



**ILORIN JOURNAL OF
HISTORY AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

Vol. 2 No. 1 2011

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor-in-Chief
Professor B.M. Eyinla

Editor
Dr. S.O. Aghalino

Assistant Editors
Dr. R.A. Olaoye
Dr. I.A. Jawondo

Editorial Advisory Board

Professor J. Emenegwem, University of Port Harcourt, Port Harcourt
Professor N. Njoku, Kogi State University, Ayingba
Professor A. Adejo, Benue State University, Makurdi.
Professor H.M. Maishanu, Usmanu Danfodio University, Sokoto
Dr. Ehimika Ifidon, University of Benin, Benin City
Dr. C. Isike, University of Kwazulu-Natal, South Africa

**Published by the Department of History & International Studies,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria.**

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

ISSN: 1596-9525

SUBSCRIPTION RATE

1.	Nigeria	-	₦500 per issue
2.	Other African countries	-	\$10.00 (US) per issue
3.	Outside Africa	-	\$15.00 (US) per issue

FROM THE EDITOR

It is with great pleasure that we present to you this edition of **Ilorin Journal of History and International Studies (IJOHIS)**. We had a plethora of submissions bothering on History and related themes. The papers that were finally selected by the Editorial Board addressed a range of issues that are seminal to our understanding of contemporary society. They also reflect the dynamics of the utility of history in an age of globalization. We thank you fervently for your interest and patronage of IJOHIS.

Dr. S.O. Aghalino
Editor (IJOHIS)

***Disclaimer:** The views expressed in the articles in this Journal do not necessarily represent the views of anyone affiliated with IJOHIS or of the Department of History and International Studies, University of Ilorin, Ilorin.

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL PAGE

i

FROM THE EDITOR

ii

CONTENTS

iii

NIGERIA, 1960-1965: 'ALIGNED'? THE EVIDENCE, ARGUMENTS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF DISCURSIVE CLOSURE

Ehimika A. Ifidon

1

FROM COMMUNALISM TO INDIVIDUALISM: CRITICAL HISTORICAL INSIGHTS ON THE CHANGING NATURE OF HAUSA SOCIETY FROM 1960-2010

Uwaisu Iliyasu

27

STEWARDSHIP AND HEALTH CARE PROVISION IN NIGERIA: THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF THE LEADERSHIP AND ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES AND VALUES OF THE SOKOTO JIHAD LEADERS

Ibrahim Waziri Abubakar

44

THE HARMONIZATION OF DUAL NATIONALISM IN THE NIGERIAN COLONY

D.I. Jimoh

68

IMPACT OF THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT ON THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF WARRI; 1891 - 1999

Anthony Oritsegbemi Ifediora

83

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ASTRONOMY IN THE ANCIENT ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS OF NORTHERN NIGERIA AND THEIR PRESERVATION

Salisu Bala

109

YUSUF. O. Badmus 'An Examination of the Traditional of Quranic learning in the Ilorin Emirate of Ngieria in *JARS Journal of Arabic and Religious Studies*, (Department of Religions University of Ilorin. 1995)

AN APPRAISAL OF CATHOLIC SOCIAL TEACHING ON ETHNICITY: THE NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE

Patrick U. Nwosu*

Abstract:

The paper tries to discuss the recurrent issues on ethnocentric attitudes that have afflicted Nigerians and their subsequent implication on the teaching and practice of Religions in Nigeria. It further argues that this situation is as a result of age-long foundation and elitist usage of religion to promote political privileges and primordial interest. The paper further asserts that, in the light of the social teachings of the Catholic Church, Nigerian leaders could build a united nation. The paper concludes that even development, ethnic equality and fairness would invariably reduce ethnocentric attitude in Nigeria and enhance the practice of religions.

Introduction

Nigeria is a country of many ethnic religious groups. The ethnic religious groups are not something one joins as an affirmation of "Nigerianness". Ethnicity in Nigeria involves a conscious or unconscious acceptance of worldview, values, and ethics expressed along tribal lines. It is a function of blood and linguistic ties, and nurture. In other words, ethnicity in Nigeria is in the nature of inclusive groups like Hausa, Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo, and so on. Thus, incorporation into the inclusive group is natural. In this regard, the talk and effort to integrate different ethnic nationalities into the Nigerian nation with a single worldview has remained a herculean task, especially in the areas of teaching and practice of religions in the country.

In Nigeria today, people who have lived together for generations can no longer stand one another, particularly in the

* Department of Religions, University of Ilorin. Ilorin. fatherpat2003@yahoo.com

Northern parts of the country. Cultural and ethnic identities are being used to oppress other identities. For example, *The Guardian*, Thursday, April 21, 2011 reported the Nigerian ethnicity thus:

...hundreds of innocent Nigerians, who are not of northern extraction or are from the north and are Christians, have been brutally and savagely killed. Shops and other businesses of Nigerians referred to as strangers in their own country have been looted. The highways are no longer passable as Christians and other identifiable non-indigenes are pulled out of vehicles and slaughtered.¹

The implication of ethnicity in Nigeria is legion. But it suffices to note that it increases hatred among people, setting the stage for violence toward humankind and creation.

Violent crime committed under the guise of ethnicity and tribal politicking by individuals, and gangs, as well as by people wearing police and military uniforms has remained a problem in Nigeria. Facts and news about dehumanizing ethnic activities are the decimal events in many parts of the country. And most time, this issue is under-reported. Based on this, the U.S. Department of State cautioned American citizens on the issue of ethnicity in Nigeria as follows:

In 2010, alleged "Boko Haram" members claimed responsibility for bombings in the country. A bomb exploded December 31, 2010, near a busy Abuja "fish bar", killing several people and injuring many others.²

To know that Nigerians are to shun and struggle against ethnicity is intuitively obvious. And in with this challenge, Muhammad Ajah³ correctly noted that it is a vanity for Nigerians to be divided along the paths of religious perfidy and ethnocentric collocation. Religion and ethnic attachment still run in the vein of the citizens. Therefore, there is the urgent need for a lasting solution to fully integrate Nigerians and make its unity in diversity workable. This is the challenge facing 21st century people of Nigeria. Again, to know what is meant by "ethnicity", especially in a post colonial Nigerian society is an issue.

Part of what makes ethnicity such a difficult issue to address is that most Nigerians lack an adequate understanding of its depth, extent, and true nature.

Thus, the paper examines, from a Catholic social perspective, the attitude of Nigerians towards ethnicity. The paper situates the contemporary concern about ethnicity in the light of the major shift in Nigerian politics occasioned by the election of the first south south person as Nigerian President. This reality is real and it becomes a platform, a divine opportunity to deal with the ethnic quagmires the country continues to experience since independence.

Does Catholic social teaching affirm ethnicity? At what point did this social evil of ethnicity take root in Nigeria? Is ethnicity enhancing or retarding integral development of the citizens in Nigeria? These are the questions this paper would try to answer. The questions are critically important, for one's perception of ethnicity would influence significantly one's ethical guidance, and socio-political strategies.

Theoretical Framework

Over the centuries, scholars have tried to take a critical look at the concept of ethnicity both generally and from particular perspective. According to Otite, as noted by Odeh, there is ethnic group identification, ethnic pluralism, and struggle "for scarce available resources which could be political in nature".⁴ This stance could apply to the present day Nigerian political equation where the ruling Peoples Democratic Party talks about which ethnic group gets what position from now till 2015.⁵

Furthermore, for a long time, the concept of ethnicity was synonymous with monoculturalism. It is usually understood as being captured by the point of view of one's own tribe. In this regard, Kraft opines that ethnocentric people "equate their perception of reality with reality itself and make no allowance for the possible rightness or validity of other perceptions. They see only their view of reality as true and claim God's endorsement of this point of view".⁶ For this cultural outlook to reality, Kraft further submitted that ethnicity has no respect for other people's ways. It simply condemns them. Ethnicity is particularly troublesome when those who hold it have power over

other people. Hence, Kraft's view can adequately summarise the trouble with Nigerian political arrangement where a section of the country has held leadership power more than the rest ethnic groups.

Along the line of fear of marginalization characteristic of Nigerian pluralistic society, Nida's clarification on ethnicity comes to the fore. In his submission, he notes that,

Everywhere in the world people recognize the in-group... and the out-group.... The establishing of an in-group consciousness is part of the psychological drive for a sense of belonging. In other words, the out-group is a kind of scapegoat for one's hate satisfaction.⁷

Subjecting Nida's opinion to Nigerian context, one observes that due to ethnicity, members of the ethnic group in power react to the developmental needs of another ethnic group with levity. Often the basic needs of the tribe outside the corridors of power are seen as inferior.

In the light of the above, Odeh, riding on the back of Horowitz, insightfully traces the origin of ethnic consciousness in Nigeria as follows,

Northern Nigerians suspected that in self-governing Nigeria, the north would in effect be a backward protectorate governed by southerners..... The threat of Southern domination, fancied or real, was the major stimulant in the northern awakening.⁸

Thus, it becomes clearly glaring that fear of domination and being considered inferior are among the major contents of ethnic uprising in Nigeria. And it might take a long time to ease such cherished fear in the Nigerian society.

Hence, the way in which Nigerians understand their unity in diversity has a profound influence on the spirituality and teachings of religions practiced in the country, on political strategies, and on the way in which Nigerians live as citizens of a country. There is a critical need to reimage and reclaim the meaning of being a Nigerian,

especially within the context of the out-come of the April, 2011 Presidential Elections.

Catholic Church on Ethnicity

So far, the paper contends that ethnicity in Nigeria is a strongly entrenched symbol system of meaning and values attached to dialect that provides group identity, shapes personal consciousness, and justifies the existence of tribal-based economic, social, and political disparities. This description better accounts for the various violent ethno-religious manifestations in contemporary Nigerian society. The paper now turns to the task of highlighting Catholic engagement and reflection on ethnicity in the light of her social teachings.

Since the beginning of the modern civil rights movements in the 1950s, the universal *magisterium* of the Roman Catholic Church has been concerned with the issue of ethnicity and racial injustice.⁹ In other words, the issue of ethnicity is not so absent in Catholic theological or social discourse. As it is well known, the Catholic Church is increasingly diverse in ethnic heritages, in language, in ways of perceiving life and celebrating her faith. In this regard, Bryan Massingale described the Catholic Church as "a microcosm of the world's peoples".¹⁰

But unfortunately, the diversity of the Catholic Christian Communities is not often perceived as a cause for joy; at times it is a source of tension and discrimination. Many parishes, for example, in Ilorin Diocese, mirror an ethnic composition and thus reflect ethnic and economic disparities of Nigeria's neighbourhoods. Many Nigerian Catholics who live outside their native home towns can tell stories of how they received a rude shock when they attempted to present themselves for privileged leadership positions in parishes or diocese of their domicile. Some even report they were refused to hear mass in their own language in another state. So often, particularly in Yoruba Dioceses, one hears complaints such as, "why do we have to sing in Igbo?" "Don't they have their own home Diocese?" Rather than rejoicing in the God-given diversity of the human family, too often Catholics reflect the ethnic attitudes and discriminations of the larger Nigerian society.

At the leadership level, the issue of ethnicity manifests itself as well. The senior executives of laity council and other organizations, the major superiors of religious orders, and the faculties of Nigerian Catholic seminaries and educational institutions are, most times, appointed based on ethnic influence or consideration. In this regard, the words of some Catholic African American bishops remain relevant to the Nigerian situation. The bishops note that,

...minorities still remain absent from many aspects of Catholic life and are only meagerly represented on the decision-making level.... This ethnicity, at once subtle and masked, still festers within our church as within our society. It is this ethnicity that in our minds remains the major impediment to evangelization in our community.¹¹

However, in January 1999, John Paul II, reflecting on the Pastoral challenges that ethnocentric attitudes pose to many nations, declared,

As the new millennium approaches, there remains another great challenge facing communities... and many countries: to put an end to every form of ethnicity, a plague which... is one of the most persistent and destructive evils of the nations.¹²

The pontiff's prophetic call in 1999, describing ethnicity as destructive evil illustrates a recurring dynamic in Catholic engagement with ethnicity. That is, the Catholic Church is always vigilant, concerned, and forthright regarding ethnic injustice and the condition of the ethnic minorities in the world generally and Nigeria in particular. The teaching office of the Catholic Church, known as the "*magisterium*", shows more willingness to confront ethnic inequality in a way that the local churches are yet to muster.¹³

There are four caveats upon which the Catholic Church based her teaching against ethnic discrimination. They are:

- 1) The universal love of God for all people revealed especially in the expiatory sacrifices of Jesus for all;
- 2) Jesus' mandates to love one's neighbour and to teach all nations, meaning that all men and women are brothers and sisters;

- 3) The intrinsic universality of the Christian faith, which recognizes no distinctions of race, colour, or tribe; and
- 4) The natural moral law that God has put in the hearts of all people, which teaches that each human being has an equal right to life, to justice before the law, and so on.¹⁴

Upon these cardinal foundations the local churches, dioceses or Bishops Conferences of various nationalities draw teaching to govern the behaviour and attitude of their flocks in matters of ethnicity. Most times, the emphasis is on two basic principles:

- 1) the equality of men and women in the sight of God, rooted in the fact of humanity's common origin, redemption, and eternity; and (2) the duty to love our fellow human beings. This is what Christian love entails in Catholic tradition. Thus, the Catholic Church teaches that ethnocentric attitude in itself and by its very nature imposes a stigma of inferiority upon the segregated people; leading to oppressive conditions and the denial of basic human rights.¹⁵

Foundation of Ethnicity in Nigeria

Today's ethnocentric consciousness and attitudes in Nigeria did not "just happen". It has been intentionally constructed over a long period of time. Within this context, Odeh cogently submits that, ethnicity in Nigeria is traceable to the colonial era with British conquest of hitherto independent ethnic groups that altered dramatically the nature of inter-group relations between (and among) these ethnic groups. Before the arrival of the British, these ethnic groups traded amongst themselves in sustenance of their agricultural modes of production. The conquest meant that the ethnic groups at least from 1914, ... were brought under one political umbrella...¹⁶

Nigerian brand of ethnicity is the result of social policies, institutions, and procedures that seems to have deliberately created a system to advance the welfare of a section of the country and impede the opportunities of persons of another section. Hence, "Federal Nigeria has never since her independence shown the distinctive mark of a United Nation. It has been impossible for her to silence tribal rivalries

to achieve that mixture of ethnic/ cultural blend required to forge National Unity.”¹⁷

Ethnocentric consideration in Nigeria inevitably causes economic disadvantages, social and religious burdens for the entire Nigerians. That means there is a link between ethnicity and economic impoverishment in Nigeria regardless of when and who laid the foundations. Moreover, if the British and “Our heroes past” encouraged ethnicity and laid its foundation, must Nigerians of the 21st century accept such?

It is undeniable that ethnicity was deliberately created and often state-sanctioned in Nigeria. For example, *the Parrot* magazine of 12th October, 1960 reported thus,

Sir Ahmadu Bello approached the Colonial Secretary and said “if you want us (the North) to be part of this Nigeria you have in mind, then we want 50% of the membership of the National Assembly”. It was accepted by the British and the 1953 census figures were manipulated to justify the concession given. With majority in the National Assembly, whatever the North says becomes law.....¹⁸

In the light of the above, 21st century Nigerians can resist ethnic foundations if they are committed to sustaining Nigeria as one nation. Rather than ethnic supremacy, the government under President Jonathan should pursue ethnic equality. Again, the pernicious distinction between indigene Vs settler in Nigeria needs revisit especially as it appeared in the 1979 Constitution. As noted by Herskovits, the distinction, “vitiates the sense of being a Nigerian and a commitment to Nigeria as a whole”.¹⁹

Ethnicity and Comprehensive Development of the Human Person

As noted before now, there is a link between ethnicity and economic inadequacies of people in Nigeria. Government policies, social customs, and political processes that result to unjust treatment of stigmatized people cannot guarantee integral human development in any society, particularly in Nigeria. In fact, some Nigerians of enhanced ethnicity are distressed when they become aware of the

reality of their privileges at the detriment of people from outside their own tribe. Thus, ethnic consciousness that is subtly pervasive in Nigerian institutions is now understood as a culture of advantage and privilege, uniting in-group and out-group across class lines. These are the set of meanings and values that affect comprehensive development of the human person in Nigeria.

In the light of the social teaching of the Catholic Church, comprehensive development of the human person consists in achieving the overall well-being of each and every human being (regardless of ethnic background, language, and culture). To bring this about, social evil like Nigerian brand of ethnicity, and other obstacles that stand in the way must be eliminated.²⁰ Through ethnic equality, Nigerians would be helped to exercise their personal freedom to do more, have more; be more, so that they can increase their sense of personal worth. This requires the government of the day to give every Nigerian protection and sense of belonging that flow from being a human person of Nigerian origin.

No Nigerian is an island. Nigerians live in states, and it is in various states of the country that they develop themselves; in those states human rights are realized. In modern and globalized society, human life is tied to the lives of our fellow human beings; personal well-being is always connected with that of the other. Hence, in a well-ordered country people recognize their God-given rights and duties, requiring from one another a generous contribution to the establishment of a “civic order in which rights and duties are progressively and effectively acknowledged and fulfilled”.²¹ Just as a good mother is always interested in and works for the well-being of her children, so are Nigerian leaders of today challenged to be interested in the all-around well-being of Nigerians, regardless of tribe or culture, for the goal of human life is not only to attain heaven but also to experience happiness in this life.²²

In contemporary time, Nigeria should strive to rise above the happenings expressed in ethnocentric, discriminatory attitudes that made Awolowo to describe Nigeria as “... only a geographical expression to which life was given by the diabolical amalgamation of 1914.”²³ To give the new Nigeria an agenda, there is need for availability of stable work with assured fair wages for majority of the

youth irrespective of where they come from. The same applies in the distribution of Federal Government developmental projects. Victor Umeh, All Progressive Grand Alliance (APGA) National Chairman, called it "...equity and fairness come into play..."²⁴ In this regard, Sir Ahmadu Bello would reverse his wrong when he asserted in 1960 that, "the new nation called Nigeria should be an estate from our great-grand father Othoman Dan Fodio... and the South as conquered territories and without control of their future."²⁵ Nigeria's ethnic diversity is meant to be a source of great strength rather than anxiety and fear as we have it today.

Social Change, Religious Education and Practice in Nigeria

Scholarly materials on society and change in ancient Nigeria usually centre on the influence of external forces in the elimination of socio-educational institutions considered as nasty and the enthronement of new ones, perceived as dynamic and progressive. Augustine of Hippo, born in 354 AD, was among the first scholars to present the idea of social change and what propelled historical change. As the proponent of the concept of divine providence, Augustine argued that the trend of human history is directed by beings rooted in the spiritual realm. In his submission, the meaning of this line of thought is that God is the cause of all changes. This trend of thought ruled the world till the 18th century when the era of enlightenment became a challenge.²⁶

The classical minds of the enlightenment period were Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and George Hegel (1770-1831). Kantian – Hegelian theory emphasized the shift from spiritual agency to humans as the agents of historical change. Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engel stepped in and gave economic interpretations to Kantian – Hegelian theory of change. As noted by both scholars, any change in society is propelled by the conflict between different classes in society, and the most essential factor of this conflict is group economic interest.²⁷

Furthermore, Arnold Toynbee saw historical change within the context of challenge and response.

However, a number of scholars of African Studies place socio-educational changes in traditional African settings, where Nigeria is rooted, on colonialism and missionary expansionism. Therefore, the two basic perspectives of change in the teaching and practice of religions in Nigeria are: the neo-Marxist school and the orthodox school.²⁸

Nwabughuogu who examined change in the teaching and practice of religions, particularly in Southeastern Nigeria saw responses and initiatives as important factors of change in pre-colonial and colonial Nigeria.²⁹ Thus, today external influence contributes significantly to the changes that have made Nigerian government seem unable to control religious issues in the country.

In the light of the above, religion can be appealed to easily to mobilize people's sentiment; it is a kind of a collective drive that leads to certain actions and goals that anybody wants to effect.³⁰ In Northern Nigeria, for example, the Islamic culture permeates all aspects of life, so the Hausa-Fulani identity is tied to Islamic religious identity. It is therefore difficult to know how to separate one from the other.

For some time, there have been attempts to make Nigerian scholars think through the problem of religious education restructuring in the country. The will to carry out reform is often lacking as the various levels of government subject everything to politics, and as a result they do not think through problems and find lasting solutions to them. Yet, within Nigeria, we can find answers to our problems if the leadership is ready and willing to do so.

The problems surrounding religious education in the country have to do with the inability to face the reality and set aside politics. For the average Nigerian Muslim, Western education is an anathema which he has been lured into through various means by the Christian Missionaries and colonial masters. The result of this mind-set is the advent of 'Boko Haram' in Northern Nigeria. The sect advocates for the Islamization of education, especially in Northern states of the country. So, what we see happening at the national, state and local levels affect the teaching and study of religion, likewise the practice of indigenous traditional religion. In this regard, one agrees with Olupona who opines that "Christianity and Islam engage in demonizing indigenous religion";³¹ yet, the Nigerian worldview is still primarily

traditional; Nigerians think along ethnic lines like Yoruba, Efik, Hausa, or Igbo. Those realities of indigenous religion are still with the people of Nigeria.

Conclusion

The goal of this paper has been to articulate an understanding of ethnicity and teaching of religion, based on the Nigerian experience. This is pertinent because the pervasiveness of ethnic discrimination in Nigeria remains unaccounted for despite the momentous celebration of 50th Independence Anniversary of the country. Ethnicity, as noted in the paper, is not solely about insults and mere exclusion from mainstream political equation of the country. These are but the symptoms of a deeper malady. Ethnicity entails more than conscious ill will, more than deliberate acts of violence against another ethnic group in Nigeria. Though such events as riots and murder of innocent Nigerians are still of concern, the paper noted that they do not take us to the heart of the matter. The paper went further to submit that ethnocentric attitude in Nigeria is about a set of meanings and values that inform the way Nigerians treat one another in daily life. It is a way of understanding and interpreting ethnic and dialectical differences so that a particular ethnic group enjoys a privileged social and political status to the detriment of another in the same country of theirs.

Noting that complete development of persons is predicated on ethnic equality, the paper concludes that the leaders of today should be genuinely committed to building new Nigeria through even developments, equity and empowerment of the masses, especially the youth. This will invariably reduce ethnocentric attitude in Nigeria which has essentially remain a defense of in-group privilege.

Notes and References:

1. Saxone Akhaine, Oghogho Obayuwana, John Ogiji, "Kaduna Relaxes Curfew, Kano Arrests 109 Over Unrest", *The Guardian*, Thursday, April 21, 2011, p. 4.
2. *The Guardian*, Wednesday, April 20, 2011, p. 1.
3. Muhammed Ajah, "Revelations from the April Presidential Polls", *The Guardian*, Wednesday, April 20, 2011, p. 52.

4. Lemuel Ekedegwa Odeh, "Historical Analysis of Ethno-Religious Violence in Nigeria", in R.A. Raji, P.O. Abioje, A. Oforibika, A.G. Alamu, B. Igboin, (eds.), *The Relevance of Religion in Contemporary Society*, (Ibadan: Royal Prints, 2010), p. 49.
5. Chuks Okocha, "Why Southeast May Lose Speakership", *This Day*, Sunday, May 8, 2011, p. 7.
6. Charles A. Kraft, *Anthropology for Christian Witness*, (New York: Orbis Books, 1996), p. 70.
7. Nida, Eugene A., *Customs and Culture*, (Pasadena: William Carey Press, 1954), p. 55.
8. Lemuel Ekedegwa Odeh, p. 50.
9. Mathew Kukah, *Human Rights in Nigeria: Hopes and Hindrances*, (Aachen: Mission, 2003), pp. 15-16.
10. Bryan N. Massingale, *Racial Justice and the Catholic Church*, (New York: Orbis Books, 2010), p. 45.
11. "What We Have Seen and Heard, A Pastoral Letter on Evangelization from the Black Bishops of the United States, (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press, 1984) p. 20.
12. Pope John Paul II, "Homily in the Trans World Dome", February 11, 1999.
13. Cyprian Davis, *The History of Black Catholics*, (New York: Crossroad, 1995), pp. 217-219.
14. Bryan N. Massingale, p. 52.
15. Peter J. Henriot, Edward P. Deberri, et al, (eds.), *Catholic Social Teaching*, (New York: Orbis Books, 1999), pp. 103-104.
16. Lemuel Ekedegwa Odeh, p. 51.
17. Quoted by Oscar Onwudiwe, *This Day*, Vol. 16, No. 5861, Wednesday, May 11, 2011, p. 18.
18. *The Parrot*, October 12, 1960.
19. Jean Herskovits, "Fifty Years of Change in Nigeria", *The Guardian*, Sunday, November 21, 2010, p. 19.
20. Joseph Jadhav, "Catholic Social Teaching and its Application", in Daniel McDonald, (ed.), *Catholic Social Teaching in Global Perspective*, (New York: Orbis Books, 2010), p. 172.
21. Giorgio Filibeck, *Human Rights in the Teaching of the Church: From John XXIII to John Paul II*, (Vatican: Libreria Editrice Vaticana: 1994), p. 88.

22. Benjamine Masse, *Justice for All: An Introduction to the Social Teaching of the Catholic Church*, (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1994), p. 4.
23. Oscar Onwudiwe, *This Day*, p. 18.
24. *The Guardian*, vol. 28, No. 11824, Thursday, May 12, 2011, p. 2.
25. Oscar Onwudiwe, p. 18.
26. Mbakwe, P.U., *Change and Continuity in an Igbo Polity*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2005, University of Calabar, Nigeria.
27. Thingan, M.L., *The Economics of Development Planning*, (New Delhi: Delhi Press, 1981), p.82.
28. Mbakwe, p.18.
29. Nwabughuogu, A.I., *The Dynamics of Change in Eastern Nigeria 1900-1960*, (Owerri: Thompson Press, 1993), pp.10-18.
30. Olupona, J.K., "We are Ruled by Greedy Individuals who Joy in Seeing Others Hungry", *The Guardian*, Saturday, July 16, 2011, p.26.
31. Olupona, p.26.

POLITICAL PARTIES' CONDUCTS AND ETHNIC CONSIDERATIONS IN NIGERIA'S DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT

Ojieh, Chukwuemeka Ojione*

Abstract

This paper examines how ethnic considerations and other primordial sentiments colour Nigeria's democratic experiment. Specifically, it looks at political financing, financiers' ethnic origins and allied primordial sentiments as variables in the conduct of party affairs in Nigeria. It observes that, within the geo-political enclaves of party chieftains, there are usually band-wagon followership of tribal peoples in the support of one of their very own which results in their "victories" in elections and eventual dominance of the political process. It is concluded that party affairs in Nigeria are usually privatized to the dominant financiers and in whose geo-ethnic entities party interests are largely domicile and this has caused a yawning gap in the actualization of a true democratic culture for the Nigerian state.

Introduction

In Nigeria, political parties have been unable to function as truly national parties. This is because of the constraints imposed by such primordial factors as ethnicity, regionalism and religion such that, political parties in Nigeria have been ethnically and sectionally based. This is why political parties in Nigeria, from the point of view of party systems theory, have been perceived as harbingers of negativities and herein lay their democratic deficit.

But given the suppleness of the system of political parties, as an aspect of the institutions and culture of liberal democracy, political parties are to 'tolerate assertions of linguistic, ethnic, religious and

* Department of History and International Studies, Delta State University, Abraka, Nigeria ojieh280zx@gmail.com