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- b. Abstract should not exceed 150 words
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Editorial

JOLAE: Journal of Arts and Education is devoted to advancing knowledge and understanding in Arts and Education. Papers reporting original research efforts contributing to the growth of knowledge, discussion of fundamental practical factors or problems, critical synthesis of research, current theoretical and philosophical perspectives on various disciplines in Arts and Education are encouraged. JOLAE is, therefore, a forum for exchange of current ideas, theories, philosophies, and perspectives among scholars in Arts and Education, all over the world.

The papers in the present volume, contributed by scholars from within and outside Nigeria, are inspiring, challenging, and above all relevant to current debates in various disciplines in Arts and Education. JOLAE is, therefore, recommended for all scholars, students, libraries, institutes, organisations, and all who care to learn new things everyday.

Special thanks to the Editorial Board and Editorial Advisory members for their efforts in keeping the flag flying and to the Management of IBB University, Ibadan, especially the Vice Chancellor who has continued to demonstrate his love for quality research and sustained regular publication of this journal.

A.S. Okegbile, Ph.D.

Editor-in-Chief

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CENTRIPETAL AND CENTRIFUGAL DYNAMICS OF THE INDIVIDUAL SELF IN THE LIGHT OF ROUSSEAU'S EXPERIENCE

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Abstract

The self is the centre of the world or the "trade centre" of social relationships. It, thus, encounters the world outside of itself and, guided by its physical (pleasure or pain) and moral (good or bad) sensibilities, adopts either centripetal or centrifugal dynamics, thereby keeping to itself or going out to others, respectively. Drawing lessons from Jean-Jacques Rousseau, this paper demonstrates the case of the individual self within the broader society, as it relates to material things and also to other individual selves or persons. The paper, in line with Rousseau's thought, concludes that our true self is not always entirely in us.

Introduction

The world is made up of various forces which are harnessed in one way or the other for a purpose. Centripetal and centrifugal dynamics are best explained from the experience of a merry-go-round. As explained in the Encarta Encyclopedia (2005) "Suppose someone is riding on a merry-go-round. As the merry-go-round rotates, he or she must hang on to the ride to keep from falling off. Where the person is in contact with the merry-go-round, a centripetal force is applied that keeps the person moving in a circular path". A "centripetal force, a centre-seeking force that causes an object to move in a circular path" is, therefore, the opposite of a "centrifugal force, a force that acts outwardly from a centre", like when "a ball is tied to a string and swung around in a circle".

Thus, while a State may have a collective self, an individual has a self characterised by its individuality and uniqueness. Rousseau provides a basis for the understanding of the individual self when he wrote at the beginning of his Confessions (Cohen 1953: 18): "I am made unlike any one I have ever met. I will even venture to say that I am like no one in the whole world. I may be no better, but at least I am different." Here we see not only the "self-concept" or "self-perception theory" at work but also, as modern social psychology (Smith & Mackie 1995: 164) would have it, the "social comparison theory" by which "people compare themselves to others to learn what characteristics make them unique."

Unique as may be the individual self within society, it becomes prone to several dynamics, founded on self- and other-consciousness as well as on sensibility, already studied in respect of J. J. Rousseau since the

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Abstract

This paper discusses the recurrent issue of ethno-cultural identities and their consequent colonial impact on political stability in Nigeria. It is argued that the basis of conflict in Nigeria is due to the fact that ethno-cultural identity and solidarity are merely used by the elite to the detriment of the masses. The paper further posits that the elites usually resort to ethnic and primordial sentiment to achieve their political and economic interest. It is further asserted that the activities of the power elites must be seen as a carry-over effect from the colonial era. All these situations have been seen to give rise to conflicts and have caused so many ethno-cultural problems.

Introduction

The entity called "Nigeria" is a product of colonial experience. The legacy of colonialism is still prominent in Nigeria's governmental and political affairs. Egwu (2000) noted, beginning with the transition from colonial to neo-colonial dependence, to the present Military-inspired "guided democracy", the transition of democracy and democratic dispensation can best be noted for the crises it generated rather than the consensus it brokered.

The advent of colonialism has indeed brought about the disorganization and debasement of our sense of purpose and integrity, and the resultant effect is the evolution and clinging to ethnic and cultural identities which are dangerous for co-habitation because colonialism was premised on the cultural inferiority of the colonized (Ake 1984).

According to Edo (2001), the fact is, Nigeria is a complex and plural society with over 250 ethnic groups whose components and social aggregates remain sharply divided. This fact stemmed from two major defects bequeathed to the country by her colonial master. Firstly, it is the unbalanced nature in the size, shape and structure of federation adopted for the country, which was a contrast to the postulate of the laws of a workable federation. Not only that, and perhaps more draconian, is the failure, which is deliberate, of the British to develop or cultivate anything remotely related to national identity and sentiments capable of transcending the primordial affection operatives at the pluralistic units.

Conceptual and Theoretical Perspectives

A proper foundation for this paper would be laid if certain concepts are clarified. The term "Cultural and Ethnic Identities" is a complex one. A simpler reference to it is "Ethnic Groups and Ethnicity". It is important to distinguish between an *Ethnic Group* and *Ethnicity*. An ethnic group is a group of people linked by common bonds of kinship and communal relationship, which has identifiable language, economic and cultural traits as well as a distinct territory. According to Elaigwu (1994), when an individual identifies with the group as a basis for his primordial social identity, it forms his cultural identity.

Ethnicity, according to Mafeje (1997) is an ideologically loaded concept which is not a natural outcome of ethnic existence but it is a class interest driven phenomenon. Egwu (2001) opined that ethnicity is all about mobilization and politicization of ethnic group identity drawing on those elements that mark out the group such as language, culture, territory, mode of dressing and sharing jokes. The term takes on a greater meaning in competitive situations, and where available resources are scarce in relation to the interests that grow around them (Nnoli, 1989).

The identity factor, as noted by Abagen (2002), is a strong feature of ethnicity and thus usually starts with stereotyping and labeling to give various groups a friend status based on race, nationality, religion, caste for the ultimate goal of self actualization, hegemony and survival. Thus, both cultural identity which is at micro-individualistic level, and ethnic identity which is at the macro level are both being branded as "an ideology" conceived to focus, advance and protect group interest and ensure its survival.

Extensive research into the problematics of the Ethnicity Identity in the Nigerian polity by Cohen (1969), Nnoli (1978, 1989), Otiite (1990), Osagbe (1992), Elaigwu (1994), Egwu (2001), have summarily pointed to five main issues:

- (i) That ethnicity is bound to be in a plural state;
- (ii) It is characterized by exclusiveness, the common consciousness of the feeling of one's cultural superiority to the others;
- (iii) It is a tool of competition for individuals and groups for scarce public resources such as contracts, employment, political appointments, scholarships, access to land as well as opportunities for lucrative trade and commerce.
- (iv) It is widely used as a political tool by all and sundry including the State to canvass for support or sympathy.
- (v) It is a situational consciousness which alters in its form, role, incumbents and place as the social process demands it. That is, situation changes as the events unfold. Hitherto, derivation formula was based purely on the benefiting area, but tragically, the situation is different today.
(Egwu cited in Ali 1998).

The theoretical underpinnings of these summations culminate from the concept of pluralism which argued that once a society is characterized by co-existing but distinct cultural diversities and compulsory social institutions which determine and guide the individual and group behaviours of the incorporated people, then ethnicity identity becomes a factor in the issues of conflict or consensus. (Otite & Albert, 2001).

Lograms (1994) captured the concept properly:

A situation of plurality is said to exist where there are inequalities among group members of a society. These inequalities, in turn, produce potential and sometimes unequal socio-economic and political relationship between different cultural collectivities; and as these relationships polarize interests between the political groups, they also generate conflict.

Different strands are found in the discourse on the ethnic factor of a plural society. There are variants of modernization theory which holds that as society modernizes, tribal sentiment weakens if not eliminated (Barth, 1969). The Primordial thesis emphasises emotional dimension of ethnicity in terms of an in-born trait reaction. (Geertz, 1973; Keyes 1981). The Elitist Thorem which is most popular, posits that the elites in the society who are aspirants to, and competitors for power and privileges are the primary users of ethnic weapon for taking advantages over rivals (Osaghae, 1991).

Another stand but most cogent to our analysis is the Invention Thesis. This theory argued that African ethnicity was a direct product of colonial invention, though the use of a series of policies that disintegrated denigrated the cultural base of the people and abolished their history; assaulted their trade-institutions; and finally inculcated in them a deep sense of inferiority which they still wear today like an albatross. The Fabian's (1985) analysis on this thesis is quite commending. It identifies the agents and collaborators in this dehumanising project as the Colonial Administrators, the Christian Missionaries and the stooge African Chiefs.

The last theory is the Marxist theory of ethnicity. Marxism sees it as a false consciousness or ideological diversion of a plural society that fails to be related to the ultimate economic factor as regards the mode of production. However, Gabriel and Tolyin (1978) have noted this position as presently being reformed to show the link between ethnicity and class struggle.

By and large, this theoretical foundation was built to provide a context for juxtaposing our analysis of this ethnic factor. The Elitist and Invention Theses particularly would form our mirror to throw back the reflections or the varied images of this factor.

Grounds for Further Theoretical Enquiry

This paper has chosen the elitist theory because ethnic rivalries and conflicts arise out of the desire of one group to dominate another with the dominant-seeking independence and self-determination of which the dominant groups are sorely subjected to degradation thereby making conflicts inevitable.

Claude Ake (1982) surmises that:

the manner and nature by which Nigeria was incorporated into the world capitalist economy was an underlining factor in shaping the indigenous class structure involved in the development of their individual communities.

This position was further corroborated by Ekler's (1993) opinion that the question of ethnic identity has a socio-economic context with regards to the culture and society. This has to do with the class structure and its economic dimension which relates to the method of production and distribution which are organically linked to economic forces and class structure. This situation is seen in the elite of the advantaged ethnic or social group's exploiting, competing and acquiring of social infrastructures and opportunities unequally and also dominating in relation to their place in the socio-economic order. Conversely, the attempts of disadvantaged groups to end their perceived suffering through any available means is always thwarted or seen as a militia attempt. In this regard, domination by the elite, exploitation, uneven development and antagonistic competition constitute the inevitable fuel that keeps the ember of ethnic identity burning. Arinde (1999) opined that:

right from the colonial era which was designed in part to preserve the authoritarian system of indirect rule and which assumed more strength in the years before independence was instrumental to the seeing of very strong and serious economic and political issues first in the regional limelight rather than in national limelight.

He went further to argue that emergent leaders thereafter were more or less conditioned by this development. This, therefore made them elitist ethnic leaders rather than national leaders. Where national issues were involved like in the case of sharing the "National Cake" which nobody is ever ready to bake, these leaders sought first their ethno-regional advantages to the detriment of others. This position Arinde (1999) holds as being a very strong major factor in the case of ethnic identities in Nigeria.

Nnoli (1980) opines that the absence of a conscious similarity among people, for example, common culture, values, language etc limits

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the way and manner in which they interact and compete in the social climate. They are therefore influenced by ethnic prejudices and superiority of race. Nnoli (1980) is therefore of the view that since coming together as a nation is not our making or individual effort and despite our differences and diversities, we have been brought together to share the same fate and a common destiny. Nigerians should see themselves as siblings and take on a new national identity rather than ethnic identity.

Nworah (1994) asserts that ethnicity and its cultural problems attain greater dimensions in our polity because of the dominational approach in Nigeria by major ethnic groups which results in minorities being alienated. He further stressed that "the opinion of the largest sectional multitudes here do not constitute equitable standards for national unity and progress"

However, in spite of the condemnation of this theory, there exist some equally good aspects because politics and democracy are all about "representative" policy, and it presupposes that not everybody can find himself or herself in places of governance, they therefore need the elite who are their duly representative heads and can convey their voices and opinions to higher authority. The crux of the matter, however, is marginalisation by the elites which more often than not, when it goes bad is turned into ethnic sentiment. Their situation becomes a very dangerous instrument and weapon at the disposal of powerful elites. It is against this backdrop that this paper believes that this theory is proper for our analysis.

Colonial Legacy: Conflicts in the Polity

That conflict emanates from every fabric of the build-up of Nigeria is no news. The news, however, is the recent dimension the crisis is assuming intermeshed amidst constant accusations of unfair treatment, as can be seen in the marginalization cries of the Northern Arewa, the Ohaneze Ndigbo, and the Odua Peoples Congress struggling for Sovereign National Conference. Barongo (1987) wrote that:

... the basic sources of conflict was the mobilization of people, not towards some transcending national loyalty but rather towards identification with an intermediate cultural section. This identification was made most often in situation of competition between sections, and it was here that the system of rewards had its total impact. The system structured political life in such a way as to make it a constant struggle for rewards of various kinds, and much of this struggle is between the sections of the country.

The questions asked at this juncture are: Why is the competition for

resources among the groups of the people living in the same boundary, even within a local unit who are all subjects of the same political system so intense as to divide society into camps of hostility? Why is there no agreement amongst Nigerians over the wealth which accrues to the nation as being collectively owned, and that, it should be utilized for the benefit of them all irrespective of their geographical location, population, size and cultural identity?

The answers to these questions would silently coast home the naked truth of the lasting effect of the colonial legacy on the country's socio-political system. The shade and shape of this colonial legacy was summarized by Claude Ake (1995) as: "The Nigerian colonial experience was an anti-thesis of democracy for the usurpation of self-determination, of which the only issue was the locus of power and not good governance to be pursued covertly or overtly".

To start with, capitalism was bequeathed to us without regards to the strong brotherhood cultures of our fore-fathers, for the African society depended largely on extended family system for survival as well as communalism coupled with Ujamaa principles. The ideology and its mode of production made Nigerians to imbibe the culture of acquiring, grabbing and amassing wealth at all cost. The dynamics of this brand of capitalism thus created antagonistic relationship between the different ethnic groups which often culminate into conflicts/clashes based on competition and struggle for scarce resources and ethnic interest. The new trend now is economic exploitation and domination by the elites which are the peripheral capitalism and consumer economy all being the legacies of the colonial masters. The opportunities open to the people are few, for which the masses can hardly source capital to get involved in capitalist activities. The majority then are left with the option of selling their labour power to the capitalist. The resultant effect is perpetual hostility and fierce competition among the different ethnic groups for survival. To say the least, peripheral capitalism created by Britain, the colonial master was a mere invention to facilitate her imperialist and economic interest in the country.

Cultural imperialism and alienation is another colonial legacy whose impacts are far-reaching. In the lay-man's language, it is called colonial mentality which is directly translated to mean the inferiority complex of the black race to the Whites. Colonialism came to Africa on the pretext of a "Civilising Mission". This mission was premised on the inferiority of the colonized and was nurtured into an ideology of development for the blacks. An ideology which prescribes the West as the ideal setting which African nations must emulate to be developed. This invention thesis particularly led to a cultural dis-orientation which Claude Ake (1989) termed as "living in a cultural wasteland: we have been dislodged from our traditional cultures, and yet we cannot feel at home in western modernized cultures".

For instance, all attempts to evolve indigenous invention or

ideology are summarily branded by colonial master as inferior, primitive and cannot meet Western Standard. Various colonial policies were used to promulgate this cultural imperialism. A good instance is the segregation in the Health, Education and Housing Provision of Service in the Colonies. The Government Reservation Area (GRA) syndrome was used for housing the whites and special school/college for white kids limited job opportunities in the Colonial Civil Service for blacks; the forced labour without proper remuneration for the blacks, etc., were the order of the day.

More pathetic is the behaviour of our leaders, military adventurism past and present, acting out the surrogate roles directed by the erstwhile colonial masters in a fashion dictated to them in order to maintain the neo-colonial economic dependency and hegemony. The social life of the people has thus been politicized to cope with the task. They scrupulously evolve a tradition of politicians that would remain permanently in power through political repression by playing the trump of ethnic identity.

Edoh (2001) holds that Nigeria's complex plurality has a number of dimensions. Nigeria, as earlier said has over 250 ethnic groups spread over 36 States and Federal Capital Territory. The Yorubas, Igbos and Hausa Fulanis are however the major groups that form the tripod of politics. It is useful to note that the differences amongst them manifest in all characteristics-in geographical habitat, language and culture, and religion.

The combination of these characteristics coupled with two other defects in the structuring of the Nigerian Policy by the Colonial Masters provide the basis for cultural and ethnic identities to become the *de jure* factor in our politics. The first defect which was duly reported by the Political Bureau in 1987 is the unbalanced nature of the Federal Structure which is yet to meet the "laws of a workable federation". The second defect as observed by Edoh (1990) is that the failure of British was deliberate to bequeath an ideal cultural legacy capable of containing all ethnic identities and uphold national integration and unity.

Many authors Otite, Nnoli, Nkemdilim have treated the ethnic factor to be the basis of conflicts in post-colonial Nigeria. Barongo (1994) gave two proportions, namely:

- (i) That ethnic and elite conflicts are reflections of the competing economic interests in society and these interests have a class base; and
- (ii) That ethnic and elite conflicts is intense in the Nigerian polity because of her capitalist ideological belief.

Nnoli (1980) however gave four factors which are summarized below:

The Myth of cultural diversity and belief of Nigerians which make them to see ethnicity as a bio-cultural phenomenon. Hence the federal character and quota system syndrome is just another way to maintain the status quo. Not only that, because the colonial policy of divide and rule emphasized greater tribal integration, the colonial administration system

merely strengthened the ethnicity factor in the Nigerian national politics. Moreover, there is the issue that forms the relevant pre-colonial differences in the trado-political systems of entities that formed Nigeria at the instance of colonialism. Language differences amidst varied religious inclinations of these entities would quite naturally culminate into tension, animosity, hostility and even war. Instances of these freely abound. And lastly, is the lack of economic unity and culture observed in the activities of the colonial masters which were import-export oriented. Thus, what existed was a foreign owned economic culture in the country and not a national economy like countries as Japan that can lead to an integration of the various communal homelands and develop in the local people an economic consciousness and nationalism.

Consequently, ethnicity in Nigeria is due to part of colonial legacy perpetuated by the divide and rule system inherent in the Indirect Rule administration. The Cultural Imperialism and alienation policy was meant for synthesizing the mentality and psyche of the local people. The exploitative mechanism of the colonial imposed capitalist ideology was to facilitate Western dominance and exploitation.

Thus, ethnic factor now forms the basis of any decision or policy made in the country. Perceptively, we talk about ethnicity and democracy, where all political negotiations are laden with ethnical emotions especially if the issue has to do with revenue allocation, indigeneship, language question, Sharia, etc.

We talk of Ethnicity and Religion as elicited by the North-South dichotomy which in the recent past brought the country to a standstill as the Muslims dominated Kano and Kaduna engaged the resident Christians in religious conflicts. A reprisal attack was visited on Muslim resident in Aba by Christians.

There is also the ethnic factor in formation of political parties and elections. The first republic had the Northern People Congress in NPC, the Igbos had National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC), while the Yorubas had Action Group (AG). A direct transformation of these parties into National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) was observed in the second republic. The third republic with Social Democratic Party (SDP) and National Republican Convention (NRC) was terminated by the June 12 election annulment largely by ethnic reasoning when it was realized that the Northern political hegemony may be lost permanently. The present republic party system is unstable.

The list of ethnic generated conflict in the Nigeria polity is endless. Hence, to conclude this section, one would say that the post colonial Nigeria emerged at Independence as a nation state of a variety of nations loosely knotted together under the general nomenclature Nigeria, without any effective roots in the political psyche of the citizens (Edoh, 2000).

This explains why the divisions along regional, ethnic and religious lines

would continue to be the bases for struggle for political power and competition for the scarce economic resources.

Conclusions

Without doubt, concerted efforts have been made by Nigeria's past administrations to curb the menace of the ethnicity problem. Some of these are states creation and local government council recreations; enlightenment campaigns by Mass Mobilization Social and Economic Recovery (MAMSER), National Orientation Agency (NOA) etc. Constitutional provisions like the entrenchment of the Federal character; Uniformation of the Local Government System of Administration; the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) Programme, National Spread requirement for registration of Political Parties; and even to the programmes/policies in the pipeline. There are still pointers that the ethnicity factor is still as delicate as ever. The above instances are actually evident of serious crises.

This paper made bold to infer that the crises are as a result of the political leaders who are yet to delink themselves from colonial mentality and legacy in post colonial Nigeria. The position of this paper is that ethnic identity lacks an existence of its own except when employed by the dominant class, be it politicians or the military to sway power to themselves.

Besides, the truism is that ethnicity is quite inviting to an inefficient ruling class who had failed to consolidate on the pure indices of economic and political gains, to help them retain power and cover up their failure. This simply entails that it is the ruling class that needs retraining of the virtues of integration, and not the ethnic groups.

The thrust of this paper is that the immanent ethnic conflicts in the country which have grievous impact on the country's corporate integrity and reputation in the international system, is as a result of the struggle of class interest of the ruling elites who are themselves confused and perfunctory under the conditions and limits permitted by the country's colonial legacy.

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