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s/n	Contents	Pages
1	The Democratic Project in Nigeria Since 1999: Some Matters Arising from Francis Fukuyama's the End of History and the Last Man, David L. Imbua, Ph.D and Grace M. Brown, Ph.D	1-12
2	Re-Engineering Pan-African Cultural Studies in the Black Atlantic, David Lishilinimle Imbua, Ph.D and Grace M. Brown, Ph.D	13-21
3	"Baby Factories" in Rivers State: A New Form of Crime, 2006-2019, Beatrice E. Awortu, Ph.D	1-12
4	Critical Reflections on Electoral Malpractice as a Bane on Nation Building in Nigeria, Mbadiwe Jeremiah, Ph.D	13-21
5	Global Warming Awareness on Causes, Consequences and Control among Students of Modibbo Adama University of Technology, Yola, Mohammed Danladi, Mustapha Ibrahim Audu, Ibrahim manman1 And Mustapha Sadiq Abdallah	22-30
6	Emotional Cynicism and Employee Commitment of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Companies in Port Harcourt Nigeria, Ovunda Gideon Amadi, Prof. I. Zeb-Obipi and Dr. K.T. Konya	31-47

The Democratic Project in Nigeria Since 1999: Some Matters Arising from Francis Fukuyama's the End of History and the Last Man

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Abstract: *It is difficult to remember a book that made as big a splash as Francis Fukuyama's The End of History and the Last Man when it appeared in 1992. The thesis of the book is that liberal democracy is the culmination of mankind's ideological evolution and the best conceivable social-political system for fostering freedom and self realization. In his view, liberal democracy is immune to the internal contradictions and irrationalities that ruined earlier forms of government, and people in democratic societies experience maximum fulfillment and are spared the struggle for a better life which is more or less the preoccupation of history. Despite the acclaimed intellectual sophistication of Fukuyama, this paper posits that his argument is not tenable when judged using the practice of democracy in Nigeria, where there are recurrent cases of election fraud, violence, thuggery, violation of the provisions of the constitution with impunity, falsification of election results and intimidation of political opponents. The situation in Nigeria proves that Fukuyama's postulations dwell primarily in the realm of ideas; it has many faulty parts in the real or material world. It is concluded here that Fukuyama's work is more or less an extension of western imperial propaganda geared towards the adoption of strange principles of governance and the capitalist mode of production in Africa. The study depends heavily on secondary sources.*

Keywords: *Democratic project, history, last man*

Introduction

Few books on liberal democracy have provoked as much heated debate as Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man*. Described by some commentators as a *magnum opus*, the book presupposes that liberal democracy constitutes the "end point of mankind's ideological evolution" and the "final form of human government," and as such constitutes the "end of history." Fukuyama argues that "the most remarkable development of the last quarter of the twentieth century has been the revelation of enormous weaknesses at the core of the world's seemingly strong dictatorships, whether they be of the military-authoritarian Right, or the communist-totalitarian left. And while they have not given way in all cases to stable liberal democracies, liberal democracy remains the only coherent political aspiration that spans different regions and cultures around the globe" (xiii).

For the purpose of specificity, we situate our discourse within the practice of democracy in Nigeria since 1999 and try to answer such questions as what is democracy? Whose democracy is Fukuyama talking about? Can democracy be conceived differently from culture to culture?

Must the principles and application of democracy be the same in all cultures? Can we have a democratic model which principles are truly globalized? Why is liberal democracy failing in Nigeria? Can there be an African brand of democracy whose ethos is based on African culture? Does the institutionalization of liberal democracy truly mark the end of History? What is the most suitable form of democracy for Africa? Is it not profitable to resuscitate African democracy that was assassinated on the eve of colonial rule? It is hoped that responses to these posers will provide a road map for the adoption of a democracy that would bring about accountable leaders, actively participating citizens, an open society and social justice in Nigeria, all of which will improve the welfare and wellbeing of the people.

The End of History and the Last Man: A Synopsis

The End of History and the Last Man, Fukuyama's book of thirty-one chapters and an introduction, argues that liberal democracy is the best conceivable socio-political system for fostering freedom and self-actualization. Because he assumes that liberal democracy would not be superseded by a better or higher form of government, Fukuyama maintains that liberal democracy offers the most possible complete and rational satisfaction for any group of people in the world. In his view, liberal democracy is immune to the fundamental internal contradictions and irrationalities that ruined earlier forms of government. According to him, other forms of government, from monarchy to communism to fascism, had failed because they were imperfect vehicles for freedom.

It is important to point out from the onset that what Fukuyama envisaged was not the end of history understood as the lower-case realm of daily occasions and events, but the end of history: an evolutionary process that represents freedom, self-realization in the world. The end he has in mind is in the nature of a telos: more fulfillment than completion or finish. Referring his earlier article entitled "The End of History," Fukuyama writes:

What I suggested had come to an end was not the occurrence of events, even large and grave events, but history: that is, history understood as a single, coherent, evolutionary process, when taking into account the experience of all peoples in all times... Both Hegel and Marx believed that the evolution of human societies was not open-ended, but would end when mankind had achieved a form of society that satisfied its deepest and most fundamental longings. Both thinkers thus posited an "end of history": for Hegel, this was the liberal state, while for Marx it was a communist society. This did not mean that the natural cycle of birth, life, and death would end, that important events would no longer happen, or that newspapers reporting would cease to be published. It meant, rather, that there would be no further progress in the development of underlying principles and institutions, because all of the really big questions have been settled... From Latin America to Eastern Europe, from the Soviet Union to the Middle East and Asia, strong governments have been failing over the last two decades. And while they have not given way in all cases to stable liberal democracies, liberal democracy remains the only coherent political aspiration that spans different regions and cultures around the globes (xii-xiii).

Fukuyama insists that liberal democracy constitutes the end point of mankind ideological evolution and the final form of human government anywhere in the world. He maintains that the

ideals of democracy cannot be improved upon. In substantiating his position, he avers that the world's most developed countries are also its most successful democracies.

As Roger Kimball observes, writing at a time when communism was everywhere in retreat, it was hardly surprising that Fukuyama should have proclaimed the end of the Cold War and unabashed victory or economic and political liberalism. In distinguishing between what is essential and what is contingent or accidental in world history, Fukuyama avers:

What we are witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or a passing of a particular period of postwar history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of western liberal democracy as the final form of human government

Fukuyama maintains that "most nineteenth-century Europeans thought that progress meant progress toward democracy" (7). He seems to advance this position in the last part of the book when he says without mincing words that "common sense would indicate that liberal democracy has many advantages over its major twentieth century rivals, fascism and communism, while loyalty to our inherited values and traditions would indicate unquestioning commitment to democracy" (287). Again, he claims that "the end of history would mean the end of wars and bloody revolutions. Agreeing on ends, men would have no large causes for which to fight. They would satisfy their needs through economic activity, but they would no longer have to risk their lives in battle. They would, in other words, become animals again, as they were before the bloody battle that began history" (311). He says it more forcefully in the last chapter of the book when he states: "In particular, the virtues and ambitions called forth by war are unlikely to find expression in liberal democracies" (328).

Fukuyama's thesis is influenced by two principal considerations – economic ("Free market") and political ("struggle for recognition"). As a global phenomenon, liberal economic principles – the "free market" – have spread, and have succeeded in producing unprecedented levels of material prosperity, both in industrially developed nations and in countries of the Third World that were impoverished by World War II. Based on this analysis, Fukuyama opines that "a liberal revolution in economic thinking has sometimes preceded, sometimes followed, the move toward political freedom around the globe". In a related sense, he argues that technology makes possible the limitless accumulation of wealth, and the satisfaction of an ever-expanding set of human desires. This process, he claims, enhances the homogenization of all human societies, regardless of their divergent historical origins and heterogeneous cultural inheritances. Fukuyama is convicted that if the world is made up of liberal democracies, there would be less incentive for war, since all nations would reciprocally recognize one another's legitimacy. He claims that existing evidence from the past couple of hundred years indicates that liberal democracies do not behave imperialistically toward one another.

Fukuyama insists in the last paragraphs of his book that "it is possible that if events continue to unfold as they have done over the past few decades, that the idea of a universal and directional history leading up to liberal democracy may become more plausible to people, and that the relative impasse of modern thought will in a sense solve itself" (338). The implication of this kind of construct is that the values and norms of western democracy should be imbibed by the rest of the world, so that at the end of the day, the principles and application of democracy would be the same in all cultures. When liberal democracy is successfully globalized, the creature that emerges at the end of the process, that is, Fukuyama's "the last man," will be free from "conventional sources of inequality." He adds: "The life of the last man is one of physical

security and material plenty, precisely what Western politicians are fond of promising their electorates” (312). Rather than a thousand shoots blossoming into as many different flowering plants, the last men, Fukuyama insists “will come to seem like a long wagon train strung out along a road” (338). Interestingly, Fukuyama recognizes the fact that “some wagons will be pulling into town sharply and crisply, while others will be bivouacked back in the desert, or else stuck in ruts in the final pass over the mountains.”

Because of our aim in this paper, we will not say everything about *The End of History and the Last Man*. The above brief sketch is only meant to give readers who are yet to read the book an insight into its main thesis. Though it is difficult to remember an article in an intellectual political quarterly or a book that made as big a splash as did Fukuyama’s book, we need to be careful in praising his intellectual sophistication because of some obvious limitations that his postulations face in the practice of democracy in Nigeria. As it will be demonstrated presently, Fukuyama’s work is more or less an extension of western capitalist propaganda geared towards the perpetration and expansion of democratic principles and the capitalist mode of production and exchange. We do not need to take for granted Eskor Toyo’s assertion that “the United States of America and some of its West European capitalist allies have found in democracy one of the campaign issues to launching their current effort to sustain and strengthen the hold of neo-colonialism on Africa, Asia and Latin America” (1). It is important to know that Fukuyama was a deputy director of the U. S. State Department’s Policy Planning Staff and was selling the ideas of the United States to the rest of the world. Little surprising why his work “soon became a slogan to be bruited about in Washington think tanks, the press, and the academy” (Kimball 1). Fukuyama quickly emerged as a celebrity in the United States and in many other places around the world. Kimball avers that: “Rarely has the word brilliant been used with such cheery abandon.” *The End of History and the Last Man* contributed greatly in shaping the intellectual discourse on democracy. On this, Okon Uya asserts:

From the perspective of the twenty-first century, the last quarter of the twentieth century will probably be best remembered and designated by historians as ‘the Age of Democracy’... The Berlin Wall, that noted symbol of the man-made division of the International community into the abode of totalitarianism, on the one hand, and liberal democracy, on the other, has gone into the dust bin of history. Totalitarian regimes, whatever their designations, descriptions and uniforms, have collapsed or are collapsing with such amazing speed that one is left to conclude that they were perhaps gigantic political formations with feet of clay... Liberal democracy has triumphed over other competing systems as the model of good governance and the best guarantee for the development and survival of our human family (Imbua *et al* 568-9).

By the close of the twentieth century, there was virtually no part of the globe that liberal democracy was not hailed as the best form of government with inherent ability to guarantee respect for human rights and social justice among other virtues that are theoretically associated with it. By the close of the twentieth century, there was no country in Africa where the one-party state, once hailed as the panacea for holding in check the rivalries and competing loyalties inherent in ethnically pluralistic societies was still cherished. In the same way, military interventions in government were regarded as an aberration, only justifiable if it was preparatory to the inauguration of democratic regimes. Totalitarian regimes were confronted by “people

power” on the streets of Zaire, Cote d’Ivoire, Togo, Mali, Zambia, Benin, Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Cameroon and so on (509).

We should end this section by stating that the practice of liberal democracy in Nigeria since 1999 suggests that Fukuyama is a disappointing dialectician. The huge disappointment of Nigerians with democracy suggests that Fukuyama’s study is an exercise in Utopianism. With this insight into Fukuyama’s argument, we now turn attention to the democratic project in Nigeria since 1999.

The Democratic Project in Nigeria Since 1999

Due to colonial impositions and the promises of Western liberal democracy, African countries were quick to abandon their own versions of democracy. Liberal democracy was particularly appealing to those whose yearnings for freedom, equality and justice were abused. In the euphoria that followed the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994 for instance, Nelson Mandela spoke optimistically of how not only South Africa but the whole continent stood at the threshold of a new era (Meredith 679). Because of its long history of deprivation, degradation, suffering, subjugation and institutionalized injustice based on race, South Africans were pleased when Nelson Mandela was democratically elected in 1994 as the President of South Africa. With the “new birth,” Mandela became one of advocates of liberal democracy in Africa.

In the Nigeria’s case, the swearing-in of Chief Olusegun Obasanjo as the democratically elected president on 29 May 1999, as well as the inauguration of civilian regimes at the State and Local Government levels was seen as a significant watershed in the chequered history of the nation. It was expected to bring to an end the domination of the Nigerian political space and actual rulership of the country for the greater part of the post-colonial period by the military. Expectations were high that the enthronement of democratic governance at all levels of government on that date will usher in a political culture based on justice, equity, sense of belonging, participation and involvement, tolerance, transparency and accountability in the conduct of the affairs of the nation. Across the nation, people expressed the hope that there would be massive improvement in the welfare and wellbeing of Nigerians marked by radical improvement in political, social and economic growth; health and educational services and infrastructures; a reversal of the poverty, corruption, indiscipline and moral decadence which appeared to have been the norms in the days of military rule (Imbua *et al* 664). In short, because of the optimistic feeling that there was going to be massive improvement in the quality of life of Nigerians, many people expressed satisfaction not only for seeing “the end of history” but even more importantly, for being among the last men, to borrow the elegant phrases of Fukuyama. At this time, except for a few doubting Thomases, the world had come to believe that there was “an inseparable linkage between a democratic polity and the inauguration of a regime of good governance” (Uya 1).

Almost two decades down the democratic road, all now seem to agree that the nation is not only far from the promised land but that the conditions of living are becoming more excruciating by the day. Indeed, it has been correctly observed that:

All around us are still overwhelming evidences of the stark poverty of the many in the midst of the provocative opulence of the few; collapsing health, education, political and economic infrastructures resulting in the increasing pauperization and near elimination of the Nigerian middle class; pollution of values as shown in massive corruption, indiscipline, moral decadence and the resurgence of

dangerous dimensions of ethnicity; insecurity of life and property; and political violence, are still here with us... Yes, although we have certainly not qualified for the status of a failed state... the Nigerian ship of state is adrift and we must certainly find a reliable philosophical anchor for it before we are all drowned. We must summon the political courage to admit that all is not well and that things are indeed 'not getting better' (Imbua *et al* 664-5).

There is no doubt that the capitalist democracy that killed African democracy is failing woefully in Nigeria. It is clearly an understatement to say that Nigeria is passing through one of the most trying periods in its history. All attempts to make policies that are capable of translating the people's dreams of freedom into concrete economic and social realities have been frustrated. Almost two decades after the enthronement of democracy, Nigeria's prospects are bleaker than ever before. It is falling further and further behind several countries of the world, including some in Africa that had look up to Nigeria as the "giant of Africa." In the midst of euphoria and optimism that characterized the golden jubilee of Nigeria's political independence in October 2010, Eskor Toyo chose to bemoan Nigeria at fifty as follows:

Nigeria reminds us of Sampson [the biblical Sampson, the tower of physical strength]. In 1960, as the country, popularly described as the giant of Africa, stood up as a self-governing state, the whole of suffering humanity rose in Unison and cheered a physical giant that was expected to stride forward powerfully towards liberation in all ways, holding the torch of freedom and progress for all of Africa and oppressed nations. From the summit of ecstatic goodwill, the world's opinion has slumped into the vale of despair. The only exception to this sweeping cascade of expectations is the bank and other wealth of its perpetrators which has shot like a rocket from close to nothing in 1960 to millions or billions of naira now ("Project Nigeria" 1).

Like Toyo, many people believe that we are not only still far from our democratic destination but that there is no signal that our democratic practice would benefit the people. At present, the Nigerian society is a grossly parasitic and irresponsible one. The rulers, by and large, feel no responsibility except to enrich themselves individually. The common people see the parasitism and irresponsibility manifested daily in high quarters. There is nothing but anguish brought about by administrations that have come to be in the country and of the society itself since 1999. The common citizens have completely lost confidence in the rulers.

A democracy that is worth its salt should be able to create a citizenry imbued with a strong sense of self reliance and control over their lives in such critical areas as food, shelter, education and health. What has been unfolding in Nigeria is the increasing concentration of wealth in a few hands and the persistence of abject poverty in the masses. In 2000, the President of the World Bank James D. Wolfensohn said:

Poverty amid plenty is the world's greatest challenge. We at the Bank have made it our mission to fight poverty with passion and professionalism, putting it at the centre of all the work we do... Of the world's 6 billion people, 2.8 live on less than 1 dollar a day. Six infants of every 100 do not see their first birth day, and 8 do not survive to their fifth. Of those who do reach school age 9 boys in 100 and 14 girls do not go to primary school ("Foreword." v-vi).

The expectation that liberal democracy will drastically reduce poverty has been betrayed by successive democratic regimes in Nigeria. It has been stated correctly that "poverty is the

principal obstacle to democratic development” and “the future of democracy any where depends on the future of economic development.” The dialectical link between poverty and democracy was aptly captured by Olusegun Obasanjo: “Democracy will thrive when poverty in all its facets, is eliminated or drastically reduced. Poverty, on the other hand, will be on the run when democratic practices and ethos become the order of the day” (qtd in Uya 7). The point cannot be overstressed that democracy cannot take firm roots and flourish in an environment of hunger, poor health, inadequate and misdirected education, poor and inadequate shelter, social injustice and physical insecurity such as we presently have in Nigeria. Poverty alleviation should be seen as a democratic necessity rather than a political programme designed to win votes.

Re-engineering Democracy in Nigeria

The crescendo of liberal democracy in recent years should not be taken to mean that Nigeria, nay Africa had been undemocratic. It is hard to deny that democracy, as instinct and practice, has deep roots in traditional Nigerian society. On this, we will quote Okon Uya at some length:

Governance in pre-colonial societies in Nigeria, whatever the complexity or simplicity of their structures, shared some common democratic traits. These included: an ethos of governance that insisted on the proper balance between power and authority, on the one hand, and service and accountability, on the other; rulers being judged and remaining in power on the basis of the extent to which they served the ‘public good’; decisions often arrived at after extensive debates by the citizenry in open forums and achieved through consensus being binding on all; incumbents of powerful political offices being judged by such characteristics as honesty, integrity and uprightness, and often removed when they violated commonly accepted communal norms; a common acceptance by all, the ruler and the ruled, of the promotion of the welfare of the populace as being the most fundamental *raison d’être* of government which gave governance a moral anchor; and, an innate sense of the equality of all derived from the relative precedence of group over the individual, despite the existence of societal hierarchy. Indeed, what is often described as “African communalism” was no more than the democratic ethos writ large on the African traditional political landscape. In other words, democracy, understood as governance of the people by the people and for the promotion of the welfare of the people, as instinct, value or practice, was not imported into Nigeria, the claims of the defenders of colonialism notwithstanding (Imbua *et al* 570-1).

Democracy was such a cherished value in pre-colonial Nigeria that all societies rated it as the best form of government and thus resisted attempts at abusing its basic ingredients. In his insightful paper, “Who Killed Democracy in Africa? Clues of the Past, Concerns of the Future”, Ali Mazrui identified four goals of democracy to include: to make rulers accountable and answerable for their actions and policies; to make citizens effective participants in choosing those rulers and in regulating their actions; to make the society as open and the economy as transparent as possible; to make the social order fundamentally just and equitable to the greatest number possible (15) One gets a glimpse from Mazrui’s paper that domination/authoritarianism, oppression/repression, exploitation, inequality, injustice and illegitimacy are enemies of democracy.

With courage, Mazrui answers his rhetorical question - “who killed Democracy in Africa?”. In his view, the main culprits in Africa’s democracide (murder of democracy) are: the magicians who came from the North with the spell cast by Western ways, the soldier who came in from the barracks, the subversive spy who came from the cold under Cold War conditions and the cultural half-caste who came in from Western schools and did not adequately respect African institutions (18-19). In his own account, Uya regards colonialism as the major assassin of democracy in Nigeria. According to him:

Even the most ardent defenders of colonialism and imperialism must concede that colonialism is inherently undemocratic and autocratic... Colonialism undermined, by and large, the democratic ethos prevalent in traditional Nigerian political systems by mistakenly but stridently condemning these systems as despotic, uncivilized and barbaric... (Imbua *et al* 570).

The undemocratic institutions and practices of the colonial period continue to cast shadow on the practice of democracy in Africa today. The colonial chiefs, the fulcrum of the Indirect Rule System through which Britain administered Nigeria, lacked the legitimacy of their forebears and were regarded by the populace as agents for the mediation of colonial policies such as tax collection, recruitment of forced labour and the maintenance of law and order. These agents admired and imbued European ways which they hurriedly used in replacing African democratic values. In the end, ersatz or flag independence came and the colonizers handed over the baton to these same “white washed” Africans whom Sartre has described as “Walking Lies” (Ushie 7). There is no doubt that Nigeria’s colonial past is still too powerfully inscribed in her neo-colonial present. Taking advantage of colonial infrastructure, Nigeria’s “pirates in power,” to borrow Basil Davidson’s elegant phrase, have no regard for the pre-colonial democratic ethos and so treat the masses as slaves or something less. Kwame Nkrumah’s articulation of the helplessness of citizens in a neo-colonial system like Nigeria in most apt: “Neo-colonialism is... the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress” (qtd in Young 44). There is no doubt that Nigeria is a neo-colony. It has been argued that “she is, in fact, one of the most servile neo-colonies in the world. All dictations from Britain, Western Europe, European Union or the United States of America are treated in Nigeria as laws to be simply obeyed. These dictations are adopted as government policies to be applied without question... This country is a land ruled by slaves at heart” (Toyo “From Parasites’ Dictatorship to Real Democracy” 14-5).

One of the most unfortunate things is that “in Nigeria practically everyone including some Professors of political science have taken it for granted that democracy means whatever American and West European propagandists mean by it. Extremely superficial and misleading notion that ‘democracy’ means a constitution allowing for elections, the mere holding of elections and the installation of governments based on those elections has taken root” (Toyo “Democracy” 1). This explains why military regimes were asked to give Nigeria democracy. Nigeria’s “pirates in power,” who are mostly ignorant and dishonest presume that the mere termination of military rule will mean a transition to democracy. As Toyo argues, “this is not only because they are mental slaves of foreign predatory overloads but also because they themselves have the predatory conscience of all wolves and vultures” (“Democracy” 23).

We make bold to say that democracy by merely having an exploitative electo-plutocracy in place is un-African. In such a situation, power belongs not to the “people” that Abraham Lincoln talked about but to a parasitic minority of exploiters sitting on wealth to rule the

“people” in the interest of ever-rising pyramids of wealth for themselves. Exploitative electrocracy, to use Toyo’s words, is a denial of democracy as government of the people, by the people and for the people. We must be careful with the powerful imperialist propaganda for so-called ‘democracy’ today that emanates from the United States and some of its West – European allies by which democracy means the holding of elections. No questions are asked about whether it is only millionaires or those backed by millionaires that can, in fact, dare to contest these elections; whether the elections are rigged or not; what is the role of money power or big ethnic or racial power if the country is multi-ethnic or multi-racial; how discriminatory against the people is the education system which shapes the power to articulate or decide; who manipulates the information system and for what; what are the limits to the access to the law or to authority that most people have; how far the laws of the country operate against the interests of the underprivileged majority; how and in whose interest the government is actually run after election; whether the conditions of politics and election even permit an honest or effective articulation of the interests of the people etc (Toyo 19-20). If questions like the ones raised here are not answered by the system in favour of the “people,” then we cannot talk of democracy. Democracy implies that the government should be in the real interest of the majority of the electors. We cannot have a genuine democracy when the electors are being cheated and fooled. To be a genuine democracy a regime must make the people the owners of the means of living and free them from the exploitative domination of pluto-parasites. We uphold Richard Joseph’s assertion:

It is very important to recognize that democratization is not just about elections for countries that have known authoritarian systems of one sort or the other for decades. Laying the basis for stronger democracy requires much more, whether it involves strengthening the independence of the judiciary or the way the executive behaves, or the role of the media or the emergence of groups in civil society to support the process (Qtd in Imbua *et al* 572).

Authentic democracy must ensure the creation of what Professor B. O. Nwabueze (1993) calls an ordered, stable society which guarantees security for lives and properties of the citizens; the cultivation and inculcation in the citizenry of a “democratic temper,” an attitude of service and trusteeship and of commitment to the welfare of the people, a sense of civic responsibility, a spirit of fair play and tolerance of other people’s opinions and interests; absence of arrogance and arbitrariness; a sense of honest, faithful, selfless, disinterested, impartial and objective service; and lastly, dedicated, selfish, discipline, patriotic, honest and highly motivated leadership, free from the cancer of social indiscipline, ethnic hatreds and jealousies, religious bigotry as well as the tendency to personalize rulership and power.

Experiences from various African countries suggest that unless African democracy is resuscitated capitalist democracy imported from the West will continue to fail in Africa. We agree with Richard Nixon, former President of the United States that “Democracy is not a potted Plant that can be transplanted into any soil” (248); each nation should be allowed to fashion its own democratic project, provided that such a project does not violate the basic democratic norms and guarantees basic political and economic freedom and human rights in all its citizens. There is need to support the view that “the current temptation to prescribe a democratic model for all nations is... wrongheaded and ignores the common sense that borrowed garments, however well tailored, may not always fit properly” (Imbua *et al* 580). Apart from the economy and the polity, societies are also characterized by dominant cultures peculiar to them. The cultural traits peculiar

to capitalism, which capitalist democracy has introduced into Nigeria include individualism, selfishness, greed for wealth, egotism, opportunism, a grabbing and competitive outlook, a consuming appetite for or a virtual worship of material things, especially money, and an exploitative and callous disposition which sees people only as means to be used for one's own self-centered ends (Toyo "Democracy" 11).

Mazrui laments that "unlike both the Japanese and the Turks, post-colonial Africans decided to culturally westernize without economically modernizing. Ours has been the worst of both worlds. That is why Africa needs a cultural rather than a structural adjustment" (17). There is a major disconnect between the imported institutions and the cultural realities in Africa. In addressing the question of "Who killed African Democracy?" Mazrui regrets:

Institutions were inaugurated without reference to cultural compatibilities, and new processes were introduced without respect for continuities. Ancestral standards of property, propriety and legitimacy were ignored. When writing up a new constitution for Africa those elites would ask themselves, 'How does the House of Representatives in the United States structure its agenda? How do the Swiss cantons handle their referendum? I wonder how the Canadian federation would handle such an issue? On the other hand, these African elites almost never asked, 'How did the Banyoro, the Wolof, the Igbo or the Kikuyu govern themselves before colonization?' (17).

Mazrui believes that the pre-colonial ancestors of Africa have cursed post-colonial Africans "because of our apparent contempt for the legacy of our ancestors." He is convicted that the ancestors had declared that "your democracy will smoulder like a dying bush fire, after a drizzle of hate" (17). Edward Wamala Regrets that the resulting democratization process in Africa is largely externally generated, and has not taken full cognizance of the internal cultural dynamics of societies in which these changes are being introduced (440). In the words of the Western Philosopher Edmund Burke, "People will not look forward to posterity who never look backward to their ancestors." Similarly, Jeneth Keightley avers that "When the past is forgotten, its power over the present is hidden from us, and our capacity to influence the future is severely restricted." It is therefore not surprising that despite conferences and programmes initiated to popularize liberal democracy in Nigeria, the much-acclaimed dividends of democracy have remained elusive. Thus, the verdict that "the nation suffers which has no sense of history. Such a nation cannot achieve a sense of purpose or direction or stability, and without them the future is bleak" (Ajayi 40-41) stares us in the face.

The resuscitation of African democracy will require a redefinition of the laws and rules about corruption to make them more culturally viable. Unlike pre-colonial Nigerians who knew the danger of corrupting the political process, their descendants of today celebrate corrupt people. Irrespective of what the apologists of liberal democracy would say, Nigeria seems to be plunging deeper and deeper into the turbulent waters of corruption. A corrupt society, with unfree and unfair political system, cannot be the heart desire of any nation. There is no doubt that many politicians who rig elections and will gladly swear by the Bible/Quran and go on to perjure themselves would have refused to swear on the gun or cutlass in the pre-colonial days.

Conclusion

Based on the travails of democracy in Nigeria, this paper interrogated Fukuyama much noised about propaganda that liberal democracy is the best conceivable social-political system

for fostering freedom and that people in democratic societies will enjoy maximum fulfillment. We argue in this paper that the recurrent cases of election fraud, violence, thuggery, violation of the provisions of the constitution with impunity among other vices negate Fukuyama's postulations and optimism. The promise that liberal democracy will implant a culture of justice and equality, sense of belonging, participation and involvement, and tolerance is yet to be realized in Nigeria where the struggle to survive has become more difficult than it was before 1999. The foregoing analysis shows that Fukuyama's thesis that liberal democracy is the solution to the struggle for recognition and to be part of the decision-making process has proven untenable in Nigeria. The experience of Nigerians under liberal democracy is too distant from the picture he painted of the victorious "last man."

There is need to be careful with "democrats" that are products of fraudulent electoral processes; democrats who boost openly that victory is a "do or die" affair. As Wamala observes, "In order to come to power or retain it, political parties have had to resort to Machiavellian strategies. Acting on the notorious principle that the end justifies the means, political parties in the modern state have drained political practice of all ethical considerations. Yet such considerations had been a key feature of traditional political practice. As the traditional values that are thrown overboard were the guiding mechanism of consensus formation, so what we are left with are materialistic considerations that foster the welfare not of society at large, but of certain suitably aligned individuals and groups (441). Usually, this is done through imposition of candidates through a dubious arrangement euphemistically referred to as consensus. Modern consensus does not reflect the view and aspirations of the "people." In Nigeria, many of the "pirates in power" stole the people's mandate through consensus by a few king-makers. Rather than working for the welfare and wellbeing of the "people", they spend their days in office to accumulate wealth for themselves and their supporters in the party; since the party replaces the "people" (Wamala 440). Party members do not really have loyalty to the people whom they are supposed to represent; rather, their loyalty is to the party that ensured their success in the elections. To think that there can be a democratic polity in an undemocratic economy with an undemocratic culture is a fantasy, which Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man* represents.

We conclude by insisting that it is becoming clear that the multi party system of politics that is currently being operated in Nigeria; though, of course, better than the accursed military dictatorships of a few years ago, does not necessarily ensure a suitable form of democracy. Thus, Nigeria should replace liberal democracy with African democracy, which was inclusiveness and sensitive to the needs and aspiration of the people. We end this discourse in the words of Kwasi Wiredu:

The liberation struggles are now all won, but the philosophical problem of violence remains in Africa... Much of the problem, in my opinion, is due to the kind of democracy being sought to be implemented in Africa. Trying to imitate majoritarian democracy in the conditions of Africa's ethnic stratification, which, at best, is what is being done, is a tragic experiment from which Africa can hardly expect anything but the opposite of salvation (19).

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Re-Engineering Pan-African Cultural Studies in the Black Atlantic

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Abstract: *As a place and state of mind, the black Atlantic refers to African homelands and other corners of the Atlantic world to which black people have been dispersed over time, either voluntarily or forcefully. The history of Black people in the Atlantic community is much more than oppression and discrimination. Of even more importance is the survival and tenacity of African culture despite a harsh plan of cultural extermination. Indeed, the story of Africans in the Black Atlantic is a stunning achievement in cultural history. Africans demonstrated that they were Africans wherever they were dispersed- whether in North America, Jamaica, Cuba, Brazil, Britain or elsewhere. Unfortunately, though the importance of the African experience and its crucial role for the resolution of the cultural and identity crises that have engulfed the African world was one of the major concerns that informed the staging of the World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in 1977, there has been no systematic effort to convert the concerns into concrete educational and cultural programmes for Africa and the Black world. With Nigeria as a case study, this paper argues that cultural and educational policies of Black nations must explicitly incorporate Pan-African concerns since any development paradigm that ignores the African cultural framework is bound to fail. This is the surest way of consolidating the modest achievements that the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization has recorded through its various programmes.*

Keywords: *Democratic project, history, last man*

The Black Atlantic is a place and a state of mind. Geographically, it includes African homelands as well as the places in Europe and the Americas to which black people have been dispersed over time. Mentally, it refers to the sense of commonality among black people around the Atlantic based on their common origins, their shared physical and cultural traits, their common oppression and their need to unite to gain equality (Northrup 1).

Forced migration was the parent of Black Atlantic. The dispersal of peoples of African descent on a massive and culturally significant scale to places in the Americas and to a lesser extent in Europe occurred during the Atlantic Slave Trade period between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. From this point of view, it could be admitted that the Atlantic Slave Trade, with all its barbarities, was a force in the weaving of the cultural tapestry of the Americas. By throwing Africans, Amerindians, Asiatics, and Europeans together in one societal complex, the slave trade played a role not only in the physical and human transformation of the new lands but also in injecting African cultural elements into the emerging syncretic cultures of the New World. In a paper titled: "The Cultural Presence of Africa and the Dynamics of the socio-Cultural Process in Brazil", presented at FESTAC' 77, Fernando A. A. Mourao admitted that

“African culture has so much penetrated in Brazilian society that today it will be difficult to understand Brazilian culture without understanding African culture” (qtd in Uya African Dimensions 47).

The Black Atlantic has had its cultural achievements either heavily criticized or completely rejected, by outsiders. There was the misconception that Africa had no culture, no history and no civilization prior to the advent of the Europeans into the continent. In the view of many Eurocentric writers, “African culture and civilization was barren, empty, backward, unproductive and uncondusive for any intellectual stimulation” (Ajayi16).

Because of this assumption, African peoples, their culture and civilizations were subjects of monumental distortion, ridicule and amusement in the European intellectual community the renowned Scott Philosopher, David Hume, for example, had this to say about Africa and its people:

I am apt to suspect the negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion other than white, nor even any individual eminent in action or speculation, no ingenious manufacturers amongst them, no arts, no science.

Harry Johnston added his own bit when he argued that prior to the arrival of Europeans, “tribal Africans were barbarous people who had never advanced beyond the first step of civilization”. Similarly, EndreSik, a Hungarian Marxist, posited that “the pre-colonial peoples of Africa led a primitive life. Some were sunk in the lowest state of barbarism, and the scientific history in Africa primarily revolves around the expansion of Europe and as to the soil Africa”. Based on his own conviction that “history only begins when men begin to write”, A. P. Newton stressed with arrogance that, “Africans have no history. How can you expect barbarians or savages to have rationality...? They are primitive: their history only began when Europeans came”.

As recently as 1963, another “eminent” English historian, Professor Hugh Trevor – Roper in responding to students’ demand for courses in African history at Oxford University, opined with great arrogance that:

Perhaps in the future, there will be some African history to teach. But at present, there is none: there is only the history of the Europeans in Africa. The rest is darkness... and darkness is not a subject of history... we cannot therefore afford to amuse ourselves with the unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe.

The same level of misconceptions and misrepresentatives featured in the history of the blacks on the American side of the Black Atlantic where the Negro, to borrow the words of William Leo Hansberry, “had the ill luck of having himself studied and interpreted to the world almost solely through the media of distant neighbours and enemies” (qtd in Uya *African History* 66-67). Allain Locke claimed that “slavery not only physically transplanted the Negro, it cut him off sharply from his cultural roots and by taking away his language, abruptly changing his habit, and putting him in the context of a strangely different civilization, reduced him, so to speak to a cultural zero”. Based on this wrong impression, the African –American experience was interpreted through analyses of the white experience. Mainstream scholars regarded the Negro simply as a source of labour, not as a bearer of culture and civilization. Based on this assumption, Archibald Murphy claimed that the study of the Black man in the Americas independent of the white experience was an unrewarding exercise, hence:

To visit a people who have no history is like going into a wilderness where there are no roads to direct a traveler. The people have nothing to which they can look back; the wisdom and acts of their forefathers are forgotten; the experience of one generation is lost to the succeeding one (Berry and BlassingameX).

Sociologist Franklin E. Frazier claimed in his *The Negro in the United States* (1949) that “the most conspicuous feature of the Negro in America is that his aboriginal culture was smashed, be it by design or accident” (qtd in Kardiner and Ovesey 39). Nathan Huggins argued to a distressing degree that there is no African-American culture out-side mainstream American culture. He insisted that:

What is most remarkable about much of what is called Black culture is its Americanness. There is no doubt that on some levels one can distinguish a Negro ethos, but again, I doubt whether such distinctions are sufficiently important in the lives of Blacks to warrant a separate historical study (qtd in UyaAfrican History69).

The above assumptions on Africa and its Diaspora gained currency because written records were accepted as the only authentic source for historical reconstruction. White scholars, who until recently attached no value to oral history were not concerned with the study of black culture. Thus, the cultural arrogance of the Europeans which led them to equate “civilization” with “Europeanization” affected the study of African culture (Imbua *et al*64).

The decades of the 1960s and 70s will be best remembered as a major watershed in African cultural studies throughout the Black Atlantic. After considerable hesitancy and vacillation, scholars from various walks of life came to agree that there was much to study in Africa beyond what had been stridently condemned as barbaric.

Extremely important during the 1960s was the coming to maturity of a young generation of African scholars, trained in the European tradition and conscious of their responsibility as scholar-activists to their fatherland. One can mention here for examples, historians Kenneth Dike and Jacob Ajayi, novelists Cyprian Ekwensi and Chinua Achebe. These scholars were committed to rescuing the image of Africa from European distortions. The most significant theme in their works was the conflict between European and African cultures. Though conscious of the benefits of European presence in Africa, these scholars were more concerned with the cultural, social and political disruptive impact of European activities in Africa. Thus, Achebe argued that the Europeans had “driven a wedge into the things that held us together”.

One of the brightest stars of this era, Dike played an important role in rescuing African culture from the disparaging and prejudicial distortion by Western scholars. In responding to Margery Perham’s (advisor to the British Colonial Office on African territories) assertion that pre-colonial Africa was “without the wheel, the plough and the transport animal; almost without stone houses or clothes except for skins; without writing and so without history (qtd in Nwauwa180). Dike forcefully stated that:

There is no criterion by which to compare one culture in terms of progress with another because each is a product of its environment and must primarily be judged in relation to the community which it serves. There is no people without a culture and civilization of its own, without some means of controlling its environment in a manner more or less corresponding to its needs (Nwauwa174).

As correctly observed by Nwauwa, Dike’s timely and well – articulated reply to Perham’s monumental distortion and falsehood, “revealed the intellectual, the nationalist, and the Pan-

Africanist in him. He re-asserted the pride and place of African history, culture and civilization in world affairs” (174).

In various degrees, Pan-Africanist scholars of this period defended the integrity of Africa and the sophistication of her cultures. The period thus marked the beginning of the search for the meaning of African culture. With this spirit, it was unfashionable for any post-colonial African state government programme to be justified without reference to the cultural demands of the people. Freed of the constraints of colonialism, many African governments, through the establishment of archives, libraries, research centres, universities and antiquities commissions actively supported the recovery of the African past. In his very perceptive book, *Cultural Engineering and Nation Building in East Africa* (1972), written to guide these programmes of recovery African past, Ali Mazrui identified a four-fold challenge: how to indigenize the foreign elements in our culture, how to nationalize the sectional aspects of our cultural mannerisms, how to idealize the indigenous elements of our culture, and how to emphasize a common Africanity over and above national idiosyncrasies.

In response to this new challenge, African scholars devoted substantial attention to the question of continuities of African institutions and cultures despite decades of European domination. The assumption that the colonial period marked a watershed in African history was re-examined and the degree of impact of that unfortunate episode deflated. Put differently, there was an increasing insistence on seeing the African historical experience as a basic continuum with which Europeans played a significant but not an overwhelming part. There was thus an ever-increasing emphasis upon studies of the dynamics of African culture as the basis for reconciling the forces of tradition and modernity. The attempt here, in the colorful phrase of Mazrui, was to “ancientise and modernize” at the same time.

While the above developments were taking place on continental Africa, black scholars in the Americas and the Caribbean were also engaged in an intellectual battle aimed at analyzing the African dimensions of American cultures. Through their effort, the historical profession came to the realization that African history and culture were central to the understanding of significant aspects of American cultures. Promoted mostly by the African Heritage Studies Association, established in 1969 as an antidote to the racial tendencies and domination of the existing African Studies Association of the United States by white scholars, the emphasis necessarily revived the debate over the significance or otherwise of the African background to a proper understanding of the experiences of people of African descent in the Americas. Relaying on the scholarship of interested amateurs in an earlier period, scholars of the 1960s and 1970s worked for the institutionalization of the Black History Week as well as Black and African Studies Programmes in many American Universities (*UyaDiasporas and Homelands*8).

Opposed to mainstreamism, which claimed that the circumscribed world of racism, discrimination, and oppression combined to reduce the African-American to a cultural zero, Afro-centric scholars saw the Black man as a crucial protagonist of his own cultural destiny. Afro-centric scholars argued that the cultures fashioned by slaves in the New World cannot be adequately understood or interpreted without reference to their African patrimony. Black slavery in the Americas was considered to be nothing more than:

The saga of a people forcefully uprooted from their land, transported in the most inhuman condition to serve the labour needs of the New World, denied basic rights... compelled through threats and legalized violence to renounce their cultures and humanity, but yet able to survive, grow and transmit their African

cultures to their descendants as well as influence the emerging mainstream polyglot culture of the Americas (Uya43).

An increasing number of scholars believe that the cultures and institution fashioned by slaves in the New World to enable them meet the challenges of survival imposed by their most difficult environment cannot be adequately understood or interpreted without reference to the African aboriginal cultures of the slaves. Overtime, it became impossible for anybody, except the completely uninformed, to believe Frazier's claim that the aboriginal culture of African-Americans was smashed. All now agree that the cargoes of labourers also contained African culture and no people have been so completely bearers of culture as the African slave immigrants. Increasingly people have come to support Bastide's conclusion that:

The slave-ships carried not only men, women and children, but also their gods, beliefs, and traditional folklore. They maintained a stubborn resistance against their while oppressors, who were determine to tear them loose, by force if need be, from their own cultural patterns... it should come then, as no surprise that in America we find whole enclaves of African civilization surviving intact, or at least to a very substantial extent (23).

There is no doubt that by the 1970s, African cultural studies were carried out on all sides of the Atlantic World. Significantly, too, the Pan-African world was ready to converge in Nigeria in what is now known as FESTAC '77 for the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture. Indeed, the huge resources the government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria committed to hosting the Festival was an eloquent testimony to the importance African governments attached to cultural studies and revival. At the end of the festival, there were celebrations in the Black Atlantic because of the great cultural achievement of the Black World. In the case of Nigeria, for instance, E. J. Alagoa avers that:

Prior to the staging of FESTAC, there was a lively press discourse on the huge sums of money estimated to be spent on structures and facilities. It was the view of many, that FESTAC would exhibit, in the main, half nude dancers, a show devoid of meaning in an age of science and technology. Once the performances took off, there was, definitely, no such complaint of the selection of events presented at the fringe FESTAC at Unilag (2-3).

Due to the importance of the global dimensions of the African experience and its crucial role for the resolution of cultural and identity crises in Africa, it was necessary that an institution be created to among other things, champion the promotion of global understanding and appreciation of Black and African Culture (Babawale 13). To this end, the Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization (CBAAC) was declared open on June 22, 1978, and formally established by Decree No. 69 of 1978, of the Federal Government of Nigeria to be a dynamic archive, museum, and custodian of all the library, audio-visual and other documents of FESTAC '77. CBAAC, therefore, bears trusteeship responsibilities, on behalf of the Nigerian nation, for all the 59 nations that participated in FESTAC '77 and indeed, for all Black and African world (Alagoa20).

Since its establishment, CBAAC has continued to play an audacious and crusading role through advocacy and research to draw attention to the need to revive the cultures of Africa and the Black World. It has carried out this stupendous task through numerous lectures, seminars, discussions, symposia, workshops, exhibitions, performances and demonstrations of arts, crafts, and the entire range of cultural materials available in its collections, and of new and future

products of the intellectuals, artists and writers of the Black and African world (Alagoa20). As the custodian of Africinity, CBAAC has published the results of its numerous lectures, symposia and conferences. These publications focus on important aspects of Africa and Black culture and civilization such as history, language, religion, traditional political thought and institutions, divination, literature, philosophy, oral traditions and oral history, democracy, ethics, gender, diplomacy to mention just a few. There is no gain saying that CBAAC's attempts at Black and African Cultural Revolution has been commanded by Pan-Africanists throughout the Black Atlantic. It has focused on Black and African heritage in expanding a diasporic consciousness of cultural studies.

Given that Nigeria has the mandate of the Black world to carry on the achievements of FESTAC '77, and by implication to lead the crusade for Black and African cultural renaissance, its cultural and educational policies must explicitly incorporate Pan-African concerns into the curriculum. There is no reason why Pan-African cultural studies should not occupy a central position in the curriculum of our secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. Such efforts will reduce the level of mutual ignorance regarding the nature of the historical and cultural relationships which have existed between Africans at home and in the Diaspora. Government and non-government organizations should offer scholarship awards and other incentives to students and young faculty members engaged in cultural studies. It is rather unfortunate that the allocation of resources and opportunities to institutions that custody our cultural resource shrinks each new day. There is need to support Emmanuel Ayandele's plea that "the irrational, unhealthy and culturally homicidal policy of the governments of the Federation which looks upon man as primarily an economic animal, a Naira chaser", should be reconsidered. Ayandele lamented that:

Indeed, one of the painful wonders of modern Nigeria is the incredible myopia of policy-makers who are so Naira-obsessed that, in their perverted judgement, development of Nigeria is basically a physical affair and not that of Nigerian personality per se in the context of a rationalized authentic cultural heritage of the Nigerian peoples (3).

It is really unfortunate that Nigeria which should be a principal trustee of the most durable fruits of black genius has not done enough to promote her cultural heritage. Beyond the statutory allocation of fund to the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and National Orientation, there is nothing concrete to show that the leaders are generally committed to the preservation of the nation's cultural resources. Truly, our culture needs many gadgets in its unremitting battle with globalization and it is the Black world, in this case Nigeria, who must provide them. Without deliberate effort to re-engineer our culture, development will continue to elude us. This is so because all human endeavours, whether political, economic, ideological, social and religious are located within a specific cultural milieu.

Culture represents the sinews and the most enduring features of any society. UNESCO has continued to emphasize since its 1982 World Conference on Cultural Policies in Mexico City that "culture constitute a fundamental part of the life of each individual and of each community and that consequently, development whose ultimate aim should be focused on man-must have a cultural dimension" (UNESCO3). A people that ignore the insights and values that come from humanistic studies are least likely to benefit maximally from technological age as a scientific and technological advancement never occurs in a cultural vacuum (Uya "Tourism in an age of globalization" 683).

Importantly, it must be borne in mind that African cultural studies cannot depend on books. One universally accepted characteristic of African culture is that it is more oral than written. African songs and folktales were as much for entertainment as they were for chronicling actual occurrences in the society as well as imparting a lesson to the young. For most African peoples, the spoken word was most important than the written word. Thus, since oral tradition is “an indispensable source of reconstructing the early culture and civilization of Africa” (Ajayi 24), the re-engineering of African cultural studies must involve the massive collection of songs, folktales, myths, legends, poems, rituals, liturgy, proverbs and other ethnographic data from our people. A systematic uncovering of our people’s culture will require new types of sources in which audio-visual materials, rather than books, will predominate. People should be trained on how to collect and use oral tradition for cultural studies and revival. Alagoahad earlier draw attention to the need to document oral traditions on FESTAC 77. According him:

In the case of Nigeria and Festac, 26 years after the event, what corpus of oral tradition have we built up or preserved? After 30 years, a great many members of the participant and eye-witness generation would have gone, or taken back seats in the affairs of the nation. After 26 years, it is time to take steps to collect the memories of key actors, observers, and critics of Festac round the nation, to add life to the duty bones of material evidence preserved in the CBAAC museum and library (4).

The project of reviving African cultures necessarily requires that we study African languages. One of the issues raised and addressed by several learned papers and in the popular press during FESTAC 77 was that of *national language* for each African nation (Alagoa14). The issue of national and continental languages was discussed as part of the quest for unity and national integration, in the process of nation building, the need to unite ethnic groups as well as the elite and the masses”. Dele Alonge’s assertion that “culture is the road map to any societal development... [that] there can never be any meaningful development in any society that has lost her sense of culture” emphasis the importance of culture to nation building (qtd in Babawale 5). Several years after FESTAC 77, there is not just a national language but most languages are losing speakers on daily basis. Even at home most parents do not consider it expedient to communicate with their children in their indigenous language. Even more frustrating is that many departments of languages in our tertiary institutions do not include Nigerian/African languages in their curriculum, not even that of their host communities. This is done in total disregard to the fact that the mother tongue should be “the basis of cultural education” to be utilized from the home through primary and secondary school to the university (*Cultural Policy*8). Language communicates a culture’s most important norms, values and sanctions to people. The centre for endangered languages in its universal declaration of Linguistic Rights in Barcelona asserted that:

A lost language is a lost tribe; a lost tribe is a lost civilization. A lost civilization is invaluable knowledge lost... The whole vast archives of knowledge and experience in them will be consigned to oblivion (qtd in Omagu152)

The above explains Montesquieu’s statement that “as long as a conquered people has not lost its language, it can have hope” (qtd in Diop214) as well as that of Karl Mark that “to conquer a people, you just have to block the transfer of values, morals and beliefs between generations” (qtd in Babawale 7). Ofcourse, no two people can see the concrete world we live in exactly the same way unless they share a common language.

To round-off this discourse, it is important to reiterate that since culture is “a tool kit of identities for our survival” (Kukah 11) African governments must commit resources towards cultural rejuvenation. Institutions and scholars must accept the challenge of re-engineering Pan-African cultural studies with courage, commitment and vision. This has become imperative because any development paradigm that conceives development as an autonomous process and ignores the cultural framework in Africa is bound to fail. An important task before policy makers in Nigeria is that her natural resources like museums and archives custodying her cultural artifacts should be given deserving attention. This is the surest way of consolidating the modest achievements that CBAAC has recorded through its various programmes and activities throughout the Black World. Of course, we need hardly stress that for Nigeria to make a quantum leap in the culture sector, it must empower and strengthen CBAAC to effectively confront the challenges of Pan-African Cultural revival in the 21st century. We end with the clarion call of Amadou Mahtar M’Bow:

Africa [nay the Black World], from now on, must work towards a form of modernization which is truly hers, taking her creative inspiration from the reinterpretation of the traditions of her past. She must seek renovation, freely assuming the responsibility for it and put to good use such rich cultural traditions and social and moral values as will enable her to inspire progress without self-betrayal and achieve change without self-adulteration (qtd in Oloruntimehin 22).

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“Baby Factories” in Rivers State: A New Form of Crime, 2006-2019

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Abstract: *Until recently, Rivers State, which was created on 27th May, 1967, is beginning to witness an entirely novel and prevalent form of crime couched in what is euphemistically and variously termed “Baby factories”, “child harvesting and “baby farms”. Irrespective of these nomenclatures, baby factor is an emerging illicit human industry where new borns are illegally sold to prospective buyers for financial gains. The phenomenal of “Baby factories” which masqueraded as hospitals, clinics, maternity homes, and so forth in the State has become widespread crime and notorious crime. Against the backdrop of this development, this paper attempted to explore and examine the root causes, and effect of this hideous and illegal business on the status of women and the development of the entire State. Using the narrative and analytical historical methods as well as multi-disciplinary approach, the study pointed out that the social menace in the State is propelled and sustained by acute and deepening poverty, barrenness, greed, socio-cultural influences and pervasive corruption in the State among others potent factors. The work uncovered that the main victims of the baby factories operated by the baby producing syndicates are pregnant young girls and desperate childless couples who wanted to avoid social stigmatization associated with pre-marital pregnancy and barrenness. The research maintained that the remarkable development of “baby factories” in the State had resulted in physical, and psychological trauma, sexual exploitation and violence to the victims. The paper called for multi-faceted approaches such as placing more premium on human capacity building and creating more employment opportunities, establishing centres for counselling, and the education of citizens on their basic and inalienable rights to tackle the scourge of “baby factories” headlong.*

Keywords: *Baby Factories, Human Trafficking, Baby Harvesting, Women Exploitation, Rivers State.*

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

There was no Rivers State before 27th May, 1967. The area designated Rivers State was part of the Oil Rivers Protectorate from 1885 till 1993, when it was enlarged and christened the Niger cast Protectorate. The Rivers State territory became part of the Colony of southern Nigeria in 1900 and merged with the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria (Burns, 1972, Crowder, 1973; Pandem, 2013).

In January 1914, Lord F.D. Lugard amalgamated the Protectorate of Northern and southern Nigeria, thus forming the country known as Nigeria. This was followed by a political restructuring which gave birth to sub-divisions like the Northern, Western and Eastern Regions in 1951. To further enhance the effective running of the colonial government activities, Districts,

Divisions, Provinces and Regions were established. In the Eastern region of Southern Nigeria, Rivers Province was created in 1947 out of the defunct Owerri and Calabar Provinces (Amini Philips; 2009, Pandem, 2013). The new Province had Divisions like Ahoada, Brass, Degema, Ogoni and Port Harcourt.

Rivers State was created along with other eleven States on 27th May, 1967 out of the four regions which constituted the Federal Republic of Nigeria through the instrumentality of Decree No 14 and No 19, “State Creation and Transitional Provisions Amendment Decree 1967”. The State had five (5) administrative divisions and seventeen (17) County Councils. Although Naanem (2002) and Awortu and N-ue (2017) argue that the creation of a dozen State was to nip the Biafra successionist bid in the bud, the Federal Military government profusely contend that the action was aimed at allaying the fears of domination and marginalization by the minorities in the country. In a nation-wide broadcast, the then Lieutenant-Colonel Yakubu Gowon gives the *raison d’etre* of the political restructuring thus:

Fellow citizens, I recognize, however, that the problem of Nigeria extends beyond the present misguided actions of the Eastern Region government. My duty is to all citizens. I propose to treat all sections of the country with equality. The main obstacle to future stability in this country is the present structural imbalance in the Nigerian Federation.... This is why the item in the political and administrative programme adopted by the Supreme Military Council... is the creation of States as a basis for stability. This must be done first as to remove the fear of domination. I am satisfied that the creation of new States as the only basis for stability and equality is the overwhelming desire of vast majority of Nigerians (as quoted by Darah, 2017 P. 11; Awortu & N-ue, 2017, P.183).

It has to be noted that “the birth of Rivers State was not an act of benevolence. Rather, it was a product of combination of more than two decades of political and constitutional struggle” (Naanen, 2002, P. 339) from the Igbo domination, discrimination and “internal colonialism”. The Rivers State people known for their centuries old sovereignty resisted the Igbo dominance of the politics of the Eastern Region, agitating for self-determination and recognition. Reflecting on the crave for State creation, Naanen (2002, P.342) opines:

Rivers people felt their subordinate position in the existing political and constitutional order had been translated into economic and social neglect of the Rivers area. They argued that neither the federal nor Eastern regional government (controlled by the NCNC) could sufficiently appreciate the peculiar development needs of the Niger Delta cases of discrimination against Rivers people in political appointments, award of scholarships, provision of amenities and the siting of development projects, were cited. Rivers people complained also of the indignities and prejudice to which they were subjected by their more numerous ethnic neighbours. The Igbo were accused of practising internal colonialism through massive migration and domination of their host communities.

Okorobia (1999; P.224) further strengthens the point of internal colonialism of the Rivers People in this manner:

If there was any single policy which was so effectively used to internally colonize and under-develop the erstwhile virile and progressive City States of the Eastern Delta, it was the regionalisation policy that brought them under the social, political and economic domination of the larger, aggressive and self-conscious Igbo ethnic nationality. A number of political, economic and social policies and programmes were initiated and executed by the Eastern Regional Government, and these had more negative than positive impact on the land and people of Eastern Delta.

Following “the ensuring boundary adjustments, more areas were ceded to Rivers State. These were Egbema, Ndoki (Lower Imo River), Ndoni, Opobo Town, Andoni and Nkoro and parts of Western Ijaw”. Rivers state was further split into two on 1st October 1996 by the then Head of State Major General Sani Abacha. They were Bayelsa and Rivers States. Administratively, Rivers State is structured into a total of a twenty three Local Government Areas. (Mfiangh & Ndimele, 2013). Interestingly, Rivers State and the city of Port Harcourt had since their establishment witnessed the unprecedented influx of people from other ethnic groups, especially the Igbo who literarily dominated all critical sectors of the economy of the State.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

It is difficult to precisely arrive at a universally and scholarly acceptable definition and meaning of “baby factories” euphemistically called ‘child harvesting’ or ‘baby farms’. Attempt will be made to explore some of them. According to *Reproductive Biomedicine Online* (available @ www.sciencedirect.com accessed on 25/02/2020) “baby factories are institutions where young people give birth to children who are then placed for sale on the illegal adoption market”. It posits that the term refers” to any place where pregnant women and young teenage girls are voluntarily or forcefully impregnated and kept illegally until their babies are born and then sold for monetary gains”.

To Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/child-harvesting_accused_on_25/02/2020) “child harvesting” “baby factories” or “baby farms” means “the systematic sale of human children, typically for adoption by families in the developed world, but sometimes for other purposes, including trafficking. The farm covers a wide variety of situations and degrees of economic, social and physical coercion”. The *Premium Times* (available at http://premiumtimesng.com/accessed_25/02/2020) sees a baby factory as an “illegal maternity centre where newly delivered babies are bought off their mothers by the operators of the centre” specifically a network of baby factories, which disguised as orphanages, clinic, maternity homes and small scale factories, provide newly born babies for prospective buyers in return for monetary rewards. Most of the illegal baby trade centres masquerade as Nongovernmental Organization or charitable homes for marginalized Baby factories are the ready made source for wealthy childless couple in urgent need of babies rather than seeking approved methods like in vitro Fertilization (IVF), assisted reproductive technology or government approved adoption through Social welfare Ministry. Another major patrons of these baby factories are the ritualists.

Infants who are tortured or sacrificed in black magic or witchcraft rituals are believed to bring luck.

“BABY FACTORIES” IN RIVERS NATURE AND DIMENSIONS

In Nigeria, the first publicly reported case of a baby factory was published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2006. The report identified the illegal child harvesting, a subset of human trafficking business as Nigeria’s third-most common crime behind financial fraud and drug trafficking. It posits that at least ten children are allegedly sold to black marketers nation-wide. Since the discovery in 2006, there are high incidence of baby factories and babies selling which are ceaselessly pumping out infants for sale on the hideous, horrible and illegal adoption trade. So far proven cases of prevalent booming baby farms have been discovered in states like, Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, Imo, Akwa-Ibom, Abia, Anambra, Enugu, Rivers among others. Obaji (2017, P.6) discloses:

Every year, the Nigerian security operatives discover several new baby factories. Young girls are held captives to give birth to babies who are then sold illegally either to adoptive parents, into slavery, or it is said, for traditional rituals. There are rumours and fears that new borns are being sold to traditional communities that a powder made of infants brings luck. But, such sensational claims notwithstanding, the vast majority of buyers almost certainly are married couples struggling to conceive.

The business of infant trafficking is well organized by criminal syndicates who posed differently. They took many dimensions. Most pregnant women or teenagers facing economic hardship or social tension like going back to school are tempted to sell out off their babies to mitigate these problems. These categories of girls who did not want to keep their babies but does not want an abortion (D & C)) either, were meant to understand that the baby factory was a safe haven for them so that at the end they would give their babies up for a formal adoption. Also, some women, especially teenagers who are not yet pregnant are being lured or forced to take refuge/custody in tiny and unkempt hidden places where they are conditioned to produce children for sale. Able bodied men were recruited or lured to get the girls pregnant. To get them conceived in these hidden rooms often on bare floor, girls or teenagers were lined up and forced to have sex in full view of other teenage girls. The “baby mamas” are given food and shelter.

Both parties (i.e. the boy and girl) were paid for these jobs by the owner of the factory. The contract terminates after they have given birth. The operator of the baby factory illegally charges between 400,000 naira for a girl and 500,000 naira for a boy. Many foreigners from Europe and the United States continue to patronage baby factories in Rivers State. This type of child trafficking and baby factory could find expression in the alleged baby farms and selling of babies in Rumuolumeni community, Rivers State operated by one Kelechi Okamgba from Abia State. Upon her arrest on 19th March 2018, she led the police to her “Baby Factory” where four pregnant teenagers were held captives They were Obianuju Nze, 22 years, Chinemerum Orji, 18 years, Josephine Chimena 33 years and Chidinma Ndukwe, 17 years. The then Commissioner of Police, Mr Zaki M. Ahmed maintains that “the pregnant girls discovered at the baby factory were said to have gone there to mortgage their pregnancies and for possible sale to their identified customers” (Amadi, 2018, p. 1)

Similarly, the Rivers State Police Command uncovered a “baby factory” in Port Harcourt in October, 2018, one, Pastor Glory Raphael along with sixteen pregnant women were arrested, for allegedly operating baby factory and selling of babies at the Rukpokwu axis of the State. According to the State Commission of Police, Zaki Ahmed, “men of the Criminal Intelligence and Investigation Department (CID) in a sting operation... stormed the premises of one Gloria Raphael, who is the General Overseer of Mount Sinai Ministry at Rukpokwu. She is into the business of child trafficking, sixteen pregnant women awaiting delivery and onward sale of the children to the waiting buyers were arrested. One of them by name Chinyere Nweke had labour yesterday (Friday) and was rushed to the Police Clinic where she gave birth to a baby girl” (Amadi, 2018, p. 1).

Another unique form of baby factories have been revealed in Port Harcourt, southern Nigeria. Under the disguise of In-Vitro Fertilization (IVF) treatment, Dr. Chinyere Emeka Precious usually induced fake pregnancies. Nwisi (2013, P.2) describes her as “a baby factory syndicate, (who) specialises in selling of day-old babies at Elenwo, in Port Harcourt.” This illicit business has reportedly been going at God’s Gift Clinic and Maternity home located at number 16 School Road, Elenwo area of Port Harcourt, Rivers State. Desperate infertile and childless couples are normally injected or given some special concoction that made them have a false sense of pregnancy. Their stomachs looked protruding like pregnant women and feel some sensation in their wombs. They are strictly debarred from seeking medication or medical attention, else they would have miscarriage. They were to come back to the clinic to deliver of their babies during the due date. She would then arranged new born babies for them for between ₦2.5 million and ₦6 million.

Nwisi (2013, P.1) writes that Dr. Chinyere Emeka Precious “was said to inject desperate barren women with substances to make them appear pregnant. She would then arrange a stolen baby for the women... we found a day-old baby boy, who was concealed behind the theatre. There was also a woman there who was reported to have been delivered of a baby. When we confronted the woman, she claimed to have undergone fertility treatment with the doctor”. But in actual fact, she was not pregnant, and was never pregnant. Rather what they do is hypnotise these women, who believe that they are pregnant. They were injected with substances which make their stomach swell. They will be placed on treatment for nine months. Before delivery, this syndicate makes arrangements to procure the babies, and once the arrangement clicks, they will take the women to theatre or labour room. At this point now, they will inject her with drugs that will make her unconscious; when that is done, she will now be laced with blood all over the body, including her private parts. The same blood will also be used on the child, so when she regains consciousness they will now handover the baby to her, claiming that she has delivered. Then they will start the second round of treatment to deflate her stomach.

The account of Usman (2014, P. 1) is also worth noting:

Her (Emeka Precious Chinyere) *modus operandi* as gathered, included giving desperate women concoction which would make their stomachs to start protruding, until the day of delivery. However, the delivery process is said to be shrouded in mystery which the Police is trying to unravel. It was gathered that most of the beneficiaries were women who had waited for years without bearing children. The amount paid for each pregnancy is gathered, varied according to the age of the individual and the period of waiting.

On the basis of the last straw that broke the camel's back, she chronicles that:

This illicit business has reportedly been going on ... for years until the bubble burst, following a petition to the Commission of Police in charge of the Police Special Fraud Unit, by the United States of America consulate, to investigate an America-based-Nigerian woman who applied for American passport for her little baby. The US-based Nigerian Identified as Christiana Ogeyi Omagu... appeared at the Consulate in pursuance of a US passport for a male child she claimed to have delivered at God's Gift Clinic and Maternity, Port Harcourt, Rivers State. However, when a DNA paternity and maternity test was conducted, the result according to the embassy, indicated that the applicant and her husband, Donald Omagu, were not the biological parents of the baby.

Mr and Mrs Donald Omagu were not the only victims of the fake "miracle babies". Other like a US based Esther Soyebo paid ₦2.5 million while Victoria Acholonu paid ₦2.9 for the "pregnancy". In spite of their evident bulging stomachs, several medical tests carried out indicated that neither the "pregnant" women nor their husbands were fertile for such pregnancy. The proprietor of the Baby factory in Port Harcourt had successfully evaded Police arrest and justice in spite of the numerous evidences against her due to her high connection.

Causes of the Prevalence of Baby Factory and Baby Markets in Rivers State

It is difficult to believe that despite of a 2003 Law against human trafficking, including selling children and agency like the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP), there are the prevalence of "baby factories", "baby scouts" "baby harvesters" and "baby selling centres" in Rivers State. Certainly, there are socio-economic and cultural conditions that serve as breeding grounds for the country's third-most common crime behind financial fraud and drug trafficking. Below are some of the prominent ones.

- 1. Poverty of People:** The rising and worsening poverty is one of the foremost certain causative factors of "baby factory" and baby selling in Rivers State. Like other States that constituted the Niger Delta, Rivers State indigenes and settlers live in abject and deepening poverty in spite of the rich resources, and affluence surrounding. As many citizens struggle to make both ends meet in these precarious and vulnerable conditions, they can easily become prey to syndicates of baby harvesters or baby farms. People in poverty are targeted by baby sellers and buyers. Most of them who don't have the means to survive, are deceived by the proprietors of "baby factories" to sell their children. They are promised a way to earn money and have some food. In actual fact, it turned out to be exploitation and slavery. *Centre for Global Impact* (<http://http://centerforglobalimpact>, accessed on 25/02/2020) points out that "the practice of entrusting poor children to more affluent friends or relatives may create vulnerability. Some parents sell their children, not just for money, but in the hope that their children may escape poverty and have a better life with more opportunities." Poverty is also responsible for high youth unemployment social exclusion, inequality, hunger and lack of quality education.

2. **High rate of unemployment: The finding of the papers has** shown that in Rivers State unemployment has become a very serious problem reaching a crisis situation. In 2004, the ex-president of World Bank, James Wolfensohn, had revealed that almost two billion out of six billion world population who are teenagers between 15 and 19 years were celebrating idleness without future hope. Currently, the phenomenon of youth unemployment had infected not only the school dropouts but also school leavers and graduate unemployed. As a matter of fact, the increasing incidence of young, pregnant and helpless teenage girls in the unemployment market are tempted to sell out their babies to potential customers after delivery for financial remuneration. The unsatiable urge has been fuelled with the increasing demand for adoption by prospective customer from the United States and Europe. Their patronage also inspired, sustained and maintained baby factories in the State.
3. **Human Greed:** it is obvious that the endless search for wealth drives people to get more money through illegal means. Media reports indicated that the prevalence of baby factories in Rivers State is due to greed and lack of ethical behaviour of some medical professionals. The operators of these factories sometimes medical doctors, nurses, and others. However, they want to get rich as quickly as possible without passing through legitimate means. They went out of their ways to commit crimes to satisfy this goal. The classic example of Emeka Precious Chinyere is necessary here. Mrs Precious, who operated a baby factory in Elelenwo part of Port Harcourt, is said to be a qualified and licensed doctor with the number 348 from the Nigeria Medical Council, Abuja. Her illicit business attracted desperate women from all parts of the world with different prices for each pregnancy. It ranged between N2.5 million and N6 million, depending largely on “the age of the individual and the period of waiting” (Usma, 2014, P.1). The greed of the baby producers and the lucrative nature of the buying and selling lured a good number of people into the illegal “baby harvesting”.
4. **Illiteracy and The Lack of knowledge about Human Rights:** Illiteracy and the lack of education are responsible for the upsurge of baby selling in Rivers State. Most of the baby sellers in Rivers State are ignorant of their rights and those of their children. Most of the babies sold out are those whose births were officially never registered due to lack of knowledge. This is clearly a sheer violation of the right to identity. They considered their babies as articles of trade or other illegal activity in black market. Often, the criminals, who are the operators of the “baby factories,” cashed in on their ignorance about their institutionalized human rights and make them potential victims of trafficking. Little surprise, that most of the teenagers are held captives in hidden places to generate more babies.
5. **Social factors and cultural practices:** In Rivers State social factors and cultural practices are contributing reasons for the unending scourge and popularity of baby factories. The traditions of the people placed a high premium on male child bearing and social stigmas around infertility and teenage pregnancy. Almost all the ethnic groups in Rivers State place huge socio-political importance on male children believed to bear the family name and increase the lineage. On the other hand, female children are regarded as “another man’s property” who may be prevented by the customs of the people from inheriting family’s wealth. Male children trafficking became intensified to have heirs and

inheritors of the family's inheritance. Christianity and modern education are making frantic effort for the people to treat all children as equal.

It has also been established that infertile women rather than ritualists are the major patrons of these baby harvesters in Rivers State. childless women and couples are involved in the widespread inhumane act and crime due to lack of access to infertility care, lack of reproductive health education assisted reproductive technology and unavailability of In Vitro Fertilization (I.V.F) which is often very expensive, scarce and most reliable. What is more, official adoption through the state government is overly bureaucratic laced with a public record accessible to every citizen. Most worrisome is the high rate of infertility among the number of couples in the State. Nwaka and Odoemene (2019, pp.6-7) provides an interesting perspective on this score:

The phenomenon of "baby factories" is equally explicable from the inaccessibility of approved institutions where adoption can be legally procured. The legal adoption process has a lot of encumbrances that make it less accessible to adoptive parents. Stringent demands and requirements for adopting a child keep away some adoptive parents who may not meet those requirements. For example, prospective single adopters face more challenges than couples in the process of adoption in Nigeria. In the same way, a low-income earner may not be able to meet all the needed requirements for adopting a baby through an orphanage. Arguably, formal adoption in Nigeria is not for the poor. In addition to these procedural challenges is the long period of waiting for babies. Since most of these formally established institutions depend on abandoned babies and orphans, couples waiting babies for adoption often spend months and years waiting.

To avoid such long waiting and public stigmas, most hopeless desperate couples in the State resorted to quick and clandestine alternative method of "baby factory" in place of legal adoption through the government social welfare services.

Unwanted teenage pregnancy is one of the most significant factors responsible for the emergence and spread of "baby factories". It may be recalled that the majority of the women, whose babies are sold are young unmarried teenagers from lower-income families, who are scared of social stigmatization as a result of an unwanted teenage pregnancy. The society seriously ridiculed, and frowned at a teenage girl who gets pregnant without the payment of bride wealth. They are usually disowned by the parents especially the father for dragging the noble name of the family in the mud. while this customary practise is well pronounced among the Ikwerre, Ogoni, Abua/Odua, and Ogba, it is not common among the Kalabari and Okrika peoples. Apart from this, the unmarried pregnant daughter mars automatically lost the chance of getting married to a young promising man. The suitors that came their ways as single mothers are widower, aged men, and men below their target of a husband.

Most teenagers who are pregnant contemplated abortion (technically called dilatation and curettage), known popularly as D & C which is unsafe and dear to come by, or ran to Port Harcourt where they stayed in door until she delivers and resorts to dumping of the babies into a dust bin. Where the above methods failed, teenagers involved in pre-marital sex, went to the "baby factories" where they are taken care of to avoid social stigmatization. They resume their normal lives with profound confidence and assurance of getting married to a successful man of

their dream. This is the point stressed by Nwaka and Odoemene (2019, P.5) when they articulate that “one major advantage of compassionate homes (now turned baby factories) is that in most cases pregnant girls were not only protected from hunger, harsh weather, and unsafe abortion, they were equally shielded from the shame and stigma of their status. Consequently, a pregnant girl can be integrated into her society which may or may not be privy to her previous status”. Makinde, Makinde, Olaloye, Huntley and Brown (2015, P.6) sternly argue that social factors and cultural practices are the basic reasons for ‘baby factories’ to thrive. In their own words:

Baby factories are thought to have arisen to meet two needs. First, the social stigma attached to desperate teenagers with unwanted pregnancies, who are convinced to give up their babies for a financial benefit. Second, the high demand for babies infertile couples with a desire to complete their family and thereby fulfil a crucial social obligation. Thus, the high burden and stigmatization of infertility in Nigeria and the unwillingness of infertile couples to associate publicly with adoption or surrogacy, contributes to the increased patronage of baby factories.

The phenomenon of baby factory is further facilitated by corruption among law enforcement agents and judges who make the operators and experts to evade arrest and pervert justice, misplacement of our value system and being pregnant out of wedlock, to mention but a few.

Consequences of “Baby Factories” on Rivers State

The emergence and proliferation of baby-selling centres in Rivers State has a lot of implications for the development of the State, prominent among them are:

1. **Depopulation of the State:** Pregnant girls, who are not properly attended to, may give up the ghost during the process of child delivery. New born children are also not exempted due to quack and indecent medical attention. Although not too pronounced, there are indications that devotees of cult and shrine use baby, foetus or other vital parts/organs to perform their routine ritualistic activities to boost their spiritual powers.

2. **Trauma, violence and Abuse:** As noted above, recruited women, especially teenagers are treated to several indescribable trauma, violence and abuse. To get quick and better results, expectant mothers and young girls of child-bearing age, who are forcefully recruited against their wish, repeatedly made love in the full glare of other inmates. Such sex gratification and exploitation are done by the hired men or the operators of the factory. There are abundant evidence that girls that are yet to conceive are forcefully used by these employed agents for several times until they are pregnant. The process continued unabated during her gestation period.

3. **Financial exploitation:** Besides, sexual exploitation, these victims of “baby factories” who are stocked in unhygienic and crowded apartments with dirty mattresses, are further exploited during child delivery and selling of the babies. The owners of the illegal factories often deny the real mothers of seeing their babies. As soon as she delivered of the baby, the new babies are immediately kidnapped and taken to another “mother” in an entirely separate room. In the “cash and carry” business, the real mothers are also tricked into selling their babies before delivery at giveaway prices while the notorious commercial baby sellers later sold them out at an exorbitant prices. It has been established that Mrs Precious sold out babies at different prices to

her customers. It ranged between two and half million to six million naira. Indeed, this is a new form of criminality raking in millions into the coffer of the operators. In some cases, the teenagers are outrightly denied any share of the proceeds for the sale of the baby, claiming that the babies died in the course of delivery at other times she get a small amount ranging from ₦50,000 to ₦80,000.

4. **Human Rights Abuses:** Human rights are essentially fundamental inalienable rights which all human beings have by virtue of the fact that you are a human being. Some of the rights typically violated during the production of babies in the State include the right to life, the right to health, the right of freedom from discrimination, the right to freedom of movement, the right to freedom of association and peaceful assembly, the right to equal protection of the law, right to the dignity of human person, and the right to development among others. Human right abuse took place when the teenagers and the new borns are practically denied their fundamental rights. Our findings revealed that these baby producers are housed in isolated and unkempt building with high fence, ostensibly to prevent their escape.

5. Teenagers and young girls who find themselves in these baby-producing centres, usually develop low self-esteem. They may not achieve their lofty dreams of being lawyers, lecturers, doctors, nurses, teachers, engineers and etc. Most of whom were dropouts from colleges and schools could not find decent means of livelihood or complete their secondary school education after their release.

6. 'Baby factory' as a new trend today may lead to many cases of family problem like paternal disputes, broken marriages, divorce, gender abuse and exploitation., all these portray a bleak future for the State.

7. The girls used as baby producers may be exposed to the risk of contacting sexually transmitted Diseases (STDs) and HIV/Aids virus. Also, some of them may become commercial sex workers when they grow up as a means of survival in the absence of any other legitimate means.

CONCLUSION

We have explored the fact that "baby factory", which is widespread in Rivers State, is apparently a new form of crime and an extremely lucrative illegal business. The fastest growing business marauded in the State as maternity/Hospital, In Vitro Fertilisation (IVF) treatment centre, and orphanage homes. The work discovered that there are potent socio-economic and cultural condition that veneered the emergency and prevalent of the inhuman baby production and selling. These include but not limited to poverty of people, greed, unemployment, social factors and cultural practices, corruption, among others. It was also established that the proliferation of baby-selling centres has a lot of negative implications for the development of the State. The study revealed the torture, trauma and abuses women went through in the hands of the operators of "baby farms", "baby factory" or "child harvesting" in Rivers State.

The work submitted that, to tackling the phenomenon of "baby factory" in the state with certain measure of success, several possible means, both individually and collectively, should be adopted. Some include the following:

- The State Government and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) should place more premium on human capacity building, skill acquisition and create employment opportunities for the teeming unemployed youths

- Adequate awareness and educational/enlightenment campaigns are required to expose the various dimensions of this emerging social menace.
- The Rivers State Government should establish centre for counselling and adequately funded for effective intervention and training.
- Culture, customs and traditions that discriminate against women should be discarded
- Ethical infertility care, family planning, and surrogacy should be provided
- Educating citizens on their rights and sanctioning human right abusers would strengthen the fight against the prevalent of “baby factory” in the State.

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Critical Reflections on Electoral Malpractice as a Bane on Nation Building in Nigeria

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Abstract: Electoral malpractice has over time constituted a clog in the wheel of the democratisation process in Nigeria. Its attendant adverse effects of socio-economic and political anomalies as made manifest in the proliferation of corrupt practices, dearth of legitimacy, disregard for the democratic process, stunted socio-economic development and physicalization of politics amongst others, remain a serious threat to Nigeria's nation building. These grim developments received greater impetus by the emergence of despotic and unpopular leaders who lack the interest of the masses at heart and as such, indulge in wanton obscenities without recourse to its social implications to the downright detriment of the masses. Consequently, the main thrust of this paper centres on a critical analysis of the dynamics and trends of electoral malpractices in the body politics of Nigeria as well as its implications on the full realisation of true federalism. The study adopted the case study as well as political economy approaches in order to understand the dialectical underpinnings of the complexity of the electoral malpractices in a developing nation like Nigeria. Relying on the findings of this study, the paper therefore concludes that unless this hydra-headed monster of electoral malpractices is tackled with utmost vigour and sincerity of purpose, the quest to place Nigeria in the comity of developed nations will remain elusive.

Keywords: Election, Electoral Malpractice, Democratic Process, Nation Building, Independent National Electoral Commission, Sustainable Development

INTRODUCTION

The history of Nigeria is a pry into the history of British commercial adventurism. Nigeria is a vast country in both size and population. It is an amalgam of diverse ethnic groups, large and small, with its own language, custom and culture (Oluwole, 1963: 205). The various kingdoms: Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa, among others, were occupied at different times, but were put together in a progressive merger which culminated in the grand amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates on 1st January, 1914 (Akinola, 2014: 1). Therefore the Nigeria of today owes its origin only to the British administration (Oluwole, 1963:205).

As a British creation, the task of nation building has been ongoing, though not without challenges. Beginning from the time of amalgamation, the political governance of these diverse groups became a problem. But Sir Frederick Lugard the Governor-General and architect of the amalgamation, located the solution in the application of indirect rule system. The territory was divided into units called provinces, each headed by a British resident. These provinces were further sub-divided into administrative divisions with a district officer. At the grassroot level, organisation was entrusted to the natural rulers and their subordinate chiefs. In the North this was a huge success. However, in most parts of Igbo land where there were no natural rulers, Lugard resorted to "manufacturing" some artificial natural rulers known as warrant chiefs from influential members of the community (Akinola, 2014: 4-5). It is on record that after an initial

success, the practice received a setback when the privilege became extended to some dubious and inconsequential characters in the society. Before Lugard left Nigeria in 1918, the system has been infested with various degrees of malpractice and readjustment which had continued in the country. The immediate pre-independence period witnessed a large magnitude of this malpractice as the various ethnically organized political parties dwelt on the existing social structures with differential status and privileges.

It is not the concern of this paper to dwell on the success or failure of indirect rule system, but what is important here is that the system provided a platform for the multiplicity of political parties that perpetuated the preservation of cultural differences. The division which colonialism has always thrived to preserve in order to realize the benefit of its economic pursuit has in itself endangered national unity or national consciousness in Nigeria (Ndoma-Egba, 2000: 81). Thus, with its attendant result of corrupt practices in all facet of life, nation- building in Nigeria has remained a hard nut to crack.

CONCEPT OF ELECTION AND ELECTORAL MALPRACTICE

Election is an integral part of a democratic process that enables the citizenry determine fairly and freely who should lead them at every level of government periodically and take decisions that shape their socio- economic and political destiny, and in case they falter, still possess the power to recall them or vote them out in the next election. This has to do with the choosing or selecting of candidates who will represent the people of a country in the parliament and in other positions in the government. In the words of Nohlen (2006), it is a form of competition in which voters have a choice between at least two options. Election therefore occupy a central place in a democratic society as it possesses the potential to bestow legitimacy, moderate dissent, promote compliance and enhance the performance of citizens' civic responsibility. It is in line with this, that Eya (2003), Onyeka (2002), Nortan (1992), Elekwa (2008) and Sofiri (2015) held the view that elections whether national, local or at organisational level, are very crucial for promoting consent from those electorates who advocate for alternative rules and policies within the political process. Election therefore becomes the most fundamental hallmark of democracy. This is so because representative and participatory democracy remains the major instrument of midwifing a viable nation building in Nigeria.

Every political system has an electoral system which according to Nnekabari (2004:92) is the network of competitive relationships in an election. It serves the purposes of a "conduct format" which the people can hold their elected representatives accountable. Given this position, an electoral system can translate the votes cast in an election into seats won in a legislative chamber and also structure the boundaries of acceptable political discourse in different ways.

Having understood what election and electoral system is, what then is electoral malpractice? An overview of the term "electoral malpractice" will reveal that the concept is made up of two words, "electoral" and "malpractice". Electoral is a logical derivation from the word "election". Election has to do with the process of selection. It encompasses the process, procedures, methods and systems put in place to facilitate or fast-track the selection of an organisational leadership (Mackenzie, 2009: 104). Malpractice as a concept simply refers to denigration, deviation, diversion or subversion from the accepted norm. Consequently electoral malpractice refers to the deviation or diversion from the accepted norm in the conduct of elections. It involves those clandestine efforts aimed at shaping results.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ELECTORAL MALPRACTICE IN NIGERIA

Nigeria's political history is replete with instances of electoral malpractices and violence. Since Nigeria became independent on October 1st 1960, the history of election has been written in violence. Obakhedo (2011: 99-110) in his follow up of post-independence events in Nigeria, described the nation's post-independence history as being overshadowed by the depredations of a series of corrupt, abusive and unaccountable governments. The description is apt because it appears that Nigerians seem to have acquired the culture of electoral malpractices and violence as most of the elections conducted since 1960 has been violence-ridden (Madu, 2009: 64).

Election in Nigeria's politics is traceable to the introduction of elective principle in the Clifford constitution of 1922. As asserted by Ogunnaet *al* (2001: 33-34), the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) which was founded by Herbert Macauley and T. H. Jackson won all the seats in the legislative council in all the elections of 1923, 1928 and 1933. Thus, in a loose sense, the NNDP was the first Nigerian political party and one could conclude that the experiment with NNDP was a good start. However, as other political parties sprang up, the initial good record began to be altered. The Lagos Youth Movement which was formed in 1934 and later changed its name to Nigerian Youth Movement in 1936, drew its membership across the country. The ethnicity question in the country led to its break up. The successor, National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon which was later renamed National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was formed in 1944 and it dominated political events until the introduction of the Macpherson's constitution in 1951. With this constitution came the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and the Action Group (AG).

The Macpherson's constitution polarized regional feelings among the nationalist leaders and then the major parties, the NCNC, NPC and AG became ethnically based with the promotion of regional interests (Kunleet *al.*, 2004: 106). The Macpherson's constitution thus gave room for the formation of more political parties, setting the stage for stiff competition. From then on, in their bid to win elections and wield political power for themselves and their various ethnic groups, political elites appealed to ethnic sentiments and carried out electoral malpractices and violence.

The use of illegal methods in electoral process started in the general election of 1964 and since then has continued in greater dimension and magnitude as made manifest in the 1964/1965, 1979, 1983, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria.

For 1964 election, the coalition of "strange bed fellows" as Johnson (2003: 87) described it, helped to rock the boat. In readiness for the 1964 election all the political parties polarized into two gigantic alliances. The NCNC, what was left of AG and the Northern Progressive Front (NPF) and the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) joined together to form the United Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) under the leadership of Dr. M. I Okpara, while the NPC, NNDP, the Mid Western Democratic Front (MDF), the Niger Delta Congress (NDC) and the Dynamic Party formed the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) under the leadership of Sir Ahmadu Bello. Before the election in December 1964, allegations and counter-allegations of electoral malpractices traded the political scene as all sorts of crude and obnoxious methods were employed as campaign strategies. These malpractices include irregular methods of nominating candidates, inaccessibility of electoral officers which prevented many aspirants from filling their nomination papers, arrest and imprisonment of opponents using government machinery. There were also allegations of intimidation, thuggery in Northern and Western regions. Thus, the 1964 elections marked a watershed of electoral malpractices and violence in Nigerian politics.

The 1979 and 1983 general elections were not different from the 1964 elections. These elections were rigged through compilation of fictitious names, illegal compilation of separate voters' list, illegal printing of voter's cards, and stuffing of ballot boxes with ballot papers, voting by under-aged children, deliberate refusal to supply electoral materials to some areas amongst others.

In 2003, electoral malpractices were mainly carried out by the electoral body in conjunction with candidates. As reported by Tell Magazine of 5th May, 2003, there was deliberate shortage of materials in some part of Delta State. The Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) was accused of announcing fictitious results where elections were never conducted (Bamisaya, 2011: 17). The 2003 elections were heavily rigged especially in Edo, Delta, Enugu, Anambra, Imo, Rivers, Cross River, Bayelsa, Katsina, Benue, Kogi, Plateau and Nasarawa states. The 2007 general election was also marred by electoral malpractices. Both domestic and foreign observers succinctly described the 2007 elections as the worst in Nigeria's political history. The United states based National Democratic Institute (NDI) stated in its post-election statement that the electoral process failed the Nigerian people.

Many forms of electoral malpractices and violence were recorded across the states in the 2011 general elections. The 2011 election which brought Dr. Goodluck Ebele Jonathan to power was considered the most violent especially, in the northern region. Violence claimed about 500 lives in three days in northern Nigeria and about sixty five thousand (65,000) people were displaced (Sunday Punch, 17th April 2011). In Bauchi state, youths in Migan Local Government Area burnt down part of the INEC building.

The elections in Nigeria keep getting worse as politicians become more power hungry and daring, wanting to remain on seat at all cost. Thus, the 2015 and 2019 general elections were never different from the previous ones. These elections witnessed massive rigging, wanting destruction of properties, kidnapping and indiscriminate killing of both candidates and electorates. This, of course, implies that if no adequate measure is taking, election in Nigeria will remain a "do or die affair".

MANIFESTATIONS OF ELECTORAL MALPRACTICE

Electoral malpractices in Nigeria's politics has grown steadily worse and more daring, coming in diverse forms. It is usually carried out by what Bello (2015:20) referred to as "Stake holders of electoral malpractices". Electoral malpractices take place before, during and after election. The outcomes of Nigerian elections since independence have been marred with electoral malpractices, fraud and violence, and have been fiercely contested that the survival of the democratic order has been compromised in many respects (Igbokwe-Ibeto, 2016: 36). Following the occurrence of electoral malpractices in our elections, it is obvious that this fraud occurs in three categories namely;

- a. Pre-election malpractices or manipulations
- b. Electoral malpractices during the course of the election
- c. Post electoral malpractices.

PRE-ELECTION MALPRACTICES/MANIPULATIONS

Pre-election malpractices as the name suggests are those malpractices and manipulations carried out before the actual election. This is to ensure that election turns out to be in favour of a particular candidate or party. This category of malpractices are usually carried out by the

electoral commission, political parties and their candidates, party loyalists, political godfathers, security agents and armed-men.

Pre-election malpractices include;

- i. Tailoring of electoral regulations to de-enfranchise candidates or group of people.
- ii. Compilation of fictitious names in the voters' registers in order to get more advantage. This type is usually carried out by the electoral commission. For instance, Bamisaye (2013) argued that Punch of August 12, 2011 revealed how the electoral body-Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) compiled so many non-existent names of voters in the North. In collaborating Bamisaye's view, Ojoet *al* (2013) opined that the electoral commission (FEDCO) during the 1983 election, compiled so many fictitious names in order to ensure that election went in favour of the desired candidates or parties.
- iii. Monetization of the electoral procedure. In this case, political parties, candidates and Godfathers or sponsors including party loyalists induce the electoral staff and proposed ad-hoc staff so as to make election go in their favour. This induced-electoral staff, release sensitive electoral document such as the ad-hoc staff list to the favoured candidates and parties.
- iv. Appointment of partisan electoral officials; The electoral commission in Nigeria relies on ad-hoc staff to carryout election exercise. These ad-hoc staff are expected to be impartial in the discharge of their duties. But this is not so in Nigeria. Often times, political parties strive to push in their loyalists by paying the electoral officers heavily so as to make election be in their favour
- v. Registration of under-aged children is another form of pre-election malpractice. In 2015 general election, the Independent National Electoral Commission was accused by the Independent observers, as having registered under-aged children in the North (Vanguard, March 30th, 2015).
- vi. Deliberate with-holding of voter's cards is also prominent in pre-election malpractices. The permanent voter's card is the only method of identification. Without it, one cannot vote and thus stand disqualified. This is one strategy employed by the electoral commission to deliberately disqualify some aspirants.

MALPRACTICE DURING COURSE OF ELECTION

Malpractices here are carried out on the actual Election Day by induced electoral commission staff, ad-hoc staff, political parties and their candidates, party loyalists, sympathisers, observers and even the electorates. These malpractices manifest in various ways such as;

- i. Deliberate refusal to distribute election materials to some areas or supply of fake electoral materials. This form of electoral malpractice is perpetrated by the electoral commission and the induced supervisory presiding officers.
- ii. Vote buying or multiple voting.
- iii. Using of thugs to disrupt voting in polling units.
- iv. Snatching of ballot boxes.
- v. Destruction or invalidation of ballots by ad-hoc staff
- vi. Falsification of election results

POST ELECTION MANIPULATIONS

This malpractice which is usually carried out after election take the following forms:

- i. Outright cancellation of election results or total annulment of election results. The June 12, 1993 annulment of the presidential election is a case in point.
- ii. Political killings, murder, arson by parties who think they were maltreated during the election features prominently in this category. The general election of 1964, 2003, 2007, 2015 and 2019 were said to have been characterized by such killings.

CONSEQUENCES OF ELECTORAL MALPRACTICES ON NATION BUILDING

It is pertinent to put in proper perspectives that electoral malpractice is a democratic anomaly emanating from the faulty relations of production and manifestation of the character of the state (Ake, 1986:92). The hasty and undefined marriage of a people of divergent ancestral, linguistic, historical and topographical background by the British colonialists was a deliberate ploy to ensure that the system is in a state of perpetual limbo with violent struggle for political power. The struggle for power especially, in a multi-ethnic state generates tension of centrifugal magnitude (Nwarogu, 1999:113). To say the least, the violent power struggle amongst contending forces have adversely affected the entirety of Nigeria's body polity and has put the nation's democracy into ridicule.

Electoral malpractices have had serious adverse effects on Nigeria's quest for nation building. However, due to space constraint, a highlight of these consequences will be made. From the foregoing overview, it is obvious that electoral malpractice negates the founding principles of democracy and consequently retards national development to downright detriment of the populace.

Secondly, electoral malpractice erodes the confidence invested in the political system by the populace. This in turn whittles down the process of political differentiation and social acculturation.

Electoral malpractice leads to the emergence of unpopular, irresponsive and despotic leaders, which adversely affect political development and economic progress as well as tilting the country towards totalitarianism.

Closely related to the above, is that these electoral ill titillates and heightens the feelings of alienation, marginalisation, exploitation and subjugation of minority groups. This in turn, spurs agitation for secession for instance, the case of the Indigenous people of Biafra (IPOB) and other minority agitations that is plaguing the unity of the country.

Electoral malpractice creates a fertile medium for the emergence of political instability and national strife. This is directly attributed to the emergence of unpopular leaders representing the interest of infinitesimal section of the population.

Furthermore, electoral malpractice encourages electoral violence and wanton blood shade of both guilty and innocent and unsuspecting voters which in turn deters participation in subsequent elections which of course, is an antithesis as democracy only thrives on popular political participation. By extension, it erodes legitimacy and encourages national political inertia by the populace towards constituted authority.

Electoral malpractice is not unconnected to the polarization of the popular element making up Nigeria's body polity which in turn infuses centrifugal forces into the Nigerian political system.

It slaughters meritocracy on the slab of mediocrity thereby encouraging the emergence of never-do-wells and political dead-woods into positions of authority.

It is no gain saying the fact that electoral malpractice encourages military interventions such as those that put ends to the first, second and third republics in Nigeria. This in turn, brought about corruption, humiliation, and violation of human rights as witnessed in Nigeria during the military juntas.

CONCLUSION

The machinery of election was instituted to reflect public interest in the selection and pattern of rulership of a country's leadership. The negation of the founding principles of democracy in the aspect of election poses an overwhelming threat to the very core of democratic values and practices. The unbridled quest for power and the deployment of cruel violent means and methods towards achieving same has spewed a behemoth of political obscenities and anomalies. Notable among which are insensitive, irresponsible and poor leadership, cess-pool of corruption, marginalisation and domination of minority groups, violent agitation for secession, militarization of politics, lopsided political representation, development of under-development amongst other Systematic anomalies. These have collectively contributed in relegating the country and its citizens into a position of perpetual limbo, poverty, lack and utmost deprivation which in turn has fanned the embers of frustrations and disunity as made manifest in the series of political upheaval in the country. It is an incontrovertible fact of history that Nigeria is a political mistake. This assertion is anchored on the non-conceptual intermarriage of diverse and divergent ethnic groups, hitherto existing independently from each other with unique system of government forcefully and brutally brought together under the umbrella of a nation by the brutal forces of colonization for the ulterior motive of social subjugation and political domination for economic exploitation and administrative ease. This, no doubt, occasioned a violent struggle for control of the Centre and turned politics into a fierce battle field.

Thus, Nigeria's electioneering landscape inundated with grim instances of electoral malpractices has ultimately altered the outcome of such elections as a major determinant of who determines who get what, when and perhaps, why. Nigeria's political development is replete with instances of box snatching, multiple voting, vote buying, induced electoral officials, electoral violence and killings which has culminated into a political staccato with grim consequences on lives and properties. It is crystal clear therefore, that poor leadership which is the logical outcome of electoral malpractice remains the bane of Nigeria's unity and development.

However, to erase this electoral hydra-headed monster from the wheel of Nigeria's quest for nation building, the following recommendations are hereby made:

- a. Autonomy of the electoral commission.
- b. Independence of the judiciary is required for functional democracy.
- c. Recruitment of individuals of proven integrity and sincerity to man sensitive positions in the electoral commission.
- d. Adequate sensitization of the masses on the evils of electoral malpractices.
- e. Adequate spread of political education especially at the grassroot level.

- f. Poverty alleviation schemes and youth empowerment programmes should be put in place in order to make the electorates less susceptible to electoral malpractices by the nefarious politicians.
- g. Adequate provisions of security at the polling units to deter hoodlums.
- h. Perpetuators of electoral malpractices should be adequately dealt with by the laws of the land.

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Global Warming Awareness on Causes, Consequences and Control among Students of Modibbo Adama University of Technology, Yola

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Abstract: Global warming has turn out to be as one of the most environmental issues ever to confront humanity. Awareness about global warming plays a significant role if students are to adopt conservation behavior or Pro-environmental. Effects of this global warming are the social changes causes and ecological changes by rising in the global temperatures. Even though people, are more exposed to consequences of global warming, where they may not react strongly because global warming and its consequences are often portrayed in statistical and abstract manner (Weber, 2006). For the purpose of the study, 120 questionnaires were administered with 5 each purposively allocated within the six faculties of MAUTECH where students were randomly selected at all levels. Descriptive statistics was employed in the analysis of the data. This study revealed that, students are aware of the issue of global warming and its seriousness. However, they do not have a clear understanding of the causes and impacts of this environmental issue and what they can do to control global warming. It was concluded that, it is pertinent to strengthen institutional mechanisms that will foster more advocacy and participatory-oriented channels for tackling global warming issues.

Keywords: Global warming, Causes, Consequences, Environment, Control

1.0 Introduction

The problem on global warming awareness is a current phenomenon tracing its origin to the earth summit (held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992) where the United Nations called for a time bound stabilization of greenhouse gasses (GHG) to address climate change. Global warming has turn out to be as one of the most environmental issues ever to confront humanity. The concern of the change in the atmospheric climate arises from the fact that our daily activities may be resulting to changes in the earth's atmosphere and it will significantly alter the radiation and heat balance (Aerts and Botzen, 2011). Contemporary report of intergovernmental panel in climate change (IPCC) stated that global warming is resulting to rise in temperature than ever expected. Global warming is the rising average temperature of earth atmosphere and oceans since the late 19th

century and its predictable continuation since the early 20th century (Cherif, 1995). Earth normal surface temperature has risen by about 0.80°C (1.4 °F) with about two-third of the increase occurring as 1980 (Weber, 2006). Scientists are more than 90% assured that most of it is caused by increasing concentrations of gases by major industrialized countries, and warming of the climate system is unequivocal. However, global warming is merely one of the consequences of climate change, the word global warming is being used generally in public and media discourse to refer to all impact of climate change.

In 1997, Kyoto protocols seek to minimize global warming via GHG cutbacks by developed nations regarding specific target. The Kyoto protocols categorized countries into three categories in relation to their development economic levels. Develop countries, are expected to reduce GHG emission by the year 2012 to an average of 5.2% lower levels of these gas emissions in 1990. The greenhouse effect is the process by which absorption and emission of inflated radiation by gases in the atmosphere warm a planets lower atmosphere and surface of the earth. It was proposed by Joseph Fourier (1824) and was first investigated quantitative by many philosophers.

Global warming has indeed been a threat to all lifeforms on earth. At this juncture it is deemed pertinent to enlighten all and sundary to ensure that the rather worrisome situation is attacked from all quarters not just the professionals and academia. Enlightenment and sensitization campaigns have been taken to the streets in some countries regarding the dangers of global warming and how anyone can help salvage the situation (Hungerford and Ben, 1980). In Africa and asia for example market places, schools and religious bodies have been visited as a push for the sensitization against global warming campaign (Jeronen and Kaikkonen, 2002; Rao, 2011). This study therefore intends to understand the extent of awareness of global warming by students of Moddibo Adama University of Technology (MAUTECH) especially knowledge of the possible control measures. With the view of fostering global awareness for mitigating the threat, this study will be an avenue for providing social-control-driven frontiers and ambassadors for the campaign.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Awareness and knowledge of global warming

The importance of global environmental awareness for addressing environmental issues like global warming has been highlighted by several researchers. In the early 1990 people's understanding of the issue of global warming was nascent. People linked the hole in the ozone layer with global warming, although both are distinct phenomena, which have separate causes, effects, and solutions (Ungar, 2000). According to Saunders, (1999) and Vega (2005) Saunders and Al Gore are researchers that are very interested with saving our earth's planet. Al Gore created a campaign to raise awareness and to address global warming matters. Furthermore, Saunders and Al Gore are concerned about the rising levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, the rising sea level and climate change. The Researchers both accepted that greenhouse gases remain due to human activities and have started affecting the earth since during 1700's. Deforestation, burning fossil fuels, rubbish decaying is all enhancing the greenhouse gases. In the result of this, we have witnessed changes in global precipitation, temperature, and the change in sea level with weather extremes. However, Jeronen (2002) and Malkus (1997) study the relationships between children's environmental concern. These researchers agreed that children have particular knowledge on global warming, but need to build more knowledge on mitigation

measures. Malkus and Musser (1997) discovered that younger children were more concerned with the environment than older children. Some children who are concerned with the environment are looking to help save their planet and make their close relative know about global warming well.

2.2 Effect of global warming and its implication

Global warming regarded as the change in the earth's global average surface temperature. Effects of this global warming are the social changes causes and ecological changes by rising in the global temperatures. Majority observed increase in global average temperatures since the mid-20th century and is very possible due to the studied increase in human greenhouse gas emission. Meanwhile greenhouse effect is the process by which absorption and emission of inflated radiation by gases in the atmosphere warm and lower atmosphere and surface of the earth. In regard of climate change, Vani (2011) agreed that global climate change will have an adverse effect on the agriculture, ecosystem, forest, and marine resources and diseases vector. Some countries has integrated climate change as a major concern in the national policy development planning through a relatively GHG being sustainable growth path which includes diffusion of energy efficiency, renewable energy, environmental education, Forest and water resources management. Even though people, are more exposed to consequences of global warming, where they may not react strongly because global warming and its consequences are often portrayed in statistical and abstract manner (Weber, 2006). According to Chomsky global warming is a major issue and that it's being overlooked. Chomsky accepted that we can possibly face terrible damage if global warming issues continue to be overlooked. Chomsky also emphasizes that the government needs to realize the potential harm that is facing human being and his planet therefore, should take action (Chomsky, 2005).

Control measures

Awareness about global warming plays a significant role if students are to adopt conservation behavior or Pro-environmental. In country like Germany, global warming was often politicized and reduced by government officials to emission reduction targets and projected by the media as a catastrophe that needed immediate act (Weingart, 2000). Ungar, (2000) says climate change is associated by people with events like hurricanes, which are not visible as evidence of an impending hot crisis or global warming. Furthermore, Adler (1992) and Cherif (1995) believes that educators has to design new strategies to incorporate a range of options that include teaching recycling and waste management in schools to ensure recycling behavior and more participation in management of our waste. Both researchers agree that more education will make the difference and that recycling should be a part of the school program as a course. Bord (1998), Cohen (1999) and Lorenzoni (2006) suggested that People should also support GHG mitigation initiatives and understand the scientific basis for such programs and also consider the issue a very serious ecological problem or societal problem or one that affects them generally.

3.0 Materials and Methods

For this study questionnaire was administered to the students of MAUTECH to understand their level of awareness of global warming effects through. The administration was spread throught the six faculties in the institution: Agriculture and Agricultural Technology Faculty (SAAT), Engineering and Engineering School (SEET), Faculty of Environmental Science (SES),

Management and Information Technology School (SMIT), Faculty of Pure and Applied Science (SPAS) and Faculty of Education and Science Technology (STSE). This was given to undergraduate students at all levels (100 Level to 400 Level and 500 Level where applicable). Five questionnaires were purposively allocated for each faculty for which students were randomly selected given a total of 120 questionnaires for the entire study. Descriptive statistics was employed in analysing the data which was displayed in percentages and frequency of response.

4.0 Results and discussion

This section presents analysis of data obtained from respondents gathered through the use of questionnaires administered to respondents in the study area. The questionnaire focuses on the causes, consequences and control of Global Warming among undergraduate student of MAUTECH, Yola.

Table 1: Age Distribution of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
15-19yrs	4	3.3
20-24yrs	60	50
25-30yrs	48	40
30 and above	8	6.7
Total	120	100

Source: Field survey, 2019

Table 1 shows that out of 120 respondents, 60 fall between the age of 20-24years representing 50%, 48 respondents fall between the age of 25-30years represent 40%, 8 respondents fall between the age of 30 and above years representing 6.7% and 4 respondents fall between 15-19years represent 3.3% respectively. Table 4.2 shows that the highest number of respondents in the study area is between the ages of 20-24years, and this age group is school going age; they may have a little knowledge about global warming in their previous academic classes.

Table 2: Gender Distribution of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	90	75
Female	30	25
Total	120	100

Source: Field survey, 2019

Table 2 shows that, out of 120 respondents, 75 were males representing 75%, while 30 respondents were females representing 25% in this analysis. It is clear that male gender has responded more than females in the study area and also males students are more aware of global warming than females students because of the cultural believe that northerners have on female western education in the past.

Table 3: Ethnic Distribution of Respondents

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percentage
Hausa	10	8.3
Igbo	29	24.2
Fulani	21	17.5
Yoruba	31	25.8
Others	29	24.2
Total	120	100

Source: Field survey, 2019

The data from table 3 shows that out of 120 respondents, 31 out of the total respondents are Yoruba representing 25.8%, 29 were Igbo and also 29 are among other ethnic group representing 24.2% each, while, 21 are Fulani which represents 17.5%, 10 respondents are Hausa representing 8.3%, the results shows that the Yoruba and Igbos are the majority students who responded and have knowledge about global warming because of the early western education in the southern region.

Table: 4: Students awareness of global warming

Choice	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	94	78.3
No	26	21.7
Total	120	100

Source: Field survey, 2019

Table 4 shows that out of 120 respondents, 94 were aware about global warming representing 78.3%, while 26 respondents were not even aware of global warming and this represent 21.7%, which shows that most of the students who respondent have a knowledge of global warming.

Table 5: Causes of global warming

Activities	Frequency		Percentage	
	Agree	Not agree	Agree	Not agree
Fossil fuel burning	102	18	85	15
Leaving electric bulb on unnecessary	47	73	39.2	60.8
Use of brand new cars	48	72	40	60
Use of old or fairly cars	72	48	60	40
Cutting down trees without replanting	97	23	80.8	19.2
Industrial pollution	83	37	69.2	30.8
Burning of waste	106	14	88.3	11.7
Use of generators	76	44	63.3	36.7
Converting rural areas to urban areas	55	65	45.8	54.2

Source: Field survey, 2019

The result from table 5 shows that out of 120 respondents on the causes of global warming fossil fuel burning those that agree are 102 which is 85% while those did not agree are 18 respondent which 15%, leaving electric bulb on unnecessary those that agree has 47 respondent which is 39.2%, while not agree has 73 respondents which is 60.8%, use of brand new cars 48 respondent which is 40%, while not agree has 72 respondent which 60%, use of old or fairly cars has 72 respondent which is 60%, while not agree has 48 respondent, which is 40%, cutting down trees without replanting agree has 97 respondent that is 80%, while not agree 23 respondent which is 19.2%, industrial pollution those that agree are 83 respondent which is 69.2% while not agree is 37 respondent which is 30.8%, burning of waste 106 respondent which is 88.3% while not agree is 14 respondent that is 11.7%, use of generators 76 respondent which is 63.3% and not agree has 44 respondent which 36.7%, converting rural areas to urban areas those that agree is 55 respondent that is 45.8% while not agree has 65 respondent which is 54.2%

Table 6: Consequences of global warming

Consequences	Frequency			Percentage		
	yes	No	Not sure	Yes	No	Not sure
skin cancer	93	9	18	77.5	7.5	15
Famine	82	12	26	68.3	10	21.7
Increase in natural resources	4	109	7	3.3	90.8	5.8
Death and illness	69	27	24	57.5	22.5	20
Flooding	60	39	21	50	32.5	17.5
Extreme of weather temperature	72	28	20	60	23.3	16.7
Extinction of animal species	27	69	24	22.5	57.5	20
Land erosion	82	26	12	68.3	21.7	10
Reduced rate of disease infections		102	18		85	15
Reduced rate of mitigation	10	105	5	8.3	87.5	4.2

Source: Field survey, 2019

The result from table 6 shows that out of 120 respondents on the consequences of the global warming skin cancer those responded to yes are 93 which is 77.5% while no has 9 responded which carry 7.5% and those that are not sure has 19 responded 15%, feminine those responded to yes has 82 respondents which is 68.3% while no has 12 respondents which 10% and those that respondent to not sure has 26 respondents which is 21.7% of the respondents, increase in natural resources those responded to yes has 4 respondent that is 3.3% while no has 109 respondents that is 90.8% for those that are not sure are 7 respondents which 5.8% of all the respondents, death and illness those responded to yes has 69 respondents 57.5% while no has 27 respondents that is 22.5% and those that are not sure 17 are respondents which carry 20%, flooding those responded to yes has 60 respondents which 50% while no has 39 respondents which is 32.5% and those that are not sure are 21 respondents which is 17.%, where as extreme weather temperature yes has 72 respondents that is 60%, no 69 respondents which 23.3% and not sure 24 respondents that result to 16.7%, extinction of animal species those responded to yes are 82 respondents that is 22.5% and those that says No has 26 respondents which is 57.5% and not sure is 26 respondents which is 20%, while for land erosion those responded to yes has 82

respondent 68.3% while no is 26 respondents 21.4% and not sure is 12 respondent that has 10%, reduce rate of disease infection there is nobody that responded to yes which recorded 0% while no has 85 people respondents and is 85% and not sure is 18 respondents that is 15%, reduce rate of mitigation has 10 respondents to yes which is 8.3% while no has 105 respondents which is 87.5% and not sure are 5 respondent which is 4.2%.

Table 7: Control of global warming

Control	Frequency			Percentage		
	yes	No	Not sure	Yes	No	Not sure
Use of hybrid	111	7	2	92.5	5.8	1.7
Use of energy efficiently (e.g energy saver bulbs)	79	16	25	65.8	13.3	20.8
Use of fertilizers	60	60		50	50	
Turning off air condition	99	6	15	82.5	5	12.5
Recycling of waste materials	88	7	25	73.3	5.8	20.8
Use of disposable utensils	92	9	19	76.7	7.5	15.8
Planting of trees	114	4	2	95	3.3	1.7
Use of public transportation instead of private	108	6	6	90	5	5
Converting bushes to road	7	109	4	5.8	90.8	3.3
Use of renewable energy (e.g. solar energy)	118		2	98.3		1.7

Source: Field survey, 2019

The result from table 7 shows that out of 120 respondents on the control of the global warming use hybrid those responded to yes are 111 which is 92.5% while no has 7 respondents which carry 5.8% and those that are not sure has 2 responded 1.7%, use of energy efficiently (e.g energy saver bulbs) those responded to yes has 79 respondents which is 65.8% while no has 16 respondents which 13.3% and those that respondent to not sure has 25 respondents which is 20.8% of the respondents, use of fertilizers those responded to yes has 60 respondent that is 50% while no has 60 respondents that is 50% and we have 0 respondents to not sure which 0% of all the respondents, turning off air condition those responded to yes has 99 respondents which is 82.5% while no has 6 respondents that is 5% and those that are not sure are 15 respondents which carry 12.5%, recycling of waste materials those responded to yes has 88 respondents which 73.3% while no has 7 respondents which is 5.8% and those that are not sure are 25 respondents which is 20.8%, where use of disposable utensils those that responded to yes has 92 respondents that is 67.7% while no has 9 respondents which 7.5% and not sure has 19 respondents that result to 15.8%, planting of trees those responded to yes are 114 respondents that is 95% and those that says No are 4 respondents which is 3.3% and not sure is 2 respondents which is 1.7%, use of public transportation instead of private those responded to yes has 108 respondent that is 90% while no is 6 respondents 5% and not sure is also 6 respondent and has 5%, converting bushes to road those that responded to yes are 7 respondents that is 5.8% while no has 109 people respondents and is 90.8% and not sure is 4 respondents that is 3.3%, use of renewable energy (e.g solar energy) those that responded to yes has 118 which is 98.3% while nobody responded to no which is 0% and not sure has 2 respondent which is 1.7%.

5.0 Conclusion

From the analysis of these studies, the causes and consequences of global warming have negative impact on the students' performance. The lack of strong and active environmental conservation and citizen groups in Nigeria at large is also a reason for lack of public participation in environmental decision-making and poor environmental awareness. But unlike developed countries, there is no institutionalized mechanism to seek inputs during the policy making process from the public, experts, non-governmental organizations, and interest groups. Policy-making on a holistic issue like global warming; this study shows that, students are aware of the issue of global warming and its seriousness. However, they do not have a clear understanding of the causes and impacts of this environmental issue and what they can do to mitigate global warming.

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Emotional Cynicism and Employee Commitment of Food, Beverage and Tobacco Companies in Port Harcourt Nigeria

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Abstract: *The purpose of this study was to examine the extent to which emotional cynicism is an explanatory variable for employee commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt, Nigeria. The study adopted the cross-sectional survey in its investigation of the variables. Primary source of data was generated through self-administered questionnaire. The study adopted the correlational research design. A total population for the fourteen companies was one thousand and ninety-three (1093) workers. A sample size of 292 was determined using Taro Yamen's formula. The reliability of the instrument was achieved by the use of the Cronbach Alpha coefficient with all the items scoring above 0.70. The hypotheses were tested using the Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Statistics. The result showed that emotional cynicism negatively and significantly influences affective, normative and continuance commitment of the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt, Nigeria respectively. The study concludes that emotional cynicism negatively and significantly impacts on employee commitment of food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt. The study therefore recommends that the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt, Nigeria should adopt organizational cynicism avoidance mechanisms as this will increase employees' commitment.*

Keywords: Emotional Cynicism, Employee Commitment, Affective Commitment, Normative Commitment, Continuance Commitment

INTRODUCTION

In the wake of intensified competition, rising customer expectations and demanding industry standards across the globe, committed employees are increasingly becoming invaluable assets in an organization. Employee commitment is viewed as commitment to the organization as well as to their occupations (Robinson, 2009). Over time, the study of commitment has advanced in several directions. A variety of disciplines have adopted the topic as a theme in their research and these have offered fresh and significant insights (Brown, McHardy, McNabb & Taylor, 2011). These recent advances include new approaches to the conceptualization of employee commitment. No organization in today's competitive world can perform at peak levels unless each employee is committed to the organization's objectives and functions as an effective team member (University of Pretoria, 2005).

It is the participation of employees in the decision making processes of organisations that

boosts employee development at work. The involvement of employees with the appropriate human capital empowers them to influence management decisions in a more efficient and productive manner (Obiekwe & Zeb-Obipi, 2018), implying that those participating employees will definitely feel committed and less cynical in relating to their employing organizations. It is no longer good enough to have employees who come to work faithfully every day and do their jobs independently. Employees now have to think like entrepreneurs while working in teams, and have to prove their worth. However, they also want to be part of a successful organization which provides a good income and the opportunity for development and secure employment (John and Elyse, 2010). Furthermore, they stated that a committed employee is one that will remain with the organization. Through the years, numerous research studies have been conducted to determine the accuracy of this statement. In the end many have concluded that committed employees remain with the organization for longer periods of time than those who are less committed (Scott, 2007). Although organizations desire employees who are committed to their goals, researchers have however suggested that organisational cynicism is increasing among employees which diminishes this much sought after commitment. In fact, this predicament is said to be rising in an alarming proportion. According to Zweig and Scott (2008), the realities of organisational life are changing; as individuals no longer expect to be employed by one organisation for their entire working lives. Also, McClelland (1961) elaborates that this is especially common among those workers with high need for achievement (n-Ach.), because their need for achievement is consistent.

The continuous quest of companies to increase profitability so as to remain in business has resulted in their continuous change of set targets and setting of “unrealistic and unfeasible” market targets that frustrate employees. These systems impose undue pressure on employees thereby forcing them to respond negatively by harbouring detrimental ideas and feelings about their employing organization. Organizational cynicism has been found to be the cause of approximately thirty per cent of failure in many organizations and a subject of concern between researchers of human resource management and organizational behaviour as it contributes to psychological, sociological and economic implications in the organization (Appelbaum, Iaconi & Matousek, 2007; Galperin, 2002).

Food, beverage and tobacco employees exhibit cynical behaviours which affect the way service is delivered in these organizations due to burn out from the demands of the job. In contemporary society, globalization has redefined trends, technological factors, and diversity in the work place, thus food, beverage and tobacco companies are faced with the enormous challenges of maintaining high service standards (Khan, 2014). This study therefore examines the relationship between emotional cynicism and employee commitment in food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt, Nigeria.

Furthermore, this study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What is the relationship between emotional cynicism and affective commitment in selected food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt?
- ii. What is the relationship between emotional cynicism and normative commitment in selected food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt?
- iii. What is the relationship between emotional cynicism and continuance commitment in selected food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt?

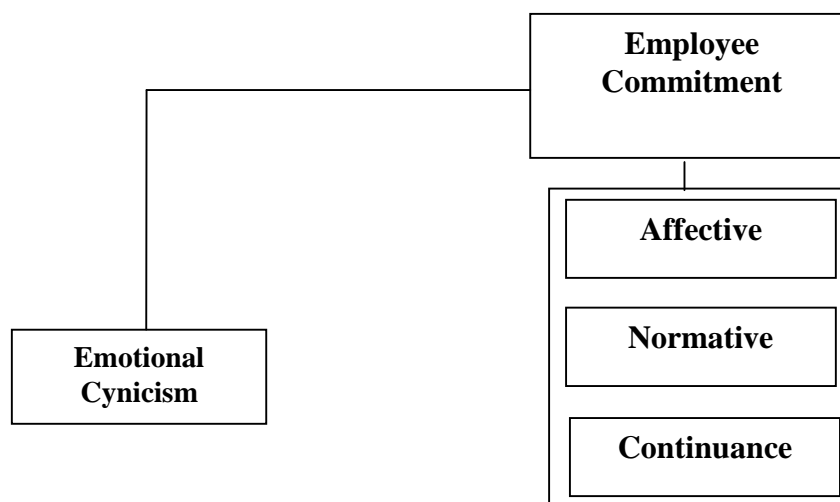


Fig.1 Conceptual Framework for the relationship emotional cynicism and employee commitment

Source: Author's Desk Research, 2020

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

Equity Theory

According to Adams (1965) individuals compare the effort they expend and the results they obtain with the effort others in the same workplace spend and the results they obtain. This situation is important for the organizational justice perception of a person who is a member of an organization. According to Guerrero, Andersen and Afifi (2007), Equity theory acknowledges that subtle and variable individual factors affect each person's assessment and perception of their relationship with their relational partners.

This theory proposes that a person's motivation is based on what he or she considers being fair when compared to others (Redmond, 2010). As noted by Gogia (2010) when applied to the workplace, Equity Theory focuses on an employee's work-compensation relationship or exchange relationship as well as employees' attempt to minimize any sense of unfairness that might result. Equity theory as developed by Adams (1965), considers motivation as the result of a comparison between a worker's perceived outcomes and inputs to the outcomes and inputs of a referent other (Vinchur & Koppes, 2011).

In an organizational context, outcomes may refer to monetary compensation, benefits, flexible work arrangements, salary, career opportunities, psychological rewards like feedback and support from colleagues or supervisor (Willems, Huybrechts, Jegers, Vantilborgh, Bidee & Pepermans, 2012). Inputs may include the employee's time, expertise, qualifications, experience, intangible personal qualities such as drive and ambition, interpersonal skills, effort and commitment (Willems, Huybrechts, Jegers, Vantilborgh, Bidee & Pepermans, 2012). Because

Equity Theory deals with social relationships and fairness/unfairness, it is also known as The Social Comparisons Theory or Inequity Theory (Gogia, 2010).

Equity theory has been widely applied to business settings by industrial psychologists to describe the relationship between an employee's motivation and his or her perception of equitable or inequitable treatment (Vinchur&Koppes, 2011). In a business setting, the relevant dyadic relationship is that between employee and employer. Equity theory assumes that employees seek to maintain an equitable ratio between the inputs they bring to the relationship and the outcomes they receive from it (Adams, 1965). According to Redmond (2010), Adams' equity theory makes practical sense for instance it is reasonable to assume that most people do compare their inputs and outcomes relative to others.

Most criticisms on equity theory concern the issue of whether the theory as suggested by Adams (1965) really holds. According to Al-Zawahreh and Al-Madi (2012) most studies are unable to answer this question as this requires the theory to be evaluated within each person's value system. In particular, equity theory predicts a decrease or increase in work effort in a situation of underpayment or overpayment respectively, with the exact decrease or increase in work effort depending on the person's valuation of the effort and the underpayment or overpayment. However, traditional research on equity theory only measures whether the work effort increases or decreases, but fails to test whether the magnitude of these increases or decreases are in line with what equity theory would predict (Redmond, 2010).

Emotional Cynicism

This refers to emotional and sentimental responses toward the organization, and involves psychological reactions such as aggravation, tension, anxiety, and discomfort; where the cynics feel disrespect and frustration towards their firms (Greenberg & Baron, 2003). Mishra and Spreitzer (1998) indicated that actual cynics experience different emotions such as moral outrage, anger, and hatred towards their employing organization (Mishra and Spreitzer, 1998). Affective cynicism is accompanied by arrogance as the cynical employees believe that they have the superior understanding and outstanding knowledge of things (Mishra and Spreitzer, 1998). This dimension is related to emotional reactions developed in an individual against the organization. This dimension includes strong emotional reactions such as disrespectfulness, distress, embarrassment, anger, and violence (Abraham, 2000).

Emotional cynicism can be referred to as negative emotions felt toward one's employer, for example, disdain, anger and even disgust for organization. Also, emotions like hopelessness, disillusionment also inform organizational cynicism (Andersson& Bateman, 1996; Reichers *et al.*, 1997). These negative emotions develop because of organisations failing to meet up with the expectations of workers (Dean *et al.*, 1998). However, these cynical emotions are not disclosed so as to not lose wages or statue easily (Pelit &Pelit, 2014). Workers may criticise the operational or strategic philosophy/culture of an organization by responding with behavioural organizational cynicism sometimes in the form of snippy words. This critical behaviour is performed by estimating the future of organization pessimistically (Dean *et al.*, 1998).

To illustrate, the worker in this position can behave cynically by expressing that any investment would be unsuccessful. The main reason a worker may behave like this is that he/she has a self-perception of superiority both in terms of knowledge and ability in relation to what their employing organization expects of them. In addition, wry smile or grin are other cynical non-vocal behaviours (Brandes and Das, 2006). The emotional dimension of organizational cynicism involves disrespect, anger, annoyance and embarrassment (Abraham, 2000). Cynical

individuals, for example, may feel anger and contempt for the organization or experience a sense of agitation, disgust and even embarrassment when they think about the organization. Hence, cynicism is related to all kinds of negative sentiments (Brandes, 1997; Dean et al., 1998).

Employee Commitment

Employee commitment refers to the employee's emotional attachment to, identification with, and involvement in the organization. In essence, measuring organizational commitment is an assessment of the congruence between an individual's own values and beliefs and those of the organization (Swales, 2002). Employee commitment is characterized as employees' willingness to contribute to organizational goals. When employees are sure that they will grow and learn with their current employers, their level of commitment to stay with that particular organization is higher (Opkara, 2004). In order to make employees satisfied and committed to their jobs, there is a need for strong and effective motivational strategies at various levels of the organization. Besides that, Ayeni and Phopoola (2007) have found a strong relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment. According to them job satisfaction is mostly determined by how well the organization meets employees expectations.

On the other hand, Maxwell and Steele (2003) believe that the organization is concerned with looking after employees' interests. It is clear, the higher the experience, the more positive the impact on the commitment. Furthermore, an individual's experience with their co-workers has an impact on the degree of their commitment to the organization (Maxwell and Steele, 2003). High level of organizational commitment provide a clear focus for the human resource manager on the grounds that commitment is in itself good and positive that should lead to a high level of work performance. While according to Lok & Crawford (2001), a number of demographic variables, frequently included in this study. Variables such as age (Mathieu and Zajac, 1990; Micheals, 1994; Williams and Hazer, 1986), organization tenure (Mathieu and Hamel, 1989; Mathieu and Zajac, 1990) and position tenure (Gregersen and Black, 1992; Mathieu and Zajac, 1990) have been found to be positively associated with organizational commitment. Mathieu and Zajac (1990) concluded that age is considerably more strongly related to attitudinal than behavioural commitment.

Organizational commitment is an important aspect in human resource management literature. It refers to the state in which employees sense loyalty to their respective organization and align themselves with organizational goals and objectives (Lambert, Hogan, & Griffin, 2007). The success of an organization depends on the commitment of employees toward the organization. Herman and Armanu (2013) argue that commitment towards an organization is more than just a formal membership but rather it encompasses the attitude to the organization and a willingness to pursue all things for the sake of the organization. Employees' organizational commitment helps managers in programming, improving job performances and in decreasing frequency of absenteeism from duty (Somayyeh, Mohsen & Zahed, 2013). On the other hand, having a committed staff provides a background for improvement and expansion of the organization, while the personnel with little or no commitment to the organization remain indifferent towards the goals and overall success of the organization (Somayyeh, Mohsen & Zahed, 2013). For instance, the fact that secondary schools and commercial banks are organizations, establishment of justice can be a significant action to improve job performance, efficiency, job satisfaction and organizational commitment in these organizations.

Measures of Employee Commitment

Affective Commitment

Affective commitment is defined as the emotional attachment, identification, and involvement that an employee has with his or her organization (Aydin *et al.* 2011). It is the positive emotional

attachment that employees feel for the organization because they see their goals and values to be congruent with those of the organization. Meyer and Allen (1997), note that employees retain membership out of choice and this is their commitment to the organization. Employees, who are affectively committed, strongly identify with the goals of the organization and desire to remain a part of the organization. These employees commit to the organization because they want to (Aydin *et al.* 2011). The concept of affective commitment is linked to the idea that strongly committed persons identify with, are involved in, and enjoy membership in an organization (Meyer & Allen, 1997).

It is an emotional state where individuals identify themselves with their organization, interact with their organization and are happy about being members of their organization (Mowday, 1998). It is closely related to emotional reactions to the business environment and is concerned with more dedication to work, and satisfaction with the colleagues, their workplace and the profession (Balay, 2000). It refers to employees' integration into their organizations. Those who have strong affective commitment become a member of the organization not because they need it but because they regard themselves as part of the organization and have adopted its goals. Employees who feel this kind of commitment demonstrate high fidelity to their organizations and volunteer to make more effort when the need arises. Employees develop commitment to their work as long as they adopt the goals and targets of the organization (Bayram, 2005). All kinds of commitment in fact bind employees to the organization but the most effective commitment is the one that has an effective dimension. Affective commitment, which leads to a positive attitude and behaviour towards the organization, is the best form of employee commitment to the organization (Brown, 2003). For instance, employees with high levels of affective commitment remain in the organization because they want to do so and make huge efforts towards the goals of the organization. These employees are loyal employees who have devoted themselves to the organization. When necessary, they volunteer to assume additional responsibilities and display a positive attitude towards their job and their co-workers (Do an and Demiral, 2009). Employees who have affective commitment stay with the organization because they want it (Meyer and Allen, 1997).

Mishra *et al.* (2015) conducted a study of a national franchise organization and eight of its small business franchisees to understand the roles of trust, organizational commitment, and justice on employee turnover. The results indicated that the degree to which employees are affectively committed to their organization has a distinct negative effect on the likelihood of their voluntary turnover. This demonstrates that managers who build a sense of affective commitment among employees can prevent turnover and its associated costs to the firm. These costs include the recruitment and training of new employees who must replace those who leave, as well as the lost training and knowledge that goes with those employees who leave (Mishra *et al.*, 2015).

In a study on the impact of distributive justice, procedural justice, and affective commitment on turnover intention among public and private sector employees in Malaysia, Gim and Mat Desa(2014) found that distributive and procedural justice were significantly and positively related to affective commitment, which in turn was significantly and negatively related to turnover intention. This means it is important for organizations to reward their employees equitably and to implement fair compensation procedures to foster higher affective commitment thus improve employees' retention in the workplace (Gim& Mat Desa, 2014).

Continuance Commitment

Continuance commitment is the willingness to remain in an organization because of the investment that the employee has with “non-transferable” investments. Non-transferable investments may include retirement, relationships with other employees, and other things that are special to the organization (Obeng & Ugboro, 2003). Continuance commitment also includes factors such as years of employment or benefits that the employee may receive that are unique to the organization (Reichers, 1985).

The main factor that influences continuance commitment is the maintenance in the organization (Yalçın & Iplik, 2005). Continuance commitment emanates from the disadvantages that an employee will face when he leaves the organization (Aydin *et al.*, 2011). In general, continuance commitment depicts an employee’s assessment of whether the costs of leaving the organization are greater than the cost of staying. That is, the need to stay with the organization based on the costs of leaving or a sense that available comparable alternatives are limited.

Individuals commit to the organization because they perceive high costs of losing organizational membership, including economic losses, such as pension accruals and social costs, like friendship ties with co-workers that would have to be given up (Aydin *et al.*, 2011). The employees remain members of the organization because they have to. The cost perception for leaving an organization leads to the commitment of members stay in the organization (Dixit & Bhati, 2012). Furthermore, they believe that the threat of losing attractive benefits is one of the perceived costs of leaving an organization. Employees who have a remarkable position in their organization do not want to lose due to the highly paid they get, thus, they do not leave their organizations easily due to the higher amount of benefit they lose in case of quitting their job. Moreover, employees who have limited opportunities for alternative employment that offer better packages, certainly, remain with their current organization because they have to remain. However, continuance commitment can be increased when organization has a clear root for a promotion (Shouksmith, 1994), a good reward system, an obvious plan for career development (Akhtar and Tan, 1994).

Continuance commitment is different to affective and normative forms. It is associated with external regulators of work behaviour (Meyer, Becker and Vandenberghe, 2004). Three specific causes of continuance commitment are thought to include longer tenure in the organization, having value to the organization recognised and individual negative affectivity leading which is thought to lead to perception of few alternatives (Iverson and Buttegieg, 1999). Since continuance commitment is reflective of the cost of leaving, it could be managed by above average pay, flexible hours and other fringe benefits which might make it very difficult for an employee to leave; however whilst the employee continues to fulfill responsibilities, they might not be performing at their best.

Normative Commitment

Normative commitment is the commitment that people believe they have to the organization or their feeling of obligation to their workplace. It refers to the employee’s feeling of duty, loyalty or obligation to the organization (Wasti, 2003). These feelings may derive from many sources. For example, the organization may have invested resources in training an employee who then feels a 'moral' obligation to put forth effort on the job and stay with the organization to 'repay the debt.' It may also reflect an internalized norm, developed before the person joins the organization through family or other socialization processes, that one should be loyal to one's organization

(Aydin *et al.*, 2011).

In normative commitment an individual is willing to stay within an organization and contribute to an organization to correspond with a group norm (Dixit & Bhati, 2012). Affective, continuance, and normative commitment are components of organizational commitment rather than types because employees could have varying degrees of all three (Meyer & Allen, 1991). In other words, the three components are not mutually exclusive: an employee can simultaneously be committed to the organization in an affective, normative, and continuance sense, at varying levels of intensity.

The above idea led Meyer and Herscovitch (2001) to argue that at any point in time, an employee has a commitment profile that reflects high or low levels of all three of these components, and that different profiles have different effects on workplace behaviour such as job performance, absenteeism, and the chance that they will quit. Meyer, Allen, and Smith (1993) argue that the three components of commitment are a psychological state that either characterizes the employee's relationship with the organization or has the implications to affect whether the employee will continue staying with the organization.

Relationship between Emotional Cynicism and Employee Commitment

Wanous *et al.* (2000) concluded that individuals with cynical feelings have lower organizational commitment. In the same way, employees with the high level of commitment were observed to be less likely to exhibit cynical behaviour. Pitre (2004) found that there is a relationship between organizational commitment and organizational cynicism in United States Naval Academy and also a relation between decision-making and risk-taking is documented as well. Naus (2007) concluded that employees with organizational cynicism have a decrease in organizational commitment, motivation and job satisfaction. Rubin *et al.* (2009) found negative relationship between leaders' level of cynicism towards organizational change and organizational commitment. In another study, Barnes (2010) stated that employees with cynical attitudes exhibit lower commitment and it has referred that sometimes cynicism may have a positive impact on the organizations.

Another research done by Altınöz *et al.* (2011), relationship between organizational commitment and organizational cynicism, perceived by hotel employees was examined. It was stated that when organizational commitment level of employee increases, they exhibit less cynical attitudes; likewise, employees with cynical attitudes become less committed. Findik and Eryesil (2012) examined the effect of the employees' cynical attitudes towards changes on their organizational commitment. A negative relationship between organizational cynicism and organizational commitment was documented in the research. Balıkcıoğlu (2013) investigated the relationship between organizational cynicism and organizational commitment in hospitality businesses in Antalya. Research results indicated that, employees exhibit low organizational cynicism and high organizational commitment.

Ergen (2015) found similar results with previous studies and stated that organizational commitment decreases when organizational cynicism increases. The relationship between organizational cynicisms is highly connected by notions mentioned and organizational commitment is object of interest. Philosophical change in administration policy from control to commitment in last 1980's and in the beginning of 1990's provides a basis to the foundation of the organizational commitment (nce and Gül, 2005). According to Guetzkov, who study on commitment notion firstly, commitment is a psychological situation which makes person ready

for a certain though, person or group, (Yazıcıoğlu and Topaloğlu, 2009) and which characterizes the organizational communication and which has effect on continuity of organizational membership (Meyer and Allen, 1997).

From the foregoing point of view, we hereby hypothesized thus:

- H₀₁:** There is no significant relationship between emotional cynicism and affective commitment in selected food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.
- H₀₂:** There is no significant relationship between emotional cynicism and normative commitment in selected food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.
- H₀₃:** There is no significant relationship between emotional cynicism and continuance commitment in selected food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

METHODOLOGY

The study adopted the cross-sectional survey in its investigation of the variables. Primary source of data was generated through a self-administered questionnaire. The study adopted the correlational research design. A total population for the fourteen companies was one thousand and ninety-three (1093) workers. A sample size of 292 was determined using Taro Yamen's formula. The reliability of the instrument was achieved by the use of the Cronbach Alpha coefficient with all the items scoring above 0.70. The hypotheses were tested using the Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Statistics.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Bivariate Analysis

The Spearman Rank Order Correlation coefficient was calculated using the SPSS 21.0 version to establish the relationship between the empirical referents of the predictor variable and the measures of the criterion variable. Correlation coefficient can range from -1.00 to +1.00. The value of -1.00 represents a perfect negative correlation while the value of +1.00 represents a perfect positive correlation. A value of 0.00 represents a lack of correlation.

Table 1: Correlations Emotional Cynicism and Affective Commitment

			Emotional	Affective
Spearman's rho	Emotional	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.559*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.030
		N	270	270
	Affective	Correlation Coefficient	-.559*	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.030	.
		N	270	270

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

Source: Research Data, 2019

Ho₁: There is no significant relationship between emotional cynicism and affective commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

The above table shows a negative and significant relationship between emotional cynicism and affective commitment with a rho value of -0.559. This indicates that there is a 55.9% explanation of the relationship between both variables, while 44.1% are explained by other variables not considered in this relationship. However, this statement is true as the level of significance of 0.030 is less than 0.05, therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected, and its alternative form accepted. This states that there is significant relationship between emotional cynicism and affective commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

Table 2: correlation for Emotional Cynicism and Normative Commitment

			Emotional	Normative
Spearman's rho	Emotional	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.603*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.017
		N	270	270
	Normative	Correlation Coefficient	-.603*	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.017	.
		N	270	270

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

Source: Research Data, 2019

Ho₂: There is no significant relationship between emotional cynicism and normative commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

The above table shows a negative and significant relationship between emotional cynicism and normative commitment with a rho value of -0.603. This indicates that there is a 60.3% explanation of the relationship between both variables, while 39.7% are explained by other variables not considered in this relationship. However, this statement is true as the level of significance of 0.017 is less than 0.05, therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected, and its alternative form accepted. This states that there is significant relationship between emotional cynicism and normative commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

Table 3: correlation for Emotional Cynicism and Continuance Commitment

			Emotional	Continuance
Spearman's rho	Emotional	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	-.649**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.009
		N	270	270
	Continuance	Correlation Coefficient	-.649**	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.
		N	270	270

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

Source: Research Data, 2019

Ho₃: There is no significant relationship between emotional cynicism and continuance commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

The above table shows a negative and significant relationship between emotional cynicism and continuance commitment with a rho value of -0.649. This indicates that there is a 64.9% explanation of the relationship between both variables, while 35.1% are explained by other variables not considered in this relationship. However, this statement is true as the level of

significance of 0.009 is less than 0.05, therefore, the null hypothesis is rejected, and its alternative form accepted. This states that there is a significant relationship between emotional cynicism and continuance commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Association between Emotional Cynicism and Affective Commitment

There is a negative and significant relationship between emotional cynicism and affective commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

Pitre (2004) found that there is a relationship between organizational commitment and organizational cynicism in United States Naval Academy and also a relation between decision-making and risk-taking is documented as well. Naus *et al.* (2007) concluded that employees with organizational cynicism have a decrease in organizational commitment, motivation and job satisfaction. Rubin *et al.* (2009) found negative relationship between leaders' level of cynicism towards organizational change and organizational commitment. In another study, Barnes (2010) stated that employees with cynical attitudes exhibit lower commitment and it has referred that sometimes cynicism may have a positive impact on the organizations. Furthermore, he noted that cynical workers find it difficult to be compatible with the activities of the organization. Compatibility has been defined in the recent literature as the 'stick-togetherness' of the group (Guzzo & Dickson, 1996; Salisbury, Parent, & Chin, 2008).

Association between Emotional Cynicism and Normative Commitment

There is a negative and significant relationship between emotional cynicism and normative commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

A reliable organization gives workers a sense of belonging and control over their work. Control problems occur when employees do not have enough discretion over their work or when they are unable to shape their environment according to their values (Leiter & Maslach, 2004). Control may enhance the alignment of various parties' interests by compensating for negative behavioural expectations (Pinar, Selin & Ozge, 2016). In this regard, control is considered to be an important element in building commitment (Vosselman, & Van der Meer-Kooistra, 2009). Normative commitment refers to the employee's feeling of duty, loyalty or obligation to the organization (Wasti, 2003). These feelings may derive from many sources; for example, the organization may have invested resources in training an employee who then feels a 'moral' obligation to put forth effort on the job and stay with the organization to 'repay the debt.' It also reflects an internalized norm, developed before the person joins the organization through family or other socialization processes, that one should be loyal to one's organization (Aydin *et al.* 2011).

Association between Emotional Cynicism and Continuance Commitment

There is a negative and significant relationship between emotional cynicism and continuance commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt. Continuance commitment refers to an employee's perceived costs of leaving his or her organization (Bryant *et al.*, 2007). Becker (1960) indicates that employees invest time, effort, health, money, and so on in their organizations. Such investments strongly affect their decisions and/or intentions to leave or remain in their organizations. Accordingly, Sharma & Sinha (2015) maintain that an increase in an employee's age and tenure within organizations raises his or her perceived cost of leaving it. Employees may also think about their pension, knowledge, job security, and unused vacations upon considering the decision to leave their jobs (Sharma & Sinha, 2015).

Continuance commitment involves a situation where employees believe that they will lose the investments they possess if they leave their jobs, so they do not want to endure the consequences and costs that will arise and therefore they continue to work there out of obligation because job alternatives are limited (Meyer, Allen and Smith, 1993). It refers to the fact that employees make more investments in the organization in the course of time and exhibit more commitment due to the possibility that they may lose them if they quit (Hrebiniak and Alutto, 1972). Individuals will continue to stay with the organization even if they do not want to because the cost of quitting the organization will be high for them (Allen and Meyer, 1990). Continuance commitment arises when employees in an organization attach a huge importance to investments such as seniority, career and other opportunities (Allen and Meyer, 1990).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study presented three conclusions depicting each of the research questions that were conceptualized and obtained from the main purpose of the study. Below are the various conclusions reached from the findings of the study;

- i. Emotional cynicism in food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt has a negative and significant influence on affective commitment.
- ii. Emotional cynicism contributes negatively and significantly to normative commitment in the food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.
- iii. Emotional cynicism contributes negatively and significantly to continuance commitment in food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt.

The following specific recommendations are made based on the findings of this study:

- i. Organizations' should adopt every possible strategy to keep affectively committed workers so as to avoid emotional cynicism.
- ii. Organizations should develop an enabling platform for all workers as a means of support for mutual benefit in order to create a sense of normative commitment in the mind of the employees thereby helping them surpass emotional cynicism.
- iii. Cynicism avoidance strategies should be integral to the organizational fabric so as to attain great heights in terms of workforce continuance commitment.
- iv. Food, beverage and tobacco companies in Port Harcourt, Nigeria should adopt organizational cynicism avoidance mechanisms as this will increase employees' commitment.

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