for review is the mandatory position given to English in our educational curriculum. In Nigeria, English determines who gains admission into the university no matter the course of study. This has serious implication for development in Africa. Ali Mazrui's assertion cited in Mangu that "a nation which does not produce knowledge in its own language cannot develop," (82) merits serious consideration. There is

need for a complete overhaul of our school curriculum to reflect African reality especially given that the "main purpose of colonial education was to dehumanise and brainwash Africans into believing that one day they would be like their colonial masters in thought and deed"(Vakunta32). Okolo suggests some ways this can be achieved. These include: the need for conscious effort to recover African history and include them in school curriculum; the imperative for African scholars, especially linguists and lexicographers, to seriously contest the derogatory words attached to black through committed research; and the need for citizens, particularly students to be encouraged to engage in social critique especially of words that define them and colour their education (Okolo A Philosophical Inquiry 154). Ngugi provides a useful example. He recounts how the Mau Mau rejigged Christian songs to serve the reality of Kenyan people. The aim "is to change a people's world outlook, it is to seize back the right and the initiative to define oneself"(Ngugi *Writers in Politics*29). From this perspective, reviewing the sovereignty of colonial language is not an academic exercise but a practical mandate for Africa's survival, growth and development.

Another important mandate is for local languages to be used as medium of instruction, especially, in primary and secondary schools. This is in line with Ngugi's proposal to see Kenyan peoples' mother-tongue used as their national languages. He believes that creating harmony between a child, his language and his environment as his starting point will help him to, "learn other languages and even enjoy the positive humanistic, democratic and revolutionary elements in other people's literatures and cultures without any complexes about his own language, his own self, his environment"(Ngugi *Decolonising the Mind*28-29). This is not to dismiss the validity of the view that the "peculiarity of the African situation resides in the extreme and intractable character of our present arrangement which makes it difficult to adopt a coherent language policy in any of our states"(Irele48). Yet if Africa is to progress, if she is to be true to her social reality, its internal diversity must be accepted as they are, even, with its tension and conflicts. This must entail positioning African materials, in this case, the languages, in their various cultural domains. A lesson can be taken from what according to Ngugi, Spencer, Milton, Shakespeare did for English and Pushkin and Tolstoy did for Russian by writing in their languages, which helped to open the languages for philosophy, science, technology and all the other areas of human creative endeavours (Ngugi *Decolonising the Mind* 29).

Besides, Africans' patriotism is tied to this. It is difficult to demonstrate loyalty to one's nation if one is not proud to be associated with the place. An average African emigrating to Europe is prepared to take up any menial job which they would not accept in Africa. It will probably be right to state that the motive behind western visa lottery is to recruit cheap labour from Africa for jobs, like taking care of old people in nursing homes, which the whites are not prepared to do. In apartheid South Africa, Gordimerreports that the only way Africans live in the white city is as "servants" and they are "in every house" (107). This kind of arrangement both in its apartheid garb and in its lottery apparel is supported by a fundamental principle of inferiority and superiority. As it is, Africans appear to be the ones becoming the major cause of Africa's identity crises. Why is this so; Poole provides a useful guide. According to him, our "national identity – any identity, for that matter – would not be able to demand sacrifices of us if it did not also provide us with pleasures and satisfactions"(95). For Achebe patriotism is part of an unwritten social contract between a citizen and the state whereby the state undertakes to

organise society in such a way that the citizen can enjoy peace and justice so as to be able to perform his patriotic duties (Achebe *The Trouble*15). This introduces the issue of bad governance in Africa and the critical roles African leaders must play in the restitution of African identity.

Another important area for review is African literature because literature has both the power and the reach to influence perception. In fact, European literature played a key role in the distortion of African identity. In Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* the "savage" who has received some training from his colonial masters is referred to as "an improved specimen" who even when dressed up looked like "a dog in a parody of breeches and a feather hat, walking on his hind-legs" (106). To appreciate the long-term effect and damage of Conrad's story on African identity is to remember that it is "among the half-dozen greatest short novels in the English language,"(Guerard 8), has enjoyed more than a century literary appreciation and has continued as a signature text in literature. This is why the African writer has a decisive role to play. Whichever language s/he employs, it is the duty of the writer to use that to Africa's strategic advantage. Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* fulfils this role by showing that Africa has a coherent system of institutions and civilised culture as against the European fabrication of the heart of darkness populated by barbaric sub-humans. Achebe avowed that his duty as a writer is "to help [his] society regain belief in itself and put away the complexes of the years of denigration and self-abasement" (*Hopes* 30).This he believed can be achieved through education. One way to do this is by a writer creating a character(s) that show matured awareness of how words, especially, those associated with black – black sheep, blackmail, blacklist – are deliberate linguistic negatives assembled to rubbish the identity of the black person. A character in Ngugi's *Wizard of the Crow* speaking about the threat he received from another character calls it "*Pure whitemail*" (716). By consciously calling attention to the power of language to influence identity, African writers have a critical contribution to make. At a positive conceptual level, then, formation of identity derives its meaning from the capacity of the agentto influence perceptions of herself and vice versa.

Lastly, it is simply because Africa is in a better position to know what her identity is and should be the one to define it for others. "Self-determination" in Bosmajian's thinking "must include self-definition, the ability and right to name oneself; the master-subject relationship is based partly on the master's power to name and define the subject" (194). Africa's identity is tied to her culture; stored and expressed through her language which she has the monopoly of an insider. Yael Tamir underscored this insider advantage, as cited by Poole, thus: "my nation–like my family–has a particular claim on me, not merely because it is different from others, nor because it can from some vantage point be judged to be superior to others. Its claim lies in the fact that it is mine" (Poole 95).This does not imply an uncritical acceptance of everything that is 'mine.' Poole'ssubmission that national identity is reflective and that all "national cultures provide resources for internal criticism and are open to external influence", (95) is cogent. This, however, is not an invitation to baseless denigration. It behoves on Africa to be identity conscious. Identity consciousness here implies our common involvement in creating a world where human worth, dignity and equity-enhancing recognition is accorded people irrespective of race, religion or any supercilious social consideration. The surest way the human society will maximise its potential is for every race to contribute to it on basis of equality.

Conclusion

The argument of this study focused on a philosophical reflection of language and identity in Africa. This is due to a number of reasons such as the notion of identity – its formation and re-formation – derives from a range of conditions informed by language. At a positive conceptual level, formation of identity derives its meaning from the capacity of the agentto influence perceptions of herself and vice versa.Also the multicultural character of modern day societies necessitates a review on African identity. This is because the central role identity is called to play among the values of the modern world makes its discuss pivotal in understanding social relationship, access or denial to cosmopolitan limelight and even ranking of nations as developed (centreị civilisedị) and undeveloped (peripheryị uncivilisedị). Except linguistic imbalances that place a burden on Africa is decisively addressed, Africa's comprehensive development – culture, education, science and technology, economy, among others - will continue to lag behind and the world's full potential will continue to be underutilised.

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On the Nature of the Distinction Between Essence and Existence: St. Thomas Aquinas' Perspective

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Abstract

This paper explores a philosophical debate that has been on for centuries regarding the nature of the distinction between essence and existence. This distinction is a fundamental one in Metaphysics. While essence refers to an object's intrinsic nature or identity, existence refers to its act of being. There are two main perspectives on this distinction between essence and existence - the distinction is either logical or real. A logical distinction suggests that the difference between essence and existence only exists in our understanding and interpretation, while a real distinction argues that essence and existence are separate concepts that exist independently of each other. St. Thomas Aquinas argues that the distinction between essence and existence is actual rather than logical. This distinction between existence and nature is significant in many ways. Firstly, it helps us understand the nature of reality by drawing a clear boundary between the two concepts – essence and existence. Secondly, it illuminates the way we think about knowledge. We can understand the essence of something even if we are not aware of its existence. Above all, it helps us understand what is possible. This means that we can comprehend the nature of something, even if we are not sure whether it actually exists or not. This investigation employs analytical, expository, and argumentative methods to provide readers with a comprehensive understanding of the philosophical debate.

Introduction

The concept of existence is a complex one, especially in finite composite entities. It exists both in an unqualified and qualified sense, possessing perfections in the order of nature (essence) and the order of being (existence). In this paper, I will examine the nature of the distinction between essence and existence from a philosophical perspective. I will clarify the concepts of essence and existence. On this count, it is relevant to clarify those concepts like "existence," "being," "to be," and "act of being" are conceptually related and have almost the same fundamental meaning. So, both terms will be interchangeably used to refer to existence in this work. Also, St. Thomas Aquinas' perspective will be employed for a better understanding

of the essence-existence debate. Finally, I will highlight the significance of this philosophical conversation in forming our understanding of reality.

Understanding Essence and Existence
Essence
According to St. Thomas Aquinas (15), essence is that by which a thing is what it is. It is that which a being has its act of being. Strictly speaking, essence refers to substance in the primary and unqualified sense. Meanwhile, it applies to accidents only in the qualified sense. In defense of this, Aquinas(15)teaches, "Just as the term *ens* is applied in the absolute and proper sense only to substance, and to accident in a secondary way, essence truly and properly pertains to substance, and to the accidents only in a certain way, and from a certain point of view."

In his book *On Being and Essence*, St. Thomas Aquinas used identical terms to denote the actuality of essence. Alvira, Cavell, and Melendo (90) provide support by arguing that an object's mode of existence defines its identity and yields several essential characteristics that aid our understanding of it. These characteristics result in a vocabulary of phrases that, although describing the same reality, vary in their methods. However, in common parlance, both names are often used synonymously.

Essence as Nature: Nature is essence, considered as the ultimate principle of operations (actions) in a being; it is the leading principle that explains why everything behaves in a particular manner (Aquinas 15). It conveys the dynamic nature of existence. For example, because of its inherent essence, which determines how it comes into existence, a horse behaves in a particular manner and not in another. As a result, a distinct kind of operation matches each nature. For example, horses naturally trot, gallop, munch grass, and neigh since these behaviours derive from their inherent nature or horseness.

Essence as *Quiddity*: According to Aquinas (15), *quiddity* is the definition of essence expressed in words. The word "*quiddity*" comes from the Latin word "*quidditas*," which is a technical noun formed from *quid*, which means "what" in Latin. According to Bittle (117), "When we are curious about something, we ask, 'What is itį'" As a result of learning what distinguishes this item from other beings, we can determine its "whatness" and discover its fundamental components, or essence, in the provided definition. As a result, Aquinas holdsthat we can know the essence of something by locating it within its particular difference and proximate genius (Aquinas 15). In responding to the question, "What is itį" For instance, a "rational animal" would be the definition of man. This is the human being's metaphysical nature. The proximate genius would be described as an "animal," his unique characteristic that sets him apart from other animals would be described as "rationality."

Essence as Form: Since the formal principle categorizes beings into distinct species, "essence" and "form" are often used interchangeably. Physical beings in the human universe acquire their specification and character from their substantial forms. Whereas spiritual beings are precisely what they are because of their essence or "form" since they are not constituted of matter and form, Aquinas (15) contends.

It is essential to make it clear that every essence, in and of itself, is a perfection or an act; it is what, for example, makes a man a man and represents a particular perfection or deed, which is man. However, essence does not convey any act in the order of "to be" (Horrigan 3). It does not

suggest an actual "to be," but rather anything that has the potential or ability to exist and be able to become in the order of "to be." Because of this, one may possess knowledge of an essence without being aware of its existence.

There are two types of essence: physical essence and metaphysical essence. Physical essence is an essence that, apart from the thinking mind, exists in nature in a tangible form. It is *composite* when it consists of two or more substantial principles as opposed to *simple* when it consists of only one substantial principle. Conversely, metaphysical essence is the total of the several levels of existence that make up an object in the mind's abstract conceptions. According to Bittle (127), These stages of being in a tangible nature are the same and distinguishable only in cognition.

Existence

Existence is what makes essence a reality in the order of existence. When essence is actualized through existence, it becomes more than just a possibility and exists in the real world, separate from its causes. According to Thomas Aquinas (S. T. I, Q.3, art. 4), existence is the primary act of essence, while its operation is the secondary act. It is important to note that existence is a fundamental aspect of nature. While essence or quiddity provides an answer to the question of what something is, existence affirms the fact that something exists. As explained by Renard (47), created essences may exist in both possibility and actuality, but existence itself is inherently tangible and different from mere potentiality.

The foundation of metaphysical inquiry is based on the principle of existence, which has been a subject of controversy among metaphysicians for centuries. A crucial question within this discourse is whether existence is a property of objects or a distinct concept altogether. While some philosophers, such as existentialists, argue that existence is an inherent quality of objects, platonists maintain that it is a condition rather than a property. Also, metaphysicians raise another crucial question: is existence objective or subjective; Those who believe in realism assert that existence is objective, which means that it does not rely on our minds. However, those who subscribe to idealism believe that existence is subjective and it depends on our minds. Despite the various theories on this subject, all metaphysicians agree that existence is a prerequisite for everything else. In simpler words, something cannot exist unless it exists. Here are some of the different ways that metaphysicians have conceptualized existence:

a. **Existence as an ontological property:** According to certain philosophers like David Armstrong and Peter Van Inwagen, existence is considered an ontological property that certain entities possess while others do not (Inwagen 153). To illustrate, a chair can be said to exist, while a unicorn cannot.

b. **Existence as a state of affairs:** Some philosophers, like David Lewis and Bertrand Russell, hold the view that existence is a state of affairs rather than the characteristic of a being (Russell 112). A state of affairs refers to a possible way that the world could be. For example, the situation in which a chair exists is true, whereas the problem in which a unicorn exists is false.

c. **Existence as a primitive concept:** Other philosophers like Willard van Orman Quine and W.V.O. Quine support the idea that existence is a fundamental notion. They contend that

existence is a primitive notion (Quine 44), meaning that it is an essential component of reality and cannot be described in other conceptions.

The concept of existence is fundamental to metaphysics and our understanding of the world. However, philosophers have been debating the question of what existence truly means for centuries, and there is no unanimous agreement on the answer.

The Doctrine of (Real) Distinction

Medieval philosophers' conversations began to centre on the nature of the distinction between essence and existence in the thirteenth century. It is important to remember that this dispute concerns the nature of the difference between the actualized, physical composite essence and its existence or reality within the physical order, not the difference between the simply potential essence and actual existence.

The following considerations must be made to preserve the logical flow of this debate on the nature of the difference between essence and Existence:

a. In the order of infinite being, essence, and existence are the same things (Koren 135). Existence is the essential essence of an infinite being; realize the infinite being is a pure act without any actual composition or differentiation.

b. However, it is essential to note that there is a negative difference between a potential essence and actual existence, as Koren (135) explains. For instance, a prospective dog is not the same as an actual living dog. This dog's essence can be separated from its existence, as our discussion must centre on the essence and existence of actually existent essences.

c. The "to be" of anything that exists actually differs from its essence. Bittle (135) contends that the case in point is whether this difference is real or logical. A real distinction arises when two things are conceptually different (in terms of definition, understanding, and thought content) and unique enough from one another that their concepts do not overlap. This difference occurs independently of thought and is not a byproduct of it. On the other hand, a logical distinction suggests a mental separation but not a physical one. Even when two concepts have distinct meanings, they are identical in the physical sense as they occur in nature (Bittle 125).For example, the existence and essence of a dog are logically distinct. The notion of existence is not included in the concept of a dog, but dogs exist similarly to other objects in nature. Therefore, the differentiation between essence and existence lacks substantial differentiation. According to Bittle (125), the differentiation between essence and existence is not substantial. His position is that the existence and essence of an object are inextricably linked. In other words, an entity cannot have an essence unless it has an existence.

In metaphysics, the distinction between essence and existence is based on the theory of act and potency. This theory states that essence and existence are related to each other in the order of being, similar to how potency is related to act. For any finite being, its act of existence must be limited by a subjective potency or essence, which is separate from it and into which it is received (Renard 49-50). This means that every being has a unique essence that sets it apart from others. The existence of each finite being is necessarily and truly distinct from its essence, as act is

distinct from its corresponding potency.

Essence or potency is the capacity to have perfection, which is the existence or the act of being, while act or existence is the perfection that a subject, distinguished by its essence, possesses. When an action is considered separately from its corresponding ability, we can see that the potential to perform the action still exists even if the person is not currently performing it. This potential is distinct from the actual action and remains present even when not used. Potency is defined as the capacity to perform an action or as a receptive subject, which is separate from actual performance or act. Therefore, the principles of essence and existence must be different in reality.

Something that is perfecting cannot be the same as something that is perfectible. Otherwise, the perfectible would create an act that it does not have, leading to something coming from nothing. Furthermore, if potency and act were not different, the act would limit itself, and the limiter and the limited would be the same thing, according to Paul Horrigan (2).

Aquinas on the Doctrine of Real Distinction

Saint Thomas Aquinas, a renowned philosopher of the medieval era, developed a metaphysical system that is based on the concept of the perfection of being. The system comprises three crucial components. Firstly, Aquinas proposes a real distinction between essence and existence in all beings (Wippel 44). Secondly, he argues that being subsists in God. Finally, Aquinas posits that beings participate in the act of being and all other perfections as a result of creation (Mondin 312).

In his seminal work, *On Being and Essence,* St. Thomas Aquinas provides arguments for the real distinction between essence and existence, particularly in finite beings. *Intellectus essentiaeargument*: St. Thomas Aquinas makes the argument that anything that is not part of an essence must come from outside the essence. This is because to understand an essence, you must comprehend all its essential components. However, it is possible to understand the essence of something without knowing whether it exists in reality. For example, we can comprehend the essence of a triangle without knowing if triangles exist in the world. Therefore, Aquinas concludes that essence and existence are two distinct realities(*On Being and Essence,* chap.5).

Argument from the limitation found in creatures: In the perspective of St. Thomas Aquinas, all created beings participate in the act of being in a partial manner, both in extension (i.e., there are many other finite beings) and intensity (i.e., no creature possesses its perfection to the greatest possible degree). This implies that no created being is identical to its act of being but rather has its existence by participation. Possessing a participated perfection implies a genuine duality of principles: on the one hand, there is the "participant" or subject that receives and limits the perfection, and on the other hand, there is the act or the participated perfection. In this context, the act refers to existence, while the essence represents its receptive potency. Therefore, existence and essence are truly distinct. (*On Being and Essence*, chap.4; Aquinas, CG I, 43, no. 363; Copleston 333).

Argument based on the possibility of many beings: According to Thomas Aquinas, the presence of a plurality of finite beings in the world is evidence that these beings comprise two vital components, namely essence and the act of being. If a thing's essence was its own act of being, it

would be a single and straightforward entity. However, an act cannot be multiplied unless it is combined with something other than itself. We can observe that the act of being is indeed multiplied across the many individuals around us, but this would not be possible unless the act of being, which is united to an essence, were genuinely distinct from it (*On Being and Essence,* chap.5).

Argument based on the similarity that exists among beings: For Aquinas, if two or more things are similar, there must be a reason behind it. There must be something that makes them alike and something that sets them apart from each other. This implies that the source of their similarity must be different from the source of their diversity. All finite beings possess the act of being or existence, making them alike in this aspect. However, they differ from each other due to their unique essences, which limit their existence in diverse ways. Hence, the principle of specification or determination, which is the essence, makes existence and essence truly distinct from each other.

Argument from the fact of caused being: Whether an entity is caused or uncaused may distinguish it from other entities. Anything caused by another person or object comes from that source and cannot exist independently. On the other hand, things that exist by definition cannot exist and must inevitably exist. These things are self-caused; they do not derive their existence from other sources. On the other hand, everything that is caused has a nature apart from its existence. According to St. Thomas Aquinas, it is not natural for an entity that was formed to have presence as its essence. (*On Being and Essence*, chap. 5).

The Significance of The Essence-Existence Debate

The distinction between existence and essence has been a crucial subject in philosophy for centuries, and it remains relevant today. This philosophical debate is important because it explores fundamental questions about human existence, such as purpose and identity. Existentialist philosophers, including Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre, have analyzed the ancient debate over whether existence or essence is more important to highlight personal responsibility. This perspective challenges the traditional belief that essence comes before existence and has had a significant impact on modern philosophy.

Metaphysics explores the concepts of essence and existence and their connection to the nature of reality. Understanding the relationship between these two concepts is vital to comprehend the universe and our place within it. This field of research has far-reaching implications and affects our understanding of the cosmos significantly. Besides, the concepts of essence and existence have a profound impact in various fields of philosophy, including epistemology, ethics, and political philosophy. Our comprehension of knowledge, morality, and justice largely depends on our understanding of the connection between essence and existence. As a result, the ongoing discussion on this topic has far-reaching consequences.

Nonetheless, philosophy is an ever-evolving discipline, and the ongoing debate about essence and existence is a prime example of this. For centuries, philosophers have sought answers to this question, yet there is no unanimous agreement on the matter. This highlights the fact that philosophy is not just about memorizing facts or doctrines. Instead, it requires active engagement in critical thinking and inquiry to explore the most fundamental questions about our place in the world.

Evaluation and Conclusion

Having looked at the Metaphysics of St Thomas Aquinas, it will be more philosophically correct to take a more critical look at his insightful teaching on the nature of the distinction found between essence and existence. Firstly, Saint Thomas Aquinas' argument for the distinction between essence and existence, known as the *intellectusessentiae* argument, could be criticized for its similarity to the ontological argument for the existence of God. The argument cannot be considered valid because it moves from the logical to the ontological order without establishing the necessary mediating link required for the argument to hold. Relatedly, Saint Thomas Aquinas's argument regarding the limitations found in creatures falls short of convincing the reader due to a *lacuna* found within it. Aquinas fails to establish that creatures need to receive their existence from another being in order to be limited. For instance, a triangle is limited by having three sides, but it does not derive its existence from an external source. It simply exists as a triangle.

Besides, it is possible to criticize the argument that beings are similar to one another for assuming that the nature of a thing is its essence and that what makes something a particular kind of thing is its essence. For instance, the essence of a human being is what makes it human. However, this argument also presupposes that the essence of a thing is not dependent on its existence. As a result, it concludes that the essence of a thing is what makes it a thing, even if it does not exist. This argument is circular because it assumes the conclusion to prove itself. Moreover, there are gaps in the argument that need to be filled to make it more convincing.

It is good to round up this conversation on this point. For Saint Thomas Aquinas, the essence and existence of finite beings are inseparably connected. This means that they are related in a transcendent way, such that separating essence from existence results in nothing in the order of existing realities, and existence without essence has no meaning. Essence and existence are not beings themselves but rather metaphysical principles that define something. Essence has no actuality except that which it receives from existence, which is distinct from itself. Therefore, for Aquinas, the distinction between essence and existence is not merely logical but rather a real distinction between two separate metaphysical principles that operate in one and the same being. Existence brings the being into the realm of actually existing beings, while essence distinguishes it as a unique being, different from the rest.

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Contemporary African Condition(ing) and the Imperative of Street Philosophising: Reflection on Sapa and Other Existentialia

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Abstract

This paper is an exploratory reflection on the concept of *Sapa* and its corollaries as existential categories of Street Philosophy expressed by Contemporary African experience. Riding on the crest of current intellectual temperament in *Africana* Studies that emphasises difference, multiplicity and multivalence as qualities in knowledge production and social relations, this paper reflects on the African existential condition as one that demands alternative albeit complementary philosophising. In consonance with trends in scholarship linking town and gown and opening up to the values of the Informal, it argues that the complexities that characterise contemporary African existence, especially post-colonial realities evidenced in neo-liberalism and postmodern culture, justifies the exploration of what may be termed Street Philosophy. In further elaboration of Street Philosophy as an under-explored space where the philosophic activities of the streets and the formal academe converge, it identifies and unwraps *Sapa*, a term that conceptualises the quality or state of extreme poverty of an individual in all its fleetingness, precarity, irony, resilience, amongst others. Whilst this paper posits that *Sapa* and its corollaries are *existentialia* expressive of some contemporary African condition, it submits that further examination of these concepts will expand and enrich philosophical scholarship beyond the traditional academic setting, reposition philosophy for stimulating inter/transdisciplinary collaborations, and provide cultural raw materials for African Philosophy.

Key words: Contemporary African Condition, Existentialism, Street Philosophy, *Sapa*.

Introduction

For many years, studies about Africa have been carried out primarily as stories told by non-Africans, or stories told by Africans using knowledge-production techniques and intellectual devices contrived by foreign tradition and culture. These means of knowledge-production, or expression of Africa have been so influential as to threaten progress in African discourse. The consequence of this trend is the creation of an ontology which proposes a 'certain way of

viewing Africa. However, given the fact that Africans, in their present existential setting, are multi-ethnolinguistic, multi-cultural and multi-religious and multivalent in their identity, there is need to question the monolithic ontology that has been bandied as the foundation of the ideas by which Africans live.

To reflect on this, some assumptions foreground this brief reflection. One of such assumptions is the philosophy of difference, a fundamental principle of which is the engagement with marginal issues in mainstream philosophical traditions, examination of constitutive exclusions and appraisal of deviations from the hegemonic norm in philosophical scholarship. Another is the postmodern temperament of Deleuze and Guattari as postulated in their Rhizome epistemological model which admits of theories and research works that allow for multiple, non-hierarchical entry and exit points in data representation and interpretation (Deleuze and Guattari, 6-10). Still another is the emergent trend in postcolonial research that promotes a reconfiguration of African Studies based on Africa's incipient pluralism and multiplicity.

African Existential Condition: Of condition and conditioning

As history down the ages has shown, what may be termed the Contemporary African Condition did not just unveil itself within contemporary thought, rather it represented an Africa that was invented, rationalised and worked out as an *Other* – a reality that must be seen as African. Right from the time of the ancient historian and explorer Pliny the Elder, c. 23-79AD, whose famous description "*Ex Africa semper aliquidnovi" (meaning 'Out of Africa there is always something new'*) sold Africa to the world, this Otherness of Africa has been sustained by epistemologies, narratives, processes and theories as well as the power relations strategically managed in space and philosophically articulated in documented history throughout the ages. These sustaining mechanisms which I call Africa conditioning have nourished the hegemonic epistemes and traditions that present Africa to the world. Amongst such representations of Africa are the familiar racialism of prominent modern philosophers such as the postulations of David Hume on the inferiority of the black race to the white (Hume, 1753); Immanuel Kant's aesthetic denigration of black Africans as devoid of feeling beyond the trifling (Kant, 1784); Hegel's damning castigation of the African as bereft of a sense of history (Hegel, 1873); Levy-Bruhl's description of the African as one with primitive mentality that is impervious to the laws of logic (Levy-Bruhl, 40). Added to these are incidents of institutionalised slavery, colonisation, colonialism, neo-colonialism (Falaiye, 147) and their associated mental dislocation, psychic violence, socio-economic control and cultural menaces (Okeregbe, 195).

In coalescing these submissions, it is instructive to rely on Ali Mazrui for further elucidation on the Contemporary African Condition as an existential state of the postcolonial African life world defined by paradoxes of immense potentialities and dismal realities. In his published BBC Reith lectures under the title *The African Condition: A Political Diagnosis*, Mazrui (v-vi) examines the African condition in six paradoxes: Africa seen as the home of mankind and yet the least habitable. Africa, while not being the most brutalised, is the most humiliated in modern history; Africa, though far from the west has had the most rapid rate of westernisation; African of immense human and natural resources but the least developed of the continents; Africa of immense size that should signify power, but the most fragmented at multiple levels;

and Africa the most strategically located in terms of geographical position, yet the most marginal in terms of political and military power.

Given the complexity of today's Africa and its peoples, the socio-economic displacement effected by global political dynamics, the marginality created by cultural dissonance and other effects of globalisation, Contemporary African Condition may then be construed as the existential state of the African, their mode of being and acting in a multipolar world as dictated by their facticity and their failings in history. It also entails the African's awareness of their place in the scheme of existence as another.

African Existentialism: A Philosophy of the African Condition

Distinguished colleagues, there is a nexus between existential condition and the expression of ideas that crystallise as philosophy. Ideas do not just appear form the blue; they are the active thoughts sparked up by experience, and then subjected to the rigours of *ratio* whence they become philosophy. The influential British philosopher, Bertrand Russell is reputed to have drawn this connection when he writes about the nature of philosophy. He states: "philosophers are both effects and causes: effects of their social circumstances and of politics and institutions of later ages" (Russell, 7). Some African philosophers after him, among who are C. S. Momoh, Akin Makinde and Segun Oladipo have eloquently interpreted this statement in justifying African Philosophy. The summary of what they explicated is simply captured by Okolie and Nweke thus: "…every philosophy emerges as a reaction to, and/or a consequence of the cultural norms and social realities of a given philosopher in a given society at a given time" (Okolie and Nweke, 15). If this is the case, it follows that any claim to African existentialist philosophy or existentialism should be rooted in the African Existential Condition expounded above.

What then is this African Existentialism? To attempt a brief explanation let us examine what it is not. African existentialism is not construed as a correlate of the western notion of existentialism whose canons and themes are established by western reactionaries. It is also not Africana existential philosophy viewed as Africana-oriented existential phenomenology which justifies its theoretical existence on the basis of a Husserlian treatment of anti-black racism and the lived experiences of racialised persons during the modern period (Turnstall, 2008: 47). Gleaned from literature analysing the trends in African Philosophy, 'African Existentialism' may be seen as the treatment of existential themes in the literary and artistic works of literary figures such as Ngugi waThiongo, Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe, Okot p'Bitek, amongst others. Ruch and Anyanwu explain that since these works examine African existential themes with deep reflection, and possess "sapiental literary logic" that understands the open-ended nature of philosophy, they constitute works in African Existentialism (Ruch and Anyanwu, 253). But as a philosophy that seeks to provide the basis for understanding the African predicament and themes of existence in Africans' lived experiences, it is subsumed in Black existentialism. Citing Gordon (2000, 2013), Vereen et al explain the mission of Black existentialism thus:

> Black existentialism provides the philosophical grounding to explore the struggle to live within inequity, racialization, and historical oppression as experienced by Black people. This grounding calls for an investigation of how to enact a philosophy that translates its central tenets into active reflection and meaningful scholarly discourse (Vereen et al., 73).

African Existentialism is related to Black Existentialism because of their shared aspiration in the empowerment of black people the world over. As Bassey insists, notwithstanding the divergence in the theoretical conceptualisation of Africana studies, they all have a meeting point in that they all focus on "Black subjugation" and "dehumanization" (Bassey, 2007). Even though it shares the liberationist agenda of Black existentialism, African Existentialism also affirms the right of Africans to be understood on their own terms. African Existentialism tends to share in Black Existentialism defined by Lewis Gordon to mean not only the existentialism produced by philosophers, but also discussions that give black people context to the problem of existence (Gordon, 2000). How do black people see existenceᵢ What meaning do they derive from existenceᵢ In enlarging the themes of Black Existentialism, African existentialism not only accommodates themes such as "twoness" (double contraries) and double consciousness of W.E.B. Du Bois, but also the fragmented multiple of postcolonial African Identity and the marginality brought about by globalisation (Okeregbe, 196).Thus, African Existentialism justifies its position in the annals of the history of philosophy by riding on the crest of postmodern scholarship that valorisesderacialisation, decoloniality and inclusion.

Of Street and Street Philosophy

One of the manifestations of this vibrant African Existentialism is Street Philosophy. As a conjunction of two separate phenomena, namely, "Street" and "Philosophy", Street Philosophy seems like a contradiction in terms. The Street, as a social space, has from time been seen as the meeting point of the *hoi polloi*, the grounder of statuses, and a rallying point for disparate social groups. In his work, *Street Corner Society* (1943), William Foote Whyte uses the term 'Street' to denote a social typology that describes the formation of local street gangs, corner boys that contrasts with college boys in terms of social organisation and mobility (Andersson, 79/80). Philosophy, on the other hand, is construed as an exercise that provides special powers such as clarity of refined thought and precision of ideas; and this sapiental quality is not of generous distribution. How can the rowdiness, chaos, cacophony and the seeming absence of structure of the street correspond with the order, structure and finesse of the ratiocinative exercise known as philosophyᵢ How is the spontaneity of the informal space affiliated to the calculated contemplation of philosophical ideasᵢ It thus seems that, at face value, Street Philosophy is as paradoxical as a "wooden iron". It is this conception of both the street and philosophy that has confined the study of philosophy to the cathedral school of the medieval times and to the lecture hall of the modern university.

However, drawing insight from the classical notions of the Greek *agora* and the Roman *forum*, such conception is flawed. In the reckoning of the ancients, the *agora* or *forum* idealise "the public arenas where the public affairs of the city are discussed among an assembly of equal citizens" (Tonnelat, 2010). Furthermore, the street may not necessarily be a physical space or

location. It may be, in the Foucaultian sense, a *heterotopia*, that is, an imagined space that could be activated by the concourse of events. The reason for the dissonance between Street and Philosophy, according to Pollock is this:

> Under the guise of protecting their control over certain kinds of questions, many professional philosophers neglect the universal disposition from which all philosophical inquiries emerge. As a consequence, philosophy has evolved into a set of competing ideological frameworks and lost its grounding in the genuine compassion for bringing truth to bear on the countless frustrations, worries, and problems distinctive to the human condition (Pollock, 2018).

But as the life and times of Socrates have revealed about the dawn of philosophy, the street was the typical *agora* and informal space for philosophical knowledge production. Much of the profound thought attributed to Socrates was refined from ideas generated in the street. Just as for Socrates of old, so it is for the street of today. As Chase explains:

> To gather in the streets is to know how you relate to your surroundings, to your community and to the greater universe. This grounding allows us to understand ourselves better as participants in a story greater than our own, and it allows us to relate and to gain relationships with those around us. Author Alan B. Jacobs writes "First and foremost, a great street should help make community: should facilitate people acting and interacting to achieve in concert what they might not achieve alone" (Chase, 2010).

What all this reveals is that with philosophy as a public activity, the street becomes a public sphere for intellectual engagement, or to use Foucault's term *heterotopia*, an intellectual space to generate ideas, interrogate the ideas of others, create meaning for existence. And this is what Street Philosophy is, and what it does. Though detached from the formal and intimidating setting of the Ivory Tower, Street Philosophy is not found wanting in the profundity, depth and ratiocinative character of philosophical scholarship. Without denigrating the traditional philosophy classroom as a place for intellectual activity, proponents of Street Philosophy are inspired by the existentialist flavour of Socrates philosophy, when he called down philosophy from heaven, and also by his assertion that everyone is pregnant with knowledge. Whilst it does not diminish the privileged intellectual stature of the professional philosopher, Street Philosophy relives this long forgotten practice of intellectual midwifery by undoing the occultation of knowledge-production. All this sits well with the rhizome epistemological model of Deleuze and Guattari, by which Street Philosophy would be justified as a method of knowledge production in philosophy.

Unwrapping *Sapa* and other *Existentialia*

Like Street philosophising in other intellectual settings, streets in Africa are loaded with existential concepts that capture the lived experiences and everyday life of the people. Amongst the many *existentialia* identified by Nigerian Street Philosophy, for instance, is Sapa.

Sapa is a term supposedly derived from Nigerian pidgin but with a Yoruboid pronunciation. Concerning the origin of the term, little is known even though ongoing research may eventually put that to rest. However, some sources trace the origin of the term to youths or students of Nigerian universities, who for want of an appropriate term to capture the condition they face in their campuses came up with catchy phrases: 'Special Attack from Poverty Assistant', 'Serious Absence of Purchasing Ability, both of which give their acronym as SAPA. *Sapa* has also been said to be a name for a village in Vietnam. The name, which directly translates to "useless piece of shit", was supposedly given to the village owing to how poor the living conditions are and how many of the male villagers are gay" (*Urban Dictionary*). Whether as an acronym for a pitiable economic state of an individual or as a metaphoric piece of shit that an individual becomes due to poor living condition, Sapa has established itself as a nomenclature in the lexicon of Nigeria's everydayness, to the extent of attaining some official recognition.

According to the *Urban Dictionary* Sapa is defined as "a term used in Nigerian Pidgin English to describe a state of being extremely broke or poor, usually after spending extravagantly." It has the following as examples:

1. Dem no dey tell person, when sapa hit you, you go know.
2. I fit see garri drink for your handị sapa don hold me.

Further extension of this definition renders Sapa as

i.   "Nigerian English term to describe a state of being financially finished, without funds, nairaless, bankrupt."
ii. "Spirit of poverty that targets you all the time, especially as a university student."
iii. "The final stage of brokeness where all hope is lost."

As a concept in Street Philosophy, *Sapa*, in my humble submission, is an *existentiale* (plural *existentialia*). According to Martin Heidegger, whose intricate neologisms and etymologizing endorse such concepts, an *existentiale* is an essential feature of Dasein; that is, it is a characteristic of the being of Dasein in his dealings or everyday engagements, as distinct from category which is the term used in reference to entities other than Dasein (man). Munday sheds more light when he defines *Existentalia* (plural of existentiale) as "certain characteristics of Dasein that are revealed by the analysis of its existence" (Munday, 2009:)

As an *existentiale*, Sapa reflects the facticity of being a black African concretised at this time in World-history. It is an expression of the thrownness of the black African into a postcolonial African drama of existence with others who they have to understand for their own self-actualisation. *Sapa* also falls under the characteristic of Dasein known as Fallenness or Forfeiture, for it is a tendency to let go or to drift in the currents of mass culture and the goings-on in the world.

Sapa reflected as an economic state:

In Nigerian everydayness, *Sapa* is disclosed as a state arising from a prodigality that places the individual in a state of precarity and consistent fleetingness. It is characterised by deep-seated forlornless and vulnerability to total external control for subsistence. The precarious nature of *Sapa* is underscored by the fact that to live, to exist, the individual's economic freedom

is surrendered to another. As an African existential economic condition, *Sapa* tends to be linked to neo-liberalism, a social science and an economic policy model that promotes the transfer of control of economic factors into private hands with the aim of maximising utility and profit. In some modified form, this economic philosophy has become so globally entrenched that it is a dictator of what it means *to be* from the standpoint of economics. How does neo-liberalism create *Sapa*?

Firstly, by tying local economies around global monetarist policies, a coalition of western powers under the aegis of the Washington Consensus tends to create a global perspective to economics; whereas they build their economic ideology on an illusion, since there are no such global perspectives to local events. Secondly, neo-liberalism is not as global as advocated because it is an economic ideology carefully selected and created by a coalition of western powers, to be practised by underdeveloped and developing economies, for the benefits of the powers concerned. This is accomplished by systematic pauperisation of so-called Third World countries in forms of cultural devaluation, mass indoctrination and deliberate hindrance to development.

Sapa as a psychological state

Depending on the degree of deprivation and need, Sapa could lead to a psychological affliction, a mental health condition (Anakwenze and Zuberi, 2013), and register as melancholia and repeatedly as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). In the words of Anakwenze and Zuberu: "The psychological distress caused by trauma and violence in areas of concentrated urban poverty often takes the form of PTSD." (151).

Sapa in literature

In literature Sapa has also been profusely treated. In Festus Iyayi's*Violence,* we witness how structural injustice in postcolonial Nigeria of the 1970s established a class stratification necessitating Sapa. Against the sisyphian thrownness occasioned by Sapa, the writer telegraphs the resilience and undaunting efforts deployed by two main characters of the novel to avert suffering. This same trend resonates in Buchi Emecheta's*Second ClassCitizen*, as in Femi Osofisan's plays depicting poverty, deprivation, suffering and want, such as "Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels", "The Inspector and the Hero", etc. In an anachronistic sense, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* depicts the character of Unoka as one who wallowed in Sapa.

The ludic dimension of Sapa

There is also the ludic dimension of Sapa. Although extreme poverty is a perilous existential state that often leads to suffering and potential mental health concerns, certain individuals have devised means of mitigating the suffering associated with it. One way of doing this is through what psychologists call "Adaptive humour." Adaptive humour refers to the use of humour to cope with everyday stress and building up resilience for difficult times. There are two main forms of Adaptive humour: Affiliative humour and Self-enhancing humour. According to Wang, Godecker and Rose (2022), whilst "Affiliative humor is used to facilitate interpersonal relationships and ease social tension through jokes and benign banter," self-enhancing humour "refers to having humorous outlooks on life and uses humor to cope with stress." Coping with

Sapa may often require a deflection or suspension of suffering through the deployment of adaptive humour that comes in form of laughing at oneself and occasional benign banters. The legendary Fela Anikulapo-Kuti might have had this suffering-coping mechanism when he composed the song "Suffering and Smiling".

Other *existentialia*: Japa and Hama

Closely associated with Sapa are two *existentialia*, namely ***Japa*** and ***Hama***. These by one's own reflection are two ways of addressing the fallenness created by Sapa. Ordinarily, Japa is a conscious attempt to escape from the thraldom of Sapa through migration, especially to a foreign land to seek better fortunes. As an *existentiale*, Japa arises as recognition of the individual's freedom to advance their projects irrespective of the limits set by 'Sapaity'. It acknowledges the latitude provided by his temporality to act positively for his advantage, for time is pregnant with possibilities. Japa is the exercise in freedom to escape: it is a leap of freedom to a known or an unknown space of expectant possibilities. It may be a social space of changing status or altered relationship, a distant place far removed from importunities of Sapa. Whatever the leap of freedom, Japa is an existential shift in condition from a state of being entrapped by and condemned by poverty to a real or imagine state of escape towards some consolatory respite. Being a state of expectancy or possibilities, Japa may not necessarily translate to total escape from Sapa. In fact, its transitory state may be a temporary relief that may lead to Sapa again.

Hama

However, when *Japa* results in an abnegation of 'Sapaic' state to a point of overwhelming change in the individual's existential economy, Hama has set in. Yet, Hama could result without the intermediation of *Japa*, as in cases when Hama comes from the action of an *other* caring-for or reaching out to the individual in solicitude. Hama, as a term, is a mechanical metaphor for many kinds of actions. It is a pidginisation of hammer in its nominal and verbal sense. For instance, *I don hama. The lady has good luck, she leapt from Sapa to Hama.*

As an *existentiale*, *Hama* is a characteristic of the individual in attunement with his projections to succeed. It is an existential reversal or negation of *Sapa* through the exercise of one's freedom or by some form of solicitude. All the above are related to, and make sense only in virtue of *Sapa*.

Some Reflection and Evaluation

Having unwrapped *Sapa* and other correlating existential themes that may be drawn out of contemporary African Condition through Street Philosophy and street philosophising, our task is to deploy active reflection and become agents of the central tenets of Street Philosophy and street philosphising. This is necessary if Africans are to give meaning to the world they inhabit and to their lived experiences. However, as we intend to progress, there are philosophical implications of the exploration and analysis of *Sapa*. We have to note the following: Firstly, that African societies, history and lived experiences must be understood from inside out. What this implies is that African philosophers need to present African ideas from African stories and narratives presented by Africans. This also suggests that African scholars should talk to and

with themselves. Genuine self -retrieval comes from telling the African story through the eyes of the African.

Secondly, consequent on the above, African experiences should be expressed in African vocabulary where possible – not in relationship to Europe or in terms of European concepts. Although this is a daunting task for African philosophers most of whom, if not all, got or still gets their philosophical education and training from the west and Euro-western tradition, frequent clustered engagements amongst African philosophers will show promise in the positive direction. In the light of the promise of Street Philosophy, there is need for the enlargement of the coast of African philosophical scholarship. On this there is need for some brief elaboration.

Given that Street Philosophy operates in a vibrant and dynamic multifarious postmodern African setting, it demands interdisciplinary studies for expanded understanding. This is to bring in reflexivity in knowledge production. African philosophers need to collaborate with scholars in African Studies for more enriching knowledge production and research on Africa. In the light of the free and reflective nature of philosophy, research works in African Existentialism today are diverse in terms of space, time and positionality. As the explication of *Sapa* has shown, African existential themes dovetail into areas outside of philosophical scholarship since they concern lived experience. Consequently, by the very fact of this peculiarity, fieldworks and sundry ethnographic studies may be necessary for proper qualitative analyses of tangible phenomena being investigated. Contrary to the qualitative approach of philosophical analysis, fieldwork and other ethnographic research methods rely on social science quantitative research tools, all of which are alien to the philosopher as a methodological tool. For philosophers to carry out such research they need to collaborate with other scholars outside the philosopher's sphere of epistemic authority. In fact, researchers in philosophy such as Fainos Mangena (100-107) and Alena Rettova (37) have justified their revised ethno-philosophy research and hermeneutical approach to philosophical analysis on the strength of this argument.

Conclusion

From the reflection so far, this paper has identified the street as an under-explored space where the sapiental activities of the streets and the formal academe converge. It unwrapped *Sapa*, a term that conceptualises the quality or state of extreme poverty of an individual in all its fleetingness, precarity, irony, resilience, amongst others. Whilst this paper posited that *Sapa* and its corollaries are existentialia expressive of some contemporary African condition, it submitted that further examination of these concepts will expand and enrich philosophical scholarship beyond the traditional academic setting, as well as reposition philosophy for stimulating inter/transdisciplinary collaborations, and provide cultural raw materials for African Philosophy. Given the explication of the concept of *Sapa* and identification of other correlates, it is evident from social experience and genuine contemplation of the African lifeworlds that 'raw materials' exist for authentic philosophical culture. We are hereby urged to go to the streets and philosophize.

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Philosophy, Leadership And Politics: Towards A Realisation of Peace and Sustainable Development in Nigeria

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Abstract

One of the major challenges Nigeria has continued to face is leadership devoid of 'a philosophy or philosophies'. Sadly, for over sixty years of her independence, it is difficult to say that there is a commensurate development in almost all facets of human endeavour compared to her human and natural endowments. It is also difficult, if not impossible, for a country to achieve peace and national development without a political leadership that is anchored on a philosophy. Some Nigerian politicians that are fixated with postmodernist mindset of 'anything goes' have hijacked the leadership space without going through the crucibles of leadership philosophies and their rigorous training that is encapsulated in, among other things, morality and critical thinking. This study, therefore, suggests a synergy between philosophy, leadership, and politics; and further holds that without the five (5) inevitable and catalytic C^s-capacity, character, competence, composure, and conscience, no political leadership will bring about the desired transformational development in Nigeria. It is only in political leadership that is symbolically embedded in a well-articulated philosophy that the desired peace and sustainable national development will be achieved. That philosophy is what I describe in this research, which employs the method of critical analysis, as *Leadership-Politethics.*

Keywords: *Leadership-Politethics*, Peace, Sustainable, National Development, Philosophy, Postmodernism, and The Five (5) Inevitable and Catalytic C^s.

Introduction

Philosophy, leadership and politics are complex concepts of multidimensional significance. However, the study tries to show the synergy between philosophy, leadership and politics in addressing the problem of national development in Nigeria. Nigeria, the most populous country in African, is superabundantly endowed with perhaps, the best of human and natural resources. Apart from the non-dialogical amalgamation of the multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic and multi-religious people called Nigeria in 1914, the country has not proved herself to be endowed with human and natural resources based on her level of development for

over sixty years of independence. This problem is not unconnected with leadership and politics of clannishness and parochialism that is devoid of a specific philosophy or philosophies. It was Karl Maier who linked the catastrophic leadership in Nigeria to the parochial mindset and clannishness which is erroneously construed as solidarity. At the heart of all these is corruption. The situation that: where one comes from is the determinant factor for appointment and exercise of sensitive leadership functions has left Nigeria in a state of political limbo such that, if nothing is done urgently, it might take the country decades to return to normalcy. In his own words, Maier argues that: Colonial Nigeria was designed in 1914 to serve the British Empire, and the independent state serves as a tool of plunder by the country's modern rulers. Nigerians spend a good part of their lives trying to get the better of the government for their own benefit or that of their family, their village or their region. Rare is the head of state who acts on behalf of the entire nation. The people are not as much governed as ruled. It is as if they live in a criminally mismanaged corporation where the bosses are armed and have barricaded themselves inside the company safe. Nigeria's leaders like the colonialists before them have sucked out billions of dollars and stashed them in Western banks (xxi-xxii).

The kind of scenario depicted above is possible because there is no specific philosophy that is anchored on Godliness that Nigeria calls her own. It is in a country that has no specific philosophy or philosophies that there is no generally acceptable working constitution, no workable or practicable short term or long term development plan for education, economy, and so on.In his book, *Republic*, Plato (427–347 BC) seems to have envisaged the level of lopsidedness and atrophy in diverse spheres of Nigeria's life todaywhen he advocates for philosopher-kings in leadership positions.For him, There will be no end to the troubles of states, or of humanity itself, till philosophers become kings in this world, or till those we now call kings and rulers really and truly become philosophers, and political power and philosophy thus come into the same hands… The philosopher rulers represent the highest talent, and are given the highest training, and are put at the disposal of the state (xlvii).

This study construes that the philosopher king envisaged by Plato must be the one that is morally sound with critical thinking and leadership skills. Apparently, everybody cannot be a philosopher; it is not all politicians that are, or can be leaders; and it is also not every leader that is a politician in the strictest sense of it. National development remains a mirage in Nigeria if there is no political leadership that truly employs Godliness (morality) in 'theory' and in 'praxis', especially through honesty, probity, transparency, and accountability in public offices. The desired transformation can only take place if there is interconnectivity between philosophy, leadership and politics. This paper further construes that such complementary relationship will be aligned with the five (5) inevitable and catalytic C^s namely: capacity, character, competence, composure, and conscience. If such becomes the case, political leadership will bring about the desired sustainable development in Nigeria. Amidst the dynamics of leadership and politics, there necessarily has to be a philosophy or philosophies that ground them for maximum effectiveness. That is why this study suggests *leadership-politethics* or humanised leadership as *instrumentum laboris* (instrument of labour) for good governance that will metamorphose into peaceful coexistence and national development. If morality is enthroned in Nigeria's political leadership, the dignity of the human person which has been carelessly and callously trampled upon will be resuscitated and Nigeria will in reality

be an egalitarian society where the rights of everyone is respected by all.

Bad leadership is the easiest way of dehumanising the dignity of the human person. It is in understanding that the human person is the *imago Dei*(image of God) that such dignity is transcendental. John Paul II instantiates this fact when he teaches that: The dignity of the human person is a transcendental value, always recognized as much by those who sincerely search for the truth. Indeed, the whole human history should be interpreted in the light of this certainty. Every person, created in the image and likeness of God (cf. Gen. 1:26-28), is therefore radically oriented towards the Creator, and is constantly in relationship with those possessed of the same dignity. To promote the good of the individual is thus to serve the common good which is that point where rights and duties converge and reinforce one another (2).

It is the position of this study that Nigeria will start working again and sustainable development will be guaranteed when the Nigerian political leaders enthrone Godliness in governance. It is with the enthronement of Godliness in governance that all forms of injustices prevalent in Nigeria for instance, (the political leaders using public funds to get richer, while the poor masses will be languishing in abject poverty and hunger in a nation where wealth is in abundance to take care of every one) will stop. It is with the enthronement of Godliness in governance that banditry, killings, all forms of criminality and violence, even those instigated by religious fanatics, will be radically put to rest. It is Godliness in governance that summarizes the position of *leadership-politethics* as a philosophy and an inevitable tool for the realization of peace and sustainable development in Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarification

Some of the concepts that form the crux of this discourse are clarified as follows:

Leadership-Politethics **(Humanising Political Leadership)**

Leadership-Politethics is a construct of three words namely: leadership, politics and ethics. For the sake of clarity and precision, these three concepts have to be delineated independently before defining *leadership-politethics* as a conglomerated concept and a philosophy.

Leadership-politethics or political leadership is "Godliness in political leadership". It is ethical political leadership. It is concerned with making morality key in political leadership. It is concerned with the relevance and inevitability of philosophy in political leadership. Philosophy remains relevant and inevitable not only in leadership and politics but also in diverse areas of human endeavour. Philosophy brings order to the society. Without a specific philosophy or philosophies, there can hardly be peace and sustainable development anywhere across the globe. Umeogu instantiates this position when he argues: It is an obvious fact that no society can effectively function without a philosophy of its own. Such philosophy forms the base of which the entire socio-political activities are carried out. When such philosophies are good, the sure result is that there will be order, progress and development in such a society; and reverse is also the case…. every institution of the society is based on philosophic ideas, whether that institution is law, government, religion, family, marriage, industry, business, or education. When good philosophies are employed in these areas, the result is always peace and order, but when the opposite is the case, the society, by function of its institutions, becomes a chaotic bunch (31).

It can now be appreciated why it is a strong principle of leadership-*politethics* that,a theoretical framework is put into practice in real life situation, and until that is achieved *leadership-politethics* as a philosophy has not been employed. *Leadership-politethics* is an invitation to humanised leadership and politics, or rather political leadership. It is an invitation to political piety, or morality in politics without which the Nigerian society will not advance beyond the clutches of unethical politics championed by the political undertakers or gladiators who hijack the political institution of the state for their personal gains. Looking closely at the Nigerian political space, one would say that it has metamorphosed into the Hobbesian state of nature where 'might is right'.

Leadership-politethics is about Godliness in political leadership. It is about application of morality in leadership and politics with respect for the dignity of the human person. It is about political evangelisation and liberation of the whole man. The political leader who plays politics and exercises power should be the same person who goes to Church, Mosque, or Shrine seeking the assistance of the Absolute Being. In his introduction to the published Papers presented at 12th Bigard Mission Pastoral Weekend, Nnoruka argues that: "The liberation which evangelisation proclaims cannot be contained in a simple and restricted dimension of economics, politics, social or cultural life; it must envisage the whole man, in all his aspects, right up to and including his openness to the divine Absolute" (5).*Leadership-politethics* is not averse to religion, culture, ethnicity, colour, or race. It is geared towards the good of humanity. *Leadership-politethics* is all about ethics in politics, leadership and governance.

In understanding the interconnectivity or synergy or complementary relationship between philosophy, leadership and politics, it becomes necessary to note that philosophising is an intrinsic part of what it means to be human. According to Umeogu, "Philosophising is part of what it means to be human. True enough, we may differ in our levels of philosophising (some reflect more deeply, profoundly, systematically, and rigorously than others; some consciously and explicitly proffer reasons for what they do, others conjure their reasons in retrospect while in fact some others are not aware of their reasons and principles at the point of action), but we all philosophise all the same in some degree or other" (11).Though it is the nature of man to philosophise conscientiously or unconscientiously, the universality of philosophy does not make everybody a philosopher. That is why *leadership politethics* advocates that it is a necessary condition for political leaders to pass through the crucibles and rigour of criticality and morals that are indispensable in philosophy so as to equip themselves with the necessary instrument for leadership and governance. Plato's assertion that philosopher-kings should occupy leadership position is not a wishful thinking; it is an assertion of timeless validity. Even when political leaders do not acquire philosophical training directly, it is of importance for them to also enroll into leadership training in politics and governance. By so doing, leadership, politics and governance will be clearly distinguished from thuggery and all forms of impunity. Political leaders should be men and women of integrity and dignity. They should be wearing badge of honour, and that is why they are addressed as excellency, honourable, etc.

It has to be noted that politics is not synonymous with violence, thuggery, bribery and corruption, impunity, nepotism, ethnic and religious bigotry, clannishness or parochialism, criminality and all form of social vices. All these are products of politics that is embarked upon without morality. Leadership-*politethics* or humanised political leadership also advocates for

politics that is played with ingenuity because, ingenuity sparks innovation, creativity and global mindset. Understanding humanised political leadership simply means that political leadership must have human face; and if it does, it then implies that it is Godly. In humanised political leadership, all politicking must be geared towards advancing the course of humanity where common good is a watchword. Humanised political leadership holds that all the political parties which serve as platforms where political leaders emerge should do away with money-bag campaign and embark on purpose driven campaign where candidates pursue moral and just cause in bringing about alleviation of the sufferings of the masses through value-oriented campaign and well-articulated manifestos. One can now appreciate the postulate of Martin Luther King Jr. as cited in Ezeanya (*Rebuilding Nigeria with God as the Cornerstone* 21) who admonishes that: "We need leaders not in love with money but in love with justice, not in love with publicity but in love with humanity."

In leadership-*politethics*, professionals in politics and professional politicians must synergise in order to bring out the best for the state. When professional politicians and professionals in politics adopt leadership-*politethics* as their guiding philosophy, human life will be valued as sacred that it is, and morality will have a significant role to play in politics. That is humanised political leadership. Then, political parties will advance ideology-based campaign to win elections and come into power not through vote buying, rigging and all forms of electoral malpractices, but through well-structured political strategies. If such is the case, leadership and politics will be characterised by capacity, character, competence, composure and conscience as indispensable and catalytic tools in ensuring peace and sustainable development in the country.

One of the major challenges of the present Nigerian politics is that politicians have not yet construed political parties as institutions whose primary aim is not just to grab power at all cost, but reengineering of the society through their well-structured ideologies. Political parties should be institutions where ideologies are nurtured and inculcated in its members with the aim of winning elections as an avenue to acquire power to better the society. Political parties should not be election winning machineries, but institutions for the advancement of the society. If that is not done, political parties will win elections without wearing badge of honour. In the words of Eisenhower, "If a political party does not have its foundation in the determination to advance a cause that is right and that is moral, then it is not a political party; it is merely a conspiracy to seize power" (103). That is why indiscriminate movement and crisscrossing from one political party to another which has become a new normal in Nigeria politics must be addressed.

Peace and Sustainable National Development
Peace is a state of freedom from all forms of crisis and violence within or from the outside. It is a situation whereby people live together with one another without rancor and bitterness. Peace thrives in a society where there is equity, justice and fairness in all the areas of personal and interpersonal human relationships. **Peace, however, is also seen as concord, or harmony and tranquility. It is viewed as peace of mind or serenity…. It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of powers (**Rummel 27). On the other hand, sustainable national development can be described as when

development of a country for instance, Nigeria, is consistent and continues, even at the taking over or handing over of each administration that comes into power.

National development is the ability of a country to improve the social welfare and wellbeing of the people; for example, by providing social amenities like quality education, potable water, transportation infrastructure, health, health care, and so on. Development plans within the framework of international best practices are anchored on a philosophy or philosophies which serve(s) as a roadmap for the administration in power as well and future administrations.

Similarly, education is key among the issues to be encapsulated in Nigeria's development plan. There is no way this can be achieved if the political leaders are not well-educated themselves. Nigeria's development plan must be made of policy framework which focuses on improving transparency and accountability in governance, strengthening the macro economy, boosting the competitiveness of industries, facilitating infrastructure and human development. As a matter of urgency, strengthening of educational and financial sectors and capital mobilisation should occupy a pride of place in Nigeria's development plan with improved access to quality social services, and enhancement of peace and security for development, and ensuring ecological integrity, religious tolerance and respect for other people's cultural heritage. This will not only bring about transformational development, but also enhance peaceful co-existence. Nigeria's development plan will serve as our guide in formulating policies and implementing development programmes for instance, for the next ten years. If Nigeria operates a constitution that stipulates that every development plan must be strictly adhered to no matter the political party in power, such a constitution will be a veritable instrument that provides the ground for continuity of government programmes. It is not the type of continuity that is chanted during campaign and thrown to the waste basket immediately a new administration takes over the mantle of leadership.

Some of the Development Plans in Nigeria

Nigerians have overtime experienced political leaders who say one thing and mean the exact opposite. Without a well-defined philosophy, leaders who neither mean what they say nor say what they mean would hardly make any meaningful progress that could be termed development even when there is a developmental plan. Nigeria has often had leadership that is not anchored on any specific philosophy or philosophies. That is why some of the development policies in the past could not yield the desired result.

For the sake of clarity, a few development plans in Nigeria from her independence in 1960 are highlighted. However, it would not be out of place to note that Nigeria has had a relatively long experience in development planning beginning with the Colonial Development Plan (1958-1963). Medium-term development plans with mixed results. Other major strategist initiatives –such as Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP); the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy; the Strategy for Attaining the Millennium Development Goals; and the 7-Point Agenda were not seen to have been effectively implemented. The Nigeria Vision 20:2020 expresses the aspiration for Nigeria to become one of the top 20 economies in the world by 2020. Attainment of the vision would enable the country to achieve a high standard of living for its citizens. It was developed by Nigerians for the Nigerian

people and involved a process of thorough engagement with all stakeholders across all levels of government and society. The vision will be pursued through a series of threefour years plans which will further articulate strategies, policies, projects, and programmes(Wale 32).The question is, have all these development plans borne the desired fruits¿ Your guess is good as mine.

Philosophy

Etymologically, philosophy derives from the Greek words *philo* and *sophia* (love of wisdom).Philosophy is the rational, critical, systematic, and methodological consideration of reality as a whole or of a fundamental dimension of human existence and experience. As an academic discipline, philosophy is an activity people undertake when they seek to understand fundamental truths about themselves, the world in which they live, and their relationships to the world and to each other. Those who study philosophy are perpetually engaged in asking, answering, and arguing for their answers to life's most basic questions. The primary concern of a philosopher is to seek understanding of reality in line with the object and method of philosophical inquiry. Okere holds that: "Philosophy is an effort to understand or comprehend reality as a whole, an effort to discover its meaning, an interpretation of life and eventually of culture understood as the objectivization of life…. it is an act of intellectual creation where the new creation is a meaning borne from the melting of one's total experience" (xiv).It is in order to make such pursuit more systematic that academic philosophy is traditionally divided into major areas of study like epistemology, metaphysics, logic, ethics, etc.

Postmodernism

Again, postmodernism cannot be approached from a single frame of discipline. The elasticity of its dimension is such that, postmodernism can be discussed not only in philosophy but also in diverse regions of studies, especially within the disciplines of Arts and Humanities dovetailing into the social sciences (Uzoigwe 9). Uduigwomen instantiating this position writes: "Postmodernism is a post contemporary vogue which cuts across different disciplines such as philosophy, literature, arts, social sciences, architecture, history, and in short, the entire gamut of humanistic intellectual endeavours" (v). Postmodernist philosophers are against all forms of grand narrative or grand totalising in so far as philosophical inquiry is concerned. Notable among postmodernist philosophers are Paul Fereyabend, Jean Francois Lyotard, Jacques Derrida, Michael Foucault, Richard Rorty, and a host of others. Postmodernist philosophy is a radical and deconstructionist approach to philosophy, and essentially against traditional epistemology. For the postmodernist thinkers, there should be no systematic way of philosophising. This must have been why Paul Fereyabend and Richard Rorty are known for their assertion: "anything goes" (Uzoigwe 22)

The Five (5) Inevitable and Catalytic C^s

There are lots of leadership programmes across the globe. None can function with maximum effectiveness without proximate or remote reference to philosophy and the five (5) inevitable and catalytic C^s namely: capacity, character, competence, composure and conscience. They are inevitable because no political leader can perform creditably without having them.

They are catalytic because, they are, among other things, the pivotal force upon which good leadership, peace and sustainable national development rest.

a.   Capacity

Capacity is derived from the Latin word *capacitatem* meaning 'breath'. Similarly, capacity is a noun that in the simplest sense means 'ability' or 'capability'. Within the context of this study, capacity is the mental and managerial ability to carry out a task with high level of professionalism and efficiency. It is the ability to employ requisite knowledge to carry out tasks even the most difficult ones with the best possible result. Capacity is the mental and moral capability to carry out any given task creditably and proficiently. Unfortunately, in the case of Nigeria, those who have capacity are often not voted into power. This must have been part of the reasons Lumumba as cited in Rummel(*The Essentials of Politics* 27) unequivocally writes: "The tragedy with Africa is that those with ideas are not in power; while those in power have no ideas. When the people have a chance, they will vote for those with no ideas".

b.   Character

Character is a noun which means the mental and moral qualities distinctive to an individual or a person. Character is the aggregate of features and traits that form the individual nature of some person or thing. As the distinctive nature of something, character, as reflected in this paper is qualified: good character. Good character means consistency or constancy in behaviour, attitude, and manner of approaching life's situation. It becomes germane to further point out that this constancy or consistency in behaviour and attitude must be in the right direction, such that ennobles, and appeals to both human and divine. From another perspective**,** Ogbu holds that: Character reflects that inner will, the courage and the high sense of morality that allows us to withstand temptation, insist on honour and to have civilized, dignified and balanced conduct in our lives. It is reflected in our judgment, our dedication to core values, our opposition to tyranny and oppression; it is reflected on how we treat the weakest members of our society; putting others before oneself; supplying needs before the needy ask. It is about the truth, fairness and service above self" (52). The positions above capture the study's best estimation of character, and the one who possesses this good quality is a political leader who is also a critical and strategist thinker and ethically oriented.

c.   Competence

Competence can be construed as the ability to do something successfully or efficiently. Competence is the set of demonstrable characteristics and skills that enable and improve the efficiency or performance of a job. Competence is the quality of possessing sufficient and the required skill, knowledge, judgment, qualification, or capacity. Oguejiofor's argument is as true as it is relevant today because, for him, "The story of political leadership in Nigeria is that of a change of baton between leaders that are equally corrupt and equally incompetent" (18). On the other hand, Nigeria is a country where it would be difficult to point to one important job held by the most competent person we have (Achebe 19).The term "competence" first appeared

in an article authored by R.W. White in 1959 as a concept for performance motivation.

Among the reasons Nigeria has maintained a retrogressive record in terms of sustainable development is as a result of having corrupt and incompetent leaders who are either elected or appointed into sensitive leadership positions in the country. Furthermore, Ezeanya writes: "Everyone knows that where one comes from: north, south, east or west is a powerful factor in determining what kind of post one gets in the Government or how far one can go in promotion to a certain rank irrespective of objective criteria" (16). It therefore follows that political leadership in the current Nigerian situation is not a matter of competence, but an issue of where one comes from. If such a narrative is not changed once and for all, peace and sustainable national development will remain a mirage in Nigeria.

d. Composure

Composure is the state of being calm, and in control of oneself. Composure is the ability to control one's feelings and emotions. It is a serene, self-controlled state of mind; calmness; tranquility. It is a state of being calm under pressure. It is a state of being in-charge even under extenuating circumstances of life. Contextually, composure is referred to: "aplomb, dignity, equanimity, fortitude, poise, and self-assurance". Without being recollected, no leader will be focused in facing the challenges that are inherent in leadership. So, composure leads to being focused and being focused opens the way for effective management of both human and natural resources.

e. Conscience

Conscience derives from the Latin word – *conscientia*. Conscience is "a person's moral sense of right and wrong, viewed as acting as a guide to one's behaviour". It is the sense of moral goodness or blameworthiness of one's own conduct. In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Giubilini states that: When we talk about conscience, we often refer to reflection about ourselves as moral persons and about our moral conduct. Conscience is a pluralistic notion. To say that a person acted with conscience or that something violates someone's conscience does not entail anything about what this act consists of or what this person's moral values are (although it might tell us that conscience is itself a value this person holds dear). To use a metaphor, conscience is like an empty box that can be filled with any type of moral content (158-159). As Strohm puts it, "Conscience has what might be called an 'identity problem'– that it possesses no fixed or inherited content of its own, and it can be hailed and mobilised in defense of one's position or in defense of its rival" (73).In *Metaphysics of Morals*, "Conscience is defined as practical reason holding the human being's duty before him for his acquittal or condemnation in every case that comes under a law" (Kant 103)and consciousness as an internal court in man.

Conscience as self-assessment and conscience as motivation to act morally constitute good example of perspectives on conscience which are not only consistent with one another but which actually complete one another. In Kant, for example, the theory of conscience can be seen as "a motivation theory set in the context of reflection theory. Wood interpreting the Kantian notion of conscience writes: "Conscience is a feeling of pleasure or displeasure associated with

myself" that arises when I comply with moral principles and that motivates me to act in one sense… Conscience, for Kant, is not only an inner court but, sense of duty in that it takes the judgments of the inner court as motivation to act morally. Without good conscience, no political leadership will bring about peace and sustainable development" (3).

The above analysis underscores the fact that, among other things for any political leadership to succeed, there is a need for the leader to be acquainted with capacity, character, competence, composure and good conscience as inevitable tools in bringing about good governance and Nigeria cannot be an exception in this regard.

Conclusion

From the above, it goes without saying that Nigeria is facing a monumental challenge of political leadership. In order to make leadership and politics have human face in Nigeria, this study suggests that, there is an urgent need for constitutional review. Nigeria has to enshrine in her constitution that, those who are to pilot her affairs as political leaders must acquaint themselves with knowledge of leadership and politics with a strong insight from philosophy. Political leadership necessarily requires philosophical questions and answers. This will be made possible with the application of morality and critical thinking in political leadership. Philosophical questions, as Russell puts it, "helps us to increase the interest of the world and show the strangeness and wonder lying below the surface, even in the commonest things of life" (6). Indeed, philosophy is ever relevant in addressing the ambivalence that characterises human situations, leadership and politics inclusive. Both speculative philosophy (theory) and praxis are two sides of the same coin. And both must cohere in any leadership that will bring about common good. For Omoregbe,"….much as 'theory' or 'speculation' is a co-agent in changing the world and in fact, the more basic one, concrete revolutionary contribution of 'praxis' to the society should not be lost sight of" (vi). By implication, honesty, probity, and accountability are necessary tools to be employed by the Nigerian leaders at all levels of governance in order to move the country forward.

It is on that basis that this study holds that to change the narrative of bad political leadership in Nigeria which has been translated into lack of peace and sustainable development, there is a need to enthrone Godliness in political leadership. This will necessitate the desired renewal of the face of Nigeria. It will bring about respect and value for human life which is sacred and advance the general wellbeing and dignity of the human person. With the application of morality and critical thinking aligned with capacity, character, competence, composure and conscience, the Nigerian leadership and political terrain will be tremendously revamped.

Unless morality, leadership and politics are synergized through philosophical training of future leader in Nigeria, Nigerian political and leadership landscape will continue to be enmeshed with leaders who strive to acquire power by all means for their selfish gains. In such a situation, siphoning of public funds and all forms of impunity will become a norm. No wonder, Wale notes that: "The current Nigerian political space is characterised by the use of stolen funds to enthrone nepotism and impunity whose sole aim is to loot Nigeria to extinction" (13). Morality must come into play in order to salvage Nigerian political leadership from the hands of money bags and undertakers.

It is on that basis that, leadership-*politethics* or humanised political leadership is suggested

as a viable philosophy in order to enthrone Godliness in political leadership in the country. Without a specific philosophy or philosophies that are aligned with capacity, character, competence, composure and conscience, honesty, probity, and accountability, no headway will be made in Nigerian political leadership talk less achieving peace and sustainable development. It has to be reiterated that doing away with bribery, corruption, and all forms of dishonesty in leadership cannot be overemphasised as part of the practical steps to be taken for Godliness to be enthroned in the Nigerian political space. In leadership-*politethics*, it is expected that the same person who goes to Church, Mosque, Shrine, and prayer housesto seek help from the 'Absolute Being' must be the same person who uses political office to bring about good governance; such that, all forms of injustices, social vices, violence that is engineered by some political leaders, religious fanatics, and ethnic bigots will be put to rest in order to enthrone Godliness which will bring about peace and sustainable development in Nigeria.

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The Limitations of J. S. Mill's Ethics in Plural Societies

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Abstract

The foundation of J. S. Mill's ethics rests on the principle of liberalism and individual rights. These principles and rights can be situated within Mill's utilitarianism which stipulates that an action is right in proportion to its capacity to promote happiness and wrong if it produces pain or the reverse of happiness. The major difference between the utilitarianism of Jeremy Bentham and J. S Mill's ethics is that whereas the former emphasizes the quantity of accruable benefits, the latter includes the quality of the happiness in question. In spite of the difference between Bentham and Mill, both espouse and support the tenets of classical utilitarianism and the defence of individual rights. We argue that although Mill recognized that there may be need for government intervention in certain critical areas of the society such as education, health-care and economy, his views are inadequate with respect to developing plural societies. Our objective is to show that developing plural societies, because of the challenges they are facing, need to be pragmatic in their choice of ethical principles.

Introduction

J. S. Mill was a very influential nineteenth century philosopher whose views during his life time were considered somewhat radical in some respects, especially in the areas of the need for government to promote welfare policies and also with respect to the right and/or equality of women. Mill was influenced by Bentham's theory of utilitarianism which emphasized that the promotion of happiness and avoidance of pain should determine whether a particular action should be considered as moral or immoral. The major difference between Mill and Bentham was in the fact that where Bentham was in favour of the quantity of benefits or happiness which an individual can derive from an action, Mill pointed out that happiness can be classified according to its quality.

There are a number of other disagreements between Bentham and Mill but it is safe to say that their positions fall roughly within the scope of what is known as classical utilitarianism. This theory has important implications in the areas of ethics, justice, politics and economy. The major implication is the view that the consequences of an action should determine its moral basis. Basically, "consequentialist" theories hold that an action is correct in so far as it promotes good consequences" (Furman & Avila, 395) As Furman and Avila rightly pointed out, it seems intuitively correct and feasible to pursue actions which promote "good" consequences and avoid others which do not do so. However, the matter is not so simple. This is because pursuing "good" consequences can in itself become an excuse for formulating and implementing policies which trample on the rights of others, especially minorities.

Mill took pains to refine the theory of utilitarianism testable theory which would be the sole standard for morality many of the misgivings about the theory still remain. Part of the problem with utilitarianism is that it holds the view that the universal standard for determining the morality of an action: This view is basically regarded as falling within the scope of ethical objectivism. Lawhead argues that utilitarianism is an objectivist theory in this respect and not a relativist theory as is commonly supposed by some writers. In Lawhead's view:

> The utilitarian theory falls under the heading of ethical objectivism. The utilitarian believes that there is a universal, objective moral principle that everyone ought to follow the principle of utility. The morally right action for you to perform in a particular situation (your moral duty) is not necessarily the action you think is right, nor is it necessarily identical to what you subjectively desire. The rightness or wrongness of an action is an objective matter of that goodness or badness of its consequences (464-465).

This view is, however, contested by other scholars who assert that utilitarianism is a relativist theory-even though Mill's views were opposed to egoism. Our interest is in Mill's view of hedonism. As it has been noted by scholars, utilitarianism is an offshoot of empiricism which emphasized the importance of experience as the foundation of knowledge. This means that, for Mill and other utilitarians, happiness and pain are objects which are subject to experience and which can be "calculated". "quantified", or "observed", as matters of fact. This is, therefore, akin to the method of science which relies on the facts presented and not on subjective preferences.

Mill's views were promoted against the background of Western historical, economic and political milieu. He espoused the virtues of free market economy based as competition and other principles of societies. However, Mill was ahead of his time in asserting that the society should not practice unrestrained free market enterprise. For Mill, government should intervene in such areas an education provision of social amenities, welfare packages for the poor and unemployed, etc. These views have helped to create some welfare societies in some parts of the developed countries. Moreover, Mill advocated the defense of the rights of women.

Mill's support for welfarism helps to mitigate some of the negative implications of his utilitarian theory. However, we argue that Mill did not go far enough in his objections to the effects of free market system. He still defended the tenets of liberalism with its cherished

advocacy for individual liberties and rejection of the existence or creation of "big government". Generally, many liberal writers and scholars support "small government" or the view that government should not directly interfere in the lives of individuals except where it is absolutely necessary.

However, in developing countries which are also plural in nature, the scenario is different from the kind of society which Mill had conceptualized. This tendency can be found in the writings of such important Western scholars such as Russell, Popper and Nozick. Their error is that they think that every society should follow the Western world in its pattern of development. The argument, therefore, is that what worked in the developed countries may not necessarily work in societies like we have in Africa which require heavy government involvement in order for them to achieve rapid development. The implication is that the principle of utility which emphasizes the happiness of the greatest number of people may be a recipe for disaster in African plural societies. Moreover, considering the low level of development in African countries, the "right" of individuals - even of the majority may sometimes be circumscribed in the public interest. This position may present its own problems but not of the same magnitude as we find in the wholesale application of Mill's utilitarian principle. We shall argue that Mill was aware of the difficulty of applying some of his ethical views in some non-Western settings. He claimed that "backward" societies could not hope to appropriate his views because of the absence of certain enabling conditions in their environment. We shall attempt to show that the difficulty in applying Mill's ethics in African societies, is not necessarily because of their "backwardness" but because different societies may actually have different value systems. The emphasis will be on the plural nature of African societies to buttress the argument.

Utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill

Mill's ethics is not divorced from his metaphysics and epistemology. As Fred Wilson has pointed out, there is interconnection between these aspects of Mills philosophy - morality, politics and economics. Indeed, Mill's ethics is part of his social reform. Following from Bentham, Mill also considered that the goal of ethics can only be attained in a particular kind of political system. This explains why Fred Wilson argues that Mill regarded utilitarianism as a long-term social project.

Mill's ethics falls under the ethical theory which is generally classified as utilitarianism. He was influenced by the British empiricists in adopting inductive method as the method of empirical science. Furthermore, he was influenced by Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian theory. It has been pointed out that Bentham and Mill are generally credited with the modern theory of utilitarianism but Julia Driver argues that the precursors of utilitarianism include proto-utilitarian views on utility and hedonism such as Cumberland, Shaftesbury, Huteson and David Hume. The point to note is that utilitarianism is hedonistic in nature because of its assertion that pleasure is the ultimate good. In this regard, ancient philosophers such as Epicurus had espoused similar views although in less sophisticated fashion.

The classical formulation of utilitarianism is associated with Jeremy Bentham and J. S. Mill. Bentham had stated that human motivation is based on two fundamental factors which he identified as pleasure and pain and for this reason he stated that the principle of utility should

be the standard for determining the right course of action in any situation. These two factors are things which are felt and so each individual is in a good position to determine the effects they have on him. They are not abstract but subject to experience. On this issue, both Bentham and Mill are united. It is a classic empiricist position not different from the empiricism of Locke or even Hume.

Bentham held the view that pleasure is calculable and that there is really no difference between different pleasures. The important thing is that we can calculate the benefits of an action based on the principle of whether or not it promotes more happiness over pain for the greatest number of people. Thus, in summary, utilitarianism is based on the view that an action is good based on whether it produces the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people. Mill clearly espoused this view by stating that actions are right in proportion to whether they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness.

Utilitarianism postulates that the benefit or worth of an action is what should count in determining what action is right. As Goodin points out, the utilitarianism theory insists that "to be good something must be good somehow for someone" (Singer, 242). It is obvious from this view that utilitarianism is a form of consequentialist theory. Indeed, some writers use the two of them as synonyms. However, some other writers are of the view that there are some differences. Broadly, speaking, consequentialism, conceived by Elizabeth Anscombe, is the position that moral agent is to be held responsible for both the intended and unintended consequences of a given moral action. Thus, although following from Anscombe's option of consequentialism it may be difficult to separate it from utilitarianism, they can be distinguished, if, as one writer has pointed out, we reserve the term "utilitarianism" for any theory which supports the notion of maximization of pleasure or happiness.

For the purpose of this paper, we are not much concerned with the minor differences between consequentialism and utilitarianism. This is because the criticism against one applies equally to the other. Thus, we agree with Singer's position that:

> Utilitarianism is an example of a consequentialist theory, it tells us that we ought always to do whatever has the best consequences. In the case of classical utilitarianism, "best consequences" is understood in terms of the greatest possible increase of pleasure over pain (xii).

From this perspective, it is clear that both utilitarianism and consequentialism suffer from the same weaknesses. This can be seen from Pettit's view that "consequentialism is the view that whatever values an individual or institutional agent holds, the proper response to those values is to promote them" (Singer, 231). This view is not different from the utilitarian theories of Bentham and Mill. In comparing the views of these two philosophers, Schneewind asserts that questions are raised According to Schneewind:

> Bentham's utilitarian theory led to questions. The principle seems to yield moral conclusions strongly at odds with common-sense convictions… J. S. Mill worked out replies in his Unitarianism… Common-sense morality, he said… represents the accumulated wisdom of mankind about the desirable and undesirable consequences of actions (Singer, 152)

As we shall point out shortly, the views Bentham and Mill have raised questions which are difficult to combat. This may explain the polemical nature of Mill's book, Utilitarianism. It is, however, necessary to point out that Bentham and Mill were social reformers who wanted to bring about social changes in Britain. Thus, the principle of utility was a tool for accomplishing this task. This view tallies with the view of Colin Heydt who has pointed out that the social reform was in the areas of politics, economy and morality. The reform also concerned the rights of women and animals. It is Heydt's opinion that both Bentham and Mill employed the principle of utility as not only the basis of ethical doctrine but as an instrument for legislature and legal reform. Thus, according to Heydt:

> Bentham...employed the principle of utility as a device of political, social and legal criticism... Mill's support of that principle should not be taken as mere intellectual exercise. In the realm of politics, the principle of utility was used to bludgeon onopponents of reform. But is also meant legal reform, including overhaul of the common law system and of legal institutions, and varieties of social reform, especially of institutions that tended to favour aristocratic and moneyed interests (www.tcp.utm. edu/mil/

It is within this broader context that we can appreciate the similarities in the views of Bentham and Mill. The major difference between the two is based on whether pleasure should be conceived quantitatively or qualitatively. However, this does not vitiate the fact that both supported and appropriated the principle of utility as the standard for judging whether an action is morally right or wrong. To this extent, many of the general criticisms against utilitarianism and consequentialism apply to both of them despite Mill's attempt to reform utilitarianism. Some of these general criticisms include: the problem of practicality, it violates common sense, the principle of utility is unfair to all, the view that the end justifies the means is wrong, pleasure and pain are not sensations; it is tedious to calculate consequences of an action, etc (Uduigwomen, 49-51).

It is to the credit of proponents of utilitarianism that the criticisms leveled against the theory did not lessen the impact of the theory from the time of Bentham and Mill to the contemporary time - especially in Western societies which have adopted some forms of welfarism as part of their socio-economic system. However, some aspects of utilitarianism will find it very difficult to find roots in developing countries; this is especially the case in African plural societies. Indeed, the problem of development in these countries has been exacerbated by attempts to adopt some of the principles of utilitarianism in African countries where the social, political, economic and religious systems are very dissimilar with the West. This is not a reason to despair as it merely shows that different societies often adopt the ethics, politics and economy which give them "pleasure" or "happiness" If Mill despairs of the quality of pleasure or happiness, these societies may not show any sympathy with him.

Evaluation of Mill's Ethics

We have pointed out that Mill was a social reformer whose views touched on politics, social science, empirical science and moral philosophy. He was influenced by Jeremy Bentham and his own father into adopting utilitarianism as the foundation for moral political, economic and social action. By the adoption of the principle of utility Mill was led to support the view that the ultimate good is pleasure - its promotion or increase and the avoidance of pain. As an empiricist, the adoption of hedonism as the basis for moral action is not surprising because Mill wanted to situate the basis of moral action on something that can be experienced. Although Mill was not an egoist, he claimed that through experience it can be verified that it is part of human nature to seek to promote pleasure and avoid pain at all cost. Mill's book Utilitarianism, deals with his ethical theory and attempt to answer the objections raised against utilitarian based on the views of Bentham. Although he subscribed to the principle of utility, he differed from Bentham by including the quality of pleasure which can be experienced and not merely the quantity - like Bentham. Thus, it can be stated that:

> …Mill developed a systematic statement of utilitarian ethical theory. He modified and defended the general principle that the right actions are those that rend produce the greatest happiness of the greatest number of people, being careful to include a distinction in the quality of the pleasures that constitute pleasure… Mill also attempted a proof of the principle of utility, explained its enforcement and its relation to a principle of justice (Kemerling, 1).

The implication is that the principle of utility is an important "instrument in diverse contexts to determine the worth, benefits or consequences of an action or policy. As Russell has pointed out, Mill's ethical views contain elements of naturalism because of the view that moral disputes can be settled by appeal to facts-pleasure and pain being factual experiences. The problem, however, is whether pleasure and pain are really sensations or not. As already stated, the crux of Mill's utilitarian theory can be located in his principle of utility as stated in his book, Utilitarianism. In his view:

> The creed which accepts as the foundation of morals, utility, or the Greatest Happiness principle, holds that actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness, wrong as they tend to produce the reverse of happiness. By happiness is intended pleasure, and the absence of pain; by unhappiness pain and the privation of pleasure (10)

The form of hedonism led Mill to propose that society should be patterned in such a way that individuals have nights which cannot be taken away except when such rights conflict or will bring harm to other people. Thus, there is nothing wrong with each individual pursuing his own pleasure so long as he does not infringe on the rights of others. Thus, Mill argued against state interference in the lives of individuals except in very exceptional cases. In his book, On Liberty, Mill formulated what has come to be regarded as the Harm Principle as the foundation on which freedom can be circumscribed. For Mill,

> …The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot rightfully be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because in the opinion of others, to do so would be wise, or even right (30).

This strong avowal of individual freedom appealed to Western attitude and has helped to shape the attitudes of the West towards social issues such as gay rights, women's rights, liberal economic and political system, etc. The point, therefore, is that Mill's views were products of his cultural milieu. But, as scholars have pointed out, Mill was not a consistent supporter of free-market economy. He supported some form of state intervention in some key areas such as "education, public works, restrictions on child labour and limited governmental assistance to those unable to work" (Sodaro, 331) Some of these views were radical in his time but have come to be accepted as part of Western liberalism. Non-Western people areoften aghast at the seeming elasticity of individual liberty in theWest which they often consider as insidious. Mill's temperament was actually the opposite for he considered a society of conformists to be a terrible one whereas the refrain in African societies is the virtue of conformity to "social" values. For Mill, this is not beneficial and the consequence is that the society becomes dogmatic in outlook.

The implication is that human pleasure cannot be maximized under such a society. In addition, justice cannot be served in such a society. It seems, as Mautner has pointed out, that Mill was frightened by the prospect of middle-class conformism (354). This fear has continued to persist in many western states where the fear of a "big government" is still very strong. We find that other scholars such as Russell, Popper and Nozick also defended Western liberalism as a consequence of the fear of big governmental powers. In the concluding part of this essay, we shall highlight the fact that a strong espousal of Mill's ethics may produce consequences which are not salutary. We shall also point out that Mill himself tended to recognize that his ethical views might not be practical in non-Western societies.

Conclusion

Mill's ethics was based on theory of utilitarianism which has the principle of utility at its core. The standard arguments against utilitarianism generally also apply to Mill's ethics but he was able to modify Bentham's theory by taking into account that the quality of pleasure matters and not just the quantity. Mill's utilitarianism has continued to be influential in the Western hemisphere where liberal thought continues to hold sway. It sounds very reasonable that the benefit accruable from a given action should betaken into consideration when one is deciding on the best course of action to take but human beings have also demonstrated that they can be self-sacrificing. They can forgo their benefits in the interest of the larger society.

This is, indeed, the case in traditional African societies where individualism is subsumed under communalism. It is not that traditional African societies do not value individual freedom or pursuit of happiness, it is just that they value "communal pleasure or happiness over

individual happiness. For example, in the society, an individual is considered to be wealthy by the measure of how many of his kindred he has supported to achieve similar success. Such a man would derive "pleasure" by such a feat. Thus, he derives pleasure through self-sacrifice. Indeed, Mill may have anticipated this criticism when he stated that his ethical and political view may not be practicable in some "backward" societies. He may be forgiven for his narrow-mindedness arising from his feeling of colonial superiority, but there is some merit, in the view that utilitarianism has serious draw-backs when applied to moral and political life in African societies. In Mill's view,

> It is perhaps, hardly necessary to say that this doctrine is meant to apply only to human beings in the maturity of their faculties... For the same reason, we may leave out of consideration those backward states of society in which the race itself may be considered as in its nonage. The early difficulties in the way of spontaneous progress are so great, that there is seldom any choice of means for overcoming them, and a ruler full of the spirit of improvement is warranted in the use of any expedients that will attain an end, perhaps otherwise unattainable. Despotism is legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarian provided the end be then improvement and the means justified by actually effecting that end (On Liberty, 31)

This is an interesting view especially if we juxtapose the principle of utility with Mill's notion of individual freedom. Furthermore, although Mill's notion of backward states in contemptible, we agree with him that the principle of utility and its Ancillary notion of liberty may achieve only relative success in plural societies in the African contest. Thus, as Sisk has pointed out some people have argued "that authoritarian rule is required to guide economic development, a notion known as developmental dictatorship" (Sodaro, 811). Obviously. Mill, from his position would be sympathetic to such a society on the ground that it is immature or backward. This is not so different from the standpoint of other Western chauvinists who viewed African thought system as pre-logical, preliterate or primitive mentality.

If we ignore the chauvinism, we can argue that Mill was right in thinking that the application of his utilitarian view should be subject to the relative existential factors which exist in such societies. On this basis, we can question Mill's defense of freedom in which he assumed that the society derives maximum benefits if each individual is given unfettered freedom. Secondly, the view that each person requires freedom for his overall development may be questioned. There is nothing fundamentally wrong with these assumptions but the problem is that societies which are going through challenges of development may find it difficult to approve of them. Moreover, some societies are historically authoritarian innature and some of them have achieved high development levels which parallel those of the West.

There are several implications arising from this line of reasoning. For example, the consequence of Mill's principle of utility or the Greatest Happiness principle is the belief that democracy is the best form of government-the Western model But attempts to domesticate democracy in Africa's plural societies have not been successful In Nigeria, for example, the practice of "greatest happiness" for the greatest number of people has produced sentiments of

marginalization among some ethnic groups in the country. Furthermore, plural societies in Africa present unique challenges because of the fact that colonization brought about distortion of traditional values. Thus, the conflict between indigenous values and Western values has not helped to generate policies which address the problems of development. The introduction of Christianity and Islam in Africa has created additional pressures in the already conflict prone environment. The value systems of these religions are not really amenable to some of the views of Mill because they seem to downgrade the significance of individual liberty if it is at the expense of the group or society.

We submit that plural societies are marked by rivalries among the ethnic groups which result in members of the different groups giving more allegiance to their own groups rather than the central government or authority. Some of the groups have comparative advantage over others in terms of human and natural resources. In such a scenario, the Greatest Happiness Principle may be a recipe for the exploitation of disadvantaged groups. Plural societies need cooperation among the different ethnic groups in order that there is social harmony. The pursuit of happiness and right to freedom of different kinds are good - but they must be good for something. Each society must address its problems on the basis of existing options which are peculiar to it. The point then is that plural societies in Africa may need to be eclectic and pragmatic in their choice of ethical principles which will serve as guides for moral, social, economic and political actions.

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Technology and the Human World: Intimations from Myths of Origin

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Abstract

Human need could be said to constitute the point of intersection between technology and human society. While technology is a product of society, the society is itself shaped by technology. Martin Heidegger and Andrew Feenberg have described the relationship of technology to society as ambivalent. The ambiguity created by technological realities call for refocusing on the pristine relationship of technology to society. The paper focused on myths of origin (Prometheus and Eri in Greek and Igbo cosmologies respectively) to show the sense of technology-society relationship. It used qualitative research method, drawing its materials from books, journals and relevant documents available in libraries and online. With phenomenological method it described, analysed and interpreted the way in which technology and society co-exist. It averred that in the wake of Fourth Industrial Revolution, Africa, a latecomer in technological development could leverage on the anthropological and social dimensions of technology, discipline in governance, investment in education and building physical and digital infrastructure to enhance human promotion and social transformation. The paper concluded by noting that the need-oriented nature of technology requires that technological sustainability be conditioned by relevance. Technology for technology sake is unsustainable. Since technology is designed and produced by and for the "society", it is important that the responsibility of human agents be accorded proper attention in technological production.

Keywords: Technological determinism, mythical origins of technology, fourth industrial revolution (4IR),

Introduction

The questions as to what extent technology impacts on the society and the extent to which the society fashions technology have been serious bone of contention for philosophers and sociologists of science and technology. The relationship of technology with society is bound with the question of wellbeing and development (Perez, P:2005: UNCTAD/ ITE/IPC/

Misc.13:2003) be it in relation to educational curriculum (Lejeune, M:2015; Kalm, M:2002; Malukeka, Z., Wilkinson, A and Gumbo, M:2006), industrialization (Singer, H. W:1975), or policy formulation (The Sussex-Manifesto:1970; Brundtland Report, UN:1987; COMEST Report, UN:2015; Federal Ministry of Education:2018). The question of development is question of human needs and wellbeing.In a report prepared by Sanjaya Lall and Carlo Pietrobello for UNCTAD, an arm of the United Nations, it is stated clearly in the Preface that it is "a well documented fact that the African continent has not kept pace with technological advancement"(2003, iii). The advanced world, influenced by the dominance of technique has developed a vision of a technological society (Ellul, J:1964) with its consequences for politics, economics and ethics that directly or indirectly impact on African society.

The Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) is making its wave in this post-industrial age when Africa is still lagging behind in industrialization. The question then is whether or not Africa which is left behind in the age of industrialization can make up for it now, and thus increase her global competitivenessi Ndung'u, N & Signé, L (2020) contend that Africa has great prospects, despite her lacks. Using the case study done by Evanthia K. Zervoudi (2020) on Greece that does not belong to the heavy industrial economies of Europe, but has a more people-focused labor market"(2020, 22), it could be said that Africa has prospects that would not be threatened by the 4IR.Besides, the United Nations' Industrial Development Organization (2019)had observed that exponential technological change which is associated with 4IR also creates unique opportunities for 'latecomer' countries to leapfrog in some sectors and with some technologies to catch up with more advanced countries. Edward K. Brown (2020), expressing similar hope, has argued that Africa has a potential demographic dividend which when well harnessed through overcoming of her challenges will constitute a great asset for socio-economic transformation.It is in light of these realities -the challenges and opportunities which 4IR presents of Africa - that the reflection made in this paper on the relationship between technology and human world is carried out. The paper is essentially philosophical in its outlook. It explores the ground, nature and possible impact of the relationship between technology and society.

This paper is divided into four parts and the conclusion as follows: Technology and the Human World; Dominant Tendencies in Philosophy of Technology and Society; Rethinking the Approach to Technology and Society; Rehabilitating Technology: The Imperative of 4IR. The paper employed qualitative research design, drawing information from primary and secondary data in books, journals and documents from libraries and online publications. With phenomenological approach it described, analysed and interpreted the basis of the relationship of technology with society; that is, examined carefully the way in which technology and society co-exist.It averred that the basis of the relationship between technology and society is need (use). Technology is need-driven and therefore, its anthropological and social character is internal to it. The implication is that human responsibility is inexorably tied to technological design, production and diffusion.

Technology and the Human World

Franssen, M. et al (2018) distinguished two main trends in philosophy of technology: the humanities philosophy of technology and analytic philosophy of technology with one focusing on the instrumental dimension while the other focuses on the productivity respectively (11). However one may choose to categorize philosophical reflection on technology, the fact remains that it is common opinion that the phenomenon itself is difficult to define. Richard Li-Hua (Olsen, Pedersen & Hendricks [eds]: 2009) has shown that technology means different things to different people: for the scientist it is the end product of one's research; to the engineer, a tool or process for building better products or solving technical problems; to the attorney, an intellectual property to be guarded and protected; to developing and developed nations, it means state power (18). Technology is seen to include more than machines, processes and inventions. It was traditionally associated with hardware (buildings, plant and equipment) but with emerging technology, it is obvious that it includes software, skills, knowledge, experience, including suitable organizational and institutional management. Lu-Hua explains that a proper understanding of technology would include the following interrelated elements: "technique, knowledge (normally being considered as technology), the organization of the production, and the product" (19). In short, philosophy of technology, writes Gonzalez, W.J (2005), has focused attention on three conceptualizations of technology: (a) technology as a kind of knowledge; (b) technology as human activity; and (c) technology as a product or artefact of human activity with physical presence in the social world and great significance for economic world (19).

Franssen, M. et al (2018) noted that contemporary society hangs together by technology given its importance, not only as an economic force but also as a cultural force. Studies done on the phenomenon of technology (Ndung'u, N &Signé, L:2020; Zervoudi, E. K:2020; Xu, M., David, J.M & Kim, S.H:2018) have shown that technology impacts on the overall life of the society. Indeed, Nikos Kalampalikis et al (2013) went as far as showing that (science and) technology has a role to play in modern common sense and daily practices. The omnipresence of technology is such that we are said to be witnessing the opening up of new era of social representations. The novelties associated with science and technology oblige new thinking and new practices. This would entail a paradigm shift in (science-) technology-society relations in different socio-cultural context (6).Jeroen Hopster (2021) made it clear that technology has disruptive capabilities: "Emerging technologies have a potential to disrupt human nature, social life, and nature itself at a fundamental level. 'Deep technologies' reach down into the very nature of things to refigure them for human purposes" (4). It is not surprising therefore that philosophical reflections on technology has, for a long time, focused on its impact on society and culture, rather than with technology itself. While historians of technology refutedtechnological determinism, philosophers of technology were enthused with "exploring and embracing the notion that technology determines society and cultural change and that technology develops more or less autonomously of society and cultural influences…" (Misa, T. J:2009,7).The challenge, says Klaus Schwarb (2016) is on how to understand and shape the new technology revolution which entails the transformation of humankind. This calls for shared understanding: "We must have a comprehensive and globally shared view of how

technology is changing our lives and those of future generations, and how it is reshaping the economic, social, cultural and human context in which we live" (8).

Dominant Tendencies in Philosophy of Technology and Society

Philosophy of technology has generally focused on the impact of technology on human environment. Val Dusek (2006) explains that the Hiroshima and Nagasaki event made it obvious to what extent the use of atom and hydrogen bombs could threaten the continued existence of the human species on the planet earth. This generated wide interest in the evaluation of technology. It is in this context that one could understand the earlier, negative, if not pessimistic interpretation of technology. There is no doubt, also that the advent of genetic engineering and the phenomenon of human cloning in the late 1970s initiated considerable concern for critical evaluation of technology. In philosophy of technology, writes Gonzalez, W. J (2005, 18), the issues that are debated include, "appropriate technologies," "deep-ecology," "sustainable environmental practices" or risk assessment. Adrew Feenberg (2009) has distinguished between the dominant and the unarticulated views of technology, what he identifies as substantivism and instrumentalism respectively, to which he adds what he calls the critical theory of technology.

According to Heidegger, technology is outside human control. Human essence, he explained, is compelled to deliver the essence of Technology. It is the being that has "the character of destining"(Heidegger, M:1997, 37) that opens up to technology's manner of destining (39, 41). This is not to say that technology could be supplanted (38). If technology is essentially a danger unto itself, then it's destining is not subordinated to human control. Man's cooperation or involvement only helps technology to reveal what is proper to it (39). It is by necessity that man contributes to "the restorative surmounting" of the very essence of technology. As Agazi, E and Lenk, Hans (1997) rightly put it, Martin Heidegger identified technology as the fate of mankind. For him, technology is a form of rationality, a framework. It is in technology that modern metaphysics attains its fullness. Thus, what initially belonged to the universe of instruments has come to impose itself as a fundamental trait or factor in the shaping of the world. Indeed, technology has become the very fate of mankind. According to this view, technology determines its effect, negative or positive on the society. This understanding of technology has been identified as technological determinism. It insists that technology is an autonomous system that develops according to its internal logic and influences its environment peremptorily.

Andrew Feenberg (1990) argues that the technological production of any society determines its civilization. Military technology with its annihilating power is a form of barbarism which is neither geared towards peace nor reconciliation and therefore fails to advance human welfare given that it neither satisfies survival needs nor growth needs. This makes technology ambivalent in the sense that what was intended to respond to the needs of survival and transcendence becomes sources of destruction. In Marxian term, this ambivalence is the ground for the concept of transition from capitalism to socialism (38-44). But it is not expected that an entirely new technology will emerge for socialism to be established. Inherited technology can only be reshaped to produce new technological means that is completely adapted to the culture of socialism. Feenberg abandoned this kind of

developmental approach to the understanding of the relationship between technology and society. He considered that the insistence of the Marxists on the state as economic planner should give way to the role of public participation in technical decision as a potential source of social change. It means that new social demands could be the driving force of innovation (48). Feenberg, A (2009) identified his view as critical theory of technology which considers technologies as an environment rather than as a collection of tools. We live with and within technologies that they determine our way of life. Even political consensus has come to be shaped by available technological form of life rather than rational argumentation. Technology, therefore, is increasingly occupying the public sphere. Democratic values will be best realized "when public control of technology becomes routine" (149).

Rethinking Technology and Society

Technological determinism has been variously critiqued but it continues to spring up variants that try to take into cognisance the role of the human agent. Vincent Blok (2022) in a recent article made a strong ontological case for controllable determinism in which the human agent is granted a secondary place in the construction of (post) anthropocene world. He averred that technology is world constituting and has emancipatory power. Critiquing the instrumentalist conception of technology, Róisin Lally (2016) inspired by Heidegger, towed the path described by Franssen, M., van de Poel, I, et al (2018) as analytic philosophy of technology (11). According to her, the instrumentalist conception of technology has neglected the centrality of the question of technology to human existence. She argued that technology is tied to the question of time and being. Technology in Lally is identified both as a particular way in which we comport ourselves to the world as well as a state of being, and as such a type of consciousness (207). Lally, like Heidegger, insisted on the poetic and epistemic outlook on technology. This much is understandable. But they seem not to have reckoned with the fact that in Aristotle (Nic. Ethics1094a5-25), both techné (the excellence of poiësis) and phronesis (the excellence of praxis) belong to the deliberative domain and that techné is subordinated to praxis. The view that technology is intrinsically endowed with enough power to impose its own guidelines, thus placing constraints on human possibilities with regard to the direction of present technological change, cannot be sustained and calls for urgent inquiry into why technology is produced and how to understand technological change as a whole.

The view expressed by Aristotle in his Nicomachean Ethics is in tandem with the position of Protagorason the nature of technology as shown in the myth of Prometheus below. It is equally consistent with meaning of technology as discernible from Nri myth of origin. The two myths are introduced here to illustrate how technology is by nature tailored to human needs and as such subject to rational decision. The relationship between technology and society in Africa in the era of 4IR has to be anchored on the anthropological and social dimension of technology. But Africa has to take advantage of the opportunities which a change in technological paradigm provides for latecomers. Carlota Pérez (2005) made it clear that technological apprenticeship is, for majority of the cases, gradual and accumulative. A new technology of a revolutionary nature opens up unlimited opportunity for learning and development. The interaction of continuous and discontinuous technological change explains why and how the opportunities for development vary in the course of time (169). There is, therefore, every reason to be

optimistic that the emerging 4IR has in its train windows of opportunities for leapfrogging the continent in the path of global relevance and competitiveness.

The Myth of Prometheus

Plato recorded a conversation between Protagoras and Socrates on the origin of fiery art and civic art(Protagoras, 320c8-323a3) by which humankind from the beginning was able to defend himself against beasts and as well as organise itself into civil society. Prometheus stole from Hephaestus and Athena wisdom in the arts together with fire" (321d) with which he equipped man for his livelihood. Each lived on his own since there was, as yet, no city. However, their skills were good enough for provision and shelter but insufficient against warfare with the beasts, since they were lacking in civic virtue. To secure their lives they sought to live in community by founding cities, but lacking in civic art (politikëntéchnën) they kept quarrelling so that they began to scatter again and to perish. In other words, technology in itself was not sufficient for human survival. That was why Zeus, through Hermes, had to endow mankind with civic virtue by which the regulation of cities and social bonding would help in the correct deployment of tools for man's safety needs. There is therefore an intimate bond between technological production and collective destiny of humankind: Technological production is subject to need and choice of humanity.

The Nri Myth of Origin

Among the Igbo of South Eastern Nigeria, a creation myth has it that Chukwu (supreme being) after creating Eri sent him down from the sky to the earth. On arrival, Eri noticed that the earth was very marshy. So, he landed on an anthill. Then he told Chukwu that the earth was too marshy for habitation. So Chukwu sent Awka (the smith) with his bellows, charcoal and fire to come and dry the land. While Eri lived, he, the priests and his dependents fed on the substances supplied by Chukwu from the sky. Anyone who ate of the food never fell asleep. On the death of Eri, the supply of food from the sky ceased and Eri's son Nri had to complain to Chukwu. Chukwu mandated him to sacrifice his first son and daughter to obtain food. At first, Nri refused to comply but after Chukwu had sent Dioka from the sky to tattoo Nri's son and daughter, he accepted to do the divine bidding. He sacrificed his first son and daughter and buried them in separate graves. Four days later, he saw yam tendril spouting from the grave site. He then went and harvested the yam, prepared it, ate and fell asleep. Members of his household thought he was dead, but when he woke up he told them what had happened. The following day, he ordered those in his household to go to the grave site of his son to harvest yam. They too prepared it, ate and fell asleep. When they woke up, the next day they went to the grave site of the daughter and harvested cocoyam. The principal agriculture crops and plant (yam, cocoyam, and palm tree) were seen to have grown from the grave site of the two children that were sacrificed to God by Nri (Abanuka, B:1999, 77-78).

The lesson of this myth, like in that of Prometheus, is that the use of technology is tied to human need for survival; the need to overcome the limitations that nature imposes on him. Technology is a device for the expansion of human nature and overcoming of man's world.

Technology and Human Need

In discussing human needs, psychology (McLeod, S: 2018) orders it hierarchically. Five different kinds of need are mentioned, namely, physiological, safety, social, esteem and self-actualization needs. These five categories of need are expressions of finitude which could be compressed into two, namely, deficiency and change (motion). In this reflection on human needs as the basis of the relation between technology and society, the psychological order merely serves to dispose the mind for a philosophical interpretation. The focus of the paper is not on psychological interpretation of human needs. It rather investigates human needs from the ontological perspective. The organisation of human society, as it were, is determined by social and cultural perception of human needs. This means that the relationship of technology to society would, a fortiori, show the underlying existential condition of the relationship in question. It is the condition of finitude that is in question here. There is therefore an existential dimension to the meaning and conception of need. What this means, in effect, is that the very nature of technology has to be understood in terms of the ontology of finiteness. As it were, finitude is the very stamp of creatureliness. It entails a certain measure of deficiency. Deficiency, understood in ontological terms, is not necessarily privative, as in blindness in a man, rather it is limitative as in a man not having wings.

However, given man's gift of imagination and creativity, he could conceive of himself as overcoming the limitation which his wingless nature imposes on him. He achieves this in practice, by developing a machine, aeroplane, which makes it possible for him to fly. Aeronautic technology therefore is man's attempt to transcend the limitations imposed on him by his wingless nature. Understood in this sense, technology, is human response to her need for transcendence. It is a pattern of self-actualization wright large. With technology, man is capable of overcoming the constraints imposed on him by nature. Technology is the actualization of human potentials. It is rooted in human nature as such. Technology modulates finitude. The two mythical accounts presented above are indicators of the link between technology and fundamental human need. The survival of Eri and his household is thanks to technological devices. Similarly, the survival of the human race as depicted in the myth of Prometheus could not have been possible without the invention of tools and the deliberative faculty that directed it to its proper end.

Rehabilitating Technology: The imperatives of 4IR

From the first through the second to the third industrial revolution, technology has been approached with mixed feelings. The squalor associated with urbanization, the threat to human extinction introduced by events of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the environmental degradation following on the heels of industrialization have all engendered negative judgment of the way technology has affected human society and culture. As Franssen, M. et al (2018) rightly pointed out, this negative attitude does not necessarily mean that technology itself is the principal cause of these negative developments. Heidegger for instance did not blame it directly on technology but on the mode of thought which beginning with the Greeks culminated in Nietzsche. But he believed the situation could be redeemed. "Saving" technology involves bringing it back to its essence (Heidegger, M:1977, 28, 42). That technology holds sway and endures in both individual lives and the society would be most characteristic of

the 4IR technologies. As Gonzalez, W. J (2005) has put it, the consequences of technology for the citizens are clear to see given that "technology is oriented towards the creative transformation of reality" (28). But the fourth industrial revolution (4IR), if it is to leapfrog Africa into global relevance, as matter of urgency, demands of Africa the following:

Affirmation of the anthropological and social nature of Technology.

The lessons of the myths of origin underscore the essential anthropological and social nature of technology. In its origin, as indicated in the two myths referred to in this paper, technology was destined to serve man's need: the survival of the human race in its battle against environmental and cosmic forces. It is important to distinguish techné which is directed towards needs (Protagoras 320c8-322) from techné that serves aesthetic purposes. Heidegger in the concluding part of his discourse on technology alluded to interrogation of fine art as key to discernment of the genuine essence of technology. This orientation might have been informed by the history of the development of the concept in western thought. In Igbo experience, art (oka) and technique (uzu) are quite distinct activities and they play quite distinct parts in Igbo world view as shown in the myth of Eri. Umudioka, literally, the children-of-master-art(ist) that tattooed (igbuichi) the first son and first daughter of Eri is not a technician but a fine artist. Awka that intervened to dry the earth was not a fine artist but a technician. Technology is never an end. It is always a means to an end. Even in the production of machines and technical apparati, it is always human need that is the goal, or what Heidegger prefers to call destiny of the product. Since technology is destined to serve human needs, it cannot be said to be internally driven such that it cannot be put under human control.

Innovations that do not serve human need are consigned to the museum. That is why in technological designs, functional requirements impinge on the design specifications. As has been argued by Franssen, M et al (2018), design entails decision-making: it is subject to rational scrutiny; it involves creativity and means-end reasoning. The human agency in technological production shows the anthropological dimension of the product and the eventual social dimension that follows the diffusion of the product. It is this social dimension that warrants the commitment of stakeholders to sustainable technologies.

Discipline in Governance

It is one thing to put on paper an educational policy that looks forward to acceleration of a nation's industrial and technological development, but it is quite a different matter to have the required mechanism for its implementation. According to the Ndung'u, N &Signé, L (2020) growth in technology will require discipline in governance so that an endogenous innovative environment would be creative. Enhancing agile governance is required for secure, effective management of the 4IR and integration into global value chains. This would involve reinforcing state and institutional capacity to drive and support innovation and create an enabling business environment (65). It is required that institutions "protect the market through consumer protection laws and regulations that encourage competition" (63). In the Nigerian National Policy on Science and Technology Education (2018), the expression "strong political will" (8) is used to underscore the level of discipline needed in governance if the intended policy statement are to see the light of day in practical terms.

Investment in Education

The 4IR is characterized by fusion of technologies: "digital, biological, and physical worlds, as well as the growing utilization of new technologies such as artificial intelligence, cloud computing, robotics, 3D printing, the Internet of things, and advanced wireless technologies, among others" (Ndung'u, N &Signé, L (2020, 61). As the NigerianNational Policy on Science and Technology Education (2018) put it, investment in human capital enhances national competitiveness. For as Xu, M et al (2018) have observed, "in the future, talent, more than capital will represent the critical factor of production. People with ideas, not workers or investors, will be the scarcest resources. ..."(93) To this end, Zervoudi, E. K (2020, 5) has suggested practice steps: (i)Government should invest in education and training of professionals through job-related re-skilling and up-skilling programmes in order to familiarize the citizens with new technologies and make them more competitive in the labour market; (ii) Children and young people should be given practical education and training in new technologies so as to equip them with the appropriate skills and the necessary knowledge for the labour market; (iii) Young people (up to 24 years old) should undergo internship and practice in order to gain work experience during their studies; (iv) To help the elderly to adapt smoothly to new technologies and digitization, government should create an environment for adult learning and lifelong learning programme.

Building Physical and Digital Infrastructure

There is no gainsaying the fact that digital transformation is needed to bring about faster transformation of the human world through economic growth and job creation. Access to fast Internet would create employment as it makes information readily available. African states will have to address the gross inadequacy of digital infrastructure. Access to tele-density, internet density, and broadband penetration would be hardly thinkable where a large population in the rural, as well as, urban areas have spasmodic or no access to electricity.

Conclusion

In the foregoing discussion, it has been argued that technology is need-driven and as such intimately connected with individual and societal life. The relation of technology to the society is characteristically asymmetrical. Without man it is impossible to speak of technology, however, technology is an important factor in the enhancement of human life. The paper reckons with the dominant views (substantivist and instrumentalist) in the ongoing discussion on the nature of the relationship between technology and society.Without delving into details about the variants of the dominant views, the paper saw in the positions of Martin Heidegger and Andrew Feenberg good representative candidates for the aforementioned dominant positions. It calls for the rediscovery of the true nature of technology through appropriation of the pristine understanding of the role of technology as depicted in the Greek (Prometheus) and Igbo (Eri) myths of origin. It is this manner of conceptualizing technology that is suited to technology-society relation in this age of the Fourth Industrial Revolution technologies. Technologically backward nations, nay African nations, could leverage on the imperatives of the 4IR to leapfrog into enhanced wellbeing and global competitiveness.

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The Historico-Religious Relevance of the Nigerian Movie Industry to Ibibio Traditional Spirituality

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Abstract

The study is an attempt to identify the impacts of the Nigerian Movies Industry (Nollywood) on Ibibio Traditional Spirituality. The descriptive-analytical method as well as adoption of George Gerbner's Cultivation Theory reveal that Nollywood is a preserver and transmitter of socio-cultural values and traditional spiritual patterns of Nigeria in general and Ibibio people in particular through the Akwa-Cross bloc. The industry boosts the economy and offers invaluable means of entertainment. However, the study reveals that some Christian evangelical movies and money-conscious producers put forward bogus storylines and scripts to cast indigenous spirituality into bad light. The overemphasis on black malignant witchcraft, money-making rituals as well as confrontational approaches often adopted in the storylines set Ibibio Traditional Spirituality at edge with Christianity. These kinds of contents based on the proposition of Cultivation Theory possibly make many viewers to believe that what is portrayed on the screen is reality. Movies such as End of the Wicked, Living in Bondage, Idiok Okuk, Akpan Ekwong, Ekarika, Ikoso and etc., cast Ibibio Spirituality into bad light in the perception of successive generations or contemporary evaluation. The study recommends that the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) should sanction movies producers who churn out contents that threatens the relational harmony between adherents of religious traditions in Nigeria. Nigerian Movies and Censor Board should be proactive and active in censoring movies with confrontational contents or those that violate the

standards. The Actors Guild of Nigeria (AGN) should orientate the stakeholders in the movie industry against contents that downplay the relevance of indigenous culture and spirituality.

Key Words: Ibibio Traditional Spirituality, Nigerian Movie Industry, and Historico-Religious Relevance

Introduction

The essentiality of the entertainment industry to the people and the economy cannot be downplayed; and spirituality, especially traditional spirituality is supra-essential as it majorly gives the people identity and locus to live life effectively in a vertical direction with God and horizontal direction with humans in the society. The movie industry on the other hand is a tool of conveying cultures, ethics and histories of the people. This background offers the foundation for assessing two of the vital elements of the Nigerian society – the movie industry (otherwise known as Nollywood) and traditional spirituality (in this case, Ibibio Traditional Spirituality). There is undoubtedly a synergistic relationship between the two elements as they tend to mutually influence one another and ultimately the society at large. How the movie industry mirrors the people and their spirituality is bound to be believed to be true over a period of time and how the spirituality shapes the style of life of the people would reflect on what they show on the screen.

However, with religious traditions competing for the available Nigerian religious space, the Nigerian movie industry is picked up as a tool to gain more converts. Many Christian evangelical movies are orchestrated to put the Christian faith as the jewel to be embraced. This is done by putting up storylines that are confrontational and would eventually "triumph" over the Traditional Religion. The Mount Zion Movies, Liberty Gospel Movies and many other Christian evangelical movies have contents that demote traditional spirituality of the people. In Akwa Ibom where the study is contextualized, many Akwa-Cross movies have storylines which denote that Ibibio Traditional Spirituality is inferior to the Christian spirituality.

With the expansion of the Nollywood due to government prioritization of the creative industry and investment my individuals who understand its economic potentials, it therefore implies that the industry is one of the income earners for the stakeholders and a source of revenue generation for the government. This situation has resulted in many movie producers putting up contents that captivate the interests of the people in order to make gains even when these contents have detrimental effects on the image of Nigerian cultures.

This situation has caught the attention of scholars such as: Onuzulike (2008 and 2009), Opeyemi (2008), Ayomide (2018), Uwah (2011) Usua (2018) and etc. who have extensively written about the portrayal of Traditional Religion and culture in the Nigerian movies. The studies have undoubtedly identified the importance of Nollywood in conveying elements of Traditional Religions, it impact on the society at large and how it has negatively affected the society. However, this descriptive-analytical study seeks to assess the socio-religious impacts of Nollywood specifically on Ibibio Traditional Spirituality.

Conceptual Clarifications

The study is theorized using George Gerbner's Cultivation Theory propounded in 1969. Cultivation Theory proposes that "repeated exposure to media over time influences perceptions of social reality. This theory is most frequently applied to television viewing and suggests that viewers' perceptions of the real world become reflective of the most common messages advanced by fictional television" (Vinney, 2019). Eman Mosharafa (2015: p23), explains that Cultivation Theory "tackles the long-term effects of television on viewers. The theory proposes that the danger of television lies in its ability to shape not a particular view point about one specific issue but in its ability to shape people's moral values and general beliefs about the world." The theory stands on a number of concepts: the symbolic environment, storytelling, the symbolic function of television, the television traits, the cultural model, cultivation of value system, the multidirectional process, and the cultural indicators. That is to say that:

> The cultural influences of TV are embedded in all kinds of the content it presents, and not restricted to "cultural programs", which refer to programs that deal with art, science, and literature. Conventional program division into news, cultural, entertainment, educational, children, woman, etc, is used only to facilitate management or research. But all these programs may influence cultural formation of individual and masses. Furthermore, TV drama or films and series may leave cultural impact stronger than that of the serious programs, studies, and seminars. (Labeeb in Mosharafa, 2015: p23-24).

The application of the Cultivation Theory to the study therefore denotes that since the movie contents have the propensity of influencing viewers' consciousness, the negative or positive storylines or contents about traditional spirituality or religion would either affect the society positively or negatively. The bottom line is that if African culture and spiritual patterns are portrayed in a good light in the Nigerian movie contents; in the long run, the social beliefs or perceptions about them would be good and worth embracing but if the movie contents portray African culture and traditional spirituality negatively, successive generations would possibly be made to belief that little or outright nothing good can be found in this cultural and spiritual patterns.

The Ibibio and their Traditional Spirituality

Hitherto, the Ibibio people occupy Akwa Ibom State, South-South of Nigeria. They are arguably said to be the fourth largest ethnic group in Nigeria. According to Talbot in Ukpong (2007: p1). "The Ibibio arrived Southern Nigeria by 7,000B.C or earlier." To sum the point, according to Ukpong (2007: p2), it must be emphasized that the "Ibibio migration into Nigeria was part of the Bantu expansion. Their original homeland prior to coming to Nigeria was Usak Edet where they lived along with the Oron and perhaps the Efut at the Nigeria/Cameroon border." The people are traditionally into subsistent farming, fishing and craftwork.

"To be spiritual or have spirituality, persons attempt to live a life guided by the spirit of their faith. Persons may meditate, pray, or make conscious decisions regarding their actions based on

how they sense the Spirit leading them. In short, it is a state of being." Newman (2004: p106). To the Africans in general, spirituality is a life which is expected to be lived out horizontally in the community and vertically with the Supernatural Being. Jacob Olupona (2015) explains that African spirituality simply "acknowledges that beliefs and practice touch on and inform every facet of human life… this is not to say that African spirituality represents a form of theocracy or religious totalitarianism – not at all, African spirituality is truly holistic."

According to Mbosowo Udok and Udombata Onunwa (2018: p11) the world-view (cosmology) is a people's intellectual, philosophical and abstract conceptions and explanation of the universe. In line with the above, the Ibibio are spiritual people who believe in the Supreme Being (Abasi Ibom) as well as the numerous divinities (ndem). Their worldview is shaped by religious realities. Justine Ukpong (1982: p162) vividly cites that "the Ibibio believe that there is a high God (Abasi) who created all things including the gods (ndem) to whom He also gives charge of the different aspects of human affairs." Essien (1994: p31), hints that the "religio-cultural heritage was handed down from generation to generation through oral tradition, sacred institutions and art forms. The religion emphasized belief in ancestral spirits, life after death, good moral values, transcendental powers, divinities and belief in a Supreme Being." Faithman in Essien (2014: p134) hints that:

> Ibibio religion consist of two dimensions, which centered on the pouring of libation, worship, consultation, communication and invocation of the God of Heaven (Abasi Enyong) and God of the Earth (Abasi Isong) by the constitutional and religious King/Head of a particular Ibibio community who was known from the ancient times as the Obong Ikpaisong(the word 'Obong Ikpaisong' directly interpreted means 'King of the Principalities of the Earth' or 'King of the Earth and the Principalities' or Traditional Ruler). The second dimension of Ibibio Religion centered on the worship, consultation, invocation, sacrifice, appeasement, etc. of the God of the Heaven (Abasi Enyong) and the God of the Earth (Abasi Isong) through various invisible or spiritual entities (Ndem) of the various Ibibio division such as EtefiaIkono, Awa Itam, etc.

"The priests of these spiritual entities (Ndem) were the temple chief priests of the various Ibibio divisions" (Ekong in Essien, 2014: p134).

The Ibibio like the other African peoples in the traditional background, are religious people. Religion permeates all the departments of life so fully that it is not possible always to isolate it. Esoh (2004: p63-64) opines that the "Ibibio worship God directly and indirectly." Therefore, traditional Ibibio spirituality is centered on relationship the people maintain with the Supreme Being personally and collectively as a clan and how they depend on this relationship for healthcare, prosperity, protection and definition of life on earth and the hereafter. This relationship is lived out in the style of live of the people as well as adherence to communal or customary laws which are believed to be given to the ancestors and handed down to successive generations. Succinctly, Ibibio traditional spirituality reflects in elements such as sacrifices; prayers and worship, sexual purity, faithfulness, love for the other in the society, cleanliness and many other moral values.

The Nigerian Movie/Film Industry and its Historicity

Ugondo (2015), believes that "film is also called a movie or motion picture." Nwanwene in Ugondo (2015) defines film as "a series of motionless images projected onto a screen so fast as to create in the mind of anyone watching the screen an impression of continuous motion. Such images are projected by light shining through a corresponding series of images arranged on a continuous band of flexible material." Film, is apparently "made up of a series of still photographic images. When projected in succession; these images provide the illusion of movement. Each individual photographic image is called a frame. A sequence of frames is called a shot, which is commonly defined as the footage created from the moment the camera is turned on until it is turned off. Despite several style of film that have specialized approaches, the shot is generally considered the basic building block of a film" (Mamer in Ugondo 2015).

"The Nigerian audiences' first experience in film screening was in 1903 at the Glover Memorial Hall Lagos" (Uchegbu in Opeyemi 2008: p282). Ekwuazi in Opeyemi (2008: p282) adds that "even though film was introduced by a European merchant, it took the combined efforts of the colonial administration and the church to sustain the industry. The content of such films can be easily discerned." The British colonialists used it for their "civilizing" mission as well as to indicate the blessedness of being colonized. The church, as their involvement in education and the media industry has shown, used films for spreading the gospel (Opeyemi, 2008: p282). "The history of film in Nigeria from 1903 to 1992 is closely related to crucial stages in the history of Nigeria" (Okon in Onuzulike 2009: p176). Onuzulike (2009: p176-177), divides Nigerian film history into four periods for better analysis and clarification. They are: (1) The Colonial Period, 1903-1960; (2) The Independence Period, 1960-1972; (3) The Indigenization Decree Period, 1972-1992; and (4) The Nollywood Period 1992-Present.

"The Nigerian film industry emerged from the dregs to become a globally acclaimed source of entertainment for many film lovers. It rose to prominence within the last two decades, providing employment, and business opportunities for many. Apart from generating revenue (thus contributing to the nation's Gross National Income -GNI), it boosts Nigeria's presence internationally" (Ennaet al 2015: p177) According to PwC's Global Entertainment & Media Outlook 2017 –2021:

> The Nigerian Film Industry (Nollywood) is globally recognised as the second largest film producer in the world. The Industry is a significant part of the Arts, Entertainment and Recreation Sector which contributed 2.3% (NGN239biliion) to Nigeria's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2016. It is one of the priority sectors identified in the Economic Recovery and Growth plan of the Federal Government of Nigeria with a planned $1billion in export revenue by 2020.

Nigerian films are produced along the line of the major tribal and cultural dichotomy -That is Hausa; Igbo, Yoruba, and broad languages spoken in the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-dialect nation. There are English films, Yoruba films, Igbo films and Hausa films with successful plots. Also films are produced in Ijaw and Efik languages by some filmmakers but this is not very common as of now. In other words, the researcher observes that the Nigerian movies industry is categorized into basic blocs namely:

i.   The Eastern or Asaba Bloc where majority of Igbo movies are produced
ii.   The Western or Yoruba Bloc where Yoruba movies are produced
iii. The Kannywoodor Hausa Bloc takes care of movies produced in Northern Nigeria
iv. The Akwa-Cross Bloc where Efik-Ibibio movies are produced.

These blocs produce films that are classified along the different lines of genres categorization hence, there is now: the Evangelical genre, Romance genre, Ritual genre, Comedy genre, Action/Gangster genre, Epic/Adventure/Cultural, Fantasy Genre.

The Historico-Religious Relevance of the Nigerian Movie Industry

Video film contents offer Africans both at home and diaspora an avenue to be reminded and to be reconnected with traditional religious cultural heritage. The contents link people of African descents who are unfamiliar with ancestral religious tradition. Mbiti (1991) even argues that African traditional religion(s) is a religious tradition that is not preached from one people to another. One needs to either be born in a particular African culture to be able to follow African Religion in that group or acquire the knowledge through learning. It therefore entails that it would be meaningless and useless trying to transmit the religious worldview to an entirely different society outside of Africa, unless African peoples themselves go there with it…The peoples of Europe, America or Asia cannot be converted to African Religion as it is so much removed from their geographical and cultural setting Video films can transcend geographical settings. In this context, video film will help keep alive religious concepts among Africans who have migrated to countries outside Africa, while helping the African diaspora to relate to their parent's roots. (Unzulike, 2009: p.181)

Economically, The Nigerian movie industry "is a source of income for government and individuals. Government gets an income through licensing of films and value added tax, while individuals get their money through acting, distribution and marketing. Film generates employment opportunities for the teeming population of the country. Individuals are employed at various stages of film production. There are a lot of careers in the film industry." (Ugondo, 2015: p23). The government and other stakeholders in the movie industry have injected money into the industry and are cashing out in millions if not billions of Naira from the industry.

Socio-culturally, film is an important tool in building cultural institutions and reinforcing cultural pride. Film could be used to heal the psychological wounds created by slavery and colonialism and to provide moral upliftment. Film reflects culture and also serves as an avenue for cultural preservation. Most films depict Nigerian culture or that of a particular ethnic group thereby inculcating and preserving culture from one generation to another. The uses of cinema for cultural projection are very important because 'the functioning of every human body is molded by the culture within which the individual is born and reared" (Ugondo, 2015: p.24).

Nigerian movies play a very prominent role in the hearts of many Africans whether at home or in diaspora. This is an indicator of how Nigerian video film has impacted on African culture generally. There are now collaborations between Nigerian filmmakers with Hollywood producers (American movies producers), there is also a synergy with Ghollywood (Ghanian movie industry) and other African countries in order to develop their movies industry. This

help strengthen international relations between Nigeria and these countries too.

Film is a means or tool of socialization in the society. "That is the process an experience that helps the individual to become sensitive to the expectation of other members of the society, their values and culture. Film serves as entertainment and relaxation for people. The function of a film is to provoke thought as well as feeling and to provide an experience that transcends the time spent actually sitting in the theatre" (Udondo, 2015).

Historically, many Nigerian movies are reservoir of history. They further offer the window for educating the audience about the historical antecedence of the ethnic groups and national history. Film generally serve as is a powerful vehicle of education. Most people learn manners, eating habits, health education, scientific innovation etc. from films. Nollywood movies such as Jeta Amata' Amazing Grace, Half of a Yellow Sun, Invasion 1897, 76 and etc., are historically and culturally rich in contents. These movies capture the slave trade, the Nigerian civil war, the invasion of Benin by British troops, and the post-independence politics of Nigeria. The famous Mutanda OyomNamundo also offers explanations to Efik-Ibibio history, pantheon and cultural practices. In addition, Usua (2018) observes that cultural application of the film medium, and in particular, its use in the promotion and preservation of the language of the Akwa Ibom people.

Negative Impacts of the Nigerian Movie Industry on Ibibio Traditional Spirituality

The impacts of the Nigerian movies industry is a mixed bag based on the intentions of key players and lack of proper regulation of the industry. "The attitude of African filmmakers toward their local religions is quite complex. Some of them advocate African religions, while others reject them for their inefficacy" (Vokouma in Onuzulike, 2019: p181). Flesher cited in Onuzulike (2008: p.166) summarizes:

> What is interesting about Nigerian films is that one of the most popular plot lines features the clash of religions, old and new. The key characters are villains who use aspects of traditional African religions, often characterized as witchcraft or voodoo, to work their wicked ways. In the end, however, Christianity triumphs by redeeming the victims and vanquishing the evildoers, although they may be forgiven upon conversion to Christianity. Make no mistake, this plotline may be camp and hackneyed, but it usually is played down and dirty for all it is worth.

A lot of stories are centered on a ritual that has to be performed, such often involving bloodshed and · human sacrifice. This is exemplified in One Chance (2006), Abuja Big Girls I, II and III (2005), The Billionaires' Club I and· II (2005), Blood Money (2004), Domitilla (2001), and Alase Aye I and II (2006). Film stories such as these have flourished since the early days of video film production in Nigeria taking impulse from the monster-hit Living In Bondage I and II (Nnebue in Opeyemi, 2008: p.286). There is virtually a widely held notion that "blood money" is associated with traditional spirituality.

Over-emphasis on witchcraft and witch hunting is one of the adverse contents of the Nollywood. The case scenario is seen in "End of the Wicked" released in 1999, directed by Teco Benson and produced by Helen Ukpabio. The movie features Charles Okafor, Hilda Dokubo,

Alex Osifo, Helen Ukpabio, Ramsey Nouah and etc. The movie is a Christian Evangelical tool of The Liberty Gospel Church headed by Helen Ukpabio. The storyline of the movie is about a mother in-law who uses witchcraft to destroy her son's family. In fact, the movie denotes the antagonistic power of African spirituality against Christianity of which Christianity eventually wins. The storyline of this movies does not only disrupt peer relationship, it creates fear in the hearts of children and youths and keeps the fire of witch hunting burning. Furthermore, Akwa-Cross movies such as Iraq, Idiok Okuk, Akpan Ekwong (which captures the historical story of the famous witch hunter called Akpan Ekwong in Akwa Ibom State)and Ekarikatend to extremely overemphasize the belief in witchcraft thereby casting indigenous spirituality into a bad light.

Generally, "over the years; the industry has promoted certain identities and images which critics have frowned at. Among these are the images of a ritualistic society' the image of .a violent society, the poor portrayal of the Nigerian women and a display of a highly ostentous and an oligarchic society-imageries and ideas that have to a great extent become a norm, because profiteering has replaced art" (Opeyemi, 2008: p.286).There is also the Akwa-Cross movie called Ikoso which tells the story of how Ikoso, the lead character who uses mystical powers from a traditional spiritualist (abiaibok) to kill, rob and intimidate people in the society. It is as though movie producers within the Akwa-Cross bloc of the Nigerian Movie Industry have had agreements to cast indigenous spirituality into the bad books. The contents of many of the Ibibio and Efik movies adopt a confrontational storyline between Christianity and Traditional Religion. It is not hard to find movies where the storyline revolves around a traditional spiritualist in opposition with the church and the Pastor. Very often, these movies end with the traditionalist being "killed" or converted to Christianity These bogey storylines create suspicion in human relations of the adherents of traditional religion and Christianity.

The availability of adult movies, soft porn and romantic movies arguably have negative impacts on the viewers. The contents of these movies contradict traditional spiritual values of chastity and sacredness of sex. The idea here is that continual exposure of the people to these contents create an impression that the contents on the movies are the new normal. Many producers intentionally put scenes of soft porn or explicit sex scenes in their movies to attract patronage. With the availability of the internet, these contents are getting to a wide audience or viewer who may be underage.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The purpose of the study was to unearth the socio-religious impacts of Nollywood with specificity on Ibibio Traditional Spirituality. However, the study identifies that despite the Nollywood being a tool for socialization, preservation of cultures and history as well as an income earner for the stakeholders, some Christian evangelical movies and money-conscious producers put forward storylines and scripts to cast indigenous spirituality into bad light. In the Akwa-Cross bloc which was the area of focus, the overemphasis on black malignant witchcraft, cultic and money-making rituals as well as confrontational approaches often adopted in the storylines set Ibibio Traditional Spirituality at edge with Christianity. The study identifies that these kinds of contents create fear, suspicion and disrupt the relational harmony of the adherents of the different religious traditions in the State based on the Cultivation theory

which explains that continuous exposure to contents on the TV would result in the belief that what is on the screen is reality. Hence, the study proposes that:

1. the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) should sanction movies producers who churn out contents that threatens the relational harmony between adherents of religious traditions in Nigeria

2. on the other hand, the Nigerian Movies and Censor Board should be proactive and active in censoring movies with confrontational contents or those that violate the standards

3. The Actors Guild of Nigeria (AGN) should as a matter of urgency organize periodic orientations for the stakeholders in the movie industry against contents that downplay the relevance of Ibibio indigenous culture and spirituality.

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The Moral Limit of Aristotle's Corrective Justice

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Abstract

Theories of justice, following Aristotle, are usually divided into theories of retributive justice (punishment), corrective justice (the payment of damages for private injuries), and distributive justice (the regulation of social benefits, particularly economic rights and opportunities). This paper is concerned with the second. Its aim is to critically examine and analyze the limit that this theory poses to judges and other policy makers in addressing the harm caused to the individual and the society at large by crime and those who commit them. Injuries caused by crime and other wrongdoings require some kind of redress for the sake of preserving the society and the wellbeing of mankind. Crime is a setback to peace, order, harmony and progress of people and their society and harms relationships between individuals and perpetuates injustice. When one commits a crime against another, he takes undue advantage of the other; causing inequality in their relationship. According to Aristotle, rectificatiory/corrective justice is concerned with restoring this inequality between the parties by penalizing the wrongdoer. But this paper observes that this theory is insufficient and inadequateas it fails to address the problem because, in trying to remedy the damage already done, attention is usually focused on the victim alone, while leaving behind the offender and the community. This paper therefore, attempts to expose this shortcomings, confront this challenge, and provide or suggest an alternative form of restorative,

corrective or rectifactory justice that is inclusive of both the victim, offender and their community at large. The paper leverages on the views of Howard Zehr in particular in contending that, in working towards making things right again, all the stake holders must be involved.

Keywords: Aristotle, Rectifactory, Restorative, Corrective, Justice, Limitation

Introduction

In recent time, there have much talks as to whether or not the federal government of Nigeria is justified to negotiate with bandits. Few days ago, one of the former governors of Zamfara State of Nigeria, Senator Ahmed Sani Yerima was live on one of the national televisions—Channel TV— precisely; asking the federal government of Nigeria to negotiate with bandits who were "mostly Fulani herders and grant them amnesty". According to the distinguished Senator and former governor, that is the surest and best way and means of reclaiming Nigeria back from the hands of bandits and other terrorist groups. Citing what one of the former Presidents of Nigeria, late Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar' Adua did with the Niger Delta Militants in 2009 and 2010 precisely, wherein the president negotiated with, and granted amnesty to the Niger Delta Militants, the former Senator and governor insisted that negotiating with bandits and Boko Haram terrorists and granting them amnesty would be the best the federal government of Nigeria can do particularly at this time, and the surest way to addressing the problems of insecurity in Nigeria, especially in the northern part of the country. Yerima does not think that too much deployment of kinetic measures to cob or combat insecurity in Nigeria by the military, especially in the north, has helped and would help Nigeria any inch. For him therefore, instead of providing help, the process or method has aggravated the situation of insecurity in Nigeria, and will continue to aggravate the situation as long as the federal government of Nigeria and her military agencies continue to adopt such kinetic measures and styles. Hence for him, there is great need to change styles. Responding to one of the questions asked by the interviewer, Seun Okinbalayeof the Channel Television, why Niger Delta Militants who were mere agitators could be compared with the bandits and Boko haram terrorists who are predominately Fulani herders and causing havoc in the country, the former governor Yerima maintained that there is no difference between the Niger Delta Militants who were granted amnesty by former president Umaru Musa Yar' Adua and the present Fulani herders who are today the bandits and Boko haram terrorists that Nigeria is contending with. This interview elicited a lot of reactions and responses from majority of the public who listened and observed them. The first group of people who listened to him asked the following questions: "If bandits, Fulani herders and Boko haram terrorists who have been terrorizing the entire country, killing people and burning properties and houses of people can be negotiated with and granted amnesty, what happens to those souls (lives) they have wasted¿ What happens to those families and children they have rendered orphans and homeless¿ What happens to those owners of properties and houses they have burnt to ashes or destroyed¿ Also, if Niger Delta Militants were indeed negotiated with and granted amnesty, what happened to their victims¿ What happenedthose families and lives they also wasted in the course of their agitations¿ Again, what about the families of their victims who died while in their hostages;

and the shock the said community members faced while the incidents happenedị From the foregoing, it is quite obvious that a lot of people does not think that these group of terrorists need any mercy or justice at all. They also believe that it is rather their numerous victims that the government should instead concentrate upon and try and find better ways to compensate them. On this ground therefore, this paper observes that restorative or corrective justice according to Aristotle does not give enough room for the offender but the victim instead; hence the question: Even if these bandits, Fulani terrorists, and Boko haram are prosecuted and perhaps jailed, who cares about their feeling anymoreị The usual tendency has been that both victims and their relations tend to forget that they themselves need some form of restorative justice too. Unfortunately, this has never been the case as everyone tend to believe that rectificatory or corrective justice is not for them but only for their victims and those they rendered their lives miserable. This is the problem facing the region of Africa in her fight against terrorism. This is where Aristotle's idea about rectificatory or corrective justice got it wrong and also this is where it shows that it is inadequate and insufficient in addressing the problem of crime and insecurity in Africa and the world at large. Having said that, we must note that crime, no matter who carries it out, and no matter the place where it is carried out or the condition, situation or circumstances when it is carried out, constitutes a significant challenge to the wellbeing of man and the entire society at large where he lives. Against this backdrop, it becomes obvious that crime is a setback to peace, order, harmony and progress to any individual, community or society at large. Crime can lead a society to total disintegration and members of the society into sorrow and miserable agony. It is unfortunate, as Newton rightly observes that "no one on earth today can escape the touch of crime" (7). But we can escape preventive crime. Hence each time a crime is committed, the perpetrators take advantage of their victim(s), thereby causing inequality in their relationship. The quest for the healing of the victim's injury; in other words, the quest to restore the balance, equality, harmony and cordiality that once existedbut which crime has disrupted, has led philosophers and other scholars of justice to differentiate between various notions or ideas about punishment and justice. In Aristotle's case,the essence of punishment is for rectificatiory or corrective reasons. Thus, rectificatiory or corrective punishment yields to rectificatory or corrective justice which in-turn remedies the imbalance, disharmony and inequality arising from the voluntary and involuntary disruptions of an already existing harmonious, balanced and equitable atmosphere, or transactions between individuals and their kinds. For him also, for one to injure another in any way is an injustice, and a kind of inequality. Therefore, to remedy the situation, Aristotle claims that what the law does is to punish the offender for disrupting the balance or harmony that the individual or society once enjoyed. That means that in punishing the offender, the law equalizes the situation by means of penalty, which takes away from the gain of the assailant. This is a great contribution from Aristotle. However, it is insufficient and inadequate. These limitations, insufficienciesand inadequaciesare no doubt quite tremendous. For example, such idea of justice does not put into consideration the offender's situation, and the entire community of both the victimand the offender who in one way or the other, directly or indirectly, also follow to suffer the pains and sorrows of the crime committed. This is the reason why majority of Nigerians would not yield to the request or proposal put forward by the

former Senator and governor of Zamfara State of Nigeria Senator Sani Yerima asking the Federal Government to negotiate or grant amnesty to the bandits, Fulani herders and Boko haram terrorists who have terrorized, maimed and destroyed a lot of lives and properties in Nigeria. Hence they argue that asking the federal government to reintegrate these people into the society will amount to greater injustices on the sides of their numerous victims. It is on this ground therefore, that this paper aims at examining Aristotle's rectificatory or corrective justice with a view to highlighting its limitations in addressing the problem of crime and insecurity in Nigeria and the world at large.

Aristotle on Justice and Punishment

Aristotle understands justice as the "greatest of all virtues" (Aristotle 1129b).Although this is differentiated from other virtues in the sense that it deals with one's relations with others,he argues that whereas each virtue was defined as the mean between two vices, justice is not the mean of two vices since injustice, the opposite of justice, is but only one extreme. Thus justice, for Aristotle, is the mean state of people having what they deserve. Injustice occurs when people have either too much or too little. Aristotle also distinguishes between complete or universal sense of justice and partial or particular sense of justice. In one sense, he says that we call those acts just that tend to produce and preserve happiness and its components for the political society. In this sense, justice is a complete virtue or excellence in relation to one's neighbor. Complete justice is an attribute of character; it is the virtue that is exhibited by human beings in their relations with others insofar as these interactions promote a good life and lead to happiness for the members of the political community. Aristotle claims that particular justice is concerned with the share of benefits individuals should receive and the burdens they should bear. However, particular justice is divided into two, namely distributive justice and rectificatory or corrective justice.

> …one kind is that which is manifested in distribution of honour or money or the other things that fall to be divided among those who have a share in the constitution, and one is that which plays a rectifying part in transactions between man and man (Aristotle 1130).

Distributive justice deals with the distribution of benefits such as wealth among the members of a community. It employs geometric proportion; what each person receives is directly proportionate to his or her merit, so a good person will receive more than a bad person. Coming to rectificatory or corrective justice, Aristotle maintains that it remedies unequal distributions of gains and losses between two people. To rectify is to set right. Hence, rectificatory justice identifies criteria to righting past wrongs (Collste 10). Also, it rights the wrong occasioned by unequal distribution. It acknowledges that "there is a moral obligation to compensate for the consequences of harmful acts" (Aristotle 1131a2). Rectificatory justice also applies to private transactions of two types, namely voluntary and involuntary transactions. While voluntary transactions (such as selling, buying and so on deals with contracts between individuals, involuntary transactions (theft, assault, murder) are liabilities for the payment of compensation to another citizen (1131a2-9). Also Aristotle writes:

> of this there are two divisions: of transactions 91) some are voluntary and (2) others involuntary—voluntary such transactions as sale, purchase, loan for consumption, pledging, loan for use, depositing, letting (voluntary because the origin of these transactions is voluntary), while of the involuntary (a) some are clandestine, such as theft, adultery, poisoning, procuring, enticement of slaves, assassination, false witness and (b) others are violent, such as assault, imprisonment, murder, robbery with violence, mutilation, abuse, insult (1131a).

Regarding punishment, Aristotle did not develop or offer any well-defined and coherent account of punishment. No theory of punishment or account of the functions of punishment can be explicitly found in Aristotle's works. This is unlike Plato, who explicitly addressed punishment in book IX of *The Laws*. Aristotle did not commit himself to a complex theory of punishment. All mentions of punishment appear in Aristotle's practical works, namely the *Rhetoric, Politics* and *Ethics* (Farina 381-389). These texts, however, are significantly different in focus; hence, the argumentative contexts in which punishment is mentioned also vary considerably. Generally speaking, punishment is the deliberate infliction of pain or loss on an individual by the state or a community. It is also the instrument through which laws exercise their coercive power. When Aristotle spoke of punishment in the *Politics*, he was referring specifically to practices such as exiling, the death sentence, property confiscation, fines and other penalties. All of these practices a reconcrete means of punishment, though they can serve different purposes (IV 14, 1298a5). For Aristotle, punishment seems to serve different functions in different argumentative contexts. For example, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle describes punishment as a kind of cure, which – like all cures – works through opposites. Just as virtues, which Aristotle argues, are concerned with actions and passions, and as passions are accompanied by pleasure and pain, punishment, in the case of character, is effective by means of pains and pleasures. The corrective and the deterrent theories of punishment (i.e. restoring the broken balance and deterring people from committing a crime respectively), however, seem to be more coherent with Aristotle's views as expressed in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Hence he states that the judge has the duty to restore balance and to re-establish equality in a community (V 4, 1132a6-19). Aristotle believes that whenever an injustice between two parties is committed, one has more than its fair share and the other less. Therefore, he claims that

> this kind of injustice being an inequality, the judge tries to equalize it; for in the case also in which one has received and the other has inflicted a wound, or one has slain and the other been slain, the suffering and the action have been unequally distributed; but the judge tries to equalize things by means of the penalty, taking away from the gain of the assailant (V 4, 1132a6-10).

Similarly, Aristotle states that the primary function of corrective justice is to restore a lost balance. This is made quite explicit in the following passages:

> In the presence of a crime, whether in commercial transactions or in other matters, one of the parties has taken more than its fair share and more than

it deserved: in this case, one party has experienced a gain and the other, conversely, a loss. Corrective justice is thus concerned with private transactions(V 2, 1131a2-9).

Thus, rectificatory justice is based on arithmetic equality rather than proportional equality which underpins distributive justice. Arithmetic equality implies that the injured party (victim) will receive a portion from the injuring party (offender) that which will equalize the difference. But what unites them all, according to Aristotle, is the fact that justice and punishment readdress the balance between individuals. That means in voluntary transactions, the balance is restored by redressing the breach of an agreement (e.g. by means of a fine) while in involuntary transactions, penalties must be inflicted on the wrongdoer (Farina 384).

Aristotle is also aware that speaking of gain and losses can be misleading and not always appropriate in relation to the crime committed. Thus, if we are dealing with measurable goods (as in voluntary transactions), it is easy to see if there is a disequilibrium that corrective justice has to restore by means of a fine. This is the case, for instance, with the breaching of a contract. But what happens in a murder case˛ It would seem rather odd to speak of gain and loss in this case or of a balance to be restored. Aristotle nonetheless states that, even in this case, it is still possible to speak of gain and loss in a derivative and analogical way (V 4, 1132a10-14). Here too, corrective justice can and should restore the balance and the proportion lost. As though he was dealing with a mathematical proportion, Aristotle insists that it is the duty of the judge to restore and re-establish the balance in all cases of injustice. Commenting on this, Flavia Farina writes:

> If one of the two parties, let it be called A, had to get four but got two, and the other party, let it be called B, consequently got six, the equilibrium will be re-established by means of a mathematical average. A lacks two and B exceeds by two. As a consequence, A shall have the two it is lacking and the judge will restore the balance, understood as the mean between an excess and a defect. By this, then, we shall recognize both what we must subtract from that which has more, and what we must add to that which has less; we must add to the latter that by which the intermediate exceeds it and subtract from the greatest that by which it exceeds the intermediate (V 4, 1132b2-5).

According to Aristotle, corrective justice is not equivalent to reciprocation. Punishment is not a revised kind of *lex talionis*, whereby someone who has deprived someone else of something has to suffer the same privation he or she has caused. In distinguishing between a voluntary and an involuntary act (V 5, 1132b24-30), Aristotle thinks that punishment is not exclusively defined by reciprocity, as one may be led to think. So the proportionality principle should not take only the disproportion between the parties into account but also the agent's attitude. In other words, what makes a difference is whether the agent has committed an injustice voluntarily or involuntarily. Evidently, the description of the agent's disposition as voluntary or involuntary can apply to both voluntary and involuntary transactions. The distinction between voluntary and involuntary transactions is therefore a difference

established not on the basis of the agent's disposition but rather on the kind of transaction. Thus voluntary transactions are transactions where the two parties usually reach an agreement voluntarily while in involuntary transactions, such as theft, one of the two parties is involuntarily, i.e. unwillingly, deprived of something.

Furthermore, Aristotle recognizes that punishments should be more or less severe depending on the agent's attitude at the moment of committing the crime. If an agent strikes someone and this results in bodily injuries, the agent who has struck the victim might be punished more or less harshly, depending on whether he or she could have foreseen the negative effects of his or her own actions. The judges, then, will consider whether the ultimate results of the wrongdoer's actions can be classified as an error, a misfortune or an act of injustice. Punishment therefore will be more or less harshly settled, proportionally to the error committed. And it must make us distinguish between wrongdoings on the one hand, and mistakes, or misfortunes, on the other (I 13, 1374b5-7).

The distinction that Aristotle draws between errors, misfortunes and wrongdoings constitutes a significant contribution to Athenian legal theory. Although precedents of the aforementioned distinction can be found in Greek laws about the classification of wrongdoings (e.g. the distinction between murder and manslaughter), no distinction between premeditated homicide and voluntary homicide is to be found in Greek laws. Athenian laws distinguished between three cases of homicide: voluntary, involuntary, and justifiable. The distinction also implies that the various cases will be settled by different courts circumstance (Merker 331-342).

On a final note, Aristotle distinguishes between premeditated and non-premeditated actions (V 8, 1135b8-1). 1In relation to the latter category, he distinguishes between voluntary and involuntary actions. In order to be just, punishment must take these differences into account, as they reflect different dispositions. An agent who commits a crime with premeditation acts from bad character states or, generally speaking, because she is evil or vile. On this backdrop, Aristotle states that punishment plays a role in deterring people from repeatedly engaging in bad actions: a man who has already established and acquired bad habits will at least abstain from engaging in unjust actions not because he wishes to, but out of fear of punishment.

The Moral Limit of Aristotle's Rectifactory/Corrective Justice

According to Aristotle, when one man causes harm to another, the judge will weigh the harm and inflict equal penalty (punishment) with harm on the offender. So his rectificatory justice is concerned with righting the injustice, the wrong that is caused to the other. Its aim is to set unjust situation right in transactions where someone had been unfairly and unjustly treated by another. Thus if you slander someone, according to Aristotle, you take away their rightful goods, in the form of reputation. Also, if you batter someone, you take away their rightful goods, in the form of their health and wellbeing. The solution to situation like this is for the judge to be called upon to restore the disrupted equality, that is, rectify the imbalance. Thus "Now the judge restores equality; it is as though there were a line divided into unequal parts, and he took away that by which the greater segment exceeds the half, and added it to the smaller segment to make them equal" (1132a).

In practice, it is difficult to achieve this equality. It is doubtful if there is really some penalty that can be inflicted on malefactor B that can equal the original injury suffered by victim A as a result of B's malicious behaviour. It may be possible in cases of financial transactions where the exact amount deprived one by another is known but what about the immaterial suffering which the deprivation caused the victimi̧ It is even more challenging where it pertains to injuries like slander, rape, human rights abuse, murder and so on where the gain of the wrongdoer and the losses of the victims cannot be quantified materially so as to equalize both.

According to Kathryn R. Heidt, "corrective (rectificatory) justice is more difficult to apply to the 'complex'case in which the gains do not equal the losses" (347-377). The implication is that when rectificatory principle is applied by a judge, the two people walk away with one of them smiling and rejoicing that he has recovered what he had earlier been deprived of and is now restored to where he was before he was mistreated, and the other goes away murmuring and cursing that he had been reduced to where he was before he tried to gain advantage over the other. So the challenge or problem of rectificatory justice is largely victim centered with little or no care about the needs of offenders. Undoubtedly, the victims deserve to be given greater attention due to the injustice or harm done to them. However, a system of justice ought to provide for the offender's need too. This is necessary if the intention is to change him and make him become a useful member of the society. In this regard, rectificatory justice, according to Aristotle, does not care a hoot. It is only concerned with restoration of equality between the victims' losses and the offender's penalty. Just as rectificatory justice does not care much about offender's needs, it also does not care about restoration of the pre-crime cordial relationship between a victim and an offender. If justice is really concerned about peace, order, and harmony in the society, a system of justice should encourage and make provisions for cordial relationships and repair of already damaged relationships. It is expected of a justice system to bother about and provide for deterrence. A justice system should not be fixed on punishing offenders only. It should also work towards preventions of crimes in future.

As it were, Aristotle's rectificatory justice does not seem to make prevention of crime a primary objective. It looks backwards to set right what was made wrong but cares little or not at all about preventing wrongdoing in future. The participation of those affected by crime in the justice process cannot be overemphasized, yet rectificatory justice denies the stakeholders the opportunity. Participation empowers the victim to confront the criminal and voice out his mind. To offenders, it is "only by participating in the solution can they move towards responsibility and closure." To the community, participation cancels the tragedies of always running to 'experts' and of losing the power and ability to solve its own problems. Community participation also adds a sense of moral authority and legitimacy to the decision-making process. The neo-participation of stakeholders causes discontent with the justice process.

Towards an Alternative Form of Rectificatory/Corrective Justice

Rectificatory/corrective justice does not go beyond the victim's welfare. This is the view of Howard Zehr. It does not incorporate the offender's needs. Zehr argues that rectificatory justice should be concerned with what are due to people when crime occurs. According to him, the concern of justice generally should be what is due to the victim, to the offender, and to the community, for these are the stakeholders in any event of crime or wrongdoing. Not being

satisfied with the conventional criminal justice system, Zehr proposed a restorative justice as an alternative way of looking at the problem and solution of crime. For Zehr, restorative justice, is "a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have some stake in a specific offense to collectively identify and address harms, needs and obligations in order to heal and put things as right as possible" (27). Restorative justice cares for both the victims and offenders; instead of measured dose of punishment, it offers a plan for working with the root causes of the problem, and assist re-entry into the community. As noted by John Braithwaite, restorative justice is "a process where all the stakeholders affected by an injustice have an opportunity to discuss how they have been affected by the injustice and to decide what should be done to repair the harm." (28).Restorative justice challenges many of the traditional assumptions about the role of the state in the delivery of justice, particularly the appropriateness of retributive and deterrence-based concepts of criminal justice. It seeks to reframe the way we conventionally think about wrongdoing and justice, to "move away from our preoccupation with law-breaking guilt and punishment towards a focus on harms, needs and obligations" (306). Zehr further advocates, along with others that restorative justice claims to understand crime not only as a violation of an abstract entity—the state— but also, and mainly, as a violation of people and human relationships. They argue that in the aftermath of an offense, restorative justice is concerned not with punishing offenders, but with aspiring harm caused by the crime. On this account, Zehr writes:

> In criminal law, crime is defined as an offense against the state. The state, not the individual, is defined as victim. The state and only the state may respond. Since the state is the victim, criminal law pits offenders against the state (81).

Since restorative justice views crime as a harm to people and relationships, justice aims at making things right. While criminal justice asks:

(1) What laws have been broken¿
(2) Who did it¿
(3) What do they deserve¿ Restorative justice will ask as follows:
    (1) Who has been hurt¿
    (2) What are their¿
    (3) Whose obligations are these¿ (16).

Thus in addressing these questions, restorative justice is anchored on three important principles or pillars, namely: harms and related needs of stakeholders (victims, offenders, and community members); obligations of offenders to put things right, and engagement of stakeholders (15). For the fact that crime is a harm to people, restorative justice is concerned with the needs of all those affected beginning with the needs of victims. In Zehr's articular, "With crime, the starting point must be the needs of those violated. When a crime occurs (regardless of whether an offender is identified), the first question ought to be, "Who has been harmed¿ How have they been harmed¿ What are their needs¿ " (191). While the needs of victims

are paramount, other stakeholders' needs are also taken into consideration to attain the ultimate goal of restorative justice which is to "provide an experience of healing for all concerned."(16). As a violation of people and relationships, "crime creates obligations to make things rights" (181). To put things right implies holding the offender accountable and making him take responsibility for his actions in the sense of encouraging him to understand the consequences of his behaviour and to take actions to put things right as much as possible. Putting things right is indeed, the hub of restorative justice wheel as it brings about internal healing to the offender, restores the offender's respect, and ensures a more stable and safe society. Active participation of affected parties form a core element of restorative justice. In other words, the primary parties affected by crime are given significant roles in the justice process. As noted by Zernova Margarita:

> It is argued that victims, offenders and their communities can usually come up with more meaningful dispositions than those developed by judges and other 'experts' who lack knowledge of, and connection to, the parties affected by crime, and therefore are incapable of meeting the real needs created by the offense (49-50).

Generally, it is believed that stakeholders' participation in justice process enhances reparation of harm, reconciliation, victim-offender satisfaction, and offender reintegration. There are three restorative practices, according to Erika, Votila and Saija Senbim that best satisfy the goals of improving, repairing and restoring relationships, building healthy communities and decreasing crime and anti-social behaviors. These are victim-offender reconciliation and mediation programs, family and community group conferencing, and sentencing circles. Victim-Offender Reconciliation/Mediation program typically involves a face-to-face encounter between the victim and the offender mediated by a neutral third party. It is a "voluntary restorative justice process that provides the victim an opportunity to meet his or her offender in a safe and structured setting in which a trained and neutral mediator is present" (Erika 190). According to Zehr, "Victim-offender mediation empowers participants, challenges misattributions, provides for an exchange of information and encourages actions aimed at making right" (205). Conferencing looks like mediation but allows for the involvement or participation of more people—victims, offenders, family members and friends of both parties, community leaders, a police officer and possibly a social worker—in determining how best to deal with the harm done. In the words of Roger Graef:

> Victim-offender conferencing brings together victims, offenders, their families and supporters, and relevant professionals to talk and ask questions about the offense and make plans to put things right and prevent further offending (44).

Another major restorative practice is sentencing circle. "In a circle process, participants arrange themselves in a circle. They pass a 'talking piece' around the circle to ensure that each person speaks, one at a time, in the order in which each is seated in the circle"(37). The circle

enables participants to express their views and feelings about the offense and propose solutions. Participants speak one at a time as the talking stick' gets to the individual. Circles operate on the principles of respect, equality, and consensus. They are holistic and balanced in terms of both individuals and process. Hence, Zellerer notes that "circles acknowledge and invite the mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual aspects of individuals and human experience" (284). Restorative justice is non-adversarial. It emphasizes accountability of the offender and the needs of all those affected by the crime. Restorative justice not only focuses on the strategies for resolving conflicts peacefully, it also advocates for the rights of both victims and for the compassionate treatment of offenders.

Conclusion

The best and appropriate method of righting the wrongs in society through justice process system remains the concern of every responsible member of a society. Crime is a cankerworm and a common enemy to humanity as it spares no one. All hands should be on deck to rid society of crime, at least preventive crime. Both the victim of crime, offender and the community at large are stakeholders in this process. The rectificatory/corrective justice, according to Aristotle is reductionistic in its process in the sense that it does not take into consideration the care of offenders and community at large. Its concerns is on the victim alone and how the gains of the offender can be reduced to equalize the state of affair that has been disrupted. In doing that it creates more problem than it aims to solve. The restorative justice system, as we have advocated here is a form of justice system that remedies the problem of rectificatory justice system. It advocates a collaborative and joint process in the righting of wrongs committed by offenders. Restorative justice applies to the victim, offender and the community of both. It is an inclusive justice system approach. It is understandable that restorative justice system would have its limitations too such as the problem of acceptability—reluctance on the side of people in accepting it due to the fact of its newness, the suspicion by victims that the system is offender oriented and the suspicion by offenders that it is pro-victim just like the criminal victim. There is also a problem of compliance on the side of the victims, offenders and the community at large. A typical offender is likely not going to comply with the directives unless he is compelled or forced. Also, some victims will not forgive even after apology and compensation have been rendered. Restorative justice remains a better and alternative option to rectificatory or corrective justice. Nigerian government and other African government at large in their efforts to curb insecurity in the country and region should start thinking towards restorative justice system. It is the best way to go.

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The Police and the Death Penalty under the Nigerian Criminal Justice System: What 'is' and What 'Ought' to Be

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Abstract

Here, I aim to contribute to the age-long jurisprudential and multidisciplinary debate on law and morality using the death penalty problem as a springboard. Within the framework of the moral arguments that have been put forward for and against the death penalty, the article critically examines the police as a component of the Nigerian criminal justice system. It looks into the laws under which the police operate as a criminal justice component. This will be in the context of how the police conduct their affairs in accordance with or in violation of laws and moral norms and the implication such conduct brings to bear on the moral arguments for or against the death penalty. The article concludes by demonstrating that because legalised arbitrary practices and the possibility of punishing the innocent are firmly embedded in the Nigerian justice system, criminal laws and the condition of the criminal justice administration in Nigeria make moral issues necessarily part of the criminal justice process.

Keywords: Police, Death Penalty, Nigeria, Criminal Justice System, Moral Justification

Introduction

In this paper and within the framework of the moral arguments that have been put forward for and against the death penalty, I aim to critically examine the police as a component of the Nigerian criminal justice system. I will look into the laws under which the police operate as a criminal justice component. I will also look into how the police conduct their affairs in accordance with or in violation of laws and moral norms and the implication such conducts bring to bear on the moral arguments for or against the death penalty. The significance of a

paper of this sort lies in the idea that extant laws are enforceable only through the conduct of human agencies like the police. While such conduct is sometimes within the bounds of the law, it is sometimes outside it. However, whether actions are within or outside the law, moral standards should be applied to demonstrate that they are good or bad. Overall, this article contributes to the age-long jurisprudential debate on law and morality using the death penalty conundrum as a springboard. The paper is structured into six sections. Section one is an introduction. Section two discusses the legal framework of the police in relation to the ethical issues that arise from the laws that govern its conducts. In section three, I situate Nigeria police conducts, especially arbitrary arrests and forced confession in the context of the death penalty arguments. Section four looks at police powers and conducts bothering on investigation in relation to the ethical issues that come about. In section five, I consider the implication of police prosecutorial conducts on the moral justification of the death penalty. I conclude in section six.

The Legal Framework of the Police under the Nigerian Criminal Justice System

From the general functions of the police, as provided by law, its operations can be understood in the context of whether or not they are justified on moral grounds. The Nigeria Police Act 2020 (PA) is the principal legislation that provides for the functions of the police in Nigeria. Other legislations that complement the PA are the Administration of Criminal Justice Act 2015 (ACJA), the Criminal and Penal Codes and Judicial Precedents. Section 4 of the PA, for instance, provides that the function of the police shall be the prevention and detection of crimes, protection of rights, maintenance of order and law as well as protection of lives and properties. These functions are normally carried out through arrest, investigation and prosecution.

With respect to arrest, the major legislations that guide the police in performing their function are section 32 of the PA and section 18(1) of ACJA. An arrest is considered the initial step in the formal process of criminal justice. It entails the formal taking into custody of persons suspected to have committed a criminal wrong. Since it is part of the criminal justice system that is guided by law, it should normally be done according to laid down procedures (Ojeih et al. 18), especially when the law is morally justifiable. Failure to follow the procedures raises ethical questions. If a person who is making an arrest fails to provide adequate justification for the procedure or its breach, it follows that his/her action is ethically wrong because it does not meet ethical standards. When a rule provides that the police must engage in a rational and empirical exercise to ascertain whether or not a person committed a crime and the police neglect to do that by engaging in indiscriminate arrest at a crime scene, ethical questions may be justifiably raised. Ethical questions can also be raised where, contrary to section 32(3) of the PA and section 35(4) of the Nigerian Constitution, police officers refuse to take suspects in their custody to court within a reasonable time (two days) or release them afterwards. A relevant ethical issue that one can raise here is how section 35(7) of the Constitution provides that the provision of section 35(4) does not apply to capital crime cases. I argue that this amounts to unfair treatment of capital crime suspects not by police conduct but by the Nigerian constitution itself. This is because it denies them the right to be treated as innocents until proven guilty in court. It may be argued that capital trial suspects, unlike other suspects, pose a threat to society if released and are more likely to escape justice. I will respond by saying that the reason is not enough to do away with the well-established idea of the principle of equal treatment of suspects as innocent

until proven guilty. The innocence principle does not prescribe that treating suspects as such should be based on the kind of offense in question. It is a general rule that safeguards suspects from unfair treatment before their innocence is determined in court. The argument that capital crime suspects are perceived to be dangerous contradicts the principle of criminal justice, which states that it is better to set 99 criminals free than to incarcerate one innocent person. I argue that Nigerian criminal justice rests on this principle. This is evident in the system's standard of proof of guilt which demands that a case be resolved in favor of an accused person where doubt is cast.

Section 35(1) of the PA and section 35(3) of the constitution provide that a person who is making an arrest must let the suspect know about the reason for doing so. In the process of arrest, section 35(2) of the PA, mandates police officers to inform the suspect about his/her right to remain silent or avoid answering any question until he/she consults a lawyer or any other person of their choice. The right also includes giving the suspect the freedom to choose whether or not to write a statement and the right to be given free legal representation by the Legal Aid Council or any other organization. It also includes the right to be granted bail (where applicable) and the right to be given the opportunity to prepare for his/her defense during a trial in court. This is also the provision of section 43(2) of the PA and section 7 of the ACJA. Sections 37 of the PA and 7 of the ACJA mandate the police to not arrest any person in place of a suspect. Sections 37 of the PA and 8 of the ACJA mandate the police to give humane treatment to suspects in accordance with the right to dignity that every Nigerian is entitled to as a fundamental right. One of the things that the right to dignity presupposes is the abstinence from the subjection of suspects to torture in whatever guise. It also presupposes abstinence from the treatment of suspects in an inhuman and degrading manner. By the provision of section 96(2)(a) of the PA, the police shall not, when carrying out its duties, discriminate based on place of origin, gender, socio-economic status, ethnic, political or religious affiliations and any form of disability.

The forgoing is an array of the legal framework within which the police are obligated to operate. Within the context of the death penalty discourse, it can be argued that the laws in Nigeria dealing with the establishment and conduct of the police (the legal framework) are to some degree not necessarily morally unjustifiable. For instance, it can be argued that police's arbitrary conduct that leads to discrimination and innocent execution is possible in Nigeria, not because the laws are necessarily immoral but because human elements have failed to apply the law appropriately. The law not only discourages the police from acting arbitrarily but also deliberately prohibits arbitrariness. This is seen, for instance, in how the law prohibits the police from discriminating on grounds of religion, region, ethnicity, etc., just as it prohibits the arrest of a person in place of a suspect. However, to properly and adequately argue about the morality of law, that law should be situated within its operational framework. In what will follow, an attempt will be made to discuss the police. The discussion will be done in the context of the extent of police obedience to the law in the conduct of their affairs, especially in death sentencing processes.

Arrest, Police Conduct and the Ethical Issues Thereof.

Within the context of the arguments against the death penalty, those that are directly related to the police are the arbitrary and innocence arguments. The argument is that components of criminal justice systems are not insulated from acting in a mistaken or arbitrary manner that leads to the sentence of innocent persons or the escape of guilty persons. Bedau and Redelet (56-57) show that coerced confession, negligence, arbitrary arrests and overzealousness are ways the police bring about the execution of the innocent. However, arbitrary arrests and forced confession have been identified as some of the most troubling excesses of the police. This is because of their being the major reasons why innocent persons are convicted (Bedau and Redelet 58).

Within the Nigerian criminal justice system, abuse of arrest by the police abound. It manifests in how police labour under the pretext of incidence or prevalence of capital crimes to randomly arrest and detain people (Human Rights Watch 32). The Administration of Criminal Justice Monitoring Committee (ACJMC), which the ACJA creates to monitor the implementation of the ACJA reports that in the exercise of their powers of arrest, police officers act in breach of the legal framework that governs their operation. According to the report, police officers neglect to follow the due process of informing suspects of the rights they are entitled to. They also neglect to synergize with the Legal Aid Council where there is the need to do so as required by law (ACJMC 86). The ACJMC similarly reports that, in any case, the lawyers that the Council have are inadequate to meet the demands of the cases that require their services. The inadequacy of lawyers to take up cases that require their attention depicts the systemic flaw and absurdity of the Nigerian criminal justice system at the level of the police station. The absurdity can be seen in the way the ACJA asks for a condition that cannot be practically met. The inadequacy of lawyers also raises another ethical issue because it has the tendency to bring about the unequal distribution of fair treatment based on socio-economic status. Because the suspects that are likely to need these lawyers are those who are poor, it follows that they will have to go through the criminal justice process without legal representation. It also follows that those who are rich and are able to afford legal representation will have an advantage over the poor suspects.

Other than the issue that arises from the absurdity of the criminal justice system, there is also the issue that arises from the deliberate refusal by the police to follow the due process of the law in the exercise of their powers of arrest. For instance, in exercising their power of arrest, police officers deliberately ignore the principle of reasonable suspicion of the commission of offense as well as the crime prevention principle. With intent to intimidate or extort money, the police act out of malice to arrest people who they know are innocent. This is to the extent of charging innocent people with capital offenses. The consequence of these arbitrary practices is the imprisonment of many innocent people for many years (Udo 11). Even if the arrest is not arbitrary and malicious, the police deny such persons the rights that they are entitled to. Some of the rights include being provided with a legal practitioner when making statements. The result is a statement that may not reflect the true state of affairs. This is because the suspect is normally intimidated, which may make him/her say or write something that implicates him even if he/she is actually innocent (ACJMC 88). The police torture and intimidate to force confessions out of arrested persons. For instance, Arthur Onyejekwe was tied by the police to a

spinning ceiling fan and was beaten just to force him to sign a confessional statement that eventually led to his conviction for murder. He spent years on death row and was later released upon further proof in court that his statement was illegally obtained (Udo 15-16). Despite the earlier-mentioned laws guiding the operations of the police, the practice of coercing confession continues. This practice remains viable due to the failure of the criminal justice system to educate suspects about their rights. This is in addition to the difficulty in hiring a lawyer by those who are aware of their rights and will want to exercise them. The practice of forced confessions has also persisted because of the inability of the legal system to provide for a robust system of investigation. Olubiyi and Okoeguale (74) argue that investigations by the police do not go beyond taking statements and coercing confessions in Nigeria.

Because of the way police officers effect an arrest and take confessional statements, the innocence argument in Nigeria becomes plausible and convincing. What makes this more convincing is that many if not most allegations of crimes that attract the death penalty are brought forth on the basis of confessional statements. In other words, many people are sentenced to death because of the evidence of their confession as opposed to other kinds of evidence such as witness testimonies, DNA and onsite pieces of evidence. As held in the case of Agoola v. State (2015 All FWLR Pt. 795), this is possible because, under Nigerian criminal law, a death sentence can be based solely on a confessional statement. This is the case because confessional statements are considered as the best evidence of guilt (Agaba 82). Because it is the case that innocent persons are forced to make confessional statements and because the death penalty is passed on the basis of confessional statements, it follows that the conviction of innocent persons is possible under the Nigerian criminal justice system.

It may, however, be argued that there are mechanisms through which illegally obtained confessions are excluded. This is because section 29 of the Evidence Act 2011 (EA) provides that although a confession may be given in evidence, it may be excluded if it is shown to have been obtained illegally. Whenever the admissibility of a confession is challenged on the ground that it was involuntarily obtained, the court is mandated to stop everything and decide on whether or not the confession was voluntarily obtained. This is done through what is termed as a **trial within trial**. Here, the accused person and the prosecution are given the chance to present evidence to show whether or not a confession is voluntarily obtained. It may also be argued that under the Nigerian criminal justice system, there is, in place a mechanism by which persons wrongfully arrested may be detected. It does not, however, necessarily follow that the existence of a mechanism for detecting wrongful arrest guarantees the detection of every coerced confession or wrongful arrest. For instance, because the mechanism is operational in court, it requires having the financial strength to afford a lawyer to challenge the wrongful arrest or forced confession. This implies that only those with the financial strength to afford a lawyer can effectively challenge their wrongful arrest or forced confession. However, because many of those who are wrongly arrested or coerced to confess either do not have the financial strength or do not even know it can be challenged in court, it follows that their conviction will likely be based on a wrongful arrest or a coerced confession.

On the basis of sections 274(3) and 356(4) of the ACJA, it may be argued that the argument against the death penalty that is grounded on a forced or illegally obtained confessional statement is seriously weakened. This is because, sections 274(3) and 356(4) of the ACJA

provide that, in capital trials, the admission of the commission of a capital crime by an accused person must automatically be rejected by the court. The law mandates the judge to reject the admission of any person facing a capital charge and also mandates the judge to record that the accused pleaded not guilty even if he/she actually pleaded otherwise. Furthermore, the judge is mandated to ask the prosecution to prove by way of evidence that the accused is actually guilty.

It is because of this that it may be argued that confessional statements, whether or not obtained in breach of the due process of law, are inconsequential in a capital trial. If this is the case, the argument against the death penalty on the grounds that an innocent person may be executed because of an illegally obtained confession is weakened. However, it is not the case that confessional statements are inconsequential in capital cases. This is because the rejection of the admission of an accused person does not imply that the accused person is considered not guilty. The aim of the law in that regard is to employ the judge to take cautious steps in ensuring that the accused is guilty. The law does not exclude any evidence, including the confessional statement of the accused person that the prosecution may provide as evidence. It does not foreclose the chance of the conviction of an accused person on the sole basis of the confessional statement of an accused person. Consequently, if no one challenges the confession of an accused person, it may be the sole basis for passing the death penalty.

The existence of the practice of Identification Parade is one of the ways through which the argument against the death penalty can be shown to be convincing. It was defined in the case of Alabi v. State (1993 7 NWLR pt. 307) as "a group of identical size and common physical features assembled by the police from whom a witness identifies a suspect or suspects unaided and untutored" (Ojeih et al. 85). An identification parade is carried out if an eyewitness to a crime or a victim is unsure of the identity of the perpetrator of the crime because of a brief or quick encounter. The parade is usually done by lining up a suspect along with other persons for the victim of the crime or witness to identify. Where the evidence of the prosecution is that of identification and the accused denies being the culprit, alleging mistaken identity, the court examines and receives the evidence with caution. This is especially when the evidence is wholly or substantially based on that identification. In the case of Ndidi v. State (2007 All FWLR pt.381), the evidence of an identification of a victim of a robbery that took place at night was accepted by the trial judge. Upon appeal to the Court of Appeal by the accused, the appeal was dismissed. Upon further appeal, the Supreme Court sustained the appeal and reviewed the identification. Its decision was that because the crime occurred at night and because the victim was awakened from sleep, the evidence of the identification is not enough to warrant a conviction. Under the Nigerian criminal justice system, evidence from identification is considered opinion evidence which must be carefully scrutinized. The Supreme Court enjoins courts faced with such evidence to be mindful that it is usually fraught with human errors, potentially bringing about cases of mistaken identity. Thus, in the case of Okosi v. State (1989 NWLR Pt. 100) the court held that:

> As mathematical and absolute certainty is seldom to be attained in human affairs, reason and public utility require that judges (and in fact, all mankind) in forming their opinion of the truth of facts should be governed and regulated by the superior number of probabilities on one side or the other.

In the case of Okeke v. State (1995 4 NWLR pt. 392), courts are enjoined to be more careful and meticulous when basing their decisions on the identification that is not complemented with other kinds of evidence. The tendency of the parade to bring about mistaken identity and ultimately mistaken execution raises an issue of ethical concern. We earlier noted in the case of Ndidi v. State that an accused person was sentenced to death on the basis of mistaken identification. The sentence was reversed only because the accused person could afford to go through a tedious and expensive appellate process. Because many cases do not go through an appellate review process, it can be inferred that many cases may have been concluded on the basis of wrongful identification.

Investigation(s) and the Police

Police powers of investigation are provided by section 31 of the PA (which is similar to section 3 of the ACJA). An investigation is initiated on the ground that someone is reported to have committed a criminal offense or that the police identified the commission of an offense by some person(s). The focus of the investigation should be on unraveling whether or not an offense was committed and who is suspected of committing it. It also focuses on whether a warrant of arrest is needed and when it should be carried out.

In the discharge of their investigatory powers, some police officers, sometimes, engage in arbitrariness just as they do when conducting arrests. Decided cases show that one of the reasons for having many criminal convictions that are based on the confessional statements that in many cases are coerced is that the police in Nigeria hardly conduct investigations. When they do, the investigations are usually inadequate and are marred by irregularities. For instance, in the case of Idowu v State (2000) FWLR pt. 16), Wali, Justice of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, commented that so much is left to be desired in the method adopted by the police to conduct investigations. He further commented that the problem is further compounded by the inadequacy of police officers trained as lawyers. This is in addition to the reluctance of ministries of justice to supervise investigations, especially cases involving human lives. These factors produce an investigation whose quality is below the standard that is expected in the era of technological advancement. They also lead to the acquittal of criminals who should have been convicted but for the poor investigation if at all it was carried out. Similarly, Uwais, Justice of the supreme court described the investigation conducted in the case of Aigbadion v. State (2000 7 NWLR Pt. 666) as unserious, shoddy and incomplete.

The salient point to note in the case of Idowu v. State is the manner by which perceived wrongdoers are discharged because of poor investigation. This is because it creates doubt about the guilt of an accused person. This may appear as if the argument in favor of the death penalty is strengthened. It may therefore be argued that it further reduces the chance of innocent execution because even perceived wrongdoers escape execution. However, opponents may reply that it does not solve the moral issue of the distribution of justice. They may claim that the issue is about the imperfection of the Nigerian criminal justice system in serving justice which does not guarantee that only the guilty will be sentenced to death. This claim is convincing if the case of Samuel Bozin v. State (1986 2 QLRN 69) is considered. In that case, the accused was sentenced to death by a High Court and the sentence was affirmed by the Court of Appeal. However, the Supreme Court reversed the death sentence on the ground that a proper

investigation was not conducted. The implication is that an innocent person may have been executed if there was no appeal to the Supreme Court. This supports the argument against the death penalty on the basis of the possibility of executing the innocent. This is especially when investigations of the nature described by the justices of the supreme court appear to be the norm within the Nigerian criminal justice system.

The comment by Justice Wali also raises an ethical question associated with Nigeria's adversarial legal system. The adversarial system allows judges to base their decision solely on the evidence presented to the court by opposing parties to a dispute. The system places the responsibility of proving any fact that a party asserts on that party. The judge is not allowed to assist any party in proving any fact because that is construed as being partial. This is why Justice Wali commented that failure to prove by way of evidence due to poor quality of investigations leads to the situation in which someone deserving of punishment would have to be discharged. Even if the judge has other reasons to believe that the accused person is guilty, he/she is precluded by law from convicting the accused person without the evidence that is required by law to prove his/her guilt. The adversarial system thus places too much emphasis on evidence rather than actual guilt. However, lack of evidence does not necessarily make an accused person guilty.

The comments of the justices earlier mentioned also demonstrate how poor investigation stands in the way of bringing about conviction or acquittal. They show how legal technicalities impede the principle of desert, which the theory and argument from retribution emphasize. This is how it is shown that criminal cases abound in which the accused who is standing trial is guilty but is acquitted. Acquitted because of lack of quality investigation through which convincing evidence can be extracted to prove guilt.

This section demonstrated that some of the ethical issues that police conduct bring about arise from the internal contradiction and absurdity of the criminal justice system itself. The next discussion will focus on the conduct of the police with reference to its powers of prosecution and the ethical issues that arise.

Prosecution(s) and the Police

The power of the police to prosecute is provided by sections 66 of the PA and 268(2) of the ACJA. Under the current Nigerian criminal justice system, police officers who are legally qualified to practice law can prosecute any kind of offense in any court. The purpose of section 66 of the PA is to restrict the exercise of powers of prosecution to only skilful and legally qualified police officers. The restriction, however, raises the issue of whether or not the police force has adequate officers who qualify to prosecute criminal matters. The answer is negative. Even before the coming into effect of the current PA, police officers, whether qualified as legal practitioners or not, were allowed to prosecute, and were overstretched. This is evident in how police officers attached to courts as prosecutors are overwhelmed by the cases in those courts. Often, there is only a single prosecutor who is grossly undertrained with no idea of basic advocacy skills attached to especially lower courts (Magistrate). This means that virtually all the prosecutions that are handled by the police in a given court are undertaken by that officer.

In order to ensure the involvement of legally qualified police officers in police operations, section 66(3) of the PA was created. One of the reasons for creating the section is to ensure that

due process is followed in the exercise of the general powers of the police. Section 66(3) of the PA provides that every police division must have an officer who is qualified to practice law. The section also raises the ethical and logical questions about the internal contradictoriness of the ACJA. Because the section uses the word "shall" and because it is the case that it is practically impossible to have police officers who are qualified to practice law present in every police station in Nigeria, it follows that every police station that does not meet up with the condition is legally defective. Since it is the case that only some of the police stations will have legally qualified officers, it follows that those police stations would derive more advantages over others that do not. This is another form of arbitrariness that is brought about by the internal limitation of the Nigerian criminal justice system. This will manifest in the way legally qualified officers will be distributed. The distribution is likely to be carried out on the basis of legally irrelevant factors such as ethnicity and socio-economic factors. For instance, there is the likelihood of posting legally qualified officers to stations situated in the cities at the expense of the stations in the slums or villages. The likely effect would be an unequal situation in which poor citizens are deliberately denied being subjected to due process. It will also be a situation in which accused persons go through different criminal justice processes. This situation strengthens the argument of the death penalty from arbitrariness.

Apart from factors such as gross inefficiency, ignorance and incompetence that negatively affect the police's powers of prosecution, there is also the institutional limitation arising from the powers conferred to Attorneys General of the states and the federation (AG). The constitution and other criminal laws confer the powers. For instance, sections 174 and 211 of the constitution and section 106 of the ACJA provide that the powers of the police to prosecute are subject to the whimsical powers of the AG of the Federation or of the States as the case may be. Section 174(1)(b) empowers the AG to exercise unfettered discretion to take over proceedings that have been initiated by any person or authority at any stage of the criminal proceeding. By section 174(1)(c), the AG is also empowered to decide to discontinue any case instituted by the police or any other authority or person. This power is absolute and unqualified. Even courts are not empowered to question the exercise of such discretion. One of the ways by which the power is exercised is for the AG to file a charge in another court in respect of a particular offense committed by the same person(s). This is even though the person(s) are already being tried in another court by other authorities such as the police. This goes against the principle of abuse of court process that is supposed to guide the AG in the exercise of his/her powers. It also subjects accused persons to multiple criminal processes for committing the same offense. The supreme court in the case of Amaefule v. State (1988 2 NWLR pt. 75) has held as lawful, the powers of the AG to institute criminal action against an accused person who is already being tried for the same offense.

The exercise of the absolute powers of the AG has led to a situation in which the death penalty was passed in the case of Edet v. State (1988 12 S.C. pt. 1). In that case, while the trial of four persons was ongoing for the offense of manslaughter, the AG instituted another case against only one of the four persons in another court for the offense of murder. This was done ten months after the initial trial had commenced. In the end, the person charged by the AG was convicted of murder. The person appealed to the Court of Appeal but was not successful. He then appealed to the Supreme Court where it was held that his trial for murder was lawful and

his death sentence was upheld. This is even when the Supreme Court observed and noted that what the person passed through was persecution and not prosecution. The court noted "No citizen should be subject of persecution by the state. The courts frown at such action and will not hesitate to depreciate it even if no remedy is provided by law".

Edet's case and the laws that empower the AG raise the moral issue of arbitrariness under Nigerian criminal justice and show that the law and the courts institutionalize it. The powers tend to make AGs pursue cases based on personal aggrandizements to irritate and annoy adversaries or opponents. This is especially given that AGs in Nigeria are political appointees who are answerable to the executives (the president and governors). The powers of the AGs thus, bring to the fore, the institutionalization of the consideration of legally irrelevant factors in the administration of justice. This is demonstrated in Edet's case where out of four accused persons, only one was charged with murder.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined the death penalty within the context of its application under the Nigerian criminal justice system. To do this, the police as one of the three major components of the criminal justice system was interrogated within the scope of its roles. I raised and examined some ethical questions that arise from the roles within the framework of the arguments against the death penalty on the basis of arbitrariness and innocence. I established, with examples, the presence of legalized arbitrary practices and the possibility of punishing the innocent. I then showed that the criminal laws and the condition of the criminal justice administration in Nigeria make the moral issues necessarily part of the criminal justice process.

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The Socio-Cultural and Ethical Implications of Single Parenthood in Contemporary Nigerian Society

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Abstract

Like other countries of the world, Nigeria is currently experiencing a steady rise in out-of-wedlock motherhood and fatherhood known as single parenthood, which resulted from widowhood, marital instability or personal choice. This is contrary to the established and original concept of parenting or parenthood. The process of parenting and parenthood has always centered around two central figures, namely the father and the mother or husband and wife. Unfortunately, modernity has gradually eroded the very essence of parenting and parenthood such that the practice of single parenthood which was unheard of in the past has become the current fashion in our contemporary society. This has some grave consequences on the society as more and more single men and women voluntarily choose to become single parent which morally violates the very concept of family hood. The paper critically examines and analyzes the socio-cultural and ethical implications of single parenthood by choice in our contemporary society. It argues that single parenthood is socially, culturally and ethically harmful to the society. Using the analytic and historical methods of investigations, the paper revealed that most single parents are faced with emotional, social, economic and religious problems which usually leads to the manifestation of dangerous and anti-social behaviours by their off springs or children. Hence the paper recommends that single parenthood by choice should be outlawed by the government in order to check-mate the ever-increasing rate of immoralities and other unethical behaviours rampant in our societies these days.

Keywords: Parenting, Parenthood, Morality, Single Parenthood, Contemporary society

Introduction

Family is the first and most important agent of socialization. Every family has a divine or natural duty and obligation to raise their children up in a highly structured and disciplined manner. As Santrock (2004) rightly noted, parents (and not parent) help to instill andinculcate

strong basic moral, spiritual, social, physical and cognitive principles in their children. In Africa, one parent or one individual does not raise or rear a child. The African concept of child rearing has always centered around and involved much more than the immediate parents of the child. Hence, in Africa, the father, mother, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunties, kinsmen and other members of the community are involved in the rearing of the African child.

Unfortunately, modernity which introduced the concept of the nuclear family of father, mother and the children has changed the system of raising children in extended family pattern. Consequently, family lives have been disrupted with the rapid social change that comes with globalization (Olaleye et al, 2016). Today, we see new or modern cultures subduing and replacing the traditional culture or ways of life that have hitherto sustained the society. Hence, what was unacceptable in the past – single parenthood – has now become the rising or common trend in our society. Historically, single parenthood is not a natural human characteristic. In other words, single parenthood is a product of globalization or modernity.

The Concept of Single Parenthood

Single parenthood or single parent family is a family with children headed by a parent who is a widowed or divorced and not remarried or by parent who has never married, (Krapp and Wilson, 2005). A single parent family is becoming a societal challenge as its number is increasing rapidly. Conventionally religious establishment, media and most of the government entities define the ideal family as that comprised of two happily married, heterosexual biological parents living with their children, (Smith, 2008). Despite parents being responsible for the psychological, emotional welfare, educational and career development of their children, divorce and separation of various kinds or death of one spouse may leave the role in the hands of single parent. Many children are being reared by single-mothers, who seem to struggle making ends meet living below the poverty line; though some few women are rich the majority are poor. Perhaps, single-mothers and fathers do not have as much time as required to participate fully in their children's schooling, thus adding to the problems for children of single-parent families (Ferrell, 2009).Therefore, children from single parent households face many challenges throughout their development.

According to McLanahan and Booth (1989), Ferrell, (2009), children from single parent families have poorer academic achievement; these children are likely to have higher absentee rates at school; and to drop out of school, these lead them to poverty. Further; they are more likely to marry early and to have children at tender age, both in and out of marriage; to divorce, if they marry; and to commit delinquent acts such as drug and alcohol usage. On the other hand, Wendy and Kathleen, (2003) assert that children from mother-only family are likely to be suspended or expelled from school, are likely to have problems with their teachers in doing their homework or paying attention in class.

Globally, one-quarter to one-third of all families are headed by single-mothers. Developed countries, in particular, experience an increase in single-parent families as divorce becomes more common. (Ponzetti, 2003). UK has over one million single parent families; this gives one family in seven to be a single-parent family. The number of single-parent families is still increasing in recent years. Most single-parent families come into being as a consequence of marital breakdown, separation or divorce, but the increasing proportions are the result of

births out of wedlock. (Smith, 2008).

According to the United States Census, the figure of children who are dependent and live with only one-parent rose from 9% in 1960 to 27% in 2010, causing considerable concern among policy makers and the public. Researchers have identified the rise in single-parent families as a major factor driving the long-term increase in child poverty in the United States. The effects of growing up in single parent households have been shown to go beyond economics, increasing the risk of children dropping out of school, disconnecting from the labour force, and becoming teen parents.

In developing countries, divorce is not as such a common thing, but desertion, death and imprisonment produce single-parent families, primarily headed by women. The rates vary from country to country for example in Kuwait the rate is less than 5 percent while the rate is over 40 percent in Botswana and Barbados. In countries such as Ghana, Kenya, Rwanda, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Trinidad and Tobago, more than 25 percent of households are headed by women (Ponzetti, 2003). In East Africa, Uganda has the largest number of single-parent families living in poverty with no state welfare. The causes of this are deaths through HIV/AIDS, malaria and abandonment (Uganda Reflex, 2011). On the other hand, Tanzania is one among the countries facing a growing rate of single-parenthood and the negative effects of single-parented life. For example, the number of secondary school students who are living in a single parent households have risen from 149,239 in 2009, (BEST, 2009) to 177,465 in 2012 (BEST, 2012).

Experts in children development have revealed that children who are raised by single-parents are likely to experience trauma and ultimately to develop bad behaviour which may affect such children throughout their lives (Tesha, 2011) Single parents have experienced even far greater challenges as they have to be both mother and father to raise their children. In such a situation, a single-parent is in one way or another obliged to play two roles in raising the child and many cases it becomes a problem to the children. Vassar (2000) explains that the family has to carry out its duties and responsibilities as the principal educator and supervisor of morals and character. In that regard, if the family is headed by a single parent it is often very difficult for the single parent to provide the required children nurturing as per expected moral standards of the particular society.This is due to reasons beyond his or her biological make-up. In most African culture there is a well-marked social distance between male and female. That means male children would feel more comfortable to be guided by fathers while girls would cling to their mothers. Therefore, in father-headed families, girls will be unable to open up their hearts to their fathers and their fathers would be in difficult to position to nurture, counsel or guide their daughters into the best societal accepted characters, likewise mothers to their sons. As a result of family structure and gender roles of single parent being inappropriate, they lead to problems such as psychological distress in the children. Thus, this situation at the end may affect the children's effectiveness in school activities. This study, therefore, attempts to investigate the challenges facing single parented students on attaining secondary school education in Kinondoni Municipal Dar-es-salaam Tanzania

Causes of Single Parenthood

The causes of single parent families are premarital sex, generation gap, divorce, separation, choice, and death. Each cause is discussed by the researcher as follow; Premarital sex being

among the causes of single parent families is common among young people, and to them a young who does not engage in premarital sex is regarded as outdated and not civilized, this stimulate young boys and girls to involve themselves in premarital sex. Studies say that in Tanzania almost 30% of young unmarried women (age 15-24) and 43% of young unmarried men (age 15-24) have premarital sex (Lwelamira et al, 2012; Mabuga, 2008) Premarital activities were very rare in the past but nowadays many adolescences start sexual activities very early. In the past sex was considered to be things for adults only, today things have changed completely. Despite early sexual activities being a source of early pregnancies, and venereal diseases, norms regarding premarital sex have broken in recent years. The increased numbers of children who are reared out of wedlock are among others a source of single parent children. According to Kalokola (2010) societal increase in acceptance of premarital sex has led to an increase in premarital sexual activity hence the increase of single parent children.

Generation gap is also one of the causes of single parent families. What was valued in the past is not valued today as people who are 18 are doing things differently, behaviour have changed dressing is quite different from the past. In the past in Tanzania and even other African societies such as Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda to mention a few, women were not allowed to bear children before they get married or out of wedlock, but this situation has become very common in recent years. May be the reason is the fall of moral standards and the advancement of science and technology. Taylor (2007) argues that the younger generation has a very different set of beliefs and moral codes or values compared to their elders. Now a day is not a wonder for young people to live together as husband and wife without getting married. Later this lead unplanned parenthood which at end one partner leaves and another remain to up bring the children alone.

Furthermore, divorce can also cause the increase of single parent families. It is a result of unresolved conflicts in the marriage where, in the end, couples decide to end up marriage officially. Conflicts in the marriage can be caused by misbehaviour, influence of parents and relatives, lack of trust, the problem of infertility and expectations of the spouses. After divorce, children are forced to live with one parent, especially mother. Divorce has negative effects for both parents and children. Some women prefer legal divorce because it involves dividing properties that they have acquired together with the husband. Hughes (2009) insists that divorce creates a crisis in the family life-cycle, with a state of equilibrium experienced by all members throughout the nuclear and extended family system. Divorce often results in the loss of contact with one parent and, with this loss; children also lose the knowledge, skills and resources of that parent. According to Materu, (2009), in Tanzania divorce has increased drastically in the courts of law in the recent years. Cohen et al, (2000) assert that over millions of children and youth are living in separated divorced 19 families each year. In Tanzanian context it was reported that divorce cases have increased. The Tanzania Media Women Association (TAMWA) reported that Magomeni court in Dar-es-salaam received 118 divorce cases in 1997, they rose to 422 cases by the year 1999. The Women Legal Aid Centre WLAC annual report (TAMAWA, 2006) showed that organization has received a total of 2390 cases in 2000 and rose up to 4349 cases in 2006. That is to say if divorce cases are increasing to that extent the growing number of single parent children will increase too.

Also, studies by Materu (2009), and TAMAWA (2009), revealed family life in Tanzania has changed drastically. Currently many adolescent children are living with single parents due to divorce which is bringing great challenges in social, economic, and political context of these children. Apart from divorce which is a result of unresolved conflict many couple practice informal separation because of difficulties in solving their conflicts. Couples may decide to separate informally without following legal procedures. Separation happens when one partner, especially the female, moves out of the house willingly or by force. Furthermore, Burke et al. (2009) state that separation and divorce are common phenomena in the community today, but still represent a major life stressor for individuals involved, with potentially strong negative consequences for the mental and physical health of all members of the family especially children who will be hanging without knowing which side they belong.

Additionally, conflicts in marriage have discouraged some women to get married. They have decided to have babies without being married to avoid complications of husbands. Moreover; according to the 2012 Tanzania census the number of women is 20 greater compared to the number of men, leading to absence of men to marry all women. Hence women choose to be single-parents. Weisensel (2008) argues that some women choose to become single-parents because they want to be independent. They have their own careers and earn decent salaries, this motivating them to become mothers without necessarily getting formally married. They alternatively opt for either adoption or to bear a child out of wedlock when deciding to start a single parent family.

Sinisar and Tammpuu (2009) observe that single parenthood may also occur as result of death of one parent where another parent remains to raise children alone. Parents are very important in the lives of children. Whenever one parent dies, a child's relationship with someone important in life is reaching to an end. A child remains with one-parent taking all the responsibilities of the dead parent. In many cases death of one parent affect much the economic status of the family and the living situation. Moreover, the death of one-parent affects the child psychologically and can lead to change in behaviour and school performance as well. Many deaths of parents especially in Africa are caused by HIV/AIDS-related diseases, accidents, civil wars and other calamities like floods and earthquakes.

Other Causes of Single Parenthood

In addition to the above, below are some other factors that cause single parenthood in our contemporary society:

Separation

Separation is a factor that leads individuals into assuming the status of single parenthood. It usually occurs in marriage prior to actual divorce as a result of a number of reasons or causes such as emotional stress, physical abuse, incompatibility, drug abuse and so on. when separation occurs in marriage, the child or the children are left in the care of only one of the parents. When separation prolongs indefinitely, the responsibilities of raising the children would begin to weigh down on the parent. Thus, separation is a cause or reason for becoming a single parent even without prior preparation, plan or choice.

Death of a Parent or Partner

Death can occur in the family at any time without warning. When one of the parents dies, automatically the other parent assumes the status of single parenthood. In our society today, death of a parent accounts for a large number of single parenthood. Hence death of a parent or partner is a cause or reason for single parenthood in the society (See Amato, 2000).

Divorce

Divorce is one of the common factors or reasons responsible for single parenthood in the society today. When couple's relationship grows cold or when they can no longer cope with the stress and incompatibilities in their marriage such as infidelity, drunkenness, domestic violence and so on, divorce usually occurs leaving one of the parents the sole responsibility of raising or bringing up the children. Usually, child custody is granted to the parent who is more responsible and financially capable, especially when the divorce was decided or done in the law court. Otherwise, depending on the family, the man usually gets the custody of the children since the woman in most cases is expected to re-marry and start a new family.   The man too can re-marry and start a new family too, but in his case, the children from his first marriage do not pose danger as they would want to follow their mother to her new family. Thus like death of a parent, divorce accounts for a good number of single parenthood in the society.

Underage or Unwanted Pregnancy

In the society where morality is fast becoming old-fashioned, immoral behaviours such as sex before marriage, rape, and so on. become an accepted norm. Consequently, teenagers are turned into mothers or single parents overnight. Therefore, under aged or unwanted pregnancy is a factor or reason for the rise of single parenthood in the society today.

Single Parent Adoption

This is a situation where a mature man or woman who is ripped for marriage or has passed the age of marrying, decides to adopt a child to keep him/her company and to satisfy his or her other desires. Single parent adoption is yet not quite rampant in the society though; it's gradually becoming a norm. Hence, single parenthood is a factor or reason for single parenthood in the society.

Personal Choice

This is a situation where young men and women, especially carrier men and women who are financially buoyant decide out of their own choice to remain single or unmarried throughout their lives. They choose to remain single or unmarried but decide to start a family and raise children without a partner, husband or wife. This is currently gaining grounds and becoming an acceptable and even the preferred method of raising a family without the normal marital traditions. Men and women who adopt this method of family or parenthood are usually models or influential people in the society. A cursory look at the lives of Nigerian Nollywood actors and actresses as well as the music artists would reveal a good number of young men and woman in their early 30s and 40s who are single parents. What makes this a case is not that these young people cannot marry but that they simply chose not to marry, yet are ready to start a

family and raise children without a spouse. We see this in the lives of Flavour – Chinedu Okoli, Wizkid, Davido, Mercy Aigbe, Genevieve Nnaji, Anna Banner, Biodun Okeowo, Tayo Odueke, Liz Da Silva, Adunni Ade and many others (see www.pmnewsnigeria.com).

The problem with these celebrities is that they no longer have conscience because not only that their action (raising children out of wedlock) is immoral, they equally advertise it and are even proud of it. This should give the society serious concern because these celebrities have fans who see them as role models and are ready to imitate whatever they see the celebrities do. Unfortunately, rather than frown upon, reproach or sanction these young men and women who are changing the society's views about the immoralities associated with single parenthood by choice, they rather join in celebrating them.

Changing Views of Single Parenthood

In the past, single parenthood was not only an anomaly but also considered an anathema in the society. Sadly, modernity has changed the ways society sees or views single parenthood such that the then unacceptable mode of behavior has now become the acceptable mode of behavior. In other words, single parenthood is presently an acceptable method or form of family or way of raising a family without a spouse.

A closer look at the above factors or reasons for single parenthood would show that most of the factors are actually beyond the control of the individuals who are affected. For instance, divorce, death of a parent and separation are beyond the control of anyone. Changing views of single parenthood and single parenthood by choice are quite within the control of the individual involved. It is therefore this type of single parenthood - by choice – that this paper specifically focuses on.

Effects of Single Parenthood

The effects of single parenthood are quite numerous and can be grouped into two, namely the effects on the parent and the effects on the children. Thus, the following are some of the effects of single parenthood:

Effects on the Parent

There are both positive and negative effects of single parenthood on the parent. However, in this paper, we shall concentrate more on the negative effects than the positive in order to establish the objectives of this paper. Hence, the effects of single parenthood on the parent include: poor parenting, sorrow, undue attachment, too much responsibilities, low income, loneliness, interference with new relationships and immoral life (Mabuza et al, 2014).

Poor Parenting

Single parenting does not permit a thorough disciplined environment since the duty of disciplining the children lies only on one parent. The duty and responsibility of disciplining children are shared between husband and wife or mother and father and not borne by one spouse. Where one parent bears the responsibility of raising the children, discipline is usually compromised, leading to poor parenting (Amato & Keith, 2000).

Sorrow

Single parenthood can lead to mood swing, blame and sorrow especially when the children begin to envy other children or their friends living with both parents. The single parent may feel guilt or pain for the situation which the children find themselves.

Undue Attachment

Because the single parent has no spouse, no company; she tends to attach herself so much to her children for support and company such that it become quite difficult for the children to leave the house or even become dependent. This can even raise the problem of trust on the part of the children as too much attachment with the mother may make them unable to trust others.

Too much Responsibility

House chores, business or career and child rearing are quite a task to accomplish by one parent. Most single parents are usually choked up with work such that they have no time for themselves. This usually leads to stress, fatigue, too much pressure, and emotional breakdown. This can cause the parent to become more impatient and irritable towards the children.

Low Income

Most single parents are usually low income earners as a result; child health care may be difficult to access. Apart from inability to access health care for the children, provision of other amenities for the children may be quite difficult. This is why many children from single parent homes are usually made to become bread-winners early in life in order to augment the family's income.

Loneliness

This is one of the most troubling effects of single parenthood. Single parents may not be able to share their difficulties, worries, and joys with a spouse or partner. In fact, loneliness and boredom usually make life quite unbearable for the single parents which usually lead to undue attachment with the children.

Interference with New Relationship

Due to loneliness and boredom, a single parent may desire to enter into a relationship; but this can be quite difficult and even risky when the children become jealous, suspicion or scared of the new person in the family. Consequently, the single parent would have to choose between her desire for intimacy and the well-being of her children.

Immoral Life

Sex is an important factor in every man's life because of its liberating and spiritual effects on human psychology. Since the single parent is not married, she is likely to engage in a sexual relationship to satisfy her sexual urge as well as to release stress. Most of the times, the sexual activities of the single parent are not hidden from the children which may result to early exposition of the children to sexual matters.

Effects on the Children

Children of single parenthood are more prone to various psychological illness, alcohol abuse and suicide attempts than children from homes with both parents (Brennan, 2021). Children from single parents tend to get lower grades in schools leading to poor performance as well as lower self-esteem. They equally tend to drop out of school than their peers from both parents. There are also effects of the breakup on children's school performance and peer relations.

Implications of Single Parenthood:

The Social Implications

In every human society, there are traditions, customs and culture that regulate and guide the lives and activities of the members of the society. There are also permissible and non-permissible behaviours. Every member of the society is expected to behave in an acceptable manner according to the dictates of the values laid down by the society. If the values of the society are allowed to be redefined to suit personal choices, then virtues would be replaced with vices. Thus single parenthood by implication is practically a redefinition of the societal values which consequently replaces virtues with vices. In other words, single parenthood is an aberration that seeks to undermine the family structure and system. In fact, socially speaking, single parenthood is not regarded as a family system. Hence single parenthood is opposed to the normal and socially accepted system of familihood.

Another social implication of single parenthood is the inability to maintain a happy and healthy marriage life by children if single parents as they have not experienced living with both parents. The implication is that there will be multiple effects of single parenthood – that is, single parents would continue to multiply as the children would naturally copy the parenting style or type natural to them or in which they were born into. Even when they venture into the normal acceptable type of parenting or familihood – father-mother and children system, they may lack the necessary qualities needed to raise and maintain a family. Also, the children of single parents might experience feelings of sadness, anxiety, loneliness, abandonment, and have difficulty with socializing.

The Cultural Implications

The cultural implication of single parenthood is the introduction of bastard children in the society. In Igbo traditional society for instance, children who were born outside marriage have no share in the society. They cannot take titles like other children who have both father and mother. In fact, they simply have no surnames. Hence, single parenthood pollutes the cultural setup of the society.

The Ethical Implications

Single parenthood is a personal choice usually for personal benefits; it is therefore diametrically opposed to morals. This is because both the religious doctrines as well as our cherished traditional values oppose sex outside marriage. And since the single parent has made a choice to not have a husband/wife, yet desires and decides to have children, he/she engages in sexual activities at will and at any given time in other to get children. Ethically, single

parenthood promotes sexual promiscuity. In fact, single parenthood is a challenge against both the traditional and religious norms about the meaning and use of sex.

Recommendations

From the social, cultural and religious perspectives, single parenthood is not considered as a family system. For that reason, we recommend that families, religious bodies, and the State government should proscribe single parenthood a punishable crime, since the best and the fastest way to destroy a nation is to destroy the family. Single parenthood is systematically destroying our families and with time, if left unchecked, the nation would be destroyed too. Celebrities who are single parents by choice should be banned from participating in public activities such as taking roles in Nollywood movies, modeling, as well as banning their music from being played in public. Again, families/parents should be made to instill strong societal morals in their children. There should be a form of punishment for parents whose child/children are guilty of single parenthood by choice. This will help to make parents stand up to their responsibilities and duties towards raising their children in a moral way.

Conclusion

In this work, we distinguished and analyzed the different types of single parenthood. They range from those who were legitimately married, but the death of the spouse (husband or wife) made them single parents; those who were legitimately married but with no fault of theirs were divorced by the husband or wife, and so became single parents; then those who never got married, but decided to have children of their own through contract of sexual relationship with men or women of their choice. It is this latter group or type of single parenthood that is the concern of this work. Therefore, single parenthood as we have seen is an emerging social vice or even social evil that if left to fester, could be the end of familihood in the society. And this would have serious disastrous consequences for the nation. Rather than praise and hail celebrity single parents as is already happening in most societies – Nigeria inclusive, the society should rather stop patronizing them. Those in the film and music industries should be made or forced to reconsider their choice or face societal stigmatization through boycott of their movies and musical activities. Same applies to other categories of single parenthood. The truth is, if anyone cannot live with a partner in an established and recognized marital relationship, for whatever reason, such person(s) should be ready to accept the consequences which include abstaining from sexual relationship for life or, to be precise, should never attempt to have or raise a child.

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Leadership Problems and Democratic Woes in Post-Contemporary Nigeria: A Critical Analysis

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Abstract

Since the return to democracy in 1999, Nigeria has continued to witness democratic failure. This failure, as the paper argues, arises from bad leadership. The reality is that the Nigerian Fourth Republic which began in 1999 has since never been lucky enough to have a good leader who pilot the affairs of the State. The country has only had leaders who are either morally dwarf, intellectually poor or lacking in both. Today, in Nigeria, those with philosophical knowledge and good background in moral philosophy are denied leadership opportunity, whereas well-known corrupt politicians with questionable characters often find their ways into elective positions /offices of public trust. It is sad and regrettable that in this post-contemporary era, where democracy has strived and is flourishing in most civilized nations, Nigeria, regrettably, continues to be bleeding in the hands of corrupt leaders; where absent of liberty, abuse of power, coercion, stealing of public resources are the order of the day. The present leaders are with dead moral conscience. Given the above scenario, therefore, this paper critically evaluates leadership problems and democratic woes in post-contemporary Nigeria. The paper insists that if Nigeria is desirous to advance, democratically, leadership role must be concentrated to the care of our well trained political philosophers. The business of politics and the management of governance, where individual liberty is respected and promoted, therefore should be managed by philosophers. In its submission, borrowing a leaf from Berlin's opinion, if Nigeria is desirous to come out of its present leadership failure and democratic quagmire, the business of governance and leadership must be entrusted to men of philosophical backgrounds who had attained and proven sound records of moral and intellectual qualities.

Keywords: Critical Analysis, Democracy, Leadership, Nigeria, Post-Contemporary

Introduction

The quest towards getting leadership questions and its attendance problems right, fundamentally, has been one of the major concerns of many Nigerians. Plethora of scholars have agreed that leadership problem, has been one of the challenges militating against democratic success in Nigeria. Bad leadership is a cankerworm that is inimical to the progress

of good governance in any society, irrespective of its system of government adopted and practiced. Nigeria since its return to democracy seems not to have been lucky enough to be governed by a visionary, pragmatic, well trained leader, especially with sound moral knowledge in socio-political philosophy. Nigerian democracy, therefore, has continued to suffer setback. Agreeing with the above assertion, Adefarasin observes inter alia; "The issue of leadership, more than anything else, is crucial in the development of the emerging states. This particular factor has been a major obstacle in the evolution of stable and virile nations; like Nigeria" (730). Adefarasin further confirmed that; "In Nigeria, the need for pragmatic, visionary, focused, sincere, effective and purposeful leadership has been discussed at many gatherings. Quite sadly, however, Nigeria is still not faring well, politically, socially, economically and morally. It is no longer news that most Nigeria's problems stem from her leaders who have found nothing wrong with squandering the wealth of the nation, sometimes in collaboration with their Western partners in corruption" (730-731). Having established the above in a laconic manner, let us proceed further by navigating into some questions which are germane to this study. Such questions may include but not all of the following; why are there leadership failures in Nigeria; Do we agree, ineffective leadership is responsible for democratic failure in Nigeria; Is democracy, practicable in pluralist States, like Nigeria; How can Nigeria develop and improve itself, democratically; Are there possible ways that Nigeria can come out of its present leadership cum democratic quagmires; These and others are some of the basic focuses of this paper. However, to take us further in this study, let us first attempt to clarify the question; what is democracy;

Democracy Defined

Etymologically, the term 'democracy' is Greek derivative. It is traced to two Greek words *'demos'* and *'kratia'* which in its English equivalent implies *'people'* and *'government'* or *'rule'* respectively. Okoye however, posits that the above etymological definition does not necessarily suggest democracy actually implies 'government of the people' (2). He argues that democracy has varieties of ingredients and important principles. These may include liberty, equality, and collective participations in governance, separation of powers, the rule of law, civil rights and many other important considerations. Buttressing further on democracy, Obiorah and Onwughalu expressed their view inter alia:

> Democracy is closely linked to the principles of rule of law, observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms of the individuals residing within a State. Democratic governance means that people's human rights and fundamental freedoms are respected, promoted and fulfilled, allowing them to live with dignity. It entails equally that people have a say in decisions that affect their lives and can hold decision-makers to account, based on inclusive and fair rules, institutions and practices that govern social interactions (1).

It has also been argued that besides participating in the leadership recruitment processes by way of voting in elections, the citizenry, on the other hand, are equally expected to participate

actively in policies formulation and process. In view of this, Okeke and Obiorah contend that; 'democracy makes meaning to the extent the people are integrated into the governing process and accorded a free rein in leadership recruitment, policy making, project design and even their implementation' (127).

Nigeria today, claims to be the giant of Africa, ironically, it is sad and unfortunate, politically and economically that the country has remained a weeping nation; where democratic dividends have remained sophistry and illusory. The present democracy in Nigeria can be likened to a mirage seen a far off on the road but when approaching its location, not practically visible. There are cases of lack of morality, corruptions, abuse of power, lack of foresight, economic doldrums, political marginalization, imbalance in power rotations and economic sharing. All of these and many more amount to democratic woes in Nigeria and have continued to raise critical curiosities. The reason for these democratic failures in Nigeria has been, fundamentally, due to bad leadership. Since the return to democracy in 1999, Nigeria had never had it so lucky to have a good moral and intellectual breed to oversee the affairs of the country. The unfortunate and bitter experience is that at the centre (federal level) no well-known trained political philosopher has ever been given the opportunity to pilot the affairs of the country. Yes, Nigeria claims to be a democratic State but its practices do not conformed to the basic tenets of democracy. There are issues of corruptions, violations of the rule of laws, lack of respect for human dignity, gross incompetence, power abuses, and other social degenerations. All these are aided in Nigeria due to the wrong kind of leaders the country has over the years entrusted with leadership positions. Thus, some Nigerian political thinkers had argued that ideally, Nigeria is not qualified to be a democratic nation. Its claim to democracy, therefore, is mockery of the term. This is because its practice do not meets the universal standard and acceptability of what the term "democracy" stood for. The Nigerian experience and its leaders can be likened to Adolf Hitler. Like in the case of Hitler, Nigeria too, its despotic and immoral leaders, described their system of governances as democratic even though in real sense, they completely deviate from the norms and principle of democracy. It is against these degenerated experiences in our democracy, that we take further step by looking into the basic background to the Nigerian political development.

Brief Historical Antecedents to Nigerian Political Development

Nigeria gained its independence in 1960. Since then the country has witnessed changes of leadership with attendance leadership failures. Studies into the Nigerian political history, however, revealed that this sad scenario has been the case even prior to the creation of Nigeria in 1960. Recall, prior to 1914, there was no name known as 'Nigeria' not until after 1914, during which when Lord Luggard; a British colonist having successfully amalgamated the Northern and Southern protectorates, later went ahead to give the amalgamated different and diverse groups, the present name 'Nigeria'. It was from thenceforth that 'Nigeria' became an official name in history. Historically, right from the period of amalgamation, leadership failure was a serious setback to governance in Nigeria. The British colonial masters were insincere in their leadership style. They did not mean well for the development and growth of Nigeria. Hence, during their period, there were evidences of misrules. While handling power to Nigerian indigenous leaders in 1960, power transfer was deliberately done with lopsidedness.

Essentially therefore, from the start, we can see the seed of bad leadership being nurtured by the Colonial masters. This problem of leadership, therefore conspicuously militated against good governance and this by implication negatively affected socio-economic development during the colonial era. Some studies have blamed leadership problem in Nigeria on tripartite accounts; namely, ideological, structural and leadership factors, others, restricted its causes to leadership cum ideological footings. The present study, however, deviates, by narrowing its lens specifically on leadership as the ultimate cause for democratic woes and socio-economic quagmires in Nigeria.

As we shall see in the next phase of this paper, my thrust is to present a critical evaluation of how leadership failure has immensely contributed to present democratic unhealthiness in Nigeria. While there are ample of researches done in similar regard, it is however to be said that these researches are characterized with shortcomings. For instance, one of the fundamental lacunae inherent in previous researches lie in the fact that most of these studies deliberately ignored or took for granted the need to encourage for a 'Philosopher King' to oversee the affairs of Nigeria. Current researchers in sociology and political science, particularly, have failed to advocate the need why philosophers should be allowed to pilot the affairs of governance in Nigeria. It is regrettable that previous studies overlooked the importance of philosophers becoming political leaders in the affairs of the Nigerian affairs. In Nigeria today, where governance is concentrated in the hands of bad leader(s), there is no gainsaying that the people suffered socio-economic quagmire. Where there is a bad leader, there is its corresponding socio-economic failure. It is in lieu of the identified gaps above that the present study aims to consolidate and make appropriate recommendation. Thus, the study is an evaluation of the problem of leadership failure in Nigeria and its contribution to its democratic woes. This examination is undertaking through the political lens of contemporary political thinkers, like Isaiah Berlin.

A Reflection on Nigerian Modern Democracy and its Leadership Failure

Suffice to say, prior to the return to democracy which saw the election of former military Head of State; President Olusengu Obasanjo on May 29th, 1999, Nigeria, as a country was faced with diverse leadership tussles. Each of the military intervention which recycled the various successive coups, has often been argued to be predicated on misruled or bad leadership by those in power. Hence, almost all the coup *d etat* launched from 1966 to 1999, were said to be occasioned by failed leadership. Confirming this development, Obi-Ani and Obi-Ani narrated that; 'The January 15,1966 coup d'etat in Nigeria came on the heels of political wrangling, corruption, incompetence on the part of the ruling elite, accusations and counter-accusations of electoral fraud, and the near descent of the country into anarchy' (16). Obi-Ani and Obi-Ani further captured thus:

> The young Majors (military officers) were initially hailed as messiahs, on a salvage mission to save Nigeria from further political convulsion, nepotism and economic turmoil. Unfortunately, their mission was aborted midstream, their patriotic endeavor misinterpreted while a crown of shame was hoisted on their heads as they suddenly became villains. Since

> then, propaganda and ethnic sentiments have beclouded a more balanced
> and fair interpretation of the January 15, 1966 coup d'etat (16).

The point of emphasis in view of the above is that the first and subsequent military coups launched in Nigeria were basically claimed to be masterminded by the problem of bad leadership which later resulted in the socio-economic failures which the country had experienced and continue to witness. Unfortunately, the military regimes are also guilty of the same crime and offence; the problem of leadership failure, which they accused the democratic leaders of whom they overthrown in a coup. This is fundamentally predicated on the fact that leadership factor seems not yet to have been gotten right in the country. Hence, the continuous regular interval of military seizure of power as in the days of long military interruption in politics and the continuous decry against leadership failure in this democratic era.

Furthermore, there are evidences which point to the fact that at the eve to the return to democracy, Nigeria witnessed a high profile and increase rate of crime violations against humanity; the crime of treason and felony. This time, it was the authority of the government that was at the forefront of human right violations. Particularly, a traumatic abuse of political liberty and human right violation got to its peak as country witnessed the unholy and unofficial military and judicial rascality that led to the gruesome execution of a political and environmental human right crusader and activist; Ken Saro Wiwa and eight other sons of Ogoni ethnic nationality who were falsely accused of murder case. They were hurriedly tried and sentenced to death by hanging without fair trial and hearing. This event occurred under the military regime of General Sani Abacha (late). This single incidence was a matter of global concern and afterward the Ogoni struggle has continued to be a spotlight and a focused centre of international community.

It is unfortunate that since the return of democracy in 1999, the country (Nigeria) is yet to enjoy true democratic practice. Leaders who are entrusted with political power are daily being seen violating the right of their followers. Hence, perturbs by this challenge, one would then ask; of what relevant is the acceptance of democracy as a model for governance in Nigeria if there is no political liberty¿ As earlier decried against, the successive leadership from the time of President Olusengun Obasanjo on May 29th, 1999 through the current (2023) political dispensation of President Asiwaju Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the problems of incompetence and lack of proper knowledge in governance have remained serious puzzles militating against the success of the Nigeria. All of these leaders in our democratic history are non-philosophers. They, according to Plato, therefore, are lacking in leadership quality. The continuous daily records of killings either by herdsmen, banditry, kidnappers, terrorists, militants or cultists across the different parts of the country, no doubt, calls for sober reflection. It is regrettable to say that for donkey years now the country claimed to its acceptance of democracy but its application of the model, however, do not conform to the very bedrock of democratic tenets. Fundamentally, the reason for these failures anchors on bad leadership. The onus of these sad experiences lies in ineffective leadership. Adefarasin vociferates:

> …effective leadership is the basis for Nigeria's quest for development. It is
> equally interesting to note that Nigeria is highly rich both in human and

> natural resources, but we are poor and underdeveloped despite the fact that Nigeria is now 52years. It is very embarrassing that at 52, she (Nigeria) still remains a beggar nation… Nigeria is full of corruption and social vices. Little wonder, we are suffering from political leprosy, economic epileptic, educational dysentery, ethnic jingoism, religious bigotism and fanatism among social vices (739).

On October, 1ˢᵗ this year 2023, Nigeria marked its 63ʳᵈ Independence Anniversary amid hardship, poverty, lack of clear vision, poor leadership style, public outcry and other democratic challenges. It is very sad Nigeria claims to be a democratic State but their applications of the democratic principles are contradictory to the basic tenets of democracy. We must accept the glaring reality which lies in the fact that the very reason Nigeria is where it today, democratically, despite its over 23 years now of successive civilian rule without military interruption, is the fact that its leaders are lacking in philosophical knowledge. There are no good sense of moral conscience and judgment in them. Nigerian leaders must brace up and take up the study of moral philosophy as a necessary *conditio sin qua non* and a necessary prerequisite for leadership enthronement. Those with little or no philosophical knowledge must not be allowed to direct the affairs of the country. Isaiah Berlin, earlier warned against the danger of having a government being governed by men of little or no good moral background. On his part, therefore, Berlin argues that politics without morality is delusion. Defending his position, Berlin insists:

> Political philosophy is a branch of moral philosophy and consists in the application of moral ideas to the sphere of social relations. It seems to me that unless this truth is grasped the present condition of our world is unlikely to be understood. For world is today divided between two great outlooks which, although they show certain common assumptions, are split, it seems to me, most of all by the difference in their conceptions of the deepest and most central of all political problems, that of obedience (3).

Democratic woes in Nigeria therefore are akin to incompetency in our leaders and their continuous lack of moral sense of judgment and responsibility. Because of lack of moral ethos, corruption has become the order of the day. Adeyemi thus observes as followings; 'Unfortunately, after years of independence, Nigerians still harbor the mentality that public money belongs to no one and that any person who has access to it should convert it into his or her personal use' (169). Adeyemi also added that "the most disturbing and damaging form of corruption is made manifest in the succession of kleptocratic governments, which has produced extremely wealthy generals and political leaders" (169). In Nigeria, bribery and corruption are twin sisters.

Mbao and Osinibi in their submission maintain; 'It is simple to ascribe Nigerian's present economic woes, ethnic rivalry and general instability to colonialism, however, the fact that so far Nigeria has failed to yield a truly nationalistic leader even under a democratic dispensation allied with the sheer magnitude of obscure corruption perpetrated by government in post-colonial Nigeria rather than colonialism is the main reason for Nigeria's present predicament"

(172). In agreement with Mbao and Osinibi's submission above, Adefarasin, contends; '…let it be stated in concrete terms that what Nigeria needs for her to develop is effective leadership that can transform the society through effective utilization of resources…' (741). Effective leadership, therefore, can only be actualized when our leaders begin to re-examine their moral and intellectual values. It is sad that most of our post-contemporary leaders are said to be intellectually giants but morally dwarfs. No leader can be effective without attaining good moral behaviour. In nutshell, and against this bad fate Ademola was forced to make the following submission inter alia; 'Today, Nigeria is literally bleeding. There is too much violence. We have bred enough Frankenstein monsters to haunt us. We feed them red meat each time they cry for blood" (89). Ademola goes on to assert that; "Those who are not killed by Boko Haram are killed by the Joint Task Force. Those who escape the JTF fall into the hands of mind-bending illiteracy. Those who manage to escape all those are consumed by road accidents. Some die in poorly equipped hospitals. Those lucky to bypass all of the above are either killed by hunger, poverty, or frustration practically turns them to the living dead" (89). This is typically the present situation that the problem of bad leadership has plunged and brought the country into.

Leadership Failure and Democratic Quagmire in Post-Contemporary Nigeria

It is quite sad and regrettable that in the Fourth Republic Nigerian leaders failed its people, democratically. To iterate, the success or woe of any nation depends on the kind of ideology upon which such country is constituted. This largely depends on its caliber of leaders who mare at the helm of affairs. In Nigeria, elements like lack of moral values, corruption, nepotism, tribalism, ethnic chauvinism, illiteracy, lack of integrity, dishonesty, lack of vision, incompetence and other factors continue to dominate and contribute to the problem of leadership failure. Collaborating typically how ridiculous are the characters of the Nigerian leaders in the day-to-day political affairs, Adefarasin advances in his submission that:

> The issue of leadership, more than anything else, is crucial in the development of the emerging states. This particular factor has been a major obstacle in the evolution of stable and virile nations; like Nigeria. In Nigeria, the need for pragmatic, visionary, focused, sincere, effective and purposeful leadership has been discussed at many gatherings. Quite sadly, however, Nigeria is still not faring well, politically, socially, economically and morally. It is no longer news that most Nigeria's problems stem from her leaders who have found nothing wrong with squandering the wealth of the nation, sometimes, in collaboration with their western partners in corruption (730-731).

Adefarasin goes on to ask; "How can Nigeria develop with blatant attitude of national cake sharing instead of national cake baking attitudei How can there be development in a country in which public funds are embezzled by those who control them and who are supposed to use them for developmental projectsi " (731). Asking the same or similar questions here; How can there be development in a country in which self-interest is a dominant rule of actioni How can there be development in a country in which bribery and corruption break down law and orderi

These questions are not to be swept under the carpet. They are questions for sober reflection if Nigeria truly, is desirous to redeem itself from the present socio-political doldrums. Where have we gone wrong, and what then is the problem with the Nigerian political system̦ In response to the penultimate question, Achebe believes the problem with Nigeria's democracy is not the issue of water, air, land or climate but bad leadership. Achebe intellectually goes on to remark thus; "There is nothing wrong with the Nigerian land or climate or water or air or anything else. The Nigerian problem; is the unwillingness or the inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility to the challenge of personal example which is the hallmarks of true leadership" (1).

Again, philosophers like Airoboman had maintained in one of his studies that one of the reasons Nigeria continues witnessing leadership failure lies in the fact that almost if not all of the past and present leaders ruled based on tribalism and ethnocentric predicament. Airoboman therefore decries; "Nigeria's political and economic crises are partly due to the prevalent evil of tribalism and its associated nepotism and regionalism" (141). Airoboman further defended that; "Since these prevail, leaders who are grossly committed to their tribes and regions are hardly able to transcend tribal or regional based politics to politics of nation-building" (141). In similar stance, Kayode, Samuel and Isa held that; "It is the responsibility of the leader to catch the vision and communicate this vision to the followers and as well influence, motivate and guide others to achieve the shared vision,' Unfortunately, sadly enough, Nigerian leaders have failed in this responsibility" (65).

Recall that this fundamental problem (leadership problem) was the same major challenge witnessed in Athens during the time of Plato. The Greeks' democracy during this time was beclouded with bad leadership which amounted to democratic woe at the time. Philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were worried that having a leader at the centre of governance that had no moral and philosophical background will certainly lead to democratic failure. In his time, Plato frowned against the Athenian practice of democracy which allowed for the participation of all and sundry in politics. For Plato therefore, the central reason why the Athenian democracy failed was due to the fact that leadership was concentrated in the hands of men with little or no sound moral attainment. The business of politics, for him, therefore, should be conferred on the philosopher who has great reputation and knowledge in moral philosophy and political thought. In the *Republic*, Plato avers: "…Until Philosophers become kings in this world, or until that we now call kings and rulers really and truly become philosophers, and political power and philosophy thus come into the same hands… there is no other road to real happiness, either for society or the individual" (282).

Commenting on Plato's position, Anowai confirms inter alia; "He believes that a good society is only possible if the people in power are good and live by the light of philosophical reason. And this is expanded into the whole of his political philosophy" (13). Anowai goes on to x-ray the above thought in Plato by stating thus; "Similarly, when it comes to formulating the policies and laws that govern the state, the democratic majority represents those least likely to make an informed decision. If we are concerned with the health of the state, we should similarly seek out those who have the necessary wisdom to govern"(13). As seen above, Plato clearly made his stands known.

For Plato, only a philosopher has a special training in leadership with the full knowledge of governance. Hence, within a political State, leadership should be the Philosopher's exclusive business. State management, should be left in the cares of the philosophers amongst. Anowai (2019:13) went further to corroborate Plato's argument thus; "There are experts that must have a vision of the good. They must have to know what constitutes true knowledge. Just as a navigator must understand the stars and be able to use them to guide a ship through the vast ocean, so our political rulers must be able to navigate the ship of state by means of a vision of forms and good." But the question is, Anowai continues; "who else would these political navigators be but those with philosophical wisdom; Yes statesmanship is a science and an art; one must have lived for it and been long prepared" (13). This fundamental question bothering on who is to govern or rule has been answered by thinkers like Plato in the ancient period as seen above. The next focus there is to focus on the contemporary mediation of Isaiah Berlin's whose thought has been adopted as the lens in the study of the present leadership problem in the Nigerian contemporary democracy. The immediate next section however, attempts to unravel the problem of leadership in Nigeria and its Socio-Economic implication.

Implication of Bad Leadership on Post-Contemporary Nigeria

It was established earlier in this paper that the current leadership and democratic woe bedeviling Nigerian political history dated back to its pre-independence. Supporting this claim, Udoidem reaffirms this assertion thus; "The forced amalgamation was a false start" (129). Chris also puts it inter alia; "…the most critical challenge confronting the giant of Africa – Nigeria, appears to be credible leadership" (14). Similarly, according to Kayode, Samuel and Isa "leadership deficit in Nigeria had robbed it of meaningful development and has become a clog on the nation's wheel of progress" (117). In other words, Nigerian democracy is best described to be one step forward, two steps backward due the problem of incredible leaders that have continued to rule over the affairs of the country. Oke further adumbrated that:

> These abysmal economic failures culminated in serious infrastructural decay to the extent that most institutions of government were not working to expectation. The country' road, rail, electricity, water, postal and telecommunication infrastructure were in a state of decay and total collapse. In spite of the huge budgetary allocations made to the country's road infrastructure, most remained in a state of disrepair and, in the worst cases, were unmotorable all year round (37).

It is unfortunate that despite all the natural resources that the country is blessed with, Nigeria continue experiencing socio-economic degeneration and retrogression. This leading to unemployment amongst the youths, and this by extension brings about all kind of immoral behaviour amongst the youths. Others effects of bad leadership in Nigeria include poor medical care, poverty, diseases, poor housing, epileptic power supply, lack of portable water, bad and failed road infrastructure, ethnic divides, religious discrimination as the basis for determining who rule in the country, the problem of majority-minority dichotomy and others. All of these, this paper argues and posits, are blamed on bad leadership that the country had

continued to produce over times. Until Nigeria fix leadership problem rightly, the challenges facing its democracy will continue *ad infinitum*. Hence the urgent need for the call for a good moral and intellectual philosopher to be given a chance to oversee the affairs of the country.

In Nigeria today, human rights are not respected. Issues of extra-judicial killing, corruption and other social vices are being supervised by the political class. These bad leaders are being produced in periodic elections in the country. Similarly, Ofoegbu, particularly, decried that "the most significant human rights problems in Nigeria are extra-judicial killings and use of excessive force by security forces, impunity for abuses by security forces, arbitrary arrests, prolonged pre-trial detention, judicial corruption, and executive lawlessness and influence on the judicial system" (60). In an article published in newspaper, titled 'The Story of Cain, Abel and Nigeria' Abimbola Adelakun cited in Igomu (2015) unpublished *Masters Dissertation* lamented on democratic failure in Nigeria. According to him:

> Today, Nigeria is literally bleeding. There is too much violence. We have bred enough Frankenstein monsters to haunt us. We feed them red meat each time they cry for blood. Those who are not killed by Boko Haram are killed by the Joint Task Force. Those who escape the JTF fall into the hands of min-bending illiteracy. Those who manage to escape all those are consumed by road accidents. Some die in poorly equipped hospitals. Those lucky to bypass all of the above are either killed with hunger, poverty, or frustration practically turns them a living dead.

The above indicators typically situate correspondingly the current situation confronting Nigerian State. Nigeria today, now found itself in graveyard. The country appears to be moving or metamorphosing from fry-pan to fire. This is because the country is yet to get it right in terms of sound moral leadership quality and intellectual competence. Nigeria today is at its crossroads. It needs urgent and emergency attention. The questions begging for answers therefore, are; what can be done to come out of this brouhaha¿ Can there be any proper solution to remedying the present Nigeria doldrums¿ Who is the right person to be entrusted to direct the affairs of the country¿ Should the next Present be considered based on ethnic, religious or political party's background¿ Should the 2023 election be determined by how popular a political Party is or based on the competence and quality of the candidate¿

These and many other questions are critical and call for sober reflection as the country prepares and gets set for next year elections. The country, no gainsaying, is in dire need of a true thinker with sophisticated philosophical background cum sound moral credential to rescue the country from its near collapse. At this juncture, therefore, let us ponder together as we read and x-ray through Isaiah Berlin's lens, how the rule by a philosopher king, can best serve as the appropriate remedy to tackling the present leadership failure in Nigeria.

Towards Resolving the Challenges of Leadership Problems in Nigeria's Democracy

Several political philosophers have argued that the business of leadership or governance, per se, should be left and concentrated in the hands of the Philosopher King. Plato was a foremost apostle of this advocacy. Political thinkers like Locke, Rawls etc had also made similar

calls. This section however, specifically, attempts to evaluate further the Nigerian leadership pseudo-problem in line with Isaiah Berlin's recommendation. It is imperative, therefore, at this juncture to initiate in nutshell a brief clarification into the development of Berlin intellectual prowess, especially, his *Two Concepts of Liberty*. Berlin, in 1958, no doubt, was worried and disappointed that a lot of evils were been seen within the political arena in his times despite the several political solutions being offered by his predecessors. Best known for his essays and lectures on the history of ideas, Berlin's contribution to political philosophy, especially his focus on political liberty and the dignity of human persons, have had great significant impacts on contemporary political discourses. According to Ivo Coser; "1958, Isaiah Berlin gave his inaugural lecture at Oxford under the title *Two concepts of liberty*. That same year, the lecture was published as an essay that triggered heated debate" (39). Coser goes on to tell us that; "In 1969, the *Essay* was published in the book *Four Essays on Liberty*, the new edition of the text accompanied by a number of notes absent from the original edition, together with a long introduction in which the author endeavoured to answer a number of criticisms" (39). In the opening remark of his inaugural lecture at the Oxford University, Berlin declares as follows:

> Mr Vice-Chancellor: The subject to which my chair is dedicated – social and political thought – has fallen upon evil days in this country. It is a melancholy reflection that in the land which has made a great, perhaps the greatest, contribution to political thought, among a people which still feels a legitimate pride in the names of Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Mill, Green, Bradley, so few men [gifted with a] capacity for theoretical thought should today wish to deal with social or political ideas (1).

In his own words, Blattberg remarked that; "Regarded by many as a leading thinker of the twentieth century, Isaiah Berlin (1909–1997) was an Oxford philosopher who specialized in the history of ideas, the philosophy of history, and moral and political philosophy" (1). Bruce Baum and Robert Nichols contend that: 'Fifty years after Isaiah Berlin first delivered his lecture on *Two Concepts of Liberty* in 1958, the University of British Columbia in Vancouver celebrated the event with a workshop. Five years later some of the texts presented at the workshop were published in this volume. *Two Concepts of Liberty* is a seminal text for twentieth-century political science" (269).

Going further, a mere adoption of democracy is not a necessary or prerequisite for having good governance in country where it is practiced. Democracy when left in the hands of the wronged or untrained leaders is as bad and worst as other form of governments like Oligarchy and totalitarianism. being aware of this danger, Berlin had this to say; "Just as a democratic community may in fact deprive the individual citizen of a good many liberties which he might have in some other society, so it is perfectly conceivable that a benevolent despot would allow his subjects a very wide area of personal freedom" (10-11). Berlin therefore believes that even in a despotic regime, the individuals can still enjoy liberty; a fundamental right that today, seems to be most violated under Nigeria practice of democracy. On this, Berlin, observes; 'Even though in a despotic society the individual would only enjoy such rights and liberties as the despot granted him, it is, at any rate in theory, conceivable that a very liberal-minded despot

would grant his subjects wider liberties than they would enjoy under other systems of government" (10-11).

To speak in loud and emphasis manner, Berlin like Plato and other of his masters in the ancient through the modern periods argues that in a democracy, the question and curiosity of the people should be focused on the kind of leaders that are in control of political powers. A mere practicing democracy is not a guaranteed of good governance. Berlin believes that the central problem of governance be it under a democracy or any other form of government is the question of the guaranteed of liberty of the individual. Hence, Berlin was concerned with who is to govern over the people. Berlin therefore vociferates; 'This kind of liberty is the answer to the question, not 'What is to be the area of authorityị' but 'Who is to govern meị' – governed well or badly, liberally or oppressively, but the question being 'Whoị'" (30).

Berlin believes that the central issue that confronted and continues facing political philosophers has been the problem of obedience and coercion. On this, Berlin says; "The greatest of these is the open war that is being fought between two systems of ideas which return different and conflicting answers to what has long been the central question of politics…the question of obedience and coercion.' Berlin goes on to posit; 'You lack political liberty or freedom only if you are prevented from attaining a goal by human beings. Mere incapacity to attain a goal is not lack of political freedom. This is brought out by the use of such modern expressions as `economic freedom' and its counterpart, `economic slavery'"(3). Berlin in his further disclosure asks;… 'Why should I (or anyone) obey anyone elseị Why should I not live as I likeị Must I obeyị If I obey, may I be coercedị By whom, and to what degree, and in the name of what, and for the sake of whatị'" (2).

The point to be emphasize her is that until Nigeria has a philosopher at the centre of leadership, the present democracy it claims to practice and the quest for effective leadership cum socio-economic development will remain elusive and pseudo-problem. Berlin argues in this direction by arguing that until democratic nations, Nigeria, inclusive, begins to apply moral philosophy into governance, there would be no proper head-way for such country. Berlin made this declaration thus; "Political philosophy is a branch of moral philosophy and consists in the application of moral ideas to the sphere of social relations. It seems to me that unless this truth is grasped the present condition of our world is unlikely to be understood" (3). Nigeria continues to suffer from the amnesia of democratic woe as the country after 62 years of its independence still struggling with the problem of bad leadership. The country is yet to get it right in its leadership quest. Hence, Idris contends; "reality in Nigeria using different indicators revealed that, democracy in the short run did not improve development, rather contradicted our earlier notion that there is causal relationship between democracy and development" (83). This implies that practicing democracy is good but having the right man with sophisticated knowledge in philosophy is better. Berlin knew that democracy, like other system of governance, also has its leadership problem. In short, according to him, most democratic countries are faced with bad governance than one would see under a despotic government. Berlin captures this view thus:

> Just as a democratic community may in fact deprive the individual citizen
> of a good many liberties which he might have in some other society, so it is

perfectly conceivable that a benevolent despot would allow his subjects a very wide area of personal freedom. Even though in a despotic society the individual would only enjoy such rights and liberties as the despot granted him, it is, at any rate in theory, conceivable that a very liberal-minded despot would grant his subjects wider liberties than they would enjoy under other systems of government (10-11).

For Berlin therefore, no particular system of government is absolutely bad or wrong. A system of government like egalitarian, totalitarian or monarchical might be described to be bad but if such governments are headed by a good leader, it can still be as good as having a good leader under a democratic system. In other word, even when we have a democratic system of government, if the leader is a bad type, the whole system and its governance would be likened to that of the despotic government. Berlin toward the last stanza of the above quotation tried to show that even what was said to be bad form of government also offered good governance to their people. Isaiah went further to criticize democratic government. He argues that it encourages tyranny of the majority against the minority.

To sum of this discussion, let us avail ourselves with Berlin submission on democracy. In his article, "Democracy, Communism and the Individual" Berlin maintains that; "Democracy presupposes that every man is in principle capable of giving answers to personal and social questions which are as worthy of respect as any other man's, that communication is possible between all men, or at least all men within a single society,…"(2). For Berlin, this is necessary "because men are prepared to act on behalf of ideals and not merely be actuated by possibly unrecognized interests, and persuasion can be used to induce them to modify their present aims and recognize the value of those of others"(2). Indeed, for Berlin, the very possibility of the realization of a true democracy anchors on having one with sound moral behaviues who had attained the prerequisite knowledge in philosophy and other field of arts.

Conclusion

The hallmark of this essay has been a critical evaluation of leadership problems and democratic woes in Nigeria. Its thrust was to prove in history, how leadership failure has immensely contributed to the present socio-economic doldrums bedeviling Nigeria. The topic was considered necessary to be researched on considering the current leadership problems and democratic woes facing Nigeria. These problems were however, deliberately examined via Berlin's recommendation which was found to be the most acceptable antidote to resolving post contemporary leadership problems and democratic landlocked. As established in the body of the work, it was shown that the problem of bad leadership has remained one of the most reasons for democratic failure in Nigeria. The study also revealed that the problem of leadership in Nigeria, no doubt, is adversely responsible for the country's socio-economic degeneration, retardation, regression and retrogression. According to Adeyemi; "Politics without ethical principles is among the social sins of humankind. Nigeria has the potential (human and material resources) to translate to a great democracy if the politicians (and the people) can change their mind-sets and learn to play ethical politics that adds good value to the system. This entails a paradigm-shift in the manner in which Nigeria is governed" (171). This is the

fundamental missing point in the Nigerian practice of democracy. The past and present Nigerian politicians are morally dwarfs; with little or no knowledge of moral philosophy, no proper training and coaching in leadership. Berlin earlier decried that; the central problem of political theory seems to be that of coercion. For Berlin, no other problem seems; "…more worthy of examination" (3). This same fundamental issue which political philosophers identified, (the problem of leadership), which Berlin, in his time, criticized, unfortunately, remains the major problem facing democratic governance in Nigeria, today. It is to our public knowledge that the authority of the Nigerian government daily coerced the individual; thereby denying them of their fundamental political rights; socio-economic and political liberty. There is no democracy in Nigeria today, in as much as injustice and inequality prevail. Berlin saw this same problem, hence, he says; "In every societies justice and equality are ideals which it is necessary to obtain with some measure of coercion, because freedom from social controls might lead to the oppression of the weaker by the stronger, of the stupider by the more energetic or unscrupulous" (24).

According to Cunningham; "A government is ineffective when it does not or cannot take appropriate measures to achieve the goals of the society it governs" (17). This is typically where Nigeria is as at today. The country is at its crossroads with multi-faceted democratic challenges. In other words, as Nigerians continue to cry and yearn for good governance that will change their fortune and fate, someday, it is the submission of this paper therefore, that such quest can only be seen objectively in Nigeria if and only if the country is allowed to be presided over by philosophers who are equipped with sound moral and intellectual reputations in political philosophy. In conclusion, therefore, while this study agrees with the view of Berlin as x-rayed above, it however, emphatically, submits that democracy is germane for socio-economic development. It insists, in its conclusion, in agreement with Berlin that until governance is concentrated in the care of Nigerian trained philosophers; the country's democracy will continue to find it difficult if not impossible to come out of its present leadership failure and by implication the current democratic cum socio-economic quagmires.

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Combinatory Possibilities and Linear Sequence in Ibibio Verbal Morphology

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Abstract

This study investigated the degree of compatibility between grammatical elements and linear sequences of bound morphemes in the Ibibio verbal system. The data for this study were obtained from twelve native speakers of Ibibio using constructed sentences, spontaneous discussions and introspections. The study employed the morpheme-based hypothesis. From findings, this research proposes that the grammatical elements within the Ibibio verbal system are affixed to the main verb. These affixes are arranged in a linear order from left to right. Occurring after the verb root, are bound morphemes to convey negation, reversal and relativization processes. The study examines the arrangement of elements in the verbal structure of the Ibibio language. It notes that this structure typically consists of a certain order: first, a person or agreement marker is used, followed by a modal, tense, aspect, an auxiliary marker, another agreement marker, the main verb, and last, the negative marker, depending on the specific construction. The term, " -kpá-á-ké-sí-s" k-ú-kóót, refers to a specific linguistic construct. The prefixal order for the sentence "I would have been calling you" is as follows: m - (first person singular agreement marker), kpá-, modal marker, a- is another agreement markerké - past tense marker, si - aspectual marker, s" k – another aspectual marker, ú – object pronominal agreement marker, before the main verb kóót call, the operative word. It has also been discovered that the elements ké and s" k in the language serve many functions as bound elements. The study examines the occurrence of the Ibibio agreement marker, noting that it has the ability to appear multiple times, indicating a significant degree of attachment promiscuity within the verb structures. Consequently, the study reached the conclusion that the verbal structure of the Ibibio language exhibits a high degree of complexity and morphological richness. As a result, this language serves as an exemplary case for the typology of agglutinative languages, characterised by a direct and consistent mapping of morphemes to their respective meanings.

Keywords: Agreement, aspects, grammatical elements, modal, verb.

Background to the Study

The Ibibio language includingUda spoken in Mbo Local Government Area, Akwa Ibom State belongs to the Lower Cross of the Benue-Congo language phylum, (Essien 1990,Urua2000,Udosen and Okon, 2019, Akpan and Okon 2020). Every language has rules. This is why it is quite rare to find a language devoid of grammatical rules. Sentences are built with lexical items which belong to different word classes including the verb. The verb is classified as belonging to the open class and accommodating categories within the Ibibio language. It has the potential to be expanded to accommodate further grammatical operations. The verb is a pervasive linguistic element, as it is observed in nearly all human languages. The verb can be referred to as the fundamental component of the grammatical structure of any language, as it serves as the basis for the derivation of other syntactic categories.The verb has garnered significant scholarly interest from numerous researchers. According to Eka (1994, p.103), the verb is regarded as a grammatical component that possesses the ability to exhibit numerous morphological distinctions that may be explained in terms of tense, aspect, voice, mood, person, and number. The expression of Tense, Aspect, and Mood, frequently abbreviated as TAM, is typically limited to the verb as the primary carrier. The selection of verb tense serves to situate an occurrence within a specific temporal framework. The term "aspect" pertains to the manner in which an event progresses during a specified period of time. The concept of mood encompasses the speaker's intention or attitude towards their statement, whereas voice serves to differentiate the thematic ties between the verb and the arguments within a phrase. The English language for instance is characterised by the presence of three distinct categories of verbs: transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and verbs of Incomplete Predication. Verbs serve the purpose of denoting the activities, processes, situations, or states that are stated inside the sentence in relation to noun phrases (NPs). According to Essien (1990),verbs serve as the foundational component of predicate actions (or events) or states, and in conjunction with the subject (noun phrases), they comprise a complete clause or sentence.

In this discussion, various factors that contribute to the phenomenon under investigation will be discussed. Among the various syntactic categories present in the Ibibio language, the verb has a central position due to its unique characteristic of being transformable into a noun through the process of prefixation. Udosen and Okon (2022) suggest that inside any given linguistic phrase, there exists a prominent or operative word which is usually the verb. In syntactic analysis, the primary elements of a sentence are referred to as heads, while the remaining constituents serve as either complements or modifiers, depending on their specific role within the sentence or phrase structure. The verb holds a dominant position inside any verbal complex, surpassing other grammatical elements in its prevalence and influence. The language also exhibits instances of one-word sentences, which are prominently featured due to the verb's role in the language. The complexity of verbs allows for their meanings to be expanded in order to encompass various phenomena in diverse disciplines. This is demonstrated by the research conducted by Udoeyo, Enang, and Okon (2023).

The structure of the Ibibio language is characterised by its complexity, as it involves the concatenation of morphemes to convey a comprehensive concept. This phenomenon is evident

in the observation that a singular verb has the capacity to accept various grammatical components contingent upon the speaker's purpose. According to Essien (1990), the Ibibio language can be characterised as an agglutinating language. In this linguistic framework, words are formed through a linear arrangement of discrete morphemes, with each morpheme representing a different component of meaning. Put differently, it involves a direct association between the grammatical components and their respective meanings. Every morpheme possesses a specific meaning or representation. The verbal system of the Ibibio language has a high degree of morphological complexity, allowing for the expression of various grammatical concepts within a single verbal construction. In other words, the linguistic system exhibits a verbal framework in which a single word formation can comprise a primary free-form or lexical verb accompanied by auxiliary elements and various grammatical constituents that convey agreement, tense, aspect, mood, negation, relativization, et cetera. These components collectively contribute to the overall comprehension of the speaker's intended meaning. The grammatical elements are affixed to the main verb in accordance with the linguistic rules of the language, resulting in a linear and sequential arrangement from left to right. These affixes serve to convey additional morphological and syntactic concepts.

Therefore, the primary objective of this study is to investigate the obligatory sequence of the grammatical elements included in the Ibibio verbal system. In the context of this study, the term "grammatical components" pertains to the bound morphemes found in the Ibibio verbal structure. These bound elements are under the control of the lexical verb, which serves as the sole autonomous item or free form, with other parts being attached to it. Example:

1. Ń   yàá   dí.
    1sg   Fut.tense   come
    I   will   come.

Notice that the language first presents the pronominal agreement marker Ń, *I* before the future tense element yàá, and then the main verb to express the intended idea. Even though the yàá future element is translated to literally mean will, it is not considered a modal marker as it is in English.

Statement of the Research Problem.

The grammatical structure of the Ibibio language has been the subject of much scholarly investigation by numerous researchers throughout the years. Notable among the academic community are the scholarly contributions made by Essien (1990) and Urua (2000). The topic of headedness and complementation has been explored by Udosen and Okon (2022). Anyanwu and Udoudom (2022) assert that complement verbs are typically inherited without regard to their verb structure. In his analysis of the Ibibio language, Essien (1990) extensively examined several aspects, such as verbs and verbals. However, it is important to note that his discussion mostly focused on descriptive analysis, without establishing any explicit connections to morphological theories. The entire analysis of the components comprising the Ibibio verbal system has yet to be taken into account. Hence, this study examines the verbal system of the Ibibio language within the framework of the morpheme-based theory, which aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of every grammatical unit.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are to:

i.   identify possible grammatical components in the Ibibio verbal system;
ii. account for every grammatical morpheme in a corresponding order;
iii. ascertain the extent of combinatory sequences of the grammatical elements;

Sample and Sources of Data/Methodology

The sample population for this study was made of twelve people, six men and six women who are within the age range of twenty-one and sixty-four. The people are all native speakers of the Ibibio language. The researcher selected six consultants each from two communities (AnuaOffot and IbiakuOffot) in Uyo Local Government Area, making it a total of twelve. The language consultants were made up of civil servants, businessmen/women, and undergraduate students. Most of the respondents were literate and some were undergraduates who speak the English language fluently. The problem of interpretation did not arise, though useful explanations were made to maintain the researcher's focus. The primary source of data was the Ibadan 400 wordlist and structured sentences. For the secondary source, insights were gained from textbooks, Journal articles, and online materials. Data collection tools include a writing pad, pen, audio recorder, and cell phone. The elicited data were analaysed using the Leipzig Glossing Rules (LGR), which is a norm for interlinear glossing that breaks down morphemes on a one-by-one basis where every morpheme was accounted for in a corresponding order. The study adopted the morpheme-based hypothesis for discussion of findings.The researchers also utilised their intuitive knowledge of the language for the analysis. This study is of the qualitative research approach design.

Theoretical Framework

The analysis of this study is based on the Morpheme Based Theory (MBT). The idea of morpheme-based morphology posits that word formation principles can be applied to morphemes, as proposed by Siegel (1974), and Kiparsky (1982). The morpheme-based approach posits that morphological rules function similarly to syntactic rules by merging morphemes. This theory posits that the creation of new words occurs by the application of a word formation rule to an existing word. This phenomenon is observed in the Ibibio verbal system, where morphemes are appended to the verb. This process does not necessarily result in the development of a completely new word, but rather yields a verbal expression that conveys a complete meaning.

Morpheme-based morphology involves the analysis of word formations as compositions of morphemes. The morphological analysis of the word "independently" reveals the presence of four morphemes: "in-", "depend", "-ent", and "-ly". The term "depend" serves as the root morpheme, while the remaining morphemes in this instance are affixes. In the lexical item "cats," the base form "cat" serves as the root, while the suffix "-s" functions as an inflectional morpheme. The fundamental approach to examining word formations is commonly referred to as "item-and-arrangement". In this approach, both roots and affixes are seen as morphemes, whereby words are constructed by concatenating morphemes in a sequential manner, much to arranging beads on a string. According to Haspelmath and Sims (2010, p.41), "the morpheme-

based model conceptualises morphological rules as operating in a manner similar to how syntactic rules combine words". This study centres on the grammatical constituents of the Ibibio verb, specifically examining morphemes such as tense, aspect, mood, and agreement, as well as the main verb. These morphemes are considered as individual units, and their combination forms the entirety of the intended expression or complete notion. In its entirety, this theory posits that a lexical item is not solely an independent word, but rather encompasses grammatical components that augment its comprehensiveness.

A Cross-Linguistic Overview of the Verbal System

Many things can be said about human language. languages have specific rules in which ideas can be fully expressed. The ability to merge items lies in every normal child, but language development varies from one individual to the other. Etim and Okon (2023)observe that the acquisition of human language which includes the grammatical morphemes is much the same way for every normal child irrespective of the linguistic environment. Various linguistic systems across different languages employ a range of distinct characteristics that are affixed to the verb in order to provide contextual information regarding its usage. There exists considerable cross-linguistic heterogeneity in the morphological realisation of verbal components, resulting in differences in both the manner and degree to which languages express these components.

Within the English language, the grammatical components pertaining to the verbal domain, such as the -en morpheme for past participle and the -ing form, which assist the verb, are situated within the Auxiliary node. The structure being referred to is commonly known as "affix-Hopping or flip-flop rule" as described by Ndimele (2008, p. 188). This transformation involves the relocation of the bound morpheme, which is dominated by the Auxiliary node, onto the verb. The affix-hopping rule necessitates a stringent requirement for the bound morpheme, which is dominated by the AUX, to appear in immediate adjacency with the verb that would serve as its host. Additionally, it is noteworthy to notice that the affix-hopping rule accurately predicts the behaviour of the verb in the given sentence. The order of verbs in sentences is clearly demonstrated. According to Ndimele (2008), the linear sequence of item arrangement in English reveals that the past tense marker is observed to come prior to the modal auxiliary, which is thereafter followed by the auxiliary verb "have". The auxiliary verb "have" is thereafter accompanied by the (be) form, together with the -ing bound morpheme that comes before the main verb. The morphemes denoting tense (past or non-past), -en, and -ing are affixed to the verb directly below them by the process of affix-hopping transformation, as illustrated in the following manner: Let us examine the auxiliary node sequence in the English language.
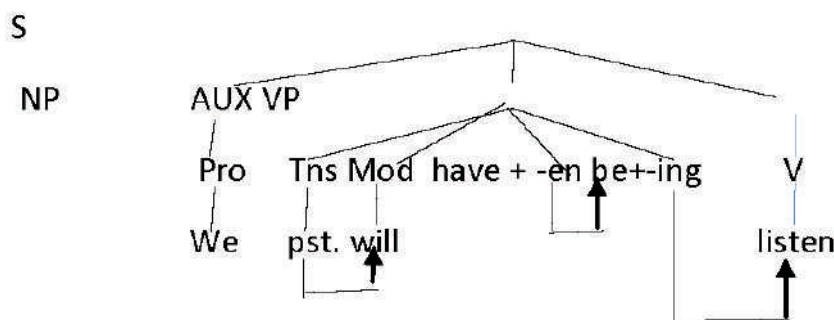

Tense   Modal   have +-en be + -ing
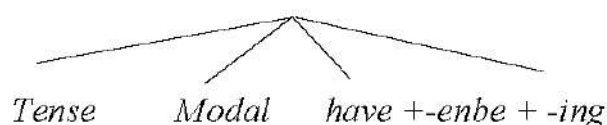
Culled from Nddimele (2008, p182)

The sentence below presents a sentence containing the aux node.

1.   We would have been listening

Diagram 2: Affixing Process

From the above tree diagram, the arrows point at the relevant positions where the different bound morphemes will affix hop.

A significant number of African languages, as well as numerous other languages within the Niger-Congo language family, have a linguistic structure that might be characterised as a complicated verbal system. The verbal system encompasses numerous grammatical factors into its creation. According to Welmers (1973, p.343), it is argued that "the verbal system observed in Niger-Congo languages exhibits a consistent structure characterised by intersecting categories, including tense, aspect, and mode". One example of such a language is Swahili, which has a grammatical structure consisting of a Pronoun, Construction marker, Verb base, and Affix with verb-base verbal formula. To illustrate, the term

3.   Tu   ki   sem   a
     Pro. conditional marker   verb   bound element
     If we speak.

According to Welmers, the initial morpheme in question is a pronoun denoted as "tu." The subsequent morpheme functions as a marker that can be referred to as a "conditional marker." The third morpheme, "sem," serves as a verb root and also functions as the base. The fourth morpheme is a suffix that is present in conjunction with the conditional marker and several other verbal constructions, albeit not all. The example demonstrates that the Swahili verbal system incorporates multiple grammatical features in its structure.

The Igbo language, spoken in the southeastern region of Nigeria, exhibits distinct verb forms that are employed in its grammatical structures, similar to other natural languages. The verb form in the Igbo language can exhibit simplicity or complexity. According to Mbah (2011:19), Igbo can be characterised as "a language that heavily relies on verbs". The prominence of verbs in the grammatical structures of the language accounts for this phenomenon. According to Ikegwuonu (2015, Igbo verbsentail coherency, grammaticality, and meaningfulness in every aspect. The Igbo verbal system demonstrates its richness by its

capacity to incorporate numerous bound parts inside a single construction as shown below:

4. À gárá   m   í   wèrèyá.
    1sg pst tense   me   Agr   take   it
    I would have taken it.

5. À   máhí   m   yá.
    1sg know not   me   it
    I did not know it.

6. A   gara   m   í   bia
    1sg go   me   Agr   come
    I would have come.

From examples 4-6, the Igbo language is also seen as putting up grammatical components in its strings of verbal construction. The expressions show the stringing up of PRONOUNS + TENSE + NEGATION +VERB to express different ideas.

The Ibibio verbal system

The Ibibio verbal system is different from that of English in that verbs in Ibibio are transitive in nature, and some of them take inherent complements. Transitive verbs are those that have object complements. while intransitive verbs do not take objects. Essien (1990) notes that all verbs in Ibibio are capable of taking some kind of object, at least a cognate one. Inherent complement verbs are those which select objects in order to express meaning. Examples, s"hị –nsù, *lie,*daiyá-ídáp*sleep,* tịbbé-àbàkpà*roast corn,*kwó-íkwó*sing.*kóíí-" mị ị ñ*fetch water,* fèghé-ìtók*run*sà" á-ísáñ*walk,* et cetera. This fact reveals the complexity in the Ibibio verbal system. Based on the above, Udosen and Okon (2022) observe that verbs in Ibibio are semantically empty, and can only be defined by their accompanying objects or complements.

Data Presentation and Discussion

As stated earlier, the Ibibio verbal system has a rich morphology, accommodating various grammatical components on a string to express ideas, processes, and these components occur in a linear order, from left to right. The data are presented in a linear order of occurrence to accommodate the different grammatical elements from one to any number that could be found on a verbal string.

Combinatory Possibilities and Linear Sequencein Ibibio Verbal Elements
a.   Agreement Marker and Verb

This is a situation where the personal agreement maker is compatible with the verb as illustrated below:
            "

6.   - brè.
     1sg play
     I play

7. Ì-   fèghé
    1pl run
    We run.

b. Agreement marker, Modal Marker, Agreement Marker and Verb
This language also attests a situation where the agreement marker is followed by the modal marker, an object agreement marker and the verb. The following examples demonstrate the possibility:

"

8. - kpaayem.
    1sg mod. Agr. Want
    I may want.

9. Ì-   kpà   ú   yém.
    We mod   obj. agr.   want
    We may want you.

c. Agreement, Past Tense and Verb
    This is a possibility where the agreement marker, the past tense marker and the verb are compatible in the sequence below:

"

10. màá   kít.
     1sg pst tense   see
         I saw.

"

11. mà   ú   kít.
     1sg pst tense   obj. agr. see
     I saw you.

12. À   mà   ñ   ki̱t
     2sg   pst. tnsobj.agr.   see
     You saw me.

    Observe that example (12) above contains a second person object pronominal agreement marker (ú) which is always compatible with fíén*you*. In the same, example (13) contains first person object pronominal marker, (ñ) which is always grammatical with míèn, *me.*

d. Agreement, Modal Marker, Past Tense Markers and Verb
This is another possibility in which the verb hosts the agreement marker, modal marker, and the past tense marker in that order as shown below:

"

13. -   kpá-   ké   táñ.
     1sg. mod   pst.perf   say
     I would have said.

14.   Ì   kpà í   kíkà
     1plmod agr.   psttns   go
     We would have gone.

15.   Ì   kpàá í   kí   nám
     Ipl   Modal Agr   Pst. Tense   do
     We would have done it.

It is to be observed that the agreement morphological reflex in the language exhibits a promiscuity of attachment just like clitics in other languages. The agreement marker can occur multiple times for the grammaticality of the verbal complex.

In this language too the sequence below is grammatically impossible.

e.   *Agreement marker, future tense marker, past tense marker, aspectual marker and the verb

16. *Á yákésídí.
     3sg futpst asp. Come

For example (17), it is important to state that, the future tense marker is not compatible with the past tense marker. Consider another impossible combination of grammatical elements below:

f.   *Pronominal agreement marker, past tense marker, future tense marker and the verb

17. *" máà yá dí.
     1sg pst   fut. Come

18. *Ì   kíyá í   dí.
     1pl. ps fut. agr. come

This structure is impossible because, the future tense which is translated as *'will'* is not considered as a modal marker in the language. Therefore, the future tense marker is compatible with the past tense marker.

g.   Pronominal Agreement Marker, Future or modal marker, agreement marker, a be particle, aspectual marker, past tense marker and the verb

19. Àyààkésíkíbrê.
     2sg futagr. be asp process play
     You will be going to play.

This is a complex structure which permits an agreement marker, future tense, another agreement marker, a be particle aspectual marker and a kí process marker before the verb. It is also possible to have a situation in the future tense marker can be substituted for a modal marker as shown below:

20. Àkpààkésíkíbrê.
     2sg modagr. pst asp process play
     You would have been going to play.

This implies that he has not been doing so.

h.   Pronominal Agreement Marker, Past perfect, aspectual marker and the Verb

"

21.   mé   dìá.
         1sg   Pst. perfect   eat
         I have come.

"

22.   mé   sídí.
         1sg   pst perf. asp.   come
         I have been coming

23.   M   màá   si   ka.
         1sg   Pst.tense Asp go
         I used to go/attend.

24.   N   yàá   sí   nám
         1sg   Fut. tense   be   do
         I   will be doing.

   Observe that examples(23 – 25) show verbal expressions with three grammatical components attached to the main verb to express an idea, **agr +tense +aspect +verb.**
   These elements which are units on their own are strung together to express the speaker's intended idea, as posited by the morpheme base theory.
   The Ibibio verbal system can get even more complex with the concatenation of more grammatical as in:

i. **Pronominal agreement, past tense or future agreement and aspectual markers before the verb.**

26. É màá   é   sí   nò
    3pl past   Agr   Asp   give
    They used to give

27. É yàá   é   sí   dép
    3pl future Agr   Asp   buy
    They will be buying

The examples in (26 - 27) present a verbal construction having a string of pro + tense + agreement + aspect + verb. They demonstrate the fact that the Ibibio verbal construction can have 4 grammatical elements attached to the main verb in one expression.

Other forms of verbal construction with four grammatical components are expressions with negative markers. The order of the string is pro + mood + tense + verb + negation suffix.

"

28. kpí kí   nám   má.
    1sg Modal pst   do   Neg
    I would not have done it.

29. Í kpí   kí   tèm   mé.
    1sgModal pst cook   Neg
    He would not have cooked.

30. Ú kpú   kúdép pé.
    2sg Modal pst   buy   Neg
    You should not have bought it.

31. Í kpí   kí   tághá ké.
    3sg Modal pst   kick Neg
    He should not have kicked it.

In the Ibibio language, the lexical verb in the verbal construction only permits the negative marker after itself, unlike other grammatical components which occur before the verb.
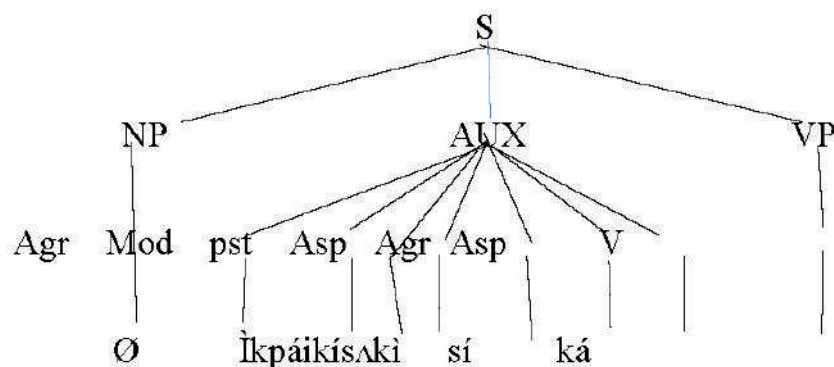
j. Pronominal agreement, modal, tense, aspect, agreement, aspect markers and the verb
32. Ìkpáikís"k   ì sí   ká.
    3plModalagr.   pst asp agr   asp   go
    We would have still been going

33. À   kpàákés"   k ásí   dí.
    2sg Modal agr Pst asp agr asp come
    You would have still been coming.

34. À   kpàákés"k á   sí   nám.
    2sg Modal agrpst   asp   agr asp do
    You would have still been doing.

35. À   kpàá   késí á   s"knám.
    2sg Modal agr.pst asp agr asp   do
    You would have still been doing.

Examples (32-35)demonstrate the possibility to have double aspectual marker in one verbal structure and even multiple agreement markers in one verbal string as observed in the above examples. The s"k and síaspectual markers are found in between the agreement markers. This is what this language tolerates. It is also important to indicate the freedom of movement of the adverbial elements in examples (34 and 35) without rendering any of the structures ungrammatical. This paper calls this situation aspectual mobility. It is important to note that every grammatical element which precedes the verb is realised as the constituent of the auxiliary node or inflection as illustrated on the tree below for example (32)

Diagram 3: Constituents of the Auxiliary Node

Interestingly, the grammar of the Ibibio language allows for the reduplication of the main verb as shown on the next linear sequence.

j.   Pronominal agreement +Modal + Tense + Asp. +Agr. Asp. and Reduplicated verb

27. À   kpé   ké   s"k   àsí   dí-dí.
    2sg Modal pst   asp   agr   asp come-come
    You would have still been coming.

28. Ì   kpí   kís"k   ì   sí   ná-nám
    3pl Modal pst asp   Agr   Agr   doing-doing
    We would have still been doing it

29. À   kpé   ké   s"kà   sí   ká-ká
    2sg Modal Pst.   asp agr asp   going-going
    You would have still been going.

The doubling of the lexical verb which can be argued to show emphasis further reveals the complex nature of the Ibibio verbal system.

The last pattern of verbal structure considers a situation where the verbal string contains two verbs.

k.   Double Verb Structure
"

30. kpàá   má   í   nám.
    1sg Modal   V(like)   Agr   V(do)
    I would like to do it.

31. Á   kpàá   má   í   dó.
    3sg Modal   love   agr   marry
    He would love to marry

32. Á   kpàá   yém   í   dí.
    3sg Modal   want agr   come
    He would want to come.

In examples 39 - 41, the verbal construction is seen to have two verbs where the first one occurs after the modal marker, and the other at word final position. The dominating verb out of the two is an area researchers can take up. This is an issue for further research.

3.   Conclusion

This study examined the grammatical constituents present in Ibibio verbal construction, as well as the sequence in which these parts occur. The research findings indicate that the verb has the capacity to incorporate a significant number of bound parts inside its syntactic structure. Additionally, it brought attention to the observation that the incorrect positioning of certain grammatical factors leads to the formation of grammatically incorrect formulations. It is noteworthy that the verb has the ability to constitute a substantial portion of an utterance. The present study provides additional support for the claim that verbs belong to the category of open word classes. This is due to their ability to generate new words within the lexicon, thereby highlighting their significant role as a syntactic category in language. It should be acknowledged that the potential combinations of spoken utterances within the language

extend beyond the data set utilised in this study. Therefore, it is advised that more investigation be conducted.

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Predicting Inflow, or Leak, or Declining Energy in Conduits During Fluid Evacuation Processes Using Enclosed Angle Vector Relaxation Method

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Article Type: Innovation

Abstract

Most of the prospecting areas used for hydrocarbon exploitation in the Niger Delta were originally virgin lands but have suffered urban encroachment such that any loss of hydrocarbon containment may lead to pollution, loss of lives, major fires, and loss of major assets. Initially, pipeline loss of containment during petroleum evacuation were mainly due to corrosion, but around the year 2000, pipeline vandalism which started as a way of protesting lack of development projects by host communities, rapidly grew into an industry for crude theft through hot tapping. The cost of crude oil theft is estimated at £1bln per month and it is reported that some 1000 people have died due to pipeline explosion in Nigeria within the period 2004 to 2014. The desirability for the quantity of crude escaping to the environment during any loss of containment cannot be overemphasised as we need to know this in order to plan emergency responses on loss containment. Also, if the loss of containment is from a flowing well, this information is needed to plan well capping or relief well planning in support of the well capping. In some jurisdictions, it is also required as a mandatory regulatory reporting requirement.

As Hooke1 propounded that the strain on any elastic material is proportional to the applied force, it was found that the vector due to pressure gradient during a crude evacuation is proportional to the energy used during the crude evacuation through conduits. This energy can be measured in terms of pressure gradient and the use of this pressure gradient vector for estimating inflows, leaks, and energy dissipation during crude evacuation has been studied and documented. The outcome of this study shows that the use of the Enclosed Angle Vector Relaxation method could, under specified conditions of single-phase incompressible fluid, be used to predict inflow, leak, and declining flow energy during the fluid evacuation process.

This new approach is very precise on the leak rate or inflow rate estimation at the respective leak or inflow positions. Advantages of this new process

include simplicity, ease of operations, and a basic knowledge skill requirement for operational staff.

Keywords

Hot tapping on pipelines; Crude oil theft; Fluid leak quantification; Pressure gradient; Enclosed angle vector relaxation.

Introduction

Accidents occur when risks are not accurately assessed or mitigated, and a single accident could have a huge effect on operating cost and safety. The petroleum mining process and activities are executed in hazardously classified areas where strict personal and process safety measures are enforced. The transport process involves the use of pipelines to convey crude oil from wellheads to flow stations or from the flow stations to the Central Processing plant via major pipelines that are called trunklines. The crude oil being transported are inflammable, toxic, and are usually pumped under high pressure through sensitive environments like farmlands, forest reserves, urban developments, and seabeds. Initially, pipeline loss of containment during petroleum evacuation were mainly due to corrosion, but around the year 2000, pipeline vandalism which started as a way of protesting lack of development projects by host communities, rapidly grew into an industry for crude theft through hot tapping [1].The cost of crude oil theft is estimated at £1bln per month and it is reported that some 1000 people have died due to pipeline explosion in Nigeria within the period 2004 to 2014 [2][3]. Research was undertaken to provide a technical solution that will lead to early detection and quantification of crude oil theft or leaks in support to arresting the unsustainable Health Safety and Environmental issues created by crude theft vandals in Nigeria [4].

The Macondo rig blowout (also referred to as Deepwater Horizon) in the Gulf of Mexico of April, 2010, in the BP-operated Macondo Prospect is the largest marine oil spill in petroleum industry‟s history, and resonates with the public [5]. Between the initial containment loss and the time the well was eventually capped in September 2012, different estimates of the blowout volume were made, ranging from 1000 barrels per day (bpd) up to 5000 bpd until a government team suggested that spurring volume could be over 50,000 bpd [6]. The bad publicity of this spill, especially the variation on volume estimates from BP arguably contributed to the resignation of the chief executive of BP who claimed that he was "demonised and vilified" in the US for the Gulf of Mexico oil spill [7]. Several onshore oil spill incidents have happened in the Niger Delta on Trunklines evacuating crude oil or refined products, which while at a smaller scale and less widely reported, can have broadly similar environmental impacts [8][9]. Upon notification of such spills, usually by host communities, the pumping operation on the impacted trunk line is stopped to minimize the impact of such spill while the flow stations and wellheads from which the crude flows are safely shutdown.

The importance of the estimation of loss of containment quantities or leak rate cannot be overemphasised. The Macondo incident involved deep-sea exploration, but the loss of containment also happens at major pipelines transporting hydrocarbon around the world. The upstream and downstream pipeline maps of Nigeria are shown in figures 1 [10] and 2 [11] respectively. Most of the prospecting areas used for oil exploration and developments in the

Niger Delta, which started in the 1950s, were virgin lands for which (what was considered appropriate at the time) due diligence environmental impact assessments were made and requisite approvals from the respective jurisdictions sought and received. However, because of urbanisation and poor implementation of Rule of Law, some of these approved facilities (well locations, gathering stations, and pipeline rights of way) became encroached such that any pipeline loss of containment increasingly leads to pollution, loss of lives, major fires and loss of major assets. Most times the residents that build on these encroached sites do not quite appreciate the probability of a potential loss of hydrocarbon containment nor how their lives could be impacted if a loss of containment incident should occur. Houses have been built within the high-pressure pipelines Right of Way (ROW) and sometime on non-flowing but non decommissioned wellheads. In a few cases, these encroachment situations have compelled shut-in of several facilities by the International Oil Companies (IOCs) to minimise liabilities, and awfully bad publicity during the loss of containment accidents.

The pipeline network used for hydrocarbon transport in Nigeria could be classified as related to upstream and, to downstream operations. Upstream pipelines are mainly owned by the Exploration and Production (E&P) companies, used for evacuation of hydrocarbon to designated crude oil terminals, inland refineries, or liquefied natural gas (LNG) plants. Downstream pipelines are used for either transportation of stabilised crude to inland refineries or transportation of refined products from inland refineries to major product depots across the country. There are also some downstream pipelines for the transportation of natural gas to cities and industrial hubs for local use. Fig. 1 shows the pipeline map of Nigeria for the distribution of refined petroleum products as well as transporting crude oil to inland refineries in Kaduna, Warri, and Port Harcourt. Fig. 2 shows a large network of Oil and Gas evacuation pipeline for oil and gas processing and export.
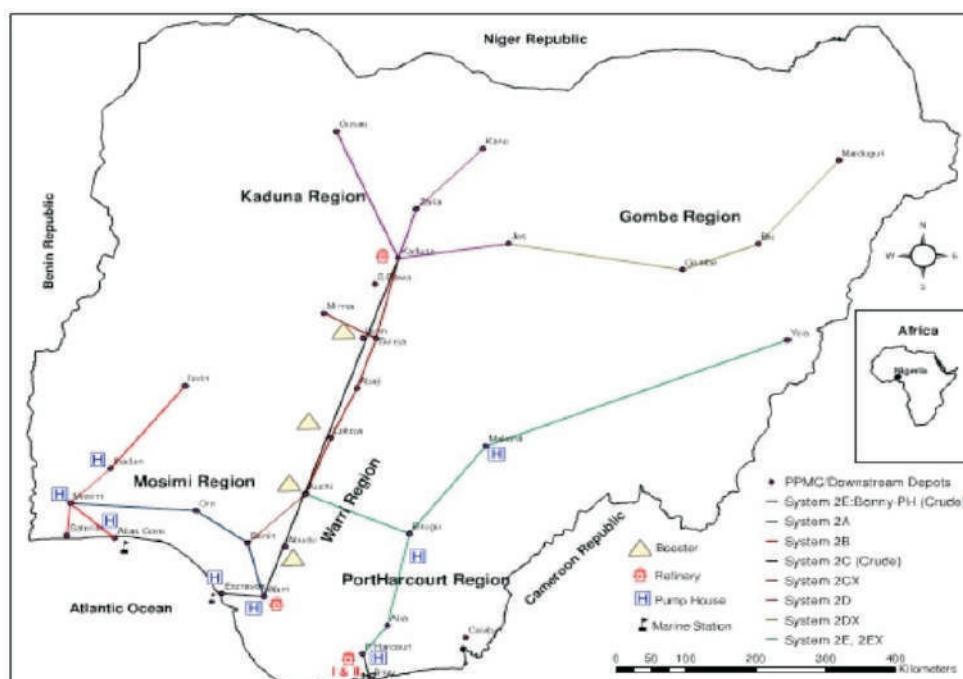

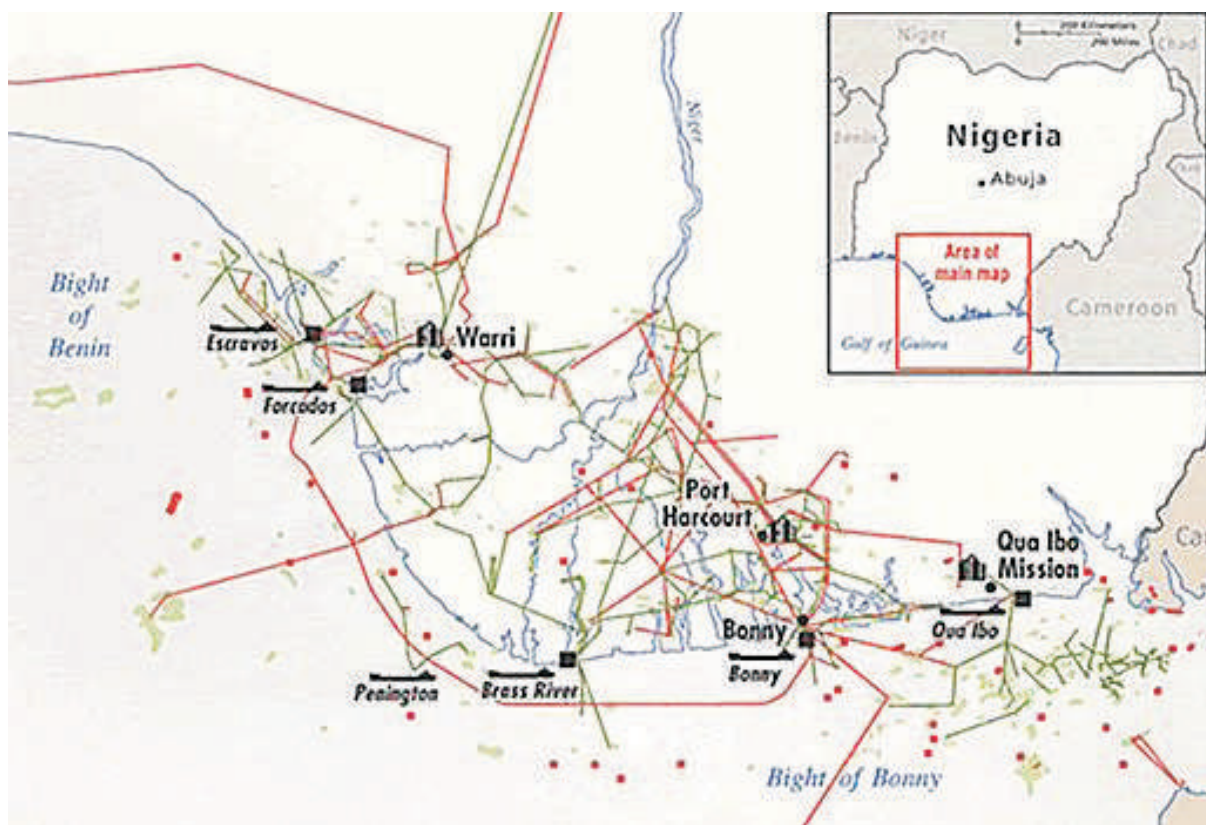*Figure 1 : Downstream Trunkline Map of Nigeria [11]*

Figure 2 : Niger Delta Upstream Trunkline Map of Nigeria [12]

The upstream pipelines are used for continuous hydrocarbon evacuation, so every effort is made to prevent any form of operational interruption. The crude oil and refined product pipelines have had one form of intrusion vandalism in the past and these have led to several explosions that led to the tragic loss of over 1000 lives in Nigeria [1][12]. Stories abound where people have dug wells in their residential homes that connect to the petroleum product pipeline and from the comfort of such homes siphon and sell the products which are mainly kerosene and Prime Motor Spirit (PMS) to unsuspecting buyers. The downstream petroleum pipeline distribution network is not always on continuous use and hence, through suspected insider information, the petroleum product vandals have knowledge of when the products are being pumped and hence use the offline periods to attach non-conventional hoses for illegal product siphoning [12]. The illegal connection to the upstream pipeline is through hot tapping while the crude is continuously being evacuated. This makes such connection very risky as any loss of containment would lead to large scale environmental pollution and sometimes fire explosions.

Case for action

Continuing crude oil theft and associated economic and environmental effects indicate that current reliability assurance processes based on Preventive Maintenance (PM) and Corrective Maintenance (CM) actions, whether through design or monitoring, needs improvement, notably in the Niger Delta. The market for stolen crude, makes this sub-optimal operating environment more difficult to stop, since international buyers of stolen crude are continuously

demanding stolen crude, and pipeline vandals or their intermediaries use the proceeds from this trade to sponsor the already armed vandals with more sophisticated weapons. This operating environment is not sustainable and has had a significant impact on IOCs operating bottom-line, forcing them to continually divest from valuable but non-operable assets. This causes a downward developmental spiral, environmental degradation, and hampers rural development for Nigeria.

A recent study commissioned by Royal Dutch/Shell estimated oil theft in Nigeria at between 100 million and 250 million barrels annually, and at US$60 per barrel (average), losses are approximately US$15 billion [13]. This aligns with a Guardian report [14] that estimates monthly losses of around £1bln, hence this research at providing a technical solution that will lead to early detection of crude oil theft or leaks as well as the quantification of the leak using some mechatronics processes on Artificial Intelligence workflows. The study objectives [4] were:

1) To review current oilfield pipeline integrity monitoring practices and highlight areas for improvements.
2) To conduct a literature review on suitable technologies that could be used to improve oilfield pipeline integrity monitoring practices.
3) To scout literature for potential technologies that could be used for monitoring and detection of crude oil theft and leaks in pipelines and,
4) To recommend a solution or new process for pipeline leak detection and leak quantity estimation.

The Pragmatic Epistemological research process was used to investigate a hypothetical postulation that:
If we have a way of continuously measuring the steady state conditions of every section of the pipeline during pumping operations, then we could determine the point of a leak as well as quantify leaks through such measurements.

Technology Scouting

Our aspiration is to get to an operating environment where any pipeline operator will know within a reasonable time when and where crude oil stealing is ongoing so that they could act before the crude oil theft will lead to explosions, environmental degradation and deaths. Study framing was therefore wide and divergent to accommodate all foreseeable solutions. Technology inspiration could be organically evolved, or it could be external to the problem being solved. External technology inspiration could manifest from analogues, which could be some proven processes in other environments. Most literature reviews aimed at gaining insights from internal and external inspirations and it is a collection of these potential practices worth replication that creates a sphere of feasible options for idea realization. Some of these realizations would be assessed as technically feasible while others would require a lot of energy and resources to reduce the remaining uncertainties to their target solution to As Low As Reasonably Practicable (ALARP). The ALARP stage, or what could be described as the so-called „gold plating stage", is attained where a lot of effort is needed to achieve very minimal improvement in project objective.

Major hydrocarbon export lines are in continuous use, therefore technology applications for leak detection, or leak quantity estimation, must not interrupt the flow. Crude oil theft detection could be achieved through performance trend deviation monitoring but this while being able to detect the point of the leak, may not be able to quantify leak rate. It was therefore thought that having some expectation of what ought to be flowing would be immensely helpful as this knowledge will aid any selected technology in the determination of both the location and leak rate. The following technologies were therefore evaluated[4] : 1.) Fiscal Reconciliation; 2.) Corrosion Monitoring; 3.) Flow Simulation; 4.) Smart Field Operation; 5.) Fibre Optic Sensing; 6.) Frequency Response Modelling using a.) Acoustic signals and b.) Vibration signals and, 8.) Floating Micro Robots.

A major disadvantage of using fiscal reconciliation and surveillance technology is that they are both post-mortem approaches. Also, any reliance on fiscal reconciliation for the leak or intrusion monitoring would therefore require a huge operational upgrade as additional process instruments may have to be installed. Multistage reconciliation could be employed if we need to know the area of leak position to some coarse accuracy, but this will increase the system operating costs.

The use of corrosion monitoring technologies could, when combined with other technologies like sacrificial corrosion probes, advise on the probability of leakage but it is unable to detect pipeline vandalism or the leak rate.

Hydraulic flow simulation results have shown to compare reasonably well with actual production if a properly calibrated model is used for event prediction [15]. The most common data needed in smart operations modelling are pressures, temperatures and flow rates and they are needed for a complete description of the hydrocarbon throughput from the reservoir to the export terminal. The question then is to find a way of measuring these key parameters during the crude evacuation process, without interfering with the operating philosophy of the crude evacuation process, so that the measured data can be compared with the model prediction result and hence determine the point of leak or theft as well as the leak (or theft) rate. The use of smart operations capability could be a particularly good fit to the research objective of leaks or oil theft points determination as it could be used as a standalone technology or could be combined with flow simulation to accurately determine the leak rate. The downside to this technology is that due to operations design limitations wet flow measurements for the volume flow rate is still a challenge in oil trunklines. There are also challenges on how to deploy suggested pressure measurement points without compromising the installed pipeline integrity as every pressure monitoring point is a potential leak point.

The use of fibre optic technology along fluid flow path for monitoring temperature variation due to loss of containment does not quite meet the objective of detecting crude theft as this technology could easily be vandalised even when designed for leak detection and it is also incapable of detecting the leak rate in an open environment.

Frequency Response Function (FRF) modelling has been demonstrated for determining and predicting structural failure for steel structures (e.g. bridges, towers) and high-rise buildings. The deflections and vibrations from such structures are just sufficient for the estimation of Frequency Response Functions (FRF) that could be trended to estimate the onset of failure. Vibration and acoustic signals generated by pumping could be modelled as FRFs and

used for pipeline leak detection but the signal response from pumping operations in large diameter pipes may need to be overstretched to be able to use these technologies to determine leak position as well as leak rate. This is because, unlike in small diameter pipes, we are unable to apply higher pressures through large diameter pipes (12 – 36-inch diameter) to avoid burst on such trunklines during crude evacuation.

The concept of using floating micro-robots could be very innovative as a concept but is currently being limited based on considerably basic operational issues of transportation, data acquisition, and several dependencies.

Leak rate Estimation Technology

Smart Fields Operation was chosen based on some selected ranking criteria, but the smart operations require some further research to close observed knowledge gaps, a major one being how to deploy Smart operations for leak detection and leak rate estimation based only on pressure measurement. This necessitated a progressive study into Pipeline Smart Operations Artificial Intelligent (AI) methods as shown in Fig. 3 which will depend on some form of System Descriptive model (SDM) for leak detection and quantification.
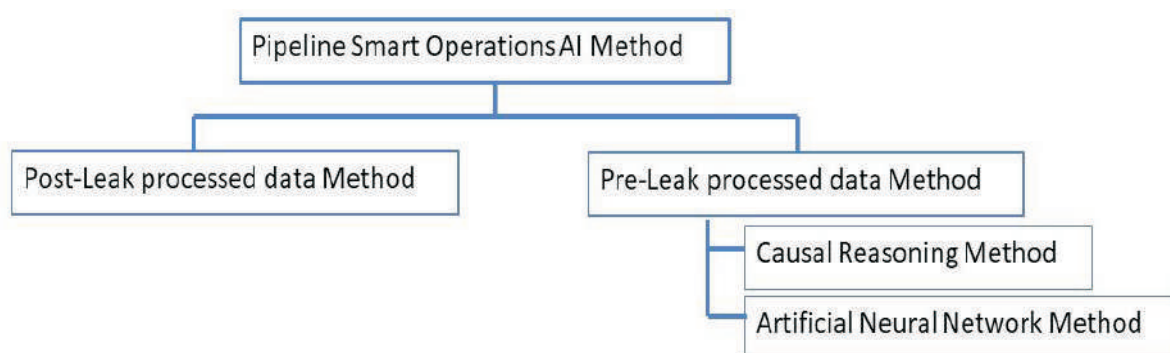

Figure 3 : Smart Operations Artificial Intelligent (AI) methods for pipeline leak monitoring

The SDM, which could be created based on Pre-leak or Post leak data, can be viewed as a characteristic curve that describes the variation of any selected pipeline transmission property during a steady-state (without a leak) and some documentation of anticipated deviation of the same property at some given leak position and rate. Post-Leak data processing refers to the use of data generated by the pipeline system being investigated while Pre-Leak data processing refers to the use of external environmental data to the pipeline being investigated or a past environmental data for a similar pipeline.

Post Leak data processing is instrument-based and requires that we have some knowledge of what is flowing while Pre-Leak data processing is based on events surrounding the pipeline being investigated. The events which influence pipeline leak, based on Pre Leak data processing, has been documented as: Terminal reconciliation factors; Loitering along Pipeline ROW; Employment indices; Growth of illegal refineries; Automotive activities close to pipeline ROW; Periodic petroleum product shortages. These data are difficult to generate in the Niger Delta and hence makes the use of Pre-Leak data processing methodology difficult.

Machine learning could be introduced as a third AI method for leak position and quantity estimation during fluid evacuation. Machine Learning (ML) is the study of computer algorithms that improve automatically through experience [16]. Applications range from data mining programs that discover general rules in large data sets, to information filtering systems that automatically learn users' interests [17]. If for example, we consider a set of data from some function which relates an attribute (y) to a variable (x). With two pairs of points (x, y) we can plot a straight line. If a newly acquired third set of points plot on the same straight line, then we can say that the dependency is a straight line. If unfortunately, it is clearly shown that such dependency is not a straight line, then we can continue with ML workflow to describe the relationship which can now be assumed as a polynomial. The actual curve (whether Quadratic, hyperbolic or exponential) will be perfected as more data become available until one gets to a 8 stage where our defined curve or model will be able to perfectly predict future outcomes. This is the ML workflow which is seen as a subset of artificial intelligence where Machine learning algorithms used to build a mathematical model based on sample data, known as "training data", in order to make predictions or decisions without being explicitly programmed to do so [18]. However, ML algorithm for leak quantity estimation was assessed as potentially luxurious as such experimentation would take an unsustainable long time to train but rather such ML workflow could be used to improve any SDM developed using Pre-Leak or Post-Leak data.

The Post leak data analysis methodology seems promising since it is based on measurements. However, the current data acquisition practice in Niger delta, where very minimal crude evacuation data acquisition is applied, limits achievable accuracy. Also, in-line volume measurements are not acceptable at trunklines so any Smart Operations AI data must be based on pressure measurement only. This inherent problem of Post Leak Processing data paucity, and constraints, led to some further study leading to discovering a new vector-based approach for leak rate estimation.

Using Vectors for estimating leak and Inflow rates

A conservative vector field is a vector field that is the gradient of some function whose line integral is path independent [19]. This makes pressure gradient a vector, suggesting utility for leak prediction and monitoring [4]. The other properties of the vector are that it should have magnitude and direction, additive, and remains a vector after multiplication with a scalar. An example of vector manipulation is shown in figure 4 which shows how resultant vector magnitude and direction is influenced when a component vector is manipulated with a scaler.

$$AC = AB + BC$$

If and by multiplying a vector AB with a scaler, say 1.8 a new vector will result, having a different size but same direction. The resultant vector as a result of addition of this new vector to a known vector BC will result to which will have different magnitude and direction as shown in figure 4. Through the multiplication of one vector component with a scalar in Fig. 4, the Enclosed Angle in the resultant vector from this manipulation has changed from 21° to 8°.
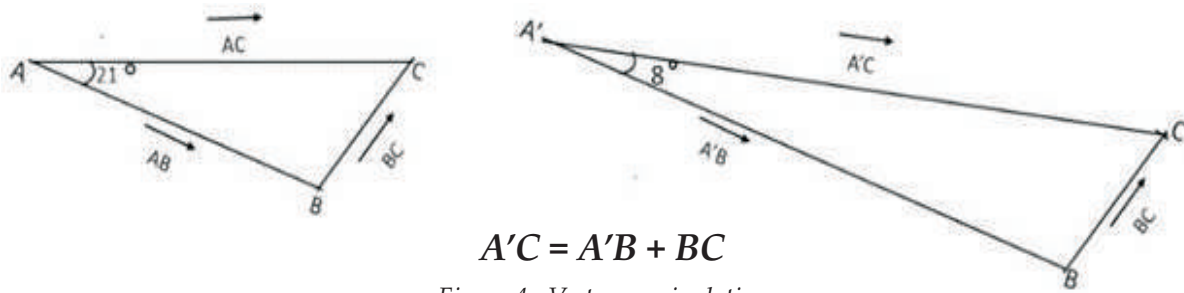
$$A'C = A'B + BC$$

Figure 4 : Vector manipulation

We can consider Fig. 4 as a fluid evacuation vector diagram where:
AC represents the pressure gradient after a leak
AB represents the pressure gradient before a leak
BC represents the pressure gradient effect due to leak

Fig. 4 shows that without a leak AB would be equal to AC and the difference between AB and AC continually increases with an increasing leak rate. This means that with the continuously increasing leak rate, the enclosed angle between AB and AC increases. This concept was therefore investigated for leak rate prediction during fluid evacuation experiments.

The use of this Enclosed Angle Vector Relaxation (EAVR) was investigated for the analysis of fluid transport process. It should be noted that the vector AB was enlarged by multiplication with a positive number greater than 1.0. This enlargement could be assumed to represent an inflow during fluid evacuation. If so, one can assume that we can decrease the vector AB by multiplying with a number <1.0 to emulate a leak. This also raises the question of what happens when AB is multiplied with a negative number. Initial investigations suggest this could represent a reversal of the energy system for the fluid evacuation.

Pressure gradient vector studies were therefore undertaken to see if through any form of pressure gradient vector analysis during crude evacuation one could monitor pipeline integrity using pressure measurements only. The study tests an AI workflow of trying to analyse a given pipeline with the data generated from itself during crude evacuation using the Post Leak Data process AI workflow described earlier. The evaluation of Pressure gradient relationship to the Volume flow rate in a given pipeline, as depicted in Fig. 5, has been analysed.
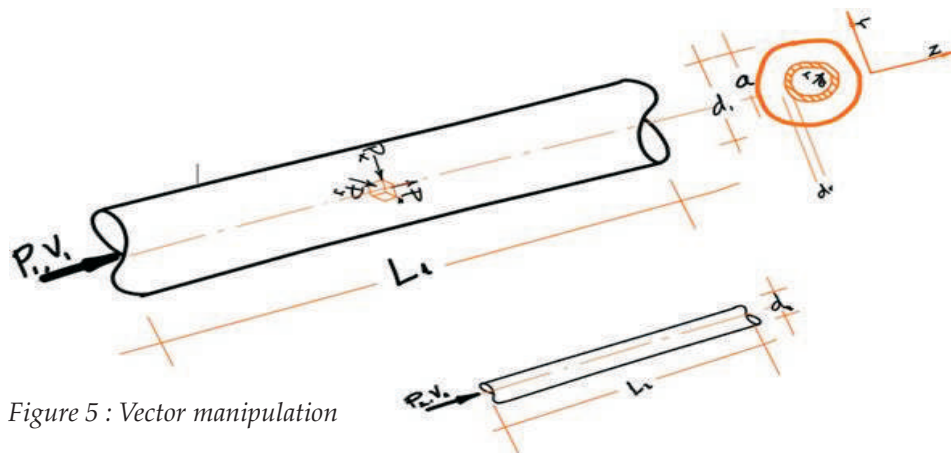

Figure 5 : Vector manipulation

If, as shown in Fig. 5: V = Volume flow rate; L is Pipe length; d is Pipe dimeter; r is Pipe radius; $\vec{V} = (u_r, u_\theta, u_z)$ is flow velocity in the r, θ and z direction; μ is the viscosity of the evacuated fluid, and P is Pressure.

The complete description and derivation of the Navier Stokes equation for an incompressible, isothermal, Newtonian (constant density and constant viscosity) fluid flow with

Velocity $\vec{V} = (u_r, u_\theta, u_z)$ in cylindrical coordinates could be found on most Fluid Mechanics books and particularly as documented [20] could be written as

Continuity equation

$$\frac{1}{r}\frac{\partial(ru_r)}{\partial r} + \frac{1}{r}\frac{\partial(u_\theta)}{\partial \theta} + \frac{\partial u_z}{\partial z} = 0$$

r component

$$\rho\left(\frac{\partial u_r}{\partial t} + u_r\frac{\partial u_r}{\partial r} + \frac{u_\theta}{r}\frac{\partial u_r}{\partial \theta} + \frac{u_\theta^2}{r} + u_z\frac{\partial u_r}{\partial z}\right)$$
$$= \frac{-\partial P}{\partial r} + \rho g_r + \mu\left[\frac{1}{r}\frac{\partial}{\partial r}\left(r\frac{\partial u_r}{\partial r}\right) - \frac{u_r}{r^2} + \frac{1}{r^2}\frac{\partial^2 u_r}{\partial \theta^2} - \frac{2}{r^2}\frac{\partial u_\theta}{\partial \theta} + \frac{\partial^2 u_r}{\partial z^2}\right]$$

θ component

$$\rho\left(\frac{\partial u_\theta}{\partial t} + u_r\frac{\partial u_\theta}{\partial r} + \frac{u_\theta}{r}\frac{\partial u_\theta}{\partial \theta} + \frac{u_r u_\theta}{r} + u_z\frac{\partial u_\theta}{\partial z}\right)$$
$$= \frac{-1}{r}\frac{\partial P}{\partial \theta} + \rho g_\theta + \mu\left[\frac{1}{r}\frac{\partial}{\partial r}\left(r\frac{\partial u_\theta}{\partial r}\right) - \frac{u_\theta}{r^2} + \frac{1}{r^2}\frac{\partial^2 u_\theta}{\partial \theta^2} + \frac{2}{r^2}\frac{\partial u_r}{\partial \theta} + \frac{\partial^2 u_\theta}{\partial z^2}\right]$$

Z component

$$\rho\left(\frac{\partial u_z}{\partial t} + u_r\frac{\partial u_z}{\partial r} + \frac{u_\theta}{r}\frac{\partial u_z}{\partial \theta} + u_z\frac{\partial u_z}{\partial z}\right) = \frac{-\partial P}{\partial z} + \rho g_z + \mu\left[\frac{1}{r}\frac{\partial}{\partial r}\left(r\frac{\partial u_z}{\partial r}\right) + \frac{1}{r^2}\frac{\partial^2 u_z}{\partial \theta^2} + \frac{\partial^2 u_z}{\partial z^2}\right]$$

A particular solution of the Navier Stokes equation in cylindrical coordinates as depicted in figure 5 has been solved [21] to present the relationship between the flow rate and rate of change of pressure gradient in any flow evacuation system as

$$V = \frac{\pi r^4}{8\mu}\frac{\Delta P}{L} \qquad \text{...} \qquad (1)$$

The relationship in Eq. 1 is a vector relationship of volume flow rate in the direction of pressure gradient. Since pressure gradient is a vector, the concept of enclosed angle due to vector manipulation introduced in Fig. 4 was investigated for leak and inflow detection during crude evacuation.

A fluid evacuation pipeline without a leak could be represented more mechanistically as shown in Fig. 6.

Figure 6a: Pressure gradient without a leak and uniformly loaded bean analogue

Figure 6 : Pressure gradient with and without midpoint leak and uniformly loaded bean analogue

An oil evacuation system can be represented by a uniformly loaded elastic beam that is fixed at one end but free to slide at the other end as shown in Fig. 6a. A leak at any point will introduce an additional piezometric force, supposedly in the opposite direction as depicted in Fig. 6b.

If ω represents a uniformly distributed weight in a structural member, then the same ω is analogous to the average pump pressure used in a pipeline fluid evacuation system. Also if F_L is considered a points load in an elastic structural loading, we could say that the same F_L in the structural member is analogous to piezometric force due to fluid leak in a pipeline fluid evacuation system. In which case α represents the pressure gradient without a leak, or the deflection due to uniform load, respectively for the two systems and β represents the pressure gradient in a leaking system for a pipeline evacuation system or the deflection due to both the point load and uniformly distributed load in the structural system.

It has been demonstrated that pressure gradients calculated from a pipeline evacuation pressure profile could be used to determine the point of leak [4]. Also, experiments have shown that the pressure decline, from an established trend, due to leak is directly proportional to the rate of leak. The enclosed angles due to vector displacement demonstrated graphically in Fig. 4 was investigated in a leak simulation experiment as depicted in Fig. 7.
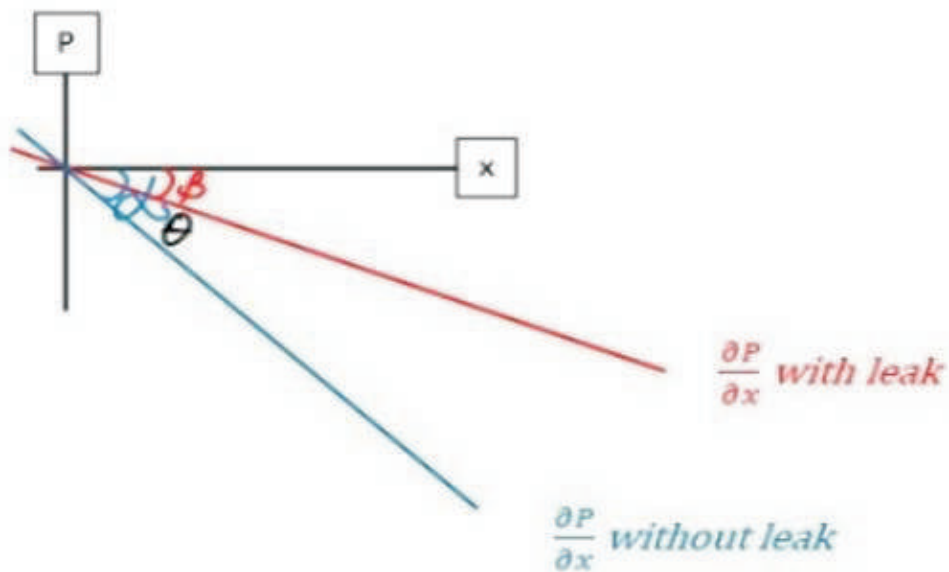

Figure 7 : Pressure gradient vector diagram pre and post leak

If α represents the slope without a leak, and β represent the slope in a leaking system. Then the Enclosed Angle Vector (Pressure Gradient) Relaxation (EAVR) θ due to leak can be estimated as α - β and used to determine the quantity leaking, once the point of leak is known, using the trigonometrical equation.

$$\text{Tan}(\theta) = tan(\alpha - \beta) = \frac{tan(\alpha) - tan(\beta)}{1 + tan(\alpha)tan(\beta)} \tag{2}$$

The use of this Enclosed Angle Vector Relaxation (EAVR) has been graphically demonstrated in Fig. 4 and has also been proven for leak detection during crude evacuation using the Pipeline System Descriptive Model (SDM). This pipeline System Descriptive Model could be developed as a graph or an equation that describes the pipeline pressure response relaxation angle as a function of the leak that could create it. Once developed, this SDM can be used to estimate the leak rate on this particular pipeline once a leak point is identified and the EAVR at that leak point can be calculated.

Several tests were performed on how this could be used to predict leak and inflow rates during crude transport in pipelines and wells. It should be noted that the cases presented are partly subsurface engineering and partly surface engineering and these two disciplines use the oil field units and SI units respectively. Oil is traded in barrels and this unit is easily appreciated by subsurface engineers and the general public following world energy events. The study cases tested here are mainly from subsurface engineering, and even though the case studies may be described in mixed units, consistency of units were maintained in all calculations presented.

Case 1: Simulated leaks on a pipeline
The concept of leak detection using EAVR vector was demonstrated through PIPESIM experiments as shown in Fig. 8. 2
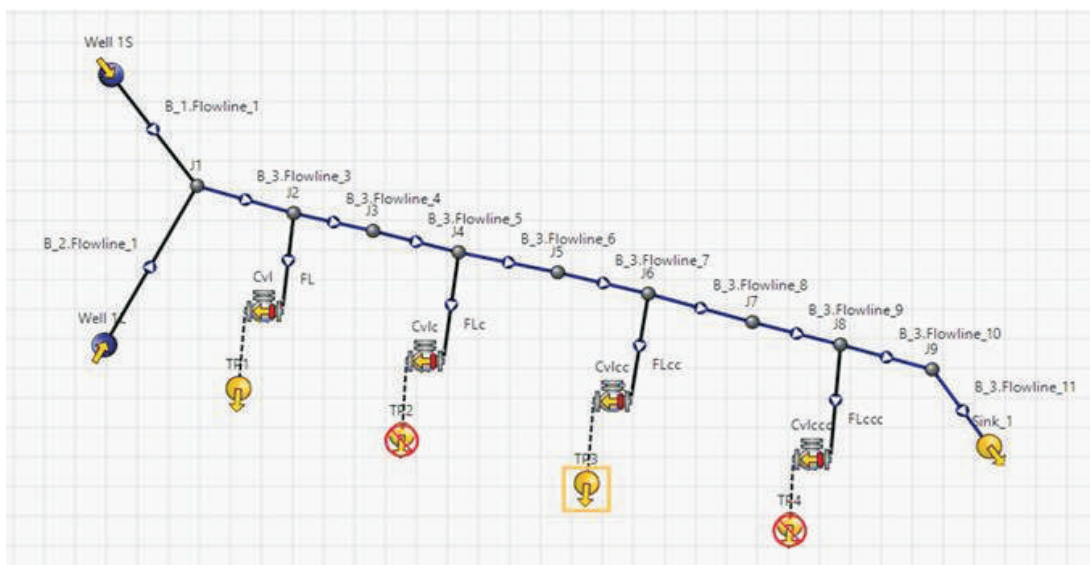

Figure 8 : Pressure gradient vector diagram pre and post leak

Four experiments were conducted to test the option of using the EAVR methods for the estimation of two or more leak situations. These were based on 6000 barrels per day (bpd) fluid evacuation through a 6-inch pipe diameter some 12km in length as shown in Fig. 8. The four leak simulation results were compared with the result of the No-Leak situation. Comparing transmission pressures with a no leak situation was first used to generate pressure gradients as shown in Tab. 1. This comparison is for determination of pipeline leak Characteristic data or its SDM. The Pipeline Characteristic curve is the pressure response of any pipeline without a leak and some documentation of anticipated deviation for some given leak position and rate. The pressure gradients from this Pipeline data were then used to estimate the Enclosed Angle Vector Relaxation EAVR as shown in Tab. 2. This EAVR method is for quantification of leak whose locations has been identified through other means. The red fonts in Tab. 1 represent the areas where the leaks have been simulated.

Table 1 : Pressure Gradient vector from simulated leak experiments

Experiment	No leak	0.8TP1_1.6TP2	0.5TP2_1.5TP3	1.0TP2_1.0TP3	1.2TP2_1.2TP3
Slope before TP1	-0.011167	-0.012284	-0.012053	-0.012154	-0.012368
Slope after TP1	-0.012097	-0.013407	-0.013135	-0.013253	-0.013506
Slope after TP2	-0.013398	-0.010151	-0.013499	-0.012382	-0.012146
Slope after TP3	-0.015082	-0.010639	-0.011057	-0.011057	-0.010151
Slope after TP4	-0.017422	-0.011206	-0.012312	-0.012312	-0.011206

The angles α and β in this experiment represent the pipeline pressure gradient without leak and pipeline pressure gradient with the respective leak simulations. The enclosed angle θ, as computed in Tab. 2, represents the pipeline EAVR due to leak is given by

$$\text{Tan}\theta = tan(\alpha - \beta) = \frac{tan(\alpha) - tan(\beta)}{1 + tan(\alpha)tan(\beta)} \tag{2}$$

Table 2 : Estimation of Enclosed Angle Vector Relaxation from Pressure Gradient Vectors (Tab. 1)

Experiment	tan(α)	tan(β)	tan(α)-tan(β)	1+tan(α)tan(β)	(tan(α)-tan(β))/(1+tan(α)tan(β))	θ
0.8TP1_1.6TP2	-0.012097	-0.013407	0.001310	1.000162	0.001310	0.007506
0.8TP1_1.6TP2	-0.013398	-0.010151	-0.003247	1.000136	-0.003246	0.186006
0.5TP2_1.5TP3	-0.013398	-0.013499	0.000101	1.000181	0.000101	0.005774
0.5TP2_1.5TP3	-0.015082	-0.011057	-0.004025	1.000167	-0.004024	0.230568
1.0TP2_1.0TP3	-0.013398	-0.012382	-0.001016	1.000166	-0.001016	0.058203
1.0TP2_1.0TP3	-0.015082	-0.011057	-0.004025	1.000167	-0.004024	0.230561
1.2TP2_1.2TP3	-0.013398	-0.012146	-0.001252	1.000163	-0.001252	0.071707
1.2TP2_1.2TP3	-0.015082	-0.010151	-0.004931	1.000153	-0.004930	0.282473

The Simulated leak rate is plotted against EAVR (θ) and as expected it is a straight line as shown in Fig. 9. This line is called the evacuation Pipeline System Descriptive Model (SDM) and could be used to determine leak anywhere on this given pipeline as propounded. The simulation experiments are in very close agreements with the predictions of Pipeline SDM. As shown in Fig. 9, with Root Mean Squared Error (R^2) of 0.8997, the leak prediction accuracy based on the newly developed EAVR concept is 89.97% and this is very good.
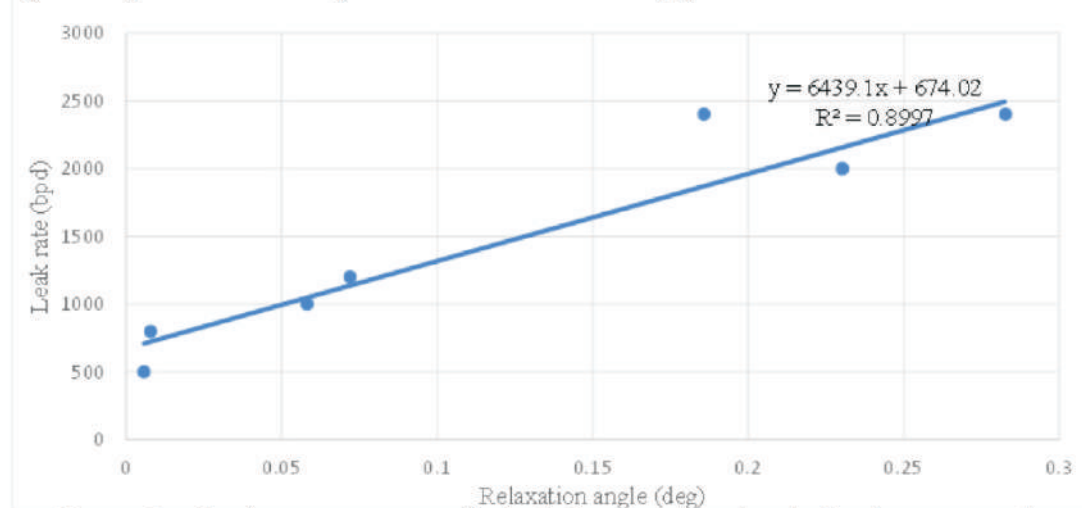

Figure 9 : Pipeline system curve for leak detection based on leak relaxation angle

Fig. 9 shows that just having two points: Pressure response without a leak and another pressure response with a controlled leak is just sufficient to create an SDM for any pipeline. Once an SDM is created, the pressure response during any leak situation will be used to compute its situational EAVR using the process described above and with the EAVR we can estimate the leak rate at such leak position. A necessary condition for the application of this new process is that the fluid evacuated must be incompressible and of course irrotational. It can be applied in water transportation and stabilized crude evacuation and can also be applied within the oil well so long as the oil is undersaturated as each gas liberation during transport is a potential source of error.

Case 2: Reservoir Wellbore Inflow

Although the well production is governed by its deliverability through the inflow equation, there is no reason why the wells inflow, within the wellbore, could not be determined using the EAVR propounded here as conceptually demonstrated in Fig. 4. The inflow SDM for the given well would be its performance at two different chokes which would then be used to predict its choke performance at several other choke sizes. The only condition here is that the reservoir has to be undersaturated. This condition is necessary as increasing errors would arise as more gases a liberated from the hydrocarbon as the bubble point pressure are attained during the transport process from the reservoir to the wellhead. To apply the EAVR theory we must note that some baseline data is needed. This baseline, which will now be called inflow characteristic curve is based on the well‟s vertical lift characteristics within the tubing which will now be used to predict additional inflow as expected using the well‟s SDM. As a result of this, especially in a

well"s vertical lift estimate, we can use any performance point to represent a point of no-additional inflow. With this point and just another point on a different choke, we can plot the well"s SDM and use it to estimate future performance of such wells under varying flowing tubing head pressures (FTHP). Tab. 3 shows the results of well performance model at different flowing tubing head pressures (FTHPs) in 2016 in a Niger Delta field for well performance prediction.

Table 3 : Well Performance Sensitivity

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Flowrate (bpd)	800	1100	1350
FTHP (psi)	2480	2100	1850
Reservoir Pressure (psi)	2530	2530	2530
Reservoir Dept (ftss)	8785	8785	8785

Even though the well model is not a leaking system, but we can use the EAVR method developed to predict well inflow as argued with Fig. 4. The 2016 model showed three sensitivities of well performance at different FTHP. We had earlier stated that some baseline is needed to create an SDM for the Well. We can use the results of Model 1 (in red fonts) as the baseline. Model 1 and Model 2 can then be used for the creation of the well"s SDM, as shown in Tab. 4, using the EAVR method and Eq. 2 for computation of EAVR. Using the pipeline SDM 16 an attempt to predict the flowrate for Model 3 using its FTHP and created SDM was made. The pressure gradient vector is calculated in the direction of flow between the Reservoir Pressure and the FTHP and the distance between the reservoir and the wellhead. The wellhead is assumed to be at 0 feet subsea (ftss). The Pressure gradient flow vector in Model 1 is -0.0056915196 psi/ft The Pressure gradient flow vector in Model 2 is -0.0489470689 psi/ft We could also say that the pressure relaxation between Model 1 and Model 2 yielded additional 300 bpd inflow and this information can be used as depicted in Fig. 7 to create an SDM for the well.

Table 4 : Baseline and additional inflow data for Well Inflow SDM estimation

Experiment	$\tan(\alpha)$	$\tan(\beta)$	$\tan(\alpha)-\tan(\beta)$	$1+\tan(\alpha)\tan(\beta)$	$(\tan(\alpha)-\tan(\beta))/(1+\tan(\alpha)\tan(\beta))$	θ
Baseline	-0.005692	-0.005692	0.000000	1.000000	0.000000	0.000000
Additional leak or 300bpd	-0.005692	-0.048947	0.043256	1.000279	0.043244	2.476124

We can use the data from Tab. 4 above to plot an inflow SDM for the well and use that SDM to estimate the flow at any given FTHP. Such SDM will look as shown in Fig. 10. The well bean up is the controlled or gradual open up of a well after completion (construction) or repairs until the designed well production potential is attained, and the process of open up or bean up increases well production while reducing its FTHP.
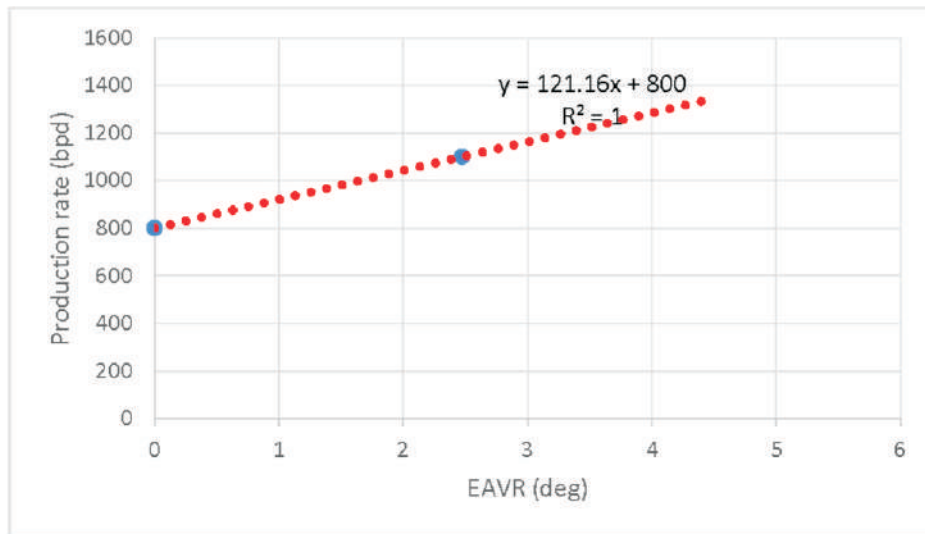
Figure 10 : EAVR based on FTHP during Well Bean up

As can be seen from the well's inflow SDM, the production rate at any given FTHP is governed by

$$Production\ rate\ Q = 121.16 * EAVR + 800 \quad \dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots\dots (3)$$

Similarly, for Model 3 we can estimate its EAVR using the FBHP, FTHP and Reservoir depth as 4.1°. Using Eq. 3 which is the inflow system SDM and the calculated EAVR we can estimate that the flowrate for Model 3 bean up case as 1300 bpd and this is very close to the 1350bpd prediction in 2016.

Case 3: Declining reservoir pressure effect on well production

One of the principal objectives of production surveillance engineering is continuous monitoring of production assets: Data acquisition; Performance Modelling; Issues Identification and remedial activity planning for productivity gains. Some of the Well specific production issues include water production, preferential gas production for oil wells, sand production from sandstone reservoirs. There are also facilities related production issues like understanding changes to the production envelope and realigning such wells to more suitable facilities. Regular well tests and Flowing Bottom Hole Pressure (FBHP) surveys are regularly obtained for continuous production optimization. Some test results from a well with declining performance due to reducing reservoir pressure and increasing water cut are shown in Tab. 5, and an attempt is made to test this actual well performance with the proposed EAVR method.

Table 5 : Well test data

	Test 1	Test 2	Test 3	Test 4
Test Date	Feb 2019	Nov 2019	Jan 2020	Mar 2020
Flowrate (bpd)	1288	903	701	687
FTHP (psi)	690	551	512	490
FBHP (psi)	3310	3022	2883	2856
Reservoir Dept (ftss)	8520	8520	8520	8520

Using the February 2019 data (in red fonts) as a baseline we can compute the respective EAVRs for the various test data as shown in Tab. 6.

Table 6 : EAVR calculation for Well Test Data

Test data	$\tan(\alpha)$	$\tan(\beta)$	$\tan(\alpha)-\tan(\beta)$	$1+\tan(\alpha)\tan(\beta)$	$(\tan(\alpha)-\tan(\beta))/(1+\tan(\alpha)\tan(\beta))$	θ
Test 1	-0.307512	-0.307512	0.000000	1.000000	0.000000	0.000000
Test 2	-0.307512	-0.290023	-0.017488	1.005072	-0.017400	-0.996847
Test 3	-0.307512	-0.278286	-0.029225	1.008133	-0.028990	-1.660516
Test 4	-0.307512	-0.277700	-0.029812	1.008279	-0.029567	-1.693595

Test 1 is used as a baseline and all EAVR were calculated with respect to Test 1 and the relationship between the flowrates and the EAVR is as shown in Fig.
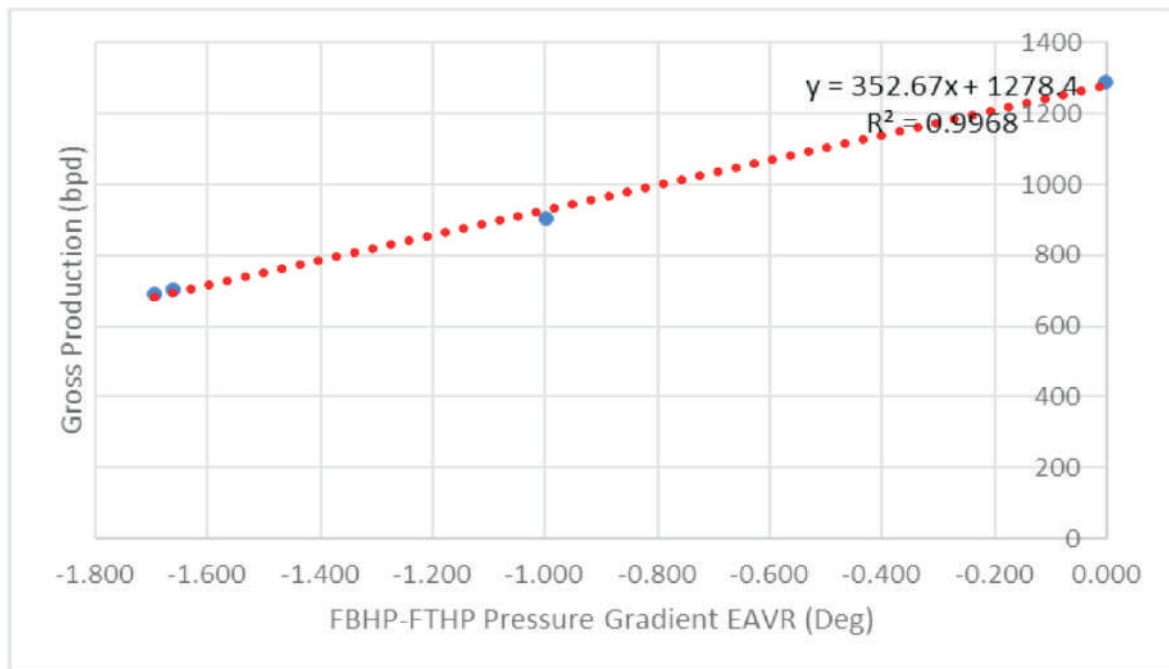

Figure 11 : Well Test System Descriptive Model

This case analysis shows that the reservoir energy loss effect on well productivity can also be analyzed using the EAVR method. One should, however, note that at bubble point pressure gas liberation starts and this could affect the application of this concept. The four test points are almost perfectly matched as shown in Fig. 9 with R2 of 0.997.

Conclusion

A new vector-based method for predicting leak and inflow in fluid evacuation pipelines and inflow in oil well respectively has been documented. The proportionality theory behind this new method is that pressure gradient vectors are proportional to the volume being transported through the evacuating conduits. This means that any inflow or leak in any given pipeline will influence the resultant vector by creating an enclosed angle. This enclosed angle can be used to predict the inflow or leak on that given pipeline through the use of such flow System Descriptive Model. An SDM shows a baseline data for such a system and how it will behave if subjected to a leak or additional inflow. This new process is only applicable to monophasic flow but is also applicable in live hydrocarbon where the transmission pressure is above the bubble point pressure. An oil well"s SDM can also be used for verifying regular well tests. This new approach is very precise on the leak or inflow rate estimation at the respective leak or inflow positions. Some of the value adds for this new process includes simplicity, ease of operations, and basic knowledge skill requirement for operational staff.

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