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CALL FOR SUBMISSION OF RESEARCH ARTICLES

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SOCIAL SCIENCE (MTU-JHUMASS)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

It is an honour coupled with pleasure to be the Editor-in-Chief for the Third Edition of the *Mountain Top University Journal of Humanities, Management and Social Sciences*. The journey is an expedition in the devotion to profound excellence in scholarship. The delight is great and the effort tedious in keeping in line with the standard, scope and relevance set within the precincts of the Humanities, Management and the Social Sciences. Thus, making the journal is not only a stroke of genius but also a presentation of a repository of knowledge that is in tandem with current trends and realities. This edition of the journal comprises thirteen published articles, reviewed and edited by seasoned scholars. Below, I shall surmise the submissions' contributions to knowledge while the rest would be left to the reader(s) for interpretation(s) as well as interrogation(s).

Sotimirin, Tunji's "A Comparative Study of the Use of Music in Selected Productions of Wole Soyinka and Femi Osofisan's Plays" is set on the borough of comparative study of two Nigerian classical dramatists on the reconstruction and deconstruction of music in their dramatic exigencies as indigenous contribution to global dramaturgy.

Oriola, Mufutau Oluwakemi's "Analysis of Patterns of Select National Newspapers' Framing of the 2019 Presidential Election Campaign in Nigeria" is laced on the crux and contending issue of "straight news stories of the campaign" on the submission that there should be a guided journalism to ensure objective election campaign coverage.

Christopher, Anyokwu's "Brecht, 'Folkism' and the Dramaturgy of Sam Ukala" is an Afrocentric poetics as a depicted dramaturgy. In other words, "Folkism" as an influence on Sam Ukala's selected plays. The focus is on Brechtian aesthetics and its influence on Sam Ukala's "folkscripts".

Joshua, Abimbola Abosede's "Corporate Governance and Value Relevance of Financial Information: A Study of Selected Listed Companies in Nigeria" centres on corporate governance and the effect it has on value relevance. To do justice to this, samples were taken from listed companies in Nigeria and analysed. The author submits that board members of listed companies should have relevant expertise and skills to foster a growth in the desirable qualities of financial information.

Dalamu, Taofeek and Fatuase, Alfred's "Describing Nigerian English along the Vector of the English Thematic System" draws its argument from the second learner's situation on the development of New English with emphasis on Nigeria English (NE). The focus is on the speaker in exemplifying "bi-layered structures in the domain of experiential theme". This is done by accentuating thematic structural comparison in British English (BrE) with Nigerian English (NE) as theorised in Systemic Functional Linguistics.

Olubanjo-Olufowobi, Olufunso and Dasaolu, Babajide Olugbenga's "A Critical Analysis of the Role of Philosophy in Entrepreneurship and Sustainable Development in Nigeria" is a philosophical stance on entrepreneurship under the concepts of creativity, opportunity, independence and innovation in discreet decision making through the exponent of converting ideas to realities — an imperative to

entreprencurship and sustainable development.

Irene, Oseremen Felix and Adekanmi Adegoke Kayode's "The Influence of Social Factors on Violent Delinquent Behaviours among Public School Students in Ibadan Metropolis" is a research on behaviourial issues and by extension how social factors influenced pupils' behaviour in Ibadan metropolis. Thus calling for a family drawn structure as a guide to aid a child to become a better adult.

Adelabu, Omowale, Sanusi, Bernice O. and Oloyede, Binta David's "Potency of Online Adverts in the Eye of the Buyer: A Study of Consumers in Three LGAs in Lagos State" investigates the effect of social media advertising on product patronage. The research leads the authors to conclude that advertising messages on social media has the potential to positively affect people's attitude towards a brand but does not necessarily lead to purchase.

Ogunbanjo, 'Bimbo's "Regionalism in International Affairs" submits that there is no practical contradiction between globalisation and regionalisation. And as a result of this, challenges of globalisation are better handled through regional arrangements, he concludes.

Solomon G. Anaeto and Babatunde O. Oni's "Mass Media and Social Responsibility Theory: Matters Arising" is an evaluation of the systemic patterns by which the society grants influence and power to the media. This evaluation is from the perspective of the social responsibility media theory.

Olusola, Kayode's "Functions of Children Satirical Songs: The Oyo-Yoruba Experience" focuses on the Oyo-Yoruba children's satirical songs and its value in cheeking immoral behaviours through lampoonic musical phenomena. The work sheds light on the instrumentality of musical satire in shaping behaviour among young people.

Mbaka, Chinyere, A.; Oni, Babatunde, O.; Udeh, Kenneth; and Richard, S.F.'s "Perception And Attitude Of Social Media Users In Nigeria To The #MeToo Campaign" focuses on the perception of social media users of the #MeToo campaign and how this informs the position they take in relation to the campaign.

Ven. Adetunmbi, Moses' "Christian Association of Nigeria and its Fight against Corruption in Nigeria" examines the position of CAN as a body and by extension their involvements in the fight against corruption in Nigeria. The core emphasis of this paper is on the demonstration of virtues against the backdrop of avarice as an essence of recognition and influence in the Nigerian society.

With the above summations, I can only concur to the truism that research is not complete until it is made available to the public for test of validity. This assignment has been completed on "our" part and hence we look forth to expected feedback(s) as a sign of intellectual engagement and interrogation. Thus, I present the Third Edition of the *Mountain Top University Journal of Humanities, Management and Social Science* as a continuum to previous editions.

Prof. O. J. Akinyomi, *Editor-in-Chief*

A Comparative Study of the Use of Music in Selected Productions of Wole Soyinka and Femi Osofisan's Plays

1

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Abstract

This paper is a comparative study of the deployment of music in selected plays of Wole Soyinka and Femi Osofisan as a utilization of Yoruba cultural heritage in dramaturgy. Soyinka x-rays music in the sacredness of Yoruba culture while Osofisan deconstructs and reconstructs music in relation to contemporary realities. This is in the quest to explicate the Yoruba cosmology from the nature of their music—the essentialities of music and how it is paramount to their existence. This finding is examined through Soyinka's Death and the King's Horseman and Strong Breed; and Osofisan's Women of Owu and Many Colours Make the Thunder-King. Theoretically, this showcased the postcolonial aesthetics in Yoruba culture, music.

Keywords: Music, Comparative, Yoruba, Culture

Introduction

Soyinka and Osofisan are master dramatic storytellers whose creative inspirations significantly come from their immediate environments. Soyinka is a first-generation Nigerian playwright while Osofisan belongs to the second generation. Both of them draw from indigenous sources to garnish their dramaturgy. They exhibit different ideological positions while employing similar indigenous materials in their plays. Thus, this paper focuses on the points of convergence and divergence in their use of local materials, particularly indigenous songs in the exploration of their preoccupations and theatrical aesthetics. The performances under study are juxtaposed with a view to comparing how effective music

is used in them. An attempt is made to discuss how the employment of music in the performances differentiates the religious, social and political stance of the two Nigerian drama and theatre icons.

Music in Yoruba Culture

Music is a significant part of Yoruba cultural heritage. It is a common practice to give an infant, on the day of its naming, an *oriki* - a form of panegyric especially composed - a salutary signature, which remains with the child for the rest of his/her life, among other praise, names (Adegbite, 2001:1). This is usually drawn from the family or lineage. Several of such descriptive names often characteristically encapsulate the history, myth or legend, or even significant events in the lives of the child's ancestral line. Through music, individuals or groups express the spirit of love, joy, co-operation and oneness, and perform in unity as part of their culture. Akpabot (2005: 91) explains "this" culture as "a way of thinking, feeling and believing in any given society" and that "one method of finding out about the culture of a people is to examine how they conceptualize their music." During festivals and ceremonies, music provides an excellent means of expression. Among the Yoruba, music is performed in connection with aspects of communal life such as birth, death, calendar festivals, religious rituals, marriages, initiation ceremonies, funerals, installations, coronations and other social functions.

The Yoruba exhibit differences in taste, method of music and music making. They have no indigenous musical notation since music is an oral process. Okwilagwe (2002:175) observes that their music "derives its origin and versatility from the oral traditions or folklore of the different groups which make up the people." Musical ceremonies are thus performed for the deities such as *Sango* (god of thunder), *Ogun* (god of war/iron), *Obatala* (god of creation), *Oya*, *Ifa* (oracular divinity), *Yemoja* and many others. Music is integrated with life and appropriate music accompanies almost every stage of their existence. Professional itinerant musicians such as minstrels, bards, chanters etc. entertain, and amuse members of the communities with vocal and instrumental music such as *rara, ege, esa, ijala, iyere, ogede, alamo, bata, dundun, igbin, bembe, sekere, agogo and dadakuada* (Vidal, 2012: 320). The various rituals, kinship activities and ceremonies associated with divinities require music for effective functioning. Adegbite (1993: 6) notes that the "annual festivals afford the opportunity to hear various types of music performed in traditional Yoruba culture, either vocally with or without instrumental accompaniment or purely instrumental music such as *Bata, Ipese, Igbin* and *dundun."*

In a context similar to this, Nzewi (1981:4) also stresses, "A deity or spirit has its own special folk music which depicts its character and which can summon its presence. The medium is to mime the character of the possessing deity or spirit, through dances or dance-drama." Drums in Yoruba religious ceremonies summon ancestral spirits. Singers frequently alternate between the different vocal patterns in musical renditions such as *Orisa pipe, esa*, or *iwi*, with yielding, overlapping call and response, ululations, singing out interjections, interlocking and complex rhythmic figures. The

devotees are usually actively involved in different musical skills, as there were no drums, no spirits and no rituals. Music in this case serves as a good background for the image of the gods or spirits that are being invoked. Thus, devotees chant the praises that depict the characteristics and benevolence of the divinities. However, in some other cases, they sing dirges and festival songs, funeral and ritual songs in honour of the dead or the ancestors. Spirits are summoned with music that spurs devotees to a state of ecstasy. Olukoju (1987: 129) explains that "among the Yoruba, the words of the songs and chants in praise of the deities form the bulk of Yoruba oral poetry, types of which are *Ijala* for Ogun, *rara*, originally identified with Eshu (the trickster god), *Iyere-Ifa* for Orunmila (the oracular divinity) and *esa* for the masquerade cult."

To gain a full understanding of the Yoruba cosmology, it is important to understand the nature of their music; this is perhaps why John Blacking (1976: 186) emphasizes that "music-making is not simply an exercise in the organization of sound", but that it is indeed a symbolic expression of social and cultural organization which reflects the values and the past and present ways of life of the human beings who create it." Music, like dance, is a significant aspect of the cultural life of the Yoruba, both in terms of vocal rendition and instrumental accompaniment, with every occasion marked by a distinguishing musical style. The occasions for music among the people include recreational times for relaxation at social gatherings such as naming ceremony of a child, marriage, funeral, and the installation of a chief or coronation of a monarch. Traditional festivals such as *Osun Oshogbo*, *Ikire*, *Apomu* and *Ikoyi*; *Ogun*

festivals in Ondo, Ilesha and Owo; *Egungun* and *Oke Ibadan*, the Egbado celebration of *Yemoja*, *Gelede* and *Efe* as well as the Ijebu's *Agemo* are unique occasions for music rendition. Some of these festivals are scheduled to coincide with the dry season, some are for propitiation and request for blessings of the ancestors on the entire community. In all of these, music plays a central role as argued by Alabi Balogun (2005: 10):

Songs also enhance emotional and physical participation in an act of worship, which often leads to ecstatic experiences. These are ecstatic experiences and possession of the divinity from an indispensable part of worship during the annual festivals of certain divinities like Sango, Oya and Osun in Yoruba land. Yoruba festivals are simply inconceivable without the integration and performance of songs, which they regard as important instrument for evoking the spirits of the gods (Orisha). Songs and music help to shape the ceremonies and connect the physical with the supernatural in an atmosphere of celebration.

Music performed during any of these occasions is determined by certain cultural objectives, religious/ritual significance and symbolic representations as defined by the Yoruba worldview. Of importance in this regard, for example, is the Yoruba belief in transcendental practices such as funeral rites, ritualised propitiation and the invocation of the dead called *okupipe*. Observance of requiem is an important aspect of culture. Death in Yoruba philosophy is a transition to another realm, but not the finality of experience as believed in some other societies. This moment of

transition of the physical being into the metaphysical realm is usually accompanied with the performance of intricate rituals so that the deceased can rest in peace in the ancestral world.

In alignment with musical expressions, the Yoruba equally have the tendency to dramatise everything. Some of these festivals possess to a great degree elements of theatre or at best mimetic actions. For instance, music played on such occasions have accompanying steps, body gestures or language, which enhance the performative elements peculiar to them. This is traced to an attitude of reverence, which begins from traditional greetings: a boy prostrates while a girl kneels and so on.

A Comparison of the Effectiveness of Music in Selected Productions of Wole Soyinka and Femi Osofisan's Plays

Soyinka utilizes music as he does language, for its evocative and ritual essence. Because the "numinous area of transition", he argues, is the very centre of the tragic muse, music is thus "an echo from that void, from the "fourth stage" (1976). Music comes in as a willing collaborative partner in Soyinka's drama of death, through which he is able to forge a complementary aesthetic partnership that allows his creative ingenuity to be expressed to the fullest, in engaging social situations, through mytho-poetic language that itself has come under heavy criticism as earlier indicated.

In *Death and the King's Horseman,* Soyinka dramatises the ritual of supreme sacrifice, relying more on language and characterisation combined with music (a major vehicle of narration), dance and drumming to depict the Yoruba metaphysical world of the unborn,

the living and the ancestral world. Since cultural elements such as dance, music, chants and diction in *Death and the King's Horseman* are at the physical and metaphysical planes, the inherent aesthetics can also be better appreciated at these two levels. Subsequently, taste and perception of these cultural aesthetics demand a foreknowledge of the Yoruba worldview, coupled with a sound grounding in Yoruba language, through which this world is enacted in the play. Though the play is written in English, the playwright consciously uses English language to capture the Yoruba worldview. For instance, readers with a sound grounding in Yoruba language can only best appreciate the subtext in the following lines.

Elesin: Death came calling.
Who does not know his rasp of reeds?
A twilight whisper in the leaves before
The great Araba falls. Did you hear it?
Not I! Swears the farmer. He snaps his fingers round his head, abandons
A hard-worn harvest and begins a rapid dialogue with his legs.
(Scene One, 11)

"Death came calling", though said in English, is actually a transliteration of *Iku de* into English language. The native speaker of English would rather say, "One is battling with death". In addition, "He snaps his fingers round his head, abandons a hard-worn harvest, begins a rapid dialogue with his legs" in English language simply means, "he abandons everything, and runs away". Non-Yoruba

language speakers would need additional information to understand what is meant by "begins a rapid dialogue with his legs".

Iyaloja's line "You want to look inside the bridal chamber? You want to see for yourself how a man cuts the virgin knot?" (Scene Three, 36) is a Yoruba language expression of "do you want to see how a woman is deflowered" There are other instances in the play. The point being made is that though the play is written in English, the Yoruba characters speak Yoruba in English and as such, readers would need knowledge of Yoruba language and its associated idioms to fully understand the play.

Soyinka employs music to enhance mood and character interpretation. The status and deliverance of Elesin-Oba to the world of the play are depicted with the use of music. Music, while entertaining in the play, also calls attention to the centrality of Elesin-Oba to the subject matter of the play.

Elesin-Oba enters along a passage before the market, pursued by the drummers and praise-singers. He is a man of enormous vitality; speaks, dances and sings with that infectious enjoyment of life, which accompanies his actions. (Scene One, 9)

The enactment of this mood, rendered highly impressive by the strength of music, also has to do with the power, privileges and honour Elesin-Oba shares with the departed Alaafin, hence the need to accord him the same royal reception as he prepares to meet him for continuity. It is also instructive to point out the fact that the symbol of the actual historical setting, Oyo, is the *sekere,* the rattle, a musical instrument, which accompanies the *dundun*, the talking drum and *gbedu*, the deep-throated drums of royalty. Praise-Singer heightens the excitement of Elesin-Oba's entrance into the market, with his lyrical chant that eulogises, cautions and recollects the past to strengthen the will of the king's horseman. He gives an insight into Elesin's mission in the market with this. It is also significant that some of the speeches in the drama, which can hardly find expressions to convey their authentic meanings, are translated into music, chants, and dance as channels of cultural expression and communication. Just as we find in the following dialogue between Iyaloja, the women and the praise singer:

Iyaloja: (dancing round him sings) He forgives us, he forgives us. What fearful thing it is when the voyager sets forth but a curse remains behind. **Women**: For a while, we truly feared our hands had wrenched the world adrift in emptiness.

Iyaloja: Richly, richly robe him richly. The cloth of honour is alari, Sanyan is the band of friendship. Boa-skin makes slippers of esteem.

Women: For a while, we truly feared our hands had wrenched the world adrift in emptiness.

Praise singer: He who must, must voyage forth, the world will not roll backwards. It is he who must, with one great gesture overtake the world.

Women: For a while, we truly feared our hands had wrenched the world in emptiness.

Praise singer: The gourd you bear is not for shirking. The gourd is not for setting down at the first cross or wayside grove. Only one river may know its content.

Women: We shall all meet at the great market. We shall all meet at

the great market. He who goes early takes the best bargains. But we shall meet and resume our banter. (155-156)

Dasylva (1995) informs that in language, the song of the Not-I Bird is a poetic metaphor meant to serve the traditional function of an epic simile, as reflected in the example below:
Death came calling;
Who does not know his rasp of reeds?
A twilight whisper in the leaves before the great Araba falls.
Did you hear it?
Not I! Swears the farmer
He snaps his finger round his head abandons a hard work harvest and begins a rapid dialogue with his legs.
'Not I' shouts the fearless hunter, 'but it's getting dark, and this night-lamp has leaked out all its oil.
I think it's best to go home and resume my hunt another day
'But now he pauses, suddenly lets out a wail: 'Oh foolish mouth, calling down a curse on your own head!
Your lamp has leaked out all its oil, has it?'
Forwards or backwards now he dare not move.
To search for leaves and make *etutu* on that spot?
Or race home to the safety of his hearth?
Ten market days have passed my friends, and still he's rooted there rigid like the plinth of Oranyan (150).
Soyinka's transliteration of the proverbs and poetry in the play, not only serves the purpose of investigating linguistic correctness but also to denote cultural and linguistic location. The superior linguistic

change in the sections in which Yoruba culture prevails reconstructs stereotyped concepts of music and produces an innovative kind of linguistic procedure and incorporates elements characterised by dialogue; it takes a different perspective from the regular theatrical conversation. Audiences who are not accustomed to Yoruba language and cultural expressions are likely to have challenges with comprehending the message due to the poetic nature of the language, which is identified with Yoruba proverbial tradition. Soyinka's post-independent inclination to retrieve and recuperate his Yoruba/African culture, which had been under attack by colonial authority, is represented by Simon Pilkings in *Death and the King's Horseman*.

There is a parallelism between Soyinka's use of music in *Death and the King's Horseman* and the operatic theatrical mode in terms of translation of spoken words and interpretations of musical expressions. Martin Esslin (1987: 88-89) draws attention to Friedrich Nietzsche's view on this connection:
Opera undoubtedly a form of drama, owes its origin to the assumption by Renaissance schools that the dialogue of Greek tragedy was sung rather than spoken. While today the text in opera tends merely to form a 'pre-text' for the music (and is often well-nigh unintelligible), its musical notation can be seen as having sprung from an attempt of fixing that all-important sign system of acting, the vocal enunciation and delivery of the text. The music that accompanies the singing also provides powerful 'subtext' by indicating the mood, the hidden thoughts and the emotions of the

characters.

Generally, musical renditions (vocal and instrumental) essentially tell stories in powerful poetic vocabulary. This corroborates the fact that Yoruba musical expressions occur within the framework of the interface between language (words) and music. Aside aesthetic principles, Soyinka pays particular attention to the conversation and communication of poetic virtues in the phraseology. In furtherance of the portrayal of tradition in his dramaturgy, music comes in as a willing collaborative partner in Soyinka's drama of death, through which he is able to forge a complementary aesthetic partnership that allows his creative ingenuity to be expressed to the fullest, in engaging social situations, through mytho-poeic language. *The Strong Breed* also displays the ingenuousness of music, dance and dialogue. Music is used in it to create a feeling of nostalgia and magnificence of pre-colonial communal life. "Eni lodun awa" (It is Celebration Galore) states happiness and a festive mood. It accentuates economic fortune and satisfaction of the people. The audience is made to identify with the community and wishes to recreate it in the present. This song underscores the philosophy of Africanism as Soyinka strongly extols the fact that the Yoruba people have a tradition that displays their thoughts and emotions musically. Music in the play rejuvenates Yoruba cultural practices that have faded away. It conveys the mood, comments on the tragic reality and helps to build tension.

Soyinka uses music to reaffirm his stance on the "carrier custom" in

Yoruba traditional religion. Music as employed in the play reveals that African tradition is sacred and sacrosanct. The "Agboko" (The Pilot) song warns that we should not allow western ideology to triumph over African perception and cultural identity. Osofisan's theatre is decidedly marked by a pervasive deployment of a fusion of folk music with popular music. He draws materials from the immediate environment of his audience, and he purposely uses music as the mainstay of his dramaturgy in most cases. The reality of his play, *Women of Owu,* is expressed more from the quality and ambience engendered by the music deployed. Aside from serving the aesthetic requirement in the drama, dirges are fundamental to the Yoruba conception of life and death. They function as a ritual of transition from the material to the celestial world and equip the dead with a metaphysical reality that allows them to connect with their relations and equally serve as a link between the utmost creator and humankind. The African oral literature and the dirge as a feature of oral poetry, along with songs, dance, drama and other types of creative idioms portray the different emotions, the pathetic concept of life and the expectations of the people for a saintly or extra-mundane intercession to provide life that is more desirable. Merely reading the transcribed and paraphrased song/music texts printed on the back of the book as the author's message does not provide objectivity to them compared to the experience encountered when they are chanted during performance. Osofisan's use of his indigenous Yoruba culture in terms of integrating music, mime, dance and dialogue constituents of total theatre, and the attributes of Yoruba traditional celebrations has tremendous impact on the

audience as it permeates and incorporates them in the dramatic action. This draws up the audience to be immersed into the performance of the play. The straightforwardness and intelligibility of Osofisan's language, his simple and understandable method of writing, the convincing prosecutions and circumstances in the play, the personalities that are realistic and most significantly the productive deployment of narrative technique, paradoxes, songs, music and dance in involving the audience account for his unique influence on contemporary Nigerian theatre.

In a similar disposition, Osofisan's *Many Colours Make the Thunder-King* celebrates a rich blend of traditional Yoruba percussion instruments such as bata, dundun, sekere, agogo and so on to achieve the required linguistic and various dramatic effects, which contribute to the aesthetic appeal and elucidation of the subject matter. It also helps to achieve the ritual theatre of Sango as a Yoruba legendary figure who is celebrated and worshipped by his many devotees all over the world.

All Yoruba divinities have special types of musical instruments associated with their worship. Bata music which is dedicated to the worship of Sango is compatibly and elaborately deployed to express his threatening exasperation when he becomes autocratic and excessively ambitious, depicting the typical greed, power drunkenness, and corrupt nature of modern African leaders. The prologue scene is a melting pot of celebration of songs, drumming and dancing to establish the conflict in the drama and introduce other deities such as Oya, Osun, and the ancestral spirits such as Alagemo,

Igunnu and the entire members of the community.

Musical intervention in some of Osofisan's plays is so pervasive that such plays almost approximate to what may be called musical theatre. In the plays, music is not just an appendage or a part of the narrative process; it is a narrative in its own right. The songs in the plays are skilfully manipulated to lend support to the focus of the plays. As our analysis of *Women of Owu* and *Many Colours Make the Thunder-King* has shown, most of Osofisan's plays are, to a large extent, realised in music. Osofisan's African narrative mode of telling his story also borrows from Yoruba tradition that invests a great deal in music, not just to entertain but also to instruct. Moreover, as earlier noted, traditional musical instruments such as sekere, dundun, gangan and agogo often feature prominently. Ayo Kehinde (2006: 171) notes:

This technique is traditional, although the content is modern. Everything in the technique suggests that the narrative act of storytelling: the moonlit night, the call-response introduction or opening, the intimate rapport between the audience and the performer, interventions, digressions, meta-narrations, dramatic illustrations and critical interplay with the audience.

He states further that the plethora of songs in Osofisan's plays accumulate details, statements and imagery. In all of these, Ibitokun (1995: 97) finds Osofisan's reconstruction of oral tradition, myth and utilization of music as synonymous with Nigeria's (Africa's) affirmation of her stance "from pantheistic, monarchical, determinate universe to a revolutionary, nationalistic, Nietzschean cosmos where man's potentials or possibilities are great."

Music, for Soyinka, functions as a vital tool of promoting communalism, derived from its very specific cultural origin and embedded, most importantly, in the notion of rites, ritual and cultural aesthetics, which equally stem from life force, identity and civilisation, that project the understanding of the African essence and sensibilities. In supporting these views, Maduakor (1986) is also of the opinion that with the use of music Soyinka is able to evoke nostalgia, violence, and death. In the case of Osofisan, as already argued, music plays a significant role in his dramaturgy. Almost all of his plays require a measure of the infusion of music. This has come to be realised as the mainstay of his narration.

Music in the performances of Soyinka's plays under investigation was deployed with the intention of involving the audience emotionally in the play. The songs underscore the playwright's philosophical stance on the sacredness of the African cultural heritage. Music in the performances elicited from the audience the feeling of sympathy and empathy for the world of the plays. One was manipulated not to query the portrayal of the Yoruba (African) culture but to abide by it and be religiously devoted to it. Soyinka promulgates his mind-set on the pre-eminence of the Yoruba (African) culture. Osofisan arrives at the same destination via a different route as he uses music to not only promote African rich cultural heritage but also to deconstruct, reappraise, reconstruct, reaffirm and propagate a postcolonial aesthetics in Yoruba (African) culture.

Conclusion

This research summits that Soyinka and Osofisan showcase mastery with Yoruba cultural heritage and generously utilise it in their plays. However, they have different positions on the future of some aspects of Yoruba cultural heritage. Their different perspectives reflect in the employment of music in their plays. Wole Soyinka who is of an older generation uses music to underscore his belief in the sacredness of the African culture, which he represents with Yoruba culture. Soyinka believes that African cultural heritage must be preserved in its totality. This he advocates in his plays with the use of music. On the other hand, Osofisan's position is that, good as Yoruba cultural heritage is, there is the need for its deconstruction and reconstruction in tandem with contemporary reality. He criticises those aspects of Yoruba culture that he believes have outgrown their relevance. In order to drive home this position, in his plays he relies substantially on the use of music. Conclusively, both veteran Nigerian dramatists are of different ideological stances and make this evident in the use of music in the exploration of their thematic preoccupations.

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Analysis of Patterns of Select National Newspapers' Framing of the 2019 Presidential Election Campaign in Nigeria

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Abstract

The mass media are key players in the political environments of modern democracies and their roles are increasingly important, especially during elections. Political journalism, as a crucial area of media participation in politics, is indispensable due to the need for information dissemination through news reporting of political events such as election campaigns. News as a journalistic tool is constructed with narrative frameworks – frames - used in defining political reality. This study examined the direction of selected newspapers' framing of the 2019 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria. The study content analysed straight news stories of the campaign published in 480 editions of the selected newspapers - The Guardian, Daily Sun, The Punch, Vanguard and Nigerian Tribune - between November 18, 2018 and February 21, 2019. Findings revealed that the patterns of framing of Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in the selected newspapers were high frequency, low prominence, the ruling and opposition parties-dominated, largely issue-specific framed, mostly framed around horserace, balanced between pro and anti-major contender – the APC and PDP - and mostly framed as castigation. The study recommended that journalists should be guided in their use of framing devices, ensure balanced and objective coverage of election campaigns.

Keywords: Newspaper Framing, Generic Frame, Issue-Specific Frame, 2019 Presidential Election Campaign.

Introduction

Scholarly attention to the roles of mass media as key players in the political environments of modern democracies has increased as democracy becomes increasingly popular around the world. Political journalism as a crucial area of media participation in politics is crucial and indispensable due to the need for information dissemination as an important democratic requirement, through which reasoned and rational choices among citizens are promoted in their political decision making and actions (Chambers & Costain, 2001). According to McNair (2009), the constitutional roles of the mass media in a democracy, which are performed through political journalism, include surveillance, through routine news reporting of political events; critical scrutiny by means of interpreting political issues and coordinating opinions, otherwise referred to as the correlation function; representation and advocacy, through editorial writing on key political issues; and partiality by means of commentary by means of columns and opinion writing about political policies, issues and events. Oriola (2017) observes that the foundation for the performance of all other journalistic functions is news reporting as other functions depend on this fundamental role.

Meanwhile, news is considered as a construct (Schudson, 2010) or product which suggests that "like any other commodity, news is gathered, processed, packaged and sold" (p. 1). As a product or construct, news is a journalistic tool used to define political reality. The outcome of the news production process is thus "a finished articulation of what really matters in political affairs at any given time" (McNair, 2007, p. 67). Applied to newspaper publishing, news as a product is presented for readers' consumption. In constructing political news, reporters fix political events such as campaigns into "narrative frameworks by means of which they tell stories about the events" (McNair, 2007, p. 67). The narrative frameworks are generically called 'frames' while their production or construction process is termed 'framing'. Knudsen (2014) simply describes framing at the macro level as the manner of news presentation and at a micro level, "how certain elements in a news narrative affect the reader" (p. 209). de Vreese (2005) states that frames refer to persistent patterns of selection, exclusion, presentation, cognition and interpretation of issues by which symbol handlers (journalists) organise political and social movement discourse.

Applied to this study, framing is the news narrative about political campaigns for the 2019 Presidential election in Nigeria, which has the potential to give the audience certain kind of interpretation, knowledge, problems and the contexts of the campaign issues in the news, and lead to a particular pattern of voting. The Nigerian political milieu witnessed a fierce horserace between the two major candidates/political parties during the 2019 Presidential election campaign – the incumbent Muhammadu Buhari of the All Progressives Congress (APC) and the opposition Alhaji Abubakar Atiku of the People's Democratic Party (PDP). The campaign was covered by the media and in the coverage, issues and events were constructed using narrative frameworks (frames) that could have

evolved certain patterns. This study examined the patterns of news framing of the campaign issues in selected Nigerian national newspapers.

Statement of the Problem

The problem that prompted this study revolved round the fact that media involvement in politics through coverage of election campaigns could lead to certain patterns of news narratives through framing. Interactions between reporters and political gladiators could result into patterns of framing of the 2019 Presidential campaign in Nigeria in a way to promote certain party/candidate. If news is framed subjectively in the media, it could have misleading consequences the audience and shift voting patterns in the wrong direction. This leads to a problem worthy of an empirical attention: intended or unintended frames in news stories about the 2019 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria. According to Aalberg, Stromback and de Vreese (2011), framing of political issues may have negative consequences such as undermining of political information among citizens, promotion of politicians' self-interests, depression of knowledge about policy positions, distraction of the public from the substance of the issue, promotion of spiral of cynicism in the public and springing of mass disengagement from political participation. In the light of the foregoing, this study analysed the patterns of framing of Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers.

Objectives of the Study

1. To determine the frequency of reportage of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers;

2. To assess the level of prominence of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers;

3. To determine the direction of news framing in stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers;

4. To evaluate the manifest purpose of the framing in news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers.

Research Questions

1. What is the frequency of reportage of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers?

2. What is the level of prominence of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers?

3. Towards which direction is news framing of stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers?

4. What is the manifest purpose of the framing of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers?

Scope of the Study

This study was delimited to news framing as an object of empirical research in political communication. Its focus was on patterns of news framing in selected newspapers' reportage of Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign. A total of five national newspapers readily on the newsstand in Southwest, Nigeria were selected thus: *The Guardian, Daily Sun, The Punch, Vanguard* and *Nigerian Tribune*. The period covered by the study was between November 18, 2018 and February 21, 2019 – the officially approved period of the Presidential campaign by the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) (INEC, 2019).

Literature Review

Frame in communication has been defined variously and extensively in literature. One of the earliest and most cited definitions of frame is by Entman (1993) thus:

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (p. 52).

This definition explains what journalists do when they consider the appropriate angle from which to present a story. Their presentation in a particular pattern, form or shape determines the news narrative, which represents perceived reality about the issue in the news. Intentionally or inadvertently, the reality projected about the issue has functional implications at the receivers' end: defining what the issue is, determining the cause of the event, shaping moral judgment of the issue and/or suggesting what solutions there are. Framing is defined by Entman, Mathes and Pellicano (2009) as "selecting some aspects of perceived reality and constructing messages that highlight connections among them in ways that promote a particular interpretation" (p. 176). This idea is in consonance with the explanation that news could be considered as a chip of diamond, the side within a person's view at a time determining his description of the object. The journalists' perceived reality, dictated by his personal and professional views of issues in the news, shapes the ways they construct news messages. More importantly the patterns of construction and presentation are connected to the way interpretations are projected by the mass media. Such patterns, if they become persistent among networks of professionals, represent framing as a media function - intended or unintended.

Framing in journalism can be classified into generic and issues-specific (Aalberg *et al*, 2011; de Vreese, 2005). Generic framing transcends thematic limitations but applies to different issues or topics, time and cultural contexts (de Vreese, 2005). It is a type of framing that relates to structural attributes of news applicable to different issues (Mathes *et al*, 2009). Such frames that are inherent in the journalistic conventions of news reporting are generic in nature, for instance news values (prominence, oddity, human interest and consequence), news structure (the inverted pyramid), news angle and the use of journalese (terms or words that help reporters to save

space in news packaging). Journalistic conventions tend to be general among reporters, however variations may occur due to quality of training, personal factors and organisational guidelines (house style, editorial policy) all of which combine to account for variations in news framing. Issue-specific framing relates to how specific issues are presented in news in a way to define the problem surrounding the issue, suggest judgment and provide remedies in respect of the problem Oriola, 2017). It includes conflict, consensus, economic consequence, morality and responsibility, outlook, horserace, trend, policy exploration, reaction, reality check, exposure of wrongdoing and personality profile frames.

Framing has attracted concerted empirical attention in political communication in recent times. Ross and Bantimaroudis (2006) conducted a study aimed at examining frame shifts in news coverage about the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack with particular focus on how newspapers portrayed or framed government elites - Yasser Arafat and Ariel Sharon. Findings of the study showed that the coverage of Arafat and Sharon by *The New York Times* varied from a monthly average high of 56 articles to a low of 14 articles, showing a significant change in the quantity of coverage after the September 11 attack. Results also showed that the newspaper generally framed Arafat as an enemy and Sharon as a friend of the US, a pattern that represented a shift from the initial six-month framing of both as friends of the US. Another study on framing of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack in the US conducted by Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008) reported that the selected US newspapers engaged in

more episodic framing while the UK newspapers used more thematic framing of terrorism. In the UK newspapers, diplomatic reportage of the issue was more prominent while the US papers used presentations and evaluations of military strategies in their coverage.

Slothus and de Vreese (2010) reported that the prospect and consequence frames pushed opinions in opposing directions on both the conflict and consensus issues. Opinions are more supportive on welfare policy in the pro-frame than in the con-frame, just as in the case of trade agreement among participants exposed to pro-frame than those exposed to con-frame. Also, political party attachment was instrumental to framing effects as opinions among Social Democratic Party voters tended to be more affected by frames sponsored by their party than when the same frames were promoted by Liberal Party. The same trend was observed in respect of Liberal Party supporters.

In Nigeria, Fadairo, Fadiro and Aminu (2014) examined the coverage of corruption news by major newspapers and reported that frequency of reportage of corruption cases in year 2010 recorded the highest percentage with the *Nigerian Tribune* ranking first on the coverage of corruption. In all, prominence was given to inside-page articles in all the three newspapers but *The Guardian*, reported the highest in the front-page. Majority of the corruption articles were treated in the news category with the *Nigerian Tribune* having 42.4%. More than half of space allotted to corruption articles was

one-quarter page while the *Nigerian Tribune* recorded the highest space allotment to full page stories. The politics/governance sector ranked first in the focus of anti-corruption coverage with a total of 522 news items (57.2%), followed by agriculture, transportation and energy sectors in that order. Also, the sector whose stories were treated as the most prominent was the politics/governance sector.

Agu (2015) conducted a study focused on the language and style of newspaper reportage on the theme of corruption story about the unspent 300 million naira of the Federal Ministry of Health in 2007, which indicted Iyabo Obasanjo, the daughter of former President, Olusegun Obasanjo. The study discovered that some journalists reported the corruption issue objectively, distancing themselves from the stories while some brought personal biases and emotions into their stories. Lamidi and Olisa (2016) reported that selected newspapers adopted positive, negative and neutral frames in reporting the APC Change campaigns but there was more concentration on the positive frames than others in the coverage, with *The Punch* adopting the positive frame more than *The Guardian*. The primary factors that determined the patterns of newspaper framing were proximity, prominence and oddity, while the secondary factors were opposition status, individual interest, profit-making interest and political affiliation.

Theoretical Framework: Framing Theory

This study is anchored on framing theory. According to Chong and Druckman (2007), the major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be presented from different of perspectives and constructed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Duck and McMahan's (2009) agree to this idea, stating that communication is presentational because it entails the ability of the communicator to use the symbols to present a particular view, or perspective of the facts of an event. Frames in communication are used to conceptualise issues, organise everyday reality, provide meaning to an unfolding strips of events and promote particular definitions and interpretation of issues (Shah, Watts, Domke, & Fan, 2002). Moreover, Scheufele (1999) states that the theoretical principles underpinning framing include its social constructivism idea that views framing as the construction of reality about socio-political environments. The theory takes cognisance of people's information processing behaviour, attitudes and predispositions about issues. At the domain of the media, the theory considers journalists' personal factors, professional judgments and organisational variables that shape frame production.

McQuail (2010) explains framing theory to be an attractive one which is based on the principle that "an audience will be guided by journalistic frames in what they learn" (p. 511). This implies that news sets the boundaries for meaning-making interaction in communication between the source and the receiver. In the interactional model of framing effect, McQuail (2010) agrees with Scheufele (1999) interested news sources, media organisations, journalists and media audiences are the actors that shape the framing process. Message sources (especially political elites) deliberately or inadvertently employ verbal and non-verbal frames to shape their

speeches and actions, while media organisations set frameworks through in-house editorial policies and house styles that guide news narration. Journalists employ verbal and non-verbal frames in conveying meaning about news events. Media audiences receive news information and interpret them with their (mental or psychological) frames, thereby leading to a meaning making interaction. The theory is relevant to this study because the narrative devices journalists use in packaging news stories about the 2019 Presidential election in Nigeria become frames that set the boundaries for understanding the issue, the problems related to it and the possible solutions. The interaction between journalists and political actors, who are news sources, also shape what is reported and how, as well as the consequent public perception of the issues. Media organisations also set narrative frameworks into which journalists fix their stories through editorial policies, house styles and other guidelines. These shape framing patterns which is the crux of this study.

Methodology

This study adopted the descriptive research design. Content analysis was conducted to analyse straight news stories about the 2019 Presidential election in Nigeria published in five selected national newspapers from November 18, 2018 to February 21, 2019. The population of the study comprised a total of 480 editions of the five selected national newspapers - *The Guardian, Daily Sun, The Punch, Vanguard* and *Nigerian Tribune* - (96 editions each) published during the period under focus. The study sample comprised all the 480 editions of the newspapers selected through census sampling technique. A straight news story that reported the 2019 Presidential election in Nigeria was the unit of analysis in the study. The instrument for data collection in this study was validated coding guide/sheet and data were collected through a coding exercise at the Gbenga Daniel Library, Tai Solarin University of education, Ijagun, Ogun State, Nigeria. The data were analysed using frequency tables and cross-tabulation, with the aid of Statistical Products and Services Solution (SPSS), version 21.

Findings and Discussion

Research Objective 1: To determine the frequency of reportage of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers

Research Question 1: What is the frequency of reportage of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers?

Table 1: Crosstabulation of Frequency of Reportage of the Election Campaign Stories

Publications		Freq. Stories	Percent %	Cumulative Average
	The Guardian	9	9.8	0.51
	The Punch	26	28.2	1.47
	Vanguard	21	22.8	1.18
Newspapers	Nigerian Tribune	18	19.6	1.02
	Daily Sun	18	19.6	1.02
	Total	**92**	**100.0**	**5.2**

Source: Field study, 2019

During the period under focus, 92 straight news stories were published about the 2019 Presidential election campaign in Nigeria, indicating a cumulative average of 5.2 news reports per day in the

selected newspapers. *The Punch* accounted for the highest frequency of reportage (n=26; 28.2%; 1.47cum.) followed by *Vanguard* (n=21; 22.8%; 1.18cum.). *Nigerian Tribune* and *Daily Sun* recorded 18 stories each (19.6%; 1.02cum.) while *The Guardian* (n=9; 9.8%; 0.5cum) recorded the lowest frequency of reportage. Thus, the frequency of coverage of the 2019 Presidential election was about five stories per day in the five selected newspaper with *The Punch* recording the highest frequency of reportage of the campaign.

Objective 2: To assess the level of prominence of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers

Research Question 2: What is the level of prominence of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers?

Table 2: Crosstabulation of Placement of the Campaign Stories on Newspaper Pages

		Placement of Stories on Newspaper Pages			Total
		Inner Page	Back Page	Front Page	
Newspapers	The Guardian	5	0	4	9
	The Punch	18	3	5	26
	Vanguard	19	1	1	21
	Nigerian Tribune	15	1	2	18
	Daily Sun	14	1	3	18
Total		71(77.2%)	6(6.5%)	15(16.3%)	92(100%)

Source: Field study, 2019

Table 3: Crosstabulation of Status of the Reported Campaign Stories

		Status of Reported Story			Total
		Minor Story	Average Story	Major Story	
Newspapers	The Guardian	3	5	1	9
	The Punch	0	22	4	26
	Vanguard	9	11	1	21
	Nigerian Tribune	4	13	1	18
	Daily Sun	3	13	2	18
Total		19(20.6%)	64(69.5%)	9(3.8%)	92(100%)

Source: Field study, 2019

Table 4: Crosstabulation of Illustration Accompaniment in the Campaign Stories

		Illustration Accompaniment			Total
		No Illustration	Black & White Photo	Colour Photo	
Newspapers	The Guardian	4	0	5	9
	The Punch	24	0	2	26
	Vanguard	15	1	5	21
	Nigerian Tribune	6	3	9	18
	Daily Sun	14	2	2	18
Total		63(68.5%)	6(6.5%)	23(25%)	92(100%)

Source: Field study, 2019

The placement, status of and use of illustrations in the reported stories about the 2016 Presidential campaign were used as parameters to measure the prominence of the stories. Findings showed that majority of the stories (n=71; 77.2%) were reported as inner-page stories while those treated as front-page stories accounted for less than one-sixth of the total (n=15; 16.3%). By story status, average stories (of three to five columns) ranked highest (n=64; 69.5%), minor stories (less than three columns) accounted for about one-fifth (n=19; 20.6%) and major stories (across all columns) accounted for the lowest (n=6; 3.8%). Majority of the stories did not use illustrations (n=63; 68.5%), while stories that used colour photographs accounted for one-quarter of the total (n=23; 25%). Comparatively, *The Punch* ranked highest in front-page placement and treatment as major stories, while *Nigerian Tribune* ranked highest in the use of colour photographs. The foregoing results thus answer the second research that there was low level of prominence of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers, though *The Punch* did better in this regard than other newspapers.

Objective 3: To determine the direction of news framing in stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected

national newspapers

Research Question 3: Towards which direction is news framing of stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers?

In order to measure the direction towards which news stories about the 2019 Presidential election campaign were framed, the political parties in the stories, frame categories and their types, and the angle from which the stories were framed were considered. Results are presented in Tables 5 to 9.

Table 5: Crosstabulation of Political Party in the Campaign Stories

		Political Party in news				Total
		APC	PDP	APC & PDP Equally	Other Political Parties	
Newspapers	The Guardian	5	4	0	0	9
	The Punch	9	8	3	6	26
	Vanguard	11	8	0	2	21
	Nigerian Tribune	7	9	0	2	18
	Daily Sun	11	7	0	0	18
Total		43(46.7%)	36(39.1%)	3(3.3%)	10(10.9%)	92(100%)

Source: Field Study, 2019

Table 6: Crosstabulation of Frame Categories in the Campaign Stories

		Frame Category		Total
		Generic Frame	Issue Specific Frame	
Newspapers	The Guardian	0	9	9
	The Punch	4	22	26
	Vanguard	0	21	21
	Nigerian Tribune	0	18	18
	Daily Sun	1	17	18
Total		5(5.5%)	87(94.5%)	92

Source: Field Study, 2019

Table 7: Crosstabulation of Type of Generic Frame in the Campaign Stories

		Type of Generic Frame			Total
		Thematic Frame	Episodic Frame	Not Applicable	
Newspapers	The Guardian	0	0	9	9
	The Punch	4	0	22	26
	Vanguard	0	0	21	21
	Nigerian Tribune	0	0	18	18
	Daily Sun	1	0	17	18
Total		5	0	87	92

Source: Field Study, 2019

Table 8: Frequency Distribution of Typologies of Issue-specific Frames

	Types of Issue-specific Frames	Frequency	Percent %
Valid	Conflict	7	7.6
	Consensus	2	2.2
	Trend	9	9.8
	Horserace	12	13
	Policy exploration	4	4.3
	Reaction	3	3.3
	Reality Check	4	4.3
	Exposure of Wrong doing	6	6.5
	Personality Profile	10	10.9
	Human Interest	6	6.5
	Economic Consequences	2	2.2
	Morality	10	10.9
	Responsibility/Blame	6	6.5
	Speculation	2	2.2
	Cynicism	3	3.3
	Substance	1	1.1
	Not Applicable	5	5.4
	Total	92	99.9

Source: Field Study, 2019

Table 9: Crosstabulation of Direction of Campaign News Framing

		Direction of News Framing								Total
		Pro-APC	Pro-PDP	Pro-other Parties	Anti-APC	Anti-PDP	Anti-other Parties	Anti-APC & PDP	Neutral	
Newspapers	The Guardian	3	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	9
	The Punch	1	2	0	10	2	1	7	3	26
	Vanguard	6	3	1	5	3	0	3	0	21
	Nigerian Tribune	8	3	0	5	0	0	2	0	18
	Daily Sun	5	3	1	2	6	0	1	0	18
Total		23 (25%)	14 (15.2%)	2 (2.2%)	23 (25%)	13 (14.1%)	1 (1.1%)	13 (14.1%)	3 (3.3%)	92

Source: Field Study, 2019

To measure the direction of news framing in this study, the political party in the news, frame categorization and direction of news framing were considered. Results of the analysis showed that the campaign of the All Progressives Congress (APC) was mostly reported in the selected newspapers (n=43; 46.7%) followed by the main opposition People's Democratic Party (PDP) (n=36; 39.1%) while stories of other political parties' campaign accounted for about 10 percent (n=10). Comparatively, all the newspapers mostly reported the APC except *Nigerian Tribune* (n=9), which had more of its campaign stories on the PDP. On frame categories in the news, the newspapers framed majority of the stories using issue-specific

frames (n=87; 94.5%) while the remaining were thematic type of generic framing (n=5; 5.5%). Horserace accounted for the highest type of issue-specific frame used (n=12; 13%) followed by personality profile and morality (n=10; 10.9% each). In Totality, the direction of framing of the campaign stories was balanced between those in favour (n=23; 25%) and those against the APC (n=23; 25%), while the same pattern of direction was recorded for stories framed in favour of the PDP (n=14; 15.2%) and those against it (n=13; 14.1%). The foregoing imply that the APC's campaign was mostly reported in the selected newspaper, the stories were mostly framed on issue-specific basis using horserace frames and the direction of framing was balanced between pro and anti-APC.

Objective 4: To evaluate the manifest purpose of the framing in news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers

Research Question 4: What is the manifest purpose of the framing of news stories about Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in selected national newspapers?

Table 10: Crosstabulation of Manifest Purpose of Framing in the Campaign Stories

		Manifest Purpose of Framing						Total
		Information	Persuasion	Propaganda	Castigation	Correction	Promising	
Newspapers	The Guardian	0	5	1	2	0	1	9
	The Punch	1	3	0	20	0	2	26
	Vanguard	0	6	2	9	1	3	21
	Nigerian Tribune	6	4	0	6	1	1	18
	Daily Sun	0	7	1	8	1	1	18
Total		7(7.6%)	25(27.2%)	4(1.3%)	45(48.9%)	3(3.3%)	8(8.7%)	92

Source: Field Study, 2019

Table 11: Crosstabulation of Manifest Focus of Framing in the Campaign Stories

		Manifest Focus of Framing			Total
		Issue-Based	Personality-Based	Horserace/Competition-Based	
Newspapers	The Guardian	6	3	0	9
	The Punch	8	9	9	26
	Vanguard	3	7	11	21
	Nigerian Tribune	11	2	5	18
	Daily Sun	4	8	6	18
Total		32(34.8%)	29(31.5%)	31(33.7%)	92

Source: Field Study, 2019

Results regarding the manifest purpose of the frame campaign stories show that majority - about half - of the stories (n=45; 48.9%) were framed as castigation between opposition parties or candidates followed by those that were framed to persuade for votes (n=25; 27.2%). As regards the focus of the campaign stories, there was a balance in frame focus: issue-based stories accounted for over one-third (n=32), horserace/competition-based stories accounted for about one-third (n=31) and personality-based stories accounted for a little less than one-third (n=29). Thus, the results of the analysis answered the last research question that the manifest purpose of framing in the 2019 Presidential election campaign stories was largely castigation between/among the contenders and the stories used frame focus that was balanced among issue, competition and personality-based.

Conclusion

In summary, this paper observed that Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign attracted considerable newspaper coverage with the frequency of over five stories per day in the five selected newspaper - an average a story daily - but *The Punch* recording the highest frequency. There was low level of prominence of the campaign stories reported in the newspapers, though *The Punch* recorded more prominence than other newspapers. Expectedly, the All Progressives Congress (APC) was mostly reported in the selected newspapers, followed by the main opposition People's Democratic Party (PDP) while stories of other political parties' campaign accounted for only one-tenth of the total. The selected newspapers framed a vast majority of the stories using issue-specific frames with horserace accounting for the highest type of issue-specific frame used, followed by personality profile and morality. The direction of framing of the campaign stories was balanced between those in favour and those against the two main contenders in the election – the APC and PDP. Majority of the stories were framed as castigation between opposition parties or candidates followed by those that were framed to persuade for votes. There was a balance in the number of stories in terms of focus of framing among three perspectives: issue-based, horserace/competition-based and personality-based. Conclusively, the patterns of framing of Nigeria's 2019 Presidential election campaign in the selected newspapers were high frequency, low prominence, the ruling and opposition parties-dominated, largely framed on issue-specific basis, mostly framed as horserace, balanced between pro and anti-major contender and mostly framed as castigation.

Recommendations

This study hereby recommends that journalists should be mindful of the framing devices – words, phrases, illustrations and display – used in constructing news stories about political campaigns. This is because such devices have implications on interpretation, perception, opinion and voting actions. Balanced coverage should be given to parties in elections to allow for leveled playing ground and objectivity should be ensured in election coverage for reporters to purge themselves of taking sides in the horserace that characterize politics.

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Brecht, 'Folkism' and the Dramaturgy of Sam Ukala

3

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Abstract

Bertolt Brecht's influence on the Nigerian/African stage is undeniable but what has become contentious is, on the one hand, whether or not he predated certain salient elements of traditional African drama and whether or not his influence is waning on the contemporary African stage, on the other. In Sam Ukala's plays, notably those studied in this paper, Brecht stands shoulder to shoulder with what the dramatist calls 'Folkism'. In interrogating his drama, and, indeed, his dramaturgy, we argue that Ukala conflates elements of Brecht's epic theatre and his indigenous Ika-Igbo folktale performance strategies, resulting in what he calls 'Folkism', an Afrocentric poetics.

Keywords: Folkism, Brecht, Drama, Folktale and Performance.

Introduction

Sam Ukala, for a long time, was relatively unknown in Nigerian theatre research, or even in literary discourse in general, unlike his compatriots Soyinka, Osofisan, Bode Sowande and Esiaba Irobi, among others. The reason for this 'obscurity' is not readily identifiable, notably against the backdrop of a welter of socio-political as well as ethno-historical prejudices and biases. The writer's own relative habit of self-effacement might be a contributing factor for his lack of popularity. But his creative stock has risen steadily over the years, what with the publication of several plays, and, pivotally, in 2014, his play entitled *Iredi War* winning the

prestigious Nigerian Liquefied Natural Gas (NLNG) Literary Award, Nigeria's highest literary prize awarded the best play during the period under review. It is instructive that, in one of his newspaper interviews, Sam Ukala admitted that the award has validated his writing. For a writer of Ukala's, stature to have languished in relative obscurity on the national stage is curious to say the least, and it is in a bid to help shed some critical light on his work that we have decided to undertake this study of his dramaturgy, relying for data on three of his plays chosen at random, more out of the non-availability of his other works than deliberate choice. It is hoped that with our analysis of these three plays, we should be able to begin a serious and sustained critical discussion of his *oeuvre*, a corpus in which Bertolt Brecht bulks large.

Brecht's Epic Theatre

Wherever Brecht's theory of the Epic Theatre is discussed there is always the erroneous assumption that it has nothing to do with Aristotelian drama. Research, however, has shown that even the term 'epic' was derived from Aristotle, a term which means 'not tied to time', unlike tragedy which is bound by the unities of place, time and action or interest. It is believed that Brecht had later modified the term to 'dialectical' theatre which he said better described his work than epic, 'in which thesis and antithesis are resolved into a new thesis' ('Bertolt Brecht: an overview', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1995). Even then, the term 'epic' did not originate from Bertolt Brecht but from Piscator with whom he had collaborated to produce his plays, and, in trying to create a new form of theatre and drama,

Brecht had to deviate from the Stanislavski-inspired, illusionistic acting style to create his own *verfremdunseffekt* or 'Alienation Effect'. This is in sharp contrast to Stanislavski realist tradition in which the actor is required to be thoroughly immersed in the character of the person he is impersonating or representing. But, on the contrary, in Brecht's theatre, the actor deliberately detaches himself from the character he is re-enacting or portraying on stage as a form of histrionic auto-criticism.

In his famous Short Organon, Bertolt Brecht enumerates the differences between Aristotelian or Dramatic Theatre and Epic Theatre. He argues that, unlike in Dramatic Theatre, his own theatre is conceived as part of an enlightenment project, and not merely for entertainment. Among other things, epic theatre's goal is 'to instigate social change'; the author is seen as a producer; the play relies on the use of signs, placards, or projections and the use of masks and puppetry. Besides, Brecht also devised as part of his play what he called *Lehrstöck,* German term for 'teaching play' or 'parable play'. And, more fundamentally, Brecht tried to involve the audience or the spectators as he preferred to call them, in the dramatic action. Thus, they are 'to observe, objectively, ponder, develop critical detachment leading to social action' (*Encyclopedia Brtannica)*. Brecht also relied on the use of music and song to drive home his message. A staunch Marxist, Brecht's plays 'often had a political and social message for those viewing them' (*Encyclopedia Britannica)*. Perhaps, it should also be noted that he incorporated the use of storytellers and narrators in his drama and often allowed his actors to

address the audience directly, thus breaking the imaginary Fourth Wall that divides the stage from the audience. With regard to the stage set, Brecht preferred a bare stage or a sparsely-decorated one to an elaborately furnished set which gives the impression of naturalness. Instead, in Brecht's plays, the narrator stands on a bare or semi-bare stage to tell a story, or, more accurately a string of stories which may lack causal connection, each episode standing independently of others. This element of episodicity helps foster the defarmiliarisation of the action as well as underscore the artificiality or *artifice* of art, and, by implication, of *history* outside the theatre itself.

'Folkism': Towards the Formulation of an Afrocentric Poetics

'Folkism' as the name implies, derives from *folk*, that is, the peasantry or the agrarian folk who are closely tied to nature through subsistence farming. This folk regulates its life through the observance of natural laws and seasonal cycles-of rain and drought, planting season and harvesting season. The existential fortunes of the denizens of the rainforest, the rich flora and fauna of Africa's ecosystem, inform the ethico-cultural behaviour of the folk. 'Folkism', therefore, is a kind of drama presentation or dramatic enactment woven around the specific features of African communicative idiom. To be certain, Sam Ukala(1996) himself defines 'folkism' as:

> [T]he tendency to base literary plays
> on the history, culture, and concerns

of the folk (the 'people in general…') and to compose and perform them in accordance with African conventions for composing and performing the folktale. ("Folkism: Towards a National Aesthetic Principle for Nigerian Dramaturgy" *New Theatre Quarterly xii* (47),: 279-287, quoted in *Iredi War* 6).

Ukala goes on to specify the literary elements of folkism as follows: (a) 'the dramatic recreation or adaptation of a story is faithful to the original'; (b) the plot of the play is 'simple'; (c) the language is equally 'familiar' but "imagistic"; (d) the story is 'run-on like the folktale, not structured in Acts and Scenes and with no stoppages for scene-changing'; (e) 'the performance structure allows for robust audience participation and extempore response of the narrator and performers to relevant unscripted lines from the public audience', referred to as MOA (i.e.; Members of Audience) and (f) strong didactic as well as entertainment value (*Iredi War* 6-7). Ukala further provides what he terms the Eight Laws of Aesthetic Response under Folkism. They are as follows: 1.the law of opening, 2.the law of joint performance, 3.the law of creativity, free enactment and responsibility, 4.the law of judgement, 5.the law of protest against suspense, 6.the law of expression of the emotions, 7.the law of ego projection; 8.the law of closing(Ukala 1993;see also Akpuda 2008, Sekoni 1990, Adagbonyin 1999, Uwadinma-Idemudia 2013).

'Folkism', thus, promotes Afrocentric values of communalism, group cohesion and solidarity, as well as collective heroism as against individual heroism of Aristotelian drama. And, as can be deduced from Ukala's postulations, 'folkism' derives from folktale performance idioms, and, as such, it behooves us to briefly examine the constitutive rhetorical features and the dramaturgic strategies of the folktale genre: (i) Opening Glee: a folktale usually opens with the formulaic phrase: 'Once-upon-a-time'. The mythic or legendary remoteness of the tale places it above the constraints or/and trammels of historical realism, thereby fostering a universality of applicability as well as philosophical authority binding on humans everywhere. But in Brechtian theatre, under which we may classify Ukala's theatre, this folkloric motif is historicized through the deliberate infusion of familiar everyday events to which the average theatre-goer can relate; (ii) the Narrator: the story teller, or raconteur/bard as we have them in oral literature, plays a central role in the enactment of the story; (iii) Episodicity : the cluster of episodes which makes up the story is a loosely-strung ensemble of disparate tales which are inherently independent of one another just like what obtains in Brecht's epic Theatre; (iv) Anti-illusionistic acting style: also, as we have in Brechtian aesthetics, in Nigerian/African orature, the players or actors do not 'get into character' the better to foreground their characters' quirks of personality or addities of behaviour. This 'conflict' between player and character enhances the play's didactic appeal; (v) Music and Songs are incorporated into the weft of the play in order to help illustrate the central 'thesis' of the play. Also, the songs which may be choral or antiphonal provide entertainment for the audience; (vi) Audience participation: Nigerians, and, indeed, Africans are, by nature, an outgoing and very expressive people. This sense of *bonhomie* finds expression in stage-audience rapport, particularly in a situation whereby a popular folksong is raised on stage by the actors. The entire theatre house would reverberate with general singing. This has a lot to say about the communal lifestyle and worldview of the people. (vii) Didacticism: needless to say, folktales are designedly didactic since they act as an informal instrument of moral instruction to the young as well as the generality of the folk. (viii) Variability of Content and Form: given the improvisatory nature of the folktale genre, the performer or the storyteller is liable to re-work the bone-structure of the well-known tale, thereby imposing on it his own idiosyncrasies and, crucially, opening the story to re-interpretation and perpetual renewal in order to reflect current concerns. This Eliotesque theory of 'Tradition' and the 'Individual Talent' plays a significant role in questions of authorship and originality in folklore research as well as folkloric expropriation in modern drama such as Ukala's.

From the foregoing discourse, it is evident that both Brechtian aesthetics and 'Folkism' share a lot in common, thus giving rise to a seniority tussle: which of them came first, Brecht or the folktale performance idiom? In trying to adjudicate this toss-up, Ola Rotimi (1988) weights in:

> [T]he relationship between African
> traditional theatre [or 'folkism'] and

Brecht's epic theatre… is reminiscent more of the proverbial dialogue at the first meeting between Sugar Cane and Tate and Lyle-the world renowned British sugar cube manufacturers. Tate and Lyle had introduced themselves with appropriate aplomb and flourish, as 'makers' of sugar. To which Sugar Cane replied: 'Fine, but I already had sugar flowing in my veins before you ever knew of it! ('Much Ado About Brecht' I).

Ola Rotimi's point is that, much as African writers and play wrights were influenced by Brecht through exposure to western education, they had imbibed their autochthonous dramaturgies embodied in their rites, rituals, revelries and festivals and folklore. In his view, therefore, the over-emphasis on the Brechtian influence on the African stage is of the mark. Ahmed Yerimah(2003) makes a similar point when he posits that:

Brecht himself had "stolen" most of his theatrical influences from other worlds such as the Chinese theatre, the German theatre, and the American theatre, which shared certain similarities in character portrayal, audience participation and thematic effect. The Nigerian scholars found easy and recognizable *traditional practices* in some of his theories (74, italics added).

Yerimah's argument, like Rotimi's, is that the many similarities between Brecht's epic theatre *and* 'folkism' or traditional theatre made it easy and appropriate for African dramaturgs to "Africanize" Brecht. But the overarching influence of Brecht on African dramaturgies is undeniable. This *conjunctural* moment of artistic miscegenation is illustrated by Frantz Fanon's four-stage analysis of black attitude to colonialism: According to Sam Ukala, Fanon argues that the African creative writer 'necessarily passes through three phases: in the first, he shows that he has 'assimilated the occupier's culture' by imitating his artistic values and forms; in the second 'he becomes uncertain and decides to go back to his past', through 'remembering' his early rural life and his people's tales, which he, however, dresses in western aesthetics… in the third phase, he seeks to re-integrate himself with his people by non-literary means, through mobilizing and joining them in a political and/or armed struggle against the coloniser (Fanon 1965: 179, cited in Ukala, 'The politics of Aesthetics' 30). Ukala notes that, while the first phase yields 'the theatre of surrender', the second yields 'the theatre of re-awakening, manifested in theatrical adaptations of African legends, myths and folktales as well as the history of such African heroes as Chaka of South Africa, Tanimoune of Central Sudan, and Alboury N'Diaye of Cote d'Ivoire' (31). Sam Ukala then

goes on in his article to provide analysis of Fanon's Fourth Stage of black response to the colonial yoke: according to Ukala, the fourth stage is 'a logical development from the second phase in which the creative writer adapts remembered traditional sources' (31). Ukala adumbrates further:

> In the fourth phase, the dramatist moves beyond 'remembering' to researching and experimenting with his findings. His scope includes the folktales, the festivals and rituals much denigrated by the colonialists. (31)

A cursory look at Sam Ukala's plays shows beyond doubt that his drama can be said to straddle the second and the fourth phases in the Fanon schema, and this shall become more apparent in the course of this critical excursus. Most Femi Osofisan scholars and critics, admirers and detractors alike agree that, apart from tangential contributions from both African and non-African precursor kindred-spirits, like Wole Soyinka and Fugard, on the one hand, and Feynaur, Artand, Ariane Mnuochkine, Shakespeare, Ibsen, Shaw, O'Neille, on the other (and, of course, traditional Yoruba performance idioms), Bertolt Brecht is the most prominent or the strongest foreign influence on Osofisan's dramaturgy. Arguably, Africa's most prolific playwright, Femi Osofisan has dominated the African stage from the early 70s to date with his Marxist-oriented theatrical parables mostly on the iniquitous class division in society with its corresponding

dehumanization and disenfranchisement of the so-called common man. Many commentators have described his style as Brechtian compressionist techniques (see Awodiya 2002 and Richards 1996).

Echoing his Nigerian counterparts such as Yerimah and Ola Rotimi, Femi Osofisan tries to rationalize the universal practice of artistic 'influence' or 'stealing' *a la* T.S. Eliot:

> All playwrights and artists feed creatively on their antecedents. Brecht took a lot from Balinese theatre and other non-western traditions. What is important about Brecht, however, as far as I am concerned, is that he was the first I know to formalize into a theory *certain precepts and practices that were already there in traditional theatre*; he analysed them and put them into a coherent theory. (Osakwe, 'Metaphorical Language and Revolutionary Ethos', 160).

In the same interview with Chima Osakwe, Osofisan expatiates on his point about Brecht's influence on the African stage in general and on his own theatre practice in particular:

> But it took somebody like Brecht to

jolt us back to take another look at our traditions and to say, 'oh my God, but this is what we were doing; this is what still exists with us, in those rites and festivals'. So we now got that boldness to go back and re-educate ourselves. Without people like Brecht and other practitioners of experimental drama, we wouldn't, perhaps, have gone back to our own traditions. (161)

Despite Osofisan's ambivalent stance on the shaping influence of Brecht on his and some of his fellow African dramatists' work, as earlier stressed, Brecht's influence is undeniable on the African stage. Osofisan's theatre of parable (Anyokwu, forthcoming) is a bridge between classical Brechtian aesthetics and indigenous African or Ika-Igbo folklore performance idioms referred to as 'folkism' in Ukala's drama. This is because what we have found out studying Sam Ukala's plays is that the drama is a blend of Brechtian and traditional Ika-Igbo folktale performance aesthetics. And such are the similarities between both the foreign (Brecht) and the indigenous Ika theatrical form that one cannot draw a line in the sand in staking out the spheres of influence between Brecht and the African tale. We shall, thus, use the next sub-section to illustrate this 'boundary dispute' between these two influences on Ukala's dramaturgy.

Sam Ukala's Dramaturgy: The Slave Wife

The Slave Wife is a folktale, or, more correctly, a legendary tale about how Ogiso, Oba of Idu (Benin City) in ancient time, surmounted the problem of having a heir to the throne. Due to the inability of his five 'legitimate' wives to bear him a son who is to succeed him, the Ogiso is forced to resort to using traditional means to deal with the predicament. Through a specially-prepared delicacy containing a special alligator pepper, his wives are asked to eat this food and whoever eats the portion containing the alligator pepper will bear the king the heir. All five women and the Igbon (that is, the slave wife) partake in the rite, and fortunately, Igbon eats the special alligator pepper. She later gives birth to a son which her jealous co-wives conspire to drown in a river, replacing the baby with a boulder. When the truth eventually comes to light, the evil women are punished while Igbon is celebrated and restored to her rightful place as the king's *legitimate* wife and mother of the heir to the throne.

In this play, one of the characters, simply referred to as Director plays multiple roles, one as Director of the play, two, as Praise Singer and three, as Narrator or Storyteller. This histrionic device of multi-roling is borrowed from Bertolt Brecht, who uses one player to depict many roles relying on changing voices, movement, gesture and body language. Director, moreover, makes a direct address to the audience or spectators as Brecht calls them. This device of direct address is both a legacy of African folktale performance idiom and Brechtian epic drama. Accordingly, the direct address by Director alerts the spectators to the fact that they are about to see a *play*, and

not a natural event; it is an artifice devised or composed for fee-paying theatergoers. The Director goes on to claim that he is co-author (3) with the playwright whom he fired as the producer of the play. The Director's disclosures reveal the behind-the-scenes activities of a theatrical production. Further, in trying to underscore the creative process that led to the development of the play, he informs the audience that the playwright's mother told him (i.e.; the writer) a *tale* which the writer turned into *a play*. Conversely, he, the Director-producer seeks to further *disillusion* the spectators by saying that, 'it is not a play at all, it is *folktale'* (3, emphasis added). Thereafter, the Director-Narrator informs the audience of the prospective roles he is going to play, roles such as Praise Singer, Captive and Eunuch (3), and, then counsels the audience to 'listen, and watch… also *think*' (3, emphasis added). The foregoing discourse demonstrates Ukala's attempt to de-emphasise the Aristotelian tendency to appeal to the audience's emotion and lull them into empathy. Instead, Ukala endeavours to re-orientate the audience towards a dispassionate and informed appraisal and appreciation of the play before them.

In a true Brechtian style, he encourages the audience to *THINK* and this appeal to reason and rationality empowers the spectators to slough off their accustomed languor and quietism as well as their fatalism and, instead take their fate into their own hands and create their our reality, their own history. The Director, thus, goes on in the course of the play to act as Praise Singer by simply marking his face with paint indicating Yoruba tribal marks. As part of local colour, Ukala resorts to the use of transliteration such as: 'may our ancestors give us hand' (9). This is an example of a free transliteration of an Ika statement [*Ye'ka:* give hand]. In more conventional English, it means 'May our ancestors *support/assist* us'. Several instances of translation and transliteration abound in this short 'folk script'. By the same token, the playwright deploys proverbs and saws in conveying his message. A few examples would suffice: 'The dance/was yet to come but the young/Antelope was already dancing/His legs to pieces' (10); 'Dance becomes a blind person only once, Igbon' (14); 'for it is the patient dog which eats meat-flesh' (19), and, 'it is not the day an infant breaks a gourd of oil that he is called to question' (52). In keeping both with the Ika folkloric motif and Brecht's epic tradition Sam Ukala also makes use of song, music and dance in *The Slave Wife* (46-47). He equally uses antiphonal dialogue, notably in the exchange between Igbon and her son (46-47); and, as part of the Closing Glee, Praise Singer returns and tells the spectators that he is not a eunuch as portrayed in the play and that none of the actors was thrown into a river as dramatized in the play and no one was driven into exile nor any actress decapitated as earlier suggested by the dramatic action. This deliberate disillusioning of the audience is important insofar as it helps remind them of the artificiality of theatre. Appropriately, therefore, Director at the play's and introduces or presents the players to the audience (55), thus promoting stage-audience rapport.

The Log in Your Eye: Symbolism and Ethical Allegorising

Two groups of people campaign for their candidates, Emeka and, Tunde. Both of them are student-politicians on a university campus.

Actors, simply called Stage-Hands transform the bare stage into Ronke's room. Ronke discovers motes in her eyes when she looks in a giant-size mirror and is frightened by this development. Emeka shows up and dances with her in her room and they banter over issues of love and campus life. Thereafter, Tunde comes in, making us realize that Ronke is his friend's 'wife' and his cousin. When Tunde leaves, Emeka begins to deride him over his bad shoes, which Emeka claims shows that Tunde is indigent and, therefore, will embezzle pubic funds when elected for personal use. But Ronke tries to hold brief for Tunde, saying his indigence shows he is thrifty. Emeka makes advances at Ronke, urging her to dump Joe, her boyfriend, for him. Owing to his acting, it is difficult for Ronke to know if Emeka is serious or not. Adanma, Ronke's married friend, pays her a visit and undertakes to *lecture* her on marriage, love and romance, citing her indiscretion with Emeka who rejected her more out of fear than principle as their flirting later in the play shows. Joe later shows up in Ronke's room, mouthing malapropism and verbiage as he seeks to impress his listeners. He later falls out with Ronke after it is revealed he is a married man with children. He seizes all the household items he bought for Ronke and accuses Adanma of betrayal, being his townsgirl. All through the remainder of the play, Emeka as well as other characters shuttle between Ronke's room and other locations. Significantly, Joe and Emeka 'fight' to win Ronke's love as both try to take her out on a date to a post-election dance party. As the love between Ronke and Emeka shows signs of blossoming, Joe and Nkechi, Emeka's semi-literate 'bush' girlfriend ruin their chance of hitting it off. Ronke later takes a mirror from Nkechi and uses it to 'harass' other characters by cleverly making them look in the mirror. The mirror strongly shows them horrible images of their ugly pasts. Emeka who wins the election smashes the mirror, thereby putting an end to the mirror's embarrassing revelations.

The Log in Your Eye opens on a 'bare stage' intimating in the process Brecht's penchant for sparseness of stage decor or Peter Brook's theory of the stage as an 'empty space'. Emeka, one of the characters, opens the play, acting as Narrator, thus highlighting the make-believe nature of the play (1). He addresses his fellow actors a 'stage-hands', thus underscoring their detachment from the characters they are to *impersonate*. In this connection, therefore, role-playing or impersonation is key (cf: Athol Fugard's *Sizwe Bansi Is Dead*). Emeka-as-Narrator asks: 'Why is the stage empty?'. This reference to 'stage' is meant to foreground the artificiality and/or the *constructedness* of the playing area. The 'stage' is conceived as a symbolic locus of action requiring the audience's 'willing suspension of disbelief' (to borrow Coleridge's phrase), and the word 'empty' is replete with meaning: the Primal Void filled with created/made things brought into existence through Divine Breath, the Word.

But, in Ukala's play, the 'empty stage' approximates the world which is expected to be peopled with things, *created* by MAN and not God. Man, therefore, creates his own reality; he is the architect of his own fate; he is God of his own universe. Reality or history, or even the human estate is amenable to CHANGE, and, man is the change-agent *a la* Brecht and Osofisan.

Even the play before us is NOT even the real deal. It is a *dress rehearsal* (cf: Osofisan's *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels*). To start with, a play is a refraction of reality, a remove from actuality. A dress rehearsal is, therefore, a mirror of truth from double removes, being as it is an imperfect, work-in-progress copy of the artistic simulacrum of life itself. Emeka refutes a popular belief that actors are not as important as writers or directors like Arthur Hopkins, David Belasco, William Poel, Stanislavski, William Shakespeare; Max Reinhardt, Wole Soyinka and Ola Rotimi (2). But instead, he lets them know that they are more important than all these writers and directors. This is because it is actors who bring to life the 'cold impersonality of [printed] page' (apologies to Isidore Okpewho). Emeka tells the audience that he is both the director and an actor; he also emphasizes the crucial role of the audience without whom, there would be no theatre. Like Brecht's theatre and like the African traditional (Ika) folktale performance idiom, no spectators, no show, for Ukala's drama.

Besides the use of minimal stage set, costume and props, the playwright also uses *imaginary doors* through which actors come in and go out without let or hindrance.

Drama, for Brecht, as earlier noted, is a form of intellectual laboratory, hence his plays are referred to as 'teaching plays'. Accordingly, Ukala in this play, uses the character of Adanma, not only to dramatize self-contradiction or moral inconsistency but, more importantly, to *lecture* the audience, in this regard, on the pitfalls of entering into a marital union not founded on genuine love but on mere eligibility of the intended spouse or suitor. Adanma tells Ronke: 'eligibility is not love' (24); a statement that will resonate with an audience comprising of young folk.

When Ronke and Adanma appear to have forgotten their lines, Emeka as Director shouts at them: 'Your cue…' (34). He also *addresses* the audience from time to time, reminding them that the play is only a *dress rehearsal* and solicits their frank reactions to the production proper. A play in three parts, *The Log in Your Eye*, like the African folktale, is a montage or a pot-pourri of several short episodes dovetailing into one another, thus creating a certain degree of complexity and, therefore, requiring of the audience an utterly high level of concentration and interest. This concatenation of mazy episodes is testament to Brecht's influence on Ukala's dramaturgy. Emeka in his multi-roling *addresses* the spectators right in the middle of the dramatic action, thus breaking the play's illusionistic feel. To be sure, Emeka-as-Director tells the audience that the author gave him the script, a comedy, which he says he *reworked* using his 'directorial' licence. This reworking of the script from a director's point of view makes him a co-author. The point Sam Ukala is trying to make is that a playscript cannot be said to be written by one person alone. Just like a folktale, the playscript is collectively created by multiple intelligences or creative egos.

This co-authorship between director and author or, among director/producer, playwright and actors has ideological implications, namely: that the play belongs in effect to no one and to everyone concerned at the same time. The symbolism of 'mirror' in

this play is vital, given the play's title. Ordinarily, a mirror is a piece of household item used for examining the human physique in matters of fashion or style. But in *The Log in Your Eye*, it is no ordinary mirror that the writer is hinting at but a strict moral code which exposes quirks of personality, moral turpitude, indiscretions, secret sins and general ethical deficiencies, both at the individual and social level, in private affairs, and more importantly, in public life, especially for those seeking public positions in a post-colonial dystopia such as Nigeria.

Iredi War: A 'Folkscript' interfusing History and Folklore

According to Sam Ukala, *Iredi War* "is based on the history of the 1906 uprising of the people of Owa Kingdom, currently in Ika North-East Local Government Area of Delta State of Nigeria, against British oppressive colonial rule, as championed by Assistant District Commissioner O.S. Crewe-Read (whom the Owa called Iredi), and the quelling of it by the British Army ('Preface' *Iredi War* 6). Similar to what happened in Benin in 1897 when the District Commissioner Ralph Moor briefly relinquished command to his Deputy who then provoked the infamous massacre, so did the District Commissioner, Chichester, a medical doctor-turned-solider hand over to Crewe-Read, a twenty-five-years-old Yeoman who was made ADC Agbor Sub-District as Chichester went on leave. As a result of Crewe-Read's 'indiscretion and high-handedness' in his dealings with the natives, particularly the gerontocracy, war broke out between the ADC and his party and the local population led by a ninety-year-old King Igboba, the Obi of Owa Kingdom. Crewe-

Road was killed in the conflict, sparking reprisal attacks from the colonialists and their black messengers and soldiers in their employ. Chichester, who returns after Crewe-Road has been killed, is able to muster superior firepower to bring down the insurrection and, eventually win the war. To re-assert British colonial power, Chichester punishes the guilty subjects, killing some by hanging, and imprisoning others including King Igboba and his chiefs.

By way of structure, the playwright abandons the use of Acts and Scenes and, instead, sub-divides it into three major parts, namely: 'The Beginning', 'The Middle' and 'The Ending'. This is in line with Bertolt Brecht's style, who, in his plays, rejected the Aristotelian structuring of plays into Acts and Scenes. In addition, rather than use the traditional proscenium arch, he opts for a three-quarter arena formation in order to reflect a village setting where 'tales by moonlight' take place. This spaciousness of stage-set allows for the imaginary stage locations designed to facilitate the swift and rapid switch of dramatic action from one spot to another with minimal waste of time. Conceived and executed more as a folklore than a piece of neo-Brechtian theatre, *Iredi War* follows the usual folktale performance format, i.e., it opens with an opening glee similar to the Yoruba Alarinjo Travelling Theatre practice (see Adedji, 1981, 221-248, Clark, 1981, 57-77, Ogunbiyi, 1981, 3-57). To establish the ethnic group to which the drama belongs, Ukala decides to use his native Ika language to introduce the 'folk-script' as he calls the play. '*E ye monu nzun'* (I give you white chalk!), the play opens (11). The audience response: '*I gwo, o re-o!*' (if you concort, may it be

efficacious!' (11). This antiphonal call-and-response, thus, creates a perfect ambience for an evening of storytelling, but this time, an evening of historical drama.

Also, in line with the folkloric tradition, the dramatist does not cast real white chalk but uses 'imaginary white chalk' (11), the customary ritual formula for beginning a folktale in Ikaland. Expectedly, the audience are made to suspend their disbelief all through the duration of the show in order to enjoy it and learn valuable lessons from it. The opening folksong:

Luni ilu	Tell a tale
Ilu I-gboba	Tell of I-gboba
Do n'udo	Tug at the rope
Udo kpirikpiri	It's unsnappable (11)

introduced by Narrator I sets the scene or the tone for the play's thematic concerns, namely, conflict between occupying foreign power and the owners of the land. A play rich in choral and antiphonal music, *Iredi War* at the outset relies upon a perfervid atmosphere of audience participation to highlight the people's communal bonding and solidarity. Narrator I and Narrator II take turns in telling the audience about the 'tale' they are about to *watch*. The dramatization of the 'tale' takes the form of *telling* (i.e., narration) and *showing* (i.e.; acting or dramatization). The combination of mimesis and diegesis helps foster a naturalistic feel

to the presentation, on the one hand, and, more importantly, underscores the folkloristic quality of the drama, on the other (see Booth, 1983, Eagleton, 2013, and Scholes *et al,* 2006). Sam Ukala's reliance on narration in this context is a direct borrowing from Brecht's epic theatre tradition as well as the Ika folktale performance style. Narration as we know helps the playwright ensure that the audience are not emotionally duped by the affective goings-on of the play. Also, Ukala relies on the use of split-role in the case of Narrator I and Narrator II, as both players take up the thread of the story, one after the other, thus enhancing the participatory quality of the 'folk-play'. Split-role is an aspect of Brechtian staging, but it is not unlikely that such might be the practice in traditional Ika society, given the people's sense of communalism. Additionally, *Iredi War*, based as it is on historical events, draws heavily upon historical material. Reference is made, for instance, to the Ekumeku War which began in 1883, and 'is still on' in 1906, the year in which the play is set. Reference is also made to similar historical occurrences such as the Benin Massacre of 1897. In the 'Preface', Sam Ukala calls the reader's attention to sources of his information on the historical details of the play. He says that the 'Historical accounts of this [Iredi War] are presented in two publications: "The Murder of OS Crewe-Read, the Attack on EC Crewe-Read and the political officers AA Chischester & AC Douglas who Directed the Reprisals against the Insurgents" by Keith Steward FRGS and Chief Dan A. Agbobu's "The Historical Evolution of Owa Kingdom" in K.O. Echenim, ed. *Ndiowa and their Monarchs: An overview'* (6)

Apart from this, in the body of the play proper, the writer, through Narrator II, reports:

> Just like Vice-Consul Phillips, who, also in acting capacity, caused the Benin Massacre in 1897, and was beheaded by Bini warriors, along with six others white men in his company. (38)

By the same token, Ukala furnishes in many places in the play straight from history books the actual events that took place in the historical past. Since folktales deal with myths and legends, it is reasonable to assume that Ukala's resort to history is in keeping with Brechtian historicism, or what Bertolt Brecht calls 'historification'/'historicisation'. This is a histrionic strategy designed to help facilitate The *Verfremdungseffekt* or the 'V effect' for short. It has been argued that Brecht coined these terms to describe the technique of setting the dramatic action of a play in the past so as to draw parallels with modern happenings. The distance, therefore, between the past and the present enables the audience to view the historical events of the play with appropriate emotional detachment. 'Historification', it must be added, also depends on the use of realism in order to avoid slipping into sheer romance. Thus in *Iredi War*, Ukala provides large doses of realism, for example, the Obi and his people do not provide imaginary food items like yam, kolanuts and palm wine to the white man. They present him with real foodstuffs which the people grow as well as real palm wine and kolanuts.

It should be stressed that in *Iredi War*, Ukala demonstrates what might be characterized or considered 'too much realism', particularly with regard to characterization. This perceived deficiency may be mitigated if black actors are to impersonate the white characters in the play and the costuming is largely symbolic as in epic theatre. Apart from the swift scene-changes through the use of 'dissolve to' one location from another, and the occasional narration, the entirety of the play reads (and, perhaps, on stage as well) like what Brecht calls 'Dramatic theatre' or Aristotelian drama which Sam Ukala has striven to avoid.

His passionate preference for Brechtian aesthetics is equally in evidence through his deployment of multi-roling, a perfect instance being Narrator I, a woman, 'thinly disguised as a man' (46). This cross-sex casting is a legacy of Brecht and might also be that of the African folktale genre. As a 'folkscript', *Iredi War* appropriately relies on the use of vernacular e.g. *utoro* (diarrhea), *Eworo* (Lion, 48), *Akamkpo* (dry corn); songs (30-31, 40, 79); onomatopoeia (*gbe-e, gbo-e* (33), *zaam* (42), *kutunku* (50); coinages e.g.; (sergeanting 54); pidgin English (54-55), poetry (50); dance (62) and humour e.g. Gilpin's love of verbiage; and proverbial lore. The author also uses symbolic setting (55) for ease of production. The use of black magic- referred to in the Ika dialect as *uta mgba* – deployed by the King and Nneka, his wife, as well as his chiefs to fight the white man, and the use of divination and prophecy (76) foreground some of the native people's metaphysics used as coping mechanism against threats to

communal life as in the context of the Iredi war.

By way of influence, a close reading of Sam Ukala's plays reveals that he might have been influenced consciously or otherwise by the writings of many African and non-African dramatists, especially Femi Osofisan, Wole Soyinka, Ola Rotimi (notably Rotimi's *Kurumi* and *The Gods are not to Blame*), Shakespeare (especially *Macbeth* and *Julius Caesar*) and, of course, Brecht.

Conclusion

Sam Ukala, it has been argued, has relied on both the Brechtian aesthetics and his indigenous Ika-Igbo folktale performance idiom to fashion out a unique form of drama he refers to as 'folkscript', which according to him, derives from 'Folkism'. As has been noted, it is quite difficult to differentiate between some of the elements of epic theatre and the folktale genre in Ukala's drama. It is, thus, convenient to toe the line of Osofisan's Afrocentrism, namely that before Brecht, there was epic drama in traditional Africa embodied in festivals and folklore. Truth be told, Ukala's dramaturgy ostensibly derives from both Brecht (mediated through Osofisan and perhaps, other lesser-known playwrights) and the Ika folktale performance idiom.

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Corporate Governance and Value Relevance of Financial Information - A Study of Selected Listed Companies in Nigeria

4

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Abstract

This study examined the relationship between corporate governance mechanisms and value relevance of financial information of listed firms in Nigeria. In order to achieve the aim of the study, a sample of 12 listed companies spanning across five (5) sectors such as financial, construction, oil and gas, consumer goods and brewery were selected using the simple random sampling technique and the annual report for the period of 2012-2016 were examined and analysed. Specifically, the study examined the effect of corporate governance mechanisms which includes the board size, board meetings, gender, non-financial expertise of the board composition and financial expertise of the board composition on the earnings per share (EPS) and net assets per share (NAPS) as construct for value relevance. The regression analysis technique was adopted in analysing data extracted from the annual reports. Findings from the study indicated that board size, board meetings, gender and non-financial expertise have positive but not statistically significant relationship with NAPS and EPS. However, financial expertise has a negative, but statistically significant relationship with net assets per share (NAPS). Therefore, the study recommended that board members of listed companies should comprise relevant professionals whose expertise and skills will enhance the growth and relevance of financial information.

Keywords: Corporate governance; value relevance; financial information; financial expertise; financial reporting

Introduction

The subject of corporate governance has been a strong feature in the wake of global financial crises, which has negatively impacted on the health of enterprises as well as the livelihood of common people, due to regulatory weakness both at national and international levels (UNCTAD, 2010). Ordinary people in almost all the countries of the world are facing challenges of unemployment, lost of savings and financial insecurity which is a result of this global financial crisis. This led the United Nations' member states to undertake various actions to strengthen their financial framework in other to enhance investors' confidence and to promote economic stability.

The wave of corporate scandals has raised much criticism as regards the value relevance of financial reporting statement (Agrawal & Chadal, 2005, cited in Ogundana et al, 2016). As a result, there is a need for quality financial report to meet the needs of various stakeholders. Therefore, corporate governance has been seen as a bedrock upon which investors' protection, transparency and adequate disclosure of executive actions could be enhanced.

According to Uwuigbe et al (2015), the concept of corporate governance can be described as a set of mechanisms through which the outside investors protect themselves against the misappropriation practised by the insiders. It is a system that comprises practices through which protection of various stakeholders could be established. However Catherine (2007) stated that the presence of good corporate governance enhances reliable financial information and thereby increases public interest in the financial statement information.

A statement of financial reporting forms foundation of firm- specific information made available for various stakeholders in which an enhanced governance of firms helps to produce a significant return on investment in accounting regimes (Robert & Abbie, 2007). The judgement and expectations of managers forms an inextricable part of valuable financial reporting, therefore, there is a need for financial reporting to provide information of high quality to meet expectations of various stakeholders.

The value relevance of financial information could be termed engine of development (decision making) in which the entire knowledge of an entity could be derived and thereby fostering the development of every segment of such entity. According to the International Accounting Standard Board (IASB) framework, financial information has four major characteristics which include: intelligibility, comparability, reliability and relevance (Mariana and Maria, 2016). Financial information is termed value relevance when the information therein could meet the information needs of various stakeholders whose access to such information is very minimal by influencing the economic decision making (Moin-ud-din et al., 2013 in Elham & Yaghoub 2016; Mariana &Maria, 2016). However, Catherine (2007) opined that reliability of financial statement information could be achieved through the presence of good corporate governance. Corporate governance enhances both quantity and quality of financial information by ensuring that managers maximize the economic function of profit while minimising cost in order to create value for shareholders and thereby achieving superior capitalization (Mariana & Maria, 2016).

Therefore, the concept of good corporate governance entails the relationship between an entity's management, board of directors, shareholders and other relevant stakeholders.

The main focus of this paper is therefore to determine the extent of relationship existing between the corporate governance mechanisms and the value relevance of financial information of listed companies in Nigeria. Financial information is termed value relevant when it contains three main qualities such as the opportunity, the retrospective character and the predictive value. Opportunity means providing information at the due time, the retrospective character refers to the ability of financial information to permit evaluation of past decision making and finally, the financial information has a predictive value when future forecast is improved based on the result of past decision making (Mariana & Maria, 2016).The paper is divided into five sections: Section 1 deals with the introduction, section 2 reveals the review of relevant literatures, section 3 deals with the methodology adopted. Section four is the analysis and interpretation of collected data and section 5 is the conclusion and recommendation.

Literature Review

Corporate Governance and the Accounting Information

Accounting information which is obtained from accounting activities of an entity reflects the health of such entity. It is the most important element of information system at the level of corporate governance because most decision at microeconomic level are made based on the accounting information available in the annual financial reports of entities under consideration (Mariana & Maria 2016;Xiaomin&Xulei 2007).

The shareholders invest directly and indirectly in the corporate governance mechanism of entities so as to increase the shareholders' confidence in the financial reporting information. Therefore, corporate governance could be defined as the set of customs, processes, principles, laws, policies, procedures and structures in an organisation that determines the manner by which owners' resources are controlled and administered in order to protect the owners' interest. (Onuorah & Imene, 2016).

Value Relevance of Financial Accounting Information

The effectiveness of accounting information depends on its relevancy, completeness and reliability (Barth *et al*., 2000 in Manisha, 2016). This means that the information is complete, objective, unbiased and lack favouritism on behalf of any party. The relevance of financial information assist the financial users to be able to evaluate past, present and future performance of an entity. According to Swarti & Bharti, (2010) and Riahi, (2000) cited in Jamar, (2011) the value relevance of financial information refers to as financial statement that enhances value which can affect the decision making of various investors and stakeholders because knowing fully well that investors rely on such information in assessment of risk and for firm valuation (Adebimpe &Ekwere, 2015).Value relevance is an important characteristic of financial statements and could be defined as the ability of accounting information determined or having a significant impact on share

prices (Vijitha & Nimalathasan, 2014; Jianwei&Chunjiao, 2007;Beaver, 2002 &Riahi, 2000 in Jamar, 2011). However the major objective of financial statement is to provide information that will enhance an effective decision making by various stakeholders, thereby accounting information is value relevance when it serves as prerequisite for stock (Oyerinde, 2009 in Vijitha&Nimalathasan, 2014). According to Francis andSchipper(1999) in Adeyemo, Solabomi,UwuigbeandUwuigbe (2017) financial information is value relevant if it contains variable used in valuation model or can predict those variables for instance the value relevance of earnings is the ability of earnings to future dividend, cash flows, book values or future earnings.

Tharmilla and Nimalathasan (2013) noted earning per share (EPS) and book value per share (BVPS) as value relevance of accounting information which is dependent on the market price as EPS assist investors to indicate how profitable their monies are being used in the company and also preserves the investors from fraud or been misled which is determined by the reliability and the relevancy of financial information. However, value relevance measured the relevance, reliability and quality of financial information which is very important to the growth and development of an economy (Beuselinck, 2005 in Jamal, 2011).Research studied carried out by various researchers indicated that value relevance of financial information in developed and developing countries differs (Jamal 2011). For instance the study carried out by Abayadeera(2010) and Ohlson's (1995) cited in Vijitha&Nimalathasan (2014)indicated book value is most value relevance to earnings in deciding the share

prices of some selected industries in Australia. However the studied carried out by Adeyemoet al. (2017) in Nigeria context revealed that earnings per share EPS is more value relevance in relationship with share price than the book value per share BVPS. Therefore it was recommended that effort should be geared towards provision of credible financial information so as to boost the sustainable development of Nigeria Stock Exchange (NSE).

The studied carried out by many researchers such as (Dechow, 1994; Holtousen& Watts 2001; Manisha, 2014) revealed that EPS and BVPS are more significant and value relevant for valuation of firms than cash flow as a result of timing problem of cash flow. The study also revealed that there is inverse relationship between the EPS and BVPS in valuation of firms.

Corporate Governance and Value Relevance
It has been noted that the real value of a firm do not appear on the balance sheet or financial statement rather what constitute the real value in a firm is the quality of management, employees and conduciveness of working environment (Adeyemo et al 2017).However the study of Catherine (2007) of corporate governance and financial information of Australian companies revealed that corporate governance is not value relevance in itself but a good corporate governance practices enhance value relevance of earnings but reduce value relevance of book value of equity.The value relevance of accounting information determines the effectiveness of capital market which in turn affects the efficiency of

allocation of social resources; therefore any distortion in the accounting information is majorly related to the problem of corporate governance.

Board Size and Value Relevance

Board size as a mechanism of corporate governance has been discovered by several researchers to be positively correlated and significantly impacted on the value relevance of companies under consideration (Forbes & Milliken,1999; Abdellatif, 2009) cited in (Mungly, Babajee,Marayeh, Seetah&Ramdhany, 2016). However, the study ofYermack(1996) cited in Habib and Azim (2008) and Munglyet al (2016) confirmed that smaller board size has a positive correlation with higher firm value.

Board Composition and Value Relevance

It has been confirmed that the financial expertise in the board composition assist in making strategic choices and that quite number of board members that are financial expertise has positive effect on the firm value (Fama&Jersen 1983; Klein, 1998) cited in Habib and Azim (2008). Therefore, there is a need to appoint members of the board of directors who are financially literate and have relevant professional qualification that is, having understanding of financial statement. Defond et al (2005) noted that there is a positive reaction of companies' value to the market as a result of financial expertise in the board of directors.

CEO Duality and Value Relevance

The CEO duality affirmed that the role of the Chairman and that of the CEOshould be separate as they are saddled with different responsibilities.Yermack (1996) cited in Mungly et al (2016) opined that the CEO duality reduces firm's value. Azim and Habib (2008) opined that CEO duality role can negatively influence the directors therefore, a need for separation. However, Brickley et al (1997) cited in Azim and Habib (2008) was of the opinion that the cost of separating the two roles may outweigh the benefit and therefore supported that the same person can act as the chairman as well as the CEO.

Empirical Review

Firstly, the study carried out by ElhamandYaghoub (2016) on listed companies on Tehran Stock Exchange in Iran over the period of 2010-2014 revealed that there is significant and negative relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms and financial information of listed companies under consideration in which there is a reduction in earnings management which also has an adverse effect on value relevance. The study of Elhan and Yahgoub (2016) using corporate governance standards, ownership structure, the board size as corporate governance mechanisms and earnings management of related party transactions as well as stock price as accounting information of listed companies in Tehran Stock exchange in Iran. The study found out that there is a significant and negative correlation between corporate governance mechanisms and financial accounting information and thereby reducing the value

relevance of financial accounting information which is as a result poor corporate governance system in those companies.The study of Xincheng, Stephen &Youchao, (2014) on the effect of good corporate governance of voluntary disclosure of non –financial information on investment efficiency of 1029 listed firms in China for the period of 2007-2011. It was revealed that non- financial information is not related with investment efficiency for firms that have weak corporate governance but non-financial information can control under or over investment in firms with strong corporate governance.

The study of Jouini(2013) on the relationship between the corporate governance system and quality of financial information of listed French Companies for the period of 2004 – 2008 using ownership structure, quality of internal control system and characteristics of the board as corporate governance mechanisms while discretionary accruals was used as the variable for financial accounting quality revealed that there is positive relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms and the quality of financial statement of the sampled French companies.Meanwhile the study of Dennis (2013) in Canadian listed companies revealed that earnings are value relevance in companies with good corporate governance.The study of Jose, Gerlando& Iran (2009) to verify the impact of good corporate governance on quality of financial information in Brazilian companies revealed that corporate governance improve the information content of earnings reported considering 231 listed and unlisted companies on Brazil stock exchange. Moreover, the

study of Abdou (2011) on 120 listed companies in Dakar Stock Exchange DSE in 2007 revealed that there is a positive relationship between corporate governance mechanisms such as Board size,board leadership structure, board audit committee structure and voluntary disclosure of financial information thereby enhancing value relevance of financial information of those listed companies.The study carried out by Ahsan&Istiaq(2008) in Australian listed companies and Sami (2016) of European listed companies revealed that firms with strong governance structure have higher value relevance than firms with weaker corporate governance structure by ensuring that the financial information presented to the outsiders are not opportunistically biased. Therefore, the study suggested that firms' value relevance of financial information is affected by corporate governance as well as firms' specific factors.

Some researchers over the years have come up with the impact of internal audit function as a corporate governance mechanism on the reliability and relevance of financial statement information. It was found that internal audit function assist to add value to an organisation and also reduce the rate of internal crime which on the long run enhances the quality of financial accounting information of companies (Ogundana*et al.,* 2016). The study of Bahri*et al.,* (2014) revealed that corporate governance mechanisms such as size of board of directors, board independence, dual role of the director and chairman do not affect the value relevance of accounting information.

Theoretical Framework

Stakeholders Theory

According to Borlea and Achim (2013); Okere (2017),stakeholders' theory is a development to agency theory.Stakeholders mean all persons, group or organisations that interact or have influence on a firm's activities which includes shareholders, investors, managers, employees, customers, suppliers, competitors, government, peer group, NGOs. Therefore,these include the consubstantial (Shareholders, investors, employees) contextual(communities and society where the business operates) and contractual stakeholders (suppliers, contractors, customers). The theory focus on the stakeholders in an entity and that corporate entity seeks to establish a balance between the interest of varying stakeholders in order to ensure that each of the stakeholders obtain a considerable level of satisfaction (Abram, 1951) in Yussof&Alhaji (2012). The scope of stakeholders' theory is widerthanthat of agency theory by focusing on different constituent of an entity, thereby giving a better explanation than agency theory. Therefore this theory is imbibed for the purpose of this study as it relates to the characteristics of companies governance to favour various stakeholders that have interest in the affairs of an entity which include shareholders, creditors, customers, general public, employee, customers etc.
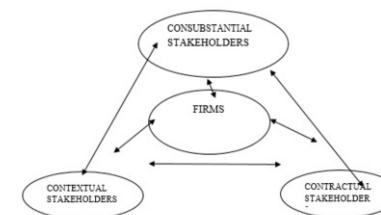
Figure: Adapted from YussofandAlhaji (2012)

Hypotheses

H_o: *There is a no significant relationship between the value relevance of financial information and corporate governance mechanisms of listed companies in Nigeria.*

H_o: *Corporate governance has no positive impact on the value relevance of financial information of listed companies in Nigeria.*

Methodology

The study adopted cross sectional research design. This is justified on the premise that study intends to investigate on the observations of interest that occurred in different groups at a particular period in time. The secondary data was use as a source of data collection by extracting relevant information useful for this study from the annual report of the listed companies under consideration. The population of the study covers all 173 companies listed on Nigeria Stock Exchange (NSE) out of which 12 was selected using simple random sampling for the purpose of this studywhich covers across various sectors such asconsumer goods, oil and gas, financial institutions, constructions and breweries based on their activeness on the Nigeria Stock Exchange and the availability of financial reports of the companies under consideration. The decision for the size of the sample was to ensure that all sector of the industrylisted on the

cited in Uwuigbe et al (2015) that opined that a sample size of any study should not be less than the 5% of the entire population. The period under consideration covers the period of 2012-2016 (5 years). However, in order to analyse the data obtained from the annual report based on the identified variables, regression analysis was employed.

3.1 Model Specifications

For the purpose of this study, the variables identified as value relevance include Earnings per Share (EPS) and Book Value per Share (BVPS) of listed companies under consideration and these are the dependent variables. However variables identified for Corporate Governance includes the Board Size (BZ),Board Meetings (BM), and Board Compositionsuch as the gender i.e (F and M) and the financial expertise which are the independent variables. These variables are expressed in the equations below:

$$Y = f(x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4, x_5.....x_n) \dots\dots\dots\dots(1)$$
$$Y = \beta_o + \beta_1 x_1 + \beta_2 x_2 + \beta_3 x_3 + \beta_4 x_4 + \beta_5 x_5 + \mu \dots\dots\dots(2)$$

Where x = independent variable i.e. corporate governance
X_1 = Board size
X_2 = Board meetings
X_3 = Gender
X_4 = Non-financial expertise in the board composition
X_5 = Financial expertise in the board composition
Y_1 = Book value per share (BVPS)
Y_2 = Earnings per share (EPS)
B_0 = Intercept
μ = Error terms

Model 1

$$Y_1 = \beta_0 + \beta_1 BZ + \beta_2 BM + \beta_3 GDR + \beta_4 NFE + \beta_5 FE \dots\dots\dots\dots(2)$$

Model 2

$$Y_2 = \beta_0 + \beta_1 BZ + \beta_2 BM + \beta_3 GDR + \beta_4 NFE + \beta_5 FE \dots\dots\dots\dots(3)$$

4.0 Presentation and Analysis of Result

Table 1   Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
EPS	60	-55.39	11.12	2.2471	8.14779
BVPS	60	.61	301.94	111.1478	88.67609
BZ	60	8.00	27.00	14.3462	4.54125
BM	60	3.00	11.00	4.8846	1.54227
GDR	60	5.00	31.00	14.5319	4.36921
NFE	60	.25	.94	.6323	.18205
FE	60	.06	.75	.3677	.18205

The result from table 1 below indicates the mean value of EPS of 2.247 for listed companies under consideration while the BVPS as a mean value of 111 for the listed companies considered in the study for the period of 2012-2016. The mean value of Board size for the listed companies considered shows a figure of 14.35 which is 96% of maximum board size specified by the Security and Exchange code of corporate governance 2003. The board meeting has mean value of 4 which depict that the listed firm had average number of meeting for 4 times throughout the year under consideration i.e. 2012-2016. This implies that the listed companies understudied have complied with the necessary code of corporate governance. The board gender composition of the listed companies considered for this study has an average value of 14 while the mean percentage of non-financial expertise to financial expertise is 0.63:0.37.

Table 2: Pearson Correlation

	EPS	BVPS	BZ	BM	GDR	NFE	FE
EPS	1						
BVPS	0.086	1					
BZ	0.098	0.382**	1				
BM	0.032	0.160	0.319*	1			
GDR	0.200	0.714**	1.687**	0.616**	1		
NFE	0.094	0.156	-0.115	-0.104	-0.033	1	
FE	-0.094	-0.156	0.115	0.104	0.033	1.000**	1

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The findings from the Pearson correlation table 2 above shows that the board size and the gender composition of the board of directors as proxies of corporate governance has a positive and significant relationship with the Book value per share (BVPS) at probability of 1% significant.This is evident as there is as the correlation between the Book value per share and the board size is 0.382 at 1% level of significance while the correlation between the gender composition and the BVPS shows 0.714 at 1% level of significance. Moreover, Board meetings (BM), Non-financial expertise have positive but insignificant correlation with the BVPS at the correlation coefficient of 0.160 and 0.156 respectively. Also, the financial expertise has a negative and insignificant correlation with the BVPS. However, all the corporate governance mechanisms in this study have positive but insignificant correlation with the earnings per share (EPS).

TABLE 3   Model Summary (MODEL 1 & 2)

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.687a	.472	.362	74.32881
2	.371a	.137	-.042	2.86131

a. Predictors: (Constant), FE, GDR, BM, BZ
b. Predictors: (Constant), FE, GDR, BM, BZ

From the table 3 above, the adjusted R-square value of 0.362in the model 1 shows the level of variability in the dependent variable (Book value per share) which is as a result of the independent variables. However, the remaining 0.638 variability in the dependent variable (BVPS) could be determined based on factors outside the independent variable. Also theadjusted R-square value of negative 4% in model 2 shows that variability in the dependent variable (EPS) that could be explained by the independent variables considered for this study. The remaining 0.96 variability in the independent variable could be explained by factors outside the independent variables.

TABLE 4   ANOVAª

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	118443.794	5	23688.759	4.288	.006ᵇ
	Residual	132594.543	24	5524.773		
	Total	251038.338	29			

a. Dependent Variable: BVPS
c. Predictors: (Constant), FE, GDR, BM, BZ

TABLE 5   Coefficientsª

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	107.462	61.945		1.735	.096	-20.387	235.311
	BZ	25.897	19.238	1.576	1.346	.191	-13.809	65.602
	BM	.090	8.568	.002	.011	.992	-17.594	17.775
	GDR	-35.100	39.274	-1.410	-1.746	.892	-101.168	60.242
	FE	-176.510	80.552	-.345	-2.191	.038	-342.762	-10.259

a. Dependent Variable: BVPS

The coefficients table 5 above shows the evaluation of the statistical significance of the relationship between the dependent variable and the independent variable. The table depict weither the null hypothesis should be accepted or rejected. The table indicates a t-value of -2.191 at probability of 0.038 which is less than 0.05i.e. (P < 0.05). This depicts that there is a negative butsignificant relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms (Financial Expertise) considered for the purpose of this study and value relevance i.e.(BVPS). However, board size, board meetings, gender and non-financial as constructs for corporate governance shows

positive but insignificant relationship with the book value per share (BVPS).

TABLE 6 ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	31.320	5	6.264	.765	.584[b]
	Residual	196.490	24	8.187		
	Total	227.810	29			

a. Dependent Variable: EPS
b. Predictors: (Constant), FE, GDR, BM, BZ

TABLE 7 Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	4.958	2.385		2.079	.048
	BZ	.602	.741	1.216	.812	.425
	BM	-.339	.330	-.218	-1.027	.315
	GDR	-.549	.787	-.818	-.697	.493
	FE	.026	3.101	.002	.008	.993

a. Dependent Variable: EPS

The table 7 above depicts the evaluation of the statistical significance of the result. The null hypothesis is tested in order to determine whether to accept or reject the null hypothesis. The corporate governance mechanisms show positive and negative insignificant relationship with the earnings per share. The board size and the financial expertise show a positive but insignificant relationship with the EPS while the board meetings and gender has a negative and insignificant relationship with the EPS.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This study aimed at determining the extent of relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms and the value relevance of financial information of listed companies in Nigeria.The study focused on two objectives which include: To determine the extent of relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms and the value relevance of financial information of listed firms in Nigeria (EPS& BVPS) and to ascertain the impact of corporate governance mechanisms on value relevance of financial accounting information of listed companies in Nigeria.

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms and the value relevance of financial information of listed companies in Nigeria.

Hypothesis one was tested using the regression analysis and the result revealed that the corporate governance mechanisms which include board size, board meetings, gender and non financial expertise among the member of board of directors has a positive but insignificant relationship with the net assets per share of the listed companies considered for this study. This commensurate with the study of Sami (2016) that found out that firms with weaker corporate governance is not statistically significant with the financial information reported. Also the study is supported by the research carried out by Mungly et al (2016) which opined that smaller board size has significant impact on large firm values. Therefore, smaller board size is preferable to avoidcorporate scandals and to ensure that views among the boards are easily shared. However, the financial expertise of the board composition has a positive and significant relationship with the net assets per share. Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and we conclude that corporate governance has significant relationship with the disclosure of net assets per share.

The hypothesis one was also tested to confirm the relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms and Earnings per Share (EPS) using the regression analysis. The result revealed that all the corporate governance mechanisms considered for the purpose of this study which include board size, board meeting, gender andnon financial expertise in the board of directors, financial expertise in the board of directors have positive but insignificant relationship with the earnings per share. Therefore, a conclusion that corporate governance mechanism has insignificant relation with the EPS information of the listed companies considered for the purpose of this study. This is supported by the view of which support the findings of Barhi et al (2014) in Elhamand Yahgoub (2016).

Hypothesis 2: Corporate governance has no positive impact on value relevance of financial information of listed companies in Nigeria.

From the findings of the two hypotheses stated above, it could be depicted that the corporate governance mechanisms considered for this study have positive and negative relationship with the value relevance constructs under consideration which include book value per share (BVPS) and earnings per share (EPS).Therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected and there is a conclusion that corporate governance mechanisms has a positive impact on the value relevance of financial information of listed companies in Nigeria which agrees with the study of Jose et al (2009); Abdou, (2011); Dennis, (2013) and Uwuigbe et al, (2015).

Conclusions and Recommendation

This study examined the relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms and value relevance construct such as earnings per share and book value per share of listed companies under consideration. The findings from the study indicated positive and negative relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms and the value relevance variables based on the hypothesis tested. The study observed that there is a positive and negative relationship between the corporate governance mechanisms considered for the purpose of this study and the earnings per share EPS of the listed companies under consideration which commensurate with the study of Ruth & Augustine (2016) whose study found out there is a positive correlation between the board size and earningsof listed companies performance under consideration. The findings also supported with the study carried out by Uwuigbe et al (2015) that found out that there is a positive relationship between the board size and the dividend payout of the listed companies under consideration. The study also found out that there is a positive relationship between the financial expertise as a construct of corporate governance mechanisms and book value per share (BVPS). Therefore, the study recommended that the listed companies should ensure that their board composition consists of members from various relevant professional bodies whose decisions with their professional experience, expertise and skills will enhance the growth and relevancy of financial information which on the long run will be of great benefit to investors.

Policy Implications

From the findings above, it could be depicted that corporate mechanisms considered for this study has insignificant relationship with the value relevance of financial information considered in the study. The implication of this is that some of the old mechanisms of corporate governance approved by the Security and Exchange Commission (SEC, 2003) such as the minimum board size of 15 should be reviewed as indicated from this study and the studies of other researchers such as Mungly et al (2016), Elham and Yaghoub (2016) and Yermack (1996) cited in Mungly et al (2016) that favours smaller board size in orderto avoid corporate scandals, to ensure relevant professional mix in the board of directors and to enhance prompt decision making supported by the OECD guidelines on corporate governance reviewed in 2017 in some jurisdictions to be between 3 to 5 members. Also the practice of independent board members of 50% should be reviewed in Nigeria as indicated by OECD, 2017 that the independent members of the board of directors should not be more than 3 practiced in other jurisdiction such as Japan.

Suggestions for Further Studies

Although, research on corporate governance and value relevance subject has been dealt with extensively but there are still some salient and vital areas that are yet to be unravelled. Therefore, this study makes the under listed suggestions for further researches.

1. Further investigation should be made on other factors affecting the value relevance of financial information which include leverage, the size of the firm, and the level of firm's growth as this has significant impact on share price.

2. Other areas of corporate governance such as cross-border analysis should be unravelled.

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Describing Nigerian English Along the Vector of the English Thematic System

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Abstract

Remarkable linguistic features observed in Nigerian English (NE), owing to the second learner situation, position it as a sovereign variety of English. There are developments of new Englishes in the globe with distinguishing statuses. As the characterization of NE is on course, this study explores applications of the peak of prominence in the phenomenon. It compares the thematic structures obtainable in British English (BrE) with NE as theorized in Systemic Functional Linguistics. With about twenty-three communicative samples subjected to thematic analysis, the study reveals that speakers sometimes exemplify bi-layered structures in the domain of experiential theme. This has led to redundancy of "subjects" in the mood system. Perhaps speakers utilize these components for emphatic purposes. Ignorance and inadequate knowledge of English could also determine such situation. Either way, the twofold subject of a clause is a development that is difficult to check because the situation is ubiquitous in the fabric of society.

Keywords: Multiple Theme, Nigerian English, Redundancy, Rheme, Systemic Functional Theory

Introduction

One of the features of language is the ability to change over time. This could be owing to the freedom of usage that every language user possesses. Besides, a context of communication is a contributory factor to the active nature of language. Communicators are at liberty to interact as desired. The question of rules, to an extent, is somehow

determined by the knowledge of speakers of a particular language. In language communication, creativity of speakers usually appears when users, in one way or another, inject new words into the language. The acceptability of novel words depends largely on society in which they are used. This argument, to a remarkable extent, is consistent with a view that context influences language development (Halliday & Hasan, 1985). In another sense, interactants could structure the organization of words to form a clause nexus according to the will of the users. When a particular way of using language (clause or sentence) is to be restructured, it may not start with the majority, rather, it could begin with a single individual before it dominates human interactions. The reorganization of a particular clause could emanate for the purpose of convenience or otherwise. Injection of novel words into a linguistic social space and reorganization of the structure of a language are sometimes established as a result of language interference (for example with a *Yorùbá* and English bilingual), which in-turn contributes to language development.

English seems to be one of the languages in the world that enjoy the peculiarities of rapid development because of its global communicative strengths on other languages. Adetugbo (1997. iv) argues that "[…] the English language today is the most international and academic of all languages." He sees English beyond being used as a language of particular domains, businesses and trades, but a language that has the blessing of academics in most parts of the world. Adetugbo further explains that the English language "[…] is used by more than 800million people, about a third of whom are native speakers" (p. iv). Two-thirds of the world's speakers of English, in Adetugbo's perspective, are second language (*henceforth*: L2) users. He adds that the "language is now used in every corner of the world" (1997, p. vi). It then means that English is a communication facility of most of the people in the world. The wide spread and hegemony of English should be of concern because there is a tendency that its usage as L2 might attract different constructions. In other words, there could be a shift from the native speakers' linguistic culture to a situation of regional linguistic interference.

Studies explicating contact of English with other languages in the world abound (Baugh & Cable, 1993; Jenkins, 2006). The global spread influences the shape of varieties (Galloway & Rose, 2015) with certain intellectual classifications (Kachru, 1992a). One could view the global phenomenon in relation to first dispersal involving the migration of English L1 speakers to North American and Australian continents (Crystal, 2007). The second dispersal pinpoints the conveying of English to countries in Africa and Asia through colonization and the practice of the slave trade (Kachru, Kachru & Nelson, 2009). Consequently, countries such as Nigeria, Gambia and Tanzania in Africa; and India, Malaysia, and Hong Kong in Asia have developed novel communicative ideas (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). On that ground, there have been taxonomies of English owing to its distinct users. These are: native language (e.g. UK, USA, Australia); second language (e.g. Nigeria, Singapore, Hong Kong); and foreign language (e.g. Japan, Korea, Taiwan). On the same distinction plane, Kachru, a chronicler of the expansion of

English, characterizes its global rise from a geographical point of view of inner, outer and expanded circles (Kachru, 1992a). Schneider's dynamic model, reflecting a sociolinguistic perspective identifies foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization and differentiation (Schneider, 2007) as the English stretch taxonomy. Significantly, there are also Steven's world map of English (Strevens, 1980), McArthur's circle (McArthur, 1987), Gölach's model (Görlach, 1990), and Modiano's model (Modiano, 1999).

That being said, McArthur (2001) discusses trends and variegated evolutions of English gliding from monolithic standards to a language responding to global socio-cultural contexts (also in Kachru, 2017). Kouega (2003) illustrates a communicative ethos among Cameroonian secondary school students, while Vakunta (2017) elucidates pidginization of English and makes a case for the recognition of Cameroonian Pidgin English (CPE). In the same theoretical theater, De Klerk (2003) throws some light on Xhosa English (XE) indicating systematic differences from earlier speculations of Black South African English (BSAE). De Klerk classifies XE as a sub-category of BSAE yielding a new look with its own standards. Matsuda (2003) illuminates readers on how to raise awareness of English in Japanese secondary schools in order to accept the language as an international communicative device. Nonetheless, Brodowski's (2013) investigation shows that the prevalence of English has penetrated Japanese classrooms creating a dual-existence of language utilization. Rüdinger (2014) explicates the evolving patterns of Koreanized English as accommodating intercultural dimensions (Lee, 2015), and how "Konglish" suffers and struggles for social legitimacy (McPhail, 2017). Still on the expanded circle, Arik and Arik (2014) report forms, statuses, and functions of English in Turkey higher education at about 20%, and Fang's (2016) positioning of English as a global lingua franca has a direct bearing on Chinese enhancing easy international businesses. Moreover, Hinrichs and White-Sustaita (2011) conducted a quantitative analysis on orthographic variations of Jamaican blog and email constructive styles to reveal meaning potential as informed by instances of social norms. In the same vein, Nguyen (2016) explains the pressure that English exerts on Vietnam's socio-political and eco-social affairs which invariably attracts "Doi Moi", a reformed policy that stimulates huge overseas' investments. In addition, Cooper (2017) displays how multiple socio-cultural treasures entwine features of the language of Yorkshire, while Schultz (2016; 2017) exhibits impacts of German and Spanish lexical borrowings on English, adding new words respectively to provide viable semantic implications. In all these, Salazar (2015) raises a conclusion to expound ten ways that English users influence the language to create its expansion. Some of the ways are: "able" affixation, making of analogy, compounding, translation, and calques.

A shift in the usage of English by the L2 informs the current effort. This study is an examination of how Nigerian L2 users appreciate the English thematic system in their social interactions to make meanings. Scholars, including Adetugbo (1976 & 1979), Bamgbose (1982), Okoro (2006), Daramola (2019), and Dalamu (2017c;

2020b). have contributed fairly well to the nature of Nigerian English (*henceforth*: NE). However, those scholars have not analyzed the thematic structure of NE. Thus, that lacuna has become the burden of this quest. It is the authors' hope that this analysis will also contribute to the body of literature on the concept of NE, a growing phenomenon in world Englishes.

Nigerian English (NE)

Notable scholars have recorded some breakthroughs on the features of NE, thus, projecting NE as already moving away from being a fictitious notion to a factual conceptual element. NE has become astonishingly-perceptible due to the verifiable contributions that scholars (Adetugbo, 1976 & 1979; Bamgbose, 1971 & 1982; Awonusi 1990 & 2004; Okoro, 2006 & 2007; Ajani, 2007) have attempted to characterize its qualities. To move away from the imaginary NE status, Adetugbo states that "[…] and because in Nigeria we speak English the way we write it, we have become oblivious to the fact that the medium of use, whether spoken or written, has its own variety of the language" (1997, p. 179). Adetugbo asserts that NE is a variety of English because of the way it is used in Nigeria, which has its exceptional style in terms of spoken and written designs. There are little doubts that the written methodology of NE follows the path of its spoken style. Owing to the fact that the English spoken in Nigeria has some distinctive features which may not completely be the same with the British English (*henceforth*: BrE), then it becomes a variety to reckon with, despite all odds.

A cursory look at a historical report reveals that Walsh (1967) coined the designation NE. Ogu (1992, p. 88) argues that "[…] the varieties of English spoken by educated Nigerians, no matter …their language, has enough features in common to mark off a general type, which may be called Nigerian English." Despite Walsh's notable effort to designate English usages in Nigeria as NE, Walsh (1967) goes ahead to contend that the NE represents a number of errors that Nigerians commit in using English as a channel of communication. Salami (1968) and Vincent (1974) support Walsh's judgment by tagging NE as "bad English" and "errors of usage" respectively because of its deviation from most norms of the BrE variety in relation to spoken and written standards. Notwithstanding, NE has been identified for about four decades where scholars tend to describe its features. However, Okoro (2006, p. 18) submits that "NE has since been acceptable unequivocally as a legitimate variety of English worldwide – one of the new Englishes." The authenticity of NE, as Okoro suggests, should no longer be doubted. It is already an established variety that arrests the public and scholar's interest. In his opinion, NE's existence is no more negotiable. Okoro adds that "[…] the attention of Nigerian linguists has shifted from arguing about whether or not it exists" (p. 18). The fundamental issue, besides the usage errors, is the analysis of the common features explicated by the Nigerian L2. NE, having gained global prominence, error analyses could strengthen its general usages and adaptability to standardization. That aligns with an opinion that, "[…] each of the new Englishes has distinct characteristics as well as distinct linguistic and cultural identities… The depth of impact at

various linguistic levels in each variety will be determined by the degree of localization of English" (Ajani, 2007, p. 2)

Ajani's claims on the distinctive characteristics of the new English are discussed in Bamgbose (1982), Adetugbo (1979), and Okoro (2004) where investigations on the features of NE are the fulcrum. Adetugbo (1976) characterizes phonological variations as flavors of NE. Nevertheless, the study focuses more on the classifications of *Yorùbá* vowel sounds (*also in* Adetugbo, 1987). Jibril (1982) investigates the common features that may be expected from the emerging variety of English. It is baseless, as Jubril argues, for anyone to expect the English language spoken in Nigeria to possess homogeneous linguistic features among its users before such is qualified as NE. The BrE, despite the prominent-cum-referential role it plays in English varieties in the entire world, also has both local variations and dialectical features (Cooper, 2016). Bamgbose (1982) explains three factors that influence NE speakers. The first is the interference collision that takes place between English and any of the Nigerian local languages. The second is the deviation that occurs when an L2 user intends to compare the English structural lines with the local or native language. According to Bamgbose (1982), such a linguistic behavior may resort to errors. The third is the creative dynamisms distilled into English as a result of the beautiful resources in the native language. These events, in Bamgbose's opinion, have contributed to the status of NE as a sovereign variety of English.

Odumuh (1987), Akere (2004), and Adedimeji (2007), for instance, attribute the features of NE to, and a reflection of, some linguistic factors. The features are the multilingual nature of the Nigerian speech community, the celebrity use of English as a medium of instruction in colleges, and the bilingual nature of the L2 users. In their different studies, phonological, syntactic, lexical and semantic features are categorized into different degrees of localization that distinguish NE from BrE. The investigation of Jowitt (1991) describes the characteristics of NE from a syntactic perspective. Banjo's (1995) attempts distribute the results of Jowitt into the following categories: the pluralization of BrE non-countable nouns; sub-categorization of verbs; the use of preposition in the spots where BrE drops it; inflections; the use of modal auxiliaries in special ways; and relativization. Of course, there are other analyses such as Adegbija (1989), Alabi (2000), and Adedun (2011). These studies exhibit morphological ties, coinages, acronyms, analogy, and inflections of NE in partnership with BrE.

Awonusi (1990 & 2004) significantly characterizes NE through the phonological lense, describing NE speakers as lacking the capacity to realize some English sounds. The pronunciation challenge, Awonusi explains, is due to certain sociolinguistic factors. These are non-aspiration of stop consonants in the word initial position; the absence of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ which are interchanged with /t/ and /d/; the absence of the voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ which is substituted with /Σ/; etc. However, Awonusi (2004) explains the contributions-cum-influences that American English has on NE. These contributions operate in four distinct ways (i) T-Tapping, (ii) Yod-Dropping, (iii) Pronunciation of /ɜ:/ as /a:/, and the use of American stress pattern in certain words.

In contemporary times, it seems unacceptable to discuss NE without reference to Okoro (2004, 2006 & 2007). This is because the investigation of Okoro (2004) reveals the characteristics of NE at its semantic level. Okoro submits that NE contains redundancy (tautology and incompleteness) that produces confusion in meaning realizations. Besides, he adds that NE users apply normal English lexicon to express different meanings. Okoro (2006) examines category shifts with a goal to explain that the NE users shift adjective to noun, noun to verb, prepositional particle to verb, verb to noun, and adjective to noun. Okoro (2006, p. 10) emphasizes that "[…] this process occurs naturally enough among native speakers of English. But in L2 situations such as Nigeria, the process often violates some constraints and yields unacceptable results." The level of knowledge of English could cause the usage misappropriations and discrepancies. As long as there is no tangible medium to check the linguistic challenge, there may be no limitation to their recurrences. Apart from that, as long as the structural misappropriations produce semantic values to interractants, it could sound nauseating for anyone to discuss checking users. After all, linguistic science appreciates language more with descriptive principles. The "deviant" products of NE might be ascribed as parts of the status as long as there are semantic derivatives among its local users and elites. Okoro (2007) explores the conceptual terminology of collocations in English to identify their types. Okoro further identifies and analyzes errors associated with collocation's employment. Also he accounts for the NE users' linguistic competence. In sum, Okoro observes that English lexical items,

most times, do not operate in autonomous and interchangeable parts, but the components operate as part of a lexical system. Okoro (2007, p. 134) suggests to NE users to build up active vocabulary potency in order to understand the collocation relationships in English and apply them appropriately. With the efforts of scholars in characterizing the features of NE, it is unarguable as earlier mentioned that NE already has a global autonomous status.

Theoretical consideration

The Theme shoulders two responsibilities in the study. First, the concept acts as a discursive literature, and second, it functions as the theoretical module. It is upon those perspectives that the authors discuss the concept as performing twofold of operations. The Theme, as it were, is taken from Halliday's Systemic Functional Theory (*henceforth*: SFT). Fairclough (2003, p. 26) states that "[…] Functional approaches to language have emphasized the *multi-functionality* of texts." SFT, in the point of view of Fairclough, is multidimensional in exploiting meaning potential in texts. It means that SFT embraces language analysis in more than one linguistic plane. The multi-functionality is appreciated through its "metafunctional" simultaneity that Graber (2001) and Thomson (2005, p. 1) categorize into Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual Metafunctions. Despite the relationships that exist within the three metafunctions, one might attempt to apply a strand of the three to a particular text. The model of application depends largely on the goal of study. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) argue that the Theme

functions in the structure of the clause as a message. A clause has meaning as a message, a quantum of information. The system of Theme, as Dalamu (2019a) postulates, is the point of departure for the message. The element the speaker selects for "grounding what he is going to say" (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 58). In language, the Theme kicks-off the "lexicogrammar" of an independent clause. It is mandatory that every clause must start with a particular grammatical nexus. The first nexus has the responsibility and capability to connect one grammatical structure to another. One observes such relationship in all languages deployed as communicative facilities (Thomson, 2005; Dalamu, 2017b). The Theme represents the first nexus constructed in a clause. In English for instance, the grammar of a clause seems to contain the noun group, verb group, prepositional group, prepositional phrase, and adverbial phrase. Dalamu and Ogunlusi (2020) manifest that the groups and phrases are fabricated with word classes. Be it in spoken or written language, any of the groups that a speaker constructs to jump-start the flow of the clause references the Theme. Thompson (2004, p. 142) particularly explains that "[…] the Theme of a clause is simply the first constituent of the clause." Various expressions are used to explain the concept of Theme of a language. The Theme is: the point of departure of a clause; the clause motion setter; located and oriented in the first position of a clause; a fractal category implemented in dissimilar environments, etc. (Butler, 2003, p. 167; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 64; Thompson, 2004, p.143; Bloor & Bloor, 2004, p. 71; Matthiessen, 1995b, p. 90). The Theme is a communicative element that operates as the structural pacesetter.

Rashidi (1992) suggests that the Theme further moves the decoder towards the core of the communication. The heart of the communication in the thematic system is the Rheme. Rashidi adds that the importance of the Theme can be determined for it serves as the ideational jumping-off point which navigates the decoder into the ultimate goal of the message (1992, p 190-1). The universal obligation, in Ravelli's (2000) point of view, is the choice available to a speaker to foreground his communication model. Eggins (2004) expresses the same universality in text, claiming that "[…] the functional definition of Theme is presumed to be universally valid" (p. 300). That means all languages of the world – codified or not – submit to the positional domineering role that the Theme plays in a clause. There is no communicative language use without the phrasal order. The ties in any language begin with the thematic delicacy (Dalamu, 2019c). Moreover, the system of Theme demonstrates two peaks of prominence. These are (i) thematic peak and (ii) newsworthy peak. The thematic peak signals the concern of the speaker while the newsworthy peak indicates the information that the decoder needs to attend to (Halliday, 1979, p. 68 & 1994, p. 295). The analysts have mentioned earlier that the Theme provides the motion for a discourse as obtainable in an electronically operated frequency converter (Ozpineci, 2013), which takes off in motion from zero level to a set value. Yet, the Theme does not equate the Subject of a clause. In speech, as the intonation frequently marks-off the Theme in a clause, it is a linguistic nexus that has the tendency to take off with any of the clause anatomy (Dalamu, 2019b). In other words, the Theme is capable of beginning to operate with any of the
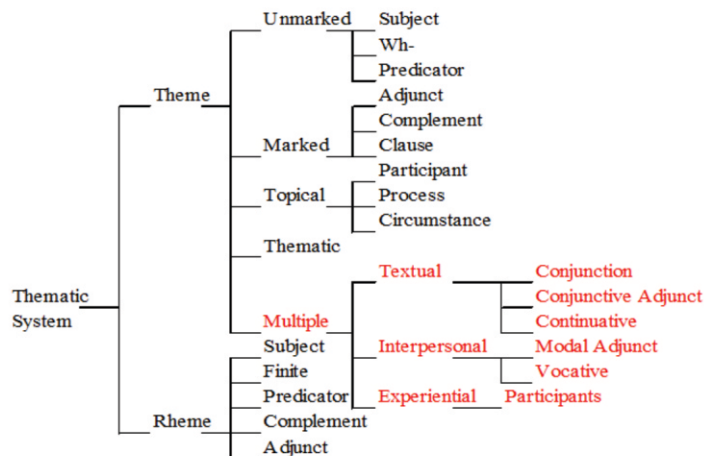
Figure 1: Thematic System Network

The multiple Theme predicates on the data as the applicable device of investigation.

Research Questions

The following questions have assisted the researchers to explain the nature of the double Subject articulation in NE.

- What are the frequencies of the multiple Themes in the analysis?
- How could the vector of articulation be accounted for in a cumulative graphical form?
- In what ways have NE L2 employed double participants to depict the subject of the clause?

Methodology

The employment of double participants to represent the Subject of a clause motivated this research. Apart from the observation made on the novel phenomenon in football commentaries, electronic media of radio and television program moderators articulate a similar trait. Church sermons also contributed to the revolutionary and sporadic system of Theme in NE. Thus, the authors located the text's harvesting at Agege Motor Park and Federal High Court, Lagos.

The investigators deployed a stratified sampling procedure to select the choice of text for analysis after the text was configured into major, medium and minor units. Among the 44 statements, representing the population, only 23 clauses served as the subject of analysis. The nature of the discourse, places of emanation, and the root cause of events that generated the statements determined the choice of the 23 clauses, functioning as the sample strata.

Procedure

The authors distributed the discourse domain into classroom and street with totality of 10 clauses each out of which five clauses were chosen from each sub-domain. The medium domain operated as television, radio, and newspaper, as demonstrated in Table 1. Six statements were gathered from each of these spheres where three statements each were considered for analysis. The courtroom statement and church sermon occupied the minor area with four clauses out of the 12 clauses collected. Thus, courtroom and church sermon attracted only two statements for investigation. The classroom discourse was collected at the Department of English, University of Lagos. The analysts collected the media discourses through watching of television, listening to radio, and reading

newspaper (names withheld). It is worth-mentioning that the classification of the texts into major, medium, and minor fields rested on the following assumptions:

- The classroom represents an intellectual province where minimal errors are quite expected.

- The street is a social sphere that accommodates intercultural interactions at their freest levels.

- The media – television, radio, and newspaper – displays, as a mixture of the classroom and street discourses, disseminated to the general public.

- The courtroom is for the learned, and perhaps, those concerned with criminal issues.

- The church is a representation of a religious circle made of Christians.

The researcher hid the names of the media for ethical considerations. The writers presented, analyzed, and discussed the textual elements as such via the systemic structures of Theme. Meanwhile, the multiple complexity of the system of Theme, comprising the interpersonal, textual, and ideational interpreted the textual facilities, which further augmented the table and graph for value deductions. CL is an abbreviation of clause.

Data presentation

Table 1, below, illustrates the dual-subject form of the clause.

CL	Source	Text
1	Classroom	Thompson (2004), he observes that…
2		The book, it is in my office.
3		…but Kemi, she entered the classroom.
4		According to scholars, they suggest that it is factual.
5		Yemi and Bonke, they will pass their exams.
6	Street	Dad, Wale, he is sleeping.
7		Whosoever comes late, he will meet nobody in the office.
8		So, Kunle, he is a manager now.
9		Bola that I know, she will not deny the statement.
10		My grandmother, she is alive.
11	TV Station	Super Falcons, they should stop playing rubbish with African teams.
12		Chelsea players, they are best in the 2015 Premiership.
13		Waoh! The driver, he is speeding too much.
14	Radio Station	Some of the soldiers, they are lazy.
15		For example, the students of Unilag, they are good in fashion.
16		But women, they are emotional.
17	Newspaper	The Nigerian politicians, they are not sincere.
18		11 states in Nigeria, they owed their workers' salaries
19		The owners, they are not aware of…
20	Courtroom	My Lord, my client, he reported the matter to the police first.
21		All other agencies, they are answerable to the President.
22	Church sermon	God, He will bless you.
23		My classmate, he is still alive

Table 1: NE usage data

The study employs Halliday's Thematic terminology to analyse the texts, as exhibited in Figure 2, below.

Data analysis

Figure 2 below displays the analysis of the text in Table 1.

CL.1	Thompson (2004)		he	observes that…
	Theme [1]		Theme [2]	Rheme
	Experiential		Exp.	

CL 2	The book	it	is in my office	
	Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme	
	Exp.	Exp.		

CL 3	but	Kemi	she	entered the classroom
	Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Theme [3]	Rheme
	Textual	Exp.	Exp.	

CL 4

According to scholars	they	suggest that it is factual
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Textual	Exp.	

CL 5

Yemi and Bonke	they	will pass their exams
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

CL.6

Dad	Wale	he	is sleeping
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Theme [3]	Rheme
Interp.	Exp.	Exp.	

CL.7

Whoever comes late	he	will meet nobody in the office
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

CL 8

So	Kunle	he	is a manager now
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Theme [3]	Rheme
Textual	Exp.	Exp.	

CL 9

Bola that I know	she	will not deny the statement
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Exp.	Exp.	

CL 10

My grandmother	she	is alive
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	
Experiential	Exp.	

CL 11

Super Falcons	they	should stop playing rubbish with African teams
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Exp.	Exp.	

CL 12

Chelsea players	they	are best in the 2015 Premiership
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

CL 13

Waoh!	The driver	he	is speeding too much
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Theme [3]	Rheme
Textual	Exp.	Exp.	

CL 14

Some of the soldiers	they	are lazy
Theme [1]	Them [2]	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

CL 15

For example	the students of Unilag	they	are good in fashion
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Theme [3]	Rheme
Textual	Experiential	Exp.	

CL 16

But	women	they	are emotional
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Theme [3]	Rheme
Textual	Exp.	Exp.	

CL.17

The Nigerian politicians	they	are not sincere
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

CL 18

11 states in Nigeria	they	owed their workers salaries
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

CL 19

The owner	they	are not aware of...
Theme 1	Theme 2	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

CL 20

My Lord	my client	he	reported the matter to the police first
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Theme [3]	Rheme
Interp.	Exp.	Exp.	

CL 21

All other agencies	they	are answerable to the President
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

CL 22

God	he	will bless you
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Interp.	Exp.	

CL 23

My classmate	he	is a Professor
Theme [1]	Theme [2]	Rheme
Experiential	Exp.	

Figure 2: Analysis of data

Table 2, below, following Dalamu (2018), recapitulates the analysis in Figure 2, above. This is as a means of demonstrating the values of the multiple Theme from the three tiers of textual, interpersonal and experiential perspectives.

Results

Table 2 and Figure 3 reveal the frequencies of the multiple Themes in the structures of NE.

Multiple Theme	Domains																							Total
	Classroom					Street				TV			Radio			Newspaper			Courtroom		Church			
	CL1	CL2	CL3	CL4	CL5	CL6	CL7	CL8	CL9	CL10	CL11	CL12	CL13	CL14	CL15	CL16	CL17	CL18	CL19	CL20	CL21	CL22	CL23	
Textual	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Interpersonal	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3
Experiential	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	46
Rheme	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	23

Table 2: Recurrence of multiple Theme

Table 2 shows the values of the multiple Theme with the experiential that accounts for double portions. The calibration indicates the nature of redundancy of the subjects of the clauses. Figure 3 demonstrates, in a table and a graph, the cumulative of the recurring values in Table 2.

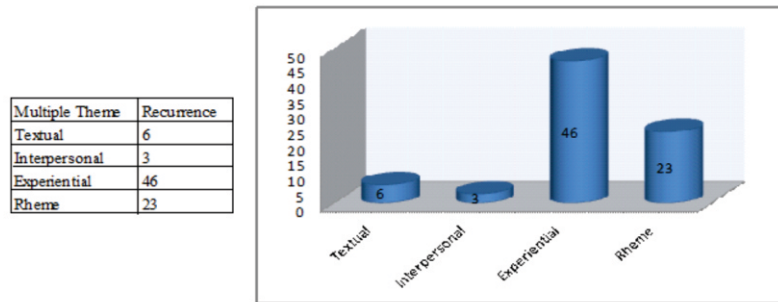| Multiple Theme	Recurrence
Textual	6
Interpersonal	3
Experiential	46
Rheme	23

Figure 3: Multiple Theme cumulative representation

The zenith of 46, in the experiential Theme in Figure 3, is an indicator of the redundancy of the subjects' employment in NE. the image further reveals the level of communicative inaccuracy that some NE speakers commit in their conversation strategies. Interactants' seeming generalization becomes a challenge to the proper utilization of English regarding the *singularization* of the subject of a clause in daily communication. If the utilization of the dual-subject is not checkmated, the novel idea will eventually become a pattern of NE parameter.

Discussion

This study has mentioned earlier that the "metafunctional" triad – ideational, interpersonal, and textual – are built up to provide holistic meanings to the "lexicogrammar" of a clause. The multiple complexity of the thematic system does not provide full meaning potential of the clause. The entire multiple events must always be in operation to achieve that (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Dalamu, 2020b). The Theme could be two or three in a clause at a go to demonstrate the explainable complexity. Mandatorily, there should be an experiential Theme in an independent clause as an identifier of a point of departure (Thompson, 2014). However, when the experiential Theme is complemented with either interpersonal or textual; or interpersonal and textual at the same time, then, the multiple complexity is operational as illustrated in Figure 1. In clause (1), one observes that the complex Theme is expressed as *Thompson (2004)* and *he*. The two elements are labeled experiential because they perform the same function. The two initial participants are redundant in the peak of prominence. One of the comments is supposed to be used in the clause and the idea of double thematic labeling would not have arisen. The speaker could have simply chosen either *Thompson (2004)* or *he* as the Theme.

Clause (2) demonstrates same characteristics as in Clause (1), where the third person singular pronoun, *it*, functions to pronominalize *The book*. Either of the experiential participants should have been used in the construct. Clause (3) portrays its point of departure with three nominal groups. *But* operates in the adverbial group, *Kemi* functions in the nominal group as well as *she*. In this arrangement, both *Kemi* and *she* perform a similar function of the subject in the Mood. The textual assembly ought to have only two Themes in this structure. For instance, the statement could be *But Kemi entered the classroom.*

Clauses (4, 5, 11, and 12) exercise similar features. The first indicated structures, that is, their Themes (1) constructions are nominal groups in their plural forms. These are *According to scholars, Yemi and Bonke, Super Falcons,* and *Chelsea players*. These Themes are also pronominalized with the redundant *they*. Employing *they,* as their Themes (2) repeated elements, has decried the BrE norms, where either the Theme (1) or Theme (2) could have been enough to perform the function of the subject. It seems that NE speakers use English in sporadic forms against the rules that the language accommodates. There are three Themes in Clause (6). The first is interpersonal, the second is experiential and the third is experiential. These Themes appear as: *Dad, Wale* and *he*. The fabrication of *Dad* is a vocative concept. The use of vocative in the clause does not call for a concern because the constituent is interpersonal. The dual applications of the experiential participants do not operate in the norms of BrE. If the speaker has considered the thematic norms of BrE in his communicative process, *Wale* or *he* would have been more appropriate in the clause.

The speaker pronominalizes a relative clause, *Whoever comes late* with *he* in Clause (7), demonstrating a bi-layered thematic structure. The relative clause, *Whoever…,* is an experiential Theme, and the pronoun *he* is also experiential at the same time. Whereas, either of the relative clause or the pronoun could have been chosen to properly accomplish the same functional role. In text linguistics, the appearance of dual experiential layout on the clause is improper. Clause (8) shows three tiers of Themes. The construct has *So* representing textual Theme, *Kunle* representing experiential Theme

and *he* depicting experiential Theme also. In the mood system of the interpersonal metafunctions, the interactant explicates *Kunle* and *he* as the subjects of the Mood. However, *So* is not really relevant in the mood system. The textual metafunction recognizes *So* as Theme (1) and either *Kunle* or *he* could be selected as Theme (2). Then the idea of Theme (3) is not operational in the clause construction as indicated in Figure 2, above.

The clause constituent's negotiator in Clause (9) obligates the statement through *Bola that I know*, Theme (1). It is an experiential Theme which is repositioned with Theme (2), *she. She*, a third person singular pronoun performs the same function as the linguistic constituent *Bola that I know.* In this sense, the repetitive appearance of the thematic structures does not really add any value to the entire clause. However, the arrangement rather damages the rules of English usage. The interactant orients the peak of prominence of the constituents of Clause (10) in two manifestations. The thematic delicacy, expressed as *My grandmother* and *she,* functions in the experiential sphere. Thus, one might classify, *My grandmother* and *she* as ideational participants with the same function. The right choice for the speaker is to have chosen either *My grandmother* or *she* in order to conform with the BrE ideal setting of the clause.

Clause (13) indicates a textual jumping-off with *Waoh!* as Theme (1), as followed with *The driver* and *he* as Theme (1) and Theme (2) respectively. *The driver* and *he* are experiential Themes in which either of the nominal groups could have been sufficient as the ideational jumping-off. Theme (1) in Clause (14) could have been sufficient as the Theme for the clause, except that the structure is

duplicated with the inclusion of *they* – Theme (2). The redundancy is obvious because both *Some of the soldiers* and *they* are experiential elements in the Theme multiple complex theory. In the BrE norms, it is adequate to employ either *Some of the soldiers* or *they* as the Theme of the clause.

Clause (15) begins with a textually-organized thematic domain, *For example.* Theoretically, the clause departure operates within the linguistic arrangement of a clause. *For example* is textual, when considering the component from the normal structure of the Theme's multiple complexity. The textual attracts *the student of Unilag* which is experiential. The speaker ought to have been satisfied with that event before the communicator goes ahead to add another participating element, *they,* to the message. The, lexeme, *they,* could be "deviant" in the clause because the element is just an unnecessary item of emphasis in the communication. Clause (16) contains three Themes. The first is *But*, the second is *women* and the third is *they.*

But, Theme (1), is a conjunction that falls within the complex web of textual Theme. Theme (2) and Theme (3), that is, *women* and *they* are experiential. Meanwhile, either *women* or *they* possesses functional strength in the thematic fractal category.

Clause (17) is structurally similar to Clause (21) described below because their Themes (1) are noun phrases, unlike what is obtainable in Clause (7). *The Nigerian politicians,* as a nominal group, is *experiential*. *They* is also experiential. The dual Theme are redundant because *they* functionally reference the same flow of communication. The noun phrase *The Nigerian politician,* is thematically superfluous with the pronoun *they.* The meaning-

making pattern may be for the purpose of emphasis as the encoder desires and decides. The thematic phrasal order of Clause (18) is expressed with two Themes in which both communicative devices are experiential. Theme (1) is a nominal group of premodifier, *11*, noun, *states,* and postmodifier, *in Nigeria*. The postmodifier, in Dalamu's (2020c) argument, is technically known as prepositional phrase. The speaker redundantly pronominalizes the noun group, *11 states in Nigeria,* with the third person plural, *they*. The repetitive nature of the experiential Themes is unnecessary because the employment of *they* violates BrE constructive parameters.

Thematic-wise, Clauses (19) and (23) are of similar constructive patterns. This is on the ground that the two communicative devices have Theme (1): *The owners, My classmate;* and Themes (2): *they* and *he*, respectively. These constituents are nominal groups operating as subjects of the clauses. Sand o, the redundant facilities, *they* and *he* augment the Themes (1) of Clauses (19) and (23).

In Clause (20), the text reveals three complex Themes. Theme (1) is *My Lord*; Theme (2) is *my client*; and Theme (3) is *he*. *My Lord* is interpersonal; *my client* is experiential; and *he* is experiential. Basically, in theorizing about clause thematic complexity, in any situation where there are multiple Themes of three entities, the author ought to organize the thematic constituents ought into an order of textual, interpersonal and experiential details. The case in Clause (20) is different. While Theme (1) is interpersonal, Theme (2) and Theme (3) are redundantly experiential elements. The redundant nature of the thematic experiential could be a signal to inadequate knowledge of the English language, especially, when semantic

implications of the foregrounding structure are neglected. The thematic construction in Clause (21) is similar to Clause (20) as explained above. The Themes, *All other agencies* and *they* perform the same experiential function in the clause. The only difference in the initial participant *All other agencies* and *they* is that the former pronominalizes the latter. One of the ideational participants ought to be applied in the construct.

Clause (22) indicates two things: *God* and *he*. From the perspective of the interpersonal metafunction, *God* and *he* function as the subject of the mood system. By implication, it seems inappropriate in the English grammatical structures for two similar constituents to operate conveniently as the subject of the same clause. *God* and *he* are subjects functioning as the same entities for the same clause. The clause could have appeared as either *God will bless you* or *He will bless you*. Irrespective of the communicative tautology experienced, *God* can still function as vocative within the purview of interpersonal identity.

In addition, the Theme complex choices oscillate between marked and unmarked Themes. Apart from Clauses 3, 4, 6, 8, 13, 15 and 16 that are marked in superfluity, all the other clauses fall into the unmarked Theme taxonomy. Besides, the unmarked Themes are not dependent on the marked Themes alone, some of the devices are still affiliated with other thematic arms. For example, Theme (1) of Clause (6) still carries the burden of thematic Theme; Theme (1) of Clause (8) is topical and thematic at the same time. Sometimes the Theme (1) in a multiple Theme complex has the tendency of being categorized into one or more labels.

Conclusion

NE speakers attempt to map out a thematic system that is relatively larger than what is theorized in systemic grammar. The NE users are evolving a new thematic stratum to complement existing Themes in English. As a result of that observation, NE peak of prominence in the clause is elastic. The communicative latitude seems to be slightly different from BrE in its structural plane as routinely used by most Nigerians. The difference in usage could be that NE users are neither conscious enough of the BrE norms nor aware of the linguistic rules guiding the system of Theme in English. Sometimes, the NE speakers' knowledge of the language could cause the parallax error. Furthermore, communicators could extend such linguistic behavior from a level of ignorant to a purpose of convenience. As a result, one might term the usage of NE speakers in the system of Theme as being erroneous because the stretch of Theme is extended in the textual, interpersonal and experiential. One could tag the evolving Theme, Theme (4), nonetheless, there is no place to classify the new notion in Halliday's functional grammar. The pronominalization of the ideational Theme resorts only to redundancy, constructing of two subjects in the system of mood to perform the same function in a clause. The attitude is a probable an abuse of words. The investigation reveals bi-layered experiential Themes. Consequently, NE system of Theme sometimes contains bi-layered subject in the interpersonal and participants in relation to ideational. The Theme is redundant to serve, perhaps, only the psychological desires of the encoders. The analysts suggest conduct of exclusive research on the

features of NE thematic system across the six geo-political zones in Nigeria to evaluate its usage probabilities. Nevertheless, if the usage format persists across the social systems, it might appear that the deployment of English in Nigeria has evolved a novel thematic system.

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A Critical Analysis of the Role of Philosophy in Entrepreneurship and Sustainable Development in Nigeria

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Abstract

Nigeria, like many countries in Africa, is underdeveloped in several areas. Many theories have been advanced as guides to achieve sustainable development, yet development remains a mirage. This, to a large extent, could be attributed to inadequate understanding of what development entails. Any meaningful national development must start with the human person especially with the training of the human mind to see things critically and to seek the meaning and intelligibility of things. The training of the human mind affords it to be creative, innovative and independent to identify need, figure out opportunities, make discreet decision and convert an idea or dream into a profitable reality, leading to the unfolding of human potentials and entrepreneurship. The prediction that entrepreneurship would generate economic growth will only be a mirage without innovation. Entrepreneurship must be governed by innovation for it to create values that are development-driven. Yet, innovation starts from the human mind through idea generation and translation of such ideas into value-creating products. Because philosophy specialises in training the human mind with resultant human development, this paper through critical analysis, advocates that philosophy is imperative for entrepreneurship and sustainable development.

Keywords: Entrepreneurship, Innovation, Nigeria, Philosophy, Sustainable development,

Introduction

The inevitability of entrepreneurship in the current economic situation of Nigeria cannot be overlooked. Entrepreneurship is needed to develop a viable economy and reduce poverty. China, United States, and Israel are good examples of nations with impressive economic development that came about as a result of the promotion of entrepreneurship among their citizens. Undoubtedly, entrepreneurship has been the backbone of many developed nations across the world. The entrepreneurial activities have been found to be capable of making impact on the economy of a nation and quality of life of the people through economic growth, employment generation and empowerment of the disadvantaged segment of the population.

While considering the National Bureau of Statistics report on labour, Onuba (2019) states that the unemployment situation in Nigeria has gone out of hand as about four million men and women enter the workforce yearly with only a small fraction of them being able to find formal and gainful employment with the country's unemployment rate rising from 18.8 percent in the third quarter of 2018 to 23.1 per cent in the fourth quarter of the year. Thus, the number of persons in the labour market increased from 85.1 million in the third quarter of 2018 to 90.5 million in the fourth quarter of 2018. Not only has the menace of unemployment crippled the economic growth of the nation but it has also succeeded in increasing crime rate tremendously.

Going by the above scenario and in a bid to proffer solution, scholars like Okafor, (2019); Anyadike, Emeh and Ukah (2012); Ekong and Ekong (2016); have all prescribed entrepreneurship development as

a sure means of tackling the growing rate of unemployment in Nigeria. However, as a viable vehicle of poverty alleviation, wealth creation, employment generation, private sector development and a means of raising the national income in order to achieve sustainable development in Nigeria, entrepreneurship is hindered by factors like: epileptic power supply, decayed infrastructures, violent clashes of militant groups, kidnapping, corruption/looting, arson, women exclusion, religious extremism and lack of initiatives and innovation. All these vices truncate the drive of entrepreneurship in achieving sustainable development.

Entrepreneurship and sustainable development, like many existential issues of the 21st century, cannot be discussed exhaustively through specialized expertise – economics, management and finance - alone; they equally require an inquiry that can explore the deepest and broadest questions about man and society – philosophy. The philosophical approach to these issues creates an avenue for exploring holistic view by examining divergent and competing stances which broaden our horizon.

Literature Review
Entrepreneurship
The concept of entrepreneurship is poorly understood by many. Like Onuoha (2007) observed, most people conceive it as just starting a business and making money. But this is an inadequate perception of what entrepreneurship is. It is more than just having or setting up a business. Entrepreneurship is a state of mind or a mind-set, an aspiration which is driven by opportunity (rather than resources) which is needed or market-driven. In other words, entrepreneurship starts as an aspiration which is translated into an innovative approach to run a business. It is a special way of life and mind-set in which people are innovative and try to solve some particular problems while also creating values in the society. Entrepreneurship is a pursuit of a solution, a single relentless focus on solving a problem or doing something drastically different from the way it is done today. It is aiming to do something better than it has ever been done before and constantly working towards improvement. It is an act of seeking investment and production opportunity, developing and managing a business venture, so as to undertake production function, arranging inputs like land, labour, material and capital, introducing new techniques and products, identifying new sources for the enterprise.

The word "entrepreneurship" comes from the French verb *entreprendre*, meaning "to undertake" (Sobel, 2008). It is the capacity and willingness to develop, organize and manage a business venture along with any of its risk in order to make a profit. It involves more than starting a business. In the words of Shirvani (2016), it involves the introduction of truly revolutionary changes in business method and practices, including the launching of outstanding new products, production techniques and organizational approach. It is a driving force of economic progress which fosters economic development. Entrepreneurship is a process, obviously not an automated process but rather a dynamic process that evolves round man either as agent, employee, consumer

or user of the invention particularly as entrepreneur who invents, and able to recognize the commercial potential of the invention and organizes the capital, talent and other resources that turn an invention into a commercially viable innovation. As such, entrepreneurs are seen to be dynamic agents of change, the visionaries who through their sheer ingenuity and diligence periodically disrupt the conventional ways of doing business.

As dynamic agents of change, entrepreneurs are creative thinkers whose thought processes are geared towards starting something meaningful which may not necessarily be new, yet directed at creating utility. The quest for creativity requires entrepreneurs to be curious and passionate learners; having passion to learn from experience, situations, customers, employees, business associates and even competitors They possess the mind-set to recognize and meticulously analyse an opportunity in order to capture its value.

Good leadership is also an important quality of an entrepreneur. This makes it possible for them to coordinate both human and material resources by bring them to an efficient and productive level. Thus, to be an entrepreneur means to be a creative, determined visionary leader who possesses the power of the pivot. A highly motivated individual, who is ready to achieve goals at the cost of any risk. It follows from the foregoing analysis that entrepreneurship thrives on human contributions to economic development.

Entrepreneurship and Human Development

Development is a complex concept. It usually denotes some form of growth, improvement or the mere occurrence of a new event in a society (Ekanola, 2006). Francois Perroux (1982) defined development as "the combination of mental and social changes of a people, which enable them to increase, cumulatively and permanently, their total real production." He advanced further that development is achieved fully in the measure that, by reciprocity of services, it prepares the way for reciprocity of consciousness. Development is a process that translates human ingenuity from potentiality to actuality. Suffice to say from the above is that man is the main determinant factor of development. In resonate with this, Nnamdi (2011) avers that development is people - centered, it means that the people that make up the nation, the individual men and women, are both the agents and the beneficiaries of development'.In other words, it is man that develops the economy and not the other way round. The economy of any nation cannot be developed without the people that make up the country; it takes people to develop their country and economy. Another popular conception of development is equating development with scientific and technological innovations and international investments. Scientific and technological innovations are understood to mean development which provides the means for the citizens to live modern or civilized lives through access to such facilities as good roads, qualitative health care services with advanced technological equipment, pipe-borne water, qualitative education that is digital oriented,

mechanized agriculture that provides abundance of food etc. In the words of Ekanola, (2006), "an underlying assumption is that the more technologically advanced a society is, the more developed it would be since more wealth would be created in the society. A general belief in many developing countries is that an easy way of acquiring new technologies is to attract foreign investors: who would also bring along their financial resources to the societies in need of development." All these conceptions of development are not wrong on their own, it is just that they are inadequate to account for what development entails in detail. But, viewing development primarily from the economic point of view in term of per capita income or economic growth or scientific and technological innovation or international investment without first giving recourse to human development is fallacious and a gross misconception of what development details.

Development is a process of transformational agenda. It is not purely materialistic but happens within the context of a people in relation to the level of growth and progression of individual members of a society. Thus Efemini and Claude (2010) opined that development is "the quantitative and qualitative improvement in the material, emotional, and spiritual conditions of human existence." At the peak of these improvements is man who brings the improvement to fruition and who also benefits from such. This makes the development of man imperative. Any country where human development is taken flippantly, backwardness and retardation are evident in such as it is the case in Nigeria presently. Put differently, a critical probe into the national menaces – terrorism, insurgencies,

corruption, ethical upheavals, religious intolerance etc., confronting the country presently, reveals how closely-minded and dogmatic Nigerians could be; announcing to the world the derogatory and debase level of human development in the country.

Human development is the pivotal of all development; for man outstrips the infra-human world. In other words, the most important aspect of the development of any country is the human person; for man is the centre of any development. He is the principal actor of any developmental scheme. As such, he should be first developed before developing things. Efemini and Claude (2010) were thus right to have posited that "development is not what is done about a people, it is what people do by themselves and for themselves." A man is however, developed when his mind can reason rationally, critically and coherently. When the mind is appropriately developed rationally, it will translate to human development which will produce all round national development viz. economy development, technological development, cultural development and industrial development. Imagining new or unique ways to solve problems and creating value to help people in ways that other systems do not, will undoubtedly be possible for a developed mind which will certainly affect other aspects of human endeavour, translating into national development. Moreover, in the words of scholars like Kourilsky, Walstad & Thomas (2007); Arenius & Minniti (2005); Kuratko & Hodgetts (2004), entrepreneurship involves the willingness to take calculative risks; team work; the creative skill to marshal needed resources; fundamental skill of building solid business plan; and the vision to recognize opportunity where others see chaos,

contradiction and confusion, it follows that, it takes only an intellectually healthy and developed mind to be an entrepreneur who could think out of the box to meet all these requirements.

The crux of the matter here is that entrepreneurship will only be a mirage if the mind is undeveloped. Human development is thus the transformation of man through the training of the mind which leads to the unveiling of his potentials and affords him the opportunity of participating and contributing meaningfully to his societal development. For human development to be enhanced, utmost attention must be given to philosophy and philosophical training which nurtures the human mind and opens up horizons for creative or inventive spirit."(Okolo, 1994). In other words as Nnamdi (2011) puts it, "it is through the wisdom of philosophy that man is able to reflect on his personal life in search of real self, and the meaning of life, he is living".

Philosophy, Entrepreneurship and Sustainable Development
The concept philosophy could be viewed from two perspectives; common (layman) perspective and the technical (professional) perspective or what Ndubisi (2015) calls First Order activity and Second Order activity. The common view or First order activity of the concept, is also known as the loose sense or ordinary usage of philosophy. In this sense philosophy is seen as a worldview or a principle that guides people's life. The words motto, agenda, attitude, platform, aim, goal policy and so on, could easily take the place of philosophy in the ordinary usage of the concept. In this sense philosophy could also mean the values and beliefs of the individual or the group of individuals concerned. Philosophy understood in this sense, that is, as a First Order activity, is the informal meaning of the term. This is not the strict understanding of the nature of philosophy (Ndubisi, 2015).

The technical meaning of philosophy or Second Order activity provides us with the real meaning as an academic field of study. Here philosophy is seen as an organized activity engaged by professionals in universities and other tertiary institutions of learning as something more serious, organized and purposeful. It is in this sense that philosophy has been attacked unduly. There is no discipline that has suffered attack of being irrelevant to man, human existence and the development of human society like philosophy. Philosophy as a discipline has been misconceived and erroneously taken to be concerned with occult subjects, from channelling, harmonic convergence, and pyramid power to past-life hypnotic regression, psychic surgery, spirit photography, voodoo, sorcery, necromancy, witchcraft, and parapsychology. Indeed things spiritual, occult, mystical, magic and bizarre have been attributed to philosophy making philosophy to be termed a quintessential esoteric enterprise. Another common misconception of philosophy is the notion that philosophy is rooted in the disbelief in the existence of God/god i.e. it is an anti-God and anti-religious discipline. In this vein, philosophy is seen to indoctrinate and inculcate the doctrine of atheism. Philosophy is also wrongly conceived to consist of memorising the doctrines of philosophers from bygone eras. Making philosophy an activity with no practical relevance to students' lives today; a baseless speculation that has no application in the real

world.

Similarly, Philosophy is accused of disconnecting people from real-life experiences into becoming detached ruminators of life, theorists or critics. As such, the practical relevance of philosophy to man, human existence and the society has been challenged severally. All these aforementioned views of philosophy do not state what philosophy actually is; they only succeed in stating what philosophy is not.

Actually, what is philosophy is a philosophical question which cannot be answered univocally. In other words, what philosophy is, cannot be easily put together in one sentence definition because philosophy is a complex discipline and there are as many definitions of philosophy as there are many philosophers and scholars. Etymologically, philosophy is from two Greek words – *Philo* love coined from the verb *Philein* meaning to love and *Sophia* meaning wisdom. Philosophy from its etymology simply means 'love of wisdom'. We must recall that it was Pythagoras (c. 575 - 505 BC) who first coined the word philosophy when he called himself a lover of wisdom. When people called him the wise one, he rejected the appellation and told them that he was not a wise one. For him, he had not attained wisdom, rather he loved wisdom; he sought for wisdom. This is why a philosopher can be said to be a lover of wisdom or a seeker or of wisdom; someone that has passion for wisdom and devoted to wisdom.

Philosophy is therefore seen as a quest; a quest that not only eliminate dogmatism, but also accepts criticism. It is an inquiry that raises questions, doubts, investigates and analyses. It is on the basis of these that philosophy is claimed to be a rational inquiry. As a rational inquiry, philosophy helps in the critical examination of issues, ideas, beliefs, decision and policy. It is along this line, Wiredu, (1980) opines that philosophy goes with criticism, scepticism and refusal to believe unless on rational grounds.

For some philosophers and scholars, philosophy is a critical enterprise. Thus, Fadahunsi (2014) quoting Ayer writes that philosophizing is an activity of analysis. When we analyse concepts for instance, it is imperative that we raise questions, clarify facts, synthesis facts and evaluate facts. By so doing we are being critical. The implication of this is that philosophy instructs us not to be dogmatic and not to be careless in our day - to - day activities and about the world. In line with this view, Azenabor (1998) defines philosophy as a critical, rational and systemic reflection or study of the nature of the world, of man and his position and goal in the world. In other words, while other disciplines study an aspects of reality, philosophy, through reason, attempts to understand the totality of reality; man, nature and universe.

For Omoregbe (2010), "philosophy is a discipline, the nature and scope of which is a problem in itself for it is a critical discipline which does not exempt itself. Any conception of definition of philosophy is subject to a philosophical criticism. Hence no

definition of philosophy can be taken as the definition for there is no such thing." The following definitions of philosophy are offered by him: (1) Philosophy is a rational search for answers to the questions that arise in the mind when we reflect on human experience (2) Philosophy is a rational search for answer to the basic questions about the ultimate meaning of reality as a whole and of human life in particular. Philosophy is a search; continuous search for meaning, for intelligibility and for answer to the fundamental questions that trouble the human person.

From the foregoing definitions of philosophy, we can aptly say philosophy is a rational enterprise which engages itself with the questions of human existence, the universe and the position and role of man in the scheme of things. If there is anything that distinguishes philosophy from other disciplines, it is its curious nature which serves as it hallmark. Philosophy grew and developed out of curiosity and it still nurtures and flourishes on curiosity. Curiosity leads philosophy to pre-occupy itself with salient yet open-ended questions about life and human existence; questions that begin with "how" or "why," questions that propel one to critically think in order to give rational explanation as answers rather than the simple one off response of "yes" or "no." Therefore, philosophy helps man to develop a healthy intellect through which the mind sees things critically and seeks the meaning and intelligibility of thing. It emphasizes on human development through the development of the human mind for it takes cognizance of the fact that human mind is the power house where ideas are generated; ideas that lead to culture and civilization; ideas that are either egoistic or altruistic; ideas that are upholding or relegating; ideas that are innovative or destructive; ideas that rule the world whether good or evil. No wonder philosophers have been creators of ideas and values many generations orientate their lives around. Ndubisi (2015) was thus right to assert that philosophy is involved with what is finest and noblest in human life not because it concerns itself with the production of material wealth but with the advancement of the wealth of the mind.

Philosophy trains and nurtures the mind through curiosity. Curiosity leads one to philosophize and the more one philosophizes, the more curious one becomes. Philosophy is the only discipline that trains the human mind to think out of the box which gives birth to innovation and creativity on which entrepreneurship buds.

The prowess of curiosity is beyond underestimation in entrepreneurship. Through curiosity, one single question can unearthed new perspectives and insights that would have otherwise gone undiscovered. Curiosity stirs, arouses, drives and fuels creativity and innovation. Thus, Walt Disney, an American entrepreneur says, "We keep moving forward, opening new doors, and doing new things, because we're curious and curiosity keeps leading us down new paths." Reiterating the importance of curiosity in entrepreneurship, Lisa Frost (2015) enumerates the following points:

Curiosity involves knowledge-gathering particularly about customers' needs and desires. Staying curious about your customers

is crucial to great customer service. When one is curious about what customers are experiencing, even when they are unhappy, one learns how to effectively solve customer related problems. With curiosity skills, one learns how to make ones product or service better, what systems are needed to serve customers more and new ways to reach ones customers. Curiosity makes one a better listener with the aim of making customers happy. Curiosity also helps to build lasting relationships, trust and loyalty. Without it, an entrepreneur runs the risk of becoming cynical or disinterested in the customers. Above all, the knowledge gathered helps to spot opportunities and develop new ideas which boost the public outlook and relevance of the entrepreneur among competitors. Curiosity provides platform to learn from both the successes and mistakes of competitions thus creating an opportunity for improvements in business.

Entrepreneurship requires decision-making process of planning, organizing, motivating, communicating, delegating or committing some other management roles that are not always black and white, as a rational enterprise, philosophy helps entrepreneurs to detach from emotional considerations that could becloud or taint his point of views when making decision in order to make sound decision. As a critical enterprise, philosophy allows for in-depth thinking thereby providing sure-fire antidote to assumption, credulity, short-sightedness, negligence, and wooden-headedness.

Taking the argument further, the indispensability of philosophy is also evident in the way and manner philosophy emphasizes on right values in the society particularly in entrepreneurship. Another viable area through which philosophy contributes to human development and subsequently to entrepreneurship is the moral development of man. Philosophy, under the purview of ethics, provides good moral compass on which entrepreneurship thrives. Acknowledging the viable and invaluable nature of ethics and ethical values in entrepreneurship, Chintuwa (2017), opines that entrepreneurship is an escapable ethical activity with entrepreneurial action having powerful ethical dimensions and implications. Buttressing this, Anderson & Smith (2007), describe entrepreneurship as "inherently containing a moral imperative". This is so because the entrepreneur, who is the brain behind entrepreneurship by its very meaning – person who get things done- depicts stringent standards of ethical propriety like courage, passion, diligence, humane, sensibility, integrity, reliability etc. Moreover the reputation of the business enterprise, with its impact on profitability, public patronage long-term viability, competitive advantage and shareholder value, is defined by its moral posture and actions.

Ethics has been defined as "moral philosophy or moral science which studies the principles of right or wrong in human conducts". In entrepreneurship, decisions are based on personal judgment of what is right and wrong given the circumstances and the desired outcome. So, it follows that, without guidance and direction to the contrary, business decisions will be made according to the same standards and the same values of right versus wrong used to make personal decisions.

A successful entrepreneurship is like a well-built house which is made possible by competent builders such as the bricklayers, carpenters, painters and all required artisans who worked in

harmony. It involves a web of relationship; relationship between an entrepreneur and other people - supplier, agents, employees, vendor, customers and the community in which it operates- whose relationship must be based on principled values. Ethics within the context of entrepreneurship provides the platform and framework for clear definitions of principles of conducts in business affairs between entrepreneur and other related parties. It also requires instilling moral conscience that guides entrepreneurs in making responsible, trustworthy and profitable decisions and outcomes thus serves as a risk management tool, helping to reduce the likelihood of misconduct, fosters integrity and good relationships that lead to good reputation. In other words, innovation, creativity and/or competence are not enough to guarantee the success of entrepreneurship as there is the need for innovation and creativity to be complemented with moral competence. When entrepreneurship is carried out in such manner, the economy is better positioned to achieve sustainable development.

Obviously, the role of entrepreneurship in achieving sustainable development in the contemporary time goes beyond contention. Filser *et al*., (2019), identified entrepreneurship, together with innovation, as a key element for addressing Sustainable Development challenges. The role of entrepreneurship in achieving sustainability, as emphasized by the United Nations General Assembly, takes place in the three dimensions of sustainable development which are (a) Economic dimensions - entrepreneurship drives innovation (b) Social dimensions - positive contribution to "promoting social cohesion, reducing inequalities and expanding

opportunities for all, including women, young people, persons with disabilities and the most vulnerable people and (c) Environmental dimensions - entrepreneurship can help to address environmental challenges through the introduction of new climate change mitigation and adaptation technologies and resilience measures, as well as by promoting environmentally sustainable practices and consumption patterns. Yet, entrepreneurship cannot thrive without a developed human resource. In essence, the development of man in achieving sustainability is crucial and this falls in the domain of philosophy.

Conclusion

Nigeria as one of the present day mono-cultural economies, with crude oil accounting for over 80 percent of our national earnings is struggling with development. The consequences of our overdependence on crude oil revenues are obvious. Some of these pitiable condition include decline in economic growth, lack of innovation and productivity, difficulty in the payment of salaries by some states, infrastructural decay, reduction in the value of the naira against other international currencies, sustenance of faulty political structure, high rate of unemployment and high cost of importation of goods, thereby making sustainable development in Nigeria a mirage. With this predicament of the country, entrepreneurship is but an indispensable factor for the diversification and productivity of the economy. Yet, it takes only a developed mind to be creative, inventive; and an entrepreneur.

The indispensability of philosophy in entrepreneurship and

sustainable development is evident in the roles it plays in human development. Sustainable development is feasible when an average Nigerian can think out of the box to be innovative, creative and when the outcome of such innovation is carried out in an ethical manner. In other words, to revamp the economy by creating self-reliant and morally competent citizens who will generate more employment opportunities for sustainable development, there is the need for a paradigm shift in policy in favour of entrepreneurship. This paper, therefore, recommends philosophy and philosophical training for the citizenry, especially in our elementary, secondary and tertiary institutions, with the aim of enhancing entrepreneurship and sustainable development in Nigeria.

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The Influence of Social Factors on Violent Delinquent Behaviours Among Public School Students In Ibadan Metropolis

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Abstract

The study investigates the influence of social factors such as school, peer group and family structure on violent delinquent behaviour among students in public schools in Ibadan metropolis. The findings of the study shows, that at $p > 0.05$ for family structure, there is no significant relationship between family structure and delinquent behaviour, whilst at $p < 0.05$ for peers, there is significant relationship between peers and delinquent behaviour. Also, at $p < 0.05$ for school management and teachers, there is a significant relationship between school management, teachers' attitudes and delinquent behaviour of among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis. The study thus recommends that parents, guidance, school management and teachers and other stakeholders should endeavour to consistently monitor and advise children, portray positive attitude, live by good example and frustrate not the very weak by their action and inaction as well as work to present a family structure that aid the healthy growth of children in the society. The study concludes that parents and/or guidance need to be careful and work to present a family structure that can help a child grow into a better adult, be mindful of who their children identify with and keep as friends as well as the type of schools they enrol their wards.

Key words: Social Factors, Violent, Delinquent Behaviour, Public Schools, Ibadan

Introduction

The rate of violent delinquent behaviors among youths is alarming. Private and public organizations, individuals and the community at

large are consistently confronted with the burden of the consequences of delinquent conducts in the society. Delinquent behaviour itself has been described as any activity that falls short of societal norms, values, beliefs and expectations that are undesirable behaviour (Okorodudu and Okorodudu, 2003).

In schools, delinquent behaviour that negate school and societal norms include: examination malpractices, truancy, odd hair-cut, fighting, drug abuse, alcohol abuse, stealing, noise making, absenteeism, drop out, cultism, in descent dressing, vandalism, violence, telling lies, disobedience to teachers, gambling, teenage pregnancy, weapon carrying, cyber-crime popularly called yahoo, yahoo, to mention but a few (Kudirat, Nsisong, Abayomi, Felicia and Leonard, 2010).

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (2002) estimated that more than two million youths are arrested each year for misconducts. Some secondary school students associate with peers who watch pornographic films and/or use internet as cyber-crime called "yahoo, yahoo" internet fraud with a view to deceiving innocent people of their valuable property both in and outside Nigeria. There is also the aspect of indecent dressing like wearing fitted clothes that shows the topographical shapes of the ladies for the purpose of attracting the opposite sex. Odd hair cut is common among the male students and all these maladaptive behaviours call for urgent intervention, so that secondary schools can be restored to their original moral standard.

Delinquent behaviours may be caused by some changes in the immediate groups where the students are connected for their upkeep, like the family they belong, school setting and the peer group they

associate with (Chung and Steinberg, 2006). There is a connection between members of the groups like the family where the children are connected with their parents by birth, and some adopted into the home through legal means. Also, students are also connected with the school rules and regulations, and with their teachers' instructions, and more so, to their peer groups. Among the peer group, an antisocial peer can influence other members in the group. Changes in the family structure can also bring modification in the training, monitoring and discipline of the children which may result to positive or negative attitudes.

According to Schofield (2009), in-tact family structure should offer a safe haven that reduces anxiety and promotes security, confidence, competence and resilience. If the dissolution of this family structure, due to divorce, separation or death of the parent(s), the child's foundation is affected, it may be possible that adolescents in this setting will experience more maladaptive thoughts and actions and participate in delinquent behaviour at a higher rate than their peers whose parents are still together in marriage or homes.

Constant conflict in the family can resort to broken homes or separation. Broken home is operationally defined as home where both parents have separated from each other. This can occur when there is misunderstanding between partners, or lack of submissiveness in the family. Natural family that is being separated may create a vacuum for children in term of moral and psychological behaviors. The interaction between parents and child in single parent family may be at a distance because both parents have been separated. The situation may be such that mother may not be able to

take adequate responsibility of proper financing, supervising, monitoring and training of the children, because child training ought to be the responsibility of both parents, and absence of father in the home may increase a great opportunity for children delinquent behaviour like disobedient to parent, school teachers and truancy in school. So, father plays a crucial role in the nurturing, discipline and training of his children especially in Africa setting like Nigeria.

The objective of this study is to investigate the influence of social factors such as family structure, peer group teachers' attitude and school administrators or management on violent delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis, Oyo State, Nigeria.

School factor and violent delinquent behaviour

The school system is a combination of group of principal, teachers and students with common purpose of academic pursuit. In the school environment, being academically successful, perceiving peers in the classroom as friends or colleagues, and having positive interactions with teacher have all being identified as important for the adolescent's psychosocial adjustment (Andreou, 2000). School is an important socializing institution through which the influence of community and adults, enter into the lives of adolescents. Adolescents learn values, attitudes and skills, such as punctuality and obedience to authorities that are necessary for participation in economic and social values. School helps students develop resiliency by providing protective factors such as a positive and safe learning environment, by setting high, yet achievable, academic and social expectations and by facilitating academic and social success (Furlong & Morrison, 2000).

According to Marzano (2007) the attitudes of teachers are connected to their actions and teachers actions are also related to students' academic achievement. Palardy and Rumberger (2008) corroborated this in their assertion that teachers' attitudes believe and practices have significant impact on students' achievement. Afe (2001) also emphasized the point when he argued that teachers have significant influence on students' academic performance and play important roles in educational attainment, because the teachers are responsible for translating policy into action and rules base on practice during interaction with the students. Teachers' behaviours are often translated into specific classroom and instructional practices which in turn have an influence in students' behaviours toward learning outcomes (Cook, 2002).

The quality of students' education relies solely on the teachers, based on the performance of their duties. Most of the key elements of classroom management include teachers' behavior. Students always observe the attitude, emotion and behaviour of their teachers. Some of their behaviour can be natural or unintentional, Teacher should watch their actions and behaviours in the classroom and try to analyze them to determine what effect they are having on their students. In case there is disruption in the classroom or poor management, some teachers fail to look at their own shortcoming behaviour to see whether they are the cause of the act. The teachers always ascribe the blame to the students as the causal of problem.

The attitudes of teachers towards their students in various schools must be favorable enough to carry students along (Yara, 2009).

There is a strong evidence of a link between disruptive and other problematic student behaviour, academic problems and under-achievement (Barriga, Doran, Newell, Morrison, Barbenti & Robins 2002). Truancy for instance, has been identified in several studies as a risk factor for school dropout (Ekstrand, 2015). The effect of behaviour issues on academic achievement seems to be from both the internal and external responses of adults' behaviour as well as the impact on students' ability to meaningfully engage in learning that can translates into positive outcomes. Students with severe behavioral problems may experience learning and mental health disabilities, which can separately affect their ability to succeed in the classroom (Barriga et al., 2002).

The tendency of physical aggression is one of the biggest predictors of non-compliance in the classroom. According to Finn and Scott (2008), males were found to have physical aggression than females as well as a higher rate of disruptive classroom behaviour. Also, aggressive behaviour have been found to place children at risk for future, and continued aggression creating conduct creates problems within the classroom, and lack of social skills predominantly in males (Teisl, 2007). Sprott (2004) found that young people who behaved violently often came from classrooms that provided little emotional support to the students. The choice of school and its environment is important for the adolescents' mental and social well-being. The goal of the education of students is not only to teach them intellectual knowledge, virtues in the sense of honesty and courage,

but also to enable them develop a sound mind, so that they be able to confront whatever challenges that comes their ways outside the school.

Peer group and violent delinquent behaviour

It is well known that peer association is one of the strongest determinants of adolescent delinquent behaviour. Some adolescents may be aggressive in their behavior and thus influence some of their peers. According to Light & Dishion (2007), aggressive adolescents who have been rejected by their peers may turn to antisocial networks as a way of associating with like-minded friends, and these antisocial links serve to encourage the adolescent's negative behaviour. Adolescents can begin to shift from parent to friend(s) in order to seek solace. According to Pardini, Loeber, & Stouthamer-Loeber (2005), youths' relationships begin to shift in priority from parents to peers during early adolescence. The youths may want to have their independence from parents.

Association with risk taking friends is strongly related to alcohol use, aggression and delinquent behaviour (Barnow, Lucht & Freyberger, 2005). These adolescents often form friendships that are centered on deviant activities (Dishion, Nelson., Winter., & Bullock, 2004), and according to Moffitt & Caspi (2001), some adolescents may temporarily join these antisocial networks as a way of experimenting with deviant behaviour, but may likely desist from this behaviour toward the end of adolescence. However, adolescents who have been avoided by their peers and who follow a life course persistent delinquency trajectory are likely to continue displaying

antisocial behaviour into adulthood (Moffitt, 2006). Parental monitoring is very important in controlling peer pressure and the influence of peer pressure on adolescents. Corroborating this, Gullen et al (2015), in a sample of 1023 young students, found that parental monitoring would be able to strengthen resistance to peer pressure, and in their study, parental monitoring actually led to a reduction in alcohol consumption among target adolescents.

Family structure and delinquent behaviour
The type of family structure a child has plays a vast role in how they are raised and can affect how they are taught in a school setting. (White, 2015, p.4) and their general behaviour. Family structure has been argued by De Witt et al (2013) as a factor that may influence school dropout. There is a link between school dropout and violent delinquency. Einat and Einat (2015), in a sample of 89 adult inmates in Isreal, found that those who dropped out of school early began their criminal activity at early stage.
Various exposures to violence within the family or outside the family are important sources of delinquent behaviour in secondary schools. In other words, if violence encompasses all emotional environmental aspects of the adolescent's life, individual is more likely to engage in delinquent activities (Hagan and Foster, 2001). Families behavior particularly parental monitoring and disciplining seem to influence association with delinquent peers throughout the juvenile period (Cashwell and Vacc, 1994). A long history of research has further linked family dysfunction with future criminal offending. Divorce and parental separation are damaging to

children, families, the economy, and society as a whole (Anderson, 2014, p.379). Children whose parents are separated display distinct demographic behavior and have more behavioural problems, lower cognitive ability and attain less education (Boertien etal. 2017, p.3). It is thought that the loosening of bonds among family members may result in more delinquent attitudes among secondary students, whilst reverse is often the case in intact family.

Intact family structure has its effect on children. Intact family usually refers to a nuclear family arrangement in which both biological parents reside in the home with their biological children. Intact family structure is different from single parent arrangement, two parent arrangements involving a step parent, extended family arrangements and the adoptive or foster family arrangement (Kierkus and Bauer 2002). A number of studies focused more on single or both parents instead of differentiating between the sexes of the parent. According to Hoeve, Dubas, Eichelsheim, Laan, Smeenk, & Gerris (2009), effect of poor paternal support is larger compare to poor maternal support, particularly for sons.

A study by Gorman-Smith, Tolan, and Henry (2001) showed that children are more likely to resort to violence if there is violence within the relationships they may share with their family. Lack of supervision and the absence of close relationships between the teenager and his parents are factors that influence delinquency. Statistics shows that children are at a fifty percent greater risk of engaging in criminal acts if they were neglected or abused (Holmes,

Slaughter & Kashani, 2001). However, some other scholars have found that many family characteristics and family environment influence juvenile delinquent behavior, such as the number of people in a family, inconsistent parenting, family problems, child neglect, and the children's attachment to parents (Derzon and Lipsey, 2000; Wasserman and Seracini 2001). In the absence of love and appreciation, children feel rejected and look at themselves as inferior before their colleagues, especially among their peers when others are discussing and continually mentioning how their parents bought them this or that. Substance abusing parent may also predispose adolescents to select antisocial peers. The use of drug by parents influences the adolescents to use drug or the affiliation with antisocial peer (Kirillova, Vanyukov, Kirisci & Reynolds, 2008). However, living with parents who are not into substance abuse does positively influence adolescent. Living with this kind of parents, according to Park and Kim (2016) has a protective effect against substance abuse.

Eshiet (2002) found out that students from higher educational background performed significantly better in terms of behavior than those from lower educational backgrounds. Study by Gervais, Tremblay, Desmarais-Gervais and Vitaro (2002) reveals that males are more disruptive within the classroom and were rated as more deviant than females. Female have also been reported as having higher rates of absenteeism due to higher rates of negative family factors (National Center for School Engagement, 2005).

Measurement of delinquency

The question concerning how the extent of delinquency is to be measured at a time deeply bothered the mind of those who sought the answer its answer. The quest led to the creation of acceptable system for measuring the amount of delinquency. The most popular sources of data for estimating delinquency are the Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), Victimization Survey and Self-Report Studies (Wesley et al, 2012). The UCR only measure crime known to the police. A recent development in the measurement of delinquency led to the creation and implementation of the National Incident Based Reporting System (NIBRS) in 1989 in the United States (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2011). While the victimization survey produce crime data from the experience of crime victims, the self-reporting studies ask juveniles directly about their law-violating behavior.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of violent delinquent behavior is worrisome to parents, schools, government and community at large. It has become a major stumbling block to academic excellence in schools and societal progress. Previous studies on delinquent behaviour had largely focused on some isolated variables such as: lateness to school, absenteeism, examination mal-practices, in decent dressing, noise making, fighting, truancy, drug abuse, cyber-crime, drop-out among others. These variables are not classified under general factors which could be studied to ascertain their influence of delinquent behaviour. It is imperative to classify these variables or factors into general headings in order to determine which of the classified general

heading could have grater predictive influence on students' delinquent behaviour. It is in this regard that this study has classified these variables or social factors into three factors which are: family Structure, school factors and peer group so as to investigate which of these factors exert greater influence on students' delinquent behaviour.

Objectives of Study

The specific objectives of the study are to:

(1) Find out which of the literature recognized delinquent behaviour is more prevalent among the students chosen for this study.

(2) Examine why delinquent behaviour is more prevalent among students in secondary schools in recent times.

(3) Determine which of the three general factors: family Structure, school factors and peer group is most responsible for students desire to engage in delinquent behaviour.

(4) Ascertain the contributory role of each of these three factors on students' delinquent behaviour.

(5) Identify which of the three factors exerts the greatest influence on students desire to engage in delinquent behaviour.

(6) Suggest possible strategies which can be adopted in reducing delinquent behaviour among secondary school students.

Research Questions

1. Which of the literature recognized delinquent behaviour is more prevalent among the students chosen for this study?

2. Why is delinquent behaviour more prevalent among students in secondary schools in recent times?

3. Which of the three general factors: family Structure, school factors and peer group is most responsible for students desire to engage in delinquent behaviour?

4. What are the contributory roles of each of these three factors on students' delinquent behaviour?

5. Which of the three factors exerts the greatest influence on students desire to engage in delinquent behaviour?

6. What are the possible strategies which can be adopted in reducing delinquent behaviour among secondary school students?

Scope of the Study

Considering the size of Ibadan city, the scope of the study is limited to Akinyele Local Government. The selected schools are: Army day secondary school Odogbo Barrack, Ibadan, Ojoo High school Ojoo Ibadan, and Orogun Grammar school Orogun Ibadan. The selection of these schools are based on their past record of behaviour, some of the students were notorious with different life style of breaking of school fence, jumping the fence during the school hour in other to roam about the street.

Research design and data analysis:

This study adopts a combination of quantitative and qualitative design (mixed methods) approach. The study is based on both a desktop review of literature and field study. The field study involved the collection of data from respondents using questionnaires as

instrument. This enabled the getting of first-hand account of respondents' perceptions and views about the issues under study. The descriptive design for the study alongside the use of field data was to properly situate the study and thus give the subject matter a general, specific and holistic approach. Existing literature – textbooks, journals etc. were used as sources of secondary data for the study.

Simple Random Sampling technique was used for the research in selecting respondents who provided the primary data. About 150 questionnaires were prepared and administered to 150 randomly selected respondents. The questionnaires used were both open and closed ended questionnaires with questions that address the topics being studied.

Given the nature of the responses, the study used both content analysis and statistical analysis in analyzing the raw data collected from respondents in the field. The data gathered during the data collection process was captured and codified for execution on SPSS based analysis of variance between statistical indicators and the association between a number of selected statistical variables.

The simple percentage adopted in the presentation of tabulated data in this paper was expected to help access the proportional percentage of the respondents' opinions as regards the questions asked. The chi-square statistical analysis enabled the testing of the variables in the research hypothetical statements.

Results and Discussions

The present study examines the student, family, and school/teacher factors as predictors of delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan. Considering the size of Ibadan city the scope of the study shall be limited to Akinyele Local Government. The selected schools are:

1) Army day secondary school Odogbo Barrack, Ibadan.
2) Ojoo High school Ojoo Ibadan.
3) Orogun Grammar school Orogun Ibadan.

The selection of these schools are based on their past record of behaviour, some of the students were notorious with different life styles of breaking of school fence, jumping the fence during the school hour in other to roam about the street.

The study provides answers to two research questions and five hypotheses. The results are presented in order of sequence. Multiple regression analysis, Analysis of variance and Pearson's product moment correlation statistical tools were used to analyse the data collected.

Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	62	41.3	41.3	41.3
	Female	88	58.7	58.7	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Source: created by author

With 58.7 per cent respondents the female were more represented than the male with 41.3 per cent respondents. Nevertheless, the male were also well represented, as respondents to the questions contained in the instrument of primary data collection for this study.

Religion

		Freque ncy	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Christianity	97	64.7	64.7	64.7
	Islam	53	35.3	35.3	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Source: created by author

64.7 per cent of the respondents are Christians which means there were more Christians than Muslim respondents, as 35.3 per cent of respondents are those who practice Islam.

Parents marital status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Married	98	65.3	65.3	65.3
	Divorced	29	19.3	19.3	84.7
	Separated	23	15.3	15.3	100.0
	Total	150	100.0	100.0	

Source: created by author

Married people constitute majority of the respondents with 65.3 per cent, while the divorced made up to 19.3 per cent with the separated being the least represented with 15. 3 per cent

Research Question 1: What is the composite effect of socio-economic status, family structure, school management, teacher attitude and peer influence on delinquent behaviour of the students?

Table 4.1: Multiple regression analysis on the organizational commitment Data

R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
.376ᵃ	.142	.112	3.71188

ANOVAᵇ

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	327.295	5	65.459	4.751	.000ᵃ
	Residual	1984.038	144	13.778		
	Total	2311.333	149			

Source: created by author

a. Predictors: (Constant), Peer Influence, Socio-Economic Status, Family Structure, Management, Teacher Attitude

B. Dependent Variable: Delinquent Behaviour

The table shows that the independent variables (peer influence, socio-economic status, family structure, management, teacher attitude) when pulled together have significant effect on

delinquent behaviour of the students. The values of R = 0.376 and $R^2 = 0.142$. The adjusted R^2 which is .112 is translated into 11.2% of the total variance. The analysis of variance performed on multiple regression yielded an F-ratio value of 4.751 and was found to be significant at 0.05 level. The result showed all the variables in this study (i.e., peer influence, socio-economic status, family structure, management and teacher attitude) are very important determining factors in juvenile delinquency among adolescents. Research Question 2: What is the relative effect of socio-economic status, family structure, school management, teacher attitude and peer influence on delinquent behaviour of the students?

Table 4.2: Relative contributions of the independent variables to the Prediction of delinquent behaviour

	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.
(Constant)	18.064	1.491		12.112	.000
Socio-Economic Status	-.141	.069	-.175	-2.034	.044
Family Structure	.816	.191	1.185	4.265	.000
Management	-.329	.117	-.479	-2.809	.006
Teacher Attitude	-.752	.202	-1.096	-3.725	.000
Peer Influence	.338	.136	.425	2.482	.014

Source: created by author

a. Dependent Variable: Delinquent Behaviour

The results in table 4.2 shows the extent to which each of the independent variables made significant contribution to the prediction of delinquent behaviour of the students. The table further revealed that school management made the most significant contribution (Beta = .479; t = 2.809; P < 0.05) to the prediction. Other variables made significant contributions in the following order: peer influence (Beta = .425; t = 2.482; P < 0.05); family structure (Beta = 1.185; t = 4.265; P < 0.05); teacher attitude (Beta = 1.096; t = 3.725; P < 0.05) and socio-economic status (Beta = .175; t = 2.034; P < 0.05). The result indicated that socio-economic status has the least contribution to the perceived delinquent behaviour of the secondary school students. The results implied that school is an agent of socialization, therefore, the school management do have significant role to play in helping to shape the behaviour of their students. Juvenile delinquency behaviour may be exhibited by secondary school adolescents irrespective of their socio-economic status.

Hypothesis 1: There is no significant relationship between socio-economic status and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis.

Table 4.3: Relationship between socio-economic status and delinquent behaviour

		Socio-Economic Status	Delinquent Behaviour
Socio-Economic Status	Pearson Correlation	1	*.147
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.073
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	3550.000	-421.000
	Covariance	23.826	-2.826
	N	150	150
Delinquent Behaviour	Pearson Correlation	*.147	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.073	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-421.000	2311.333
	Covariance	-2.826	15.512
	N	150	150

Source: created by author

Table P value is 0.159

Table 4.3 reveals that the correlation coefficient "r" between socio-economic status and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students is 0.147 (P>0.05). Since P>0.05, it implies that there is no significant relationship between socio-economic status and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis. Based on this the null hypothesis is accepted. Both students from either low or high socio-economic status background have tendency to engage in juvenile delinquency behaviour.

Hypothesis 2: There is no significant relationship between family structure and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis.

Table 4.4: Relationship between family structure and delinquent behaviour

		Family Structure	Delinquent Behaviour
Family Structure	Pearson Correlation	1	.126
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.125
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	4878.940	422.600
	Covariance	32.745	2.836
	N	150	150
Delinquent Behaviour	Pearson Correlation	.126	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.125	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	422.600	2311.333
	Covariance	2.836	15.512
	N	150	150

Source: created by author

Table: P value is 0.159

Table 4.4 indicated that the correlation coefficient "r" between family structure and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students is 0.125 (P>0.05). Since P>0.05, it implies that

delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis. Based on this, the null hypothesis is accepted.

Hypothesis 3: There is no significant relationship between school management and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis.

Table 4.5: Relationship between school management and delinquent behaviour

		School Management	Delinquent Behaviour
School Management	Pearson Correlation	1	-.064
	Sig. (2-tailed)		*.437
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	4880.860	-214.800
	Covariance	32.757	-1.442
	N	150	150
Delinquent Behaviour	Pearson Correlation	-.064	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	*.437	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-214.800	2311.333
	Covariance	-1.442	15.512
	N	150	150

Source: created by author

*r is significant at 0.05

Table P value is 0.159

Table 4.5 shows that the correlation coefficient "r" between school management and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students is 0.437 (P<0.05). Since P<0.05, it implies that there is significant relationship between school management and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis. Based on this the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Hypothesis 4: There is no significant relationship between teacher attitude and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis.

Table 4.6: Relationship between teacher attitude and delinquent behaviour

		Teacher Attitude	Delinquent Behaviour
Teacher Attitude	Pearson Correlation	1	.053
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.521
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	4911.073	178.067
	Covariance	32.960	1.195
	N	150	150
Delinquent Behaviour	Pearson Correlation	.053	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.521	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	178.067	2311.333
	Covariance	1.195	15.512
	N	150	150

Source: created by author

*r is significant at 0.05

Table P value is 0.159

Table 4.6 shows that the correlation coefficient "r" between teacher attitude and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students is 0.521 (P<0.05). Since P<0.05, it means that there is significant relationship between teacher attitude and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis. Based on this, the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Hypothesis 5: There is no significant relationship between peer influence and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis.

Table 4.7: Relationship between peer influence and delinquent behaviour

		Peer Influence	Delinquent Behaviour
Peer Influence	Pearson Correlation	1	-.014
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.865
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	3653.760	-40.800
	Covariance	24.522	-.274
	N	150	150
Delinquent Behaviour	Pearson Correlation	-.014	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.865	
	Sum of Squares and Cross-products	-40.800	2311.333
	Covariance	-.274	15.512
	N	150	150

Source: created by author

*r is significant at 0.05

Table P value is 0.159

Table 4.7 indicates that the correlation coefficient "r" between peer influence and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students is 0.865 (P<0.05). Since P<0.05, it implies that there is significant relationship between peer influence and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis. Based on this, the null hypothesis is therefore rejected.

Summary of Findings

1. There is composite effect of Socio-economic status, family structure, school management, teacher attitude and peer influence on delinquent behaviour of the participants;

2. There is relative effect of each of the independent variables to the prediction of delinquent behaviour of the students. School management made the most significant contribution while socio-economic status has the least contribution to the perceived delinquent behaviour of the secondary school students;

3. That there is no significant relationship between socio-economic status and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis;

4. There is no significant relationship between family structure and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students;

5. There is significant relationship between school management and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis;

6. There is significant relationship between teacher attitude and delinquent behaviour among secondary school students; and,

7. There is significant relationship between peer influence and

delinquent behaviour among secondary school students in Ibadan metropolis

In sum, peer group and school factors variable show significant relationships with violent delinquent behaviours. This invariably means that they have strong impact on the extent of violent delinquency in children. Family structure only had a composite composite effect in this study. However, a number of previous studies showed that family structure does have a strong relationship with juvenile delinquency. This result here in relation to family structure could be how the respondents see such factor. Nonetheless, family structure as a factor is largely advised to be taken note of as one of the factors to be considered in violent delinquency going by previous studies. School management shows stronger relationship while socio-economic status shows the least in terms of relationship with violent delinquency.

Recommendation

Given the findings, the study therefore recommends that:

1. Teachers, parents and guidance should monitor their children/students and ensure that who they keep as friends and company are not those that will negatively influence them.

2. Teachers and guidance should advise children on a regular basis to be very careful in selecting who they chose as friends both in school and at home.

3. Teachers should be very careful and portray positive attitude at all times since children readily learn from them also.

4. Teachers must not act to discourage even the very academically weak student or act in such a way that can frustrate such students, because such action can have unimaginable negative consequence on the ward.

5. Parents and guidance should learn to live by example by putting up positive conduct at home as children readily learn from their environment which they parents or guidance are part of when the child is at home.

Conclusion

The study focus was to investigate the influence of social factors such as family structure, peer group and school management and teachers on violent delinquent behavior of school-age children. Ibadan metropolis in Nigeria was used as a case study. The study reveals that peer influence has effect on violent delinquent conduct of children. The study also shows that school management and teachers' attitudes influence the behavior of school-age children in schools. Although family factor is seen in this study as not having a significant relationship on student delinquent behavior, there are however some studies in the past, such as that of Price and Kunz (2003) that established a link between what happen in the family and the conduct of a child. Their findings showed that children from divorce families were more likely to participate in delinquent behaviour in all domains. Secondary data in this study also support the argument that a relationship exist between family structure and violent delinquent behavior. Given this stand, parents therefore need

to be careful and work to present a family structure that can help a child grow into a better adult, be mindful of who their children identify with and keep as friends and the type of schools they enroll their wards.

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Potency of Online Adverts in the Eye of the Buyer: A Study of Consumers in Three LGAs in Lagos State

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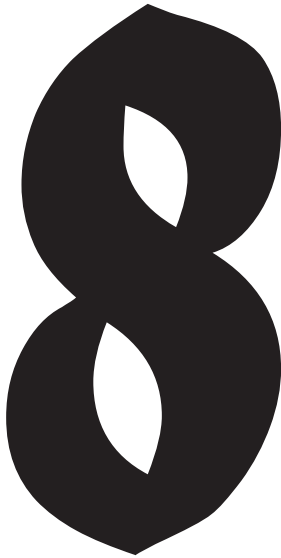
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Abstract

There is a vast literature on the use of online media for advertising. Most of these studies focus on advanced economies such as USA, UK, China, and others with similar experiences with little researches focusing on audience perception of online advertising on product patronage in developing economies like Nigeria. This study explores the effect of social media advertising on product patronage. Hierarchy of effects theory was adopted while survey design was the methodology used with questionnaire as data collection instrument. A sample of 450 was taken among Lagos residents. Findings show that 58.6% of respondents are exposed to social media advertisements while 49% of respondents had positive perception of social media advertisements. Despite the positive perception of social media advertisements only 22% of the studied population responded to advertisements on social media. From these findings, the researchers conclude that advertising messages on social media might affect people's attitude positively but it does not necessarily lead to purchase. Therefore, the study recommends that online advertisements should be frequent and consistent for it to have the desired effect on consumers.

Key words: Perception, Advertising, Social media, Product, Patronage.

Introduction

Advertising media is constantly expanding as media of communication expands. As consumers moved online, advertisers and marketing communications experts moved along thereby,

exploring marketing communication opportunities online. Today, internet technologies have opened a wide platform for advertising messages.

The Internet combined the capabilities of audio and video, including the possibility of reaching its target audience online in real time to deliver a powerful medium for advertising messages. Prior to the coming of the Internet, advertising depends on print, radio, television and outdoor media to reach its target audience. Today, the Internet combined the opportunities of these media and offer much more in one medium. In today's competitive world, brands are fighting for space in the minds of consumers, consequently; manufacturers and advertisers are always looking for a better ways to pass across their advertising messages to their prospects. Social media are channels of advertising messages currently being explored by advertisers.

When considering platforms for channeling advert messages, it is important to choose the one that best reaches the target audience. One of the major benefits of advertising on a social networking site is that advertisers can take advantage of users' demographic information and target their adverts appropriately.

As consumer taste and lifestyle changes, so also do their media use changes. Manufacturers and advertisers have always followed consumers' changing patterns. Hence, from the newspapers to radio, from television to the Internet, advertisers have always adapted to the changing media landscape. Despite the dynamism of social media as an advertising medium, the question still remains what is the perception of the audience regarding the medium and its

influence on product patronage?

The research questions for this study are:

RQ1. Are residents of selected LGAs exposed to online advertising?

RQ2. What are the residents' perceptions of online advertising?

RQ3. Do the respondents' perceptions of social media advertisements influence their product patronage?

RQ4. To what extent do the respondents respond to online advertisements?

Theoretical Framework

Lavidge and Steiner's (1961) hierarchy of effects model suggested six stages; Awareness, Knowledge, Liking, Preference, Conviction and Purchase. These stages are generally orgnised under the Cognitive, affective and conative stages. According to Clow and Baack (2004, p.195), these stages are used to clarify the effects of advertising copies and campaigns on consumers. The model according Clow and Baack (2004) postulates that consumers move through four stages- access, exposure, process, and action, by which consumers receive and use information in reaching decisions about what actions they will take. The stages move from cognitively (thinking), affectively (feeling), and lastly conatively (doing). Lavidge and Steiner (1961) believed that advertising was an investment in a long-term process that moved consumers over time through a variety of stair-step beginning with product 'unawareness' and moving ultimately to actual purchase. The stages a consumer passes through from the initial exposure to a product or advertisement to the purchase decision are: awareness knowledge,

liking, preference, conviction, and purchase.

The implication of this is that for social media platforms to be effective in online advertisement, the consumers must first be exposed to the message, that is creating the awareness either pop ups/under, banner, interstitial, floating ad, map, in-stream or mobile adverts; have knowledge of the existence of the product; and develop likeness for the product, which will eventually lead to preference of the product over others in the same category.

As postulated by the model, the moment a potential buyer develops preference for a product a conviction has taken place in his/her subconscious, so much so that when it is time to purchase a product in that category, the one that the buyer has been exposed to through advert, have knowledge of, like and prefer will ultimately be the one he/she will purchase off the shelf. This is because, whether the potential buyer is taking action immediately upon exposure to the online advert or he is delaying action to a later date, his awareness of, knowledge, likeness, preference and conviction of the efficacy of the product as relayed in the message will come handy whenever he takes the action to purchase the product.

Literature Review

Advertising and Social Media

In the words of Belch and Belch (2009, p. v), the world is experiencing the most dynamic and revolutionary changes of any era in the history of marketing as well as advertising. They went on to say that these changes are being driven by advances in technology and developments that have led to the rapid growth of communication through interactive media, particularly the Internet. Advertising is at the centre of this communication revolution. The purpose of advertising is 'to create awareness for the advertised product and provide information that will assist the consumer to make purchase decisions', as Kotler and Armstrong (2010, p. 454) put it "advertising is a good way to persuade, whether the purpose is to sell coca-cola worldwide or to get consumers in a developing nation to use birth control". Consequently, many organizations expend a huge amount of money on advertising and brand management.

Advertising can be defined from various perspectives depending on the angle the individual takes it from. For instance to Clemente (1992, p. 21), advertising is the "process that involves using paid media to communicate persuasive information about a product, service, organization, or idea." But Adediran (1992, p.41) defines advertising as "a process consisting of all forms of paid non-personal communication and those activities by which a visual or message is addressed to the public, informing them about a product and influencing them to buy the product featured in the advertising." These definitions identified six functions of advertising:

- To identify a product and differentiate it from others like it in the market;
- To communicate information about a product and suggest use;
- To stimulate the distribution of a product;
- To build brand preferences and loyalty; and
- To lower the overall cost of sales.

For advertising to perform these functions, it has to pass through the media of communication called advertising media. An advertising medium is a means or vehicle of delivering a definite message. It is a means through which an advertising message or information is passed on to the prospective customers, readers, viewers, listeners or passers-by (Lasune, 2008, p.38). Lasune (2008) further said that any media that is selected must be capable of accomplishing three main objectives; to reach the largest number of people possible, to attract their attention and to be economical. According to Ekwuazi (2007, p.3), advertising media include but are not limited to the newspaper, magazine, radio, television, outdoor, cinema, internet and direct mail.

Social media according Kaplan and Haenlein (2010, p.59) "is a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content". They went further to say that "social media depend on mobile and web-based technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share, co-create, discuss, and modify user-generated content". They asserted that it introduces significant and insidious changes to communication between organizations, communities and individuals.

According to Morah (2012, p. 43) "social media are media for social interaction and participation in public debates; Web platforms such as Wikipedia, MySpace, Facebook, YouTube, Google, Blogger, Wordpress, Netlog, Orkut etc, are prominent amont platforms transforming the internet". Kaplan and Haenlein(2010, p.59) created

a classification scheme, with six different types of social media: collaborative projects (Wikipedia), blogs and micro blogs (Twitter), content communities (YouTube and DailyMotion), social networking sites (Facebook), virtual game worlds (World of Warcraft), and virtual social worlds (Second Life). Technologies include: blogs, picture-sharing, vlogs, wall-postings, email, instant messaging, music-sharing, and crowdsourcing.

According to Morah (2012, p.12), a common thread running through the definitions of social media is a blending of technology and social interaction for the co-creation of value and communication development. The Web 2.0 platforms lead to the massive provision and storage of personal data that are systematically evaluated, marketed and used for targeting users with advertising.

Social networking sites are the most popularly used type of social media for advertising. It was in 2004 when teenagers began joining the MySpace site en masse that marketers started to consider the huge potential in reaching this elusive market (Boyd and Ellison, 2007, p.56). Boyd and Ellison (2007) further define social network sites as "web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system".

 Social networking is one aspect of social media, where individuals are in communities that share ideas, interests, or are looking to meet people with similar ideas and interests (Reuben, 2008). In the words of Sivanath, Karthick, Senthil and Vivek (2011, p.9):

…the success of social networks marks a dynamic shift in how people are using the Internet. We've evolved from just searching for information to creating and participating in social spaces with other individuals through the Internet. The websites allow you to post what services you require done for you, like posting the adverts where the people whom you will find suitable will help you advertise on their Facebook and Twitter accounts.

As advertising media, social media, according to Babu, Kumar, Siriam and Sivanath (2011, p. 7), can take advantage of demographic data on your profile and hence target the advertisement directly to you. Several social media tools are available for advertising. However, Stelzner (2012) listed the most frequently used social media tools. According to him, Facebook, twitter, LinkedIn, blogs and YouTube were the top five social media tools used by marketers, with Facebook leading the group.

Rationale for Using Social Networks as Advertising Concepts
Social networking is on the rise for business reasons and also for personal use. With its popularity rising every day, the need for businesses and companies to go social is essential. Wind and Todi (2008, pp. 6, 7) mention the reasons why social networks are being used as advertising tools. They include cost efficiency, large reach, target advertising, and time spent online. There are three criteria that

Wind and Todi (2008: pp. 25, 26) identify for advertising campaigns on social networks need to fulfill in order to be successful. They include- it has to be unobstructiv4e, it has to be creative, it has to engage users and it has to be seasonal advertisements

Review of Empirical Studies

The power of an advertising message to persuade an audience member depends on factors, such as individual characteristics, or likelihood that a message will be thought through carefully. Communication researchers' have identified many different individual characteristics of consumers that influence media effects. One theoretical basis for individualized effects is called selective exposure. Each person is motivated by different factors to use particular media and seek different messages. People watch, listen to and remember media messages that are consistent with their attitudes, interest, or predispositions. A person's motivation to use a particular medium, the person's emotional state at the time of consuming media, and the person's prior experience and knowledge all influence effects (Parag,1999, p.301)

Fanny (2013, p.21) in her study: *The forces that drive consumer behavior* indicates four factors affecting consumer behavior in relation to online shopping. These factors include cultural factors, social factors, personal factors, and psychological factors.

With respect to cultural factors, an individual's cultural background values and environment, family and friends play a big role in influencing his behavior. According to Fanny (2013, p.12), "it is

important for marketers to understand the cultural factors inherent in each market or each situation in order to adapt its product and its marketing strategy". An individual opting for a product may do so out of cultural, conventional or religious persuasions. A good example will be the use of contraceptive. Some cultures and religions do not permit the use of contraceptives (religions like Judaism, Hinduism, Baha'I, Islam and some Christian denominations such as Roman Catholics tend to regard the use of contraceptive and sex outside marriage as taboo) and so this may in turn influence a customer not to make a purchase of a contraceptive despite marketers' incentives.

Under social factors, there are two groups identified by Fanny (2013, p.16**)** as an influencing factor. These factors are reference groups/ membership groups and family. Membership groups are usually related to their social origin, age, place of residence, work, hobbies, and leisure, among others. The family may be a major influence on an individual when it comes to shopping online. The family acts as an agent of socialization that shapes an individual's personality and values.

An individual's age, way of life, purchasing power, income, lifestyle, personality and self-concept are all personal factors identified by Fanny (2013) as affecting consumer behavior in relation to online shopping. She states that it is important for a brand or a retailer to identify, understand, measure and analyze what the criteria and personal factors that influence the shopping behavior of their customers really are in order to effectively meet customers' needs

and that "the purchasing power, income and capital of an individual would influence his purchase decision and behavior" which to a large extent affect what he can afford to buy.

Lastly, psychological factors include motivation, perception, learning, beliefs and attitudes. An individual's motivation is what will drive his/her purchasing behavior. A consumer's needs act as a motivating factor that induces him/her to make a purchase. Perception on the other hand is the attitude towards and understanding of a product or service which guide his buying decision process.

Also, learning, believes and attitudes are another psychological factors that affect consumer's behavior. Learning is through action. It implies a change in the behavior resulting from experience. Learning; changes the behavior of an individual as he acquires information and experience. Attitude on the other hand involves the feelings and assessment of an object or idea and the predisposition to act in a certain way towards that object. Attitudes allow the individual to develop a coherent behavior against a class of similar objects or ideas (Fanny, 2013). Albert, & Hersinta (2013), Social Media Examiner (2014) gives us insights on their major findings on marketers and their use of social media. The summary of their primary findings was that marketer's place very high value on social media

The Screen Media Daily (2015) stated that "the influence of social media on consumer's purchasing decisions is greatly overhyped".

The survey's responses indicate that not only is there a decline in the influence of social media as compared with two years ago but that also the importance of social media on shopper's decision making has lessened.

Methodology

The survey research method was adopted for this study. The method is unique in that it deals with subjects concerning all works of life and is suitable for collecting data on attitude of people on certain subject area. The study population is residents of Lagos state which according to 2006 population census is 9,013,534. The state is also regarded as the commercial hub and most urban state in Nigeria.

A total number of 450 respondents were selected using a multi stage approach whereby the state was divided into three senatorial districts (Lagos West, Lagos Central and Lagos East). The three senatorial districts were further divided into 20 Local Government, with the use of balloting method, `three Local Government Areas (Lagos Island, Mushin and Ojo LGs) were selected. From the three LGAs, three streets (Odunlami, Ojuwoye and Ajangbadi) were purposively selected in the chosen LGAs. This was done because; it was difficult to get the list of all the streets in the chosen LGAs. In order to give each street equal representation in the study, 150 copies of the questionnaire were distributed for each of these streets. The mall intercept procedure was used to pick respondents. Of the 450 copies distributed 443 copies were returned, putting the response rate at 88.6%.

Data Presentation and Discussion

Table i: Frequency and percentage of the respondents' bio-data

Variable	Level	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Gender	Male	221	49.9
	Female	222	50.1
	Total	443	100.0
Age	18-25 years	135	38.4
	26-30 years	105	16.8
	31-35 years	61	21.7
	36-40 years	76	18.9
	41 and above	66	4.2
	Total	443	100.0
Educational Qualification	O Level	76	17
	OND/HND	145	33
	BSC	220	50
	Others	2	0.45
	Total	443	100.0

Source: Field Survey (2018)

The analysis in table i above showed that majority (50.1) of the respondents were male, they were between the ages of 18-25 years, and possess B.Sc (50%).

RQ 1: Are the people exposed to social media advertising?

Table 1: responses on whether or not respondents are exposed to Social Media Advertising

Sex	Response		Total
	Yes	No	
Male	44.4% (n=197)	5.4% (n=24)	49.8% (n=221)
Female	46% (n=204)	4.06% (n=18)	50.06% (n=222)
Total	90.4% (n=401)	10% (n=42)	100% (n=443)

Source: field survey 2018

90.4 % of all respondents say they have been exposed to social media advertising. This shows that social media adverting is steadily growing among respondents.

RQ 2: What is the respondents perception of Social Media Advertising?

Table 2: Respondents view on their perceptions of social media advertising

Sex	Responses		Total
	positive	Negative	
Male	44.7% (n=198)	5.1% (n=23)	49.8% (n=221)
Female	24% (n=107)	25.9% (n=115)	50.4% (n=222)
Total	68.7% (n=305)	31% (n=138)	100% (n=143)

Source: field survey 2018

The table shows that majority (44.7%) of the total respondents have positive perceptions about social media have advertising. This finding supports Imran's (2011) finding where majority of the respondents considered social media advertising "a good thing" and responded positively to it.

RQ3: Does respondents' perception influence their product patronage?

Table 3: Respondents' view on whether their perception of social media advertisements influence their product patronage

Sex	Response		Total
	Yes	No	
Male	21.9% (n=97)	28% (n=124)	49.9% (n=221)
Female	23% (n=102)	27% (n=120)	50% (n=222)
Total	44.9% (n=199)	55% (n=244)	100% (n=443)

Source: field survey 2018

Table 3 shows respondents' view on whether their perceptions of

social media advertising influence their patronage of the advertised product. Majority (55.9%) of the total respondents say that their perception of social media does not influence their patronage of the advertised product, This finding is contrary to Zeng, et al's (2007) finding cited in Bond, et al (2010) that responses to advertising on internet (social media) depend on perceptions of advertising relevance and value, also influenced by social identity and group norms.

RQ4: To what extent do people respond to social media advertisements?

Table 4: Extent to which respondents respond to social media advertisement

SEX	RESPONSE				TOTAL
	frequently	moderately	Once in a while	Not at all	
MALE	(n=26)5.9%	(n=24)5.4%	(n=76)17.1%	(n=95)21.4%	(n=221)49.8%
FEMALE	(n=24)5.4%	(n=25)5.6%	(n=75)16.9%	(n=98)22.1%	(n=222)50%
Total	(n=50)11%	(n=49)11%	(n=151)34%	(n=193)43.2%	(n=443)100%

Source: Field survey 2018

The table above shows respondents' view on the extent to which they respond to social media advertisements. Majority (21.4%) of the male respondents say they do not respond at all to social media advertisements.

Research Findings and Discussion

The major finding of this study showed that response to social media advertisement is still very low among the studied population. This finding is consistent with Bond et al (2010) findings according to some respondents expressed particular concerns regarding spam advertising, which was also deemed to be detrimental to the brand that is sending it. Bond et al (2010) further said that majority of respondents agreed that in most instances banner advertising and Facebook advertisements were ignored, unless they were specifically relevant to an individual.

However, despite the fact that response to social media advertising is low, the rate at which technology especially Internet is changing the way people live is a pointer that the above finding will not remain the same for too long. Hence, the need for marketers and researchers to pay closer attention to the phenomenon that social media advertising portends.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

Social media advertisements is fast gaining ground in Nigeria, as more and more people go online, many more will be exposed to social media advertisements. This portends great opportunity for advertisers to explore more media options to reach their target audience.

It is however important for advertiser to know that social media for now cannot replace traditional media of advertising such as radio, television, newspaper, magazine and other below-the-line media. Rather, social media should be seen as complimentary media for reaching target audience.

It is possible to conclude that even though, social media advertisements is yet to replace traditional media advertisement, nevertheless, social media advertisements is gradually gaining ground among those generation of Internet savvy ones whose constitute substantial target prospects for every organisation. Every serious and forward looking organisations should begin to incorporate social media advertisements into their media buying budget.

In view of this, it is recommended that:

- Since more and more people are embracing social media for communication, it provide opportunity for advertisers to reach their target audience, hence, advertisers should continue to explore its opportunities for message delivery.

- Despite the opportunity provided by social media, advertisers should adopt it as a complimentary media not a standalone media.

- Advertisers should try and understand why people are not responding to social media advertisement the way they ought to and work round the identified problems for their advertisement advantage.

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Regionalism in International Affairs

9

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Abstract

Regionalism is a process through which geographical regions become significant political and/or economic units, serving as the basis for cooperation and, possibly, identity. It is viewed by many as overwhelmingly the result of a set of strategic calculations by actors located inside states and societies who push for integration as a way of positioning themselves in response to global change. Since 1945, regional organizations have sprung up in all parts of the world. This paper is of the view that regionalism takes different forms depending on whether the primary areas for cooperation are economic, security or political. It provides an overview of the different regional arrangements that have emerged around the globe over the past seventy five years. Having clarified the various concepts and definitions that are being used in this respect, the paper outlines the main driving forces that explain the rise of regionalism in recent decades. It looks at the developments that have occurred in this regard in the Americas, in Africa, in Asia, and in the European Union (EU), highlighting both the similarities and the differences between the various regional arrangements. The paper argues that there is a global trend towards the establishment of regional mechanisms of cooperation and integration, and that there is no contradiction between globalization and regionalism - by contrast, regional arrangements are one way in which states in different parts of the world respond to the challenges of globalization.

Keywords: Regionalism, Regional Arrangements, Regional Cooperation, Regional Integration, Regional Mechanisms, Global

Politics, Globalization.

Introduction

The common view that world politics is being reconfigured on global lines has been increasingly challenged by the rival image of an emerging 'world of regions'. In this view, regionalism is both the successor to the nation-state and an alternative to globalization. Since 1945, regional organizations have sprung up in all parts of the world. The first phase of this process peaked in the 1960s, but the advance of regionalism has been particularly notable since the late 1980s. This has given rise to the phenomenon of the so-called 'new' regionalism. Whereas earlier forms of regionalism had promoted regional cooperation, and even integration, over a range of issues – security, political, economic and so on – the 'new' regionalism has been reflected in the creation of regional trade blocs, either the establishment of new ones or the strengthening of existing ones. Some even believe that this is creating a world of competing trading blocs.

Regionalism, broadly, is a process through which geographical regions become significant political and/or economic units, serving as the basis for cooperation and, possibly, identity. Regionalism has two faces, however. In the first, it is a sub-national phenomenon, a process of decentralization that takes place *within* countries. This applies, for example, in the case of states that practise federalism. These states include the USA, Brazil, Pakistan, Australia, Mexico, Sweden, Nigeria, Malaysia and Canada. Sub-national regionalism is also found in states that practice devolution, such as Spain, France and the UK. The second face of regionalism is transnational rather than sub-national. In this, regionalism refers to a process of cooperation or integration *between* countries in the same region of the world.

Since the end of the Second World War, the international scenario has witnessed a certain urge among the states to ensure the well-being, peace and security not only of the states themselves, but also of the individual citizens. But the realization which dawned upon the states was that such endeavour can succeed only if that effort is supplemented by the cooperation of other states belonging to the same region as them. This realization became the basis of regionalism since the late 1940s. The roots of regionalism, therefore, lay in the perception of the national policy-makers that there are certain common interests shared by the states located in a particular region and that these interests could be most efficiently and effectively promoted by the close and continuing cooperation within a regional framework. Depending on the variety of interests, there arose a number of regional organizations such as the NATO, ASEAN, European Union, OPEC, the Arab League, and a host of others. Regionalism has now become a powerful force in international relations. Indeed, it has become a pervasive feature of global politics. According to the World Trade Organization (WTO), by July 2005 only one WTO member – Mongolia - was not party to any regional trade agreement, and a total of 330 such agreements had been notified. Regional peacekeeping forces have become active in

some parts of the world. Regionalism has in the last decades become one of the forces challenging the traditional centrality of states in international relations.

The word 'region' and its derivatives denote one distinguishable part of some larger geographical area, yet they are used in different ways. On the one hand, regions are territories within a state, occasionally crossing state borders. On the other, regions are particular areas of the world, covering a number of different sovereign states. The issues raised for international relations have some elements in common. This paper, however, looks only at regionalism in the global context: the range of special relationships between neighbouring countries which represent more than normal diplomatic relations but in which the component parts retain legal personality under international law.

The first section presents some basic concepts, dimensions, and debates. The second section takes a look at the theory relating to regionalism and regional integration. The third takes a critical look at the nexus between regionalism and globalization. The section that follows seeks to provide answer to this question: does regionalism constitute a threat to global order and stability? The fifth places regional cooperation in a global context and, without pretending to be exhaustive, reviews the main developments in the Americas, Africa, and Asia. The final section looks at the European Union (EU), where integration has, so far uniquely, gone beyond a regional organization to produce a new form of regional governance.

Regional Cooperation and Regional Integration

Regionalism has various dimensions, and terms need to be clarified. The term regionalization is often used to refer to 'the growth of societal integration within a region and … the often undirected processes of social and economic interaction' (Hurrell 2005: 39). Such processes produce interdependence and may also constitute deepening perceptions of common interests and identity, including self-awareness as a region. Yet the very nature and membership of regions may be contested, and there are very different forms of interaction between the various dimensions and dynamics of regionalism. Regional agreements cover different mixtures of economic, social, political, and security concerns; and there are different forms of interaction between 'regionalization' and the various ways in which states may promote regional cohesion. In some cases, state-led actions have been responsible for an increase in 'real' interaction. In others, the development of ties has been more one of 'market-led integration'.

When considering the different kinds of arrangements which may be agreed between countries, a distinction is often made between 'cooperation' and 'integration'. Regional cooperation has various forms. Functional cooperation refers to limited arrangements which are agreed between states in order to work together in particular areas, for example, in transport, energy, or health. Economic cooperation refers to agreements which foresee some degree of commercial preferentialism, but with no harmonization of domestic rules nor any obligation for common action in international affairs. Political cooperation entails mutual support and commitment

regarding the implementation of certain values and practices within the countries. Cooperation in foreign and security policy means that governments systematically inform and consult each other, try to adopt common positions in international organizations, and may even implement joint action elsewhere. There are no necessary connections between these different areas of cooperation. And none of this has any consequence for the international status of participating countries beyond normal obligations under international law.

Formal regional integration refers to processes by which states go beyond the removal of obstacles to interaction between their countries and create a regional space subject to some distinct common rules. With regard to economic integration, several degrees of ambition are usually distinguished: free trade area, customs union, common market, economic and monetary union. From a customs union 'up', in addition to removing barriers to trade between themselves, the countries must not only adopt some measures of positive integration (i.e. harmonization of rules), but also must act with a single voice internationally, at the very least in tariff policy. Such processes may lead to a new level of governance above the nation-states, although this does not mean creation of a new 'super-state'.

While this distinction does involve some clear and fundamental choices, it should be treated with caution. Cooperation and integration are not mutually exclusive general approaches for regional governance so much as option which may be pursued for different sectors and dimensions of regional relations. All regional systems, including the EU today, contain a mixture of both.

The formal institutional arrangements of a regional system cannot be assumed to be a measure of the real depth or dynamics of a regional integration process. If regional goals are complex and long-term (e.g. to create a full common market), states may set up 'commitment institutions' in order to increase the prospects of effective compliance over time (Mattli 2009). States thus accept some pooling of sovereignty (i.e. the renunciation of autonomous action and/or the veto), delegation of powers to supranational bodies and/or of 'legalization' (Moravscik 2008; Abbott *et al*. 2015). This has mainly been the case in Europe. The institutional structure of the European Community, however, has often been imitated elsewhere. In some cases, formally supranational bodies exist with little real connection with national or transnational life. Conversely, strong formal commitments may not be required to achieve important results in certain fields in certain conditions: the Nordic countries, for examples, established both a Passport Union and Common Labour Market in the 1950s without any supranational arrangements (Aderopo and Best 2016).

Why do states decide to pursue regional integration, and what dynamics may explain the evolution of such regional arrangements? A first theme historically has been the 'management of independence': that is, the need for newly-independent states to settle down in their relations (1) between themselves, (2) with the former colonial power, and 3) with other, often rival, powers. This may be summarized as the process of consolidating international identity and 'actorhood': how do sets of societies want to participate

in global politics? Federal union has been the result in some cases. In others, regional organizations of one sort or another have been an important instrument for managing this often conflictual process.

Table 1.1 Dynamics of Regionalism

Management of Independence	Settling down by newly-independent states in their relations between themselves, with the former colonial power, and with other powers
Management of Interdependence	Regional mechanisms to guarantee peace and security; responses to 'regionalization'; promotion of cooperation and/or state-led integration
Management of Internationalization	Regional negotiations in the multilateral system; regional/UN peacekeeping; regional responses to globalization

A second set of issues may be grouped as the 'management of interdependence'. This partly refers to economic and social interaction - whether the adoption of state-led integration schemes intended to increase such interaction or of measures to ensure stability where there is market-led integration - but also to issues of peace and security. Regional organizations can foster 'security communities' (i.e. transnational communities in which peoples have dependable expectations of peaceful change) by promoting cooperation, establishing norms of behaviour, and serving as sites of socialization and learning (Adler and Barnett 2008).

A third theme may be summed up as the 'management of internationalization', that is, the interrelationship between regional arrangements and the rest of the world. The debate about the implications of regionalism for multilateral processes of liberalization was termed the 'building-blocks-or-stumbling-blocks' question by Bhaggwati (2001). Proponents of regionalism as building blocks argue that: (1) such arrangements promote internal

and international dynamics that enhance the prospects for multilateralism; (2) regionalism can have important demonstration effects in accustoming actors to the effects of liberalization; (3) increased numbers of regional arrangements can weaken opposition to multilateral liberalization because each successive arrangement reduces the value of the margin of preference; (4) regional agreements are often more to do with strategic or political alliances than trade liberalization; and (5) regionalism has more positive than negative political effects.

Opponents of regionalism have been concerned that: (1) the net result of preferential agreements may be trade diversion; (2) there may be 'attention diversion', with participating countries losing interest in the multilateral system, or simply an absorption of available negotiating resources; (3) competing arrangements may lock in incompatible regulatory structures and standards; (4) the creation of multiple legal frameworks and dispute settlement mechanisms may weaken discipline and efficiency; and (5) regionalism may contribute to international frictions between competing blocs (Baoku 2005; Dada 2005; Bergsten 2005; World Bank 2005).

The historical context in which this tension plays itself out has changed considerably. In the first wave of post-war regionalism, notably in Latin America, this largely took the form of state-led efforts to reduce dependency on exports of primary commodities and to achieve industrialization through import substitution, with widespread suspicion of foreign direct investment.

The 'New Regionalism' taking place since the late 1980s has been

more a response to new forms of globalization, as well as taking place in a more multipolar world after the end of the Cold War. Various common features could be seen in the 1990s. Regional arrangements tended to be more open than before in terms of economic integration, as well as more comprehensive in scope. The new open regionalism, indeed, seemed to lose some of the very defining characteristics of regionalism, forming part of 'a global structural transformation in which non-state actors are active and manifest themselves at several levels of the global system (and) can therefore not be understood only from the point of view of the single region' (Hettne 2009:7-8).

Yet regionalism may also be seen as one of the few instruments which are available to states to try to manage the effects of globalization. If individual states no longer have the effective capacity to regulate in the face of uncontrolled movements of capital, then regionalism may be seen as a means to regain some control over global market forces - and to counter the more negative social consequences of globalization. The debate is far from over.

Theoretical Underpinning of Regionalism and Regional Integration

Before examining the fundamental nexus between regionalism and globalization, it will be worthwhile to take a look at the theory relating to regionalism and regional integration.

In many ways, explanations of the rise of regionalism overlap with those related to the wider phenomenon of international organization.

However, the tendency towards regional integration, and particularly European experiments with supranational cooperation, have stimulated a particular theoretical debate about the motivations and processes through which integration and institution-building at the international level are brought about. Three main theories have been advanced:

- Federalism
- Functionalism
- Neo-Functionalism

Federalism

Federalism is the earliest theory of regional or even global integration, being advocated from the eighteenth century onwards by political thinkers such as G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), and drawing inspiration from its use in domestic politics as a device for reconciling tensions between the centre and the periphery. As an explanation for regional or international cooperation, federalism relies on a process of conscious decision-making by the political elites. The attraction of international federations is that they appear to offer a solution to the endemic problems of the state-system, and especially the problem of war. If war is caused by sovereign states pursuing self-interest in a context of anarchy, peace will only be achieved if states transfer at least a measure of their sovereignty to a higher, federal body. This is often referred to as pooled sovereignty. The federalist vision of 'unity through diversity' is achieved by a system of shared sovereignty between international and national bodies and undoubtedly had a

powerful impact on the founders of the European Communities, expressed, in the words of the Treaty of Rome (1957), in the desire to establish 'an ever closer union'. However, federalism has had relatively little impact on the wider process of integration or on the trend towards global governance. This is both because federalist projects have been too ambitious, if not utopian, in that they require states voluntarily to sacrifice sovereignty, and because enthusiasm for federalist projects has invariably been confined to political and intellectual elites, while political nationalism has continued to hold sway over the wider public.

Functionalism

Even in the case of the European project, federalist thinking quickly gave way to a functionalist road to integration. The key idea of functionalism is expressed in David Mitrany's (1966) formulation: 'form follows function'. In this view, cooperation only works when it is focused on specific activities (functions) that would be performed more effectively through collective action than by individual states. This, then, creates pressure to construct institutional structures (forms) that would facilitate such cooperation in these areas. European integration very clearly followed a functionalist path, as it tended to focus on the promotion of economic cooperation, seen by states as the least controversial but most necessary form of integration. Functionalists have generally had high expectations about the extent to which integration and international cooperation are possible, believing that political loyalties can relatively easily be transferred away from nation-states towards new functional

organizations as the latter are seen to be effective in delivering goods and services. However, the weakness of functionalism is that it overemphasizes the willingness of states to hand over their responsibilities to functional bodies, especially in areas that are political rather than technical. Furthermore, there is little evidence that international organizations are capable of acquiring a level of popular legitimacy that rivals the nation-state, regardless of their functional importance.

Neo-Functionalism

As a result of these deficiencies a growing emphasis has therefore been placed on what is called neo-functionalism. In the writings in particular of Haas (1964), neo-functionalism recognizes the limitations of the traditional functionalist idea that integration is largely determined by a recognition of growing interdependence in economic and other areas. Instead, it places greater emphasis on the interplay between economics and politics. From this perspective, functional cooperation tends to produce transnational constituencies of advocates for still closer cooperation, creating a dynamic that leads to wider political integration. This process is known as spillover. Through its emphasis on elite socialization and the notion that the integration process can be recast and redefined over time, neo-functionalism resembles some of the ideas of constructivist theorists. Nevertheless, its drawback is that it is usually narrowly linked to the process of European integration, and there is little to suggest that the European neo-functionalist path is being pursued by other regional organizations, still less by the institutions of global

governance. Indeed, some have seen neo-functionalism more a description of European experience rather than as a theory of international organization.

Nevertheless, since the mid 1970s, disillusionment has grown with the bold claim of neo-functionalism that power politics is in the process of being replaced by new forms of supranational governance. This was, in part, because empirical developments seemed to render neo-functionalism implausible. Not only has it appeared that other forms of regionalism have been unwilling to follow Europe's example of federal-type integration, but hopes for an 'ever closer union' within Europe have been dashed by the continued relevance of the state and the persistence of nationalist allegiances. In this context, many have sought to explain inter-state cooperation in other ways, through an emphasis, for example, on interdependence, multilateralism, international regimes or global governance. At any rate, the idea of a deeply rooted and perhaps irresistible dynamic in favour of integration has largely been abandoned as the role of specific historical factors has been recognized. For example, the process of decolonization in Africa and Asia in particular contributed to the first wave of regionalism that peaked in the 1960s, as newly independent states tended to see regionalism as a mechanism for establishing settled relationships amongst themselves as well as with their former colonial power. A second factor is under-development and poor economic performance, encouraging states to view closer regional cooperation as a means of stimulating growth and gaining protection against

intensifying international competition. This has been particularly evident in the complex, and sometimes contradictory, relationship between regionalism and globalization.

Regionalism and Globalization

Since the late 1980s, there has been a clear and continuing resurgence in regionalism, often seen as regionalism's 'second coming' and associated with what is called the 'new' regionalism. But what was new about the new regionalism? New regionalism is essentially economic in character, and it largely takes the form of the creation of regional trade blocs. These trade blocs, moreover, operate very clearly as regional spaces through which states can interact, rather than being drawn into EU-style supranational experiments. Between 1990 and 1994, GATT was informed of 33 regional trading arrangements, nearly a third of those that had been negotiated since 1948. The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation was created in 1989 and has expanded from 12 members to 21 (including Australia, China, Russia, Japan and the USA), encompassing, collectively, countries that account for 40 per cent of the world's population and over 50 per cent of global GDP. In 1991, the signing of the Treaty of Asuncion led to the formation of Mercusor, which links Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay and, with Venezuela's application for full membership awaiting final ratification and Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia as associate members, constitutes Latin America's largest trade bloc. 1992 saw the signing of NAFTA, which came into force in 1994, linking Canada, Mexico and the USA. 1993 witnessed both the

ratification of the Treaty of European Union (the TEU or Maastricht Treaty), which transformed the European Community into the European Union, and the introduction of the ASEAN Free Trade Area. 1994 saw an agreement to build the Free Trade Area of the Americas, as a proposed extension to NAFTA, designed eventually to encompass North and South America.

This surge of economic regionalism was driven by a variety of often disparate factors. In the first place, it reflected the wider acceptance of export-led economic strategies across the developing world, as more countries were inclined to follow the lead, first, of Japan and later of the Asian 'tiger' economies. Second, the end of the Cold War encouraged former communist countries to view economic integration as a means of supporting and consolidating their transition to the market economy, a development that later gave rise to the eastward expansion of the EU. Third, the establishment of the WTO and the growing influence of other institutions of global economic governance persuaded many countries that regionalism was a way of gaining greater influence within multilateral bodies. Fourth, the USA's transition from being a sponsor of regionalism to being an active participant gave the process considerable additional impetus. Finally, and underlying all the other factors, was the acceleration of globalization in the 1980s and 1990s. Regionalism became increasingly attractive as rapidly expanding global capital flows and an increasing trend towards transnational production patterns appeared to undermine the viability of the state as an independent economic unit. Regionalism was thus reborn as a

mechanism through which states could manage the effects of globalization. However, there is significant debate about how regional integration has been used in these circumstances, and therefore about the implications of regionalism for globalization.

As Bhagwati (2018) put it, are regional trade blocs 'building blocks' or 'stumbling blocks' within the global system? How does the regional interact with the global? One face of economic regionalism has been essentially defensive, in that regional bodies have sometimes embraced protectionism as a means of resisting the disruption of economic and possibly social life through the impact of intensifying global competition. This gave rise to the idea of the region as a fortress, as in the once-fashionable notion of 'fortress Europe'. The near-simultaneous creation of NAFTA, the formation of the EU and the development of an ASEAN Free Trade Area have, for instance, been understood in these terms, creating a spectre of a world of competing regional blocs. In some cases, defensive regionalism has been a bottom-up process, driven by sub-national or transnational interest groups, such as agricultural interests across the EU and in the USA. A particularly significant concern within the EU has been to protect the European social model, characterized by comprehensive welfare provision, from a 'race to the bottom' ignited by neoliberal globalization.

Nevertheless, 'new' regionalism has been motivated by competitive impulses, and not merely protectionist ones. In these cases, countries have formed regional blocs not so much to resist global market

forces but, rather, to engage more effectively with them. Although states have wished to consolidate or expand trading blocs in the hope of gaining access to more assured and wider markets, they have not turned their backs on the wider global market. This is evident in the growth of cross-regional interaction and attempts to influence the WTO and other bodies. The fortress model of regional integration has been weakened by the fact that regionalism has tended to march hand in hand with economic liberalization. In embracing the market, competition and entrepreneurialism, regional trade blocs have tended to be open and outward-looking, interested in engaging in global, not merely regional, free trade. In balancing competing impulses towards defence and competition, regional blocs have functioned more as filters, resisting particular threats to internal interests and priorities, rather than as fortresses. Nevertheless, the steady growth of regional trade agreements has meant that, instead of a common, global free trade system, there is a bewildering array of complex and overlapping bilateral and regional arrangements, each with conflicting and contradictory provisions, an arrangement that Bhagwati (2018) called the 'spaghetti bowl' system.

Regionalism: Does it Constitute a Threat to Global Order and Stability?

Before placing regional cooperation in a global context and reviewing the main developments in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, it will be worthwhile to provide useful answers to the above mind-boggling question. The expansion and deepening of regionalism is widely accepted as one of the most prominent features of modern global politics. However, while a 'world of regions' is seen as a recipe for conflict and instability, regionalism promotes security and widens prosperity. The reason why regionalism constitutes a threat to global order and stability is as follows:

Regional Egoism

Regionalism has not altered the essentially conflictual nature of world politics. Instead, power politics within the state-system is in the process of being replaced by power politics within a regional system. This occurs for two reasons. First, as realists emphasize, human nature has not changed. Thus, if regions are displacing states as the key units of global politics, state egoism is being reborn as regional egoism. Second, the essentially anarchical character of the global system means that if survival and security cannot be secured through the mechanism of the state, they must be secured through regional action. 'Fortress' regionalism will thus, perhaps inevitably, develop into aggressive regionalism, or even hegemonic regionalism.

Cultural or Civilizational Conflict

A further reason for inter-regional conflict is cultural difference, an idea expressed most graphically in the notion of the 'clash of civilizations'. In this view, regional integration is significantly motivated by the existence of shared values, traditions and beliefs, helping to explain why regional integration has therefore progressed further and faster in areas with a common cultural and ideological

inheritance. This nevertheless implies suspicion of, and possibly hostility towards, regions of the world with different values, cultures and traditions. A world of regions is therefore a world of rival value systems and incompatible understandings, a recipe for conflict and global disorder.

Ever-Deepening Integration

Regionalism is driven by a logic that fosters progressively deeper levels of integration, making regional bodies both increasingly inward-looking and conflict-ridden. Neo-functionalist spillover will inevitably turn economic integration into political integration. Most clearly demonstrated by the example of European integration, but destined to be followed by other regions, this will create a widening gulf between a regionalized elite and increasingly marginalized and resentful general public, still wedded to national symbols and identities. This gulf is likely to fuel political extremism, particularly amongst those who feel disenfranchised by the regionalization process.

As regionalism threatens global order and stability, it also promotes security and widens prosperity. The reasons are as follows:

Nationalism Trumps Regionalism

 Predictions about the growth of inter-regional conflict are greatly overblown. The reality is that regionalism complements, rather than transcends, the state-system. States are, and will remain, the principal actors on the world stage, as no regional or global body can match the nation-state's capacity to generate political allegiance and civic identity. Supranational regionalism has therefore failed to materialize, regional bodies operating more like political spaces within which states cooperate on matters of mutual interest. With the possible exception of the EU, regional bodies have not achieved the level of integration necessary to become global actors on the world stage in their own right.

The Global Dominates the Regional

The idea that regional blocs are stumbling blocks to globalization, implying that the global economy will increasingly become an arena of regional competition, is difficult to sustain. If regional integration has largely been dictated by the logic of interdependence, the recognition that states in the modern world must work together to tackle common problems, this implies that cooperation must extend beyond the region and encompass inter-regional and even global cooperation. Issues such as climate change, free trade, development disparities and international security cannot simply be addressed at a regional level. This forces regional bodies to be open and outward-looking, acting as stepping stones to higher levels of cooperation.

Limits of Regionalism

Significant obstacles stand in the way of deep regional integration. These include the fact that as it is difficult to create democratically accountable regional organizations, such bodies tend to enjoy limited popular support. Furthermore, the harmonization of economic rules and arrangements can perhaps only be taken so far.

This is evident in the difficulty of establishing common or single markets, in which genuinely free trade and the free movement of labour and capital ultimately require, as the EU recognized, a single currency and common interest rates. This level of harmonization nevertheless leads to over-rigid economic arrangements that are, sooner or later, doomed to collapse.

Regional Cooperation in a Global Context

Although new regionalism in particular has affected all parts of the world, it has not done so evenly. Some parts of the world have spawned more ambitious projects of regional integration than others, and their levels of success or failure have varied considerably.

Regionalism in the Americas

The American continent has been characterized by multiple, and often competing, levels of regionalism. The basic tensions date back to independence. The former British colonies in North America eventually settled down into two international actors: one federal union, the United States of America, in 1865, and one confederation, Canada, in 1867. Portuguese Brazil ended up as a federal republic in 1889. In former Spanish territories, in contrast, efforts at union failed. Two short-lived federal republics were formed: the Federal Republic of Greater Colombia (1819-1831) and the Federal Republic of Central America (1823-1839). Unity of Spanish America was the dream of Simon Bolivar, who in 1826 convened the

Congress of Panama, proposing a 'Treaty of Union, League, and Perpetual Confederation' with a common military, a mutual defence pact, and a supranational parliamentary assembly. Bolivar's vision was not anti-American, but he preferred not to include the USA. And like the federal republics, it soon succumbed to civil wars and rivalries between governing *caudillos*.

Latin American regionalism has thus played itself out against the background of the conflictual consolidation of current states, in which national sovereignty became a dominant feature of actorhood, and a love-hate relationship with the USA. There has been partial acceptance of a continental identity as 'America', but also a widespread perception of an identity as 'Latin America', often in opposition to the USA.

Hemispheric regionalism began with the first Pan-American Conference in Washington in 1889-1890. Nine such conferences took place, leading in the 1930s and 1940s, following decades of US interventionism, to several agreements on peace and security. The Pan-American Union became the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1948. An Inter-American System grew up, including the Inter-American Development Bank and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. During the Cold War, however, it was seen with suspicion in much of the Americas as an instrument of US foreign policy.

The US policy on regional agreements changed in the later 1980s. It

began in 1986 to negotiate a free-trade agreement with Canada. Negotiations then began between the United States, Canada, and Mexico, leading to the establishment in1994 of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This is broader in scope than most such agreements. Agriculture is covered, and the treaty was accompanied by supplementary agreements on labour and the environment, although there are no supranational elements. A first 'Summit of the Americas was held in Miami in 1994, with the aim of achieving a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) as well as deepening cooperation in drugs, corruption, terrorism, hemispheric security, sustainable development, and the environment. By the fourth summit in Argentina in 2005, however, the political context of Inter-Americanism had significantly changed.

Latin American regionalism in the post-war decades was shaped by the model of state-led, import-substituting industrialization. In order to overcome dependence on exports of primary commodities, a combination of protection and planning would make it possible to reduce manufactured imports. Regional integration was a response to the limitations of this approach at the national level. This first wave produced the Central American Common Market (CACM 1960), the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA 1961) and the Andean Pact (1969), all of which had limited success.

A wave of 'new regionalism' began in the1980s and took off in the 1990s. The Central American Integration System (SICA) was created in 1991. The Common Market of the South (MERCOSUR)

was created in 1991 by Argentina and Brazil, together with Paraguay and Uruguay. A common market was proclaimed in 1994, although there remain exceptions. MERCOSUR has not adopted a supranational institutional system but there have been important political dimensions. In the early phases this included mutual support for the consolidation of democracy and the ending of rivalry between Argentina and Brazil.

In 1990, the Andean Presidents also re-launched their integration process. A Common External Tariff was announced in 1994. The group was renamed the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) in 1997, with the aim of consolidating common market by 2005. The institutional system is modeled on the European Community, with elements of formal supranationalism: Andrean norms are to be directly applicable and to enjoy primacy over national law, and they are monitored by common institutions including a Court of Justice.

The 'New' forms of integration in the Americas were seen as fundamentally different, part of broad-based structural reforms aimed at locking in commitments in a context of unilateral and multilateral liberalization. It also seemed that there might be a new convergence of hemispheric and Latin American initiatives.

Table 1.2 Around the World in Regional Organizations, 2020 (An Illustrative and Non-Exhaustive List)

AMERICAS	Organization of American States	OAS
	North American Free Trade Agreement	NAFTA
	Central American Integration System	SICA
	Central American Common Market	CACM
	Caribbean Community	CARICOM
	Andean Community (of Nations)	CAN
	Common Market of the South	MERCOSUR
	South American Community of Nations	
	Latin American Integration Association	LAIA
AFRICA	African Union	AU
	Arab Maghreb Union	UMA
	Community of Sahel-Saharan States	CEN-SAD
	Economic Community of West African States	ECOWAS
	West African Economic and Monetary Union	WAEMU
	Central African Monetary and Economic Community	CEMAC
	Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries	
	Economic Community of Central African States	CEPGL
	East African Community	ECCAS
	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa	EAC
	Intergovernmental Authority for Development	COMESA
	Southern African Customs Union	IGAD
	Southern African Development Community	SACU
		SADC
ASIA	Gulf Cooperation Council	GCC
	Association of South-East Asian Nations	ASEAN
	ASEAN Regional Forum	ARF
	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation	SAARC
	Shanghai Cooperation Organization	SCO
	Economic Cooperation Organization	ECO
ASIA-PACIFIC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation	APEC
	Pacific Economic Cooperation Council	PECC
	Pacific Islands Forum	
EURASIA	Commonwealth of Independent States	CIS
	Eurasian Economic Community	EAEC
	Black Sea Economic Cooperation	BSEC
EUROPE	European Union	EU
	Council of Europe	CoE
	Nordic Council/Council of Ministers	
	Benelux Economic Union	Benelux
	Visegrad Group	V4
EURO-ATLANTIC	North Atlantic Treaty Organization	NATO
	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe	OSCE

Yet developments in the 2000s have brought this into question. Proposals to bring together Andean integration and MERCOSUR around a continental project began in the 1990s. They accelerated in 2000 with the adoption of the South American Regional Integration Initiative, supporting major projects in transport, energy, and communications. 'South American summits' were held in 2000 and

2002. The creation of a 'South American Community of Nations' was announced in 2004. In 2005 CAN and MERCOSUR mutually recognized the associate membership of each other's member countries. In 2006, Venezuela, under President Chavez, left the Andean Community and joined MERCOSUR. Bolivia applied at the beginning of 2007 and Ecuador seemed likely to follow. The expanded MERCOSUR at the heart of this new South American Community of Nation has raised a strong question mark over the future of the Free Trade Area of the Americas.

Regionalism in Africa

Although most states in Africa are committed to regionalism as part of the solution to their profound economic, political and social problems, the advance of regional integration has been hampered by the combined impact of poverty, political instability, border disputes and political and economic differences amongst African countries. Contemporary regionalism in Africa emerged with the politics of anti-colonialism but often on the basis of preexisting colonial arrangements. French West Africa was a Federation between 1904 and 1958, and a common currency known as the CFA franc was created in 1945. After several organizational transformations, Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo have become members of the present West African Economic Monetary Union (WAEMU).

In Central Africa, a monetary union guaranteed by France and a formal customs union were created in 1964. This was transformed

into the Economic and Monetary Community of Central Africa (CEMAC) which fully took over in 1999. This is a monetary union using the CFA franc (now pegged to the Euro) with a common monetary policy.

The Southern African Customs Union (SACU) was originally created in 1910. An agreement was signed in 1969 with the independent countries of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Namibia. This has included a common external tariff and a revenue-sharing mechanism, as well as a Common Monetary Area (except for Botswana) with currencies pegged to the South African rand. A new treaty came into force in 2004.

Colonial Kenya and Uganda formed a customs union in 1917, which Tanzania (then Tanganyika) joined in 1927. After independence, cooperation continued under the East African Common Services Organization. An East African Community was created in 1967 but collapsed in 1977 as a result of political differences. Following efforts at re-integration in the 1990s, the present East Africa Community (EAC) was established in 2000. A customs union formally came into effect in 2005.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a variety of other regional organizations emerged, often cutting across the previous arrangements. With Nigerian leadership, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was created in 1975 between the francophone countries which are also members of WAEMU, and the Anglophone countries of West Africa. ECOWAS is the largest sub-regional organization established in Africa, comprising 16 states with a combined population of nearly 200 million. However, its impact on the economic performance of member states has been negligible, due to factors such as political instability and widespread corruption in the region, allied to ECOWAS's weak infrastructure and lack of political will. Although ECOWAS's involvement in the 1990s in internal conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone through its peacekeeping force divided opinion and eventually led to its replacement by UN peacekeepers, Ghana and Nigeria have subsequently moved to enhance the region's peacekeeping capabilities. A Preferential Trade Area cutting across eastern and southern Africa was created in 1981. This was succeeded in 1994 by the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), which in 2006 had 19 member states stretching from Libya to Madagascar. In 1983, the French Central African countries, together with the members of the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries, created in 1976, and Sao Tomé and Principe, created the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS). Finally, straddling the continent from Senegal to Eritrea is the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) established in 1998.

Some organizations had particular political aspects to their foundation. The aim of the Frontline States to reduce dependence on apartheid South Africa prompted the creation in 1980 of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). This was transformed into the Southern African

Development Community (SADC) in 1992, of which post-apartheid South Africa became a member.

Others have started with a particular special mandate which was then extended. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in East Africa was founded in 1986 with a narrow mandate to deal with drought and desertification, but did little in view of tensions between its members and as a result of the situation in Somalia. In 1996 it was given a broader mandate covering conflict prevention and management. Sub-regional cultural identity has played a particular role, for example, in the case of the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), which came into being in 1989.

The first stage of pan-African organization was primarily political in nature. The Organization of African Unity (OAU), created in 1963, was dedicated to the ending of colonialism and political liberation. The continental agenda has subsequently broadened. The 1991 Treaty of Abuja, coming into force in 1994, established the African Economic Community (AEC). In 2002, the OAU and AEC became the African Union (AU), formally modeled on the European Union. The African Union (AU) is a replacement for the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The AU constitution, modelled on that of the EU, envisages a much more ambitious organization than its predecessor.

There was also a move towards continental coordination of the multiple regional arrangements which had grown up, with a 1997 protocol formalizing relations between the AEC and 14 Regional Economic Communities (RECs) - that is, the various organizations mentioned above. The RECs have had some success in functional cooperation. However, they suffer from various institutional weaknesses which have been exacerbated by the multiplicity of arrangements, prompting recent initiatives for a 'rationalization. Moreover, the factors necessary for deep integration remain elusive. There is little complementarity across economies. There are few strong regional focal points. Integration has a limited domestic constituency, in the sense of pressure from business interests or civil society. And there remains a general unwillingness to consider sharing sovereignty (Economic Commission for Africa and African Union 2006).

There has been a certain evolution in this respect, reflected in the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) adopted in 2001, which includes an African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). In addition, regional organizations have become active in conflict management. The best known is the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), created in 1990 to intervene in Liberia. It also acted in Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau in the 1990s, before being given a formal basis in 1999. Since then, it has acted in Côte d'Ivoire in 2002 and Liberia in 2003. An AU Peace and Security Council was created in 2003, the AU deployed a Peace Mission in Burundi (AMIB) in 2003, and a Peace Mission in the Sudan (AMIS) in 2004.

Regionalism in Asia

Regionalism in Asia has followed quite different patterns. South-East Asia is not a region with a clear historical identity. The very term 'South-East Asia' seems to have come to prominence internationally to describe the areas south of China that were occupied by Japan in the Second World War. The first post-war organizations, notably the 1954 South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), were US-backed bodies made up of an international range of interested powers. Malaya, the Philippines, and Indonesia briefly formed the Association of South-East Asia (ASA, 1961) and MAPHILINDO (1963) as a means to promote regional solidarity. These were interrupted by intra-regional conflict, notably over the future of Borneo. Britain had looked to federation as a means to ease its withdrawal from colonial territories. The Federation of Malaysia in 1963, together with Singapore (until 1965), Sarawak, and British North Borneo (Sabah). A period of 'Confrontation' ensued between Malaysia and Indonesia, while the Philippines claimed Sabah. The Confederation ended in 1966.

The establishment of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967 between Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand was thus motivated less by a sense of common identity than by a realization that failure to prevent conflicts within the region would invite external intervention, which would in turn exacerbate intra-regional tensions. No supranational elements were foreseen. Regional cooperation was to be built by an 'ASEAN Way' based on consultation, consensual decision-making, and flexibility. Rather than starting with ambitious political commitments, ASEAN would proceed by small, informal, and voluntary steps, which could eventually become more binding and institutionalized.

Although economic cooperation was foreseen, the evolution of ASEAN was driven by political and security concerns. The first new step was taken amid the regional uncertainties following the fall of Saigon in the Vietnam War, and the communist victories in Laos and Cambodia in 1975. ASEAN leaders held their first summit in 1976, signing the Declaration of ASEAN Concord and the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia, which reaffirmed the principles of mutual respect, non-interference, and peaceful settlement of differences. The next turning point came at the beginning of the 1990s as ASEAN sought to affirm its identity and centrality. On the security front, in the context of the withdrawal of Vietnam from Cambodia and the end of Cold War, a succession of proposals culminated in the creation of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). This came into effect in 1994, with the aim of pursuing confidence-building measures, preventive diplomacy, and eventually conflict resolution. Other steps were taken in response to the creation of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).

APEC had been formed in 1989 on the principle of 'open regionalism'. It was not to involve any discrimination *vis-à-vis* other countries. Nor did it reflect any distinctive regional identity so much as 'the desire of the "non-Asian states" of the region to consolidate links with the "open market-oriented economies" of East Asia' (Higgott 2005: 377). In response, Malaysia under Dr. Mahathir - one of the key defenders 'Asian values' in Asian regionalism - proposed

an 'East Asian Economic Caucus' excluding Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the USA. The United States put pressure on Japan and South Korea not to participate. At the same time, it was agreed in 1992 to establish an ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA). The Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998 provided a renewed impetus for regional cooperation and also led to a new format of cooperation with China, Japan, and South Korea as 'ASEAN plus three' (APT), seen by some as the realization of the idea underlying the East Asian Economic Caucus.

In 2003, the member states agreed to create an ASEAN Security Community, an ASEAN Economic Community, and an ASEAN Socio-cultural Community by 2022. The Economic Community is a 'Free Trade Area - plus', aiming at a single market but with no common external tariff, and restricted flows of labour. While not pursuing supranationalism, it was agreed to strengthen ASEAN's institutional arrangements. A new formal dispute settlement mechanism was created, and the role of the Secretariat was reinforced, together with a Development Fund and increased institutional involvement of the business sector. The development gap between old and new members (Vietnam, Myanmar/Burma, Laos, and Cambodia) also prompted new efforts to promote solidarity, through the Initiative for ASEAN Integration and the Economic Cooperation Strategy.

Asian regionalism in the mid-2000s is thus evolving on two planes. On the one hand, ASEAN is moving towards some institutional deepening as a means to preserve its own position. The 'strengthening of ASEAN integration through the accelerated establishment of an ASEAN Community' by 2022, which was agreed at the January 2007 summit, was explicitly intended to 'reinforce ASEAN's centrality and role as the driving force in charting the evolving regional architecture' (ASEAN 2017). On the other hand, regional agreements reflect the continuing competition between the major powers. A comprehensive economic cooperation agreement between ASEAN and China was signed in 2002, and China (with Malaysia) promoted an East Asia Summit in 2005, bringing together the APT countries and (at the insistence of Japan, Singapore, and Indonesia) Australia and New Zealand, as well as India - but not the USA. A Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between ASEAN and India was signed in 2003. Japan made a series of proposals for an East Asian Community (including Australia and New Zealand) in 2002 and, in 2006, an East Asian Free Trade Area, with an offer to provide major funding for a Comprehensive Economic Partnership in East Asia.

Eurasia and the Post-Soviet States

A complex and shifting pattern of regional agreements has resulted from the efforts of the former components of the Soviet Union to settle down in a zone of cooperation and competition between Russian, Chinese, and EU influence. The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) was created in 1991 among all of the former Soviet republics except the three Baltic states and Georgia (which then joined and then left). A CIS Customs Union was proclaimed in 1995 between Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. A Collective Security Treaty was signed in 1992. In 2002, this became

the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), comprising Russia, Belarus, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. A Central Asian Commonwealth composed of all five Central Asian republics was created in 1991. A series of formations with different memberships and names produced two bodies which merged in 2006 as the Eurasian Economic Community, bringing together Central Asian Republics (other than Turkmenistan) with Russia and Belarus. The shifting patterns of these sub-regional organizations reflect not only evolving relations between newly-independent states and Russia, the former dominant power. They must also be understood against the background of rivalries between Russia and China, as well as partially-shared concerns between those two powers as to the role of the USA (with its military presence in the context of operations in Afghanistan, and apparent aspirations to balance Russian and Chinese influence in 'Greater Central Asia').

The 'Shanghai Five' mechanism was created by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan in 1996. This was transformed in 2002 (with the participation of Uzbekistan) into the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), with Iran, Mongolia, India, and Pakistan as observers. It promotes confidence-building actions, and various forms of cooperation, including collaboration to counter terrorism, drug trafficking, money-laundering, and weapons smuggling. The Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), revived by Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey in 1985, was joined by the Central Asian republics as well as Afghanistan in 1992.

In the area of Ukraine and the Caucasus, the evolution of sub-regional agreements has had more to do with support for the consolidation of democracy, as well as management of local conflicts, in the context of a certain rivalry for influence between Russia and the European Union. The GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development was set up in 1997 as a forum for cooperation without Russia, and was consolidated with a new Charter in 2006. It brings together Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova. The Community of Democratic Choice was created in Kiev in December 2005 with the stated objective of promoting 'democracy, human rights, and the rule of law'. Its members are Georgia, Macedonia, Moldova, Ukraine, as well as five EU member states – the three Baltic states, Romania and Slovenia – with observer status for Azerbaijan, and four other EU member states (Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland) as well as the EU as such, the United States and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Finally, the 1992 Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) links Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Russia, and the Ukraine to Turkey, as well as Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro.

The Process of European Integration

The 'European idea' (broadly, the belief that, regardless of historical, cultural and language differences, Europe constitutes a single political community) was born long before 1945. Before the Reformation of the sixteenth century, common allegiances to Rome invested the Papacy with supranational authority over much of Europe. Even after the European state-system came into existence, thinkers as different as Rousseau, the socialist Saint-Simon

(1760–1825) and the nationalist Mazzini (1805–1872) championed the cause of European cooperation, and in some cases advocated the establishment of Europe-wide political institutions. However, until the second half of the twentieth century such aspirations proved to be hopelessly utopian. Since WWII, Europe has undergone a historically unprecedented process of integration, aimed, some argue, at the creation of what Winston Churchill in 1946 called a 'United States of Europe'. Indeed, it has sometimes been suggested that European integration provides a model of political organization that would eventually be accepted worldwide as the deficiencies of the nation-state become increasingly apparent.

It is clear that this process was precipitated by a set of powerful, and possibly irresistible, historical circumstances in post-1945 Europe. The most significant of these were the following:

- The need for economic reconstruction in war-torn Europe through cooperation and the creation of a larger market.
- The desire to preserve peace by permanently resolving the bitter Franco-German rivalry that caused the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871), and led to war in 1914 and 1939.
- The recognition that the 'German problem' could be tackled only by integrating Germany into a wider Europe.
- The desire to safeguard Europe from the threat of Soviet expansionism and to mark out for Europe an independent role and identity in a bipolar world order.
- The wish of the USA to establish a prosperous and united

Europe, both as a market for US goods and as a bulwark against the spread of communism.
- The widespread acceptance, especially in continental Europe, that the sovereign nation-state was the enemy of peace and prosperity.

To some extent, the drift towards European integration was fuelled by an idealist commitment to internationalism and the belief that international organizations embody a moral authority higher than that commanded by the state. This was evident in the federalist dream of an integrated Europe that was espoused by, for example, Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman (1886–1963). Early dreams of a federal Europe in which the sovereignty of the European states would be pooled came to nothing, however. Instead, a functionalist road to unity was followed. This is why the European project tended to focus on the means of promoting economic cooperation, seen by states as the least controversial but most necessary form of integration.

In Europe, regionalism after 1945 has taken the form of a gradual process of integration leading to the emergence of the European Union. It was initially a purely West European creation between the 'original Six' member states born out of the desire for reconciliation between France and Germany in a context of ambitious federalist plans. Yet the process has taken the form of a progressive construction of an international architecture, a legal framework, and a wide range of policies, which in 2007 encompassed 27 European

states.

The European Coal and Steel Company was created in 1951 (in force in 1958). These treaties involved a conferral of Community competence in various areas – the supranational management of coal and steel, the creation and regulation of an internal market, and common policies in trade, competition, agriculture, and transport. Since then, powers have been extended to include new legislative competences in some fields such as the environment. Since the 1992 Treaty on European Union (the Maastricht Treaty, in force in1993) the integration process has also involved the adoption both of stronger forms of unification, notably monetary union, as well as other forms of cooperation such as non-binding coordination in economic and employment policy, or more intergovernmental cooperation in foreign and security policy.

From very limited beginnings, both in terms of membership and in terms of scope, the EU has therefore gradually developed to become an important political and economic actor whose presence has a significant impact, both internationally and domestically. This gradual process of European integration has taken place at various levels. The first is the signature and reforms of the basic treaties. These are the result of Intergovernmental Conferences (IGCs), where representatives of national governments negotiate the legal framework within which the EU institutions operate. Such treaty changes require ratification in each country and are the 'grand bargains' in the evolution of the EU.

Within this framework, the institutions have been given considerable powers to adopt decisions and manage policies, although the dynamics of decision-making differ significantly across different arenas. There are import differences between the more integrated areas of economic regulation on the one hand, and the more 'intergovernmental' pillars of foreign policy and police or judicial cooperation in criminal matters on the other. In some areas, a country may have to accept decisions which are 'imposed' on it by the (qualified) majority of member states. In other areas, it may be able to block decision.

To understand the integration process, one needs to take account of the role played by both member states and supranational institutions. Moreover, member states are not just represented by national governments, since a host of state, non-state, and transnational actors participate in the processes of domestic preference formation or direct representation of interests in Brussels. The relative openness of the European policy process means that political groups or economic interests will try to influence EU decision-making if they feel that their position is not sufficiently represented by national governments. That is one reason why the EU is increasingly seen as a system of multi-level governance, involving a plurality of actors on different territorial levels: supranational, national, and sub-state.

The complexity of the EU institutional machinery, together with continuous change over time, has spawned a lively debate among integration theorists (Rosamond 2010; Wiener and Diez 2014; Beeson 2017). Some approaches are applications of more general theories of international relations: the literature on both Realism and interdependence has contributed to theorizing integration. Other

scholars have regarded the European Union as sui generis - in a category of its own - and therefore in need of the development of dedicated theories of integration. The most prominent among these has been neo-functionalism, which sought to explain the evolution of integration in terms of 'spillover' from one sector to another as resources and loyalties of elites were transferred to the European level. More recently, as aspects of EU politics have come to resemble the domestic politics of states, scholars have turned to approaches drawn from comparative politics.

Table 1.3 Important Agreements in the History of the European Union

Year	Treaty	Main Subjects
1951	Paris Treaty	Regulation of coal and steel production in the members states, creation of supranational institutions
1957	Rome Treaties	European Economic Community - creation of a customs union (removal of all intra-union duties and creation of a common customs tariff); plans for a common market and common policies Euratom - cooperation in atomic energy.
1986	Single European Act	Removal of all non-barriers to the movement of persons, goods, services, and capital (the '1992 programme'); foreign policy cooperation included in the treaty provisions
1992	Maastricht Treaty	Creation of the European Union, encompassing the European Community and two parallel pillars for Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and justice and home affairs; economic and monetary union (the euro)
1997 2001	Amsterdam Treaty	Various institutional reforms, High Representative for CFSP, provisions for enhanced cooperation
2004	Nice Treaty	Reform of Commission and Council (voting weights), expansion of majority voting
	Constitutional Treaty (signed but not ratified)	Simplification of the treaties, incorporation of the European Charter of Fundamental Rights, creation of the post of President of the Council and EU Foreign Minister.

Table 1.4 Institutions of the EU

EU Institution	Responsibilities	Location
European Commission	Initiating, administering, and overseeing the implementation of EU policies and legislation	Brussels and Luxembourg
European Parliament (EP)	Directly elected representatives of EU citizens, scrutinizing the operation of the other institutions, and, in certain areas, sharing with the Council the power to determine EU legislation	Strasbourg (plenary sessions); Brussels (MEP offices, committee meetings and some plenary sessions); Luxembourg (administration)
Council of Ministers	Representing the views of national governments and determining, in many areas jointly with the EP, the ultimate shape of EU legislation	Brussels (some meetings in Luxembourg)
European Council	Regular summits of the Heads of State or Government and the President of the Commission, setting the EU's broad agenda and a forum of last resort to find agreement on divisive issues (NB: different from the Council of Europe)	Brussels
European Court of Justice	The EU's highest court, supported by a Court of First Instance. Main competences include actions for annulment of Community acts, infringement procedures against member states for failing to comply with obligations and preliminary rulings on the validity or interpretation of EC law on request from national courts	Luxembourg
European Central Bank	Central bank responsible for setting the interest rates and controlling the money supply of the single European currency, the euro	Frankfurt am Main
Court of Auditors	The EU's audit office, responsible for auditing the revenues and the expenditure under the EU budget	Luxembourg

However, it has been the exchange between 'supranational' and 'intergovernmental' approaches which has had the greatest impact on the study of European integration. Supranational approaches regard the emergence of supranational institutions in Europe as a distinct feature and turn these into the main object of analysis. Here, the politics above the level of states are regarded as the most significant, and consequently the political actors and institutions at the European

level receive most attention. Intergovernmentalist approaches, on the other hand, continue to regard states as the most important aspect of the integration process and consequently concentrate on the study of politics *between and within* states. But whatever one's theoretical preferences, most scholars would agree that no analysis of the EU is complete without studying both the operation and evolution of the central institutions and the input from political actors in the member states. More recently, debate in EU studies has also centred on a wider fault-line in the social sciences: the difference between rationalist and constructivist approaches. Constructivists have challenged the implicit rationalism of much integration research until the 1990s. Their critique focused on the tendency of rationalist studies to privilege decision-making over agenda-setting, and outcomes over process. The Social Constructivist research agenda instead concentrates on the framing of issues *before* decisions about them are made, and therefore emphasizes the role of ideas, discourses, and social interaction in shaping interests (Laffan, O'Donnell and Smith 2009; Christiansen, Jorgensen, and Wiener 2011; Fawn 2019).

The prospect of an ever *wider* European Union has raised serious questions about the nature and direction of the integration process. The 2004 enlargement has generally been seen as a qualitative leap for the EU. Concerns that the enlarged Union, if not reformed substantially, would find it difficult to take decisions and maintain a reliable legal framework led to several attempts to reform the treaties. The most wide-ranging proposals, and the most significant step-change in the language of integration, came with the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe which EU Heads of State or Government signed in 2004. The very fact that the EU should discuss something referred to in the media as a 'European Constitution' is a sign of how far it has developed from its modest beginnings. However, the time may still not be right for such a

project. The Constitutional Treaty was rejected in referendums in France and the Netherlands, raising serious doubts not only about this attempt at institutional reform, but also about ambitions for a formal constitutionalization more generally. In 2007, with intergovernmental negotiations about a revised 'Reform Treaty', the EU seems likely to continue along the established path of a succession of gradual developments rather than big leaps.

Conclusion

Regionalism is a process through which geographical regions become significant political and/or economic units, serving as the basis for cooperation and, possibly, identity. Regionalism takes different forms depending on whether the primary areas for cooperation are economic, security or political. The tendency towards regional integration, and particularly European experiments with supranational cooperation, have stimulated theoretical debate about the motivations and processes through which integration and institution-building at the international level are brought about (Hix 2015; De Lombaerde 2016; Paupp 2019).

So-called 'new' regionalism is essentially economic in character, usually taking the form of the development of regional trade blocs. However, while some see these trade blocs as the building blocks of globalization, enabling states to engage more effectively with global market forces, others see them as stumbling blocks, defensive bodies designed to protect economic or social interests from wider competitive pressures.

Although forms of regionalism have emerged in Asia, Africa and the Americas, regional integration has been taken furthest in Europe, precipitated by a particular, and possibly unique, set of historical circumstances. The product of this process, the EU, is nevertheless a very difficult political organization to categorize. The EU's capacity to act within the global system as a single entity has been enhanced by attempts to develop a common foreign defence policy. Nevertheless, tensions between 'Atlanticists' and 'Europeanists', sensitivity about the implications of security regionalism for NATO and the EU's relationship with the USA, and anxieties about the erosion of state sovereignty each help to explain why progress on this issue has been slow.

After the renewed impetus that was injected into European integration in the 1980s and 1990s, concerns have emerged about the stalling of the European project. These have been associated with tensions between the goals of widening and deepening, about the EU's declining global competitiveness, and about whether or not monetary union can be made to work in the long run.

By and large, regionalism is a truly global phenomenon. It is not the case that the entire world is engulfed in a single process of globalization, or that the world is being divided along simple ideological or civilizational fault-lines. Rather, different parts of the globe are looking for different ways to accommodate themselves within the globalized world order, and regional arrangements are one important way of doing so. There is thus no paradox, and even less a contradiction, between regionalism and globalization. Instead, regionalism is one aspect of the process of globalization, and developments in one region inform and indeed feed into developments in others. Within the global trend of regionalism there are important differences in the types of organization that are being set up, ranging from rather loose and non-binding agreements to the complex institutional architecture set up by the European Union, depending on the scope and depth with which members are seeking to address issues of transnational governance. There is no single or simple path of regionalism. The ways in which different regional mechanisms develop are contingent upon a multitude of factors, both internal and external to the region. Both the driving forces for more regional integration and cooperation and the obstacles which may limit those aspirations vary across the different continents. Regionalism as a global phenomenon may be here to stay, but so are the differences between the kinds of regional arrangements that are being developed in different parts of the world.

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Mass Media and Social Responsibility Theory: Matters Arising

10

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Abstract

There is no doubting the power and unassailable functions of the media in society. To better appreciate the power and importance of the media is to imagine a world or society without them. It would seem that such a society would come to a standstill, with retrogression looming in the corner. It is also important to note that whatever power and influence the media wield or enjoy, they are granted by the society. Consequently, it is only reasonable to expect the media to responsibly execute their functions to better the lot of the society from and by which they derive their existence. This reasoning often prompts discussions in diverse quarters about the social responsibility theory (as one of the normative theories), which understandably should guide the operations of the media. This paper, in furtherance of the discussions, attempts an exploration of the actions of the media in our society in relation to the precepts of the social responsibility media theory.

Key words: Society, Media functions, Social responsibility, Corruption, Rural community

Introduction

In this modern day, the society and the media have become inseparable. None of them can exist without the other. If there is no society, there will be no media. On the other hand, if there is no media, the society will degenerate and will most probably go into extinction. So, in our world of rapid population growth and technological advancement, the media, especially the mass media,

have become a major partner in efforts of sustaining human existence.

When we talk of the mass media, we are referring to tools that enable us communicate to and with large, heterogeneous audience, who may even be in far flung places at the same time. The devices that come to mind immediately are radio, television, newspaper, Internet, magazines, etc. Some of the general functions of these mass media are surveillance of the environment, entertainment, linkages, information, education, persuasion and cultural transmission. In fact, there is hardly any meaningful thing anybody can do these days without the help of the mass media.

In Nigeria, as in many other developing countries of the world, the media is powered by the society; therefore the society expects certain obligations from them regarding building a better society. In order for the mass media to carry out its functions effectively, press freedom is essential.

Freedom of the Press

While expressing support for press freedom, Osungbohun (1995) cautions that:

> In fighting for the freedom of the press, the
> journalist must always remember that he is
> a member of a particular society with rules
> and regulations. He must operate within
> the laws of the land and must not regard the
> freedom of the press as a license to commit
> illegal acts.

The press must play according to the rules and ethics of the profession of the people that constitute it. Some of the codes of ethics to be promoted include editorial independence, accuracy and fairness, privacy, privilege/non-disclosure, decency, non-discrimination, objectivity, truthfulness, access to information and social responsibility. Negative propaganda should be eschewed in the work of the media because propaganda often connotes sinister motive in the dissemination of news. The press should be cautious of politicians, who love to have their minions within the ranks of reporters. Minion media practitioners are often used for negative propaganda, which undermines the noble talk about making the code of ethics a guiding philosophy of the media/press in its routine operations.

What Makes News Propaganda?

Osungbohun (1995) refers to the following as constituting news propaganda:

- Planting of news items
- Inflating the number of people attending an occasion while writing a newspaper caption.
- Suppressing the value of A and promoting that of B.
- Editing out a speaker when he/she makes an important statement in favor of a preferred other.
- Outright rejection of a release emanating from a political party in favor of that of a ruling party
- Blanket ban on release or stories from a particular

Social Responsibility Media Theory

The coming of the social responsibility media theory was an attempt to deal with a problem that was attributable to the libertarian theory, which leaned more towards press freedom than press responsibility; giving room to all forms of corporate and individual abuses of mass media privileges and power. Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956) submit that freedom comes with concomitant obligations and that the press which enjoys privileges in a free society should be responsible to the society for carrying out certain functions, which the press must set as the basis of its operational policy. McQuail (1987) cited in Ojobor (2002) outlines the following as the precepts on which the social responsibility media theory rests:

- Media should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society.
- Through professional standards of information, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance, these obligations can be met.
- Media should regulate itself within the framework of law and established institutions to be able to carry out its responsibilities.
- That whatever might lead to crime, violence, civil disorder or offence to minority groups should be avoided by the media.
- That the media should reflect its society's plurality, giving access to various points of view and granting all

the right to reply.
- Based on the first principle above, the society has the right to expect high standards of performance from the media. Intervention can only be justified to secure public good.
- Accountability of media professionals should be to the society, employers and the market.

The major premise of this theory, according to Anaeto, Onabanjo and Osifeso (2008), is that freedom goes with certain obligations, and the press with its privileged position should be responsible to society in carrying out its functions of mass communication. Hence, the society has the right to expect from the media high standards in the business of information dissemination; truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.

Advocates of the social responsibility media theory claim that people are truly free when the media are required to inform them properly. It is also held that since free expression is a moral right, media operators are under obligation to make sure that all significant viewpoints of the citizenry are represented by the press. Arguably, any mass medium that is worth its name should contribute to the improvement and development of society.

The social responsibility media theory has been widely recognized by media practitioners and scholars since the 1947 report of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press. The media have been widely acknowledged to have great powers, which if not wielded with a high sense of responsibility, will result in more harm

than good to society; especially if the media operate freely and unbridled. This requirement to personally take responsibility rather than be censored or gagged is incompatible with the positions and conditions described by other theories of the press such as the authoritarian media theory or the Soviet Communist theory. If the media would act conscientiously and faithfully in consonance with its guiding philosophy and ethical principles, we would be having a society with a balanced development (all other things being equal). Sadly, this is not usually the case, especially in many developing countries such as Nigeria. While commenting on the development media theory and the social responsibility media theory, Adaja (2012) notes that:

> The two theories (Development Media Theory and the Social Responsibility Media Theory) present the media institution as [being] central and germane to the existence of society. And for the institution to perform its social responsibility and developmental functions, it must be peopled by professionals who understand and can uphold the central media tenets such as impartiality, truthfulness, balanced reporting, fairness to all parties, etc.

Corruption in the Media?

In general terms, one could say that the mass media in Nigeria have been trying to carry out their functions faithfully. However, certain shortcomings have been identified to be rife as the bane of their life. The 2013 Overview of Corruption in Developing Countries by Transparency International reveals that:

> The media is often referred to as the fourth pillar in democracy. It has a key role to play in monitoring and investigating the actions of those in power and informing citizens about them. Yet the media and journalists are not immune to corruption. While there is only limited research and awareness on corruption within the media, there is a broad consensus that the development of independent, legally protected, professionally managed and economically viable news media is essential for ensuring accountable, responsible and ethical media.

The same Amnesty International's report states that media in the developing countries are often confronted by a combination of factors that create fertile grounds for corruption. Such factors include:

- Lack of training and technical skills
- Low professional standards
- Limited financial resources

- Opaque or government controlled structure
- Inadequate and undemocratic legal frameworks

The report also shows that corruption in the media manifests in various forms. There is bribery in the form of cash for news, staged or fake news, gift giving, concealed advertisement, nepotism and vested private or political interests. All these vices are likely to further undermine the role that the mass media are called to play in fighting corruption and in promoting public accountability.

Fighting Corruption in the Mass Media

Corruption in the mass media is the product of certain inadequacies in the structure and workings of the media in society. In order to fight these inadequacies and consequently eradicate the problem of corruption in the fourth estate of the realm, certain actions need to be taken. Such actions include:

- Drawing up adequate and relevant legal framework that will guide the actions and inactions of media owners, operators, practitioners and regulators;
- Recognize and act on the fact that media ownership encourages media pluralism by making provision for the existence of a variety of media outlets;
- Media professional bodies lobbying media owners to recognize the principle of editorial independence;
- Enactment of Conflict of Interest law to counter the concentration of media ownership and ensure multiple sources of information;
- Persuading the media to establish their presence in the rural

areas as a social responsibility requirement;
- Raising media ethical standards by adopting a robust ethical code that meets global standards;
- Establishing journalists' networks to facilitate the exchange of articles, contacts and resources to mentor journalists to improve their writings;
- Creating opportunity for training and fellowship programs for media practitioners;
- Ensuring that the National Mass Communication policy specifically cater to the peculiar and urgent needs of the rural majority of the Nigerian population.

A New Type of Corruption in the Mass Media?

As implied in the last recommendation above, one of the problems of media corruption lies in neglecting the needs of the rural community in favour of the urban population, which is more attractive to the media owner due to its higher commercial value as a product to prospective advertisers. These aspect of media corruption has not received adequate, if any, attention within the framework of the discourse on media corruption. In order to draw attention to this aspect of media corruption, certain clarifications have to be made for the purpose of better defining and better understanding the problem. The following clarifications are proposed:

- The use of the word "community" instead of "rural community" when referring to the rural environment should be revisited. It should be realized that communities are found

both in the rural and urban areas. Therefore the word community does not refer only to the rural but also to the urban.

- When referring to issues affecting the rural environment, it will be better to say "Rural Community", "Rural Community Radio", "Rural Community newspaper", etc, rather than just "community radio".

Further to the clarifications above, it should be realized that establishing community radio stations and community newspapers in the urban communities does not translate to solving the rural people's informational and developmental needs. Their environment, their social structure and their needs are different and require adequate consideration. A cursory look at the rural areas of Nigeria, for instance, shows that the number of real rural community newspapers and radio stations is negligible, if they exist at all. The same goes for existing newspapers in Nigeria, the majority of which hardly have any rural-oriented news and information in them. Radio stations broadcasting to rural communities are not different. One needs to visit any rural community in the country and tune to any radio station from dusk to dawn for one month and see if there will be any content about that rural community. Yet, we continue to talk about "community radio" which is not the same as "rural community radio".

The big question to the mass media and the government is: Are the rural communities not part of those to be considered within the media and social responsibility agenda?

We dare to say that there is urgent need for the media and the government to address this sad situation, more so that a higher proportion of the Nigerian population currently reside in the rural areas (World Bank, 2018). Even though the percentage of rural dwellers to the total population is declining, the actual figure has actually grown tremendously; from over 36 million in 1960 to over 96 million in 2017 (World Bank, 2018).

The big talk about the social responsibility of the media or of the press will be a farce for as long as the rural majority remain marginalized by the media.

A few Useful Suggestions

Given the current situation with media attention to the needs of the rural population in Nigeria, suffice is to say that urgent steps should be taken to correct the malady. Below are recommended steps that could reverse the trend.

- Advocacy should be launched for media and government to show 'compassion' towards the rural majority who are helpless on their own.
- Whenever discussions are on about Community Media/Radio/Newspaper in reference to rural areas, clarification should be made regarding whether or not reference is being made to Rural Community Media/Radio/Newspaper.
- More serious attention should be paid to the Rural Communities in all relevant local and national laws and documents, including our Constitution and the National

Mass Communication Policy.

In highlighting, one of the qualities of a good journalist, Osungbohun (1995) concludes that the responsibility of a reporter does not end with the writing of good stories; it extends to his level of patriotism, honesty, sense of fair play and respect for professionals ethics. This is why the current rural reportage should not be encouraged: a situation where journalists only visit the rural areas when influential politicians or officials go there for the commissioning of one white elephant project or the other; projects which do not adequately address the urgent needs of the rural people. Media owners, journalists and editors should adopt the development journalism approach to empower the rural folks. This suggestion is made in view of the outstanding attributes of development journalism which include: purposive journalism aimed at enhancing sustainable development; relevance to the needs and aspirations of local communities, pragmatism, mass-orientedness and participatory.

What Rural Community Issues Should the Media Address?

According to Anele (2012), a typical rural area in Nigeria is where the level of government presence is abysmally low; a place with epileptic or no electricity supply, which makes life difficult and unattractive to the youths. Most rural dwellers are poor and cannot afford even the cheapest power generator to illuminate their homes at night. Accessible roads and portable water supply only exist in their dreams. Because of the inadequate road network, many farmers go through hellish situations to evacuate their farm produce. These conditions often act as a catalyst to unfortunate rural-urban migration.

The deplorable situation in the rural areas is making the youths to migrate to the urban areas that are already over-populated and congested. If securing a job in the urban areas is like forcing the camel through the eye of a needle for university graduates, what chances then do illiterates and semi-illiterates coming from the rural areas have? One can almost guess that they would end up as cleaners in offices, gatemen, gardeners or, worse still, thugs in the hands of politicians and even armed robbers. The irony of the whole situation is that the unemployed graduates in the cities and towns are being told to go to the villages and engage in farming while the semi-illiterates in the rural areas are moving to the urban areas to search for non-existent Golden Fleece. The media need to educate the people about this.

There seems to be a chronic lack of interest in the lives of the rural populace by the media in Nigeria. Now, the question is: can we really say that the rural mass of the Nigerian people have access to Radio, TV and Newspaper to tell their own stories and put their complaints across to the nation, when the media actually do not care about them? The answer is in the negative. How then can there be meaningful development in the nation when the rural majority have been marginalized by the mass media who is supposed to be the voice of the voiceless?

Adesanoye (1990) quotes John Merrill as saying that communication is necessary, not only for all aspects of a person's

development but also for all aspects of a nation's development. He further avers that for whatever reason that the mass media of a nation neglects to mobilize each and every member of that nation, not just for a few privileged of its citizen towards the attainment of this upward mobility, that national media should be adjudged guilty of social irresponsibility and criminal apathy. Hence, we can say that the mass media should wake up and live up to its responsibility.

At various times, concerned eminent media scholars have asked questions to draw the attention of the media to its responsibility. Adesanoye (1990) asked whether we were having "Mass Communication" or "Mass Incommunication". Akinfeleye (2003) asked whether our press could be referred to as the Fourth Estate of the Realm or Fourth Estate of the Wreck. Opubor (2000) asked "If Community Media is the Answer, What is the Question"? Have these questions been answered adequately enough to make them irrelevant today?

Reflecting on these questions, especially relating them to the contemporary times, one can say that the questions are still hanging in the air unanswered and undressed by the media. They are even more germane today than ever before.

Recommendations

In view of the issues raised concerning the neglect of rural communities by the media in the scheme of things, it is recommended that development-focused indigenous language media should be introduced in Nigeria; especially in the rural areas.

Olukotun (2006) posits that the more enduring value of such media lies in their capacity to translate development objectives and programs into living realities. They could also facilitate the growth of democracy through their use in building civic consciousness, voter education and political socialization, more so since adequate media attention to rural communities has the potential to enhance the understanding of government policies and programmes in such communities (Mafa and Sibanda, 2015). Olukotun (2006) also notes that although community radio programmes targeted at agricultural revitalization exist, they are not adequate. He further suggests a re-orientation in community reporting, better translation practices, and better appreciation of the richness of cultural diversity and localism as tools of nation-building, development and democratization. He also recommends the establishment of publications that are managed and funded through locally generated revenue.

Conclusion

It is clear that the mass media is potentially powerful. This power, if well utilized can lead to the emergence of a transformed society, especially in the presently marginalized rural communities. However, it should be realized that the media also need the support and empowerment of the society in which they operate for a win-win result to be achieved.

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Functions of Children Satirical Songs: The Oyo-Yoruba Experience

11

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Abstract

The objectives of this study is to examine children's satirical songs as a musical phenomenon among the Oyo-Yoruba with the aim of investigating the musical practice and its lyrical content in an attempt to collect, analyse and identify the functions and forms of the musical genre in the Yoruba society. This paper, therefore, relies on sociological and functionality theories as its premises of discourse. Oral interview of children within the ethnographic scope of this study as well as bibliographic studies were exploited as data sources. Findings show that children between the ages of 8 and 13, having been implanted by the norms and traditional values of the society through oral tradition and other forms of formal moral instructions, compose these satirical songs and use them to check unruly or immoral behaviour among their peers as well as adults, regardless of status, whether an adult is present or not. These satirical songs contain words that lampoon specific deviant behaviours among children. It was also discovered that children also compose and perform satirical songs, just to mock others for self-entertainment as well as during games and sports. Musical analysis further revealed that most of the satirical songs are spoken verses in call and response form with short poetic structure. This paper concludes that, since corporal punishments both at home and schools have been discouraged as they often inflict harm on children, satirical songs have been functioning as one of the alternative methods in correcting unruly behaviours, especially among the children in the Yoruba local communities. Data have also revealed that apart from the positive functions played by the

satirical songs among children, especially in the local communities, these songs also have negative effects on children as they serve as tools for emotional bullying, eroding self-confidence, creating a sense of public rejection and other forms of psychological trauma in children..

Introduction

Among the Africans in general, music plays an exigent utilitarian role in the total life of every individual in the society from birth to adulthood. Both the children and adults are directly or indirectly involved in the creativity, production and documentation of all the musical genres which exist in the society. It is however observed that the greatest percentage of all musical practices in any African society involve adults, especially adult males. Songs composed and performed mainly by children are generally regarded as 'Children Play Song' or 'Children Rhymes'

In the traditional Yoruba society, performance of children's play and songs is usually spontaneous in groups that could be joined at will by any child without sex barrier. 'It is a practice which involves children of the same age group and living within the same cultural milieu' (Ibekwe, 2013). Children play songs include folk songs, game songs and rhymes, moonlight play songs, songs used in folklores and satirical songs. Satire is a form of literary and musical art that serves as a powerful weapon used in ridiculing the non-conformist with the norms and traditional values of the society. Any behaviour observed in an individual or group of people that do not conform with the generally accepted behavioural pattern in the society is seen as unethical or immoral.

Numerous studies have been conducted on different children play songs and rhymes without much attention being given to the satirical aspect; while some others focused on the content and socio-psychological roles and functions of different satirical songs mainly by adults as found in different festivals, rites, women group songs, popular songs and numerous poetries and chants among the Yoruba ethnic groups without probing into the problem of functionality of such songs among children in the society. In view of this gap in the literature, a study like this becomes a necessity.

The Oyo-Yoruba communities include cities like Ibadan, Oyo, Ogbomoso, Oshogbo, Iwo, Ikirun, Gbogan, Ede, Ode-Omu and others who speak the proper Yoruba language dialect that is generally accepted for writing purpose in Yoruba.

Beir and Gbadamosi (2012) in their study on the Yoruba Children's Poems observe that children to some extent separate themselves off from adults in at least rhymes and songs of their own. This is encouraged by the fact that many of them live in large family groupings, with much time spent outside their own homes. In view of their assertion, this paper is significant in that it examines and highlight the contribution and relevance of children satirical songs as one of the most effective traditional tools of sanctioning erring peers in a bid to correct and guide against unethical behaviours in

order to bring about the much needed social change or revolution; the type of revolution that Hair (1967) calls 'cultural rebirth'.

To validate the effectiveness of this genre of music in its objectives, the writer therefore based the discussion in this paper on three questions, namely:

1. Do children also directly get involved in the composition of satirical songs that form part of the musical genre in Yoruba society?
2. What are the lyrical contents of the songs and their functionalities within Yoruba societies?
3. Have children satirical songs among the Yoruba been more effective in embarrassing and correcting those who deviate from the norms, values and other codes of conducts both at home, school and society at large?

Theoretical Framework

Sociological theory as popularized by Herbert Spencer in Adejumo Arinpe (2005) suggests that norms and institutions are regarded as 'organs' that work towards the proper-functioning of the entire 'body' of society. Therefore, music is a human behaviour; that is, it is the product of people living within the society and the primary function of music is to aid in the integration of society. The functionality theory on the other hand, stressed on the role of music in promulgating positive change in the society. Among the Yoruba, the aesthetics of any music genre is predominantly rooted in the relevance and functionality of such music within the society and it

had been advanced that no music is or should be without a purpose. Therefore on this note, music is clearly indispensable to proper promulgation of the activities that constitute a society; it is a universal human behaviour— without it, it is doubtful that man could truly be called man, with all that it implies (Merriam, 1964).

Blacking (1973) called for study of music as a humanly organized sound. He argue further that 'it is the activities of man, the music maker, that are of more interest and consequence to humanity than the particular musical achievement of the western man… and that no musical style has its own term: its term are the terms of its society and culture'. This therefore implies that without human beings there would be no music, because it is man that determines what music is and what is good or bad music. Music in any society must function as part of the agents of promoting good ethics and condemn bad conducts in that society.

Children are the product of a society and as a result, they exhibit in their own capacity the ideology, expression, identity and in fact, the real image of the society and also the determinant of the future of that same society. Adejumo (2008) noted that the norms and value of any Africa or Yoruba society are transmitted and internalized into the audience or citizens through literary genres that exists society. In concordant with Adejumo, Yoruba children are institutionalized into the norms and values guiding the society through literary and musical arts that is practiced in the society.

Ajibade (2005) observe that satire serves as corrective measure for people who are in dire straits of social misbehaviour. It improves the moral standard that sustains the society. It expresses dislike for a particular deviant behaviour in a person, group of people, idea, opinion and institution. This is concomitant to Gilbert (1962: 231) who maintain that satire "wounds and destroys individuals and groups in order to benefit society as a whole" Therefore, satires used for positive purposes in order to promote the societal moral values and norms among all categories of people in the society is more acceptable than corporal punishments or violence.

Social Context, Forms and Functions of Children Satirical Songs

Before the advent of the white-man in Africa and indeed Yoruba land, the traditional societies were well organized and structured with functional institutions. Such societies could not have existed without a culture and civilization peculiar to them in terms of their value system and social norms, which guaranteed social control and at the same time expressed African world view (Ohaegbu 1993).
In the same line with Ohaegbu's assertion, Akpabot (1986) also explained that 'song of social control are usually topical and appropriate to a given community; they are either of praise or abuse designated to regulate the social order.' While Adedeji (2003) is also of the opinion that satire is not employed in bad spirit, whether to indict or ridicule somebody or an institution. 'It is rather to expose the actor(s) and the society, that that which is not ideal: for corrective and reformative purposes'

Allan Merriam (1964) further probed into the functions of music in the society and he opined that music could be used as form of social control in both the old and the young children about the social expectation and conduct in the society. He wrote thus:

> *Songs of social control plays an important part in a substantial*
> *number of cultures, both through direct warning to erring members of the society and through indirect establishment of what is considered to be proper behaviour. This is also found in songs used, for example, at the time of initiation ceremonies,*
> *when the younger members of the community are specifically instructed in proper and improper behaviour. Songs of protest*
> *call attention as well to propriety and impropriety……….. conformity to social norms is one of the major functions of enforcement music (Pg 224)*

Irrespective of sex among the Yoruba, Children within the same age group are found in different clans, compounds, streets and community school relating together in activities like children's play and songs, moonlight plays, folk stories and songs; while others includes satirical songs and rhymes that are used by the children to point out and ridicule any child who exhibits immoral or deviant behaviours in the society both domestically and publicly. This include theft, negative attitudes to health and hygiene, gossips, laziness, bad mode of dressing, truancy in schooling, foolishness,

Song No.1is a children' satirical song used in scolding and embarrass a truant child who has form the habit of refusing to go to the school; while Song No. 2 is meant for a child who bed-wets even at the age above the generally accepted baby age limit.

Satirical songs for public offences

Another form of immoral behaviours that are usually condemned and ridiculed among the children also involves those that are publicly committed among the play group on the street or at school. This includes farting among peers on the street or in the classroom, gossip, theft, truancy, disobedience, bullying, fighting laziness and bad attitudes to learning at school. Ganiyu Adeyemi (Oral interview: 2017 explained that children sing satirical songs appropriate for each offense as soon as a child commits any of them to identify and ridicule such act as being unacceptable and un-ethical in the society and school. This type of public condemnation and ridicule usually brings greater shame to the child that has committed the offence and sometimes to the parent at home. Children thereby use satirical songs as a corrective measure for the culprits of social ills and deviant behaviours among peers. The songs below are samples of satirical songs for public offences:

Song No 1:

Isansa Ma Tun De O

I sa n sa matun de o

A le ko lo ko le lo

'Isansa ma tun de o'

Yoruba	Translation.
Call: Isansa ma tun de o	*The truant has started as usual*
Response: A le e ko lo ko le lo	*We persuaded him to go to school but he refused.*

Song No 2:

Toole-toole

ALL WITH CLAP

To o -le to o -le O -lo - do'ru kon-ko b'o-mi s'e-ja l'e - nu ku-ru-ru kuru-ru o-do - ya-ra

'Toole-Toole'

Yoruba	Translation.
Toole-Toole Olodo 'ru	*Bed-wetter the midnight river-boy*
Konko b'omi s'eja l'enu	*The toad who pours water into fish's mouth*
Kururu-kururu odo yara	*The river that flows inside the house*

Satirical songs for public offences

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Song No 3:

Eni T'o So

[Composer]

E ni to so yi ko ni ku   E ni to so yi ko ni run

T'oba de le a ra mo - to   I gbe ni yio maa ya ki ri   Bom bo - ri - gi - di

Yoruba	Translation.
Eni t'o so yi ko ni ku	He that farted here will not die
Eni to so yi ko ni run	He that farted here will not decay
T'o ba de'le a ra moto	He shall buy a car when he gets home
Igbe ni yio maa ya kiri	But he shall continue to excrete faeces all about
Bombo, rigidi	Mighty ones in large quantities

Bombo, rigidi   Mighty ones in large quantities.

Song No 4.

Olodo Rabata

Call

Ol-o-do ra-ba-ta   O— ni lo pe-pa

Response

O - ju e-ja lo mo o je   Si - le-ti lo o ma

'Olodo rabata'

Yoruba	Translation.
Call: Olodo rabata	You zero-getter
Response: Oju eja lo mo o je	You are only good at eating the fish's eye
Call: O ko ni lo pepa	You won't use exercise books to write
Response: Sileeti lo o ma maa lo	You shall continue to use slate to write

Song No. 3 is a children satirical song used in scolding and embarrass any child who fart to pollute the air in public or in the classroom, thereby inconveniencing others with offensive odour; while Song No. 4 is used in condemning un-willingness to learn or bad attitude towards learning by a pupil in the school which has resulted in the child getting zero in the exercises or assignments given at school. The other pupils in school sing these songs to ridicule the child as a corrective measure for the bad attitude.

Satirical songs for self-entertainment and fun.

There are different forms of mockery songs used in the society for self-entertainment and fun. Songs in this category are either

performed without letting the person which the song is mocking aware of it; while some others are performed to let the person they are mocking aware that he is being mocked. They include songs which are used among the children in different compounds in the society, on the street, school and during games and sporting events. Children sing different songs to mock an unusual behaviour, strange or funny appearances/dressing, bad eating habits comportments, self-unconsciousness, much hated teacher and senior students in school. The songs below are examples of satirical songs for self-entertainments and fun:

Song No. 5

Adanri Kogba-kogba

'A dan'ri kogba-kogba'

Yoruba	Translation
A dan'ri kogba-kogba	A man with a skin-shaved head
Oko iya al'amala	Husband to an Amala seller

The satirical song above is sung to mock any man with shaved skinned head because of the funny appearance of the head because it resembles Amala (A food from Yam flower) as different from other children who wears different hair-styles.

Song No 6

Eni R'eri Ti Ko Mo

'Eni ru eru ti ko mo'

Yoruba	Translation
Call: Eni ru eru tiko mo	He who is unaware of the load he is carrying
Response: Iya n je e	He is really suffering
Call: O ru'gba O ru awo	He is carrying Gourds and Plates
Response: Iya n je e	He is really suffering
Call: O ru ikoko obe	He is carrying a soup pot
Response: Iya n je e	He is really suffering

The satirical song above is sung to mock and make fun of anyone who is not aware that a small piece of paper had been put on his or her head by other child while standing or sitting. When this song is heard, everyone around will quickly check his or her head to confirm the person the song is referring to.

Song No. 7 'Tisa t'o sese de'

Teacher To Sese De

Yoruba	Translation.
Tisa to sese de,	The teacher who arrived just recently
lat' Ilu Oyibo	right from oversees
O na mi ko dun mi	He flogged me but I felt no pain
Sugbon po ni s'anfani.	But it shall never be well with him.

The satirical song above is performed secretly for a wicked teacher without letting the teacher in question aware that they are referring to him. This is as a result of respect and fear for teachers by the traditional Yoruba pupils in elementary schools.

Children satirical songs that can also be found among the Yoruba children is the ones referring to a particular incidence in the society or a civil crime that is aware of by the generality of people in the society both young and old.

The song below is an example of such song;

Song No. 8 'Iyawo Dimka'

Yoruba	Translation
Iyawo Dimka	*Dimak's wife*
Kilo wa se loja?	*Why are you in the market?*
Mo wa ra ewedu ni	*I came to buy Vegetable*
Ewedu el'eelo?	*How much vegetable?*
Ewedu sisi	*Five kobo vegetable*
Tete raa, koo tete maa lo'le	*Buy it quickly and rush back home*
Won ti fe pa Dimka	*Dinka is about to be executed.*

This song was composed in 1976 among the Yoruba children as a result of the Coup led by Major Buka Suka Dimka, which resulted in the murder of the then Nigeria head of State, General Muritala Mohammed. Just for self-entertainment and fun, children could just pick on any girl and present her as 'Dimka's wife' in order to embarrass her with the song as an indirect way of condemning what Dimka did.

Satirical songs for games and sports

Generally, African children are engaged in different games and sport both at home and at school. This includes football, sprint races, high jump, long jump, rope skip and so many others. This phenomenon gives room for a winner and loser at each competition either in a real tournament or friendly situations.

Children present as spectators at each sporting or games event, sing different satirical songs to mock the loser(s) and to cheer the winner just for the fun of the game and other situations surrounding the game or sporting event in general.

Songs in this category includes:

Song No 9.

One Tororo

English	Translation
Call: *One tororo la fun won*	*We beat them with one goal to nothing*
Response: *Tororo*	*To nothing*
Call: *E lo fi j'eba n'le yin*	*Go home and feed with that*
Response: *Tororo*	*To nothing*

Among the Yoruba children, Song No. 9 above is an example of satirical song that is usually sung by spectators at a football game, either in a real competition or a friendly or casual game to mock the loser team that has been defeated by one goal to nothing. The text of this song can also be modified to two, three or four, depending on the number of goals scored by the winner. The supporters of the winning team perform this music to celebrate the success of the winning team and also to mock the losers.

Song No 10.

Oku Keeper

O - ku - Keep - er

Ton se bi O - ge - den - gbe

English	Translaion
Oku u keeper	A worthless goal-keeper
Ton se bi Ogedengbe	Who tries to imitate Ogedengbe

Or

Oku Players

O - ku - Play - ers

Ton se bi O - de - gba - mi

English	Translaion
Oku u Players	A worthless football players
Ton se bi Odegbami	who tries to imitate Odegbami

The song above is another satirical song among the Yoruba children, sung by the spectators or the supporters of the winning team mainly to mock the goal-keeper (As shown in the first example) or the players of the losing team (As shown in the second example) in a particular football match. The name Ogedengbe mention in the first example is referred to one of the best Nigerian goal-keepers Best Ogedengbe in the early 1980s and the player in second example, is Segun Odegbami who was the captain of the Nigerian football team of the same period. This song is also use in celebrating the success of the winner of the football match as well.

Performance Practice of Children Satirical Songs.

Among the Africans in general, 'Performance group are determined according to Gender, Age, Functions and occasions, professions and societies' (Ekweme 2011) The children satirical songs among the Yoruba is mainly and usually performed by the children between the ages of 8 and 14. The performance is spontaneous on situational context and it is open to all children within the age group irrespective of gender, background, religion or family status within the society. The performance requires no special training, skills or talents by any child to be part of the group. Therefore anyone could be a lead-singer depending on who first starts the song.

The usual practice of homage paying to some dignitaries present at the scene of performance as found in satirical songs by adults in Festivals like Gelede (Olusola, 1992), Ewe Suku (Ayantayo, 2005), Akiba (Agbaje, 2003) Odun Ara (Ajayi, 2012) and others; is irrelevant in this genre of music.

The other children having notice a of the deviant behaviour in another child, gathers immediately by either forming a circle round the child or stay together in one side of the scene to condemn the action of the child by singing the related satirical song to mock the child. This genre of music is usually unaccompanied with any musical instrument but few of them in some cases, are accompanied with hand-clap.

Effects of Children Satirical songs on the Society

The use of provocative words and other content of the texts which are capable of pointing out and ridicule a child who is found with generally unacceptable behaviour, dignifies the musical genre as catalyst for social control and order, even among the children in that society. Pupils and students both at home and in school are aware of and avoid these unethical behaviours in order avoid being ridiculed publicly. However, some Children satirical songs are just for fun to make embarrass an unusual appearances in someone or to ridicule losers in sport and games. Such songs could have positive and negative impact on children's emotion.

Oral interview with Abraham Adeoje and Morenike Mustapha (2017) who are teachers in public Primary schools in Oyo and Osogbo respectively revealed that, some of these satirical songs do have negative effects on children in form of emotional bullying and most especially on pupils or students with physical or health challenges which are responsible for some of their unacceptable behaviours; and this may not be known to other children. They explained further that, some of the students being ridiculed publicly

at most time resolved to avoiding coming to school or lose self-confidence.

Analysis of Musical Forms

Textual Analysis

For the purpose of this research, total of twenty-five songs was collected from children within the Oyo-Yoruba ethnography for analysis of musical data and therefore all the songs were performed in Yoruba Language is germane to the area.

 As observed by Akpabot Pg43) that song of social control with their careful worded text, often serves as a village newspaper expanding on important happenings in the daily life of the society, the Yoruba Children satirical songs contains text that are provocative and capable in affecting the victim emotionally and psychologically due to the direct use of insulting words. The text of the music contains words that ridicules and embarrasses a child before his/her peers either in school or at home aimed specifically at bringing about positive change in the behaviour of the child.

Some of the songs also contain words that are grammatical nonsense or jargons that could not be directly interpreted into English language as found in Song Nos. 2 and 9 above. These words are used by the children as extra-grammatical extemporization that makes musical sense in making fun of the child or the other party as used in sport and game events.

The poetic form of most of the songs is in short verse while very few of the song texts are in long verse with direct repetitions of the whole lyrical phrase. This is shown in Table 1. as illustrated below:

Table 1.

Total number of songs collected 25	
Poetic forms	
Long verse	06
Short verse	19

The song text of each song spell out clearly what a particular child have done bad and at times, name of the child are mentioned in the song for specification.

Melodic Analysis

The two major musical forms observed in the musical data collected were the

i. Song verse and

ii. The spoken verse form.

Majority of the twenty-five songs collected for analysis are in spoken verse form. Twenty-one of them are in spoken verse form while only four songs were in song form.

The songs in spoken verse form are directly set into the Oyo-Yoruba tonal dialect and syllabically in the same speech-rhythms; while songs in song form are found to have their melodic scale structure in the Yoruba pentatonic scale due to the tonal influence of the speech melody over the melody.

The transcription of the songs in spoken verse form in this research

paper is represented with a staff without a clef. The line 2 representing low tone, line 3 representing the mid-tone, and iine 4 representing the high tone of the Yoruba language speech melody.

Low tone   Mid-tone   High tone
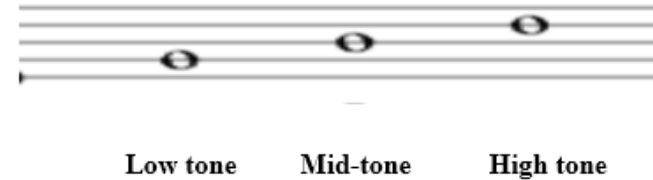
The text settings of all the songs are syllabic with undulating and limited melodic range of not more than an octave.

The structural forms of the songs are:

i. Call and Response and

ii. Monostrophic

Fifteen out of the twenty-five songs have their structures in monostrophic form while the remaining ten songs are in call and response form with direct repetitions of musical phrases.

Table 2. below, shows the tabular representation of analytical structure of forms of the musical data.

Table 2.

Total Number of songs collected 25			
Musical Forms			
Spoken verse	21	*Song Verse*	04
Structural forms			
Call and Response	10	*Monostrophic*	15

Summary and Conclusion

Since everyone, both old and young, have been integrated into the norms and values that guide social expectations, it is obvious at this point that, child's upbringing as a societal duty has not been left alone in the hands of the adults and that children also act as checks or monitors of each others' behaviours using satirical songs, which is a strong corrective weapon for checking social misbehaviour.

Apart from satirical songs performed mostly by adults in different festivals, rites or ceremonies which have been examined and highlighted by many scholars, this study found out that children also directly get involved in composition of satirical songs as a musical genre in Yoruba society, used mainly among their age groups; serving the same ultimate goal of behavioural control in the society. The use of provocative words and other content of the text, which are capable of pointing out and mocking a child who is found with generally unacceptable behaviour, dignifies the musical genre as catalyst for social control and order, even among the children in that society. However, some children satirical songs are just for fun to embarrass an unusual appearance in someone or to ridicule losers in sport and games.

The musical data analysed proved that satirical songs are performed without instrumental accompaniment due to unconventional and spontaneous nature of the performing group and performance practice. Any interested child is free to join the performance as the situation arises. Also, emphases were laid on the song text and rhythms of the music as against the melody probably due to compositional ability of the children.

In conclusion, children satirical songs have significantly been able to correct unruly behaviours especially among the children because they hate being publicly disgraced before their friends and since corporal punishments both at home and schools have been discouraged due to likely accidents and dangers it might inflict on the children, this genre remains one of the alternative measures to check unruly behaviours among children in the Yoruba society. However, data collected have also revealed that apart from the positive functions which the songs play among the children especially in the local communities, the children satirical songs also have negative effects on children in the forms of emotional bullying, loss of self-confidence, sense of public rejection and other forms of psychological trauma on the child. This applies most especially to children with physical or health challenges.

It was observed that the major threat is that this genre of music is gradually fading out as a result of children being discouraged to speak Yoruba at nursery and primary schools and at home by some parents. It is therefore recommended that, government should re-emphasise that part of the Nigerian educational policy which stipulates that an indigenous language must be taught in all schools in the country in order to preserve indigenous languages and some of these songs among children. Also, usage of these children satirical songs to check unethical behaviours in the society should be supervised and moderated by school teachers, parents and other

adults in order to avoid the misuse of such songs.

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Perception And Attitude Of Social Media Users In Nigeria To The #MeToo Campaign

12

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Abstract

MeToo Campaign has gained momentum over the years since it was founded over a decade ago. The movement, which began as a campaign against sexual harassment and assault in America, has spread to other parts of the world including Nigeria, taking on new meanings among different people and at different times. Women, who reported to have been victims of sexual abuse and assault, have come out, empowered by this movement, to share their stories. Some people however believe that #MeToo is one-sided in its approach to fighting sexual abuse. After all, an accused is adjudged innocent until proven guilty by a competent court of law. This study examines the perception of social media users of the #MeToo campaign and how this informs their attitude towards it. The survey method is adopted to study 180 social media users selected systematically from Facebook and Twitter. The findings suggest that social media users are divided along age and gender demographic lines. The female users perceive the campaign to be appropriate and legal, while the male gender sees it as a witch-hunt and so have negative attitude towards it. It is recommended that there should be a balance in the reportage of #MeToo cases to avoid defending the rights of one party while disregarding those of the other. While the freedom of expression for sexual assault victims remains sacrosanct, the right of the accused sexual molester to be treated as innocent until proved guilty by a court of law, should also be respected.

Introduction

People differ on when actually the #MeToo Campaign started. While

some trace it to Tarana Burke, an American social activist who used the phrase "Me Too" in 2006 to raise awareness about the pervasiveness of sexual abuse and assault in the society, especially against black American women, others felt the movement dates farther back than that. However, there is an agreement among many writers that the October 5, 2017 use of the hashtag #MeToo by the famous Hollywood actress, Alyssa Milano, to encourage women who are victims of sexual abuse to speak out and call out their abusers, catapulted the movement to the prominent position it occupies in the world (Jonas R.K., April, B., Claire, P. and Alexander, G., 2018). In less than twenty four hours of making that call, thousands of women heeded to her call and tweeted millions of #MeToo, thereby causing a massive awareness campaign against gender-based violence, especially of the sexual type, to be launched. This came in the wake of the high profile sexual abuse case involving Miramax founder, Harvey Weinstein, about his three decades long serial sexual harassment and abuse of women in the Hollywood film industry. About a year on, the momentum looks set to have irreversibly progressed the gender debate in Western Europe and North America, but the many issues around equality and gender-based violence in Africa remain.

#MeToo campaign on social media has generated a lot of awareness about the prevailing nature of sexual violence against women. Female celebrities and other women around the globe have come out, empowered by the movement, to share their story of sexual abuse, calling out their abuser in the process. Some of the abusers owned up to the crime, while some denied. Most of these women are not pressing charges against their abusers thereby leaving them at the mercy of public court and opinion. A recent case in Nigeria involving the wife of a popular musician (Busola Dakolo), who called out a Pastor of a highbrow church in Nigeria (Biodun Fatoyinbo) for raping her, some years ago at age 16, sparked off several protests on social media, some for the woman, and others against her. These generated a lot of discussion online that threw up several issues such as gender position on rape, rape culture and perception, age and mode of consent, freedom of expression, among others.

While #MeToo campaign is a laudable forum for the vicarious release of pent up emotions and frustrations that were the result of sexual violence and abuse, its weak areas or loopholes should not be neglected in the interest of peace, justice and equity. Williams (2015) lauded the use of feminist hashtags such as #MeToo in exposing gendered violence against women and also to encourage women who have been abused to share their experiences. However, he identified the potential dangers of using the hashtags to over-simplify complex issues or to trigger off gender wars and violence online.

The issue is that in as much as rape is a crime, wrongfully accusing someone of rape is even a worse crime. Freedom of speech is an inalienable right of every human being but at the same time should not be abused. An accused while he has a right to fair hearing, also has the right to be adjudged innocent until found guilty by a competent court of law. The question then is what are the perceptions of social media users in Nigeria about #MeToo in general, using

Busola Dakolo's case in particular? What are the reasons behind these perceptions and attitude? Are the perceptions divided across demographic lines? Is the minority being silenced or silencing others? These are the questions that fuelled this study.

Research Questions

The following questions guided the study:

1. What are the perceptions of social media users about #MeToo Campaign?

2. To what extent are gender, age and social status indicative of social media users' perception of #MeToo campaign?

3. To what extent do #MeToo campaign rhetorics uphold or undermine the principles of freedom of speech and right to fair hearing?

Literature Review

Gender Position and #MeToo Campaign

#MeToo movement is basically about women. This fact gives it the colouration of a feminist movement. Feminism is already being viewed with suspicion by the male folk, and this perception may be transferred to #MeToo. Jonas et al, (2018) found less positivity perception towards #MeToo by males than female in their study. #MeToo arose as a result of women and girls from all over the worldshunning the silence around sexual harassment and assault which empowered the proclamation, "This has happened to me too." The #MeToo movement pushes long-ignored realities to the forefront. It demonstrates that these phenomena are common and they are devastating. It exposes the ways in which people, especially men, in positions of power abuse their authority.

In many cultures of the world, women are still seen as second class citizens, who are answerable to men and must never question a man's authority. This has led to violence, abuse, deprivations and other inhuman treatments meted out on the female gender by the society, which is patriarchal in nature.

The #MeToo campaign is therefore seen as a voice to the voiceless and the vulnerable in the society – the women folk. Globally, women have long been the silent victims of violence and this campaign is a vocal response to the issues plaguing the women folk behind the doors. It looks to address the gender-based violence in communities and societies. In the same vein, figures demonstrate that, overall, women are more likely than men to think that promoting gender equality is important for them personally, for the economy and to ensure a fair democratic society (European Commission, 2018).

Rape culture and women subjugation

Rape culture is a system that perpetuates the belief that victims of rape or sexual abuse of any form have contributed to their own victimization and are responsible for what has happened to them. Rape culture encourages women to keep silent after a rape incident. A lot of the time, victims of sexual abuse/violence are unwittingly or consciously doubly-victimized by the people around them and the society at large by the kind of actions taken, verbal and nonverbal communication used at and around them. From the family setting, to the work place, to the legal system, to the school and even worship centres, there is a prevalent culture of victim blaming. Some

insensitive questions such as "why did you go to his house alone?", "what were you wearing?", "why didn't you shout?", "why didn't you report immediately if indeed you call that rape?" and the like only encourage a culture of silence among victims of sexual abuse. This only creates an enabling environment where rapists, pedophiles and other sexual predators thrive and have a field day because they know that their victims, for fear of condemnation, will unlikely speak up about their atrocities.

The Sexual Harassment and Rape Prevention Programme (SHARPP) of the University of New Hampshire actually identified other myths about sexual harassment and rape which feed from and into the rape culture (www.unh.edu/sharpp). Using information and education, they try to clear these myths with facts. Some of the myths and facts are:

Myth 1: If they didn't struggle or fight back then it wasn't sexual assault.
Fact 1: Submission does not equal consent. A lack of "no" does not mean "yes"
Myth 2: Victims provoke sexual assault by flirting, wearing sexy clothes or getting drunk
Fact 2: The belief that a victim can "provoke" a sexual assault is built on the idea that   perpetrators cannot control themselves.
Myth 3: Once consent is given to sexual contact it cannot be withdrawn.
Fact 3: Consent is not a binding contract that relinquishes all subsequent decision-making power   and gives a person complete control over another's body.
Myth 4: Men can't be raped.
Fact 4: Men can be sexually assaulted.

Freedom of Expression

Freedom of expression is an inalienable right of man, irrespective of gender, colour, age, religion and social or economic status. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, states that, "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers". A person's right is another's duty and vice versa. Freedom comes with responsibilities and these responsibilities are to ensure that the freedom is not abused. That is the reason why libel and slander are serious offences in law.

The Libertarian Media Theory (Free Press) which is one of the four theories of the press prescribes that "an individual should be free to publish what he or she likes and to hold and express opinions freely" (Folarin, 1998:26). This is with the assumption that such an individual is a rational being, able to distinguish between truth and falsehood. The Social Responsibility Media Theory, which is like an expansion of the Libertarian Media Theory, actually captures the limits and boundaries that define free speech or freedom of expression. First, the speech or the media must not invade private rights or disrupt vital social structures or interests. It also suggests that constraints on the press (and individuals) to be socially responsible in their publications and speeches come from community opinion, consumer protest and professional ethics (that is in the case of media practitioners/media organisations and their professional bodies) for regulations. The question is who determines community opinion and what happens in a situation where the individual who engages in a socially irresponsible media publication

or broadcast has majority or perceived majority of the community endorsing the action?

Social media and the freedom of expression

Social media has changed the communication landscape in almost all areas of life. It is a type of online media that expedites conversation as opposed to the traditional media. It allows the users to participate in the creation and development of the media content unlike the traditional media. Its participatory nature and opportunity for immediate feedback endears it to various categories of people who use it for various purposes. Studies have reported that young people use the social media more than the older generation because of their technological savviness, fun-seeking and adventurous nature (Chou, WS, Hunt, YM, Beckjord, EB, Moser, RP and Hesse BW, 2009).

Social media has become an extension of our lives. People are leveraging on the vast opportunities available on the various social media platforms to do a lot of things ranging from sourcing for news, connecting with people across the globe, sharing of information and personal experiences, product marketing and purchase, emotional healing, identification with similar others, etc. Some of the popular social media applications include Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp and Instagram. There are about 4.028 billion internet users and 3.196 billion active social media representing 53% and 42% of the world population, respectively (Compagny, 2018). There are many disadvantages or dangers associated with the social media such as cyber bullying, identity theft and fraud of all kinds. Despite these disadvantages, the social media is still a remarkable tool to connect,

influence and unite people despite territorial limitations. It can also be used to champion a cause and motivate people towards action for a desired change as was seen in the Arab Spring revolution and #MeToo campaign.

One major thing that endears the social media to its users is the freedom it grants to all, irrespective of status, to write or say anything with little or no censorship. All one needs most times to engage in social media activities or discourse is an internet enabled device such as phones and tablets, good internet network and a stable source of power. However, this freedom of speech and expression does not confer on the users the right to speak or publish without responsibility. There are laws and legislations regulating online activities of citizens so as to avoid misuse and abuse. Despite all this, the social media is still open to misuse as have been seen in various cybercrimes, murders and assault (e.g. threats to all girls rock band of J&K). This gave the State the needed push and drive to regulate online content in the interests of the public at large, the necessity of which cannot be denied.

As long as the interests of people are taken care of, there should be no objection to government regulation but the problem arises when, in the name of regulation, it starts censoring i.e. encroaching upon the civil rights of the people to freedom of speech and expression.

Social and cultural implications of #MeToo campaign

The #MeToo movement has unequivocally raised an otherwise ignored issue to the level of public discourse. Prior to #MeToo, cases of sexual abuse of women were treated in secrecy and hurriedly

dispensed with to avoid social and cultural stigma that go with such cases (Jonas et al, 2018). Assaults on women were commonplace but were kept silent. No one wants to be associated with a rape victim because of the stigma. Families and loved ones of a victim would rather work towards ensuring that the matter does not get to the public domain than ensuring that the perpetrator of the act is apprehended, tried and punished for the crime. Now, these cases are not only being made public but are also heavily challenged (Bhattacharyya, 2018). A typical example is the trial and conviction of Bill Cosby, a popular American comedian and actor.

There is an upsurge in solidarity amongst women from all parts of the world as a result of the emergence of a major shift in attitudes. Many believe that the rape culture has been dealt a fatal blow. This is a culture that condemns and accuses the victim of sexual abuse of being responsible for what happened to her and exonerates her abuser. It is largely responsible for the loud silence that characterizes cases of sexual abuse and violence.

In addition, #MeToo movement has proven exceptionally inclusive by rallying women from all walks of life against a common scourge using the social media as a platform of expression which is accessible to everyone regardless of one's socio-economic background. According to the founder of the movement, Tarana Burke, the aim was "the empowerment (of women) through empathy by showing the world just how common sexual harassment is and by telling survivors that they are not alone and are supported". While celebrities used their fame to propel the #MeToo into the spotlight, it has subsequently empowered women from all countries,

ages, sectors and social groups who have followed suit in seeking to tackle the issue of violence against women irrespective of the race or religion of the victim. This sense of universal sisterhood has been a vital element in exposing the huge scope of the problem of sexual harassment and assault. In a short span of time, women's rights issues and gender equality issues have aroused a rapidly growing interest in public debate (Thissen 2018).

More than one in three women in Africa report having experienced physical or sexual violence at the hands of a partner or non-partner. In fact, as research has shown, gender-based violence cuts across all demographics regardless of income – meaning economic or political empowerment may not necessarily translate to a change in attitudes. The rest of the world pays testament to this fact as Agnes Odhiambo, Senior Researcher, Women's Rights Division at Human Rights Watch, explains the disconnect between the public and private spheres. She says:I think there has been a lot of talk in recent years about women's economic empowerment; [about] making sure that women get into the job market and women get into politics. But the reality on the ground is very different. You cannot mix the experiences of women in their homes and in their communities and expect them to change following a change for women in the workplace. It doesn't trickle down.

Changing the base influences which lead men and women alike to normalise gender-based violence is therefore key to making headway. For this to happen, a change in attitude and culture is needed. Perhaps the best way this can be achieved is through grassroots movements such as the #MeToo campaign.

Theoretical Underpinning

This study is anchored on Noelle-Neuman's (1974) Spiral of Silence theory, which explains why out of fear of isolation, neglect or other unpalatable outcomes, individuals choose to remain silent rather than publicly express their views on an issue if they perceive their opinion to be unpopular or in the minority. Spiral of silence has been valuable as a theory in explaining the tendency for people to keep silent - especially in issues of public opinion - not letting their opinion known if such opinion goes against that which is widely held by the society. Proponents of a minority opinion often remain in the background, while those who hold the majority view remain very vocal. The mass media is very instrumental in helping to maintain this sort of status quo. The more the popular opinion is vocalized, the more the attention given to it by the mass media, and the more relegated is the minority opinion. As the highly vocalized opinion continues to spread, the more afraid individuals with the minority opinion become as they see themselves as potential victims of social isolation. If this continues for a significant period of time the majority held opinion will become the social norm. Since no one is publicly speaking against it, it will be perceived as socially accepted while the minority opinion falls deeper into oblivion.

The #MeToo campaign to a large extent has unfolded like the spiral of silence. At the initial stage, when opinions and public attitude on the issue of sexual harassment (usually of females by males) was static, people paid little or no attention to women who claim that males who wielded some authority or power over them in the past had actually sexually abused them. However, as such opinion gained more public attention, individuals who had experienced sexual abuse felt more confident to go public on the matter, as they no longer see themselves as a minority. Obviously, individuals who started coming out with their own #MeToo stories had at a time remained silent, waiting for a time when expressing their opinion will not earn them social isolation. Such individuals had perceived a change in public opinion and had seized the opportunity.

Meanwhile, those who believe that victims of sexual abuse or harassment who fail to report it immediately but wait till a later date have no case, may now be going to the end of the spiral while the top or wider section of the spiral is occupied by supporters of the #MeToo campaign. Those who are against #MeToo will be perceived as unpopular with more publicly shared #MeToo stories receiving public sympathy and gaining wide coverage by the mass media. This is more likely to be the case as the conversation continues to take place more on social media. With lesser fear of isolation as a result of the anonymity provided by the social media, individuals are more likely to express themselves more openly and voice opinions on controversial issues more confidently.

Methodology

A qualitative content analysis of #MeToo posts and comments on the walls of Facebook celebrities was done. Four Facebook influencers (two males and two females) were selected purposively based on frequency of their posts and the huge followership they command. They are Julesville Omalicha, Nkechi Bianze, Ellah Umeh-Ezeadilieje, Charles Uzor and Victor Ibeh.

Findings And Discussion

Research Question One: What are the perceptions of social media users about #MeToo Campaign?

Preliminary findings reveal varying perceptions about #MeToo campaign among social media users. Some are negative, while some are positive. There are also others that are neutral. Positive perceptions are in the majority across the four pages visited on Facebook and they are mostly from women. A primary indicator of this group of supporters is self-experience of sexual abuse. Most of them are either victims of sexual or attempted sexual abuse or have significant others who are victims. Identifying with similar others is a psychological reaction that is done sometimes unconsciously and passionately. One major problem with this kind of identification is that it has the power to becloud one's sense of judgement and may lead to subjective and wrong conclusions.

Ella Umeh-Ezeadilieje is female Facebook influencer. Her post in response to #MeToo campaign, in the wake of the rape revelation by Busola Dakolo, was a chronicle of her terrible childhood experiences of sexual abuse by men, who were close to her and family at that time. Ella Umeh-Ezeadilieje's post gathered over two thousand comments. Most of the comments were personal experiences of her female followers narrating their ordeals in the hands of men while growing up and some also in their adult life. Most of the comments were from women supporting and commending one another, especially Busola Dakolo for breaking the silence. Most of the few comments from men are impersonal. They,

on one hand, condemn violence or sexual abuse against women but remain silent over Busola Dakolo's revelation and accusation of rape against Pastor Biodun, neither supporting nor condemning. When one of the followers, a woman, called the men out for keeping quiet over Busola's case, one of the men said, "I was not there so you don't expect me to conclude based on one person's report. We need to hear from Pastor Biodun (the alleged abuser who assaulted Busola)". At this, scores of women descended on the man calling him unprintable names and demanding to know whether he would say the same if it were to be his sister or daughter.

Similar trend is seen in the series of posts by another female Facebook influencer, Nkechi Bianze. Most of her posts are in support of the women who have decided to break the silence and speak out about being raped and calling out their rapists. For her, "a male rapist (the accused) stands guilty until proven otherwise". The tone of her posts and comments suggest that no woman would dare call out a man who has done no harm to her. She consistently refers to the accusations and revelations made by the female victims as "their truths". Opposing voices/comments were shouted down by her army of Facebook warriors (ardent followers) or outrightly blocked by her.

Charles Uzor, in many of his posts, strikes a balance, standing for neither of the genders in the matter. One thing that sets his post apart from the other three is his call for evidence whenever rape case is reported. He believes that it will be wrong to condemn, vilify and brand a man rapist just by the fact that the accuser calls him out on social media. The accused should be giving a fair hearing accused

and the accuser should prove beyond every reasonable doubt that she was actually raped. Charles Uzor is a medical doctor and may have been informed to take that stance from his experiences as a health care practitioner.

Victor Ibeh, another male Facebook Influencer, holds similar view with female influencers. He goes further by giving the alleged male rapists derogatory names such as "he-goat", "sex-terrorists", "invaders" and the likes. This earns him the admiration and love of his followers, who are mostly women.

Research Question Two: To what extent are gender, age and social and marital status indicative of social media users' perception of #MeToo campaign?

From the findings to research question one, it is obvious that among the womenfolk, especially those that have similar experiences, any man accused of rape is guilty until proven otherwise and any supporter of such a man is a rape apologist. This is true of the four Facebook pages analysed. The two women influencers – Ella Umeh-Ezeadilieje and Nkechi Bianze – are both in support of the #MeToo campaign. Most of the commenters on their posts, who favour #Metoo campaign, are also women. On the other hand, the men influencers – Charles Uzor and Victor Ibeh are divided on their perceptions about the #MeToo campaign. While Victor aligns with the women-folk completely, Charles stays in the middle, speaking out about what he perceives as the dangers of #MeToo such as "wrongful/vengeful accusation to damage one's reputation", "clout chasers for publicity", "blackmailers and gold-diggers for money",

etc. He, however, still maintains that he is against rape or any form of sexual violence.

The same perception cuts across different age group and social class and marital status of the Facebook Influencers used for this study. Age, social class and marital status are not determinants of the social media users' (especially those following the four Facebook Influencers) perceptions about #MeToo. The common denominator among the users are gender (female), having a female significant other and having been a victim of rape or sexual molestation (experiential knowledge). For the Influencers, Ella (female) and Charles (male) are married, while Nkechi (female) and Victor (male) are not. They are all within and above the middle-class group in the society.

Research Question Three: To what extent do #MeToo campaign rhetoric uphold or undermine the principles of freedom of speech and right to fair hearing?

The constant or recurring theme in many of the posts analysed is the sacrosanct nature of an alleged female rape victim's statements. Everybody refers to it as "the truth", "her truth" and nobody is permitted to question or doubt it. If you do, you are bullied or vilified into silence. Nobody is permitted to pay attention to whatever the accused (the alleged rapist) wants to say in self-defense as he is deemed guilty on arrival. This, of course is dangerous and injurious to the principles of fair hearing, justice and equity. What happens to fair hearing? Some instances in history have shown the danger in wrongful accusation without giving the accused the freedom to

express themselves and either accept or deny the allegation in a court of law. An example is the popular case of Emmet Till, who was accused by a white lady, Carolyn Bryant Donham, of sexually harassing her in a Mississippi grocery store in 1955 (Noel Mack and Bryan, 2018). Carolyn Bryant's outraged husband Roy Bryant and his half-brother J.W. Milam killed Till in a most gruesome manner. Fifty five years later, in 2007, Carolyn Bryant admitted that 14 year old Emmet Till did not in fact sexually harass nor accost her. She made a comment exonerating the man from any wrong doing stating that he never did what she said he did fifty something years ago. Considering the fact that the young man was killed unjustly, his name and family publicly shamed with possible isolations and discrimination in all aspects of life, where is justice in this kind of case?

Another interesting finding of the study is the culture of silence it is breeding among non-supporters of #MeToo. For fear of being mobbed or bullied online, non-supporters of #MeToo keep their opinions to themselves. Elisabeth Noeman's theory explains that individuals who hold minority opinions choose to keep silent rather than publicly express them for fear of public condemnation or social alienation. The prevalent rape culture and women subjugation in the society have made women vulnerable to public condemnation, victim shaming and alienation, thus leading to many victims remaining silent about their abuse. Supporting #MeToo campaign and standing up for rape victims are fast becoming popular opinions as against the shaming or silencing of rape victims. Women are the minority voices when it comes to sexual abuse, while their abusers

have the strongest voice backed by societal norms and structures. With the #MeToo, the tide has changed. Women now have a voice and can speak clearly without fear of being shamed. It is the erstwhile loud voices that are now going down for fear of the wrath of the minority. Rather than speak against #MeToo, men all over the world are instead taking measures to ensure that #MeToo does not catch up with them. There are agitations today to ensure that women are not employed as Personal Assistants or Secretaries to CEOs. Other rules of engaging the female folks in social gatherings and other private spaces are also emerging.

Conclusion

It is obvious that with the ongoing campaign, women will no longer keep silent over sexual abuse. However for them to move beyond shaming their abusers to getting justice and finally putting an end to sexual abuse against women, they need to get the trust, support and goodwill of the men. Demonisation of the menfolk via campaigns such as #MeToo does nothing to progress the cause of the mission. Ending gender-based violence cannot be accomplished without respect for the freedom and rights of all human beings irrespective of gender.

Recommendations

➢ Media trial of alleged sexual abusers should be stopped because it contradicts their constitutional rights and may be termed libel and slander in law suits with grave consequences for the accusers if not proven before a court of law.

- ➤ #MeToo movement should move beyond the realm of calling out sexual abusers on social media, which is tantamount to media trial, to prosecuting them in court of law.

- ➤ #MeToo movement should put some measures in place to investigate all cases that come their way to avoid destroying the reputation of an innocent individual

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Christian Association of Nigeria and its Fight Against Corruption In Nigeria

13

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Abstract

The Christian Association of Nigeria as an ecumenical body coordinates and directs the activities of Christians in Nigeria by serving as the mouthpiece for Christians on national issues. This ecumenical body is expected to observe Christian principles in its actions and deeds. Corruption is known as a serious hindrance to development, most especially in Nigeria as many people in positions of authority - both secular and religious - have taken advantage of their positions for selfish, personal gains. This paper examines what CAN stands for and highlights its activities as a church denomination/bloc grouping. This paper also brings to focus what should be the expected role of CAN in the fight against corruption in Nigeria as Christians in the country expect it to be their voice in matters affecting Christendom. Many of the leaders are alleged to have been carpeted by corrupt politicians and therefore are not condemning acts of corruption like done in the days of old prophets like Samuel, Nathan, Amos and Hosea. Many of the Christian leaders also try to get to leadership positions in CAN by all means not because of passion to serve but as a means of gaining recognition and affluence. To clean up Nigeria, we need good Christian leaders with clean track record who will be like Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Elijah, Elisha, Nathan, etc.; who will not for the sake of wealth and affluence keep silent. This paper adopted both quantitative and qualitative as well as historical methods of analysis. The paper, while agreeing that Church leaders at the national, state and local levels may be accused of corruption, posits that CAN as a body is seen as fighting corruption through thick and thin. The paper recommends that Christian leaders should stand for Christian virtues and shun greed and avarice so that politicians will not be pointing accusing fingers at them.

Key-words: Christian Association of Nigeria, Fight, Corruption

Introduction

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) is an umbrella organization containing numerous Christian denominations in

Nigeria. It is a peculiar organization that is expected to speak on behalf of the Christians on matters of concern in the country, especially as it touches religion and (or) religious activities as well as national matters. This paper intends to highlight the role of CAN as a religious organization in the fight against corruption – corruption, that systemic evil which is responsible in large measure for the broken promises, the dashed hopes and the shallow dreams that has characterized the existence of the multitude of Nigerians for such a long period of time.

Corruption, however, has been a major concern and cause of backwardness in this country Nigeria and Christian Association of Nigeria cannot distance themselves from this fact as CAN is expected to be at the forefront of the fight against corruption in this country. Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) on a number of times spoke against corruption in the country while it has also been linked with corruption as there was a rumour making rounds that CAN leaders were bribed to the tune of 7 billion naira during the time of President Goodluck Jonathan's bid for re-election as president in 2015. The CAN president at that time, Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor was at the centre of the attack from well meaning Nigerians to either deny or confirm. This paper examines the position of CAN in the fight against corruption. The questions are: "what exactly is the position of CAN in the fight against corruption? What are the identified hindrances to fighting corruption within the ranks and files of CAN?"

Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN)

CAN is an association of Christian Churches with distinct identities, recognizable Church structures and system of worship of one God in the Trinity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The Association makes Christ the centre of its entire works and promote the glory of God, by encouraging the growth and unity of the Churches and helping them to lead the nation and her people to partake of Christ's Salvation and all its fruits.[1]

Its formation

Prior to the formation of the Christian Association of Nigeria, Protestants and Roman Catholics were not on good terms most especially in the South-Eastern part of Nigeria. While this tension was on, a number of events were unfolding within and outside the country which helped in preparing the minds of both the Catholics and Protestants to accept having a Christian association when providence thrust the idea on them. This served as a basis for unity but the Catholics insisted on their own supremacy over any other denomination in Nigeria. There were various versions as to the formation of this body which people believed was politically motivated.

One version says that the formation of CAN was premised on two

incidents that happened at different times which challenged Christian leaders to come together as a body to forget their individualistic tendencies. The first episode was the Sardauna of Sokoto phenomenon and Islamic Oligarchy in the North which led to Melbourde committee of enquiry.[2] The second version says complaints and voices were coming from churches, Christian organizations, individual Christians, and other religious bodies, in response to government policies and activities. The government treated the church as a divided house. The incident that became the immediate cause of the formation of the Christian Association of Nigeria was the experience of Christian leaders in a meeting summoned by the then Chief of Staff, Brigadier General Musa Yar'adua in Lagos on August 27, 1976 during the regime of General Olusegun Obasanjo as Head of State. Thirty-three Church leaders attended the meeting from thirteen denominations. The denominations represented according to Enwerem include Roman Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, the Salvation Army, the Lutheran Church of Christ in Nigeria, the Apostolic Church, United African Methodists, the Evangelical Churches of West Africa, the Church of Christ in Nigeria and TEKAN churches[3].

The Chief of Staff read his address which touched on many vital religious and political issues. The main issue seemed to be the new national pledge. The government wanted to know the view of the Church on the pledge designed to be recited in schools with the aim of instilling religious and political values in the Nigerian Youth[4]. The meeting lasted for about forty minutes and was declared closed after the Chief of Staff's address. One of the Christian leaders suggested that the meeting be closed with prayer; but the Chief of Staff told him that there were many Christian denominations represented and so he did not know which one to ask to pray. Then, another Christian leader told him that he could ask anyone to pray, which he did. This incident made Christian leaders to realize how the Muslims and the government perceived them. It also made them to think on the effect of this on the Christians in the country. The Christian leaders, therefore, decided to see that something was done urgently to reverse the ugly perception. When the Christian leaders went to the Catholic Secretariat to discuss the issues raised by the Chief of Staff, the issue of Christian unity became prominent. During this meeting, a member asked, "See what has happened, why don't we have unity as the Muslims have? Why don't we have a united forum? Aren't we

united?" This led to the decision of the Christian leaders to form a national Christian body without much argument[5].

To finalize and come up with the exact name of the association, another meeting was held on 7th & 8th September, 1976. This meeting discussed mainly the issue of the name, Constitution and election of pioneer officials of the association. A sub-committee was set up to come up with a name. Many names were presented for consideration. The committee presented two names to the general meeting – the Christian Association of Nigeria and Inter-denominational Christian Association of Nigeria. At the end, the name Christian Association of Nigeria was adopted. The founders of CAN made it clear that the association should never become a church.[6]

The meeting also adopted a provisional constitution and elected officers. Positions were shared among churches or church groups. The first President was His Eminence, Dominic Cardinal Ekandem, while Rev. Habila Aleyideno was the Vice-President. The General Secretary was Rev. Dr. Joseph Adegbite and J.N. Ogbonna was elected Treasurer. CAN was officially inaugurated in 1977.[7] That mustard seed planted on that eventful day has now grown to cover all the nooks and crannies of Nigeria with the Head Office at the National Christian Centre Abuja. CAN was registered under the perpetual succession Act Cap 98 of Federal Republic of Nigeria now Corporate Affairs Commission in Lagos on 19 December 1986 with Rev. Fr. Anthony Okogie, Pastor I.G. Sakpo, Charles Williams, Rev. Msgr. John Ogbonna and Clifford Mobolaji Smith as the Trustees.

The first constitution was signed on 20th April 1977, with the founding fathers as follows:

Catholic (CSN): represented by:

His Eminence Cardinal Ekandem (late) who was the first President of CAN   1976 – 1986, His Grace Archbishop Francis Arinze, His Grace Cardinal Anthony Okogie – Second President 1988 – 1995, Rt. Rev. John A. Ogbonna

Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN): represented by:

Rt. Rev. Festus O. Segun, Rt. Rev. Rogers O. Uwadi, Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Adegbite – first Gen. Secretary CAN 1976 – 1988, Mr. Charles O. Williams – Second Gen. Sec. CAN 1988 – 2002

Others were represented by:

Pastor I. G. Sakpo (The Apostolic Church), Rev. E.A. Atilade

(Gospel Baptist Church)

The Constitution of CAN as amended in 2004 recognizes five blocs or Church groupings as follows:

- ➢ Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria (CSN) which gives a separate bloc to the Roman Catholic Church

- ➢ Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN) which comprises of the following denominations: Church of Nigeria (Anglican Communion), Methodist Church, Baptist Church, African Church, Presbyterian Church, Salvation Army Church and Church of the Lord Aladura

- ➢ Christian Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria/Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (CPFN/PFN) comprising of the following as CPFN - Christ Apostolic Church, The Apostolic Church, Apostolic Faith, Gospel Apostolic Church, Foursquare Gospel Church, Assemblies of God Church while the following as PFN – RCCG, Deeper Life Bible Church, Mountain of Fire and Miracles, Living Faith Church a.k.a. Winners Chapel, Sword of the Spirit Ministry, Rhema Chapel etc.

- ➢ Organisation of African Instituted Churches popularly referred to as White garment Churches comprising of the Celestial Church of Christ and Cherubim and Seraphim Churches of more than 52 Conferences.

- ➢ TEKAN/ECWA comprising of denominations like Evangelical Church of West Africa, Church of Christ Kingdom in Nigeria COKIN etc.

The list of past Presidents from 1988 to 2018 is as follows:

Anthony Cardinal Okogie -   November 1988 – November 1995 from the Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria bloc (CSN)

His Eminence Dr. Sunday Mbang -   November 1995 – November 2003 from the Christian Council of Nigeria bloc (CCN)

Most Rev. Dr. Peter J. Akinola – November 2003 – June 2007 from Christian Council of Nigeria bloc (CCN), in whose tenure the National Christian Centre was completed and dedicated

Archbishop John Onaiyekan June 2007 – July 2010 from Catholic Secretariat of Nigeria bloc (CSN)

Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor July 2010 – July 2016 from Christian

Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria/Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria bloc (CPFN/PFN)

The incumbent is Rev. Dr. Supo Ayokunle July 2016 till 2018 from Christian Council of Nigeria bloc (CCN)

Corruption in Nigeria
What is Corruption?

Corruption as a social problem interests many scholars and others assert that corruption in Africa is a problem of routine deviation from established standards and norms by public officials and parties with whom they interact[8]. He also identified the types of corruption in Africa as bribery[9], private gain, and other benefits to non-existent workers and pensioners (called ghost workers). The dishonest and illegal behaviour exhibited, especially by people in authority for their personal gain, is corruption. According to the ICPC Act (section 2), corruption includes vices like bribery, fraud, and other related offences. Corruption is the abuse or misuse of power or position of trust for personal or group benefit (monetary or otherwise)[10].

Corruption is a symptom of numerous difficulties within contemporary societies. It usually involves more than one party. It takes a form of an organized crime. At times, an organization can be established on corruption to beget corruption. According to the perception index of Transparency International, Nigeria was ranked 144th out of the 146 countries, beating Bangladesh and Haiti to last position[11]. An analysis of the anti-graft/anti-corruption laws in Nigeria shows that corruption will continue in spite of the laws because the perpetrators do not fear any consequences. It is now dawning on the Nigerian public that the so-called private enterprise and legislators are free from scrutiny, and governors claim to be immune. Corruption is found in the award of contracts, promotion of staff, dispensation of justice, and misuse of public offices, positions, and privileges, embezzlement of public funds, public books, publications, documents, valuable security, and accounts. Corruption can be systematic in nature and affect the whole life of an organization, society, town and nation.

Clarke outlined the doctrine of the separation of powers, indicating the danger of oppressive and arbitrary rule when single person or institution exercises functions of government[12]. The growing corruption in Nigeria can be traced to people holding power at the Federal, State, and Local Government levels. Corruption does not involve just people in government, but also to people in both private and public positions and even traditional rulers.

Because of the high rate of corruption in Nigeria, President Olusegun Obasanjo presented a bill to the national assembly on "the prohibition and punishment of bribery, corruption, and other related offences bill of 1999". Obasanjo's regime certainly fired the most critical shot at corruption in Nigeria in recent times. At the federal

level, it cannot be business as usual in Nigeria. Corruption has also spread to both the state and local government levels, as well as some decentralized centres of power and authority[13]. At present, Mohammed Buhari is waging a war on corruption starting with the politicians and, lately, on Judges. Within the educational sector in Nigeria, especially from secondary to university levels, corruption is very pervasive, and most of which is not in the public eye. [14] Corruption in education includes:

Corrupt practices by parents of Students

Parents are known to have used unorthodox means to influence their children's or wards' admission to federal government secondary schools, commonly referred to as unity schools. A high JAMB score is critical for admission into the universities in Nigeria, and this has led to cheating by some students and parents[15]. There are expensive coaching centers that charge exorbitant fees to guarantee a minimum score of 300 in the JAMB score, which is being orchestrated by coaching centres through aiding and abetting cheating in the JAMB examination with the connivance of JAMB officials.

Corrupt practices by some unscrupulous lecturers

Within the University system, some students resort to "sorting" (finding ways of purchasing of high and unmerited marks from a lecturer in order to enhance the grade in their final examination.) Such students will then say they have gone into the university and having what they did not work for. There have been allegations of harassment of some female students by some unscrupulous lecturers that seduce them before they can pass their course(s).

Corrupt practices in other sectors

It has been alleged that some unscrupulous officers give firearms to criminals who use them to harass the public and engage in highway robberies. The police are also alleged to be collecting an unauthorized fee before granting bail to anyone who is arrested. Some police in traffic control collect a graduated illegal charge on all operators of inter- and intra-city. Some tax officials are alleged to be using two types of receipts to collect revenue. One receipt is the original, and hence genuine, while the second is usually a fake one for the collectors' private use, thus depriving government of its legitimate revenue.[16]

Causes of Corruption in Nigeria

With unchecked, unbridled, and uncontrolled power, humans become corrupt. According to Thomas Hobbes, "life becomes

solitary, nasty, brutish, and short"[17]. Scholars like Khan[18] and Otite Onigu[19] have identified our previous heritage that has altered our values and perception of morality. Some of the causes of corruption are as follows:

- Trade Restriction: This is Government-induced source of rent a seeking/corruption. The restrictions on importation of foreign automobiles are examples of how government officials and politicians can make quick money via rent seeking/corruption.

- Government subsidies: When government allocates scarce recourses to individuals and firms using legal criteria other than the ability or willingness to pay, corruption is likely to be the result. Corruption can thrive under industrial policies that allow poorly-targeted subsidies to be appropriated by firms for which they are not intended.

- Price control: The purpose is to lower the price of some goods below market value. For social and political reason, these are also a source of corruption.

- Low wages in civil service: When public wages are low, public servants may be compelled to use their official

positions to collect bribes as a way of making ends meet, particularly when the chances of being caught are low.

- Sociological factors: Multi-ethnic societies may be more likely to fall prey to corruption as a result of failure to manage ethnic conflict in a way that is fair to everyone[20].

Role of Law Enforcement Agents in combating Corruption

Before President Olusegun Obasanjo's regime, the police and some related agencies were the only ones fighting corruption. When Obasanjo became President in 1999, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences (ICPC) were put in place, they have dealt seriously with the pandemic situation. The EFCC and ICPC have a number of roles in fighting corruption in Nigeria. The ICPC is not subject to the direction or control of any person or authority. The EFCC collaborates with international and local agencies. The men of the DSS are also being used alongside the EFCC and ICPC in prosecuting corruption in Nigeria.

Effects of Corruption on Nation Building

Many have noted the effects of corruption on nation-building.

Development scholars observe this effect. Corruption has an adverse effect on social and economic development and also in building a nation. The effects include:

- Diversion of development resources for private gain

- Loss of tax revenue

- Negative impact on quality of infrastructure and public services

- Slow economic growth.

Allegations of Corruption within CAN

At a point in time, there was this caption in one of the nation's dailies "N7bn Bribe to Christian Association of Nigeria: DSS after My Life, Says Borno Pastor Who exposed Oritsejafor"

The Borno State-based pastor, Kallamu Musa-Dikwa, who accused the Christian Association of Nigeria of collecting N7bn from President Goodluck Jonathan to campaign against the APC Presidential candidate, Maj-Gen. Muhammadu Buhari (rtd.), has raised the alarm that operatives of the Directorate of State Services are after his life[21].

While maintaining that the Christian body collected the said amount, Dikwa said the DSS operatives had forced him to sign a document, which they plan to "show the entire world that President (Jonathan) did not bribe CAN to work against the Presidential candidate of the APC." The cleric said the DSS planned to use the 'document', which

he signed under duress in some national dailies, to portray him as telling lies against the body of Christ. "They forced me to sign and promised to link me up with the CAN President, Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor, for us to 'settle', he said. He added that some Christian leaders, especially, the Abuja CAN Chairman, had pleaded with him to recant, by saying the Christian body never collected the said amount. The cleric in Kaduna on Thursday told a news conference that after the Directorate of State Services had treated him like a "common criminal," the operatives forced him to sign a document, to state that what he had said on the bribery saga was untrue.

According to him, since he broke the news on how the Christian body collected N7bn from Jonathan to work against the APC Presidential Candidate, his life had been under threat.

Dikwa explained that as soon as he finished addressing newsmen on the alleged scam, the DSS invited him to their headquarters in Abuja and asked him to denounce that CAN did not collect a kobo from Jonathan.

The cleric said:-

> "The DSS invited me to their office in Abuja. They wanted to know who gave me the information that CAN collected N7bn from Jonathan and I told them. They said all those I mentioned will be invited and told them to go ahead and invite them. I even told them how the money was disbursed. They also said they wanted to know whether the opposition All Progressives Congress is the one sponsoring me to tarnish the image of the CAN and they mentioned Sam Nda Isaiah (Publisher of the Leadership newspapers) and I told them my relationship with him is not political because since 2006, I have been

with him. I told them, he (Sam) does not know anything about my revelation on the said money.[22] They also asked what was my connection with the APC presidential candidate, Gen. Muhammadu Buhari and Governor Rotimi Amaechi and I told them there is nothing that connects us. I told them whatever I said was done for the love of my country. After sometime, they went and drafted a letter, which says, - 'I (Pastor Musa)…'the information I gave that president gave CAN money was false and that I won't do that again. They said I should copy what they wrote in my own hand writing. I have to do it because I was alone with them and I feel they could harm me and frame me up. They forced me to sign after writing what they drafted. I wanted to refuse but I fear for my life. It is important to ask whether this allegation was investigated at all. Some people said funds were disbursed to some Church leaders. We should ask, - What the fund was meant for? CAN, should come to equity if it really wants to get involved in the fight against corruption[23].

CAN in the fight against Corruption in Nigeria

The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was formed with the aim of responding to social, economic, political and religious problems bedeviling the nation. This attempts to present the strategy of CAN in responding to societal problems and the specific responses made so far by CAN to societal malady. It also evaluates the implications of CAN's activities.

Since its establishment, CAN, has adopted different strategies in mobilizing Christians in order to achieve its objectives. The local, state and national units of CAN are usually very vigilant to detect burning political or religious issues. CAN maintains a network of field workers who gather and disseminate confidential information for CAN, and takes instructions and messages from CAN to its members without the use of modern communication techniques. In some cases, CAN's presence at the state level is so strong. Hence, Enwerem observed that "it is at state level that CAN's presence and activity is best articulated". However, the national body does not leave local issues to states. When reports reach the national executive, they treat them as issues that affect the entire CAN. This helps Christians in states where Christians are weak numerically[24]. Most of the leaders of CAN are pastors and priests. When issues arise, they resort to the strategy of making political statements in the pulpit. The press at church services reports the opinion of the church as presented by the preacher. Over the years, CAN, has used the media to make known its view on public issues. Though CAN does not own a newspaper or magazine of its own, yet, it uses both secular, government media (in the states that are controlled by Christians), and Christian newspapers and magazines. The ones mostly used by CAN are: Today's Challenge, Independent Times, Guardians,

Catholic Life, The Leader, Nigeria's Christian Digest, The Message, The Verdict, and the Nigerian Standard.

Corruption is one of the major problems facing the entire world. In Africa, it is a major issue and Nigeria is not an exception. It is seen to have eaten deeply into the entire fabric of Nigerian life. It has become a household word and has penetrated all strata of Nigerian society. No hierarchy of governance is free from corruption in Nigeria. Corruption is customary among politicians, business class, the village farmer, and even in worship places. In Nigeria, corruption manifests itself in different forms which include; the 1996 study of corruption by Transparency International ranking Nigeria as the most corrupt nation among the 54 nations on the study, with Pakistan as the second highest. In the 1998 Transparency International Corruption perception index survey of 85 countries, Nigeria was ranked 81.Worse still, in the 2001 corruption perception index survey, Nigeria was ranked 90 out of 91 countries studied (second most corrupt nation) with Bangladesh coming first.

 However, Clarke lists the forms of corrupt activities prevalent in Nigeria to include "political corruption, bureaucratic corruption, electoral corruption, embezzlement and bribery". It is clear that corruption is present in all strata of the Nigerian society. This is evident in the rating of Nigeria as one of the most corrupt nations by the Transparency International. This result suggests that oil-producing countries have high rate of corruption indices[25]. Thus, a survey has shown that "corruption is highest in oil and gas producing countries. In general, natural resources like oil, gas, diamond and other precious minerals breed corruption, because government cannot live off their export earnings without having to 'compromise' with their societies". A survey conducted in Nigeria shows that "the inflation of government contracts in return for kickbacks, frauds and falsification of accounts in the public service, examination malpractices in our educational institutions, the taking of bribes and perversion of justice among police and other armed forces, the judiciary and other organs for administering justice, over-invoicing of goods, foreign exchange swindling, hoarding and smuggling. At the village level, corruption manifests itself in such forms as adulteration of market goods or denting of measures to reduce their contents with a view to giving advantage to the seller.

CAN, has been in the fore-front of condemning corruption in the country; almost in every assembly, communiqué, and press statements are issued by CAN condemning corruption and other vices in Nigeria. In the communiqué of the Fifth Assembly in year 2000, CAN pledged to support President Obasanjo's crusade against bribery, corruption and secret societies and called upon all churches to employ their spiritual resources in fighting societal ills. The communiqué of the 6th National Assembly of CAN in 2003 also had statements condemning corruption.   In his inaugural address, the immediate past President of CAN, Pastor Ayo Oritsejafor lamented the high levels of corruption in Africa's most populous country, which according to him "translate into poor education and deteriorating infrastructure. He urged churches to challenge inequalities in the nation's policies"[26].

Before the emergence of Peter Akinola as CAN President in 2003, the Ecumenical Centre project had become an abandoned project

through the way and manner the leaders of CAN at one time or the other handled the fund released by the Federal Government of Nigeria to CAN for the execution of the project. While the Muslim counterparts had succeeded in building the National Central Mosque, that of Christians remained standstill until Akinola took over and decided to find out where the funds were. He was able to locate the fund and had the project completed within a record time. The Executive Secretary of CAN at that time, Engr. Samuel Salifu was not pleased with Akinola's style of administration because he thought he was too high-handed. Why? Because Akinola blocked all avenues for fraud; No wonder, when Akinola was to re-contest for second term in office, Salifu did all within his powers to block his chance of being voted in for second term in office in 2007 through a campaign of calumny[27].

However, it was discovered that the General Secretary's hands were not clean hence his removal from office after a long time because they discovered gross financial impropriety against him. It was alleged that he shielded the financial records of his office from being audited. Secondly, he fraternized too much with the government of the day that he was more of a politician than an employee of CAN. So, people alleged him of using CAN to enrich himself in an un-ethical manner. This made many Christians to believe the allegation of N7b leveled against CAN to perpetrate Jonathan in office for second term as true because they knew that the man Salifu was not representing them well.

Apart from the national problem, there were myriads of fraudulent allegations against many State chapters across Nigeria. An example,

out of many that can be pointed out, was an allegation leveled against the former Plateau State CAN Secretary between 1987 and 1991 of taking bribes on two occasions from politicians to aid them in their presidential ambitions. Secondly, the Chairman of Adamawa State Chapter of CAN was alleged of embezzlement of half a million naira meant for the displaced people. Apart from the above, many states chapters leadership have soiled their hands through the politicians as many have become subservient to these politicians all in the name of Jerusalem slots. Not only that, many of them want to perpetuate themselves in office because of the largesse attached to their offices.

What about election into offices at the expiration of each term? It is sometimes an ugly incident, when it comes to electing officers into offices. Let me make reference to an ugly incident that happened in Osun State in 2010 when new executive was to be elected. The politicking there was more than that of the PDP/APC primaries and elections. Clergymen/Pastors/Prophets/Founders put aside bibles and their callings; exchanging unguarded words and even resulted in physical combat. What a shame? Another one was the electoral process that brought in Cardinal John Onaiyekan as successor to Primate Akinola as National President of CAN. Engineer Salifu for his own selfish interest decided to mount a campaign of calumny against Akinola so that he could not come in for the second term in office.

Christianity and Polity in Nigeria

Many people do not consider it necessary for the church to take part in partisan politics, may be because people do not assign such a role

to the church. Also, many Nigerians have continued to believe that the church should limit its activities to spiritual matters and abstain from political activism. Hence, Enwerem noted "the relationship between religion and politics has received minimal attention[28]". Some tend to separate the functions of the state from those of the church. While the state performs temporal functions, the church performs divine functions. Kalu noted that "the state maintains law and order and security of life and property[29]; on the other hand, the church which is the conscience of the nation, promotes the spiritual interests of the citizens[30]." Thus, the activities of the church and the state are seen as being different from each other. However, it is pertinent to remember that the Church exists in the state and so is influenced by the policies of the government. Therefore, the Church cannot be completely separated from the activities of the state. After all, in some communities, churchmen are also statesmen. Therefore, individual Christians do participate in the policies of their country. Meanwhile, the church is not a political party, but encourages good governance in order to solve societal problems. The missionaries were not only concerned with the spiritual emancipation of the people; they were also concerned with the plight of the masses. Hence, Galloway remarked that "in spite of their pietistic theology, the early missionaries came from a culture which kept only one eye fixed on heaven, while the other was focused quite firmly on the earth[31]".

People are becoming impatient with religious organizations and their leaders. People's expectation of them is to demonstrate their usefulness to the 21st century human society by giving hope to the poor and the oppressed in our country. Nigeria is saturated with a clot of religiosity. Churches are becoming booming business/enterprise. Religion features in every facet of our land as churches of various kinds and prayer houses everywhere in the land. Many warehouses and private buildings are being converted to prayer houses and our stadia are used more for religious activities and crusades. Christians partake in crusades, worship sessions and vigils; observing fast and going in large numbers on religious pilgrimages to Israel taking pride in being called Jerusalem Pilgrim (JP).

Within the ranks and files of Church leadership there is multiplication of titles and offices like Archbishop, Primate and Founder, General Overseers, Prophets, Prophetesses, Bishops, Pastors and Evangelists etc. Many top-notchers, highly placed politicians, office holders and office seekers, Bank Gurus, businessmen and women, Civil Servants and public servants, serving security officials of Nigerian Army, Navy, Air force, Police, Immigration, NDLEA, DSS, Customs, Civil Defense etc are seen as participants in these prayer houses and they give generously.

The streets of Nigeria are littered with big Billboards of these men and women of God advertising their crusades and events with the pictures of the founder and General Overseers conspicuously placed there. From all perspectives, we can brandish Nigerians as the most religious people in the world. However, with all the high level of religiosity of Nigerians, and their outward display of piety, is there a very high degree of social morality in Nigeria? Do they promote truth, justice, honesty and probity? With the number of Christian Churches in Nigeria, Nigeria should have earned the title of a holy

nation but what do we see? The phenomenon of corruption, greed and graft has earned the country the unenviable status of the "second most corrupt country in the world!" for the third year running in Transparency International's annual corruption perception index. Corruption has become so endemic in the Nigerian society that the socio-economic and political system can almost not function without it.

Alongside religiosity, corruption in its many shapes and sizes is booming in Nigeria – from the petty bribery taken by the clerk in the office or the policemen or soldiers at the check-points which have indirectly become an unofficial toll-gates to the grand corruption by which huge project contracts are hurriedly awarded, not for the sake of the common good, but because of the greed of the awarding official who would like to have a certain percentage. Despite the religiousness of Christians in the country in every facet of life, our environment is awash with corrupt tendencies as highly placed Nigerians embezzle or misappropriate stupendous amounts of public funds while at the same time struggle to occupy the front seats in the Church.

Corruption has bred inefficiency and diminished productivity in both the public and private sectors of the economy. Corruption has discouraged investments, increased unemployment and inflation, created an acute degree of poverty, brought about a severe decline in the quality of life and life expectancy in Nigeria. It is an affront on human dignity and an assault on the human conscience and this has given Nigeria and Nigerians a terribly bad image in the eyes of the international community.

CAN in its fight against corruption within its system in particular and Nigeria in general

CAN in the fight against corruption should first of all do a serious soul-searching of its members and its leaders. CAN as a body should purge itself of its own acts of complicity in corruption, repent of the evils of the past and make an irrevocable commitment to a life of truth, probity, transparency and accountability in their individual and corporate lives. This can be done by the leadership at the national, states and local levels. It is only then that they will be able to have moral authority to teach their followers the much needed lessons in a life of integrity, for the saying goes, _memo dat quod non havet_ (no one can give to others what he himself does not have). It is only when the leaders of CAN and all denominational heads have purged themselves of corrupt tendencies that they can have the boldness to teach their followers holiness and righteousness as contained in Leviticus 19:2 & Matthew 5:48

Christian religious leaders under the auspices of CAN could help in the fight against corruption by constantly reminding the multitude of worshippers who flock their prayer houses and who at the same time offer and take bribe, defraud, evade taxes and circumvent just laws in numerous ways, what the God of Moses says in Exodus 22:8:

> _You will accept no bribes, for a bribe blinds the clear-_
> _sighted and_
>
> _is the cause of the ruin of the upright._

This can be compared with Isaiah 33:15; Psalms 15; Micah 6:8 & Luke 3:13 & 14. CAN, should denounce the kind of religious practice that does not match high moral and ethical standards in

private and social life as recorded in Matthew 5-7 which include:

- ❖ A high level of truth and honesty in inter-personal and social relationship
- ❖ A high sense of purity, modesty and humility
- ❖ A profound sense of self-sacrifice
- ❖ A readiness to forgive as often as one is offended
- ❖ A disposition towards peace and non-violence

The Nigerian Church of today under the auspices of CAN, should fight corruption headlong through standing by the tenets which were taught by Jesus Christ Himself. Christian religion makes no room for crooks and fraudsters; neither does it have a place for those who lie and cheat. It cannot accommodate the sum total of aberrations which is called "the Nigerian factor" today. It has no place for those who would use the ill-gotten wealth to manipulate the political process.

Recommendations

Considering the vastness of the socio-economic, political and religious problems to which CAN is trying to respond, it must be acknowledged that CAN has an enormous task. This task can only be addressed effectively through careful strategic planning with well articulated approaches or methods and commitment to nation building and patriotism. CAN, must learn to tap all the resources at its disposal, and make use of its organizational structure and its wide constituency. The association should improve in its activities by:

- ❖ Ensuring that the National CAN President has a regular visit to the various states CAN and discuss CAN programmes with them.
- ❖ Seeing that CAN collaborates with other organizations in Nigeria such as the Civil Liberties Organization, Human Rights Monitor, and Human Rights Watch, for the betterment of the society.
- ❖ Reaching out to Christians in the military and Civil Service to ensure that they show more zeal about things concerning Christian faith.
- ❖ CAN should urge the government to engage in polices that will lead to provision of jobs to engage the idle youths.
- ❖ To ensure a successful fight against corruption and fraud, they should join in the crusade of educating people on the activities of CAN operations.
- ❖ The association to work with transparency international, the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences Commission (ICPC) to fight corruption in government agencies and parastatals.
- ❖ To solve the economic problems in the country, they should help to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. They can create job opportunities and take up scholarship programmes to cater for the less privileged and the vulnerable members of the society.

Conclusion

Christian Association of Nigeria as an umbrella body of Christians should know that Christianity does not come to people without

affecting their way of life in a significant way. It is therefore, an agent of change. Its introduction in any place brings the transformation of the society. It influences a people's world-view, their social relationship, education, customs, language and daily habits. The transforming effects of it on the Nigerian society are no doubt visible everywhere.

Since CAN as a body is seen as the mouthpiece of all Christians at home and abroad on any National issue that concerns Christians or the generality of the people. This means, the body cannot afford to compromise its standard as much as possible. In combating corruption, they should also wash their hands clean so that they will not be guilty of the menace they are also condemning because many leaders of the association are contesting for position in CAN because they believe there is a booty/national cake to share. The leaders of the association should first and fore-most clean up its house by separating the chaff from the wheat. This is because there are many ministers of God who are disgraced to Christendom - all because of money.

Overtime, CAN has not been heard to speak seriously, challenging the various leaders on the issue of corruption in this country. How could it have been done when allegations of corruption were even made against leaders of the Church as stated above? It is of a serious concern to ask whether religion will even be a solution to the problem of corruption. Despite the number of Churches springing up in this country and really boasting of several worshippers in the Church, one would ask why Christianity has not really had a positive impact on the nation's state of corruption.

We can equally ask ourselves, several Christian leaders have ruled this country at one time or the other and some of them were not renowned to have been vanguard of anti-corrupt practices; rather, a good number of them has been associated with corruption; and now, a Muslim leader is being seen as an agent of change in this country. Whether the change going on is the one we desired or not, where were the Christian leaders in the fight against corruption and for the number one seat in the country. It is indeed, expedient for us to stop boasting about members in our various Churches but to actively boast of the members who detest corruption.

The Transparency International Organization at one time rated Nigeria as the third most corrupt country in the world. In 2005, it was rated sixth most corrupt in the world. This is a country that boasts of a lot of Church leaders and vibrant ministries and foremost churches. We should ask ourselves, where exactly we are missing it as Christians in this country. If today's Christian leaders cannot have positive impact on the country in promoting the culture of integrity and transparency, then, something is wrong somewhere.

With the level of piety and devotion shown by many Nigerians, it is expected to see a high level of social morality in the ethical demands of CAN but it is totally incongruous with the phenomena of greed that has now earned Nigeria an enviable corrupt status among the comity of nations. It was reported recently that the former British Prime minister said that Nigerian leaders are fantastically corrupt. This is highly embarrassing contradiction considering the show of religiosity being displayed in the country. At this point, it is good to actually submit that CAN have not had an appreciable positive

impact on reducing corruption in this country.

It is my submission that CAN should rise up to its responsibilities and be ready to launch a battle against immoral practices in the country. What about those of them that are trying to feed fat on the association by trying to remain in office in perpetuity? They should not see it as their birth –right, the policy of live and let others live should be put into use. Those who are aspiring for leadership positions in CAN should ensure that they are Godly people not only that they should be husband of one wife; they should not be seen as belonging to any secret cult.

What we need in Nigeria is a reconstruction of our damaged corporate psyche. CAN, may champion the cause of fighting corruption in Nigeria by asking Federal Government of Nigeria to bring out the reports of various probe panels that have been gathering dust in government archives, including the Oputa Panel Report. Concerted actions should be taken on the most recent Auditor-General Report and the ones before it which indicted practically all sectors of the public service including the Presidency, the Legislature and the Judiciary. The Judicial system must be strengthened and the Law Enforcement agencies must be thoroughly cleaned up, re-structured and re-oriented, so that they may become more efficient in detecting and fighting corruption.

CAN, as a body and individual denomination, should stop conferring honours and awards to people whose wealth are questionable. The conduct and processes of the National Merit award scheme should be thoroughly reviewed to make it more meaningful and should be tailored towards acknowledging and rewarding true patriotism (not sycophancy), hard work, honesty and probity.

In order to prevent corruption from happening at all, Nigerians should emphasize transparency, integrity, and accountability in all their private and public transactions. Corruption in Nigeria is systematic, and to address the problem a systematic approach is needed. To curb and eventually eradicate corruption, children, youth, and adults must be given the power to distinguish right from wrong. All schools should return to the teaching of moral education to empower children with the spirit of stewardship, while adults live exemplary lives, reflecting truth, kindness, dignity of labour, and integrity.

ENDNOTE

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